



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 286 (Vol. 6, No. 34)

Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1.

December 21, 1984

Editions in English and Spanish

ISSN 0193-3485

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The Voyage of the
Space Shuttle Discovery, Or...

Saddling-Up For Star Wars



It was Christmas week and the papers were full of the upcoming, early January talks between George Shultz and Andrei Gromyko.

Much of the talk centered on the U.S. Star Wars program... the Americans had already delayed a test of an antisatellite weapon until spring — was it a sign of “flexibility” on the issue?

In a visit to London, Soviet second-in-command Mikhail S. Gorbachev did his best to train yet more attention on Star Wars — which the Soviets certainly see as a grave strategic problem for their war preparations — by telling the British Foreign Secretary that “it is especially important to avert the transfer of the arms race to outer space.”

This atmosphere was far too peaceable for the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Star Wars has become a prime goal and symbol of the Reagan war build-up, as were the Euromissiles last year, and as the MX has been for some time. And so — back off? On some of the most lethal weaponry yet? Not on your life.

Secrecy Clampdown

The very day that Gorbachev was

pushing on the issue in Great Britain, the U.S. Defense Department made a loud public announcement of a launch of the shuttle craft *Discovery*, scheduled for January 23, with a military cargo. The government wasn't saying what was in the cargo bay, stated Air Force Brig. Gen. Richard Abel, and no one should try to find out, either. None of the usual NASA publicity kits would be given out, the exact launch time would not be announced. Even speculation about the shuttle contents would prompt a government investigation, Abel warned. It was, as AP chief Walter Mears was to say later, “almost a dare” — and, we might add, a grand publicity stunt.

For the security clampdown was more than a little ridiculous, on its face. Details on at least some of the shuttle's contents had been appearing in various places for weeks; when the *Washington Post* took up the dare and “broke” the story a couple of days later, it said nothing that everyone didn't already know, mostly from the government itself... but that's another part of the story.

At the moment, the administration had gained its first objective, that of making

damn well sure that the whole world, and the Soviets in particular, understood that the U.S. was going ahead with its plans for war in the heavens, come hell, high water, or, for horror's sake, arms-control talks. Abel underlined the message with his statement that the military shuttle flight would be treated “as we do the deployment of air, land, and sea forces.”

The Pentagon followed the shuttle publicity hype on Tuesday by publicly awarding ten study contracts for research on Star Wars. On Wednesday, Caspar Weinberger told those gathered at the Foreign Press Center that in the future the U.S. would “depend on a space-based defense system,” Pentagonese for Star Wars.

Tension at Vladivostok

At the same time, still another belligerent U.S. action made the papers. It was revealed that the week before, two American aircraft carriers, maneuvering in the Sea of Japan, had pressed unusually close to the sensitive Soviet bases around Vladivostok. The Soviets answered with a mobilization of over a hundred jet fighters, bombers, and reconnaissance planes

in what one U.S. official said was “the most vigorous Soviet reaction” to a U.S. military movement since World War 2. Soviet MIGs flew very close to U.S. Navy F-14 fighters from the carriers, in a serious warning.

Japanese newspapers said that the U.S. carriers had come within fifty miles of Vladivostok, but U.S. officials admitted they had come much closer than that. The international boundary of international waters is twelve miles. Vladivostok is headquarters for the Soviet Far East Command, and center of a string of Soviet military installations. It was in this area last August that the Soviets ordered an ominous alert after Reagan's “joke” about bombing the Soviet Union.

In short, the U.S. imperialists had found a way to put to rest what they consider to be all that drivel about peace. Yes, Shultz will meet with Gromyko in a couple of weeks, and that *might* even lead to new arms talks, but this has been put in its proper perspective by the imperialists: it is part of the duel between the opposing war blocs and nothing else. The message is out to loyal Americans, and allies, that

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U.S. Imperialism's High Points For Hypocrisy

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- In 1983 six thousand U.S. troops invade Grenada. The island, we are told, was being turned into a military outpost for the Soviets, and the clearest proof of this was the modernization of the country's airport, specifically the lengthening of a runway. The Bishop government's retort that the airport program would stimulate tourism is dismissed as patently absurd. In 1984, with U.S. military forces still occupying the country, the U.S. government announces plans to continue with the modernization program and runway extension — to stimulate tourism, of course.
- Vice-President Bush, during his debate with Geraldine Ferraro, says that the difference between human rights in El Salvador and Nicaragua was like the difference between "night and day." He points to the humiliation of the Catholic church and censorship in Nicaragua. In Nicaragua, it is estimated that two hundred people have been killed by the government over the last five years; in El Salvador, over 40,000 civilians have been murdered by right-wing death squads and government security forces. In Nicaragua, pressure has been put on the Catholic church; in El Salvador, the Archbishop was murdered in his cathedral. In Nicaragua, the government censors the one opposition paper; in El Salvador, there are *no* opposition papers. (One of the two that did exist closed after its editor was kidnapped and his macheted body found.)
- The U.S. press gives sensationalistic coverage to raids directed against underground Solidarity members in Poland. In one week alone in November, massive round-ups of those suspected of political crimes were launched in South Africa and Chile.
- The U.S. imperialists charge that Andrei Sakharov is being denied the *best* medical treatment because the Soviet government won't let him go to the West. Only a few weeks after the Union Carbide poisoning in India, the *New York Times* carries a front-page story saying there is no reason to worry about any adverse long-term medical effects of *this*, the worst industrial disaster in human history.
- The U.S. announces the start of "meaningful" arms negotiations with the Soviets. In the same week, it announces that the latest space shuttle flight is so *militarily* important that it will be the first such mission to be kept secret.
- The FBI formulates a definition of terrorism and indicates stepped up activity against organized terrorist activity. This new definition of terrorism *includes* the "lone man" who barricaded himself in the Washington Monument and threatened to blow himself up if nothing was done to control the arms race, and *excludes* various groups which have taken credit for bombing abortion centers throughout the U.S.

IN REVIEW

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In accordance with our publication schedule, the *RW* will not appear next week. Our next issue (No. 287) will be dated January 4.

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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Second class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$30 a year, \$9.00 for 3 months in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$40.00 for institutions.)

Ethiopian Famine of "Aid" and Alliances

Representatives of the U.S. have a habit of letting fly with statements that make your blood boil. A case in point was the remark made by the director of the U.S. Agency for International Development in response to the recent charges leveled by the Ethiopian government that the U.S. and the Western imperialists are responsible for the horrifying dimensions of the famine in Ethiopia. On December 12, M. Peter McPherson described this charge as "a classic case of biting the hand that feeds you." This statement, in its calculated crudeness and implied warning, is enraging — and revealing, since the mouth behind "the hand" belongs to international cutthroats who have so often tried to mask their crimes with a veil of humanitarianism concerning the famine in Ethiopia.

Imperialism doesn't feed people in the oppressed countries — it feeds on them. And if it can't, due to the system's own anarchy and crisis, then even more millions are left to starve as compared to "normal times," which are murderous enough in these countries, and a whole continent left to rot.

Further enraging is that this "hand" in Ethiopia has used food aid to string along the ruling Dergue as part of the complex competition between the U.S. and Soviets over the control of Ethiopia. Even at that, the aid is barely enough to feed a very limited number of people on a month-to-month basis: there have been reports as recent as early December that some of the main feeding stations in the country were dangerously close to running out of food. Not surprisingly, for all that the U.S. has criticized the Dergue's adoption of the "Soviet model" in agriculture and the dependency relationship between the Dergue and the Soviets as being at the root of the current famine, U.S. and Western aid has done absolutely nothing to encourage any kind of structural change inside Ethiopia. After all, if the U.S. can succeed in prying Ethiopia out of the Soviet bloc, the only real change would be in the allegiance of the Dergue. Actually, U.S. aid is very purposely designed to reinforce the dependency of Ethiopia on imperialism and entice the Ethiopian rulers to jump ship on the Soviets. The U.S. has even dug up an obscure law — the Hickenlooper Law which prohibits "development aid" (as distinct from the "humanitarian aid" described here) to countries which have nationalized U.S. property without compensation — in order to justify things like building and then removing grain-bagging machines on Ethiopia's docks.

While the U.S. and its partners have crowed loudly over the last couple of months about "feeding the world" (as opposed to Soviet-bloc callousness), a few new bits of information have emerged over the last couple of weeks underlining the political motives for the sending of even the tiny amount of food that they do (for more on this, see *RW* No. 282). In a very under-reported story, the December 7 *Washington Post* announced that Reagan's new budget cuts included a proposal that the U.S. withdraw from the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization — the main international agency ostensibly dealing with famine around the world. In Western Europe, at approximately the same time, the European Economic Community (EEC) was reportedly "stunned" by Britain's recent refusal to allocate more money to the EEC famine relief effort. According to *The Guardian* (in Britain) the EEC will "generously" increase its aid to starving Africans by taking aid away from other famine-stricken parts of the world like Bangladesh.

By the same token, the reactionary pro-Soviet Dergue has run a close second to the U.S. in the hypocrisy department. Everything the Dergue has done has served only to exacerbate the famine in Ethiopia, including the most important point that when it came to power, the Dergue did not liberate Ethiopia from bondage to imperialism but simply switched the imperialists holding the chains. In this light, the Soviet imperialists are

just as guilty as the Western imperialists in the mass starvation of the Ethiopian people.

What has all this meant for the people in Ethiopia? Even according to conservative estimates three hundred thousand people have died in Ethiopia since March 1984. Another one million are likely to die in the future. The Relief Society of Tigray, associated with the Tigrean Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), reports that in Tigray one person is dying every six minutes as a result of the famine. Even the United Nations has warned that as a result of the famine an entire generation of people in Ethiopia — those who are lucky enough to survive — will "be stunted both physically and mentally."

Special Relationship

The special relationship between the Dergue and the U.S. bloc is rooted in the contention between the U.S. and the Soviets over Ethiopia. While the Dergue has been politically aligned with the Soviets since coming to power and recently tightened these ties with the formation of the Ethiopian Workers Party, the U.S. has never quite given up on the possibility of wooing the Dergue into the U.S. fold through a combination of pressure and material incentive. With regard to the famine and Western relief aid, this strategy has meant that the vast majority of Western famine relief has been funneled one way or another into the hands of the Dergue to use as it sees fit. This is a matter of both bribery and a U.S. assessment that there is no other force currently operating in Ethiopia that is capable of keeping a lid on a very volatile situation.

Because of this, there has never really been any great uproar by the West over the Dergue's misuse and abuse of famine relief aid in its attempt to gain some stability and crush the various national liberation struggles raging against it. The Western press has had no probing exposures of the documented cases where the Dergue has been caught using food aid to feed its army or pay off its debt to the Soviets. Recently, it was announced that relief centers in Ethiopia were unexpectedly running out of food before renewed supplies had arrived in the country. These reports coincided with renewed reports about the Dergue selling food aid on the open market. Surprisingly enough, such reports did not elicit shrieks from the West. Instead, the press laboriously dug up and presented all kinds of excuses for the Dergue's misuse of aid and once again praised the efficiency of the Dergue's relief operations.

Some of the most despicable actions in this regard have occurred in relation to Eritrea and Tigray — two areas where most of the famine victims in Ethiopia are concentrated and where national liberation struggles are raging. The Mengistu regime has been notorious in its neglect of the famine victims in these areas and in its use of food aid as a weapon against the struggles there. For the most part the U.S. has played along with Mengistu on this question.

Rarely has the U.S. even so much as raised the issue of Mengistu's inability and lack of desire to reach the famine victims in the liberated parts of Tigray and Eritrea. Instead, reports from Ethiopian relief operations have mainly concentrated on the success of those operations being carried out in government-controlled territory. That Mengistu and



Western-run relief operations have only succeeded in reaching a maximum of 750,000 people out of seven million starving has never been made a point of contention in the U.S. press. Instead, the Dergue's excuses for not feeding the people in the liberated areas are simply repeated and "verified." In the U.S. the press has been particularly fond of blaming the liberation wars for preventing food from reaching the people in Tigray and Eritrea. Yet there has hardly been one report on the TPLF's offer to guarantee safe passage to any and all international relief agencies and workers willing to bring food into the liberated parts of Tigray — an offer which was first made in June 1983 and repeated again in October 1984.

The same kind of cover-up has also been going on in relation to what the Dergue has been doing in these areas. For instance, not a word has appeared concerning the actions of the Ethiopian army in Tigray. Even as the famine worsened, Mengistu's army launched military campaigns in Tigray which were aimed at both the national liberation forces and at the people supporting them. In 1983 the Ethiopian army savagely attacked the only grain-surplus areas in Western Tigray. Food distribution centers run by the Relief Society of Tigray were attacked. Towns and villages were hit with napalm and cluster bombs. One hundred thousand farmers were driven off of their land. Yet not even a peep of protest was heard from the U.S.

More recently, the U.S. even aided in covering up the Dergue's preparations for launching yet another military campaign in Tigray — the fourth such campaign in four years of famine. In mid-November of this year, the U.S. media diligently repeated the Ethiopian government's claim that the TPLF had captured the town of Korem, the site of one of the largest relief operations in Ethiopia. The proof offered for the story was that the press had been unable to reach Korem and that the government explained that it had been captured. The TPLF quickly denied capturing Korem or even attacking it, a story that never quite got picked up by the media. As it turns out, the media had been barred from the area around Korem because the Dergue was secretly deploying 23,000 soldiers in the area. Once this deployment was finished, the Dergue announced that it had "recaptured" Korem and the press could once again have access to it. The official government story was repeated over and over again, no questions asked.

"Resettlement"

The latest example of all this has been the U.S. and Western response to the Dergue's announced plans of "resettling" 1.5 million people from Tigray and

other famine-afflicted areas in the north. According to the Dergue's plans these people will be resettled in the more fertile southern parts of the country. Already, seventy thousand people have been "resettled." Once again, this scheme has been run out in the U.S. press at face value. Only the most minor questions have been raised and quickly dismissed. This cover-up is truly despicable given what this "resettlement" scheme actually means.

The Dergue claims that resettlement is necessary because years of drought and famine have made the north uninhabitable. Further, the Dergue also claims that participants in the resettlement scheme are doing so voluntarily. According to a statement by the TPLF, the people of Tigray are being forced to resettle in the south. When Tigrean peasants travel to relief centers in government-controlled areas of Tigray they are rounded up by the army and offered a choice of resettling and getting food or starving. These peasants are then loaded onto military transport planes, flown out of the area and then trucked south. Interestingly enough, the Soviets, who have been particularly stingy in providing food aid to Ethiopia, have been most generous in aiding with the logistics of resettlement. As word has spread about this forced resettlement, thousands of starving Tigreans have fled from relief centers in government-controlled areas, thus ending their only chance to eat.

Once in the south — which has a totally different climate and environment than the north — the displaced peasants of the north are subject to diseases like malaria and sleeping sickness which are not present in the north. In addition, the peasants are hardly escaping famine by such a move, since recent reports show that the famine is definitely spreading towards the south and the added burden of 1.5 million new people in this area is most likely going to aggravate the situation and hasten the spread of the famine.

For the Dergue the resettlement scheme serves a number of purposes, none of which have anything to do with rescuing famine victims. The forced removal of people from the north is definitely aimed at attempting to depopulate the base areas of the TPLF and undercut the struggle in Tigray. "Resettling" these people in the south is also an attempt to undercut the struggle of the Oromo people, indigenous to that area, by setting up what the Dergue hopes will be irreconcilable differences between the two groups. Interestingly enough, the

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A Counterforce Christmas

Don't look for your old-fashioned peace-on-earth-good-will-towards-men Christmas cards this year. They've been all but obliterated by the greeting card companies in a sweeping new targeting strategy for the Christmas card marketplace.

"The peace theme doesn't have the same impact this year as it did in the '60s and '70s," one spokesman for Hallmark explained.

Sure enough, a computer inventory of 2,425 Hallmark Christmas designs this year shows exactly three featuring the word peace. Only the United Nations UNICEF agency is offering a complete line of peace cards.

In place of the subversive word, Hallmark says it has stressed "high-tech" cards — those that "make rude noises and smell like pine trees." In content, as an article in the *Washington Post* described, "instead of world wishes, cards this year have retreated into the haven of home," inspired, the paper says, by the official Reagan card showing an American flag and a snowy White House silhouetted in front of a glowing pink sky.

Then for the final touch of violent bully-boy Americanism, we can look to the Hallmark LITE line. One big seller shows a belligerent Santa Claus, hung with gold bracelets and brass knuckles, just like in the TV show, and displaying the words, "I pity the fool who doesn't believe in Mr. C."

Welcome to nuclear winter in America, 1984. □



Star Wars

Continued from page 1

only arm-twisting the Soviets will bring results for the West at the bargaining table. (Following this twisted logic to its very end, when newspapers eventually reported that a spy satellite was to be part of the military cargo of the shuttle, this was described as aiding arms-control verification!) Meanwhile — and mainly — get ready for the worst! This is the old propaganda of peace-through-strength, with the "peace" part rapidly fading out.

That Naughty Washington Post

A great debate has swirled since the shuttle announcement. Not over the right of the U.S. to flaunt its most powerful ships straight at the Soviets, still less over whether an atmosphere of vicious war-

fever should be whipped up to greet the new presidential term. No, all this is fine with liberals and conservatives alike. Rather it is: did the media blow any secrets to the Soviets by running some material about the military payload?

Singled out by the administration was none other than the *Washington Post*, the unofficial bulletin board of the bourgeois state apparatus. On Wednesday, the *Post* was the first to state that the *Discovery* payload would include a Signal Intelligence, or Sigint, satellite, a spy craft designed to intercept Soviet communications and relay them to U.S.-manned receiving stations on earth. Government officials claimed to be furious at the *Post*, implying that the paper had turned traitor (Caspar Weinberger accused the *Post* of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy").

A chorus of liberal critics responded

with truth, that this was silly. The Pentagon itself was undoubtedly the source of leaks about the military cargo, parts of which had reached the pages of *Aviation News and Space Technology*, *U.S. News and World Report*, and had been aired on CBS. The leaks may have been prompted by the Air Force, which is said to have wanted publicity on the flight. It seems that a previous shuttle launch had failed in tests of a new booster engine needed to put the Sigint craft into the high geosynchronous orbit for which it is designed. The Air Force may have wanted to spotlight the January launch in order to prove the worth of its booster engine. And certainly, the overall purpose of Monday's security announcement was to call attention to the military nature of the flight.

So at least on the surface, Weinberger's charges are transparently false and manipulative. The government wanted

all the attention to its cargo it could get. But that isn't all to the story, because underneath the surface of this orchestrated debate lie some real issues, frictions among fellow imperialists that are deadly serious and a real sign of the times. For one thing, though military security is not a real issue in this case, in general the imperialists see a clear need to tighten up the mechanisms of media coverage of war-related news, and the administration has been pushing on this for some time. Indeed this will need to happen very rapidly when normal times change to wartime in the near future. By what means this is to occur is not now clear, but it is evident that an atmosphere is being created for more efficient management — censorship — of the war news.

(Interestingly, the *Post's* answer to Weinberger protested that the Pentagon had got it all wrong; that the paper wasn't contacted by the Pentagon with a request to suppress the story, as were the AP and others, but it did censor some of the details on its own. What a difference between this and the closed space program of the totalitarian East!)

Second, and perhaps more significantly, the *Post's* "leak" may have been intended as a dig at the administration's Christmas Star Wars offensive of the last week, by way of gentlemanly protest of the ground rules. The *Post*, along with others in the bourgeoisie, including a host

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San Francisco

A No Business As Usual Conference

"They won't listen to reason, they won't be bound by votes, the governments must be stopped from launching World War 3, no matter what it takes." With these words the national planning conference for No Business As Usual Day opened up for two days of debate, decision making, and practical work. Over 120 people attended the conference, held in Berkeley, California on December 1 and 2. They came from ten states and every major region of the country; those present included college students, squatters, lawyers, teachers, clergy, proletarians and proletarian immigrants, and activists from the antinuke/antiwar movement, from the anti-intervention movement, and from the national liberation movements. A solid majority of those attending were youth, including a large contingent of veterans of War Chest Tours in the Bay Area, Dallas and Cleveland.

The conference had been called by signatories and circulators of "A Call To Act." The Call puts the prevention of World War 3 center stage on the political agenda; and it issues a bold challenge: "Only the independent action of millions stepping onto the stage of history to resist can realistically speak to the enormity that looms before us. It is in this spirit of practical politics that we now call for a coordinated day of national action against war, a concerted day of 'No Business As Usual' on April 29, 1985. A day that deliberately disrupts and shuts down as much as possible of the daily routine through which we are lurching toward global war."

After welcoming remarks opening the conference by Leonard Post, a speech by Reverend Lloyd Wake addressed the internment of Japanese in concentration

camps by the U.S. during World War 2 and the relevance of that to today. Clark Kissinger then sharply exposed the imminent threat of world war, drawing on the history and current status of U.S. government preparations to wage and win all-out nuclear war. These speeches were followed by five short presentations by activists of their own visions of No Business As Usual Day. Those who spoke were: Rich Hutchinson, a Chicago-area antiwar activist; Kate Champa, from Rhode Island, artist, resister and mother; Richard Navies, chairman of the African-American Studies Department at Berkeley High School in Berkeley; a group of Bay Area War Chest tourists; Geoff Yippie!, antiwar/antinuke activist from the Bay Area.

The speeches and presentations were followed by discussion, which continued into the afternoon in small groups under the general theme "taking a 'No Business As Usual' approach" to building for No Business As Usual Day."

In the course of the conference, statements were read from signatories of the Call To Act who could not attend the conference. Messages were received from Emile de Antonio, documentary filmmaker; students at Brown University; Francisco "Kiko" Martinez and José Esteban Ortega, for the Francisco E. Martinez Defense Committee; a young activist in the Washington, D.C. area; forty-three students and two professors from Antioch College, Ohio; Radio Rabbit Suit, Baltimore.

The night of December 1, formal business stopped and the conference put on a program for the general public. The featured speakers, all signatories of the Call To Act, were Jack Cohen-Joppa, coeditor of the newspaper *Nuclear*

Resister, a paper which supports jailed and imprisoned antinuclear activists; Leonard Weinglas, attorney for the Chicago 8 and many others, who spoke specifically on the use of conspiracy laws and general government repression in the '60s, a very timely subject; and John Gerassi, a radical activist and scholar who had just returned from observing the election in Nicaragua and who spoke about the elections, sharply exposing the hypocrisy of U.S. "news" on the elections and U.S. attacks on Nicaragua in general. The program concluded with a showing of the documentary film *Milhouse: A White Comedy*, by Emile de Antonio.

The morning of December 2, workshop sessions focused on outreach to many different sections of the people, outreach in the spirit of No Business As Usual Day — finding the ways to encourage and give the greatest play to the independent initiative of people, groups, and areas to develop provocative and politically daring actions corresponding to the imminence of war and the political possibilities among different sections of the people. Some of the sections covered in the workshops and in informal discussions were: the women's movement; key groups in the existing antiwar movement (antinuke, religious, anti-intervention, nuclear prisoners, draft resisters, etc.); breaking through to draw in broader forces (youth and students, oppressed nationalities, the proletariat, those in the military, etc.); the sanctuary movement; and War Chest Tours.

The main plenary session, at the end of the conference, focused up some of the questions posed throughout. After vigorous struggle the conference united around continuing to push out with the

Call, and to seek new signatories; in addition, groups and individuals building for No Business As Usual Day are encouraged to put out their own statement, visions and plans. The conference also resolved to take a No Business As Usual approach into struggles breaking out, particularly around U.S. intervention in Central America and the rest of the Third World. Finally, the conference made some decisions about the role, function, responsibility and accountability of the national organization around No Business As Usual Day.

What emerged in this conference has great potential indeed. Some bold and creative, yet serious, plans got bolder and more serious through the conference, and the focus on the central necessity of preventing world war got clearer and sharper. Some of the plans brewing include: student strikes, challenging teachers in churches, events in proletarian communities, and an increasingly distinct vision of shutting down San Francisco and perhaps other cities on April 29; No Business As Usual Day shows promise of developing into the kind of day that will carry great political disorder into every sphere and crevice of society. Such a day would throw a very welcome, giant monkeywrench into the world-war-bound "business as usual" of present world powers, and could well have a rippling and galvanizing effect far beyond those who participate directly in it. A day like that, with the overall political thrust of the Call To Act, would have a profound effect on the political contours of the U.S. and beyond, and would create much more favorable conditions for doing what it will take to prevent World War 3. □

Messages and Statements to the Conference

Following are excerpts from statements and messages sent to the conference.

Message to the Conference from Emile de Antonio:

"Preventing World War 3 is the single most important job for all the people of our planet, every nation. No matter what it takes. . . .

"And preventing the spread of our imperial wars in Central America is also a great and important job. No matter what it takes.

"People have had problems with the phrase, 'no matter what it takes.' I don't. For me, it means no matter what it takes for each of us to do her/his best to prevent the death of planet Earth. And also of any other planet we may by accident knock out in any future star wars."

Message from Students at Brown University:

"Here among the ivory towers of Brown University, business has been anything but usual. . . . (letter recounts recent actions by students with the 'suicide pill

referendum' and 'citizens arrests' of General Dynamics and CIA recruiters — RW). . . . In bigger and bigger numbers, students here are not only expressing their concerns but forcing them to be addressed. We recognize the university's central role in the war machine. We also recognize the opportunities our positions of privilege afford us to help cripple this machine. . . . Thank you for all your efforts to get this day of national protests off the ground. We are with you and business will not go on as usual. . . ."

Message from Francisco "Kiko" Martinez and José Esteban Ortega, for the Francisco E. Martinez Defense Committee:

"There is no doubt that history demands we stop the exploitation/profit/war machine. Many participants gathered today have been active towards this end. None of us is capable of acting on all fronts of this struggle. Victory on one front does not ensure that progress is being made on all fronts. . . . On different occasions we have worked with a variety of people, always seeking to exercise in-

dependent judgment and action. When the war in Vietnam ended, the war at home against our people continued. With the advent of elected 'Hispanics' to public office we have continued to fight for the unrepresented. As a select part of our community achieves upward mobility we remain firm in our position that revolutionary change in Northamerica will be forced by those who labor most but benefit least from the present arrangement. Regardless of the course this conference takes we do not expect that it will win our struggle for us. It will either facilitate or retard conditions that favor our struggle. To facilitate favorable conditions for struggle the enemy must know that we do not stand alone. Other sectors of society must stand with us. A mutual presence at each other's functions is necessary. The best signal of unity at present is our mutual presence where the critical issue of today is discussed: we must stop a third world war before it commences!"

Message from a young activist in the Washington, D.C. area:

"... I am sending you my comaraderie and my hope that things will go well. . . . also sending plans that my friends and I have. . . . they don't have to do only with No Business As Usual, but they have the same feelings around them. . . . We have decided that our main targets are the Inauguration Parade and Inaugural Balls. We have also chosen one of our main slogans: NO TIME TO BE NICE. . . . We want to put on an anti-inaugural parade through the business district of D.C. . . . much of our inspiration is from the War Chest Tours and the Stop the City. . . ."

Message from forty-three students and two professors, Antioch College, Ohio:

"April 29th, 1985 is not an ordinary working day. April 29th, 1985 is set aside for us to demonstrate our wish to prevent nuclear World War 3. This day will allow us, as a nation, to join together and be heard.

"They won't listen to reason, they won't be bound by votes — the governments must be stopped from launching World War 3, no matter what it takes!"

Star Wars

Continued from page 4

of imperialists out of office such as Robert McNamara, has opposed Star Wars as not the way to prepare to go at it with the Soviets. But if the *Post* "leak" was meant as a dig, the administration's answer was clear enough: out of the way, we're ridin' on through!

Space War

Largely lost in all this smoke about military secrecy and the media is the bloody import of the mission of the shuttle *Discovery*. Though no secret, it is nonetheless true that the shuttle program is now beginning to fully shift into the role for which it was designed, as a military workhorse. About one-fifth of the shuttle flights from here on will be directly military-related, with much of the rest

of the program indirectly so. A recent example of the indirect military connection is the rescue mission performed by shuttle astronauts on a disabled satellite. Already, with a large majority of U.S. (as well as Soviet) satellites performing military tasks, satellite rescue and maintenance becomes a significant ongoing job. When war breaks out, including in space, that job could be critical.

The military missions for the shuttle will include placing almost all of the military's satellites in orbit, since the shuttle's 65,000-pound cargo bay allows far more, and sturdier, craft to be orbited than the payload of Atlas and Titan rockets. Indeed, the shuttle cargo space was specifically designed at this large size for military purposes, according to the *New York Times*.

Also, along with the regular crew of the *Discovery*, the launch will include one member of a unit of military astronauts

trained in secret by the Air Force. The advent of astronaut-soldiers raises the specter of yet another marvel of space-age technology from imperialism: astronaut armies; operating out of shuttles and space stations, in the not far distant future.

Still another aspect of the January launch may involve testing of a specific Star Wars project. Before the *Post* article focused all attention on the Sigint spy craft, government officials alluded to testing on the craft connected to the Teal Ruby Project, described officially as a communications system designed to work against the earth's clutter-background. *U.S. News and World Report* is less mysterious about what such communications would be good for: "Teal Ruby (involves) infrared sensors which would — from space — attempt to detect aircraft movements. Such technology could be used before the end of the century to

enable space-based lasers to attack cruise missiles and airplanes flying close to the earth." The Teal Ruby system would use passive infrared sensors, which do not transmit waves that can lead to detection and attack by opposing forces.

The military shuttle program has of course been in the works for some time. What is significant is the flagwaving greeting being accorded it right now. Like the hubbub over the nonexistent MIGs en route to Nicaragua on election night, we are forced to watch another display of warlike symbolism and threats, this time obviously meant to coincide with the Reagan inauguration, which will precede the launch by three days. It will be the president's first act of the new term. And like the MIGs uproar, this is a display which may not remain in the realm of symbolism for long. □

Punk Fan Exposes Nazi Punks

Dear RW:

"The German liberal Thomas Mann once described Nazi-ism as characterized by a kind of 'sentimental brutality.' This, too, is an apt description of the atmosphere being created in the U.S. today, as concentrated by Reagan and echoed by the likes of Mondale. . . . As with the Nazis, the dominant bourgeois ideology of the '80s in the U.S. seeks solace in an aggressive nationalism and an exalted heroism (and when they have to manufacture it out of such heroic events as beating up on Grenada, this is hardly a sign of durable strength!!). All kinds of brutalities are committed and planned under the ideological cover of the 'intrinsic goodness,' even 'innocence' of America — qualities which have been personified in the public image created for Reagan."

(RW No. 278, "Create Great Disorder Everywhere")

As an avid fan of punk rock, I'd like to bring to readers' attention an emerging fascist trend in the scene, involving "skinhead gangs," whose activity objectively in conjunction with the cops has found a particularly concentrated and brutal expression in San Francisco right around the time of elections themselves. Since the beginning of this year, I'd been hearing about the "fascist skins" in New York beating, cutting up, and intimidating punks at shows of revolutionary-minded bands. About how they'd all but ruined a healthy scene with their "siege heiling," swastika tattoos, attacks on Puerto Ricans . . . their misogyny, racism, anticommunism and pro-Americanism and even anti-Semitism! Then I heard similar stories coming from other major cities . . . a "jew-bashing" in Philadelphia, an RW seller attacked in Detroit by a skin gang shouting, "So you're a communist, you left-wing scum," etc.

Yes, the skinhead gangs in all these cities are emerging as PART OF the American Hitlerite climate (described in the above quote), making it especially crucial and timely that the bourgeoisie make their moves right before Reagan's re-election. Barely a week and a half before Nov. 6, leading figures of the "disloyal opposition" to the DNC (Democratic National Convention) were attacked within a very short time of each other by members of the FRISCO SKINS. First, a major organizer of the War Chest Tours was attacked at a show. Then a prominent member of the "squat movement" and of the SF and Dallas War Chest tours was attacked near the anarchist bookstore where he is working. In the latter incident, "Nazi Bob" and "Bags" threatened to blow the place up while "siege heiling" and shouting "Today America, tomorrow the world." After he chased these pigs out of the store, they threatened to "tear his eyeballs out"; and then later, they ambushed him after he left the store. Finally, only 4 days later (Nov. 1), while agitating for upcoming election-day demos, the RCYB was attacked by the gang with beer bottles (one RCYB member being brutally singled out) as they fought back. As one of the skins taunted "What are you going to do about it, call the cops?", another threatened the crowd outside with "Are you a communist? . . . Are you a communist?" The capper to this all was that the cops were also lashing out furiously at the youth right around this time . . . first in mid-Oct. during the Fleet Week demos (i.e., the Navy's homecoming party), then just 2 days after the elections when Weinberger came to speak. The SFPD were particularly worked-up for the Weinberger demo, as they even attempted to molest an RCYB supporter. In fact, all through the months of July-Nov., the cops and skins seemed to be vying for the mantle of "sentimental brutality."

This consolidation of skinhead thugs into the actual gang, Frisco Skins, is relatively new, even though some of them have been around as local reactionaries for a while longer (the pattern

in many cities is that newer and younger skins have been attracted to their big brothers like flies to shit). At any rate, as punks and other youth began arriving from all over the country for the War Chest tours in mid-July, some arrived early for the anti-Falwell demo on July 12. On the very same day as the steel ball began to demolish the "Vats" (residence and practice pad for many punks, whose eviction was speeded up in time for the DNC by an arson fire), the cops downtown began beating and arresting many of the newly arrived youth. On the very next night, the Frisco Skins made a concentrated "debut," as a dozen of them crashed the doors at a punk concert where antiwar films were being shown . . . as they proceeded to disrupt the films, one of them even later grabbed the mike to yell "Kill all niggers."

Their activity, in fact, around the DNC itself deserves some mention. In spite of posing as the "heart of the scene" and "being at all the demos" (their own quotes from a *Maximum Rock 'n' Roll* interview . . . Oct. '84), the only DNC activities they attended in full force were the last day concert and the anti-Klan demo! (The Klan were a no-show, but what were the skins there for?) Some of the gang were inadvertently arrested in the mass busts (over 300) in front of the Hall of Justice. (It was here that "Nazi Bob" could be heard lamenting that he was really with the cops!) But the Frisco Skins' real relationship to these demos occurred at a benefit for legal defense of DNC "victims" . . . as the skins beat up on a number of people in the audience. Some people in fact were served the double outrage of first being attacked by the cops, and then by the F. Skins! Given all this concerted activity, how can one simply dismiss it as "spontaneous," especially as it reached a crescendo at election time? One is compelled to ask "where do they all come from?"

Perhaps, it would help to provide a little history: In the past, shaved heads in the U.S. have just been another rebellious haircut . . . however, it meant something entirely different in England; and in between '81 and '82, after the English riots had made the "Oi" skinheads infamous, some punks here began adopting some of the "fashions" like bleached jeans, suspenders

(braces), Doc Marten boots, etc. Now the Oi movement in England has a much longer history among the lower rungs of white working-class youth and some Oi bands have even been supported and co-opted by the British Movement/National Front fascists. Oi bands sing about "working-class kids," "riots" . . . and such. However, some bands like Last Resort or Skrewdriver more tend to trot out the party line about nationalism and white power. In the past the British Movement has even prodded the Oi youth into carrying out reactionary attacks against the foreign-born. In 1981, a concert promoted by the British Movement bused dozens of Oi youth into a Pakistani district. After the inevitable "Paki-bashings" in the day, the Pakistanis responded at night by burning the concert hall to the ground . . . which became the "spark" for the English riots.

The skinhead gang movement in the U.S., although it has arisen out of the punk scene, does not have a very developed cultural expression, yet; but this is clearly what they are searching for. Nazi Jeff Elders' friends in Denver, for example, tried unsuccessfully to book a band called White Pride from St. Louis (songs: "Jew Girl," "All White City"). Some other skin gangs have tried to leech themselves onto certain bands who call for "punk unity" or for anything having to do with "strength," but again this has not always been successful. And their own bands have also been pretty much failures. However, it is clearly part of this fascist trend to have a cultural expression which could help solidify this trend.

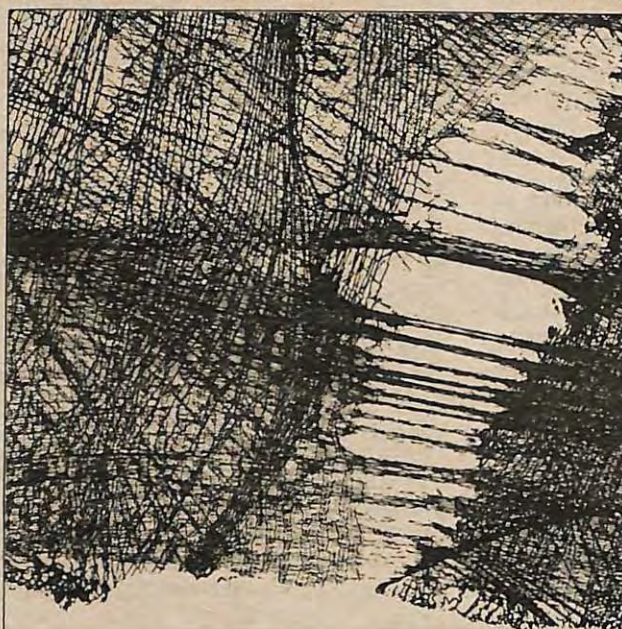
On the other hand, dozens of bands have written songs against the whole phenomena of "nazi punks" (because of punk's open-endedness, nazi punks have always been around; just not consolidated). Songs like "Nazi Punks Fuck Off," "Nazi Fun," "No Nazi's Friend," "(I ain't no) Fascist Pig," et al. Certainly, as the world situation increasingly knots up and places more demands on youth to step out into history, things have been polarizing. And as some youth, including "peace punks" were burning the American flag over the Grenada invasion, still others were tending to clutch the flag in fear of having something to lose. It's a fact that some skins who wear the flag proudly on their back, us-

ed to wear the flag upside down! In other words, part of the current skinhead trend is a REACTION to the direction punks are taking AWAY from the "good old days" of '77 when punk was not so defined. Small wonder then that, especially NOW (when the climate is right), that these "sentimental" thugs intimidate people from attending progressive shows and attack some of these bands as well.

So where did this gang the Frisco Skins come from, especially being so timely in their appearances? Several of them are new . . . "Sonny" from Texas, "Bags" from Oregon, "Nazi Bob" from who knows where. Some have been around for a long time: Mark Dagger has had a large number of assault charges against him through his "career," starting as a ringleader of the "Warlords" (this gang broke up . . . the time just wasn't right). Mark is the chief enforcer of the F. Skins, but is now in jail for a year for violating probation (on another assault). "Beau" has a reputation as a hippie speed merchant on the Haight, before he began attaching himself to the punks. "Bags" likewise has a reputation for ripping off the punks in Eugene, Oregon and for numerous run-ins with the law before migrating south. Word on the street in fact is that the authorities have the Frisco Skins "OVER A BARREL" with charges on their heads . . . wouldn't it be a fairly simple matter for the authorities to manipulate some of them at crucial points?

Clearly, part of their "mystique" (aside from their "psychotic," "mindless," or "murderer" image) has been their ability to act out their thugery with impunity and still pose as "part of the scene." As they fought with punks outside a show on Market Street, the cops came cruising by to announce "Now boys, stop fighting"! Had this occurred in June, during the "street sweeps" just prior to the DNC, 50 people would have been arrested on the spot! But even inside the shows, organized resistance has been slow in coming. The "hardcore" punk scene (characterized by being rawer and more aggressive) has in part allowed the gang mentality to nurture in the "pit" (dance floor) with its macho, "no holds barred" style of slam dancing. Far worse,

Continued on page 13



America in Decline

An Analysis
of the Developments
Toward War and Revolution,
in the U.S. and Worldwide, in the 1980s.

Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon

Vol. 1

278 pp.; \$21.95 cloth, \$11.95 paper; include \$1.00 postage

Order from Banner Press, P.O. Box 6469, Chicago, Illinois 60680

"An ambitious and often interesting attempt at Marxist interpretation of world developments in the 20th century."

John C. Campbell, *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1984

"America in Decline offers a searching examination of the ways in which the United States has been thrown into crisis by major shifts and changes in the global system of political economy."

Eric R. Wolf, Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, City University of New York; author of *Europe and the People Without History* and *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century*

"Lotta, a notable American Maoist, has written a valuable Marxist tract. . . . The book is highly readable. . . with minimal Marxist jargon. This volume is divided equally into theoretical explorations and application of theory to the history of the world and the U.S. until 1945. Teachers of Marxist theory and history would probably find it interesting to examine the volume for possible student use. No timetable is given for the appearance of subsequent volumes in this series, but that may not be important, since the most contentious issues in Marxist circles are treated here."

Choice, a Review Journal of the American Library Association, December 1984

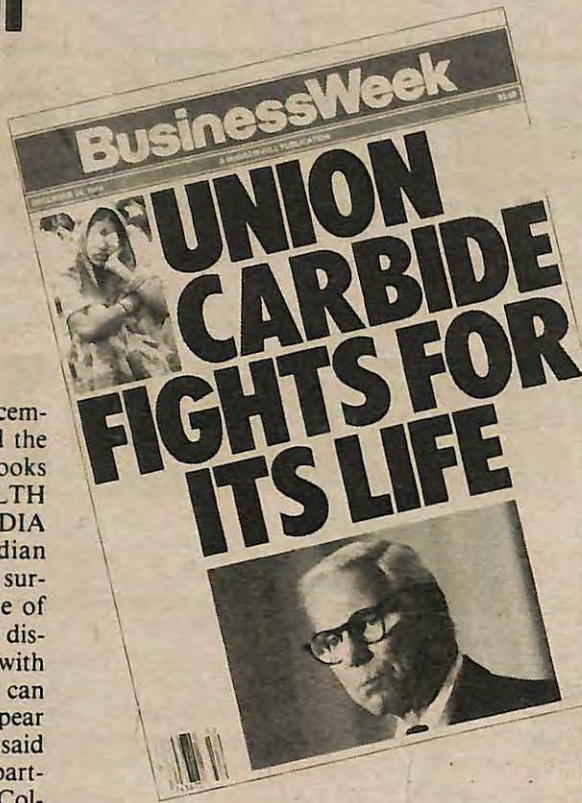
Arguably one of the most important Marxist analyses ever published in this country, *America in Decline* breaks new ground and offers fresh insights into the origins and implications of the contemporary crisis of world capitalism. It identifies and examines, as no other work before has, the forces that have brought the world to the precipice of the most destructive war in human history. This work is essential for understanding the causes and dimensions of the world crisis of the 1980s and the potential that it holds for revolutionary transformation. *America in Decline* shows that beneath the seeming madness of the arms race, beneath an international debt crisis that almost defies quantification, beneath the great power interventions in various corners of the world, and beneath the obfuscation and triviality of mainstream economic and political thought can be found an objective logic — the logic of capital in the imperialist epoch.

Volume 1 contains three introductory studies. The first chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the work as a whole and sets forth its principal theses. The second chapter surveys the rise and ascendance of U.S. imperialism, emphasizing those factors which would play a crucial part in the bolstering and unraveling of its international position in the years after 1945. The third chapter subjects the received tradition of Comintern crisis theory to blistering criticism.

America in Decline combines a mastery of material with a sense of urgency. Marxism here is presented and applied with rigor and vision. At a time when the economic collapse of entire countries and the nuclear devastation of the Earth are no longer viewed as remote possibilities, Raymond Lotta's insights into the mainsprings of twentieth-century history and the prospects for the coming decade cannot be easily dismissed — not when basic and perhaps fateful decisions and choices confront us all.

* NOTE: the use of "skinhead" or "skin" is used to denote a member of this fascist trend, as opposed to youth who shave their heads but are NOT part of this trend.

The Monster Squirms in the Spotlight of Bhopal



The front-page headline of the December 20th *New York Times* captured the impatience of the U.S. to close the books on Bhopal: "FEW LASTING HEALTH EFFECTS FOUND AMONG INDIA GAS-LEAK SURVIVORS." Indian doctors (we are told) "say they are surprised and pleased that almost none of the consequences predicted when the disaster struck... seem to be occurring with any significant frequency. 'As we can look at it right now, it does not appear that the morbidity will be very high,' said Dr. N.P. Mishra, head of the Department of Medicine at Gandhi Medical College."

Three weeks ago, there had literally been no toxicity studies of the chemical methyl isocyanate (MIC) gas because (as U.S. chemical industry researchers explained) the gas was "too lethal and too volatile" to risk such studies. Yet now, barely seventeen days after the greatest industrial "accident" in history, with over three thousand dead from this unstudied gas, the verdict is issued (with surprise and pleasure, no less!) that it is over, that there are no noticeable long-term effects. This despite the fact that over two hundred thousand people were injured by the gas in some way, and thousands remain in the hospitals struggling for life!

What then about stillbirths? At the time of the disaster, a doctor had been quoted by the United News Agency of India saying, "Children in the womb had stopped kicking, and bodies were rejecting fetuses." Doctors were reported performing abortions on "an unspecified number" of women who had been exposed to the gas and had been brought to the hospitals in great pain. But such things were not reported for long. Soon the *New York Times* was running another report, under the title, "More Hopeful Outlook Seen," in which a certain doctor Bhandari was quoted saying, "There have been no abortions so far, not in our experience. There have been two or three stillbirths, but this is normal."

What then about blindness? In the immediate aftershock of the poisoning there had been graphic reports of effects on eyes, the caustic burning of corneas... but no longer. Now the *New York Times* reports, "Although virtually everyone exposed to the gas suffered stinging eyes, doctors say they have yet to find a case of permanent blindness.... After a recent visit, Dr. Madan Mohan, the ophthalmologic advisor to the Indian government, said that 'there is very little likelihood for impairment of vision' and 'no risk of total blindness.'" What a relief. Except for the fact, reported elsewhere but apparently inappropriate for this *Times* report, that the reason there are so few blindings is that anyone suffering from the kinds of cornea ulcers producing permanent blindness was also so seriously damaged by the gas in other ways that they have died. In other words there are no permanently blind, because the likely candidates are now permanently dead.

Cancer? Gene mutation? Sterility? Already there have been new deaths from eating fish tainted with the poison. Apparently such things are not a suitable topic for reporting anymore.

We have here yet another example of the new "Spirit of America," unwilling to tolerate "negativism," finding the bright and optimistic side of every imperialist crisis and crime.

American-style "damage control" is obviously in full swing.

Fixing Blame—Drawing Conclusions

Obviously a central battle of "damage control" is the fight over blame. For some reason, people across the planet have drawn the hasty conclusion that American capitalism stands at fault here. In West Germany and Australia, protestors have targeted the company, spray-painting the words "poison killers" and "swine" on its property, and engaged in other expressions of outrage. As even Warren B. Anderson, chief of Union Carbide, understands, "We have a stigma. We can't avoid it." Anderson has even offered himself as a permanent crusader in the cause: "The balance of my professional career will be associated with having to sort out this incident. Maybe some benefits will come out of this—in terms of how people do things in other parts of the world."

But which changes flow from this in "how people do things" has a great deal to do with how the destruction is summed up. Virtually every day new evidence emerges which exposes not only the callous disregard for human life that permeated the entire Bhopal production process, but which contrasts the techniques and standards applied in India to those used in identical processes in the advanced countries. What emerges is not just a crime of capitalism, but a stark illustration of the essential lopsidedness in a world of oppressor and oppressed countries. In the last few days alone, it has been revealed that the cooling systems essential for maintaining MIC in a controllable liquid state had been broken at the Bhopal plant for two years! Further, it has been reported that concentrating this chemical in large amounts (30,000

gallons were released onto Bhopal from the single malfunctioning tank) is so dangerous that the plants in countries like France simply forbid storage tanks of such size; the chemical is gathered in far smaller drums, and long-term storage of large amounts is unheard of.

It may boggle the mind, but Union Carbide is actually being portrayed as a victim here. The cover story of *Business Week* focused on a brave survivor: "Union Carbide Fights For Its Life." Inside the magazine, "a source close to the company" is quoted as saying, "Many companies have called and offered sympathy." S.K. Goyal, a professor at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, adds: "The entire Indian business community will stand beside Union Carbide. Tomorrow it could be them."

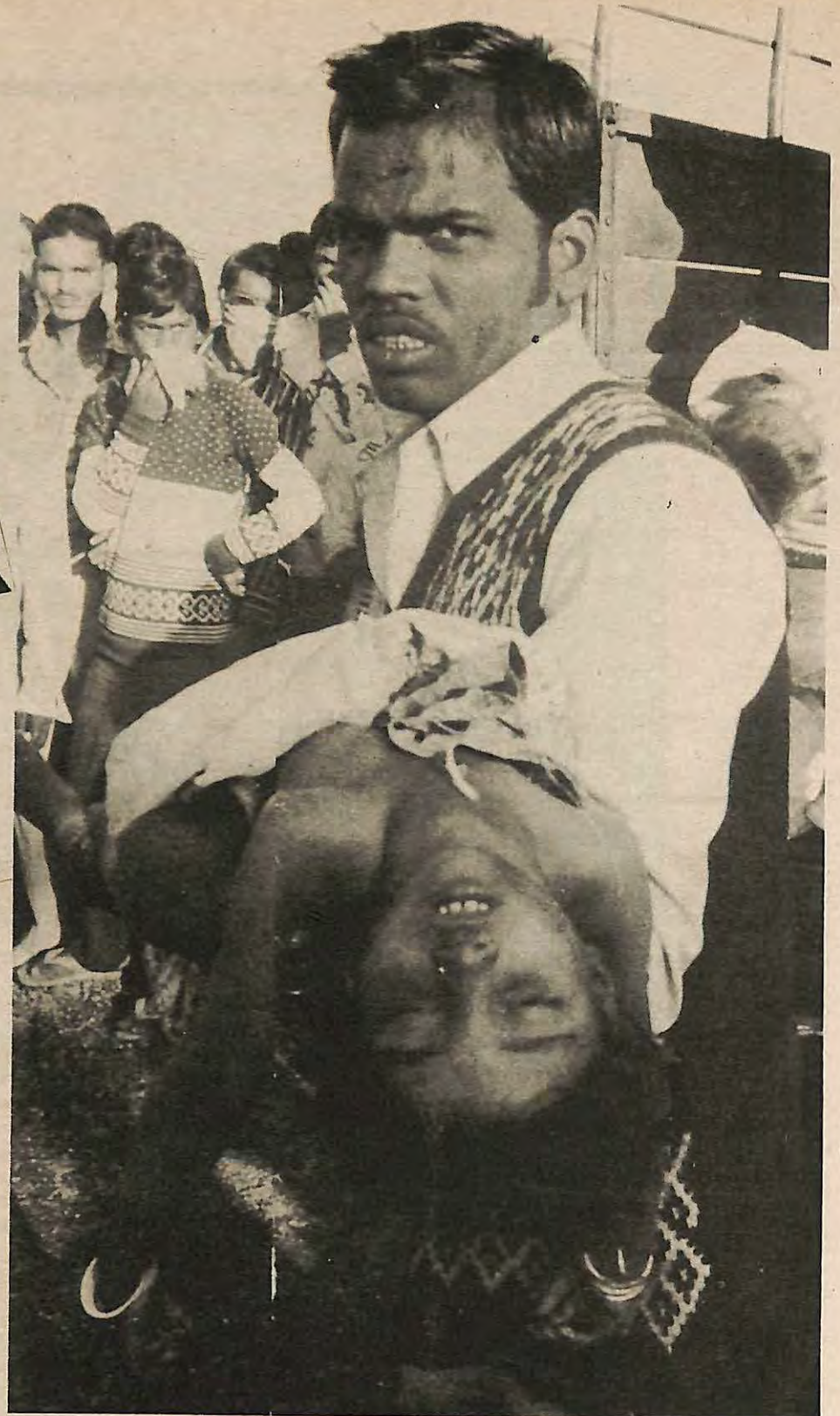
Yet with the world demanding an explanation, U.S. opinion makers have had to come up with a summation of Bhopal. And they have: the blame lies with the Indians, with their backwardness, their alien culture, and with the irrational restraints Third World countries slap on in-

ternational capital!

In a summation article on Bhopal, "A Three Mile Island For Chemicals," printed in the *New York Times* on Sunday, December 16, the chemical industry confesses that almost nothing is known about the human effects of chemicals in use, and that this specifically includes most of the 66,000 chemicals known as toxic. Still, they argue, the six thousand chemical plants in the United States have records making them "among the safest in the country." The blame for Bhopal must apparently lie elsewhere. And, the *Times* continues:

"The question of safety at overseas facilities is a particularly thorny one. Many third-world countries, including India, Brazil, Chile and South Korea, do not allow foreign companies to maintain full ownership of their plants. Many impose severe restrictions on importing equipment. And they insist that the plant hire only local people, even if they are not as well trained as their American counterparts. And perhaps most troublesome,

Continued on page 14



"A Record of Careful Testing..."

Amid all the current whining about the "safety record of the chemical industry," the following story demands attention. In its own hideous way it documents just how "concerned" international capital is about the lethal effects of its miracle pesticides.

Scene No. 1

During the mid-seventies, the Swiss pharmaceutical giant Ciba-Geigy developed a new pesticide, Galecron, for use on cotton. They dutifully commissioned studies of its potential hazard for humans—using a direct approach. In 1976, the company deliberately sprayed a test group of Egyptian children about six years old with the poison, in protracted and controlled experiments. After this was brought to light by the Swiss group

Declaration of Bern, records surfaced listing the names and ages of the children, and chronicling elaborate chemical analyses of their urine. The pesticide is now known to cause cancer.

Faced with public outrage, the company acknowledged the charges. They issued the following statement: "It was not correct for us to have done this. Children should never have been used in the experiment."

They also withdrew the poison from the market.

Scene No. 2

After a fashionable period of feigned shame, the product was reissued in 1978 for widespread sale in Egypt, the United States and Mexico. It soon became clear that in practice the use of such poison is

not far removed from its disavowed test conditions. A BBC documentary on pesticides, airing in the early 1980s, showed Galecron being sprayed in Mexico. Typical of class relations on this planet, the field was full of laboring children, again being soaked to the skin with the deadly chemical. In the course of filming, footage was actually taken (and eventually aired) of a child being sprayed full in the face by accident. New outrage. Not only public outrage this time, but outrage from Ciba-Geigy, which felt persecuted in the pursuit of its normal business. The company went to court to have the documentary withdrawn, charging that scenes had been staged....

And so it goes. The daily workings of a monstrous world system. □

ON THE STREET

IN HUMBOLDT PARK

Even at first glance, West Town, the historic center of the Puerto Rican barrio immediately to the east of Chicago's Humboldt Park, is an area marked by extreme poverty. The business district along North Avenue and Division Street has grass growing through cracks on its crumbling sidewalk. Most stores have a dilapidated look and they checkerboard with abandoned buildings. Walking through the neighborhood streets of small bungalows and two- to three-story apartment buildings, one is immediately struck by the large number of vacant lots and charred, burned-out buildings — the result of a wave of arson fires in the '70s. Some people have planted gardens in their backyards, reminiscent of rural life on the island, but few own their own houses. Large families crowd into rotted, rat-infested housing owned by absentee landlords. Here the average family income is \$9,000; the infant mortality rate one of the highest in the city and many live on the verge of hunger and malnutrition. Half the families are headed by women. Police patrol cars are often seen cruising the streets or racing up and down, blue lights flashing.

Youths — mainly Puerto Rican, but Mexican and Black also — hang out on the corners and on the stoops. The median age in this area is nineteen! The Puerto Rican youth are mainly second

generation, born in the U.S.A., having visited Puerto Rico only briefly if at all. Their parents were driven off the land on the island in the decades following World War 2, migrating to urban slums in San Juan, New York City and Chicago. Many of those originally coming to Chicago were recruited as contract laborers by U.S. employment agencies: the men coming as laborers, the women primarily as domestics. Today the majority of Puerto Ricans in Chicago work in low-paying factories or the "service" industry. The unemployment rate is estimated to be 25-30 percent, much higher for teenagers, and many families are on welfare.

Home to more than half of Chicago's Puerto Rican population of about 120,000, the Humboldt Park area has been called by Chicago's authorities, "the most dangerous neighborhood in the country," citing fifty-one reported killings of youth between the ages of eleven and twenty in the past year related to gang warfare. And as Chicago's infamous "war on gangs" campaign moved from the stage of creating public opinion to implementation of various plans to step up the overall repressive apparatus patrolling and terrorizing the masses of oppressed, a spokesman for Mayor Harold Washington announced that one of the five areas targeted by the city was Humboldt Park. While the "war

on gangs" is more and more clearly coming to light as part of a strategy for clamping down on the oppressed generally (see *RW* No. 283, "Law 'N Order For Those Without Lawns"), the immediate target in this area are the young Puerto Rican men.

Repeatedly, these guys have been portrayed in the media as a bunch of crazed gangbangers. And while the atmosphere of gang violence is heavy and a painful contradiction for the masses, the reality of life for these youth presents a stark picture of an already disloyal and potentially disloyal section of the people, locked out of the American mainstream, facing intense national oppression and daily intimidation and brutality at the hands of the police, and full of hatred for the authorities. Further, investigation among these youth on the streets of Humboldt Park provides insight into how the authorities not only use the gang violence as a cover for what amounts to a counter-insurgency operation but also how they manipulate the gangs to maintain control of the situation and turn hundreds of youth into cannonfodder in their bourgeois infighting over control of the underground economy and the city government as well. Through talking to dozens of these youth and individuals from other strata, what emerges is a situation which is not only "dangerous" for the oppressed but potentially quite dangerous for the oppressors, and likely to become a very different sort of hot spot as the world situation intensifies.

In the past, the Humboldt Park area has been a politically volatile one; Puerto Rican national sentiments have run high and Puerto Rican Day, when Puerto Rican flags fly from car antennas and shouts of "Viva Puerto Rico Libre" can be heard, has often been the scene of confrontations with the police. When Lolita Lebrón and the other nationalists who took guns into the U.S. Congress in the '50s were released from prison in 1979, their first appearance was in Chicago, where thousands (including large numbers of youth) turned out in the streets to celebrate. A major rebellion erupted in the park area in 1966, and Chicago was also the birthplace of the Young Lords Organization in the 1960s — a fact that has been the subject of a study by federal law enforcement agencies concerned with "how members of a street gang became revolutionaries." June 4, 1977 — Puerto Rican Day — the youth rebelled, driving the cops out of the area, and unrest continued for several years as Puerto Rican Day was dominated by a festival-of-the-oppressed atmosphere. Given the overall world situation, and the particular situation in Puerto Rico, not surprisingly the mood in Humboldt Park today seems a tense calm. Revolutionary nationalists such as the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), which has been fiercely attacked by the authorities, continue to have influence. *RW* sellers in the area reported significant support for the Palestinians in Lebanon, and some teachers in the local

high school are known to be active in opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

Life on the Streets

Those traditional guardians of freedom — the police — have always run rampant in Humboldt Park. In large part their shooting of the two youth on Puerto Rican Day during a police rampage through the park area sparked the 1977 rebellion. The police originally justified these shootings by saying they were responding to gang violence, but this lie has since been widely exposed. Although the families of these slain youths were eventually rewarded some money, the cop who fired the fatal shots continues on the police force and the city refused to accept any liability in its out-of-court settlement. The federal government, which spent two years investigating the case, concluded in 1979 that there was "insufficient evidence" for bringing criminal charges against the police. What was this, if not a green light for the continued suppression of the Puerto Rican masses by force?

And this is exactly what happened. In October 1981 a seven-hundred-member Bureau of Field Tactical Services was set up by the Chicago Police Department (CPD) to spearhead massive sweeps through oppressed Black and Puerto Rican communities. Humboldt Park was a major target. Until this program was disbanded in March 1983, due to an ACLU federal lawsuit, the police arrested an estimated eight hundred thousand to one million youths on disorderly conduct (over a five year period). In addition, intense political repression has been directed against the Puerto Rican revolutionary nationalists in the area, including a joint FBI-CPD raid of the MLN Cultural Center last year.

Despite the settlement of the ACLU lawsuit, the police have continued to run amok in Humboldt Park. Almost all the youth interviewed by the *RW* have personally been beaten by the police, the great majority on several occasions.

The experiences of the following three Puerto Rican youth is typical. Freddy, a twenty-five-year-old Puerto Rican worker who lays rugs, told this story: "It was my birthday and we had a celebration. I was going across the street to my aunt's house for dinner. Some police officers stopped us. My brother was sitting on a car talking to a friend. They pulled him down and started searching him. So I just came out and said, 'Hey, thanks for the birthday present — you're going to take him in.' Just joking around. They said, 'Shut up. Stop yelling.' 'I'm not yelling.' I kept on walking and one of them came from behind and hit me with the handcuffs — I still have the marks from that. He threw me on the ground and put the cuffs on me and started pushing me around. Then my brother started arguing with them and they jumped on him. They stood him by the paddy wagon door and hit him with it — he had to get sixty-three stitches. After





they hit my brother they just threw him inside and then they tried to kick him. They threw me up against the wall and I got knocked out when I hit the building. When I woke up I was in the hospital. . . .

"They're going around after whoever is young and whoever is standing outside. We'll be out there a lot of the time. Five or six of us will decide to play floor hockey, softball or we'll be over in this area, like now, sitting around drinking and watching a ballgame. That's the way it is on this whole side of the block. Everybody hands out, whatever. And they come by right away. They start searching you and if you get smart with them the first thing they do is put you away. And this happens even if you're not getting smart, if you're just asking them, 'Why are you searching me?' They're probably afraid of the people around here because you can see it the way they come out. They got their billy clubs in their hands and be reaching for their guns like they're going to use them."

Freddy filed a lawsuit against the cop who beat him and later was threatened by him when he came back and said, "Come on, let's go for a ride, I want to talk to you, you better not go to court." He eventually won a small settlement but the pig is still on the loose in the area.

Hector is a nineteen-year-old worker who lays cement and does other odd construction jobs: "A friend who lives right there (pointing down the street) supposedly was dealing some dope, and they just came, knocked on his door twice, and when nobody opened they knocked it down. I didn't see no papers or anything. They went upstairs and my friend's wife was there with the kids and they were all scared to death thinking it was somebody trying to break into the house till they found it was the cops. They were there for about an hour and a half. That other house there — they did the same thing. They knocked the door in and, man, they demolished the inside of that house. They didn't find nothing."

"This has been going on now for quite a while. They get out of the car and you look suspicious to them — 'come here you fucking asshole.' The last time they called me a motherfucker. I don't know why. The cops saw that I was trying to back myself up. 'You're going to get your motherfucking ass kicked, do you know that, for that smart mouth of yours.' I'm over here trying to back myself up against two cops and it was all for nothing because they grabbed me."

"I had a friend who had supposedly been running from the cops. When they grabbed him they beat the shit out of him. They kicked him in the balls and everything. He was limping for three days. He was walking with a cane. He had bruises all over him. They just whipped his ass."

José, a sixteen-year-old Clemente High School student and gang member, told the *RW* this story: "Just yesterday I got beat up by the cops. I was right there on the corner. One of the other guys yelled at the cops, 'Drop that bullhorn, drop that bullhorn' (the loudspeaker on top of the patrol car — *RW*). They thought it was me. So he came over and started grabbing me and pushing me around. They hit me on the hip with the flashlight and then in the face. One guy picked me up from the back and threw me against the fence. They even pulled a gun on me. I don't know why — just because he thinks he's bad. When I turned around and seen them he said, 'You go and I'll blow your head off.'"

"They talk about how they're going to stop gang crime like that. But they're the ones who start the wars. They come over here, 'Yeh, it was the XX gang that shot him' this and that. Then they go over there and say it the other way around."

It needs to be emphasized here that all the comments by these youth describe the situation in Humboldt Park *after* the ACLU lawsuit was settled and *before* the area was targeted as one of the five "hot spots" under the city's "war on gangs." Now even more marauding pigs are to be assigned to step up this siege.

Just Another Part of the System

The role of these police is to enforce the very conditions of national oppression which breed the gangs in the first place. What the system offers these youth is unemployment, poverty, oppressive, semi-militarized schools, a future of some sweatshop with World War 3 looming on the horizon, and hustling some weed or other drugs on the street, which is often the only way for youth to make any money. This is very prevalent in Humboldt Park. At night teenage kids post themselves at different stop signs and sell marijuana to passing drivers who come from many parts of the city and even the suburbs for this reason. There is also the question of status. At every point Puerto Rican youth are put down by the institutions of society, while in gangs they can sometimes demonstrate bravery and loyalty to their peers. In addition, in

Chicago many gangs form mainly along nationality lines and white gangs have been known to attack Blacks and Puerto Ricans. One person told the *RW*: "If you are getting beat up by fifty white kids it makes sense to join with fifty Puerto Rican kids."

This, however, is far secondary to the economic factor. For this reason, although the majority of teenage guys in Humboldt Park do not belong to gangs, there is also a large group who are loosely affiliated and many who support themselves in some degree by selling drugs. Most of the gangs also have a female auxiliary component and some have youth groups for kids as young as seven, eight or nine years old. The actual hard core of the gangs, however — those who "represent" for the gang (say they belong publicly on the street), "soldiers" who are willing to die and kill for the gang — are actually a much smaller group. There is also a phenomenon of a very small number of main gangs gathering around them alliance of smaller gang "affiliates."

The gangs have been integrated into the way the city is run. They are riddled with police connections and tied to the system in a myriad of ways, through the underground economy and being integrated into various political machines.

One community organizer told the *RW* how the police (who themselves are infiltrated heavily by the Mafia, which is the main immediate source of drugs going to the gangs in Chicago) pull gang leaders off the street and take them to the station for "talks" with the commander. At these talk sessions the police lay down the "rules we'll be playing by now." For example, they'll tell the gangs: "curtail your visible day activity or visibility — things are hot, play it cool" or "I don't want 60 percent of my uniformed cops processing all you punks — lay low" or "we don't want the feds in our neighborhood leaning on both of us, do we?"

This person told how heroin distribution in one neighborhood in the area had expanded from one corner to two, which the police thought was too high-profile. So every day they busted the gang members in the neighborhood (who in this case weren't doing the selling). Finally the police told one gang member that this harassment would stop if they told the guys on the second corner to stop selling there. Twenty to forty gang members came up to the dealers on this corner with sticks and "diplomatically" put a halt to the trade. The sales continued only at the

first corner after that.

It is well known that cops pocket their own drugs which they rip off gang members on the street, using it themselves or selling small amounts to their friends. Then there are individual cops like the three in Humboldt Park who systematically ripped off the pushers. This put the pushers' lives in danger because they couldn't supply the addicts. These cops then came back a week later and sold the pushers the same drugs at double their price. Eventually, however, these three were indicted because, according to one source, they were becoming too powerful on the streets and were creating problems for the Mob who went through the courts to ice them out.

Gang and "ex"-gang ties to the various politicians in Humboldt Park are equally explicit. A few years ago Ray Rolan, an "ex"-gang member, formed a group called the United Latinos Organization. This group worked with several gangs in the area participating in "positive" activities such as organizing block clubs, sponsoring picnics and dances — and registering thousands of voters to help Jane Byrne get elected. For this his organization was rewarded with a certain number of city jobs. At one public meeting to criticize the police commander in the area, Rolan gave this explanation for why they wanted a meeting with him: "Not to intimidate him or simply criticize him but to educate him, to help him do a better job, to tell him where the trouble spots are, to enable police to provide better protection to our people, not merely bust the youngbloods' heads on the corners." Working with "ex"-gang leaders like Rolan is a key element in the Philadelphia Plan Mayor Washington is trying to get implemented as part of the "war on gangs" in Chicago — along with more police.

In all this the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie's crocodile tears over "gang violence" stands exposed once again. As a way to control and further utilize the gangs the police systematically instigate gang warfare in Humboldt Park. The rivalries between the nearly two dozen gangs in the surrounding area are already very intense. Many youth associated with one small area can only go into other neighborhoods at great risk because of threat of attack by rival gangs.

The hand of the police in all this was reported to the *RW* repeatedly by youth who confirmed José's comment that "They're the ones who start the gang wars." José himself gave this personal il-

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On The Streets of Humboldt Park

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Illustration: "They (the police — *RW*) stopped me and asked me what gang I was in. I told them I was an XX. They told me, 'Oh, you think you're bad?' I didn't say nothing to them. They took me in the car over to Schiller and dropped me off. They started saying on the loud speaker to the YYs standing on the corner: 'We got a XX here, guys.' Then they just pushed me out and left." José was able to get away only because he outran the other gang members but many other youth have been seriously beaten and even killed in similar incidents.

This experience is by no means a little game played at the whim of a few police. It is part of a deadly serious strategy worked out and implemented by those who have honed their skill at this sort of counterinsurgency around the world. And it is massively used. The *RW* has interviewed dozens of youth and all know of this practice of the police dropping youth in rival gangs' turf, while most have experienced it personally. The youth also tell about the police stealing a gang's colored sweater and giving it to a rival gang and looking on approvingly as they put it on a dummy and hang it in a tree by its neck. What else could the purpose of this be, if not to instigate gang warfare?

Or take what happened this previous Puerto Rican Day. Several gangs were hired by the Puerto Rican Day Parade Committee and paid \$10,000 to act as security. The authorities talked about a gang truce and gang cooperation. Then, all the gangs were assigned security shirts emblazoned with one gang's color. Several youth, including gang members who were there, have pointed out that this could have been nothing but a deliberate provocation. What followed was probably the largest wave of intergang killings ever. Throughout the rest of June, twelve people under thirty were killed in the area.

A year and half ago, Mayor Washington came to Humboldt Park on Puerto Rican Day, and while standing under a Puerto Rican flag and a banner with the old Young Lords Organization emblem (minus the gun), declared "¡Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" (Free Puerto Rico!). Last year Puerto Rican Day was preceded by major police sweeps in the days before the holiday. And now the same mayor has announced with great solemnity that Humboldt Park will be one of the targets of this "war on gang violence." Not only will this mean an even greater clampdown on the youth, but the very forces being called in, in increased numbers, to "stop the killing" are the ones systematically instigating the violence. The blood of the fifty-one youth is on their hands. A perfect picture of just what this "war on gangs" is all about.

A Real American Education

A look at the choices which the American way of life offers these youth reveals why it is that the principal means of control dished out to them is marauding pigs in blue. Indeed, bourgeois experts have themselves let the cat out of the bag in their various studies. One area of study and expressed concern by the bourgeoisie themselves is the astronomical rate at which Puerto Rican youth drop out of the public schools. A recently concluded study of two predominantly Puerto Rican high schools found that 74.5 percent of the freshmen who entered Clemente High in 1979 failed to graduate in 1983, and 71.8 percent at Wells High. The dropout rate is estimated to average over 70 percent for all Puerto Ricans in school. While the authorities have used this dropout rate to point to gang violence as the underlying cause, it is interesting to see what school authorities say about it in their scholarly journals.

William Jones, Director of the Dropout Prevention program for Chicago public schools, gets right to the point in a 1977 article in *Educational Leadership*, entitled "The Impact on Society of Youths Who Drop Out or Are Undereducated." "Many minority students" drop out, he says, because they "find their

language (slang or foreign), culture, religion, race or whole self ignored, derided, or attacked outside their groups. Opportunities for social mobility and even survival are restricted. . . ." Nothing about gang violence causing dropouts here, just some admission to the "flaws" of the system. In reality, a stark picture of national oppression. Of course Jones' point isn't to create sympathy for the oppressed but to issue a warning to educational leaders and the ruling class in general that this dropout phenomenon presents a serious problem. The schools teach some of the fundamental values in American society, he continues, including "a strong belief in freedom, equality of educational and economic opportunity; . . . support for equality of law, order and justice; ability to conform; and underlying belief in reason." Dropouts "have not been able to form strong identifying and unifying ties to school, neighborhood, church and the dominant society." They develop "open hostility toward the outside society." This "represents an explosive, irrational, emotional attitude."

Of course Jones neglects to mention that "deriding" the Puerto Rican language, culture and nationality is exactly the function of the public schools, whose role has been clearly defined for decades as "Americanizing immigrants." One youth who had come from Puerto Rico two years ago described to the *RW* how the Spanish language is suppressed: "My language is Spanish. Maybe sometimes I don't want to speak English because my sound is funny. When you say something a lot of people don't understand you, they start laughing and shit. Sometimes the teachers call you names because you can't speak English very well. They call you names: 'You're lazy, you fucking dummy, if you come to school it's for learning, not fucking around.' If you tell some teachers you don't understand, they don't care because we are Puerto Ricans. The teacher will say: 'Hey man, I don't care, I got my job, I got my house, I got my car, I got my check every two weeks.' So we say, 'We don't care neither.'"

He went on to do some "deriding" of his own. "They teach us that Puerto Rico and the United States are together. We're not like Mexicans, we don't need green cards or papers, we are U.S.A., we are Americanos. That's what they tell us in school, that Puerto Ricans have a different relationship with the United States, that we are free."

The schools are a major institution reinforcing this national oppression. The youths describe the attitude of most teachers as, "If you're Puerto Rican, you're stupid, you can't learn." Puerto Rican traditions are supplanted by those of the U.S.; holidays such as Lincoln's and Washington's birthday and July 4th are alien to these youth. History books present a distorted image of the country emphasizing the "smallness" of Puerto Rico along with a history which "begins" in 1898 (the start of U.S. occupation of the island); and "success images" in stories and pictures reflect a powerful and affluent American society helping a poor, helpless people. Puerto Rican girls are also taught their social role in these schools by teachers who approach them looking for "dates."

Much of this applies even at a school like Clemente, which does not appear to be the typical old, fallen-down ghetto high school. It is fairly new, with carpeting in the halls, and bilingual programs. There are more than a few Puerto Rican teachers, many of whom try to put pressure on the students to "make it" through study and hard work. The fact that the problem is more deep rooted and systemic than this, however, is shown by the fact that Clemente was one of the schools studied in the dropout report and 71.8 percent of the youths were found to be dropping out before graduation. And even Clemente is like a jail with a "closed campus," which means that outside doors are locked when school starts and no one can leave and get back in — including at lunch — until school is over.



Several youths the *RW* talked to shed even more light on why they drop out. One said his father urged him to drop out of school at the age of fifteen because his help was needed to support a family of ten kids. His father had helped line up a job in the suburbs cutting up old muffler pipes, a job at which he had been injured twice in the past year. Another fifteen-year-old girl described how her family is on welfare because her father got four fingers cut off while working in a factory in Puerto Rico. Her sister dropped out because of a medical problem and now has a job as a salesgirl. Her brother dropped out and is now doing nothing. Her six-year-old cousin already wants to drop out because the teacher hits his hands with a ruler! Another told of a friend who dropped out, "got into drinking heavily, and then was killed in a car accident." Many of these kids do not find jobs, although some do, like one girl who had to drop out and go to work in a candle factory because her father left her mother and there were six kids. Several said that even if you graduate from high school you still face either unemployment or work in a sweatshop, so why put up with schools that "don't teach you anything — except if you're Puerto Rican, you're inferior."

The experience of Freddy was typical of the lives of many of these young Puerto Rican dropouts. He had left Clemente in his fourth year because he had his first kid and had to get a job. Later he went to New York City for three years where he was a pressman cutter in the printing industry. He came back to Chicago because this is where his mother and father live. For a while he was on welfare making \$300/month while his rent was \$210. His gas and electricity got shut off because he couldn't pay his bills. Later he got a job at Toys R Us as an assistant manager trainee. There "some idiot got smart at me and started cussing me around. The boss came and started throwing brooms at me and 'go sweep this and that.'" Because he was an assistant manager trainee he said that wasn't his job and got fired. After that he was unemployed for one and a half years. "I had two kids and I hustled my butt off to get money." He sold marijuana and acid, which he bought through a gang, and fixed up cars — doing body work. "There were times I was lucky I came home with \$100/week." He survived because he knew the

landlords who would wait for the rent and because his parents would give him money every once and a while. Now he works seven days a week for a friend who is under contract to lay rugs with a carpet retailer.

The problem people like administrator Jones worry about with youth like this is that they lack a "strong identification with the dominant society." This problem is interpenetrated with and compounded by the fact that, as these educators often put it, Puerto Rican youth have no "role models." They have almost exclusively been left out of the American mainstream.

In Chicago this is very stark. Economically the majority of Puerto Rican workers are concentrated in those sections of the economy that are rapidly being eroded by the imperialist crisis. (Over half of Puerto Rican and Mexican workers are "operatives" and "laborers.") This led Gary Orfield, a University of Chicago professor of Policy Studies, to conclude recently that there will be "possibly severe socio-economic problems for Latinos in the city." In addition, the Puerto Rican middle class is quite small and weak and the upper class is practically nonexistent: there are no Puerto Rican-owned banks, few businesses which are concentrated in low-profit, retail trade, almost no executives in major corporations or in the media. Only four percent of all Latinos in Chicago are graduates of four-year colleges, compared to eight percent of Blacks and seventeen percent of whites. Likewise the Chicago Democratic machine has historically excluded Puerto Ricans. There has only been one or two machine-appointed Puerto Rican aldermen and there are no Puerto Rican politicians from Chicago at the state or federal levels. Puerto Rican employment in the city, state and federal government is miniscule.

Worry about this contradiction has led the federal government to attempt to ease tension around this on several occasions. U.S. court decisions have forced Chicago to hire more Latino teachers and police and in 1983 a federal court-approved ward map boosted the possibility of a few Latinos getting into office. Mayor Washington has also set up a Commission on Latino Affairs and hired a small number of Puerto Ricans. But what these belated, slap-dash efforts underline is not

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Starvation in Chad

Dear RW,

Lately, leading lights in the West have, for their own political reasons, been focusing on the critical food situation in Ethiopia. And as a result, there have arisen some opportunities for exposing the oppression of such countries by imperialism (of whatever stripe), a phenomenon which has both its own particularities and is revealed with special intensity on the African continent. Since the famine is continent-wide, it is instructive to examine some other compelling, if less-publicized, examples of imperialist relations at work in this area of the world where literally millions are starving to death.

Chad, one of the four African nations most severely gripped by the death-spectre (along with Ethiopia, Mozambique and Mauritania), is a case in point. Here, some 600,000 people out of a total population of four million are presently in some stage of starvation. Tens of thousands of desperate villagers from the countryside are streaming into the capital city of Ndjamena — a city of already pitiful resources — in search of food. One news account of a couple of weeks ago described how the government has set up five feeding centers at considerable distances from Ndjamena to ward off further migration to the capital. But there is nothing to eat at these "feeding centers" and, according to officials, no present expectations that any relief shipments — even those already in transit — will actually arrive.

Typically, in one of these centers, Mousorro, some 11,000 people sit or lie inanimately on the outskirts of a village where virtually no one can be seen preparing food. If physically able, people drag themselves daily to the town's one well-stocked market (for those who can afford it) to beg for handouts. Children gnaw on dry, fibrous and slightly poisonous potato-sized seeds from the nearby trees that yield practically no nourishment. Hunger diseases like kwashiorkor and marasmus, in which the starved body begins to consume itself, are starkly evident among the people.

In Chad, as elsewhere in Africa, the emergence of this grim picture has little to do with the obligatory reminders in the press about the scope of the "natural calamity" (i.e., the drought and its multiplier effects). Another of those desolate nations speculated to be "the poorest in the world," Chad has long been dominated and twisted by French imperialism. Per capita income in the quarter century since formal "independence" has, for example, averaged a mere \$110 a year. Like the rest of Africa, Chad's foreign debt took off in

the late '70s and early '80s, and it is freely admitted that its economy is saddled with what the media likes to call "the legacy of colonialism." One recent piece averred that in Chad, surprisingly, "this year's cotton crop was the largest in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite that, said a Western relief worker, people in the south will starve. Some might argue that they will starve because of it."

Actually, the situation is far more catastrophic than as pictured above. Two weeks ago the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization reported that the *total food reserves* for the entire country were down to 362 tons.

Things are getting worse in Africa generally, and can only get worse in the context of current international political relations and global crisis. Imperialism will not, can not, come "to the rescue." The experts openly admit this. Meager relief efforts stem from the rivalrous intrigue of one or another great power. In Chad, civil war between French and Libyan/Soviet-backed factions is directly connected to the famine. Clearly, a war is required, but one that aims at tearing down exploitative and oppressive relations, not building them up.

Of course if we are to believe the Western media, the imperialists' military presence (at least that of French paratroopers, Foreign Legionnaires, and other assorted Western mercenaries) has been a *boon* to Chadians. One fanciful story in the *N.Y. Times* a few weeks ago during the latest French troop pullout noted that French soldiers had spent something like \$6 million in Chad in the last year and mused on the "benefits" that would now unfortunately be lost to the capital as the French withdrew (such benefits being summed up as "...a handful of new bars, restaurants, clubs, grocery stores, etc.... A flower garden had been planted near the burned-out Roman Catholic cathedral. Some of the city's old fountains are spraying water again. Ndjamena's beggars have become a bit less tenacious..."). "Chad," the *Times* noted wistfully, "is likely to remain the poorest of the poor. Even the faint patina of prosperity now seen in Ndjamena, they say, may soon vanish."

This, when earlier in the year a UN medical team surveyed the poor neighborhoods of this "faintly prosperous" city and found that 37 percent of all children between the ages of one and five were severely malnourished and slowly dying from starvation. Another UN report on the city last year noted that TB, cerebro-spinal meningitis, measles and malaria "are making a strong comeback among a population weakened by war and malnutrition."

A revealing story was told in one of the

UN's World Food Program pamphlets about the incredible problems of just getting food aid *into* Chad, let alone distributing it. Instead of the usual method of trucking food 2-3,000 kilometers across neighboring Cameroon, which itself has a limited rail and road capacity, last year WFP officials decided to try another, faster route with ships unloading in Apapa, only five days from Chad by truck. However, this route faced a similar obstacle: the 500-meter-wide Chari River which forms the natural border between Chad and Cameroon.

Since resourceless Chad has been unable to afford the cost of building even *one* bridge across the river, a ferry was necessary. But the one operating ferry was reserved for *commercial* transport — i.e., moving Chadian exports, such as cotton, to market — and couldn't (or wouldn't) handle the food. So WFP officials resorted to constructing a makeshift "ferry," using a section of an old army pontoon bridge (left behind by the French) strapped over two outboard motor boats. However, this ferry could only carry one truck at a time and soon broke down under the weight of eight trips a day, requiring time-consuming repairs. It is not known exactly how many Chadians starved to death while up to 120 fully laden food trucks queued up for days on the Cameroon bank of the Chari only a short distance away.

Worse, once the food finally was ferried across and arrived in Ndjamena, officials found that the city was not equipped to receive it since many of the food storage warehouses had recently been destroyed in fighting along with the puny fleet of one hundred trucks for distributing it owned by the government. But even if the trucks *had* been operating, the French-backed Habré government was not making any deliveries to famine-stricken areas in the north occupied by Libyan-supported forces — an attempt to starve out support for them.

Meanwhile, neither could much food be delivered to the government-controlled south because Chad has no railroads at all and hardly any roads (most of which are primitive and often impassable dirt tracks), and those roads it *does* have were originally built by the French for access to what they arrogantly referred to as "Tchad Utile" (Useful Chad) — that is, to cotton-producing areas and not to where human populations are concentrated. Emergency shipments of sorghum, beans, flour, rice and dried milk that did find their way into the capital simply piled up, immobilized by the fighting and the primitive storage and transport system.

A Reader

Ethiopian Famine of "Aid" and Alliances

Continued from page 3

resettlement of Tigrean peasants has coincided with the displacing of Oromo peasants in the south. Of interest is that southern Ethiopia is the area upon which the Dergue depends for the growth of cash crops for export and hence for its foreign exchange. Given this, it is most likely that many of the "resettled" peasants will end up laboring on the state farms in the south which, by the Dergue's own admission, produce only one percent of the food in Ethiopia. The last time the Dergue attempted to implement this

"resettlement" scheme, in 1981, the Anti-Slavery Society reported that many of the resettled peasants had actually been forced into slave labor on the state farms.

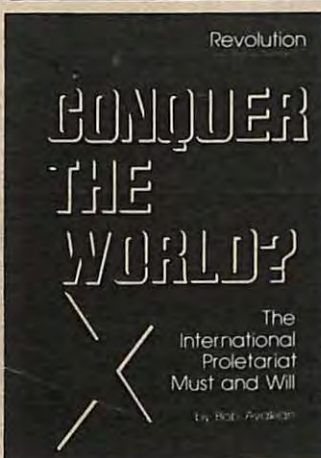
As indicated earlier, none of this bothers the U.S. and other Western imperialists. After all, they are primarily interested in keeping the Dergue intact and winning it away from the Soviets. If mass starvation and forced relocation is what it takes to stabilize the Ethiopian regime, so be it.

On the other hand, it is also the case that the West has not exactly given the resettlement scheme rave reviews. In fact, the response could be more accurately described as a lukewarm wait-and-see attitude. For the U.S. it does present certain sticky problems. While the U.S. rulers have no interest in seeing the various national liberation struggles achieve victory, they do see these struggles as being somewhat advantageous in terms of pressuring the Dergue. (This, together with the political necessity of avoiding the blame for a blatant mass starvation in Tigray and Eritrea, is what prompted the U.S. to begin sending small amounts of aid directly to relief agencies that worked inside Tigray and Eritrea last month.) And this forced resettlement — along with the threat of arrest and conscription into the Dergue's army — has generated thousands of new refugees seeking aid in the pro-U.S. countries of Sudan and

Somalia, a situation which places these already troubled regimes in even more dangerous waters.

Finally, there was an aspect of a threat contained in the U.S. response to the Dergue's charges. Not that the U.S. is considering abandoning the Dergue, but more along the lines of warning Mengistu that life could get a lot tougher if he doesn't watch his step. This message was

clearly picked up by the Ethiopian government as evidenced by their rush to soften — almost apologizing for — the charges they made. For the Dergue, their slap at Western imperialism was indeed a case of "biting the hands that feeds it." For the Ethiopian people, however, the entire incident once again underlined the point that the hand that feeds the Dergue is simultaneously strangling them. □



This special issue of Revolution contains the full text of a talk given by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

Its sections are:

- * Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road.
- * More on the proletarian revolution as a world process.
- * Leninism as the bridge.
- * Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up.
- * Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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On The Streets of Humboldt Park

Continued from page 10

a ruling class that feels it has everything under control with the Puerto Rican masses, but rather some real anxiety about the lack of a significant Puerto Rican middle class to act as a social buffer in times of social upheaval or revolution.

Additionally, the conditions of life of Puerto Ricans takes on a particularly ominous look with respect to Puerto Rican youth. A Puerto Rican community organizer who has lived his whole life in Humboldt Park shed some insight on this in an interview with the *RW*: "Puerto Rican youth are in limbo. . . . The island is a U.S. territory. The youth don't have a history of their parents living in Puerto Rico or share the dreams of their parents. . . . It's not that they're more rebellious, they're not insulated. They are not included into the mainstream or treated equally. There is a big contradiction between the idea that you are equal to the president yet you live in poverty. They're just urban slime."

He went on to talk about a generation and cultural clash between Puerto Rican youth and their parents. Age-old social and cultural customs rooted in semifeudalism, such as religion and the authoritarian family, are breaking down.

One way this comes out, according to a Puerto Rican teacher in one of the high schools we talked to, is conflict over the traditional role of Puerto Rican women. In some families fights are constantly breaking out over "rules of the house." Many girls are rebelling, especially against the old sexual mores which dictate that a woman save her virginity for a husband. This conflict has become so sharp that some young women make a point of leaving home to go live with friends or sometimes boyfriends that they don't know that well. Young Puerto Rican women can be seen having cut their long hair, sometimes with punk styles. And while it is all too common for many of these young women to get pregnant at an early age, there also is quite a bit of struggle in relationships against the woman being subservient. In marriages, for example, women have fought with their husbands around the old custom that men are the "breadwinners" and women should stay at home and not work. In the high schools there is a marked trend for young women to demand relationships based on equality and struggle with boyfriends over questions such as what movies to go see, etc.

These Puerto Rican youth overwhelmingly reject the "dream" of their parents to make some money in the U.S. and "go back to the hills of Puerto Rico" where, as this community organizer put it, you could say "this is my farm, you are my kids, we're going to raise pigs and chickens." Not only do these youth have no experience with the rural life, but also the small-scale agricultural production their parents remember has mainly been destroyed in Puerto Rico, making their dream impossible. The values and dreams of these youth are different or, more accurately, in flux.

The ROTC Hustle

Efforts have been made on several fronts to win a section of these youth politically to America. In particular the ROTC program has been pushed in the schools with some degree of success, although it is clear from the amount of effort being put into repressive apparatus that the ruling class recognizes that American patriotism is not going to be a big thing among the oppressed youth. When the "Let's End This Madness Before It Ends Us" leaflet was handed out at Clemente High School, some teachers devoted their entire class to discussing it. Some of the guys took a day-to-day survivalist stance, saying things like "We'll deal with it when the time comes." Others, however, expressed a lot of suspicion about the bourgeoisie's war preparations, including a couple of guys who said they "know all about the Deep Tunnel," a multi-billion dollar, 200-foot-deep sewer system being built in Chicago which they think is a bomb

shelter. The *RW* also talked to a number of young women who expressed great anger about the possibility of world war. "The Day After really touched me," said one. "I don't even want to think about it. All these people dead. They (the U.S. and Soviet Union — *RW*) want everything — they're just alike." Another said, "The students are really scared. Some people would stay alive but die later from the effects of radiation. What can we do? I'm willing to help, to join something, to do something about it."

Counter to this, however, was a group of male students who identified with Reagan and made comments like, "Reagan is protecting us from Russia" and "They're going to push the button so we have to press it first." A significant number of guys can be seen wearing U.S.-A T-shirts or even military uniforms and more than a few advocate statehood for Puerto Rico.

Partly this bourgeois beachhead reflects the influence of recent efforts like the ones to "exercise the Hispanic vote" and the recent elections on the island where Puerto Rico as the fifty-first state was pushed heavily by the current governor (although it was voted down). Also there has been a campaign waged by ASPIRA, a group of Puerto Rican and Mexican professionals and some upwardly aspiring students. Under a "pull yourself up by the bootstraps" program they have mobilized a section of the middle class and students around the dropout issue and against gangs, including a candlelight march of four hundred last March which received favorable coverage in the *New York Times*.

However, the future the U.S. holds out to these youth who "aspire" is not one of American middle-class comfort but fighting on the frontlines of WW3. This point has been driven home in a number of obvious ways. The core of the students who belong to ASPIRA, for example, are members of ROTC. This is no accident either and the message is clear: If you want a ticket out of the barrio, the military is the only way out. The promotion of ROTC has been quite intense. Hundreds of students — mostly men but a few women too — have been recruited at each Puerto Rican high school. At Clemente there is a shooting range in the school, a rifle and beret club, and on one day of the week youth are required to wear their uniforms. Saluting and "yes sirring" is commonplace in the school hallways, as well as pushups on the spot for improper attire. Competition between rival ROTC marching bands receives a really big hype and they are often seen parading through the schools, including assemblies, and outside. These bands even carry out their own "recruitment" at local grammar schools.

There are diverse reasons why Puerto Rican youth join ROTC. Roberto, an Army veteran in his early twenties, put it this way: "I joined to get away from here. I needed some dough. I wanted to look cool and do it for the girls. My brother was in ROTC. He had some rank and I'd see him in the parades giving orders to the

rest of the group. So I thought it was cool and joined ROTC too. And my father was in the Army for eighteen years, so my brother got that shit off my father."

Many ROTC kids don't even plan on joining the military after graduation. One young woman cadet, for example, told us she was hoping to be an airline stewardess after graduation. Others had joined to get gym credit or to learn how to put out a fire or use a weapon. There is also social pressure to join ROTC among a certain strata of students with upwardly mobile aspirations. This pressure was articulated by two youths who had attempted to quit ROTC, but were told they couldn't: "When you first think about joining ROTC they make you feel like you're going to have a lot of fun, America is great and all that. The first year you love it. The second year you realize they're trying to mold you, trying to make you like a robot. You have to listen to orders no matter what. Anyone who wants to get into ROTC can go, it's almost enforced. But when kids want to get out, they won't let you."

Not only is ROTC an attempt to turn these youth into robots but robot killers for America. To this end, there is a growing emphasis on "political education" of ROTC cadets. Apparently there is a core group (elite cadets), who, on the basis of scoring well in a variety of competitions, regularly attend special meetings at ROTC's central office (which is the same building as the Board of Education). One purpose of this is for the top brass to keep closer tabs on the level of training of various units. But more important is political discussion, including of military history.

One of these ROTC cadets gave a glimpse of what these political discussions consist of while explaining his own views to the *RW*. On Central America he said, "The guerrillas want to rule everything in El Salvador. ROTC tells us all about the El Salvadoran officers who die — his rank, his life and his family background. We have a rifle ceremony in honor of his death." The brainwash was even more apparent in his response on world war: "We have a scale to keep things balanced so the Soviets don't get enough power to go to war with the U.S. If the U.S. and USSR go to war, Mexico would go with the U.S. because in the Soviet Union they don't have enough cars." (!)

But even this particular youth was not exactly gung-ho to die for America; despite all his twisted political training he did not plan on joining the military after high school. An even deeper problem for the bourgeoisie, however, is illustrated by Roberto, the ROTC and Army vet, who has begun to sum up some things about America. "They don't want us to keep our identity as Puerto Ricans, I know that," he told the *RW*. "They keep telling us that we're Americans. We should fight for the country. When the war comes down, we should be the first ones out there and get our ass shot off. They want people to be willing to fight and die. It's just like the kamikazes! They were proud to be Japanese, I guess. This is what they're trying to do to us. This is what we should fight for because they're going to give us all that we need or something like that. . . . They try to make us feel like we're inferior, like we're no good, that all we're good for is to work in the factories and all you can make is \$3.50/hour minimum wage. That's what they try to push in our heads. . . . It's not true that Puerto Ricans are better off than Mexicans — we're all fucked. A few years ago at a factory I was working at, when the INS came to grab some of the Mexicans, I stacked some boxes on top of them."

Then, Roberto described an effigy he had seen carried at a Puerto Rican Day parade a year or two ago — it was Uncle Sam strung up in a noose. "That was boss!" he said. □



Murder With Impunity

Shortly after 1:30 a.m. on Sunday, December 9, Sharon Walker, a 33-year-old Black woman, was making a U-turn at an intersection in Bricktown, a predominantly Black neighborhood in Jamaica, Queens, when she was struck by another car. What began as a minor traffic accident very quickly escalated. Unbeknownst to Sharon Walker, the driver of the car that hit her was off-duty New York City cop Rudolf Hays, who is also Black. According to witnesses and official report, Hays, 6'4" tall, pulled Sharon Walker, 5'5", from her car and after an exchange of heated words Hays began punching and beating her. She was knocked to the ground with blood running from her nose. A man who knew Sharon stepped in to help, landing a few punches on Hays. As Sharon Walker and the man began to walk away Hays pulled a .38 caliber revolver from his ankle holster and opened fire. When Hays missed hitting the man he coldly trained his fire on Sharon Walker, who was attempting to run for cover, and shot her in the back. As Sharon Walker lay dying, Hays got back into his car and circled the block, apparently searching for the man. Unable to find him, Hays simply drove off. At 2:30 a.m., at a nearby hospital, Sharon Walker was pronounced dead.

It wasn't until Sunday night that it was learned that the killer was a New York City cop. The police had struck again. When Hays was picked up by detectives at his home around 5:30 p.m. on Sunday, he was out calmly walking the dog! According to *Newsday* Hays told detectives, "I guess I got to turn in the rest of my guns." Inside his house Hays had a stash of nine handguns.

The viciousness of this shooting and the callous demeanor of Hays has fueled outrage over the killing. To live in an area of Queens is considered a step above the stark poverty and fierce life of the ghettos in Brooklyn, Harlem or the Bronx. But Bricktown is still a poor area. Those Black families who can afford to buy a home live in small and old row houses straddled by nearby warehouses. Unemployment here is high. Sharon Walker and her husband struggled to raise their three teenage kids. She worked nights at the Creedmoor State Psychiatric Center and went to classes at Bronx Community College on Saturdays. Sharon Walker was a "respectable lady," as one Black youth told the *RW*. She was known and well liked in her neighborhood. The cold-blooded nature of this shooting in an area that while poor is supposed to be just a little better sharply exposes the national oppression permeating this sick and twisted society. Further, the murder of Sharon Walker should serve to puncture the line that what the masses of Black people need to end the brutality of the police is more "brothers" on the force, a line which different political forces advocated in the wake of the police shooting of Eleanor Bumpurs. They have been curiously quiet following the shooting of Sharon Walker. "It makes no difference," a Black youth told the *RW*, "that's how I feel and my friends feel the same way. Black or white the cops are gonna treat you the same." Another youth added, "It's not white versus Black, it's the cops versus us."

On the Monday evening following the shooting, over one hundred angry people, organized by the Concerned Citizens'

Center (CCC), marched to the police precinct. Chants of "Cold-blooded Murder" and "We Want Justice" rang out. When they got to the precinct it was heavily fortified with cops. Said one of the march organizers, "It looked like World War 3 out there in the street. There were cops everywhere." A youth reported to us that the police were threatening, "If one of you breaks a window we're gonna lock you all up."

Hays was charged with second-degree murder and attempted murder and was required only to put up \$3,500 on an initial \$70,000 bail. Hays was quickly out and about... in Bricktown where he has been seen by relatives of Sharon Walker. While Hays has been free to roam around the neighborhood the authorities haven't even bothered putting up a front of investigating the shooting. As of three days after the shooting, an employee at the CCC told the *RW* that no investigation was being conducted: "It makes me wonder if they're going to try to cover this whole business up. You don't need to mark down evidence; you don't need to mark off the block as a crime scene because you don't need any crime scene because you're going to try to tell us there wasn't any crime." However, a TV crew did show up at the offices of CCC to do some investigating. According to employees at CCC, the man who came to Sharon Walker's aid, who had only been referred to as the "good Samaritan," agreed to be interviewed but with his back to the TV cameras. The following day CCC employees were shocked to see the *Daily News*, which is owned by the same

company that sent out the TV crew, print the man's picture complete with his name.

Hays's bail was later raised to \$350,000 but with Hays required only to put up \$35,000. It is expected that Hays would raise this within a day or two. Meanwhile with the outrage over this killing brewing, keeping Hays in a special "peace officers" holding unit seems more geared toward protecting Hays than anything else.

"It's like open season for the police department," said one resident. The shooting of Sharon Walker comes on the heels of the dismissal of a weak indictment against three transit cops in the murder of Michael Stewart, the blatant police shooting of 67-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs and other recent police killings in the New York area. In response to the anger and exposure that has resulted, various newspapers in New York have been whipping up reaction, printing letters to the editors like, "Monday morning quarterbacks never lose! I am tired of hearing all the blame for the death of Mrs. Bumpurs being attributed to the police department." Or, "What did she (Eleanor Bumpurs — *RW*) do with the money welfare was sending her each month?" Or, "The death of Eleanor Bumpurs has already flared up hatred and smear campaigns against whites and the white police officers who, in self-defense, said they had to kill the woman." The head of the Police Benevolent Association wrote a recent letter to *Newsday* declaring, "The regrettable death of Bumpurs resulted, not from racism or a wanton disregard for human life, but from an act of self-defense." Open season, indeed.

Rudolf Hays's superiors have responded to the shooting of Sharon Walker by heralding his unblemished 33 years of service. Official police comments calling the

shooting "bizarre," with Hays's commanding officer declaring, "It's a shock, a befuddlement," seem to go along with rumors reported to us of a temporary insanity plea on the part of Hays. Ballistic tests already matched Hays's revolver with the bullet that killed Sharon Walker. And there are witnesses to the shooting. Since Hays was officially off-duty at the time of the shooting the authorities may attempt at some point in the future to put a little distance between Hays and the NYPD. Already one police official has stated that Hays "discharged his revolver not within department guidelines." Cover-ups can come in many ways — be it unabashed claims of "self-defense" or feigned "befuddlement."

Some have said that Hays had been drinking before the shooting. Others felt that perhaps Hays went a "little nuts" and that the police should undergo periodic psychiatric examination. Was Hays drunk? A little crazy? Maybe. But fundamentally what could make Hays open fire and shoot a fleeing woman in the back, after he had rammed her car and beat her up on the street, and then go home to walk his dog has to do with the fact that he is a cop, and the police know and are trained to act this way. One murdering cop after another has been let off if not outright congratulated. Each brutal killing by the police, like that of Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs, has been thoroughly whitewashed. As we go to press, the authorities in Yonkers, N.Y., have officially declared the death of Barry Parsons, a Black man who witnesses saw beaten by the police, a suicide, claiming that Parsons hung himself in jail. The police are trained to beat, club and shoot to kill — to maintain the social order, to fear, suppress and have contempt for the oppressed — and to do so with impunity, for that is the social role of the police. □

Some Straight Talk on the Cold-Blooded Murder of Eleanor Bumpurs

The following is the text of a leaflet put out by the RCP, USA, New York District, on the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs by the police when they came to evict her.

The cold-blooded murder of Eleanor Bumpurs is one more reason to do nothing less than prepare for revolution — to do the work necessary to overthrow this system at the earliest possible moment.

There is no amount of correcting procedures, scrambling to place blame, or crocodile tears from the proper authorities that will put an end to the outrage of national oppression in a country that was born and thrives on such oppression. This is a fact we will live with every day until we decide not to live this way anymore.

Let's be honest. What led six NYC pigs to blow away a 67-year-old ailing grandmother, who they came to throw out into the streets anyway? A chain of mistakes? Bad city management? A string of bureaucratic bungling long enough to

boggle the mind? Perhaps. But fundamentally, Eleanor Bumpurs is dead because she was poor and old and Black. And in imperialist America that means your life isn't worth a damn. If this has been true always, it is much more true in 1984 as the powers-that-be fervently whip up the frenzy of reactionary traditional AMERICANISM, complete with approved terrorist sieges on the oppressed, as they rally their gung-ho AMERICAN social base to keep the U.S. number one by fighting their rivals in World War Three.

Did the cops at the scene of the Bumpurs murder "overreact"? Perhaps. But what else could be expected in such an atmosphere?

Would it be different if more cops or the mayor were Black? Well — the cops wouldn't be cops for long if they didn't do their job. And that job is to protect and defend the dominant social relations in society. It is those relations that maim and kill Eleanor Bumpurs every day. And Koch? Well, Koch is a racist dog, and the blood of Eleanor Bumpurs, and many more, is on his hands. But does anyone think there is less state terrorism

in Chicago or Atlanta or L.A.? Or just across the river in Newark, where the latest outrage of police murder of a Black youth has only recently been reported? U.S. imperialism has got to go!

Are we crazy or unrealistic? Well, in a society where murder and brutality, starvation, and even nuclear war are considered sane, let's be proud to be crazy. Unrealistic? Let THEM keep thinking so. As they prepare for their "unthinkable" war, making life more and more intolerable for millions here and around the world in their path, we can and must prepare a different agenda. And some already are. The Revolutionary Communist Party is doing just that, preparing for the moment when the situation is ripe enough and there is a crack that a revolutionary mass uprising can blast through and become a war to overthrow this regime and establish a revolutionary one. Nothing less will put an end to the continuing brutal oppression and terror against Black people so vitally linked to the horrors imperialism perpetrates on the oppressed worldwide. It is time to prepare, politically and organizationally. Join with the RCP in this effort and let THIS be the legacy of Eleanor Bumpurs and countless others like her.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
New York District

Nazi Punks

Continued from page 6

however, has been the punk outlook of "everyone has their own opinion so long as you're responsible for your own actions." However, we DO live in a class DICTATORSHIP society in which bourgeois ideas dominate in all facets of life... including on the dance floor. And in their desperation to push this fascist trend, it is even more ridiculous to think that we can somehow "reason" or make a "workable truce" with these elements... the bourgeoisie have a job to do and the Frisco Skins have become part of it.

One significant part of this "job" that the bourgeoisie desperately needs, is to step up racism and oppression of 3rd World and immigrant peoples under the vicious misnomer "race war"... this has been at least one motive in unleashing the skins to step outside the clubs. Conjuring up images of invading foreigners is part of the bourgeois plans to carry out invasions of their own (viz Nicaragua); and this has, in the U.S., given the skin gangs some amount of freedom to attack the Puerto Ricans in New York or Latinos in San Francisco... Lately, in fact, the Frisco Skins have been roaming around in Chinatown as well.

In the name of "punk unity," Sonny says (Maximum Rock 'n' Roll mag., Oct. '84):

"... we fight the chicanos and other people who bother us. The punks don't bother us." (As people called the station to testify against this bullshit, the Frisco Skins turned to pose as "punk cops"... "to protect and serve," the motto of all police and thieves.)

Of course, the Frisco Skins and such other gangs are NO MATCH for the oppressed nationalities; and here in SF after the F. Skins cut up a Latino youth in the same district where he lived... the SFPD had to be called in to PROTECT the skins! Nevertheless, even though these gangs aren't powerful enough to venture too far out, this is clearly what the prewar climate demands and is the direction the bourgeoisie are pointing them towards.

Surely, this is the sign of a desperate class when they must rely on junior brownshirts (puffed up way beyond their numerical size) to go after oppressed nationalities as well as intimidate (and in some cases, like in NY, splinter) the punk scene. We need to have a better understanding of how imperialism works when we talk of "PUNK UNITY"... e.g., one thing that has been sorely lacking in the punk scene has been UNITY with struggles of oppressed nationalities. Punks need to unite WITH some of these struggles; and defeat these reactionary racists and "sentimental" thugs as PART of the overall defeat of imperialism. Let's clear the air of confusion and see them for the puffed-up toads they are!

A reader

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The Monster Squirms

Continued from page 7

local management often does not have what Dr. Utidkian of American Cyanamid calls the 'North American philosophy of the importance of human life.' 'If you identify what you consider to be a potential hazard in one of these locations, what do you do if local management refuses to act on your recommendations?' asks John P. Frawley, general manager for health and the environment at Hercules.

Elsewhere in that same issue of the *New York Times*, other articles echoed this same theme: "Numerous experts say that preventive maintenance is a concept alien to much of the developing world." Likewise, crucial differences between plants in the Third World and those in the imperialist countries stem from the "fact" that "many governments in developing countries enforce policies designed to reduce automation and create more jobs. Some key safety systems at Bhopal relied on manual operation, according to C.S. Tyson, a Union Carbide inspector, because that approach requires more workers than the automated systems used here."

The *Times* gives an illustration of this ongoing "problem" for the multinationals:

"The Pennwalt Corporation of Philadelphia, for example, owned 40 percent of a Nicaraguan chlorine and caustic soda factory that in the 1970s was the source of a major outbreak of mercury poisoning among workers and contaminated a lake that provided fish for Managua. In 1978, after that incident the board of directors of the Nicaraguan company approved a \$3 million dividend while declining to install a \$650,000 pollution control system. Peter J. McCarthy, Pennwalt's director of advertising and public relations, saying that his compa-

ny's two board members had voted for the cleanup, added last week, 'This puts American corporations in an extremely difficult position. If we had insisted that the Nicaraguans make the changes,' he said, 'we would be accused of being ugly Americans, the gringo who knows best.'"

Up until now, the *Times* reports, the multinationals have pliantly, almost spinelessly, allowed their standards to be lowered by such non-"North American" attitudes. To have done otherwise, according to Jack D. Early, president of National Agricultural Chemicals Association, would have been "regulatory imperialism."

Imagine! A U.S. corporation whining about being bullied into immorality by Somocista Nicaraguans! In a world where U.S. imperialism everywhere hires, trains, props up, and arms swarms of such maggots to do its bidding in the Third World — these corporate statesmen dare to claim that their own puny tools have driven Americans into a compromising position.

Without a doubt the backwardness of a country like India, the lack of a developed infrastructure for parts or technical education or communications, etc., played a major part in the atrocity of Bhopal. But dare we ask who is responsible for the backwardness of most of the world, who benefits from the lopsidedness, and who (above all) enforces that inequality and oppression with all the modern weaponry in their arsenal? Need we say that the rapist here is stammering that his victim is to blame for any injuries?

But wait, there is more. The question of "solutions" remains to be settled. How are such disasters to be prevented in the future? The answer obviously is to carry out precisely such "regulatory im-

perialism," and any other kind of imperialism while they're at it.

In a special editorial, *Business Week* stated best what U.S. newspapers generally are concluding.

"What this company (Union Carbide) and others like it must now ask is whether they have done enough to prevent future Bhopals. In bidding to build plants with high-risk products and processes, they must insist on a continuing role in hiring, training and supervision in lands where the level of technological sophistication falls short of U.S. standards. . . . Foreign governments, for their part, should swallow their nationalistic fervor and insist both on continuing hands-on involvement by the multinationals and on the best possible equipment for protecting their workers and neighboring communities" (emphasis added).

Truly a summation worthy of an "America Standing Tall." The lesson of Bhopal is to be that the U.S. grip on the world is not tight enough, not direct enough, not bold enough, even not "imperialist" enough!

To make unmistakable what is being said here, a final article in the *New York Times* needs to be quoted. On December 12 the newspaper carried statements by Kenneth Rush, a former president of Union Carbide, who has served in a number of "wider" posts for his class, including Deputy Secretary of State. Rush targets the danger of "backlash" against multinational corporations, and warns Third World governments to contain "the desperate fear that pervades the world because of this incident." "The sort of mass hysteria that now surrounds the nuclear power industry" cannot be allowed to take root. And specifically, not even "greater bureaucratic attention" to the "foreign operations of American companies" can be allowed, since that "would increase the cost of doing business." We have, in short, an insolent little note here to lackeys, making it clear that

they are not even to concede cosmetic and ineffectual "reforms" in the wake of Bhopal. In the final analysis, the Kenneth Rushes of the world are fully aware that those conditions that gave rise to a Bhopal are the very fountainhead of superprofits. They are not to be touched.

The Checkbook Debate

Amends do have to be made, of course. And the method is going to be typical: thrust a few precious dollars into the hands of the aggrieved, to purchase their hearts and minds. Rising from his crime, the rapist pauses to fling a few bucks at his victim, to settle accounts.

Based on what are universally called "the unseemly calculations," the debate rages over the dollar amount. Here the roles of victim and criminal are again totally reversed: Should a company be tragically forced to pay the supreme penalty for an "accident," which could have happened to any of them? What a chilling impact on crucial business that would have! Union Carbide after all is the U.S.'s third largest chemical company, a pillar of the economy — and its estimated net worth is \$5 billion dollars. To pay the Indians compensation at the standard American rates would quite simply mean liquidating the company.

We will not bore our readers with the details of this gross haggling. But the political points deserve comment.

First there is the crude calculation of the worth of human life — which in typical capitalist fashion is to be established by the potential net income of the now-dead human being. In the United States, by these measures, life is dear: executives killed in the Stouffer corporation fire in 1980 were valued at \$1.2 million each. But lopsidedness must be taken into account here too. The Indian manager at the Bhopal plant, after all, made a reported \$12,000 a year — less than an entry-level worker in the West Virginia sister

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Sexual Assault, An Elite Education

RW.

I am a new reader and I think you might be interested in hearing from "god's country" where Reagan's library may soon tower higher than Hoover's. They call Stanford University "the Farm" and in many ways this image does harken back to the days and ways of old which still hold true today. Especially last month, two days after the elections, when a creature the *RW* continuously exposes — troglodytus americanus — struck the farm. As expected the community was shocked that such a thing occurs at a place like this and the press did its usual slime act.

According to the *SF Chronicle*, "A Stanford University football player was accused of sexual battery yesterday for trying to rip the clothes off a woman student during a rowdy fraternity party Thursday night." The woman, a freshman, tore away from his initial grip, ran upstairs and hid in a bathroom. The man waited for her upstairs and chased her downstairs when she came out. The assailant "grabbed me... tore my jacket off completely and was ripping my clothes off me." More than ten students at the party had stood around laughing, cheering and refusing assistance. Shortly after, two women, also freshmen, who helped free their friend were attacked by the same male. They had come back into the house and as one was told by a student, who said he was a friend of the assailant, that she should calm down, she was attacked by the assailant. She said, "It's like being played with in the middle of an audience, 10 people laughing." As for the assailant, a member of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, he did not even remember the attack. "I was stupid enough to get so drunk that I don't even remember being at the party. I realize it was irresponsible of me and I've learned a big lesson," he said.

The assault incident made national news and Stanford moved quickly to mitigate the exposure. The male was arrested and released on \$500 bail and charged with one misdemeanor of sex-

ual battery!!! and three charges of simple battery!! Not only was this attack portrayed in the news as a "wild party" gotten out of hand, giving the clear message that "boys will be boys," but Stanford also fell in line by placing the fraternity on probation and calling for a report from the Interfraternity Council addressing the "apparent lack of good policies and control at open fraternity parties." The associate dean of student affairs wrote to the fraternity chapter president that the fraternity is "restricted from having any parties or social gatherings, whether open to the whole campus or open only to house members." Are they finger-pointing social gatherings, alcohol and fraternities as the root of the problem? All in all a good whitewash.

The truth of the matter is that there have been six reported rapes on campus from 1981 to 1983, five sexual assaults and 49 "other" sex crimes (where no contact was made) in those years. It is significant that less than 10% of sex crimes are even reported.*

This most recent attack, to some people not out of the ordinary as they have experienced sexual harassment on campus, upset the daily classroom-to-classroom flow and sparked outrage and debate. Many of the women I've talked to about the incident were initially shocked that demeaning attacks occur at an "intellectually rigorous, pristine place" like Stanford. You wouldn't believe the extent people hang on to the myth that "here, we know better." A female senior told me, "It's a prevalent misconception that we won't have to deal with this in upper-class, bound-for-Wall Street students." A feminist student put it this way, "There are just as many rapes in the boardroom as in the ghetto."

The assault itself brought up many questions on how to deal with violence against women, both in the immediate sense and more fundamentally. One of the women involved in the attack said, "What can you do with a guy who's 100-pounds bigger than you?" Another spoke of social resignation: "This guy

was acting out what a lot of men have in them." An activist student said, "It is not just the frat system. It's the society which created it, a society which says that kind of behavior is O.K. A misdemeanor, the boy got out of hand. It's going to continue. What we need is to get people to see where the real problem is." However, most people I talked to believe that "awareness" and "education" are the keys to the eradication of oppression of women in its violent form. Few people on the Farm are ready to deal with the all-the-way solution that the RCP puts forth which is the best way to fight back, the only way to rip apart oppression and exploitation in all its forms.

What did the troglodyte face in response to his assaults encouraged by onlookers? There was a conspicuous lack of protest. Only last year 30-40 students protested the defacing of a gay sculpture as a homophobic attack on all sexes, which it was. But when the real thing happens, no one steps out, even though just two weeks prior to the assault on the three women the "Rape Education Project" on campus produced a rape awareness series to educate the community. The individual faces charges and the system which feeds on oppression remains intact.

One article mentioned that, "In addition to the court charges, (the male) could face disciplinary action under the university's fundamental standard of student conduct, written by former university President David Starr Jordan

in 1906. It states that 'students at Stanford are expected to show, both within and without the university, such respect for order, morality, personal honor and the rights of others as is demanded of good citizens. Failure to do this shall be sufficient cause for removal from the university.' " As I write this the student has not yet been removed from the university. It brings to mind Jordan's real thoughts on education which the article conveniently forgets to mention. "It is not forms of governments by which men are made or unmade. It is the character and influence of their mothers and wives. The higher education of women means more for the future than all conceivable legislative reforms... It means higher standards of manhood, greater thoroughness of training and the coming of better men. Therefore let us educate our girls as well as our boys." And what an education they are giving us! An education in how this society brutalizes women. And they expect us to swallow this?

A Stanford student

* Editor's Note: For example, according to one source that had access to inside information compiled by the campus police, there were actually 29 rapes on campus in one year in the past! The vast majority were hushed up, of course — an unacceptable blot on "Stanford's reputation."

Eggs For Jerry

"In all my thirty years as a public speaker I've never met a ruder crowd," said Reverend Jerry Falwell. Splat! And another egg hit the stage. Invited by Rabbi William Berkowitz, Jerry Falwell was a featured speaker at a Dialogue Forum Series held at New York City's Town Hall Theater on December 9. Falwell's initial comments could barely be heard but we did detect a few mumblings from his All-American lips. As he called protestors a "bunch of cowards," hired security guards leapt through aisle after aisle of the fifteen hundred seats to bodily drag the protestors out of the theater. Falwell sat poised and smiling throughout. Chants and shouts denouncing Falwell echoed from all over the theater as guards continued to yank people, some by the hair first, out into the street. When some of the old biddies in the audience stood up wagging their fingers to point out disruptors to security guards, protestors began to wag their fingers and point in all directions. It took twenty minutes before Falwell could speak and not until the most vocal protestors had been kicked out. Once confident that the security guards had done their job, Falwell boasted, "agreement is not the basis of liberty and freedom. It's respect and it's tolerance; it's belief in the equal rights of all other citizens to say what they wish to say."

The "equal rights" Falwell was referring to quickly became clear as the

Reverend explained that Christians have the right to believe in Jesus and Jews have the right not to. But a tip-off to what this evening was really all about came when it was announced over the P.A. system that a collection was going to be taken for the orphans of Israeli soldiers. Falwell's mission to New York was to clear up any possible confusion that the Moral Majority was anti-Zionist. Falwell got right to the point when he stated, "As an American citizen, purely from a love for my country, I believe it's in the best interests of America to support the only democracy in the Middle East, the only friend we have." And that, "As far as I'm concerned, Israel is the only reason the oilfields of the Middle East are not now owned by the Kremlin. And further, because I love our American boys I think that... the amount of money we put into the coffers of Israel are the best dollars in national defense that we spend anywhere on the face of the earth."

Falwell's presence in New York prompted a number of forces to protest. There was the opportunist-led All Peoples Congress, as usual. A contingent of homosexuals and lesbians came. And there were anarchist youth, yuppies, and a group of punk-looking NYU students who were busy passing eggs up the line of people waiting to get inside the theater. To the delight of some and the shock of others the RCYB had started up a chant, "Fuck Revelations! Make Revolution!" □

The argument being made, of course, is that the cost of settlement could well be a bargain for Union Carbide, while still seeming to overwhelm the victims with generosity. Hasn't imperialism always explained that "life is cheap in the Orient"?

A side-show of this pay-off campaign has been the rush of lawyers to provide the victims of Bhopal the benefits of the American legal system. Whatever their personal intentions are, the development has been the occasion for yet one more chauvinist outrage from the prostitutes of the media. The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, had a field day with quotes from various lawyers saying things like, "That's where the fairness of the American system comes up. If it weren't for the American system, these people would never have thought" of filing claims for pain and suffering. "The only thing you can do is sue the bastards" another lawyer is quoted as telling Indians, "but in

(Indian) court, you don't appreciate the dignity of man as much as we do."

Tossing dollars into gas chambers is apparently something new to the "Oriental mind." However, there is some evidence that more than just fatalism and passivity characterizes those minds in the wake of Bhopal.

Perhaps the starkest illustration in the last few days of the widespread distrust among the masses of people emerged when Union Carbide resumed pesticide production at its Bhopal plant to use up the remaining fifteen tons of stockpiled methyl isocyanate. The plan was called "Operation Faith" and had the endorsement of the Indian political establishment up and down the line. But aside from these corrupt lap dogs, faith was one thing that was totally lacking in Bhopal. The city emptied of people unwilling to entrust their lives even one more day to either the Indian state, or the machinery of this American corporation. □

CIA Trouble At Tufts

It really is getting hard to be a CIA recruiter these days. Why, not only were they run off Brown, but in the past two months they've also been run off Tufts University and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. At Tufts, on October 3, about fifteen students walked around the room during the recruiting session and read off a similar list of the CIA's crimes as had the Brown students, focused on their carrying out of U.S. interests in Central America. Agent Kahn, the New England regional recruiter, was whisked away by campus security. Later, disciplinary charges were filed against the students. Names of those involved were collected from the daily school newspaper and known campus radicals were targeted as defendants. However, this ended up backfiring on the administration when about two hundred students attended the disciplinary hearing and those "indicted" read a statement which included the following remarks: "Now that this trial is over we choose to state publicly and openly that we will not allow any form of disciplinary action taken against us to undermine those beliefs which necessitated our action in the first place. No amount of discipline and punishment will change the objective fact that patterns of power and privilege exist and must be

challenged. In fact it is our belief that repression only gives birth to greater resistance... We wish also to make it clear that all resistance to CIA activities is in solidarity with the people across the world who have suffered immeasurably from the actions of the CIA and the United States government; it is in solidarity with all who have struggled and who continue to struggle for their self-determination; and it is aimed specifically as a gesture of solidarity to the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador whose struggle for liberation is today opposed by the largest ever CIA operation." The charges were dropped and the CIA banned from further recruitment at the school, except at the Fletcher School, a foreign-policy graduate school that is part of Tufts, with known CIA ties.

Soon after the hearing, which occurred in the midst of the revelations of the CIA terrorist training manual for the Contras, some of these same students initiated future plans to prevent if possible, and if not, respond to U.S. escalations in Central America. Their plan is for a boycott of classes at as many colleges and universities as possible in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or a major escalation of the war in that region. □

the following passage:

"A little boy pipes up: 'My father has died.' 'If I could get 10,000 rupees,' a woman says, 'I would be very happy.' That comes to \$850. The others scoff at her for thinking it. 'You'll never get that much,' someone says."

The *Wall Street Journal* adds its own commentary: "In a country where calamity is commonplace, though, the capacity to cope has had a better chance to develop. Indians don't expect a payoff for death. The certainty of reincarnation satisfies the Hindu, for the Moslem, what God wills, God wills."

Bhopal

Continued from page 14

plant. A foreman made a tenth of that, \$100 a month. As for the broad masses of urban poor in the slums of Bhopal — their income was of course never going to be much of anything. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that "Aside from Union Carbide, all Bhopal has today is one smoky plant that presses straw into particle board, and a million or so terribly poor people." The same article includes

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If the rulers of this country can prepare for a global war of conquest against their Soviet rivals, a conflagration which has the potential to extinguish human life on this planet, then why cannot those who understand this fact and who aspire to a higher form of society prepare to overthrow these rulers before they embark on this monstrous enterprise? This is the profound challenge posed by Bob Avakian in his latest and most important work to date, *A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror?*

Avakian surveys the contemporary social and political terrain to reveal how and under what circumstances U.S. imperialism might be brought down. Yet what makes this such a compelling study is not merely its insights into revolutionary strategy but its insistence that these issues be viewed in the larger setting of the historical advance toward, and the problems attendant to, the achievement of socialism and communism.

Avakian casts his analytical gaze on the shortcomings of the movements of the 1960s, the recent assaults on Leninism, Marxist-Leninist military theory and experience, the enslaving essence of modern democracy, the role of dissent in socialist society, the centrality of the woman question to the revolutionary process, and the ideological roots of accommodationism and capitulationism within the revolution. Here, as in all his writings, Avakian articulates a Marxism for which revolution cannot be a halfway affair.

A Horrible End, or An End to the Horror? is not airy speculation but a lucid and riveting assessment of the problems, tasks, and opportunities that this critical historical period presents to revolutionary-minded people. It may be objected to but can no more be ignored than can the imperialists' plans for nuclear war: the world situation is just that acute and the approaching possibilities for the revolutionary seizure of power are just that real.