



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

No. 217 (Vol. 5, No. 15) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

August 12, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Chad: Where Socialists Are Cowboys Too



"After you, my dear Francois," Reagan cooed to the French Socialist government, as he explained in perfect imperialist logic during an August 11 press conference that Chad was a French responsibility. Four days earlier, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz had made the same point as he confidently stated on "Meet the Press" that, "I am sure that they (France) will meet their responsibilities properly." And on August 9th, the French set out on yet another of their infamous African safaris. Three hundred and fourteen French paratroopers were dispatched to Chad in order to shore up the floundering regime of Hissen Habré. Their game on this safari, code-named "Operation Stingray" is — as Reagan also explained, none other than the "aggressive empire builder" Colonel Qaddafi of Libya. "How dare Qaddafi mess around in Chad!" cry the U.S.-bloc imperialists in chorus, "when we are the real empire builders." "And," added the U.S., "France better step on it."

In part, "Operation Stingray" was the French response to the deteriorating situation in Chad. On August 10th Goukouni Oueddei's army — supplemented by Libyan tanks, bombers, and, according to the U.S., ground troops — launched a massive assault against the northern city of Faya-Largeau. A few hours later Oueddei had

recaptured the city (which Habré had recaptured from Oueddei 10 days earlier) — a devastating development for the Habré government since 85% of its army had been trapped inside Faya-Largeau for a few days before the attack. Habré's army was routed and it broke up into small groups in order to escape the city and avoid Libyan bombing runs over the surrounding area and roads. Actually, few if any of these latest developments were unexpected. Over the last week Oueddei has captured most of the small towns in the area and had been busily positioning his troops and Libyan supplied tanks for such an assault days before it actually came down. For the last week Libyan bombers had made daily runs over the city and surrounding countryside — saturating the area with phosphorus bombs, fragmentation bombs, and napalm. Once positioned, Oueddei began making frequent calls for the surrender of Habré and his troops. Habré, who had gone to Faya-Largeau to personally command his troops (a move dictated by the need to boost morale among his supporters inside Chad as well as to step up the pressure on his imperialist patrons), left the city over the weekend — according to some reports, he was whisked out of the area under the cover of night in a French helicopter. Zairean troops, originally assigned to the capital city of Ndjameña, were repositioned to areas outside the capital and to the city of Abéché — the next strategically important city on the road from Faya-Largeau to Ndjameña and whose capture is considered necessary if the capital itself is to be captured.

All of this was undoubtedly an important factor in the French decision to send in its paratroopers. However, it was not the only factor — as we've pointed out before, there is much more involved in the imperialist machinations in Chad than Chad alone. Along these lines,

France's "Operation Stingray" was in part a response to intensifying pressure by the U.S. imperialists for France to be more "aggressive" in protecting U.S. bloc interests in Chad. Over the last couple of weeks the U.S. and France, who

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Guatemala Coup

The Lord Giveth and The Lord Taketh Away

There has been yet another coup for democracy in Guatemala. On August 8th, Guatemalan Minister of Defense Generalissimo Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores led the major part of the military in overthrowing born-again butcher Generalissimo Efraim Rios Montt, who came to power 17 months ago in a coup of his own. Well, it wasn't exactly *his* — but then, neither was this one the sole property of Victores. It seems that General Mejia Victores had a little weekend meeting with U.S. military officers (and the defense ministers of El Salvador and Honduras as well) immediately prior to the coup. State Department spokesman John Hughes confirmed the meeting but insisted that the generalissimo had not told the U.S. officers about the coup (perhaps they told him instead), adding that any insinuation that the meeting had been a "plotting session" was "ridiculous." What? U.S. plot a coup in Guatemala? How ridiculous.

Mejia Victores is certainly eminently qualified to be the new No. 1 butcher in Guatemala. His early training took place at the U.S.'s Inter-American Air Force Academy in Panama and at Andrews Air Force Base just outside of Washington, D.C. Then, he cut his fangs on the U.S. counter-insurgency programs beginning in the late '60s. Moving up with each succeeding change in the national palace, he became minister of defense after the coup that installed Rios Montt. Thus, he has been leading the most recent counter-insurgency charge, including the massacre of tens of thousands of Indian peasants with tens of thousands more forced to become refugees. However, one shouldn't be too one-sided about all this. After all, Mejia Victores has promised to end Rios Montt's secret "special tribunals," where anonymous prosecutors, judges, and witnesses quickly dispose of suspected "subversives" and turn them over to anonymous executioners. Rios Montt instituted the star chambers as a substitute for the somewhat more random activities of the death-squads in Guatemala City — so an increase in decapitated bodies along the main avenues can be expected in the near future. And, to further prove his democratic spirit, Mejia Victores an-

nounced that from now on, the people of Guatemala can pursue "all the activities guaranteed by law, including political activities." Thus, the entire range of fascist puppetry — from the MLN, "the party of organized violence," to the more moderate and reformer-type fascists like proponents of "death to the tiller" land reform — will soon be on public display once again in Guatemala. Fittingly, the *New York Times* headlined its story about these announcements, "Guatemala Lifts Curb on Freedoms."

It is no secret that there has been a great deal of infighting within Guatemala's ruling compradors over who will get to be the U.S.'s No. 1 servants there, and how best to perform the required tasks. Much of this has taken the form of bickering between the Catholic Church hierarchy and

the fundamentalist Church of Word of Rios Montt, and previous demands from the army for the removal of some of Rios Montt's most trusted "religious" advisors. This is the origin of Mejia Victores' statement that a "fanatic and aggressive religious group" has usurped the government under his predecessor; undoubtedly, the Catholic big wigs, several of whom have direct ties to the death-squads, will be a much more "moderate and passive" religious group. In the past few months, there have been somewhere between 6 and 10 reported coup attempts, depending on who is doing the reporting. The only plausible explanation for this one succeeding where the others failed is that the U.S. finally gave its blessing, apparently feeling that Mejia Victores was ideally situated to try and unify the warring factions. Indeed, the new No. 1 soon announced that most of the government officials who had served under Rios Montt, including some fundamentalists, would be allowed to stay on in the interests of "stability."

As for Rios Montt, he is going to continue his duties as an evangelist. Undoubtedly, there will be lots of new sermons on the true meaning of the scripture: "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." But it was reported that he intends to stay in Guatemala. You never can tell when "the Lord" just might giveth again. □



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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3486) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico, \$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00 year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00 year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.

Diplomatic Thuggery in Central America

As soon as the full measure of the fire power contained in the U.S. flotillas and massive military maneuvers had a chance to sink in and be contemplated by various parties in Central America (and beyond), the talk (and the headlines) turned to negotiations once again. U.S. Special Envoy Richard Stone finally met *officially* with Rubén Zamora, a former Christian Democrat who is now a representative of El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR). Then, Stone met once again with representatives of Nicaragua's Sandinista-led government. The presidents of the Contadora Group (Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia) held another meeting in the "search for peace" and the Contadora foreign ministers conducted a separate meeting of their counterparts from throughout the region. Everybody says more meetings are on tap in the near future. When some Senate liberals professed "confusion" about all this after the military hoopla, Secretary of State Shultz told them what they already knew. "It's not a question of military force vs. diplomacy. The two things go together. They are related in an interplay. That is precisely what we're seeing unfold before our eyes. It's almost a classic case here." How true. In a slightly different lexicon, it might be called "selling insurance" or perhaps the "protection racket." This is certainly a "classic case" for the class which had Al Capone for a minor member and has Ronald Reagan for its current chief executive.

The diplomatic thuggery at work in Central America is quite extensive, and it seems that each new flexing of U.S. muscles brings a new flurry of such activity. Richard Stone, the death-squad diplomat who used to be a lobbyist for Guatemala and has close ties with Florida's exiled Cuban and Nicaraguan CIA-ers, is undoubtedly very adept at delivering the U.S.'s messages to the region's opposition forces in the manner to which they are accustomed. But Stone has several accomplices, although they don't necessarily advertise their affiliation openly. Indeed, they are much more effective that way.

Contadora

Take the Contadora Group, for example. Although these are well-known and long-standing U.S. dependencies, they have carefully cultivated a facade of "independence" when it comes to Central America — and the U.S. has been most

eager to maintain that facade. Each time Reagan offers praise for the Group's efforts, there is just enough difference between his words and those of the Group — and the U.S. press never fails to point out the difference — so as to keep the Contadora Group in the desired position of "mediator." For example, Reagan recently told a group of reporters that the U.S.-run Organization of American States might be a better arbiter of the Central American conflict than the Contadora Group, a statement which was immediately pointed to in the press as "proof" of the vast differences between the administration and the Group. However, when the current chairman of the OAS was asked about the matter, he stated that any member country would have the right to raise this question before the organization, but that it was his understanding that the U.S. had not done so because they were relying on the Contadora Group to come up with a plan. And what about the newest U.S. military maneuvers, weren't all the Contadora ministers oh-so-upset over them? In response to some noise to that effect by Congressmen who are mightily afraid that the maneuvers won't work, and who are perpetually urging the administration to "work with our allies in the region" (that is, the Contadora Group), a State Department official named Otto Reich let some of the real deal out. He said that in planning the "military component" of U.S. actions, "there have been international consultations, especially with the countries of the Contadora Group...."

The Contadora Group was originally formed at the beginning of this year when the foreign ministers of the four countries met at Contadora Island, Panama. Initially, the Group focused largely on the question of negotiations in El Salvador. But over the past couple of months, the Contadora Group has focused almost exclusively on Nicaragua and its relations with other Central American countries, especially Honduras (where the U.S.-led *Contras* are based). Undoubtedly it is the purest of coincidences that this change occurred about the same time as the U.S., facing a notable lack of success in its efforts to force the breakup of the historic compromise alliance of pro-Soviet, pro-Western, and more nationalist class forces that lead the FDR and its military wing known as the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), shifted its focus to one of applying extreme pressure on Nicaragua as the key to forcing a Soviet setback throughout the

region. And while they continue to publicly cluck over the U.S. military escalations, the effect of those cluckings is actually to *intensify* the pressure on Nicaragua. When a recent meeting of the Central American foreign ministers, led by the Contadora Group, resulted in the expected stalemate between Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador on one side, and Nicaragua on the other, the Contadora ministers worried aloud about "time running out" on their efforts. "The speed of the action of the armed forces and the military is faster than the one we are using," said Panama's foreign minister at a press conference, while the Colombian foreign minister chimed in with, "we wish it could be faster, but we have to rely on the will of the countries themselves." In other words, that "holdout" had better change its "will" — soon — or it will be too late.

Undoubtedly, the Contadora Group will maintain such "independence" as long as it can. And this is not only for diplomatic efforts. There has been talk in various U.S. (and pro-U.S.) circles about the possibility of an international "peace-keeping force" — à la Beruit — for Central America, especially for use on the Nicaragua-Honduras border or in El Salvador — two places where pro-U.S. forces are not faring too well but the U.S., fearing a quagmire situation when U.S. forces may be required elsewhere, doesn't want to send its own troops into combat at present. Recently, the minister of defense of Venezuela said that his army would be willing to participate in such a force if the Contadora Group recommended it. Indeed, a fine example of the "interplay" of military and diplomatic moves that Shultz talked about might be the transformation of the Contadora Group from a diplomatic to a military post for the U.S. in the region.

West Europeans

Somewhat less active in Central America but just as deadly are the West European imperialists, especially those affiliated with the Second (Socialist) International. Just a short time ago, a number of these U.S. allies, especially France, were actively recruiting potential compradors from among those opposed to the U.S. in the region (including trying to win them away from the Soviets), but the U.S.'s forceful declaration that Central America is its own private property has had the effect of dampening their enthusiasm somewhat. According to the

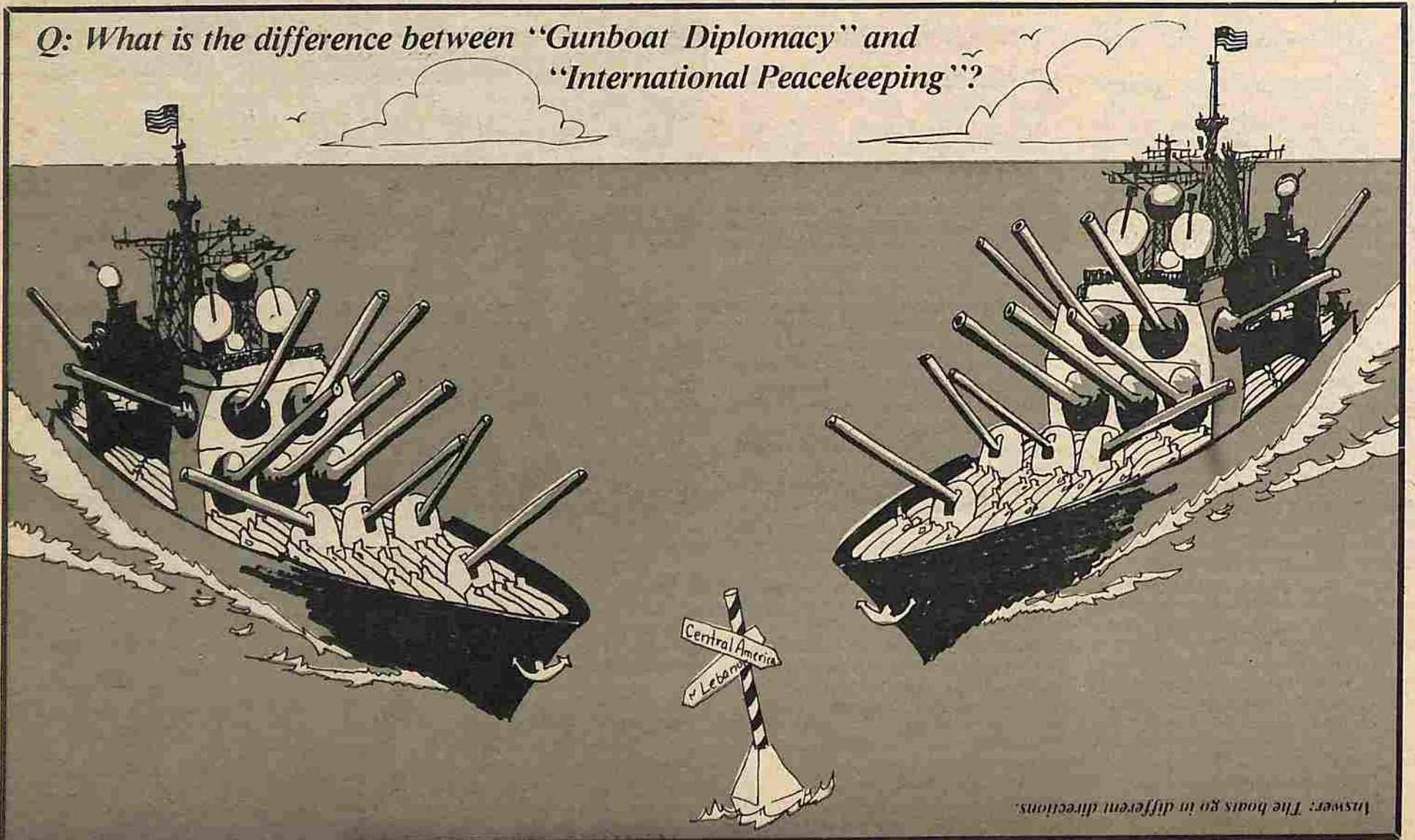
New York Times, some of the West Europeans oppose the U.S.'s newest military aggression in the region, because they are afraid that it will greatly intensify anti-U.S. sentiment in Europe and thereby boost the already significant opposition to the deployment of U.S. nukes there. There is undoubtedly some truth in this, but the way these "socialists" demonstrate their "opposition" to the U.S. bludgeon is telling indeed. As the flotillas took up their positions off Nicaragua's coast, France announced that it would not renew any arms shipments to Nicaragua; this was said to be in accord with the policy of the Contadora Group. Meanwhile, it was reported in Europe that the Socialist International had given Nicaragua an "ultimatum" to lighten up on regional pro-Western bourgeois forces of all stripes or lose the SI's support. This was soon denied by Willy Brandt of the West German Social Democratic Party, who said that it was merely a "request" and that it didn't come from the SI, but from himself, Filipe Gonzalez of Spain, Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela and Daniel Oduber of Costa Rica — thereby making it clear that the most influential forces in European and Latin American Social Democracy were involved. The "request" specifically calls for elections involving a "great variety of political parties" to take place in Nicaragua in 1984 — one of the demands that the U.S. has been pushing because it sees this as an opportunity for destabilization on a grander scale. In other words, the West Europeans are "opposing" U.S. military moves in Central America by pressuring the Sandinistas (and by extension other opposition forces in the region) to cave in to the U.S. — and thereby make further U.S. escalations unnecessary...for the moment.

Soviet Union/Cuba and Their Revisionist Followers

While the U.S. bloc's diplomatic henchmen have been carrying out this part of the U.S.'s "two track" policy, the Reagan administration has proclaimed that, in Secretary of State Shultz's words, "it is showing results." The "proof" of this statement is offered in the recent conciliatory-sounding statements and offers of negotiations from Cuba and Nicaragua, with a key aspect being additional pressure from both governments on the FDR/FMLN. Both Cuba and Nicaragua have offered to negotiate the

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Q: What is the difference between "Gunboat Diplomacy" and "International Peacekeeping"?



State Retreats in Yellow Ribbon Case

On August 2nd, the Oregon Supreme Court released the unanimous decision overturning the felony arson conviction against Nancy Whitley, member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). These charges stem from the powerful internationalist statement made by she and John Kaiser (JK) as they burned a yellow ribbon during the midst of returned spy-hostage Victor Tomseth's speech at the University of Oregon, February 9, 1981. The Supreme Court, overturning two lower court rulings, found the yellow ribbon did not constitute "property," a key component of the arson statute.

This decision does represent an important retreat in this two-and-a-half-year-long case. It is in part due to the broad opinion, throughout especially the Eugene area, that this case has been nothing but a blatant, politically motivated railroad. Professors, religious and prison activists, forces in the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), etc., have lent important and ongoing support. Eugene itself has changed significantly in the last two-and-a-half years, developing a punk and anti-nuke scene including especially many more radical elements who had taken up and promoted this case also. This railroad — and all the extra-legal attacks accompanying it — have had the effect of highlighting the RCYB and its proletarian internationalist line and the Brigade and its influence has grown considerably, certainly not the intention of the state in pursuing this case.

In addition, other factors have made it increasingly difficult, and perhaps in some ways disadvantageous, to continue with prosecution. For example, the U.S. is certainly dealing with different conditions regarding Iran now, compared to the situation swirling around the "hostage crisis" at the time of the ribbon-burning.

But also of interest is what the Supreme Court *upholds* in the prosecution's case. The high court states in its 6-page brief on this acquittal, "The sole issue before this court is whether there is any evidence that a piece of rag constitutes 'property' under the arson statutory scheme..." It was on this issue only that the court ruled against the lower court's decision resulting in Nancy's acquittal. What is left solidly intact is the second component of arson, "endangering." On page 2 of the brief, and under the section entitled "FACTS" is written: "This conduct, i.e., burning the ribbon recklessly placed approximately 1,000 people in danger of physical injury from a possible spreading fire or of crowd panic that might have ensued." In fact in its acquittal brief the court goes on to argue, the charge of "reckless endangering might well have been proved and a conviction maintained had the state originally charged her with it." (This is a Class A misdemeanor, carrying one year in jail and a fine.)

Never mind the prosecution had brought forward only two witnesses (out of a thousand people on hand at the incident) to testify to "panic," one of which testified he saw people leave, not due to panic but to watch the fight outside started mainly by the undercover police against John. Never mind that Brian Lewis, the guy who threw his coat on the burning ribbon and was a key element to the prosecution's "endangerment," wrote a letter recently to the press and the Supreme Court calling for the conviction to be overturned and stating that he put

out the ribbon as his own political act, not out of fear. It is possible that in calling the questions of "property" the "sole issue," the state is keeping open some options for future use.

For the present, the press has taken up the signal written into the Court decision like a chorus taking the lead of the conductor. Lane County D.A. Pat Horton was featured on the news for two days wailing about the outrage that two people can burn a gasoline soaked cloth, endanger 1,000 people and be let off "scot free." Even the "upholders of the acquittal" — like the editorial board of the University of Oregon student newspaper — state, "While we don't condone the RCYB's reckless endangering of lives during Tomseth's speech, we understand they intended (sic) the act as a symbol of protest." Nancy's response to all this: "I'm glad I did it. I'm proud to have stood with the people of the world and the Iranians. Not only was it right (the ribbon burning), I think it was necessary to make a political statement, particularly at the time when the Iranian people were under attack from the press and the U.S. government. This case has been training on the possibilities for standing with people all over the world."

As has been stated since the beginning of this case, the state's purpose has in part been to secure an arson conviction, associated with terrorism, as a legal and political precedent against the RCP. While retreating legally, the court has clearly signalled a continued political attack along these lines. But even in the legal arena, various possibilities exist for the bourgeoisie. Although by standard law, to now charge Nancy with reckless endangerment would constitute double jeopardy, and therefore would be illegal, such technicalities don't always prove to be too monumental. The state also has a right to appeal this decision.

And in another important respect, this case is not over. The conviction on John Kaiser still stands. Due to the fact that John died unexpectedly six days after the Court of Appeals rejected both John and Nancy's appeals last December, it is not at all automatic that John's conviction will be overturned. The issue before the Supreme Court at present is whether John's conviction will stand since he is dead or whether he even has any further rights to have his conviction appealed as did Nancy. This option most certainly is not being weighed simply on its legal merits. One aspect of the maneuvering can be seen in the way the press erased John's case in its coverage of Nancy's acquittal. In all the articles written in the press only one, the University of Oregon's *Emerald*, even mentions John's case as still pending. Headlines read: "Court Reverses Arson Verdict," or "Verdict Apt In RCYB Case," strongly implying the whole case has ended. And the texts of the articles mention only that John was involved and that he died last January, and this despite Nancy's stating strongly to the press the facts on John's continuing case.

Especially in light of the overall attacks presently in gear against the RCP, a vigilant eye should be cast on these various aspects of the case both for the present and the future. □

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The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Dear Sir

I am confined here in this correctional facility, where I have been for 13 years. I am in maximum security and without a job assignment to earn a meager wage. Consequently I cannot afford to purchase books for my education and enlightenment. I would appreciate it if you could send me some books, free of charge. Damaged books would be fine.

Peacefully,

RCP

I have just read one of your editions of *Revolutionary Worker* and found it to be most enjoyable.

Your articles cover political coverage, industrial and economic situations, most of all it speaks out about the problems of the people.

Would you please put me on your list to receive English editions of *R.W.*

Peace
Dannemora

3 August 1983

Dear Gentlepeople,

After reading an issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*, I must admit that it is a very informative newspaper, especially for those who are seeking a different perspective on today's events. I am writing you this letter in hope of obtaining a subscription.

I'm presently incarcerated here at the California Men's Colony and over the past two years I've become totally disillusioned with the criminal justice system and the outrageous reactionary forces operating in this state. There was once a time when I suffered from what is commonly called blind obedience, but no more, I've learned my lesson; I've been exposed to the fascist mind, and I don't like it.

I have a couple of years remaining until my release date and I plan to continue to grow in progressive thought. Perhaps the one and only benefit of prison is the opportunity for the individual to come into contact with his true political feelings.

As with others in my predicament, I am very low on funds. If it is possible for me to obtain a free subscription I would be very grateful, but if not, that's O.K. too, for I would certainly understand.

Sincerely,
San Luis Obispo

Comrades and Friends,

I'm presently in the process of embarking upon a study course to enhance my understanding in the field of Marxism and Leninism. For the type of research to accomplish this aim, I have selected several books — which I'm not even sure if you have in publication. However, if you do happen to have damaged ones that you aren't able to sell, then I would highly appreciate it if you and or members of your immediate staff would contribute unto me free of charge.

At present, I'm being held captive in the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola. I have been held in a punitive cell for the last eleven and a half years in light of my political enthusiasm. I don't mind that foremostly because it keeps me aware of my present situation. But because I'm stored away, don't necessarily mean that I must allow my mind to be stored at the same time. I have no funds to purchase the below listed material. Therefore, I'm sure you can appreciate my reasons for such extensive explanation to acquire what is needed for my research.

Thanking you in advance,

INFANT MORTALITY— A SYSTEMIC DISEASE

Several months ago, the *Wall Street Journal* ran an article praising the efforts of Sri Lanka in reducing its infant death rate, and holding it up as a model for the third world in that respect. With imperialist condescension the article stated that a country's infant mortality rate is a measure of its all-around development — its "food and water supplies, political upheaval, and quality of housing, schools and health care," as well as a measure of the "attitude of the government." Today, the article must stand as a kind of double embarrassment to the U.S. Sri Lanka has been torn by exploding political contradictions, no longer the model colony... and recently there are the grotesque statistics in a private study showing a new rise in infant mortality among Black babies in the U.S., statistics that have been compared to those among the oppressed of underdeveloped countries.

Infant mortality rates (IMR) among Black people in the U.S. have both risen absolutely in recent years, and the gap between white IMR and Black IMR is also widening. 80% of these deaths stem from low infant birth weight — babies born very small are more likely to die early, and if they live, are more likely to suffer "increased occurrence of mental retardation, learning disabilities, birth defects, blindness, autism, cerebral palsy, epilepsy, growth problems, visual and hearing defects, delayed speech and chronic lung problems," according to one report.

The medical causes, and the cure, of low birth-weight babies, have long been known for most cases. The main causes are simply poor nutrition and lack of medical care through the different stages of pregnancy. The low birth-weight babies represent the edge of starvation, and near total absence of prenatal medical care. These basic factors are intensified in the case of teenage mothers, who give birth to a high incidence of low birth-weight babies. In physically mature women, the mother's body automatically will sacrifice its own nutrition to insure that the growing fetus gets what it needs; in women whose own bodies are still growing and developing, needing extra nutrients, the mother's body "competes" with the growing baby. So there is a need for extra careful attention to the mother's diet, and for more thorough medical care

— precisely what is not available to the Black masses. Even a State of California report concluded that it is the "social rather than the biological side of health care that places the pregnant teenager at risk."

Some recent federal budget cuts have greatly intensified all of this, especially for the teenage mothers. In 1981, Aid For Dependent Children was cut \$1 billion and new rules were formed for medical aid to poor mothers. One new rule makes first-time mothers eligible for AFDC benefits only after their sixth month — before the cuts, medical aid had started with the pregnancy. Medical care in the early months of pregnancy is one important factor in reducing the risk of a low birth-weight baby — and these rules make such care impossible for many young women. (In a further murderous twist, the same package of cutbacks includes cuts in federal and state funds for abortion. The cynical excuse for this is supposedly to "protect the sacred right of the fetus"; but together with the cuts in medical care for pregnant women, a process has been created where many babies will be brought to full term, only to die shortly after birth.)

Official U.S. government statistics offer a glimpse of the extent of the infant deaths. In 1950 the Black infant death rate was 43.9 deaths per 1,000 births. This was 61% higher than the white rate (26.8). By 1979 the Black rate (though down in absolute terms (21.8 deaths per 1,000 births), was now 91% higher than the white rate (11.4). The overall infant mortality rate for the U.S. ranked 18th out of 25 developed nations. A recent survey of 45 U.S. cities by a San Francisco group called Public Advocates, Inc., based mainly on 1980 local public health statistics, reveals both a rise in some cities of Black and white infant mortality and a widening gap between Black and white rates, even since 1979. In Jackson, Mississippi, the gap is now 240%; in Memphis 186%; in Washington, D.C. 166%; in Detroit, 118%. The study also points to the obvious link between the rise in the IMR and the overall economic crisis — for example, the IMR in Detroit shot up dramatically in the wake of the massive layoffs in the auto industry.

The Public Advocates have petitioned

the government, pointing to the lunacy of a system which invests millions in high-technology incubation techniques to attempt to save low birth-weight babies, while ignoring the measures which would confront the problem directly. The petition cites programs which have succeeded in reducing infant deaths.

As a matter of fact, some such programs were launched in the mid-seventies with positive results. Oakland, California, for example, had one of the highest infant mortality rates in the U.S., until it received funds for a widespread series of steps, including a midwife program at the county hospital that serves Oakland, Highland Hospital.

But in reality, even in the '70s when U.S. imperialism had a greater capacity for undertakings such as these, the effort was mainly limited to some showcase cities like Oakland, something which was in turn connected to the building up of a privileged section of Black people. These programs were token and very partial.

Moreover, the entire system of American medicine stands as a barrier to the kinds of changes desired by Public Advocates. For one thing, the measures needed to counter infant mortality are in the main preventative, and as such of low profitability. There are also deepgoing problems typified by the use, or rather non-use, of midwives. The use of midwives (paraprofessionals for prenatal care) has been widely advocated to make available obstetric and gynecological services, mainly because the majority of obstetricians in the U.S. will not accept public funding as payment, and because county hospitals providing free obstetric care have been closing down at a rapid rate — 30 in California alone since 1966. The U.S. Congress has even passed some desultory legislation setting up midwife training programs. But the number trained in these programs is pitifully small (in California, 25 midwives were trained last year) and even more damning, midwives who are trained find it difficult to find work. Insurance companies will not pay them, many doctors refuse to cooperate, hospitals won't give them staff privileges. Widespread use of midwives in delivering babies, regardless of the lives it might save, is incompatible with the deeply entrenched hierarchical relations and professionalism and overall structure of

American medicine today. And midwife programs are only one small part of what is needed. While some among the middle classes may be able to buy their way around these practices, a sweeping change in the medical system especially for the masses of Black people, is not in the plans of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Medically, these are not mysterious — they generally do give mothers information on nutrition, and insure that they can get food; include regular medical examinations of the pregnant women; have health workers who can talk to the mothers in their own language; provide comfortable situations for giving birth, often including midwives.

Today, the situation has taken another vicious turn. In Oakland, even at their best, these programs did not eliminate the gap between white and Black infant mortality. And today, in certain areas which are largely Black and where the lowest strata of Black people is concentrated, the infant mortality rate has risen sharply. In large sections of East Oakland, the largest such area, the rate went down in the middle '70s, then started to rise again in the '80s. In an area just across the border from East Oakland, the rate in 1980 approached what it was in 1974. The situation in Oakland reveals the class relations that are generally hidden in the statistics on infant mortality — especially the intensifying class polarization of the Black masses, and the sharp rise in what amounts to starvation of the unborn in a particular section of the Black population.

Following the '60s, this continuing criminal process had greatly worried the bourgeoisie, as a source of tremendous outrage in the ghettos where it occurred and generally in society. Since the beginning of cutbacks in medical aid to the poor and the new rise in infant deaths, however, the subject drifted out of sight — no federal statistics have been released since 1979, for example — the Public Advocates' study has not been the rule. It does seem to be true, as the *Wall Street Journal* informs us, that infant mortality can gauge the "attitude of government," and the attitude and values of the U.S. government regarding the Black masses are here disgustingly evident. □

Plowshares "Back At Work" At The Missile Factory

Members of the Atlantic Life Community "struck again" last month taking their banners and hammers and blood into AVCO Systems Division plant in Wilmington, Massachusetts, a plant in the greater Boston area that is putting together the MX missile warheads. Seven protestors went in with the morning shift on July 14th and "went to work" in various sections of the plant's security areas. Two of them located several MX warhead "bus rings" that carry the ten warheads, the decoys and the electronic guidance equipment. They proceeded to hammer on and pour blood on these "buses" and hung their banner reading "NOT IN OUR NAME." Others went after control dials on what appeared to be the heat testing device for the Pershing II missile. Yet another walked into the main engineer's drafting room and while about 30 of these nuclear war draftsmen stood by in shock, he poured blood on a half dozen drafting tables and various blueprints and plans. Finally one of the engineers blurted out, "Oh, there's a peacenik here, what do we do?"

In fact AVCO, the local authorities and the State overall is having some difficulty figuring out "What do we do" — how to contain exposure of what goes on at AVCO and the publicity about this latest Plowshares action, while at the

same time prosecuting the offenders and intimidating others? When the Wilmington police arrived on the scene they told the "peaceniks" that they would be arrested if they didn't leave! When the 7 refused to do so and instead presented a written point by point indictment of AVCO for war crimes, they were arrested and charged with felonious malicious damage and trespass and held on \$10,000 bond. Initial news stories reported that up to \$60,000 damage had been done in security areas of the plant. Eight days later the last of the defendants were released on personal recognizance and AVCO reported that minimal damage was done with no breach of any security areas! Furthermore the legal case was assigned to a Lowell, Massachusetts court that normally only hears trespass cases even though this case involved two felony charges.

By the time the court hearing took place on Monday, August 8, the charges had been reduced to misdemeanors, which in Massachusetts means that, at this point, the seven defendants are officially accused of doing no more than \$100 damage! The judge also heard testimony from two expert defense witnesses on motions to dismiss on the basis of international law and he delayed ruling on the motions until September 27.

The next day, August 9, the anniversary of the U.S. nuclear bombing of Nagasaki, a group of people returned to the AVCO plant to hold a protest ceremony. Several times they moved onto AVCO property but each time were carried back by AVCO security guards and no arrests were made.

AVCO and the rest of the bourgeoisie have good reasons to try to minimize that publicity in this intense, high technology area that rings greater Boston. Much more is researched and developed in this cradle of U.S. freedom and democracy than intellectual guided missiles such as Dr. Kissinger, though that is also a high priority product. As one of the 7 described to the *RW*, AVCO is a particularly appropriate target: "They (AVCO) took the Mark 12 re-entry vehicle contract from GE, the nose cones that the first Plowshares 8 action got in the King of Prussia three years ago. AVCO has made re-entry vehicles for generations of missiles... it makes the wings for the B-1 bomber, the C145, the C5 Galaxy Star as well as the jet engines. It also conducts high-energy laser and directed energy research for the Department of Defense at its Everett Lab next to Wilmington... They built a 200,000 square foot addition to the Wilmington plant where these new MX warheads can be manufactured in an

assembly line process.... So this seems like a good action, to go into the plant, hammer on the equipment and pour blood on it and bring out to the workers, and people in the area and in the peace movement what is going on there, to name it...."

AVCO's public relations booklet describes their profitable imperialist war preparations with a certain flourish: "For the Army's Pershing II, AVCO has been involved in the development of the totally new state-of-the-art Safing, Arming and Fuzing (SAF) System. This effort has been based on AVCO's extensive development and production experience in SAF systems for the Polaris, Atlas, Titan, and Minuteman Missiles. The Pershing II SAF System will provide the U.S. with a highly capable weapons system that is safe, reliable, and cost effective."

AVCO is truly a typical corporation success story in the heartland of liberal, prestigious Americana — Harvard, Radcliffe, MIT, Kennedyland. The ruling class certainly wants to step carefully here: the spectre of the anti-Vietnam war protests that shook this area in the '60s no doubt haunts their fitful sleep these days. □



Why The Social-Imperialists Love The

How are workers to be paid under socialism? That is, how is the material wealth of a socialist society to be distributed, and what does this have to do with the overall tasks of socialism as a period of transition from capitalism to a classless, communist society? This question has frequently found its sharpest expression in the debate over piece wages and material incentive, and in the practical experience of the social-imperialist Soviet Union compared with that of China during the Cultural Revolution.

Today, the payment of wages according to the system of piece rates is more or less standard in the Soviet Union and the other social-imperialist states of Eastern Europe. This is not only an accepted practice, but is enshrined as a virtue in revisionist economic theory. According to *Political Economy: Socialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), "Operation of the law of distribution according to work ensures *personal material interest in work* and on that basis the involvement of all able-bodied persons. . . . the state employs the *wage form of distribution according to work as the main instrument for organizing social labor and increasing its productivity*, as an economic lever for ensuring planned development of socialist production." And among the various forms of wages, piece wages are preeminent:

"In socialist industry, a whole series of piece-rate systems is used: *direct piece rates*, with all products turned out paid for at the same rate; *progressive piece rates*, with a higher rate for each article produced over and above the established norm and with progressively rising job prices. . . ; *piece rates plus bonus*, with all articles turned out paid for at the ordinary piece rate and bonuses paid for improvement of qualitative indicators. . . . At present the piece rates plus bonus system is the most widespread" (all emphases in original).

But why piece rates? Why not some other form of wages for income for Soviet workers? Some light is shed on this question by Marx's analysis of wage

measuring the working-time the laborer has expended, by the number of pieces he has produced." Thus piece-wages doubly obscure the reality of the economic relation in which the worker is enmeshed.

Marx further goes on to observe: "Since the quality and intensity of the

work are here controlled by the form of wage itself, superintendence of labor becomes in great part superfluous. . . . Given piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the laborer to strain his labor power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labor. . . . From what has been shown so far, it follows that piece-wage is the form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production." (*Capital*, Vol. I.)

The living reality of Marx's analysis is powerfully borne out by the situation of piece-wage workers in the state capitalist regimes of the Soviet bloc. A classic description is contained in *A Worker in a Worker's State* by Miklos Haraszti (New York: Universe Books, 1977). Haraszti describes his introduction to the piece rate system as a machinist in a Hungarian factory:

"'Work-sheet' — that's what is printed on the form which comes with each batch. There is one sheet for each run. Once the inspector has checked them off, I get the carbon copies. The workers simply call the sheets 'money.' My instructor explains it to me immediately: 'The first thing to do when you get a job is to check the "money," and, if the people from the front office haven't sent one down, you demand it straightaway.' Then, brushing aside the jungle of mysterious letters and figures with a sweep of his hand, he says, 'None of that need bother you. Here, these are your holy words.' And, with that, he taps a box at the corner of the sheet. 'That's the piece rate. That's the only thing we look at.'"

After a few days on the job, Haraszti begins to experiment a little. First he performs the job exactly as the regulations require. He finds that it's impossible to complete it in the time specified by the norm. Then he calculates how much money he would make if he spent every second of the day performing work at the rate specified by the norm, and finds he

would still earn less than the prescribed minimum wage! Then Haraszti gets to the heart of the issue: "From all this it turns out that the piece-rate is an hourly rate in disguise. . . . None of the workers I spoke with realized that they were working for a dolled-up time rate; the deception is shrewdly masked behind the piece-rate system." Haraszti discovered that each job was assigned a "work category." Each work category had a money-per-minute rate assigned to it, which was multiplied by the time norm to establish the "piece rate." In the end, Haraszti was forced to do what every other worker in the plant did, ignore the safety and quality norms in order to beat the rate and barely make a living wage. "They are insatiable. They fix a norm, but take good care that I am forced to surpass it by making sure that even one hundred percent performance is not enough to live on."

Revisionist "theory," of course, has a defense for all this. First, according to the revisionists, "distribution according to work is an economic law of socialism." And what more accurate, scientific way of assuring "each according to his work" than piece rates?

Second, according to revisionist logic, the "good, socialist piece rates" in the Soviet Union differ from the "bad, capitalist piece rates" in that they are often calculated on a group basis. A

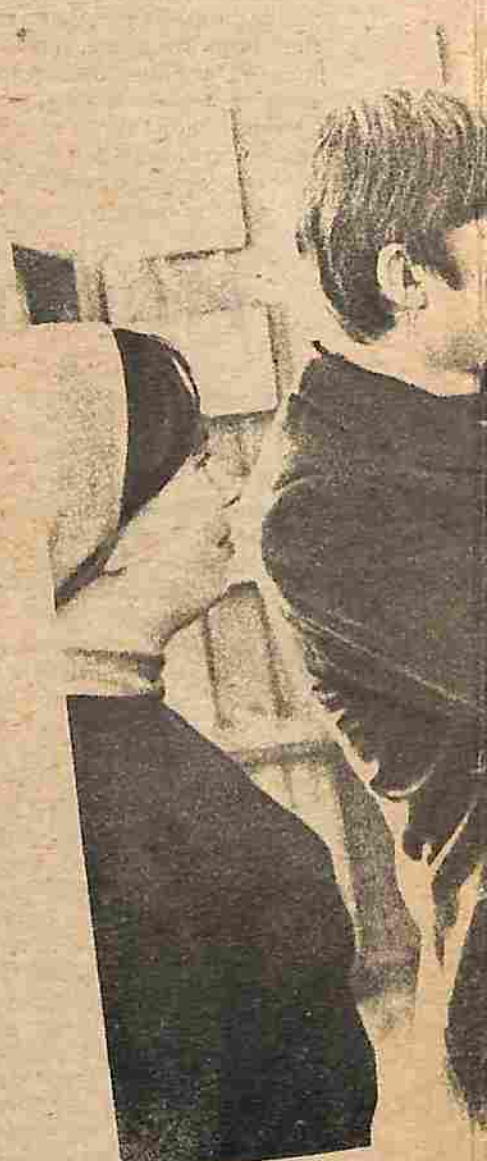
applied in the Soviet Union. Under the Shchekino plan, plants are assigned a total output quota and a total wage fund, and it's left up to the plant management how to spend the money to get the results. The Shchekino Chemical Plant (after which the method is named) decided to "reduce the number of jobs, without making anyone redundant — simply by not engaging any new workers in place of those who quit at their own discretion — and offering these jobs to those staying on, for extra pay, of course." Now if this sounds like the familiar capitalist "job combination and speed-up," you're right. "Training courses had to be organized to help the personnel master associated skills and improvements had to be made in organizing production and a job so that there was not merely (sic!) a mechanical increase in the amount of work done by each worker. This meant



systems in the first volume of *Capital*. Marx points out that under capitalism wages themselves are a delusion. They create the appearance that it is the worker's labor that is being paid for, when in reality the capitalist is purchasing the worker's labor power — his ability to perform work — which then may be utilized or exploited to the degree possible. Normally the capitalist purchases labor power by units of time, but sometimes the form of the compensation is according to the product output (piece rate). Marx is quick to point out that the piece rate is not "a question of measuring the value of the piece by the working-time incorporated in it, but on the contrary of

Soviet pamphlet *What Exactly Is the Soviet Way of Life?* (Moscow: Novosti, 1980) explains it this way: "From the point of the view of progress in the socialist way of life, the current process of promoting collective forms of pay on the basis of the end result and, above all, collective piece rates, is extremely important. This is a system where each worker's earnings directly depend on the whole team's output; whether a collective piece rate or an individual piece rate is applied does not matter. What matters is that one is paid for the end result. . . ." And, of course, if one of the team members isn't busting his ass to beat the rate, then it's his workmates, whose wages are directly affected, who come down on him. All very convenient for management, and so very socialist and collective.

Of course, certain deviations from the iron principle of "each according to his work" are permitted by the social-imperialists. *What Exactly Is the Soviet Way of Life?* goes on to explain the "Shchekino Method," now increasingly





their Piece-Rates

that the worker doing the second job got not the full pay of the person leaving, but only a part of it, with the remainder accumulating in a general factory



fund... By 1979, over 10,000 enterprises were operating on the Shchekino plan, reporting that "labor productivity at a number of enterprises is 15-20%

more than the average while pay is 10-12% more." Hey, fella, what happened to "each according to his work"?!

Why Go Back Again?

Since the state capitalists of the Soviet Union traffic so heavily on the "socialist principle" of "each according to his work," it's helpful to refer back to where Marx first discusses the issue in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. Here Marx points out that socialism differs fundamentally from capitalism in that workers can now get back from society in proportion to what they contribute to it ("each according to his work"). But then he warns that the socialist period of transition is still "tainted economically, morally and intellectually with the

hereditary diseases of the old society from whose womb it is emerging."

With regard to "each according to his work," Marx notes: "Here obviously the same principle prevails as that which regulates the exchange of commodities so far as this exchange is of equal values. Content and form are changed because under the changed conditions no one can contribute anything except his labor and, on the other hand, nothing can pass into the possession of individuals except in individual objects of consumption. But, so far as the distribution of the latter among individual producers is concerned, the same principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents, i.e., equal quantities of labor in one form are exchanged for equal quantities of labor in another form."

"The equal right is here still based on the same principle as bourgeois right...."

Marx goes on to explain that because different people will always be unequal in what they are able to produce, this "equal right" will always produce unequal social results. "To avoid these inconveniences, right must be unequal instead of being equal." Thus the goal of the socialist period of transition must be to transcend attachment to the bourgeois right of "equal pay for equal work." "... Then and then only can the narrow bourgeois horizon of rights be left behind and society will inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs.'"

Finally, Marx makes a pointed comment on the reformists and sham socialists of his day: "The distribution of the means of consumption at any period is merely the consequence of the distribution of the conditions of production themselves [the relations of production — RW]. . . . Vulgar Socialism (and with it a section of the Democrats) has taken over from bourgeois economics the method of treating and considering distribution as independent of the method of production and thereby representing Socialism as turning principally on distribution. After, at long last, the real position has been made clear, why go back again?"

Why, indeed?! Why make a cardinal principle out of "each according to his work" unless one has a vested interest in *preserving* bourgeois relations, encased within a shell of formal state ownership? Making a shiboloth out of distribution according to work only serves to obscure the cardinal issues of which class actually holds power, whether the operation of the law of value is being continually restricted, and in what direction are social relations actually developing? Socialism is inherently contradictory, its intense class struggle continuously generating *two* opposing roads of development. Commodity production, wage relations, and the traditional division of labor persist for an extended period. And because no structural form of socialism is inherently impervious to bourgeois relations, newly generated bourgeois elements, especially upon seizing state power, can turn socialist institutions into their opposite. Payment for labor, to each according to his work, and he who does not work neither shall he eat, quite easily become the credo of a new capitalist class in its relations with wage labor.



Faced with this critique, the revisionists have one last position to fall back to: We are not so crass as to rely solely on material incentive in building socialism, they croon. After all, we are also building the new socialist man; we also seek to imbue the worker with *moral incentive*. At last!, a wishful-thinker sighs, they are finally going to talk about transforming all society, educating the masses in the science of Marxism-Leninism, fighting self-interest, and working for the goal of classless society on a world scale.

The pamphlet *What Exactly Is the Soviet Way of Life?* explains exactly what moral incentives are in the Soviet Union: "Moral encouragement means singling a person out, giving him special tokens of acknowledgement, enhancing his reputation. The wide range of such incentives include honorable mention in an order issued by the factory management, an honorary diploma awarded by the people and the leaders in a workshop, factory, district, region or republic, a portrait posted on the Board of Honor of the team, shop, factory, district, city, region or republic, the award of a challenge pennant or banner to an individual or an entire work team or, lastly, a government distinction such as a medal, order, or the most coveted title of Hero of Socialist Labor, which carries with it the award of the Order of Lenin and the Gold 'Hammer and Sickle' Medal."

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

This whole reactionary package of
Continued on page 8



Piece-Rates

Continued from page 7

Soviet-style material incentives, piece rates, bonuses, and "moral incentives," which were part and parcel of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, came under blistering attack in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, and not surprisingly the same raunchy package was espoused by China's capitalist-roaders.

In the 1950s, China adopted wholesale many of the economic forms of the Soviet model, including piece wages in state-owned industries. Before 1958 the piece-rate wage system was dominant in jobs that were done by hand. During the Great Leap Forward, however, piece rates came under strong attack. According to *Fundamentals of Political Economy* (The "Shanghai Textbook"), the defects and negative aspects of the piece-wages system were summed up at that time as: "(1) With technical progress, it was increasingly difficult to implement individual piece-rates in many kinds of work. Also piece-rate wages adversely affect technical innovation. (2) The piece-rate system was unfavorable to solidarity among workers. It easily led to contradictions between the time-rate workers and piece-rate workers, between new and old workers, between the upstream and downstream work processes, and between workers of different shifts. (3) The piece-rate system easily nurtured the idea of being primarily concerned with personal income and not with the collective enterprise. It was also unfavorable to elevating political and ideological consciousness. Therefore, at the demand of the broad staff and workers, the piece-rate system was abolished in most enterprises and the time-rate system was adopted."

In 1960, Mao Tsetung was to state even more emphatically: "We must eradicate bourgeois jurisdiction and ideology. For example, contesting for position, contesting for rank, wanting to increase wages, and giving higher wages to the intellectual worker and lower wages to the physical laborer are all remnants of bourgeois ideology. To each according to his work is prescribed by law, and it is also a bourgeois thing."

Through the early '60s the class struggle continued unabated. Liu Shaoqi and his ilk dished up the "70 Articles" for the regulation of industry which called for the resumption of piece wages, while Mao wrote his "Reading Notes on the Soviet Text," a critique of a draft Soviet economics text. In response to the Soviet text's call to put first emphasis on material incentives, Mao rejoined: "This makes it seem as if the masses' creative activity has to be inspired by material interest. At every opportunity the text discusses individual material interest as if it were an attractive means for luring people into pleasant prospects. This is a reflection of the spiritual state of a good number of economic workers and leading personnel and of the failure to emphasize political-ideological work. Under such circumstances there is no alternative to relying on material incentives. 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor.' The first half of the slogan means that the very greatest effort must be expended in production. Why separate the two halves of the slogan and always speak one-sidedly of material incentive? This kind of propaganda for material incentive will make capitalism unbeatable!"

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution unleashed a storm of proletarian consciousness against entrenched bourgeois relations in distribution. Not only had piece rates begun to creep back, but some plants had as many as 170 different pay scales and 8 types of bonuses. Groups of workers in plants began to rebel, calling into question the whole gamut of "capitalist old things" from wage distribution, to one-man management, to hierarchical separation of mental and manual workers.

The capitalist-roaders also began to mobilize their social base, leading to the wave of "economism" in Shanghai in January 1967. The rightists in power began to foment strikes, stop production, and launch calls for across-the-board pay raises. Smug in their self-assurance that

the most the proletariat could aspire to was a fatter paycheck, the rightists tried to divert the growing anger of the workers into economic demands for wages, while they in turn drained the public funds to grant the pay increases as a means of building support for themselves. All of Shanghai was divided as the rightists' "Workers' Red Militia Detachment" assailed the various groups of Red Guards following Mao's line as being "rightists" who opposed the demands of the workers.

What resulted was the famous "January Storm" in which the working class seized power, described here by one of its revolutionary leaders, Chang Chun-chiao: "Because large numbers of the 'Workers' Red Militia Detachment' quit their jobs after drawing their pay, many [revolutionary] workers worked for several days on end without leaving their jobs, instead of working the usual eight hour shift or sixteen hour [double] shift. . . . In the case of the Shanghai Railway Bureau, for instance, the rebels of railway stations with the assistance of thousands of college students manned the ticket booths and entry points to the platforms, or served as locomotive conductors and train attendants. The students of practically all secondary schools in Shanghai were busy on the piers helping to load or unload cargo. . . ." The daily paper *Wenhui Pao* was seized by the rebels and printed an exposure of the rightists' economist wind, an act that was praised at the national level by Mao Tsetung. Caricature posters went up everywhere. One famous one depicted Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping feverishly trying to derail the Revolution Train by blocking the tracks with fat bundles of bank notes. Forces now began to desert the "Workers' Red Militia Detachment," but, as Chang Chun-chiao described: ". . . Once the moment for seizure of power came, some people became obsessed with selfishness and the 'mountain stronghold' mentality. The seizure of power in Shanghai was not just plain sailing. . . ." It was weeks before the 38 rebel organizations could form an alliance, win over workers hoodwinked by the right, and consolidate the "seizure of power from below." Now with the rightists exposed and power in revolutionary hands, mass meetings were called to repudiate the rightist chieftains. A movement was begun among the workers to return the bribe money handed out in wage increases and bonuses during the wave of economism. The guilty leaders were forced to stand with heads bowed as the angry workers showered them with paper money until it piled up to their knees.

Victories such as these were absolutely crucial to the socialist period of transformation. By the early '70s, the value of goods produced in Shanghai was 20 times the value of the wages and social benefits received by the workers of Shanghai. This was so because China's most modern industry was concentrated in Shanghai while workers nationwide received the same pay scale, predicated on a relatively low level of industrial productivity. What then would have been the result of implementing "to each according to his work" in this situation? It would have resulted in a rapid polarization between city and countryside, disrupting the political alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and sending thousands of peasants into shantytowns around the city in hopes of landing one of the few well-paying jobs. This scene, so common in most developing countries, did not happen in China precisely because of the political consciousness of the proletariat and the leadership of the revolutionaries in the party, which included rejection of "to each according to his work" as the *defining principle* of socialism.

Shoots of Communism

Lenin hailed the communist subbotniks as the "young shoots of communism," working voluntarily, without pay not for their "close" kith and kin, but for their "distant" kith and kin, society as a whole. In the Soviet Union today, the memory of the subbotniks is disgustingly perverted (should we have expected better?) into a *one* day a year "Clean up and fix up your neighborhood day." By contrast, in China during the Vietnam War, thousands of Chinese workers volunteered to work two extra hours each day *without pay* to produce



Smash Economism! A poster from the early days of the Cultural Revolution.

material to send to the aid of Vietnam as a part of their internationalist duty. No piece rates. No "each according to his work." Just proletarian class consciousness and a view of world revolution to motivate their actions.

Another illustrative example was seen on a small scale in China's Taching Oilfield. Here, in the barren wasteland of the Manchurian Plain, China brought in her first major oilfield as a project launched by the Great Leap Forward. The first oil was produced in September of 1959 and none too soon as in 1960 the Soviet Union joined the U.S. in placing China under a total oil embargo. The many wives and dependents of oil workers who traveled into the near-Siberian wilderness also took up the challenge and launched a struggle to make Taching self sufficient in food. Over the years, Taching developed into a work collective of 400,000, decentralized into three towns, and 41 "worker-peasant villages," where agricultural workers drawing "work points" from their commune lived next door to oil refinery workers drawing industrial wages. In yet another form of production relations, numbers of dependents of oil workers formed collectively-owned (not state-owned) small industries where workers also drew cash wages. One of the worker-peasant villages visited by a revolutionary from the U.S. in 1975 was engaging in a very advanced experiment in social relations. Some of its production teams had taken remarkable steps in breaking down the distinction between industrial and agricultural workers, and differing pay scales based on different forms of ownership and productivity. After studying the cardinal issues of revolutionary theory raised by the struggles of the Cultural Revolution, the dependents of the oil field workers decided themselves to take up directly the issue of bourgeois right. The village's 8 production teams were all engaged in different kinds of work. Some in agriculture, some in cooperative in-

dustry, and some in operating village services. Yet the dependents of the whole village became a single accounting unit.

What did this mean in practice? Women worked in the field averaging 8 work points a day, with each point being worth about 0.16 yuan (or 1.28 yuan a day). But women who worked in the collectively-owned screw making shop drew cash wages of 1.54 yuan a day because of the higher productivity of the machinery. The pooling of total income and the drawing of equal cash wages meant the conscious rejection of income differentiation by the higher-paid industrial workers. Private plots were also abolished, for as the women said, "A private plot here would be a 'self-dug plot' . . . something dug from socialism." As an even more striking example, one woman who was selected to leave the team and work in the oil ministry in Peking refused to accept wages there and continued to draw work points from her team in Taching, who supported her as a part of the necessary division of labor. For communist women such as these, the old shiboloth of "each according to his work" didn't cut much ice, as their eyes were consciously focused on the future and beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois right.

Not surprisingly, capitalist-roaders like Deng Xiaoping were stung to the quick by these examples of the insidious spread of the shoots of communism. In one of his "Three poisonous weeds," entitled "Some Problems in Accelerating Industrial Development" (September, 1975) Deng dripped his poisonous line: "While restricting bourgeois right, we must be mindful of the material and moral conditions that are presently in existence. We must not negate the principle of distribution according to contribution. We must not deny the necessity of the existence of disparities and pursue egalitarianism. Egalitarianism is not only impossible now, it is also impossible in the future." (Our emphasis — RW) For Deng, Marx with his "to each according to his need" was nothing but a starry-eyed utopian.

Mao responded with: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the 8-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it would be quite easy for them to rig up the

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CORRECTION

In the article "Does Electricity Have No Class Character?" (RW No. 116) the quote from the Soviet book *Political Terms: A Short Guide* at the bottom of column four, page 8, should have begun: "The epochs of human history are differentiated by the instruments of labor with which people are equipped and which they use to create material wealth. . . ."

On July 15th-18th, "notorious" draft resister Ed Hasbrouck, and Liz Davidson, an anti-draft activist, were tried and found not guilty on charges of "assault on a federal officer" and "interfering with the duties of a federal officer," both of which carry a three-year maximum sentence. The trial itself was another in a series of continuing attempts by the government to intimidate those not yet won to the fold of "the few, the proud, and the brave" to sign up. The actions of Hasbrouck, in particular, who has been especially uncompromising in his resistance to this part of the imperialists' war preparations, have been especially targeted by the government and more than a little controversial in the anti-draft movement itself.

Hasbrouck was convicted as a nonregistrant in January 1983. Throughout that trial and sentencing he exposed the attempt to make him an example in order to intimidate the around one million others who haven't registered. Faced with the threat of a jail term, he promised the judge before the sentencing "to continue to aid, abet, and conspire with others not to register" whether in or out of jail. Despite this, the government decided not to jail him at that time, settling instead for a six-month suspended sentence, two years probation and 1000 hours of community service.

Less than two weeks later they struck again at the unrepentant Hasbrouck at the arraignment of Liz Davidson and two others who were facing civil disobedience charges. (The three had chained themselves to the courtroom doors as the guilty verdict was announced during Ed's trial.) Fifteen federal officers entered the courtroom and sealed it off, supposedly to institute a search for anti-draft stickers that had appeared in the courtroom. After a backroom conference between the marshalls and the judge a man in plainclothes announced that no one would be allowed to leave until they were searched. When Ed asked "by whose authority" the man pointed out Ed and

The Persecution Of An Unrepentant Draft Resister

ordered the marshalls to "take him first." He was dragged into the hall, repeatedly shoved and beaten and then arrested for assault. After some time, Liz was also dragged out and arrested.

Immediately the prosecutor called the press and in no time at all the local papers were bragging about how Hasbrouck "the first man in Massachusetts convicted of not registering for the draft was arrested for assaulting a federal officer." Not one of these accounts ever said "allegedly" nor did any of the reporters make any attempt to contact Hasbrouck before writing this.

The trial took 3 days. Jury selection alone took almost a whole day since the defense asked each juror if they would be prejudiced because of their views on the draft. Many dismissed themselves or were dismissed due to this, including at least two who said they opposed the draft. At the end of the first day the prosecution presented its "case." The DA called four federal officers: Smith, Manzelli, Walsh and Polistock, all of whom tried to establish three things. First, that Ed was not singled out from the start and was not the first person taken from the courtroom. Second, that he wouldn't cooperate, was among the last to leave and was responsible for disrupting a legal search for anti-draft stickers. Third, that as soon as he was dragged out he caused a tremendous

disturbance in the hall outside. All four testified that either they were assaulted by him or saw him assaulting another officer. Yet Ed was never charged with assault, only one count of interference while Liz was charged with both assault and interference. Yet at least 75% of their testimony focused on Ed. Furthermore, when Liz took the stand the DA didn't even bother to cross-examine her. This was a quite transparent attempt to make clear their real target and the real "crime" here — not lining up obediently to fight and die for the good ol' USA. When Ed took the stand the defense tried to establish some of his political beliefs for the jury. He stated that his most important learning activity since college had been with the peace and anti-draft movements and that he believes violence is wrong. When his lawyers asked about other instances where Ed had practiced his philosophy of nonviolence the DA objected and the judge sustained — irrelevant! Yet a few minutes later when the DA asked Ed if he'd run up against the marshalls or been removed from a courtroom before, the judge thought this was quite relevant. He then embellished it a bit more by raising a point of law and instructing Ed to answer yes or no — no explanations, please! Ed was also forced to answer whether or not he liked the marshalls and other gems of inquiry so "relevant" to the case. The DA then

began trying to discredit Ed, asking him: "Are you saying all of these officers are lying?" Unfortunately for her it was pretty clear that they were!

At this point the government must have been summing up they were in quite a jam, what with all the conflicting police testimony and the blatant absurdity of assault charges on committed pacifists. So they decided to grab that one last straw (they thought) they had. In a legally improper move, two "surprise" prosecution witnesses were called: Marie T. Buckley, Assistant U.S. Attorney and Bernard Stone, head U.S. Marshall, who had ordered the arrests. Stone stated that he came into the courtroom, saw the stickers, went to confer with the judge, came back out and announced who he was, that he had the authority to conduct a search and asked everyone to leave the courtroom. He said one or two left but others kept questioning his authority and that Hasbrouck in particular raved that Stone was acting like a Gestapo. Plainly, these middle-level bureaucrats were indignant precisely at the thought of authority being questioned — their own as well as the sacred right of the imperialist state to conscript an army.

The jurors, however, were not so taken aback. After debate lasting a day, they reached a verdict of not guilty on all charges.

The verdict, which must have been a surprising setback for the government, was not big news. In contrast to Hasbrouck's earlier trials, and to the raging slander produced as news of the arrests in this case, the press fell almost completely silent on the trial. This in itself is an indication of the political purposes behind the arrests, beatings and trial in the first place — when the case failed to show the unrepentant draft resister properly stomped on, it simply was no longer news.

At the moment, the imperialists appear to be bringing the draft back into the spotlight... but creating public opinion for the draft obviously will not be easy. □

Piggery Revealed at Diablo Canyon

A recent story in the *L.A. Times* (July 31) sheds a little provocative light on some unseemly activities of the state during the major Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant blockade in September 1981. According to the *Times*, the California Justice Department's Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence (BOCCI) was running a paid informant by the name of June Johnson in the L. A. area who spied on at least 14 political groups, focusing her efforts on activity in preparation for the Diablo Canyon blockade.

Among her activities was a blatant attempt to frame up an L.A. man on charges of attempting to dynamite the Diablo Canyon reactor. The man was found not guilty in a trial where it was exposed that Johnson had initiated and conducted the whole "plan" herself with the aid of other undercover cops.

Piece-Rates

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capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works."

Following the counter-revolutionary coup in China it was not surprising to see piece rates restored with a gusto. Already by 1978 we could read in *Peking Review*: "For the purpose of usurping Party and state power, the 'Gang of Four' [read 'Gang of Five' — not to mention Marx] spread for years the lie that 'to each according to his work' was a capitalist principle. They especially attacked material reward, piecework and pecuniary allowances for certain jobs, branding them all as 'putting bonuses in command' and 'using material incentives as a bait?...' Thus correct, accepted social standards were debased and people's minds confused, their enthusiasm for production was dampened and production seriously disrupted. This is why we must thoroughly criticize the 'Gang of Four' for their crime of undermining the implementation of the principle of 'to each according to his work' and rehabilitate the practice of material reward, piecework and monetary allowances for certain jobs."

But this was not the only element of the state's underhanded maneuvering. The *Times* article makes clear, without saying so in so many words, that Johnson spent a good deal of time trying to get information on the Revolutionary Communist Party. When she reported to her superiors that the RCP planned to be involved in the Diablo blockade it apparently sent them into quite a tizzy (of course, this information was readily obtainable for the cost of a subscription to the *RW*).

According to the *Times*, head of the BOCCI, Charles Casey, made the requisite claim that "all we were doing was assessing whether there was going to be criminal activity" and, in the *Times*' words, stated that "concern about possible violence was heightened when it was learned that the Revolutionary Communist Party might become involved. He said the Bureau warned blockade organizers, who subsequently warned the party to stay away."

In the course of investigating this story, the *RW* has also learned that government spokesmen attempted to raise the subject of the RCP to people involved in organizing the recent protests at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, but the Vandenberg protestors would have none of it.

The Diablo blockade was marked not only by determined resistance against the power plant (as evidenced by the 2,000 arrests), but also sharp struggle within the ranks of the protestors over U.S. imperialist war preparations in general and the relation of the blockade struggle to this. In particular there was intense struggle over the raising by some in the blockade encampment of the American flag. The line of the RCP and its proletarian internationalism in particular was very much in the storm center of all this debate, which centered on the image of the Diablo protest — shared by the media and the most influential protest organizers — as respectable, flagwaving, and ultimately loyal to America. The debate involved at one time or another, the banning of *RW* sales — on the grounds that it constituted "written violence" — the banning of red flags — as "visual violence" — numerous attempts by camp monitors to physically eject party supporters from the grounds

as well as numerous efforts by other blockaders to halt this and on the contrary, to draw party supporters into political discussion at the camp. At one point early on, the organizers actually called a public press conference with one major topic being the statement that the RCP would be forbidden from participating in the demonstration.

Although some spokespersons for the organizers of the blockade have claimed that the source of this friction was that party supporters were "not willing to accept the code of nonviolence" adopted by the blockaders, in fact the RCP made it clear that it would abide by the code, even though, of course, disagreeing with the philosophy of non-violence and continuing to struggle over the role and character of the bourgeois state; in any case, as many blockaders came to realize, the tactics of the Diablo blockade were not the subject or point of the party's political work at the action.

All this obviously shows some very deepgoing political disagreements within the ranks of Diablo blockaders. But the charges made in the *L.A. Times* piece are another kind of animal altogether. The charge of collusion between political police and people in the anti-nuke movement itself is plainly very serious; at the least, the activities of the BOCCI confirm the continuing COINTELPRO-type activities targeting the RCP and other political groups. Further, the *L.A. Times* piece itself smacks of the COINTELPRO tactics of stirring antagonisms and attempting to isolate target groups.

When the *RW* phoned the office of the Abalone Alliance/Diablo Project in San Luis Obispo and called attention to the *Times* story, a spokesperson there said that it was "not true" that as a result of police "suggestion" the party was contacted prior to the action and asked not to attend. It was at this point that the spokesperson said that when the RCP supporters were asked to leave by camp "facilitators," it was because the non-violence code had supposedly been violated.

The spokesperson also said that no one could remember any relations with the BOCCI in particular, although there was contact between the group's law enforce-

ment liaison people and various police agencies including the State Attorney General's office, at which the participation of the RCP was discussed. "Some people have recollections that various law enforcement people mentioned that they had heard that RCP people were coming. And our response to that was, 'Well...' and they said, 'Do you want to do something about it, are you going to stop it?', and we said that was not our process and that was just it."

Another Abalone Alliance spokesperson in San Francisco, the group's headquarters, told the *RW* that the type of relation with a state intelligence agency described in the *Times* article would be "off the wall," and said, "I doubt that it happened officially. I wouldn't be surprised if somebody took it on themselves, we had a whole range of folks involved in doing that."

This Alliance spokesperson then revealed still another incident of the same character not mentioned in the *Times* story. Apparently at the first anti-MX blockade at Vandenberg Air Force Base early this year, in a meeting between lawyers for the protestors and the U.S. Attorney's office and others, a government representative said, "You know the RCP is coming?" and baited, "Aren't you afraid?" The response from the protestors' side this time: "No."

One thing that can be stated with certainty concerning the *Times* story is that there certainly was a great deal of piggery on the part of the state at Diablo (including, in addition to the latest revelations of intelligence dirty-work, the kidnapping of two party supporters for several hours by police agents during the blockade). This itself testifies to the enormous importance attached by the bourgeoisie to maintaining a patriotic politics at the demonstration, and generally among the rapidly growing numbers of people opposing nukes and nuclear war, and to suppressing proletarian internationalism and the RCP. In this connection it should be noted that, despite all the sleuthing around by the BOCCI and "various law enforcement agencies," by the time the Diablo blockade was drawing to a close, the American flag was nowhere to be found. □

Chad

Continued from page 1

began this Chad adventure as partners in advocating "non-intervention" even as they poured hundreds of tons of military hardware and aid into Habré's coffers, have held a very well publicized spat over just how far France was "willing to go" in Chad.

In part, these contradictions between the U.S. and France are real. The "socialist" government of "comrade Mitterand" does have to deal with some pretty sharp contradictions tied up with an attempt on its part to carry out more direct military intervention in Chad. There's both the question of its "socialist" cover, especially in terms of its relationship with the third world, and the fact that the French bourgeoisie may very well be somewhat hesitant about sinking such a large amount of political and military resources into what seems to be "a no-win situation." The French ruling class itself has referred to the possibility of militarily winning in Chad and yet politically losing since Habré's position even though he remained in power would still be shaky to put it mildly.

These factors were undoubtedly considerations in the French government's attempt to portray themselves as being at odds with the U.S. over how best to save Chad. And, this has also led to the almost hilarious spectacle of the U.S. solemnly stating that their every move in Chad has been carried out in complete consultation with France even while the French vehemently deny such consultations. (Actually, the French foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, clarified this matter by stating that France had indeed been in consultation with the U.S. over Chad but, according to him, it was merely consultation over general aid and not about the specific forms that such aid should take). Yes, the French imperialists have indeed gone to great lengths to prove their contradictions with the "U.S. war mongers." As Cheysson angrily snapped, "We are not compelled to do what the Americans want. We have no reason to act only with the Americans or systematically at the side of the Americans."

And, from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism there are also some very real contradictions with France at play here. Topping off the list is the fact that as the U.S. prepares for world war it has got to pull its bloc together on an increasingly tighter basis, making sure that all members, including its imperialist allies, will play their full role and carry their share of the weight. The importance of this for the U.S. was indicated by the recent statements of top military officials concerning the "inability" of the U.S. imperialists to police the world by themselves today. The U.S. Army Chief of Staff recently declared that current developments in the world threatened to stretch the American military apparatus too thin — specifically pointing to developments in Central America, the Middle East, and Chad. Other high officials, most notably the retired chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, David Jones, spoke more bluntly about the mismatch of American strategic interests and American military capability. All of this has relevance in relation to the "special role" of France in Africa. And it is here that the French, for varying reasons, not the least of which is their own imperialist ambitions, have had some tactical contradictions with the U.S. As the August 8th edition of the *Washington Post* put it in an editorial on "The French Role in Chad": "To accept that Colonel Qaddafi is a menace, however, is not to agree that the United States should be leading the fight against him. Chad is not familiar, let alone vital, American turf. For the patronage that most of the small African states still seek from the West, Chad looks first to France, the former colonial master, as Secretary of State George Shultz underscored yesterday. The French do remain involved there. The trouble is that the socialist government of Francois Mitterand has not entirely shed the posture of opposition to "neocolonialism" that it acquired in its long years in the political wilderness. It has been slow to act on what many Africans accept as the traditional French responsibility in Chad."

In other words, there is no argument over whether or not Chad is imperialist turf. In the eyes of the U.S. imperialists Chad belongs to France — it is a traditional part of France's sphere of influence in Africa and therefore France should carry the ball. Of course, the U.S. is not an "unreasonable" bloc partner, and is more than willing to do what is necessary to ease the French "reluctance" about an open military move in Chad. In a sense, there is yet another version of the old "good cop/bad cop" routine being played out in Chad today. The U.S. is taking up the role of "bad cop" — a role not too far removed from its overall reputation in Africa anyway — while France is cast in the role of "good cop" — also not that far removed from its recent role in relation to U.S. bloc activities in Africa. And there are a number of factors which make France's apparent "reluctance" in Chad rather questionable.

The first of these factors has to do with France's own imperialist ambitions and its role in Africa. France still has a big neocolonial (with very little neo in it) empire in Africa and a major aspect of its imperialist interests comes down to maintaining that empire and in the final analysis expanding it. While this is overall principally a matter of hooking up with the U.S. to win a world war, there are also some very immediate questions involved of militarily protecting that empire today. Any real reluctance on the part of France to "protect" Chad from "Libyan aggression" would have very severe repercussions throughout the entire French African empire. As a recent editorial in the French newspaper *Le Monde* pointed out, such "hesitation" would indeed call into question the credibility of "the French umbrella" in all of its other neocolonies.

Other French newspapers have been equally open and somewhat more amusing on this question, blatantly advocating French imperialist interests, while attempting to cast French intervention in Chad in an anti-U.S. light. The *New York Times* reported for example that the "leftist" French paper *Libération* wrote that, "If France doesn't show muscle toward Qaddafi, the moderate states of West Africa will fall like ripe fruit into the American basket," while the Socialist paper *Le Matin* wrote that, "France has responded to a double challenge — the challenge of Libya and the challenge of Reagan, tempted to play the cowboy."

Actually, is it really possible that anyone could believe that French imperialism in general, and "comrade Mitterand" in particular would be at all hesitant about intervening militarily in Chad? After all, Mitterand is the man who once declared his belief in the sacred French principle of "Algeria is France" and insisted that "the only possible negotiation is war" in relation to the Algerian national liberation movement. And, it was none other than Mitterand's Socialist Party which chided the U.S. and other Western imperialists for "cowardliness" in the face of Soviet advances in Africa in its first African policy statement after coming into power in 1981. Beyond this, it should also be pointed out that France maintains numerous military bases and close to 10,000 troops (second in number only to the Soviet bloc troops stationed in Africa) for the purpose of militarily protecting its empire and the region from Soviet and Soviet client-state advances. In addition, France also has at least 20 jet fighter planes stationed throughout Africa. Given all this, France is already very heavily involved in Africa and "intervention" in Chad would simply be a matter of shifting troop and plane positions. In fact, the French paratroopers recently dispatched to Chad were sent in from French bases in Cameroon and the Central African Republic.

Secondly, French actions in Chad over the last month or so severely undercut their "pious" words of hesitation. The French imperialists point to the terms of a 1976 agreement signed between France and Chad stating that France would militarily support Chad in order to shore up their position of "no combat intervention" in Chad today. The French defense minister declared on August 7th that "France will supply Chad's government with assistance adapted to the situation." And, he made it quite clear that such "assistance" will be held within the framework of the 1976 agreement. However, it is well worthwhile noting

here that the terms of the 1976 agreement are quite adaptable themselves. For instance, these same terms were in effect when France dispatched more than 2,000 French troops to Chad in 1978 and kept them stationed there until 1980. And this agreement also allowed France to guarantee the military protection of Oueddei's government in early 1981 when it temporarily ditched its Libyan protectors for France. There is no doubt that these terms of agreement could also be very easily "adapted" to the necessity of large-scale direct French military intervention today. In fact, the steadily increasing intensity of French military aid and involvement in Chad over the last month has also been guided by the framework of this agreement.

In a certain sense all of this talk about the "limits" of the 1976 agreement and of the "hesitations" of France are meant solely for domestic and international political consumption. Even while the French imperialists run their mouths, their deeds speak with a much louder voice. For instance, as the French were deciding to send in "non-combat paratroopers" the French troops in its neocolonial empire were being shifted into a position closer to Chad and French warplanes were conducting "routine exercises" out of Gabon — just below Chad. And, as far as the "non-combat paratroopers" themselves are concerned, it should be pointed out that while France emphatically stated that these troops would in no way engage in combat, they were also quick to point out that: "However, they (the terms of the 1976 agreement — *RW*) do not prohibit all forms of instructions and training in the use of equipment to be found in Chad." In other words, if these French troops just happened to find some of the 450 tons of French military hardware that has been sent to aid Habré they would certainly not be barred from providing some "on the job" education to Habré's army.

Actually, the intentions of France in Chad have also been revealed by some of its words too. On August 7th French Defense Minister Hernu emphatically ruled out any combat role for France in Chad. The very next day Hernu and other government spokesmen were forced to modify this statement — suddenly declaring that they did not mean to imply that the dispatch of French combat planes to Chad had been prematurely ruled out of the question. (According to some reports, this modification was made in direct consultation with Washington, D.C.) And, in order to lay the basis for exactly such French combat intervention, Hernu later stated that "It is not France that is taking the initiative of starting the internationalization of the conflict. The Libyans did it. What Libya did we'll do." And, almost as a cynical afterthought Hernu added, "Except the bombardment of civilian populations, an act to which France will not lower itself." Hernu was quickly backed up by Foreign Minister Cheysson who stated that France "cannot be indifferent to Libya's actions in Chad and if such actions continue, there will be consequences." Such shamelessness is amazing! Here's France, an imperialist power which has been neck-deep in Chad for many decades and whose very own status as an imperialist power was in large part tied up in its carving out of an African empire, berating Libya for "internationalizing" the conflict in Chad. In fact they have even divided the country up into what they like to call "Tchad Utile" ("useful Chad," referring to the south) and "Tchad Inutile" ("useless Chad," referring to the north). Apparently it is okay for an imperialist power to carve up and dabble in Africa since this is not "internationalization" — after all, the French operational code from the Algerian war could very easily be adapted to "Chad is France."

Finally, the nature of the U.S. "pressure" on France these days should be carefully examined. The U.S. has stepped up its aid to Habré — sending an additional \$15 million in military aid on August 4th. It also dispatched 2 AWACS planes (above and beyond the ones sent to Egypt), 8 fighter jets, aerial tankers, and 550 troops to Sudan specifically because of the situation in Chad. Over the last week military exercises have been launched in Egypt and Somalia — 5,500 men in Egypt and 2,800 men (twice as many as participated in similar exercises last year) in Somalia where the exercises will include a Marine amphibious landing.

These exercises have been called the biggest show of American force in northern Africa since World War II. Beyond this, the U.S. has mobilized Zaire to play a very active role in Chad — airlifting an additional 800 Zairean troops to Chad over the last week alone. And, the U.S. has also engineered a political mobilization throughout Africa in favor of French intervention. Key to this effort has been President Diouf of Senegal. Diouf has not only allowed the U.S. to use the capital city of Dakar as a staging ground for its Chadean "aid" operations, but he has also been very active in pulling together a bloc of African countries, and in working within the Organization of African Unity to pull together a similar bloc, to form an "African consensus" against Libya and in favor of French combat intervention. Diouf is not only one of France's most reliable neocolonial puppets but is also well-schooled in building opposition blocs to Qaddafi. Diouf is also a master of imperialist style doubletalk — even as he urged the U.S. and France to act "rapidly" in Chad, he turned around and claimed that the problems in Chad are all caused by the involvement of "external forces." It would seem that Diouf has learned his neocolonial role well — in his view the U.S. and France are certainly not forces external to Chad or any other part of Africa for that matter. Diouf's chief calling card in building up his "African consensus" has been the principle of protecting the "territorial integrity of all African countries." This is another matter in which Diouf has much experience based on his 1981 invasion of The Gambia and his occupation of The Gambia.

In addition to Diouf, the U.S. has also mobilized Egypt and Sudan to take an active political and military role in the conflict. Over the last two weeks Egypt's foreign minister has undertaken an extensive tour of Africa and everywhere has managed to issue a statement condemning Libya's role in Chad.

What it all boils down to is that these U.S. actions are supposed to be putting great pressure on France itself to act. In fact, it looks more like these actions are designed to facilitate French combat intervention. After all, the U.S. has put in place an extensive and powerful support network for such intervention. And, politically the U.S. moves have made it possible for France to go into combat not as a U.S. partner so much as a result of being asked to intervene by the African countries themselves. This kind of French role is actually a key ingredient of its overall role to the U.S. bloc in Africa today.

Whatever the tactical contradictions between the U.S. and France are, the fact remains that the heart of the issue in Chad is a matter of U.S. bloc war strategy. Chad has certainly raised some serious problems for both the U.S. and France. However, these problems, and the situation in Chad itself will only be resolved on the basis of that war strategy. Even the recent reports of a French willingness to accept a "partial victory for Libya" in "non-useful Chad" while the U.S. bloc and particularly France maintain a hold on "useful Chad" is guided by such strategic designs. After all, it is "useful Chad" which plays the key role in terms of protecting the other strategically important countries in the region for the U.S. bloc — including among others Egypt, Sudan, and not unimportantly, Niger, which France depends on for most of its uranium supply. (It should also be pointed out here that Libya too has been acting along the lines of an overall strategic plan — in line with Soviet bloc interests — even as it pursues its own ambitions. If Libya was actually serious about capturing all of Chad today, they certainly would not have waited to make their move until the U.S. and France were so totally prepared. But, Libya does need to make and hold a foothold in northern Chad as part of the overall Soviet strategy for the region. And, Libya's opposition to the U.S. and France in Chad today is certainly going a long way in terms of allowing it to restore some of the "revolutionary prestige" that it lost in the recent battles around the Organization of African Unity.) It is in this light that one thing remains certain — as far as strategic designs and goals are concerned there is little argument between the U.S. and France about what has to be done. □

"Neither East Nor West, Nor Water Nor Electricity"

The following material was sent in by an Iranian reader. It details recent mass outbursts against the Khomeini government sparked by water and electrical shortages in southern Tehran, in the shantytowns and slums inhabited above all by the displaced peasants who continue to pour into the city. It is a fact that many such people have formed part of the social base for Khomeini's reactionary Islamic Republic. But other facts are also asserting themselves: the regime's inability to deliver even water to the masses it promised revolution, the endless prolongation of the war with Iraq which forms the context for this situation, the avalanche of peasants starved out of the countryside and into the city by the continuing ruin of Iranian agriculture — all manifestations of the regime's subservience to imperialism, East and especially West, despite its "neither East nor West" rhetoric.

Hundreds of angry people demonstrated in the Asfaria neighborhood in south Tehran June 28 against constant water stoppages. Besides thousands of Asfaria residents who marched out onto the expressway, people from the suburban towns of Massodia and Moshiria also

took part. Khomeini's Pasdar guards attacked with machine guns and tear gas. After this, several women attacked the Pasdar's patrol cars and with the aid of some youth set them afire. Thirty people were arrested and sent to Evin prison.

At first these actions were reported only in the opposition press, but they were so extensive that eventually the official newspaper *Islamic Republic* was forced to condemn them.

In demonstrations, July 1-2 in Nauziabad in southern Tehran, against water shutdowns, one person was killed and several wounded in clashes with Pasdar guards which resulted in the burning of several government vehicles.

In Baassat, a suburb of Tehran, people who had no drinking water gathered in front of the Water Department and chanted slogans against the government. Then they went into downtown Tehran to the counterrevolutionary parliament. Afraid that this demonstration could not

be hushed up, Khomeini's Pasdars arrested and jailed a great many people.

Government newspapers complained about people who "illegally" tapped water pipes outside their shacks for drinking water. The government condemned such actions as "violations of divine laws."

Minister of Power Dr. Ghafoori complained that Tehran's population is now eight million and blamed the water and electricity shutdowns on wasteful usage. Apparently not seeing any contradiction, Tehran Water Department General Manager M. Maghadan complained about the 25% water consumption increase that accompanied this doubling of the city's population, blaming it on "uncontrolled" usages of water for washing and filling up swimming pools and other unnecessary purposes, and complaining, "We do not have any way of preventing such usages." The reason north Tehran, home to the swimming-pool set, still had

water, and south Tehran didn't, he claimed, was the fault of "unauthorized customers" using water "through illegal means" among the millions living in the 30 shantytowns ringing south Tehran.

Prime Minister Moosavi, while blaming both mismanagement by government officials and uncontrolled water usage by the people for the problem, warned that "counterrevolutionaries" were trying to take advantage of the situation. "The government has the power to strangle the fetus of such provocations in the womb," he thundered.

But according to various reports from Tehran, the demonstrations continued and spread for several days. Some demonstrators were reported to be chanting, "Jmhurih Eslami, Na Garbi, Na Shargi, Na Aubi, Na Barhi" ("Islamic Republic, Neither East, Nor West, Nor Water, Nor Electricity"). □



The Norwegian businessman pictured here is standing in front of a pile of dried cod, part of 16,000 or so metric tons of fish currently stored in hundreds of warehouses along the coast of Norway. And why is the stuff being stashed? Because "Oil Glut Leads to Fish Glut," as the headline accompanying the story on the New York Times business page put it. The link may be obscure to the uninformed, but the Times points out that nobody around Tromso Norway has any trouble seeing it. And more, this is a link which "connects Norway with, of all places, Nigeria," to which a large percentage of Norwegian dried fish is normally exported.

The reasoning — so-called — runs as follows: "By last year, the combination of recession, energy efficiency, and big levels of oil production had sapped the industrial world's appetite for the high priced crude oil of Nigeria... That led to such serious loss of income for the populous African state that its leaders were forced to cut back drastically on a wide variety of imports, including dried fish. And that meant the loss of an important market for this town (Tromso) and others in northern Norway." What it means for the masses of people in, "of all places," Nigeria — where there is no glut of basic staples — is starvation.

Nigeria has been bled by Western imperialist investment in oil, and bled again still further through its dependency on the "industrial world" for foodstuffs. The gross distortions brought about in the national economy are yielding all the more devastating results as Nigeria is whipped around in the whirlpool of international crisis.

There is unquestionably a glut on this planet: a glut of imperialist relations.

Thuggery

Continued from page 3

withdrawal of all foreign military advisors and an end to all foreign weapons shipments in the region, and even more importantly, they have offered to cut off all support to the Salvadoran opposition if the U.S. does the same to the Salvadoran government. (Fat chance there — but this beginning offer is not so far-fetched as it seems, since the U.S. has managed to supply Guatemala's death-squads and official military pretty well through the use of CIA agents, third parties, like Israel, and so forth.) In any case, it is the offer to negotiate the cutoff of the Salvadoran opposition that stands out here. Tomás Borge, a leading revisionist Sandinista, admitted that they had made such an offer, but added, "let no one accuse us of abandoning the FMLN, because we will always have solidarity with the Salvadoran people." There are undoubtedly a few Salvadoran people who would like to show Señor Borge just how grateful they are for such "solidarity," but a Salvadoran guerrilla leader,

who is perhaps more accustomed to such bourgeois maneuverings, cautiously stated, "This is a heavy meal. It will take a while to digest."

There is no doubt as to the source of such a "meal" — it is the Soviet strategy in Central America. To make sure that it was swallowed properly, the Secretary-General of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was dispatched to Nicaragua, where he undoubtedly informed those Sandinista leaders who might have been unaware that the Soviet Union was not about to get into a direct confrontation (right now, anyway) with its arch-rival in the latter's "sphere of influence," also known as the U.S.'s "fourth border." According to the *New York Times*, one Nicaraguan official said, "The Soviets are talking about helping us to build rivers and dams in the 21st century, but we are in trouble now."

This is hardly the first time that the Soviets and their henchmen have applied their own version of Central American pressure. According to the *Times* various Salvadoran guerrilla leaders have cited several previous instances when Cuba and Nicaragua leaned on them in a similar manner. They have said that

Castro "recommended" that they support the October 1979 U.S.-directed coup in El Salvador; it bounced an isolated generalissimo and replaced him with a "reformist" junta that murdered more people in three months than the generalissimo had in two previous years. The Salvadoran Communist Party along with many of the other leaders of the FDR participated in the junta government that this coup put in place. The cited guerrilla leaders also claimed that after the so-called "final offensive" of January 1981, when the U.S. cut off "aid" to Nicaragua, both Castro and the Sandinistas again pressured the FDR/FMLN to ease up and come to an accord with the U.S. And the same is true of the infamous March 1982 elections in El Salvador, when U.S. threats on Nicaragua again inspired Cuban and Nicaraguan pressure on the Salvadoran opposition not to do anything to disrupt this exercise in death-squad democracy.

But notwithstanding Shultz's comments (made for domestic consumption, particularly to bolster his side of the tactical debate over Central America within the U.S. ruling class), neither the current

machinations of the Soviets and their camp followers, nor the previous ones, necessarily signify "results" for the U.S. Precisely because this is the U.S.'s turf, the Soviets have a lot more freedom and flexibility in their maneuvering as they attempt to gain influence and pre-position themselves for future opportunities. Seeking temporary accommodation with more pro-U.S. forces and through this, gaining footholds in various sectors of the ruling apparatus (including the military) — this is what the Soviets are after in Central America. And at the same time, they are trying to make the most of the widespread exposure and hatred of the U.S.'s role in Central America — not only in the region itself but throughout the world, and especially in Western Europe. Thus, while the Soviet Foreign Ministry leader was reiterating his support for the Contadora Group and otherwise carefully modulating his comments while in Nicaragua, TASS and other Soviet organs have been issuing "exposures" of U.S. activity in Central America virtually every day. □

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ISBN 0-89851-062-7

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209 pages

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Chicago, IL 60654