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## RECENT VETS' PROTEST: THE POWDERKEG AND THE STARSPANGLED TRAP

On June 9, after nearly three weeks of a combined sit-in and hunger strike at the West Los Angeles Veterans Administration Hospital, federal security guards crawled out of their holes at 5:30 a.m. to evict the 40 Vietnam vets camped out on the hospital lawn and arrest seven protestors who refused to leave the lobby. The Los Angeles protest and similar protests occurring at the same time and since then have revealed the explosive situation facing the imperialists as they attempt to prepare militarily and politically for world war; even as they are attempting to use the Vietnam veterans to promote patriotism, they must feel like they are nervously walking on fragmentation grenades, as these veterans are dragged into political life and protest against the

government. At the same time, and of great importance for the class conscious proletariat and the revolutionary movement as a whole, the nature of these protests reveal very sharply the pitfalls of waging such protests solely on the ground of fighting for benefits. While the imperialists have in the past portrayed the Vietnam vets as "crazy undesirable elements" and more recently as "forgotten patriots," what has inspired many is the image of Vietnam veterans as against the war they fought in, against the system, challenging the whole political set-up of imperialism. But the focus of the current protests, their narrow concern with the maltreatment of Vietnam vets at the hands of

the government, is in effect a step backward and a dangerous one, and there is much to be learned about the dangers of robbing the Vietnam veterans of their revolutionary role in society in exchange for the promise of a "mess of potage," as Lenin put it—or, in this case, selling their soul for a few benefits.

The actions of the government and the press reflected the contradictory nature of this protest for the imperialists; while they nervously eyed the potential dangers of Vietnam vets protesting and the potential impact of their actions broadly throughout society and

unleashed the authorities to suppress and threaten during the events leading up to the L.A. encampment and afterwards, they rushed to wrap the whole thing in the shroud of the national flag and to once again blame the anti-war movement for the mistreatment of those who had "served their country and been forgotten." But contrary to the feelings of some involved in the protest itself that "people don't listen to the vets," the imperialists are only too well aware of the revolutionary role

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## The Coalfields Then & The Coalfields Now

*This article was written by a revolutionary who worked in the coal mines in the 1970s during the strike upsurge and who returned to West Virginia in the middle of the recent contract strike there as an RW reporter. This is the first of a series of articles.*

A Black guy, with a UMWA baseball cap had few words to say about the strike. "Nobody's saying much, nobody's doing much—and to tell you the truth, nobody cares all that much." Words I was to hear over and over again. "Look, the issue has boiled down to people just want to hang on to

what they have now, and not lose any more. When we get that, they'll sign the contract—that's all worked out in advance, and everybody's just waiting it out." And what does he want at this point? "Hey, nothing they could come up with would satisfy me—I always vote against their contracts, and I can't imagine one I wouldn't vote against. I just stay out until the majority is ready to go back. And when you write your article, tell people that it's not that I think they (the capitalists—RW) always win. It's the way we are going about this, the state of the economy, even the issues they're negotiating, just don't have much to do with what's really hap-

pening any more." And that's all we talked about the coal strike—what he wanted to discuss were his theories of who lay behind the killings in Atlanta.

It doesn't take long to figure out that the mood in the coalfields has gone through some deep changes. "This place is dead, or at least it's dying"—the same words came back again, meaning not only the lingering coal slump closing down less productive mines, but even more, meaning the struggle itself, the miners' upsurge, that had wrenched life in the mountains for a decade.

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"Look at the difference," a member of the 1977 strike's Miners Support

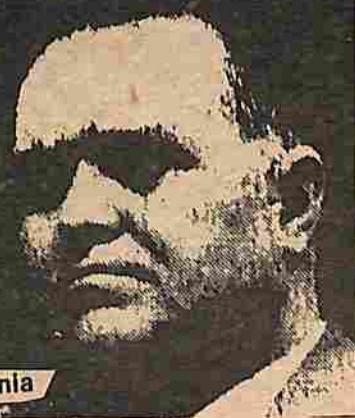
Committee reminded me, "three years ago you had constant rallies, both of miners and non-miners; rank-and-file leafleting and strike bulletins; the whole 'impeach Miller' movement that looked like it was going to knock him down right in the middle of the strike; you had striking farmers driving up from Georgia with truck loads of food. And miners were really getting down on what were the issues they felt. The place was really jumping... and look at it now. Sure, there is some shooting going on in Kentucky, a rally here and there, some noise when a company tries to run coal—but basically nothing challenging the whole way the strike is being run. It is the most straight establishment-type strike I've seen in the coalfields."

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Brezhnev

# Revisionist Conflicts Precede Polish Party Congress



Kania

The congress of the Polish United Workers Party is scheduled for mid-July. If, indeed, this congress comes off as planned, there is bound to be much debate among Poland's revisionist rulers over precisely what tack to take toward the Solidarity union movement as well as the best way to "rejuvenate" the Polish party, an important, if thankless, task. And such debate will, of course, be taking place within the context of the daily heightening rivalry between the U.S. and Soviet imperialist war blocs and an increasingly volatile world situation. Thus, the advent of this congress has prompted a number of moves by the Soviets stressing Poland's position as the "loyal ally" within its bloc, as well as counter-moves by Poland's rulers, who—while not questioning the fact that their bourgeois interests can only be pursued within the overall framework of the Soviet bloc—nevertheless have real contradictions with their Soviet mentors on how best to do this under the concrete circumstances they face in Poland.

Recent weeks have seen the Soviets stepping up their campaign to pressure the Polish leadership into exercising a firmer hand as well as to further intimidate the masses of people in Poland—in the process fueling speculation by Western analysts on the prospect of Soviet intervention. First there was the excessive publicity in the Soviet and Eastern bloc press given to the pronouncements of a mysterious and recently formed group within the Polish party calling itself the Katowice Discussion Forum which railed against growing "anti-Sovietism," "counterrevolution" and, laughably enough, "revisionism" in the Polish party. This was followed by the public release of a letter from the Soviet Central Committee to the Central Committee of the PUPW which in no uncertain terms took the Polish leadership to task, stating that "nothing has changed, and the policy of concession and compromise has not been corrected," and declaring that the situation had reached "a critical point." Significantly, the letter dropped the usual "comrade", as well as official titles when referring to the party Chairman and the Prime Minister, designating them only as "S. Kania" and "W. Jaruzelski."

If there were any question that the Soviet imperialists are viewing their "Polish troubles" within the context of accelerating developments toward war with the U.S. bloc, this was made clear in the letter: "...We are not guided solely by our concern over the situation of fraternal Poland... (we) are disturb-

ed that the offensive by antisocialist enemy forces in Poland threatens the interests of our entire commonwealth, its cohesion, its integrity and the security of our borders—yes, our common security"—yes, the interests and security of our empire. The letter contains the usual cynical riff that has become a code phrase for threatened Soviet intervention: "We wish to assure you, dear comrades, that in these difficult days, as in the past, the Central Committee of the CPSU, all Soviet communists, and the entire Soviet nation are in solidarity with your struggle." In conclusion this point is embellished with Brezhnev's declaration that "We shall not let socialist Poland be harmed and we shall not abandon a fraternal country in distress." Get the drift, comrades?

The double-edged response of the Polish leadership to this latest Soviet tactic (clearly a move to strengthen the position of those "hardliners" advocating more iron-fisted measures, if not instigate yet another shakeup in the Polish government prior to the congress), reflected both the fact that the Polish revisionists realize their fortunes lie in alliance with the Soviet imperialist network and that, at the same time, they are in conflict with the Soviets when it comes to pursuing their own independent interests within this context, especially given the tremendous upheavals they have had to deal with on the part of the Polish masses. Kania immediately warned that the Soviets' alarm was "fully justified," lashed out at the "frightening" trend of anti-Sovietism (a number of Soviet monuments have been defaced in Poland in recent weeks), and pledged to impose stricter control over the press and greater discipline within the party. On the other hand, he promised that changes already begun would continue, noting that, "The Politburo is of the opinion that this line has no sensible alternative." In yet another cabinet reshuffling, Jersey Bafia, the Minister of Justice, whose ouster Solidarity has been demanding, was removed from office.

This conflict was further revealed as "hardliners," emboldened by the Soviet letter, called at an emergency meeting of the Polish Central Committee for a vote of no-confidence in the Kania government. This move was defeated in what was described as "a rebuff to the Soviets" and as several CC members stomped in disapproval, Kania's right hand man, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, declared: "Comrades, you will not stomp down

reality. You can stomp me down, but only for a short time. I know how to stomp, too." All this indicates that at this time the majority opinion among Poland's rulers is that while they must definitely stomp down the masses and the growing demands for "liberalization" as much as possible with one foot, at the same time their necessity is to kick out a few concessions with the other. Clearly, to oust Kania and the line he represents at this time in favor of a more open hard-line stance is a course considered extremely dangerous as this could easily set off a round of public intra-party struggle and perhaps touch off renewed eruptions by the Polish masses.

Clearly, however, these questions have not yet been resolved and more will undoubtedly be revealed at the upcoming congress. In their letter, the Soviets expressed concerns that "The course of preparations for the congress is further complicated by the so-called movement of horizontal structures, which is a tool for dismantling the party..." (that is, party members who are demanding "liberalization" of the party's bureaucratic structure). However, one Polish journalist remarked of the current elections of delegates to the congress that, "The radicals are adopting a low profile, and some of them are being knocked off. A month ago, everyone was saying it would be a wild, run-away congress. That is not the feeling anymore." Asked if his forces were confident that they could control the congress, Kania quipped, "If we weren't, there wouldn't be any congress." Nevertheless, the Soviets are obviously not convinced that it will be all that simple, nor do they want to see a mandate for Kania's "moderate" approach either.

Indeed, the political jockeying in preparation for the congress—despite the fact that the struggle of the Polish workers has ebbed of late—reveals that beneath the surface there are important fissures developing within the Soviet bloc which are concentrated up in the events in Poland. (Last week, Reagan rubbed this in the Soviets' face, openly bragging that the turmoil in Poland represents "the first beginning cracks" in Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.) And though Solidarity leader

Lech Walesa has called for a complete end to strikes and agitation for further changes, and while this has coincided to a certain extent with the desires of Poland's rulers (as well as the Soviets), its main aspect is the carrying out of the U.S.'s strategy in Poland of exploiting these very cracks and of lying in wait for a further push when the opportunity presents itself.

The U.S. is well aware that developments leading up to and at the congress will be crucial and has correspondingly stepped up its warnings to the Soviets not to interfere, unleashing Haig to rail on about how "threats and threatening letters from the Russians do not serve a useful purpose at this time" and a host of policy analysts to reiterate U.S. alarm-ringing about "grave consequences" for East-West relations, rumors of projected new Warsaw Pact maneuvers, etc. It is no coincidence that aides to Walesa suddenly announced that he will begin a two week tour of the U.S. beginning July 3, which will put him squarely on the U.S. lecture circuit during the congress itself and provide him with a convenient forum in the land of "freedom and democracy" for exposing any Soviet moves (Walesa has expressed a desire to meet with his hero, Reagan, and this may come about).

As the Polish party congress looms closer and the situation heats up, there is bound to be a flurry of renewed Soviet threats, U.S. admonitions, and assurances by Poland's rulers that they have everything under control. While the Soviets may well be forced to settle for Kania's "two-footed" approach—at least for the time being—they will be carefully watching which foot bears most of the weight, and there is little doubt that they will drop their "fraternal, peace-loving" facade like a hot potato and resort to naked military might if necessary. A "runaway" congress, if it develops, could be the precipitating factor. But even if it is not, the situation will not remain static—and given the acceleration of world events toward war and the spontaneous opposition of the Polish workers and other strata to the revisionist government and the USSR, neither the Soviet imperialists nor their Polish counterparts can afford to play footsie on the "Polish question" indefinitely. □

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# There Really Are, Among The Masses in This Country, The Potential Forces for Revolution

The following are some further excerpts from a letter by Bob Avakian in response to a letter he received. For previous excerpts from letter see RW Nos. 95, 96, 102, 107, 108 and 109—March 6 and 13, April 24, May 29, June 5 and 12.

Some who have resisted the development of the Party's line—particularly focused on the central task and the role of the newspaper as the main weapon now—have raised the (rather familiar) objection to analogies with Lenin's situation—or more to the point, objection to the application of the basic line forged by Lenin, especially as concentrated in *What Is To Be Done?*—that in Russia things were much worse for the masses, and in particular the workers were so much more desirous of radical change, than in the U.S. in this period. True, in some ways, but containing and in the service of a fundamental untruth: the notion that there is, after all, no basis for revolution, led by the proletariat, in the U.S.

Would these people please say if they think the workers in Russia then were more desirous of radical change than the masses of proletarians of the oppressed nationalities in the U.S. today? The workers in Russia then were a relatively small minority of the population, perhaps 15%, and the proletarian masses of the oppressed nationalities are of a comparable percentage in the U.S. today. And I hasten to add that there are also quite a number (certainly numbering in the millions) of white workers whose position is not all that privileged and who in many cases are already very miserable, without even considering the implications of the full maturing of the recent crisis and developments toward world war. Many of these white workers (part of the "real proletariat" as opposed to the aristocracy of labor and the more privileged, bourgeoisified workers) have been through experiences

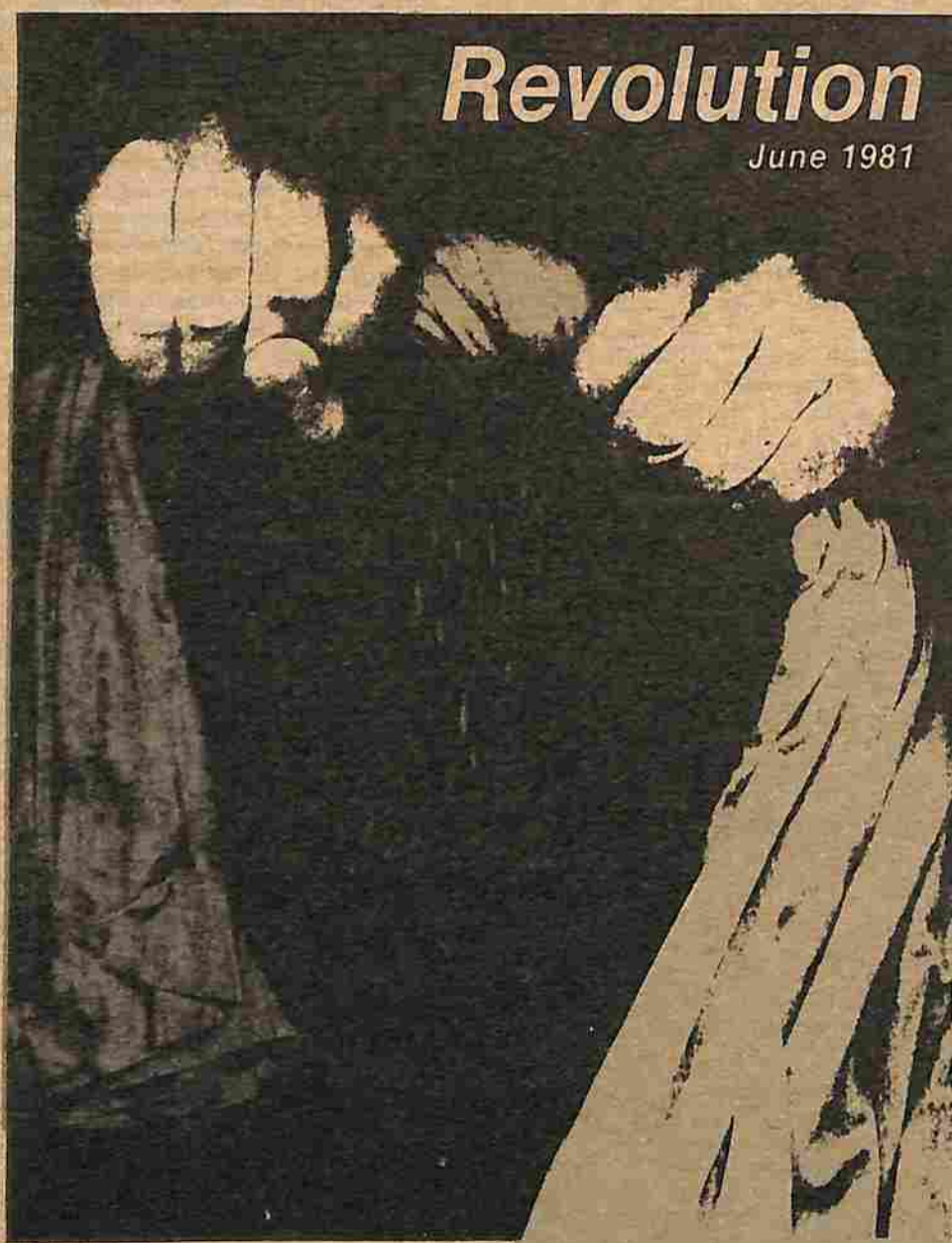
such as the Vietnam war (as soldiers) and/or were strongly influenced by the 1960s and the various movements and struggles of those times and the effects of those things which have endured (if not wholly and "purely") even after the ebbing of that particular upsurge of that period. All this relates to the point we've been stressing about the significance of the alignment of forces that developed through the course of the '60s. Of course the '80s cannot and will not be an exact "replay" of the '60s, and when the actual struggle for power—the revolution in that sense—comes (in the '80s or only later) it will have many features not only different than the '60s but also different than anything anticipated (this is a law of revolution emphasized by Lenin). But with all that, the basic point about the potential for and significance of a "'60s type" alignment, with the decisive addition of a class-conscious proletarian force at the head, is correct and crucial to grasp—and build on.

It is also true, of course, that the proletarian revolution in the U.S. will certainly not be a "replay" of the October Revolution in Russia and will in fact have many features different than that revolution—some of which can already be anticipated and others of which will, again, arise "unexpectedly." And those who oppose our line (or many of them) keep insisting on emphasizing the differences between the Russia of Lenin's time and a country like the U.S. today. But the problem is that we want to grasp and apply what is universal—the basic lessons and basic principles of the line Lenin forged—and all they can do is oppose this by telling us that the *particularities* in Russia were very different.

But let's go back to this question of the desire (the intensity and depth of the desire) of the proletarians for radical change. A significant difference that stands

out is that in the U.S. today the proletariat (in its broadest definition) is a majority of society and yet as a whole (that is, taking that majority) the intensity of its exploitation and oppression and of its felt need for radical change is nothing like that of the Russian proletariat, even before WW1 broke out. And in a way, that's just the point—or it leads up to a crucial point. Who said (or anyway why should it be expected) that when the working class—broadly defined—has become the majority, especially in an imperialist country, highly parasitic, like the U.S., that this whole working class (that is, the different strata and groups within it) would have and feel an equal need to abolish the system and establish the proletarian dictatorship? First off, as Mao said, in all situations (whether Russia 1900 or the U.S. 1980, or any other place and time) the masses are divided into advanced, intermediate and backward. But there is also the fact that, in a situation like the U.S. today, much of the kind of differences in position and outlook that in other societies might be in the form of differences in class status (differences between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie for example) can in one sense be considered as differences *within* the—very broad category of the—working class. This requires us to deepen and further concretize our class analysis, including the analysis of the various strata and groups within the working class in the U.S. It requires us to recognize that not only with sections of the petty bourgeoisie, but also with strata and groupings within the (broad category of the) working class, there will be (at least in a certain sense, and in some ways not that much differently than with regard to petty bourgeois strata) the question of a united front between them and the more solid social base for proletarian revolution within the proletariat—what we

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## Now Available Revolution Magazine

"But we are out to rebuild the world... it is time to cast off the soiled shirt and to don clean linen."

V.I. Lenin  
"The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution"  
April, 1917

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**Fernando Valenzuela**

# America Slides With Cleats Up At Mexican Pitcher

He's been on the cover of virtually every major sports publication; he's baffled the baseball players he's pitched against; he won all of the first 8 games he started this year (tying the all-time Major League record). Five of these were shutouts. He led the National League in Earned Run Average, innings pitched, number of wins, strikeouts and on top of that was batting over .300. He's Fernando Valenzuela, 20 years old, from Etchohuaquila, Mexico. He still leads the League in many of these categories and has 9 wins against 4 losses—all in all, one of the best starts, especially for a rookie, in professional baseball history in the United States. He's gotten mountains of press coverage all over Canada, the U.S., Mexico and all of Latin America, but also as far away as Switzerland and Japan. One of Valenzuela's games was heard on radio by over 40 million Spanish-speaking people.

In short Fernando Valenzuela at age 20 is an extremely good pitcher, potentially one of the greatest. And Valenzuela had to be very good even to get to the position of starting pitcher for the Dodgers or any other major league baseball team where that position is generally considered to be mainly reserved for whites. Like the quarterback in football, the position of pitcher is one which very few players from the oppressed nationalities are encouraged or allowed to play. After all baseball, along with football, has been the all-American game, a part of the general promotion of racism, patriotism and national chauvinism in society as a whole. This has meant, among other things, that even after Blacks and other oppressed nationalities were allowed into the major leagues, which was only about 30 years ago, there has been a conscious effort to exclude them from the positions that are regarded central where thinking and leadership are required. (Incidentally, the percentage of baseball players who are Black has actually gone down since the '60s.) A Black or Mexican pitcher just isn't considered to be quite the right image for a team in this all-American game to project. In fact, all well-known Black and Latin American starting pitchers in the major leagues past and present would not be enough to fill out the roster for the pitching staff of any single team to-

day. Don Newcombe, one of the first Black pitchers of note to make the position of starting pitcher and who won 27 games in 1956 (a figure not equaled until Sandy Koufax), was cast by the sports establishment in the role of a loser!

Baseball generally and the Dodgers in particular are especially notorious in their general exclusion of players from the professional leagues in the Caribbean and Latin America, especially Mexico. This is in spite of the fact that many of the ballplayers in these leagues are very good. Many major league players and managers play in these leagues in the winter and find them full of talented athletes. Mexican players are particularly discriminated against. Out of over 500 major league players there are six, including Valenzuela, from Mexico. The Dodgers have a total of two Mexicans in their entire minor league system. All this is in no way an accident. The Dodgers have been scouting the Mexican Leagues since 1950 and are well aware of their quality, but only players that are simply so outstanding that they can't be passed up, like Fernando Valenzuela, are recruited to play in the U.S. The Dodger general manager told the scout who discovered Valenzuela, "Find me a Koufax." Nothing else would do.

But Fernando Valenzuela is in fact potentially another Koufax and was too good for the Dodgers to pass up. So for \$120,000 they purchased Valenzuela from the Mexican team he played for and gave him a salary this year of \$42,500 which is less than he could be making in the Mexican Leagues where \$50,000 a year is not uncommon. (His contract is up at the end of the year and if he stays healthy this low sum will certainly go up significantly—if he stays healthy.) This has already proved to be a good investment—never let it be said that the Dodgers, or any other imperialist outfit, can't spot an opportunity to make some big bucks when it presents itself. It has been estimated that Valenzuela will bring an extra \$6 million into Dodger coffers just on the basis of extra attendance because of his presence on Dodger road games alone. However, the story does not end here by a long shot. Once Valenzuela began showing his stuff with his absolutely phenomenal start this season, the press

and the Dodger management cut loose, aiming their fire in two directions. First they belched forth on a campaign to cast him as a good pitcher yes, but still a "dumb Mexican" just the same, subjecting him to vile slander and public humiliation. And secondly, they have sought to promote a hefty dose of flag-waving patriotism and insult the people of Mexico by running out the line exemplified by statements by Dodger manager Tommy Lasorda to the effect that, "It's great that Fernando has had a chance to make it in America not just for him but now the Mexican people have a real American baseball hero to look up to." And as a recent headline in the magazine *Inside Sports* read, "Where else but in America, Land of Opportunity Could a Kid From Anywhere...Go to Sleep a Pauper and Wake Up a Millionaire" accompanied by a large picture of Valenzuela and his family's adobe house in rural Mexico. All this is, of course, intermixed with showers of praise for his talent albeit tinged with a note of "Imagine that, a Mexican and he's so good." Hordes of reporters have invaded Valenzuela's home town of Etchohuaquila in the northern Mexico state of Sonora (much of the press reporting it as the nearby city of Navajoa—much easier to pronounce, of course). In typical imperialist fashion many of these reporters and photographers have been roaming through the town—even the Valenzuelas' home—like they own the place and then giving the most patronizing accounts imaginable. They report on how the Valenzuelas' small ejido (farm plot) supports as many as 17 family members who all live in a five-room, thatched-roof adobe house, with no glass windows and no plumbing, and how many other families in the area are far worse off than this. Of course, there's no outrage over these conditions and certainly no exposures of the role of the U.S. in making it and keeping it that way and worse; no, this is just a "humble, Mexican village that's 50 years behind the times." And isn't it so cute, as one article said, that now Valenzuela has been a dinner guest in the home where two of his sisters had worked as servants in a nearby town.

A *Herald Examiner* reporter/patron referred to the town as "Dodger Stadium South," expressing not just the imperialists' view towards this town but also all of Mexico. The statement's real irony might be that the last time the Dodgers decided to turn a Mexican

community, Chavez Ravine in L.A., into what is now Dodger Stadium, they forcibly threw hundreds of families out of their homes into the street to make room—stirring protest and deep-seated anger that's no small part of why the Dodgers have been singularly unpopular among Latinos.

The Dodgers say they hope that signing Valenzuela will put an end to that stigma and bring Latino ticket-buyers to the park, and then in the same breath, as printed in *Inside Sports*, "Wonder if more brown faces in the bleachers and great expectations for Fernando would result in more rowdiness in the stands. It is not clear that the polite cool Dodger fans want to sit next to great clumps of Latinos."

The most vile of the attacks have been focused on Valenzuela himself ranging from patronization to outright racist insult. Probably the most disgusting of this has been the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner's* "Give Fernando a Nickname Contest." The lowest kinds of ridicule have been dumped on his name. Jim Murray, the *L.A. Times'* main sports writer, calls it "Spanish-Mission sounding," saying it "uses up every letter in the alphabet," and it's just too hard to pronounce—so why not call him "Freddy," he says, or one of the other names the *Herald Examiner* has come up with, like "Burrito Boy" or "El Pauncho" to go with their endless insults saying, among other things, Valenzuela is "fat." The *Herald Examiner* even had a "panel of judges" decide what nickname to give him! (Valenzuela has long had a nickname throughout northern Mexico—El Zurdo—"Lefty"—to which some, including an L.A. Spanish language paper, have added "de Oro"—"Golden.")

The *Herald Examiner* got so many letters telling them the whole idea of nicknaming Valenzuela was a bunch of crap apparently they felt they had to print a couple. One fan wrote, "Leave the kid alone and let him pitch his games. Bug off, leeches!" Similarly, one of the many letters sent to the *L.A. Times* said, "Why on earth don't the emcees of the Dodgers stop calling Fernando Valenzuela 'Toro,' 'Fat Freddy' and all the ugly names? Isn't he good enough to warrant being called by his correct name?" Reportedly, several of Valenzuela's teammates were angry about the contest, too, calling it demeaning.

This contest comes only in a sea of  
Continued on page 17

Double-page spread from *Inside Sports* magazine

## Only Land In America, Of Opportunity... Could A Kid From Anywhere...

By  
**Eddie Rivera**

I remember the first time I saw Fernando Valenzuela pitch. It was in the stadium in Mexico City. He was wearing a Dodgers uniform. I was sitting in the stands. I remember seeing him throw the ball. I remember seeing the crowd cheer. I remember seeing the lights. I remember seeing the stars. I remember seeing the sun. I remember seeing the moon. I remember seeing the clouds. I remember seeing the rain. I remember seeing the snow. I remember seeing the wind. I remember seeing the fire. I remember seeing the water. I remember seeing the earth. I remember seeing the sky. I remember seeing the world. I remember seeing the universe. I remember seeing everything.

PHOTOGRAPHS  
BY  
**ROBERT  
HAGEDOHN**

**Go To Sleep A Pauper  
And Wake Up A Millionaire**

# Gov't. Document Reveals Haitian Deportation Strategy

A second stay on the deportation of 76 Haitians from Florida was issued June 13th. "We had the planes ready and everything. But the judges put a stop to it," whined the head of the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami. But as was shown last week, this stay had little to do with an investigation into justice and everything to do with pulling back a bit in the face of broad exposure of the viciousness of these attacks. Events in just the last week in Miami show that the bourgeoisie has no intention of changing its plans to deport thousands of Haitian refugees, and a recent government report written less than 2 months ago by the Committee on Foreign Affairs confirms that these immediate attacks are part of a government plan to deal with the "problem" of Haitian immigration.

In just the last week, roundups of Haitians have intensified. Haitians dare not go near the immigration office for work papers or food stamps because the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) are just waiting for them. Many have been handcuffed and dragged away on the spot. Two trailers have been set up outside the Krome Avenue camp to be used as "courtrooms." And the *Miami Herald* continues to churn out vicious chauvinist and arrogant "reports" such as the following. A bold caption beneath a full color photo of Haitians behind a fence at the camp reads: "The Haitians at the Krome Avenue Refugee Camp are beginning to realize now that their days in the U.S. may actually be numbered. The little amenities are disappearing. Thursday, for example, one of the refugees learned from a guard that he had no right to shield himself from the sun with a piece of cardboard. An argument ensued over the issue. Most of the refugees don't mind. The Krome Center is still better than Haiti." Conditions so much better that already 200 refugees are sleeping in tents, the center director is screaming "Deportation" because of his "logistics problems" which grow daily and the dining area and food are so bad the press on an official tour were whisked right past them. What is clear from the Foreign Affairs Committee report is that all of this, from the press to the "logistics problems", is part of a government plan to summarily deal with the "Haitian immigrant problem."

Haiti and the entire Caribbean area is important to U.S. imperialism, both economically and strategically, particularly as they prepare for war. It is, as Reagan and other mouthpieces have put it, "Their backyard." The flood of immigrants from Haiti is an embarrassment and a potential danger to the U.S. First because they are fleeing a vicious regime that is a U.S. neo-colony and second because they pose a very real threat inside the U.S. as a potential force for revolution and exposing the role of U.S. imperialism in Haiti.

The report states "Haitian immigration is not a new phenomenon. Historically, Haitians, like many of their Caribbean neighbors, have immigrated to the United States, Canada and other parts of this hemisphere in search of a better way of life. In fact, the latest

surge of Haitian immigrants to the United States involves less numbers than those who have, for example, arrived illegally from Cuba and Jamaica. However, the latest wave of illegal Haitian immigration to the United States is occurring at a time when the United States is far less able to absorb this influx, particularly in view of the simultaneous massive flows of Cuban and Indochinese refugees into the United States." In this quote they hint at some underlying problems they face on immigration and at their code for *who shall enter and who shall not*. It is true that the U.S. imperialists have benefited greatly from the super-exploitation of immigrant labor, but it is also true that economically—and especially politically—the influx is creating some real problems for imperialism. But who to go after and deport and to what degree is a very political matter. While heaping on a high level of chauvinism and discrimination against all immigrants, still the U.S. hopes to get some political mileage out of people fleeing Vietnam and Cuba, for example. But Haitians are a liability. The U.S. government tells us that there are "totalitarian" and then there are "authoritarian" countries. Political refugees from "totalitarian" countries—that is those in the Soviet imperialist camp—are expected, even necessary for political purposes. But U.S. colonies and neo-colonies, they would have us believe, are different. At worst they are only "authoritarian." So refugees such as the Haitians can't be political, they say, and are slandered as money-grubbing adventurers going for the great American Dream. So the INS and government generally insists Haitians are here only for economic reasons. The report, while emphatically repeating these lies, still virtually admits that Haitians are political refugees. "Even the most effective U.S. economic program for Haiti by itself will not deter illegal Haitian immigration in the short term... Promotions which by themselves are devoted to income generation will not discourage immigration. Indeed knowledgeable observers of Haiti believe that additional income could have the opposite effect of providing the means to immigrate." Haiti is such a destitute colony that refugees risk murder by the authorities to leave. "When I left the country, nobody was aware of it," said one of the Haitian refugees who was just deported. "They don't like people who do things like that. When you do a thing like that you risk your life. You resign yourself to either die or live."

Fearing the present exposure, Duvalier has had to back off slightly and temporarily. The 11 Haitians who were deported from Florida last week were not immediately killed, jailed or beaten when they stepped off the plane as they feared with good reason. Of course, this does not mean that this won't soon happen. One refugee had fled Haiti because he was in debt for food money to one of Duvalier's "Macoutes" and had been threatened at gunpoint. "He told me that if I can't manage to give him the money, he was going to put an end to it." This refugee

was among those just deported and now can't return to his family for fear of his life.

Haiti, like the rest of the Central American and Caribbean area, is a hotbed of trouble for the bourgeoisie. Reagan's "Marshall Plan for the Caribbean" is the most recently announced U.S. plan to try and deal with it. The Report on Haiti begins by admitting "life with no real hope of expectation or improvement" for the majority of Haitians and calls for the same plan for Haiti. "Given the overwhelming desperate living conditions of the average Haitian, it is imperative that bilateral and multilateral donors develop programs which address the basic human needs of the Haitian people in a manner that will impact more directly on their lives." But U.S. imperialism is in no position, even if it wanted to, to allot massive sums for "aid" that would dramatically change the face of the Caribbean. What they are up to is something quite different, preparing for world war and against revolution. In Haiti, they are particularly worried about the masses and their struggle. Quoting from Reagan's strategists: "If we do not want a military solution or another Vietnam we have to address those economic conditions." But, as shown earlier, they admit that Haiti is so oppressive that under the present regime, even with a bit of economic improvement, Haitians would only use any money they get to try to escape. So what are the solutions they propose? "In the short run, the only prospect for reducing the rate of illegal immigration lies in enforcement both at the source and the destination." They go on to spell out the specific ways to carry this out. In the last years there have been increasing signs of instability in Duvalier's rule both in increasing infighting in the ruling class and growing discontent among the masses. Forcing those thousands of Haitians desperate to leave the country to stay there can only add to the instability. Thus, while not liking the exposure resulting from people fleeing, the Duvalier regime has not been anxious in the past to prevent refugees from leaving Haiti and must have some none-too-subtle arm-twisting applied to make him toe the line. To cite just a couple of examples, the Report recommends that U.S. aid in Haiti for 1982 be increased to \$15 million. They specify uses for the money and go on to say, "The expendi-

ture of these funds should be linked to Haitian government assurances it will cooperate fully with U.S. government in the enforcement of measures to stem the flow of illegal immigrants." The same is recommended in regards to the world food program. Or again, "the mission notes that the World Bank is financing a number of coastal shipping port facilities in Haiti, including Port de Paix which is one of the major departure points for illegal immigrants. The staff study mission recommends that the U.S. representative to the World Bank should persuade the Bank to condition its implementation of these port projects on government of Haiti assurances that such facilities will not be utilized for illegal immigration activities." While mainly focusing on economic muscling, the Report looks ahead to even more straightforward measures, citing boat registration "interdicting boats involved in the traffic of Haitian waters" and clamping down on the extensive system of counterfeiting passports and visas, etc.

The recent events in Miami themselves also speak to the changes in U.S. policy. The Report states that "It is virtually impossible to deport illegal aliens who claim political persecution without lengthy proceedings. The Congress and Executive Branch should consider legislation remedies designed to rectify this problem. In this connection, it is also worth noting that existing U.S. immigration laws never envisioned repatriating thousands of people per year." Thousands of deportations is exactly what the government now envisions. Of course legalities have never stood in their way as the mass "trial" in Florida has already shown, as well as the new trailer courtrooms just outside Krome Camp. The Report is simply calling for greasing the machinery to avoid exposure. Obviously as this report came out in May the recent attacks show the bourgeoisie is not going to let any of this legality stuff stand in the way.

But as long as imperialism continues to dominate Haiti there will be immigration, and, even more importantly, there will be revolutionary struggle. The response of the imperialists to all this is today further educating people here and in Haiti. As one Haitian refugee in Florida whose son was arrested said, "I didn't know that something like this could happen in the United States. It's like Duvalier all over again." □

**A WORLD TO WIN**  
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**—From the joint communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"**

# CBS' Prime Time P.R. For WW3

The title graphic lurches onto the screen: a gold-tinted close-up of the Liberty Bell, cracks and all. The refrain from "Appalachian Spring," Aaron Copeland's ode to Americana, swells inspirational in the background. We're back in social studies, attempting to squirm into a comfortable dozing position while one of those "educational" films takes us up to the lunch bell, right? Just hope the projector doesn't break down...

But we are suddenly jolted upright: CBS News has just nuked Omaha, Nebraska. As the camera nuzzles up for a close-up of the charred bodies, the voice of Dan Rather counts up the casualties within the "kill radius." He might as well have been reading the closing fix on gold in London.

By the end of the first segment of CBS News' 5-part, prime-time documentary series, "The Defense of the United States," which aired last week, the overall message was obvious, so obvious that Dan the drill sergeant didn't even need to bare his teeth and bark: "Look, maggots, this ain't social studies any more, hear?"

This CBS World War 3 "mini-series" was not the first, nor even the 10th, network special focusing on one or another aspect of U.S. defense readiness and war preparations. But with "The Defense of the United States," the imperialists have something more ambitious in mind than merely registering another general plug for a stronger military and get ready for war. They know that the coming war is not going to be fought or decided simply on the basis of "more dollars for defense" while the bulk of society remains relatively intact, removed from the action, collecting nylons for parachutes and conserving gasoline, as was the case in World War 2. They know that they won't be able to try to brush World War 3 "under the rug," as was attempted during the Vietnam conflict. The implications of all this, of being on the front lines in the coming war from the first shot, are grave for the U.S. imperialists: they are extremely concerned—scared might be a better word—about whether their rule can survive the tremendous economic, political and social dislocation that will result, whether their war machine will be able to withstand the test, whether they can consolidate and maintain what they absolutely need: the political loyalty of the masses, especially those sections of the population most critical to the war effort. It is a fact that even the traditionally loyal social base of U.S. imperialism within the "middle class" and the labor aristocracy doesn't like to hear that more will be required of their patriotism than singing chauvinist jingles about the Ayatollah. But this time, "over there" is, both figuratively and literally, over here—Omaha, Nebraska, to take CBS's deliberately chosen example. "The Defense of the United States" represents an important propaganda effort, born of imperialism's own necessity, to "break the news" (in a limited and distorted way) about what the next war will really look like, and to "prepare" the American people to face up to hard realities, and to cough up, in blood and sacrifice, whatever the U.S. ruling class demands to keep itself afloat. The realities presented to the masses of people are, of course, presented within some very narrow limits, namely that there are two choices to pick: either the U.S. wins or the Russians win. Of course, how could there be any other possibilities; obviously we will have to fight for America. The

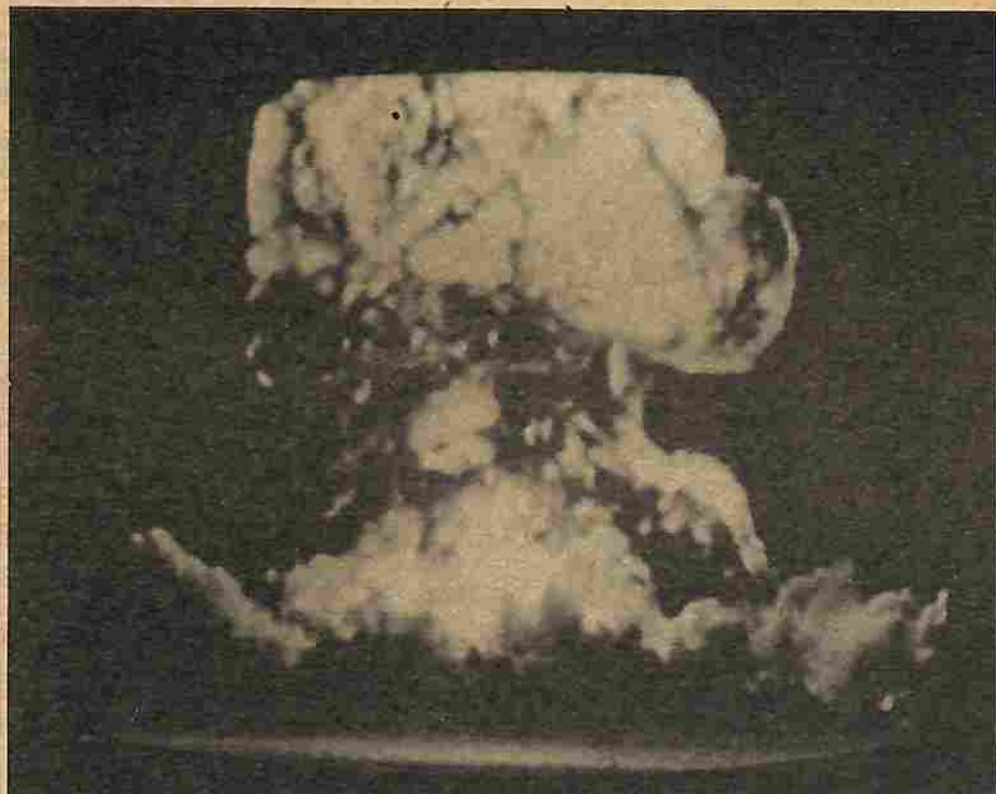
series then concentrates on how the U.S. is going about preparing to win and what still remains to be done, even pointing to some of the real problems the imperialists face in this regard. The important point is that it's time for people to get down and help "their country" deal with these problems of the "defense of the nation."

In the first segment, this objective was served through the employment of shock techniques under the cover of hard-headed, gritty, "realistic" reporting. The hour focused on strategies for waging global nuclear war. "For years, the experts have been saying that a nuclear war is not only unthinkable, but unwinnable..." But now it's time we were told that actually, "our military leaders" have all along been planning nuclear war-fighting strategies, and it's all quite thinkable after all. The pros and cons of attempting to carry out a successful pre-emptive strike, whether or not it makes sense to go for the first strike rather than wait for the Russians to unload theirs, what percentage of the U.S. nuclear force will survive the first exchange, etc; all of these knotty problems are discussed under only the thinnest of veneers. CBS cameras penetrate the inner sanctums of the high command, where nuclear wars are fought on computers and megatons are translated into their equivalents in casualties and target devastation. Not only can a nuclear war happen; the show proceeds on the assumption, indeed pretends to have "discovered," that in all probability it will happen.

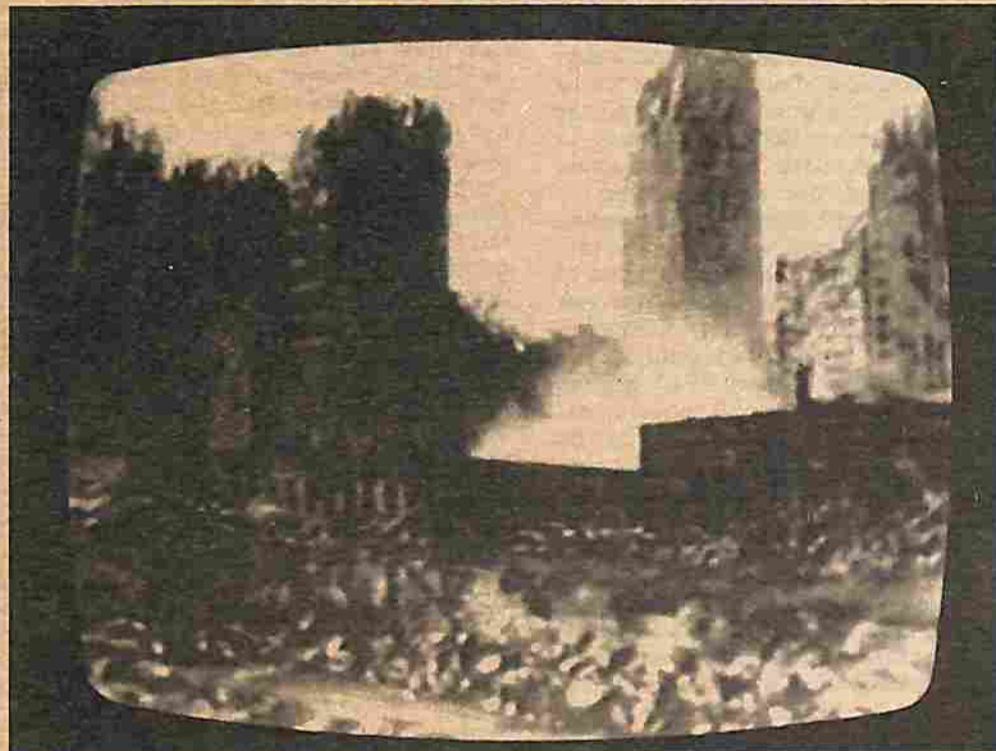
This was accompanied by the employment of cheap Hollywood techniques to "dramatize" the horror of nuclear war, including the simulated destruction of Omaha, Nebraska, a simulation which utilized footage reminiscent of a low-budget disaster movie. The point is made explicitly: in general nuclear war, Omaha will go, because it is the site of the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command. The wife of a SAC officer is interviewed: "There won't be any place to go... all you can do is say a prayer..."

Rather then interviews an "expert" who makes the relevant point out of all this: "Now, one Omaha, probably our social structure can withstand this. But 50, 100 Omahas, all across the United States... it's just impossible to see how we can maintain any kind of cohesive social order under such conditions." Rather is very concerned: he wants to know how the Soviet Union would measure up under similar stress. The experts claims that the social fabric of the Soviet Union is "even less capable of withstanding the shock"—although in strictly military terms, he adds, they might be in better shape due to their "greater target dispersion."

Through all this, the criminal calculations of the U.S. imperialists hang out pretty openly. For all the recitation of "grim statistics," the segment made little pretense of affecting a pious pacifism or indulging in phony talk about the "need for disarmament." The horrible devastation of nuclear war was discussed in terms of the dangers it poses for the stability of U.S. imperialism, and for the ability of the U.S. to continue to carry on the war. Above all, whatever happens, "we" must be prepared to fight on and win the war. In this light, the vicious intent behind the CBS interview with the military wife is sickeningly clear. She is presented as a "model American." Her husband is devoted to the "defense of the United States," she knows she and her children might end up in a vapor cloud over the Great Plains, but she never questions this; when her number comes up, she'll just "say a prayer." And hope that her husband made it to the bunker on time to carry on the good fight. After all, what other choice is



Simulation of Omaha being destroyed by a nuclear attack.



there?

The second segment, narrated by Harry Reasoner, focused on problems of tactical nuclear warfare in Europe, and the challenge posed by what military analysts are now calling "the integrated battlefield." The "integrated battlefield of the future" is, we are informed, a highly technical, sophisticated war-fighting environment in which conventional, chemical and nuclear weapons are being used, perhaps simultaneously. This is tough on U.S. and NATO planners. A military clerk is filmed in his bunker, trying to type while encased in protective gear. And it gets awful hot inside those suits: military men fear extensive casualties from sheer heat prostration and fatigue, leading to a severe "degradation" of combat effectiveness. But at least the Russians will have to wear them too.

It doesn't take too long for Harry Reasoner to get around to the point: on the "integrated battlefield," such as is envisioned in the European theater, the troop casualty rate is going to be very high, and so will the toll on equipment and the demand for resupply of troops, weapons, tanks, etc. The use of such euphemisms as "integrated battlefield," of course is designed to make the use of nuclear weapons and lethal chemical and nerve gases sound like the latest thing in modern progress, right up there with computerized fuel injection or the advent of video disks. There is really nothing "new" about it; the extensive employment of tactical nuclear weapons, which the U.S. has stockpiled by the thousands in Europe, has been the "by the book" strategy for a European war for over two decades. But now, the American public must be trained to grasp the implications of these developments in warfare concretely, this stuff is now "need to know" for the U.S. public because the imperialists need to get people ready to actually fight the war whether in or out of uniform.

Segment II also pointed out that in all likelihood a full scale war in Europe would lay waste to it, especially Germany. "Why, most of those towns are only two kilotons apart," remarks some member of the military brass. A U.S. officer interviewed by Reasoner said that every effort would be made to keep the integrated battlefield out of the civilian areas—but these Europeans build their towns so damn close together that it's almost impossible to blow up a bomb anywhere without losing three or four towns. In this segment, the problems the U.S. and West German governments have with widespread opposition to U.S. and NATO nukes and war preparations was very briefly touched on and glossed over, but this potentially crucial aspect was deemed important for people to be aware of. In addition, several scenes showing various mess-ups and lack of preparedness of U.S. forces were included to make the case for the need for the U.S. to even more urgently get itself together and ready for the big one.

Segment III marked a shift in tone and subject matter, although the fundamental objectives remained the same. The segment zeroed in on manpower shortages in the U.S. military, laying heavy emphasis on the shortfalls of personnel to fill positions requiring technical training and a higher degree of education: "the main problem right now is not at the base of the pyramid," one naval officer stated, citing the need for large numbers of recruits with technical training or college education to meet the needs of the high-technology navy. The segment emphasized that the same problem existed throughout the military: it's not only the quantity of military personnel, but the quality. "We need to recruit much more heavily from the middle class, both Black and white," says an officer in the recruiting command.

Here, the ruling class is grappling with an acute contradiction. It has been

Continued on page 19

## Biologist Testifies at War Crimes Tribunal

# The Genetic Effects of Nuclear War

*At the second hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal, held in Los Angeles the weekend of May 29, among the people who testified, from different countries and a broad array of class forces, a number of scientists testified before the tribunal to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism. The following testimony is from Dow Woodward, a biologist and geneticist at Stanford University:*

I've come down here from the bastion of conservatism, i.e., Stanford, to speak to you because I think that this tribunal is an important and exciting thing to have happen. I am completely in support of the idea of calling such a trial. It is long overdue. Because of the fact that I am coming down here on very short notice I apologize for not having my thoughts very well organized and developed.

It was mentioned earlier that people who train people like myself are not going to be pleased with the kind of testimony that I give or the kind of things that I have done with my training and the kind of awareness that I was able to get in spite of the brainwashing and behavior modification techniques that are used in the educational system to try to control people's minds. But I think that it is important for people who have that awareness to reach out from the organizations that they belong to and to help other people to come to the same realization. That is one of the reasons that I am here and I am wholly supportive of the tribunal.

There are elements among the scientific community that are growing every day that would actually have us believe that war crimes are committed by people who have in effect the genes for being war criminals. The whole science of sociobiology that has been developed around the need among ruling-class people (is) to have us believe that these things are beyond our control, and when we are the ones who commit these crimes that it is totally justified because it is in our genetic nature and there is nothing that we can do about it, until we at least develop the gene splicing technique to the point that we can remove those genes and replace them with something better.

To some degree my background in genetics provides me with the opportunity to counter those claims and to make it clear to a tribunal such as this what the nature of those claims are and to some degree the lengths to which the ruling-class people will go to try to perpetuate that philosophy.

Let me give you, first, a little bit of background as to where my own awareness of this problem started to develop. I was involved with the military service during the period of time, one of the little interims between wars, in this case between the Korean War and the Vietnam War. There was a mandatory draft and in order to remain in school during that period of time I had to become a member of the ROTC. In the process I had committed myself to spending three years on active duty which I did after I finished my Ph.D. at Yale. During that period of time was when I got my first taste of the military mentality and second of all the propaganda line and the way that they used it and the way they enforced it.

One of the first things that I was asked to do when I was assigned to the Aerospace Medical Center in San Antonio, Texas, was to prepare some lectures for an individual, a colonel, in the Air Force who was one of the lecturers to all the new MD's who are inducted into the Air Force. The MD's who were coming into the Air Force for a period of several weeks training there were given lectures by several of these people. One of my jobs was to write a lecture on the effects of radiation for this

person so he could present the lecture. And I did that. And he was hostile, to say the least. He came to me and demanded that I rewrite the lecture because I hadn't said the right things. At the time I told him that if he wanted those lectures rewritten he would have to rewrite them himself because I had said everything that I knew about the subject and that was the way it was. At the time he threatened me with court martial and so on. The whole issue I came to find out concerning his hostility, was related to the fact that he had been teaching that there was no danger in radiation, especially low-level radiation. If you produce high enough levels you could obviously kill someone with it. But the genetic effects of radiation were negligible. There wasn't any attempt to worry about these things. They were threatening me with court martial because I wouldn't produce that line.

And that was when I became aware of (because that period of time is when the whole issue came up) all of the famous lectures between Edward Teller and Leo Szilard and other geneticists who were arguing with him about the same subject. Edward Teller had been traditionally operating for the establishment. They would draw him like a six gun every time they got into trouble. He functioned in a very precise way, i.e., a very predictable way. You know what he is going to say. This debate went on and he attempted to establish issues such as the fact that below certain levels of radiation you didn't have to worry about it, i.e., it wasn't going to hurt anyone. I want to remind you, in connection with that, about the fact that the year 1927 was when the effects of radiation on genes and chromosomes was discovered. So it wasn't like a new discovery during these debates. In addition to that geneticists have done careful studies using radiation of various sorts to produce mutant strains of various organisms in the laboratory for decades and he was trying to convince everyone that we needn't worry about it from a genetic point of view. It was even known during these debates that a single ionizing particle can produce a mutation. But Teller did not stray from the establishment line in spite of that. One of the reasons that I bring up this subject is because this is one of the areas that is almost totally neglected whenever one is talking about atomic warfare. The film we just saw is an indication of that. It's very easy to portray all of the gross and horrible things that result from the use of an atomic weapon. The ones that create the most sensation among us whether we agree with the establishment or not (on) the use of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are the damage they produced that you immediately can see. My worry as a scientist and as a geneticist, as bad as those crimes are and as much damage is produced that you can see, is the genetic damage to the population, not just the human population but the whole population of organisms on the planet, from a genetic point of view. In the aftermath of a nuclear war we will have all of these medical problems to deal with as we witnessed. But (for) the rest of the future history of human beings and all other forms of life we will be dealing with the genetic effects that were produced by that nuclear war. Now, one of the reasons why I think that (this is something) that people should generally be aware of is the fact that we have been practicing organized medicine of one sort or another for quite a few centuries and one of the effects of all that has been in biological terms to eliminate natural selection, which has operated in every form of life to supposedly weed out the weaker individuals in their competition for survival since not all organisms of a particular type are able to survive. In the human

population by the use of medicine and all the techniques that we have that keep people alive who would have otherwise died, we preserve people and with them we preserve a lot of people who are able to perpetuate genes that would normally not be perpetuated. If you couple that with the amount of genetic destruction that would take place during a nuclear war one can have scenarios that are not far-fetched at all that relate to having an entire population of human beings that are being kept alive by the use of drugs, pills, machines, etc. and in which case we would be totally vulnerable to complete annihilation under those circumstances, should any of those mechanisms fail to be available. This to me is the worst kind of scenario that one can describe and nuclear war contributes heavily to that scenario. The people who were involved in developing nuclear war were not unaware of these kinds of things. The people who decided to drop the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not totally unaware of these things and they chose to do so in spite of that.

Aside from all of those things I think there are all of the other considerations that come into play when we are talking about criminal acts of one sort or another. One thing that I would like to read to you in initiating this kind of discussion is from a conference that was held prior to the use of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki that was designed to try to argue the points on whether or not the bomb should be used. One of the segments that I am going to read to you came out of what is called the Franck Report. The report says, "Russia and even allied countries which bear less mistrust of our ways and intentions as well as neutral countries will be deeply shocked. It will be very difficult to persuade the world that a nation which was capable of secretly preparing and suddenly releasing a weapon as indiscriminate as the rocket bomb and a million times more destructive, is to be trusted in the proclaimed desire of having such weapons abolished by international agreement. The military advantages of saving American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confidence and by a wave of horror and repulsion sweeping over the rest of the world, perhaps even inciting public opinion at home."

This is an indication of the awareness that people had about the political effects that atomic war might have and in spite of that kind of awareness, and that level of awareness, the decision was made to use it. Just recently I was reading over some of the documents that were released about 7 or 8 years ago when they became declassified, reminding myself of the history of decisions that were made during that period of time that led to the use of the atomic weapon. A couple of statements quoted here are from a major conference that was held during that period of time which was attended by France and the United States and China and I don't remember what other countries were involved in it. It was referred to as the Potsdam Conference. A resolution was made there in preparation for defining the characteristics or the nature of a surrender agreement by Japan anticipating the use of the nuclear weapon. As a matter of fact it was during the period of time of that conference, when Truman who was attending the conference and received information from Alamogordo that the first test of the weapon was successful. People at the conference noted the total contrast in his attitude and the decisions that were made by him, the much more aggressive kind of attitude he had in preparing this document after he received that message. The reason why I want to read the document here is because the very docu-

ment that was used in this case to indict Japan is probably better used right now, or probably at any other time in the past history of the U.S., to indict this country and other countries that have violated these kinds of attitudes and behavior. I quote, "The time has come for Japan to decide whether she will continue to be controlled by those self-willed militaristic advisors whose unintelligent calculations have brought the empire of Japan to the threshold of annihilation or whether she will follow the path of reason." What better statement could we make that could be leveled against the militaristic thinking in this country at the present time.

Another statement in this document: "We insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world." Another statement said, "We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners." It talks about "producing a peacefully inclined and responsible government." These are the kinds of statements which I think are important to remind ourselves about the contradictions that exist among the ruling-class people of this and other countries and the degree to which major steps need to be taken to have these behaviors called to justice.

As if the damage from nuclear weapons is not enough, we have armed ourselves with chemical and biological weapons that from the point of view of killing potential is even more frightening. Only a few of those have actually been used, for example, the herbicides of the Vietnam War, some of which turned out to be both mutagenic and carcinogenic to humans as well as damaging to plants.

We have stores of lethal micro-organisms sufficient to kill the human population of the world many times over. These would be used in a crisis to defend the U.S. empire when threatened just as nuclear warfare will be used. These kinds of weapons were not prepared for demonstration only. The bulk of our national resource is being used to develop this kind of destructive power.

Now obviously we are coming from a very strange place. The history of this country begins with people who came here trying to escape from repression in Great Britain. The first thing that happened as soon as these people populated the new country was to commit the same and even worse crimes on the Native Americans. The whole history of the American people from that time forward has involved that kind of mentality and that kind of behavior. That is one of the reasons why I think one must speak very clearly in this kind of a tribunal about the crimes of socialized behavior and the crime of socializing the mentality of the American people to the point that we could continue for such a long time, i.e., over 200 years, being complicit with and perpetrating these kinds of war crimes.

I think it is important to point out that the kinds of strategies that are used to maintain control under these circumstances are similar to those that take place where you and I work as examples of the kind of socialization that goes on. And it is one of the places where indoctrination and brainwashing go on. But it is done in a different way than we usually visualize that happening. As a result we usually never know or clearly perceive that it is really going on. It not only distorts the mentality of people in general but it distorts what we normally think of as "objective" science. For example, the sociobiology that I mentioned earlier, perpetuates this kind of thinking and has resulted in among

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# Capitalism's Urbanization of the Indians

U.S. capitalism's lengthy history of oppression of Native Americans produced mass murder, and for those left, concentration camp reservations with agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and their puppets as guards. In more recent times, desperate economic conditions on the reservations and conscious political programs of the U.S. government have combined to create the phenomenon known as the "urban Indian." About half of the U.S.'s Native American population lives in urban areas like Los Angeles, San Francisco/Oakland, New York, Seattle, Chicago, Minneapolis or smaller cities near the reservations. Like their families and friends they have left behind, they are overwhelmingly subject to extreme poverty and degradation, high unemployment and the continual suppression of their culture. In addition, like other oppressed nationalities, they are subject to the most putrid stench of America's urban decay—also known as the "crisis of the cities"—as it permeates the depressed areas where they are usually forced to live. Conditions in the cities drive many Indians back to the reservations, but conditions on the reservations force more out into the cities. It is a vicious cycle—but contrary to the intentions of its perpetrators, one that is spinning out of their control.

Ripping control of Indian lands out of the hands of Native Americans and placing them in the claws of monopoly capital is at the heart of this urbanization process—and it is given particular impetus by the knowledge that about 35% of the mineral wealth within the U.S. sits underneath these lands. Removing the people on top has long been the first priority. But over the years, this has not proven to be such an easy task.

Despite the fact that 2/3 of the Indian land base of 1881 (supposedly guaranteed by treaties with the honorable

U.S. government) had been ripped off within the following 50 years, despite the fact that it was the best land that had been taken and that the remaining barren and overcrowded reservation land was largely unable to provide even a meager subsistence for growing Indian families, and despite the fact that a conscious BIA policy of "forced assimilation" had resulted in the literal kidnapping of thousands of Indian children by agents or missionaries and their removal to areas far from the reservations, Native Americans had overwhelmingly refused to give up their ties to the land or the culture that reinforced those ties. By the early 1930s, only 10% of Native Americans had been relocated to urban areas.

In 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, supposedly setting up "self-government" for Indian reservations, but in reality setting up puppet tribal councils whose every action had to be approved by the BIA. In many cases, the tribal councils were introduced to supersede traditional Indian leaders who had not been so amenable to the destruction of their way of life—and the removal of their people from the land. In all cases, these tribal councils cooperated with the BIA in policing the reservations and generally carrying out the government's bidding. This often meant signing away mineral leases to U.S. corporations or setting up infrastructure and other mechanisms for the profitable extraction of Indian resources.

Of course, such capitalist development did nothing to improve the standard of living for the majority on the reservations, but it did create a phony system with a clique of "progressive" Indians, usually friends and family of the tribal council puppets, who took whatever jobs there were (for Indians) on the reservations. The tribal councils also helped recruit 25,000 Indians for the U.S. military in World War 2—like

the famous Navajo Code-Talkers that tribal chairman Peter MacDonald likes to publicize as "proof" of how patriotic "his" people are—and sent twice this number of people into defense plants around the country. At the war's end, those who didn't get killed in the military and those who were kicked out of the plants (the vast majority of Indian workers) initially returned to the reservations. But a significant number of them ended up leaving and coming to the city, usually because conditions on the reservations were too depressed to support them. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of urban Indians more than doubled, but this still made up only 13% of the total Indian population.

At this point, the U.S. launched an all-out major assault on Native American land under the guise of "benevolence." To those who angrily pointed to the vast areas of land that had been ripped off from the Indians, the government offered up the Indian Claims Commission, where tribes could file lawsuits to recover damages for this thievery. This was widely publicized on the reservations, and many Indians thought they were going to get their land back; they began notifying their friends who had left the reservation that opportunity would soon be knocking. The catch was that the claim was simply for money, not land, and once a monetary claim was awarded, they were prohibited from ever attempting to recover their land. Of course, the U.S. government never had any intention of returning it. Indians soon found themselves holding a few trinkets in exchange for legalizing the crimes committed against them; the awards were based on land values of 50-100 years before the filing of the claims.

At the same time that the U.S. was legalizing the previous robbery of Indian land, it suddenly discovered that the Indians no longer had enough land left to survive on. For example, a 1954

Congressional report stated: "Most of the reservations are greatly overpopulated and could not support the present population at anything approaching a reasonably adequate American standard of living. Past studies indicate that the resources of many reservations, when fully developed, could support no more than 60% of the current population, and the Indian population is increasing rapidly." Apparently, resources which were sufficient to support the multimillion dollar profit picture of Peabody Coal, United Nuclear, Kerr-McGee, etc. were not sufficient to allow the Indians to eat. Since this was a matter of great concern to the ruling class, the BIA immediately swung into action. It began the notorious "relocations program" to large urban areas.

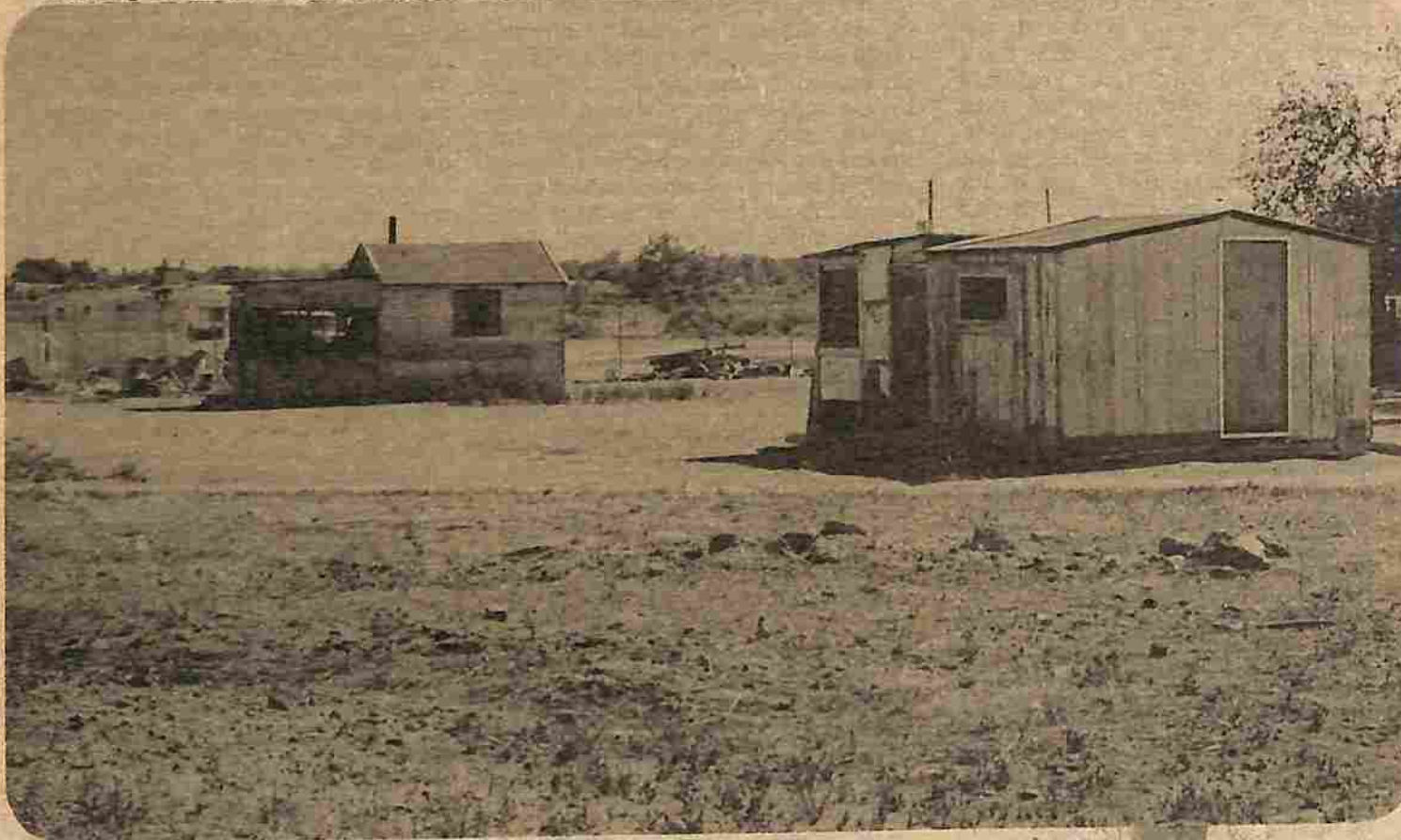
BIA representatives began flooding the reservations, promising fat jobs, modern housing and a big increase in income to all Indians who signed up to relocate to a major city. They even offered some money for moving costs to tide the Indians over until they found a job. Given the conditions on the reservations, it is not surprising that at least 100,000 Indians and probably quite a few more participated in this urban relocation between 1952 and 1972. But when they arrived in the cities, they found themselves shoved into "urban reservations" with the worst housing, highest rate of unemployment (over twice that of whites) and lowest income and education levels of any nationality. In addition, they had become the newest targets of the police and courts; in Minneapolis, for example, Indians made up 10% of the population and 70% of the inmates in the city jail in 1968.

It is impossible to tell how many Indians returned to the reservations after going through this relocation program. Between 1953 and 1957, three out of ten returned within the same year they had left, so the BIA decided to stop keeping statistics on this question. However, private and tribal studies have revealed return rates as high as 97% for some tribes within 4 years—and in Denver, 50% returned to their reservations within three months! Nevertheless, this program did contribute to a rapid increase in the urban Indian population, especially in such neighborhoods as "Skid Row." While the BIA had given the Indians a little money to leave the reservations, there was nothing offered for the return trip home. And during this same period, the rates of alcoholism took a big leap among Native Americans.

Due to the adverse reports on the reservations from those who returned from the city, the BIA's propaganda

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Housing on a Paiute and Shoshone reservation in Nevada.



Conditions in the cities drive many Indians back to the reservations, but conditions on the reservations force more out into the cities. It is a vicious cycle—but contrary to the intentions of its perpetrators, one that is spinning out of their control.







# Karl Marx on: Unproductive Labor and Unproductive Economists

Readers may recall the article analyzing "Reaganomics" (May 22, 1981) where mention was made of *Wealth and Poverty* written by George Gilder. Gilder is perhaps the most celebrated philosopher of the new conventional wisdom of bourgeois economics. His defense of capitalism is as crude as it is laughable—yet, he has received star billing in the *New York Times* and *60 Minutes*. And why not; after all, this is a fellow who has "proven," based on personal observation no less, that Blacks and women are not discriminated against and responsible for their own "failure." Invited to speak at the commencement ceremonies at American University last month, Gilder was greeted with a boisterous walkout.

Gilder dares to speak the bitter truth: it is really the capitalists who have been discriminated against and scoffed at. He tells us:

"American wealth tends to be real. But real, too, is the hostility towards it, the envy and perplexity aroused by the rich, the mystery and the coarse misunderstanding of the role of wealth.... Here among the rich is capitalism personified and caricatured; here are its heroic figures and most opportune demonologies.... How the rich are regarded and how they see themselves... is a crucial measure of the health of a capitalist economy." (pp. 24-25, 49-50)

Now the bourgeoisie is obviously a bit worried here about such poisonous and fallacious ideas as "capitalist exploitation and parasitism" infecting the minds of the unwary. So Gilder answers their call, singing hymns of praise to the activism, to the creative and productive prowess of the "heroic" capitalist, willing to chance his riches in uncertain investments so that others might also prosper. Gilder's capitalism is a world in which everyone, in a certain sense, becomes a useful and productive worker; especially the enterprising man of wealth. Gilder writes:

"In a capitalist economy, every worker and businessman knows in the marrow of his bones that his buying power consists of his supplying power (our "supply-side" homespun—RW), no more, no less... He exchanges... his work, his productive services... He values his money because his expenditure of funds is psychologically rooted in his earlier expenditure of effort." (*Ibid.*, emphasis added)

It is part of an argument as old as capitalists (and revisionists) having to justify their domination and privilege: "Hey, we got to the top because we earned it and without us, nothing would be possible."

In *Theories of Surplus Value*, Karl Marx carries on a systematic analysis of the distinction between productive and unproductive labor in capitalist society. His argument, which it is not our purpose to explore here, focuses on the conditions and relations within which labor becomes productive of surplus value. In the course of the discussion he lambastes idiots like Gilder:

"It is characteristic that all 'unproductive' economists, who achieve nothing in their own specialty, come out against the distinction between productive labor and unproductive labor. However, in relation to the bourgeoisie, it is on the one hand an expression of their servility that they present all func-

tions as serving the production of wealth for him; then on the other hand, they present the bourgeois world as the best of all possible worlds, in which everything is useful, and the bourgeois himself is so educated that he understands this. In relation to the laborers, what it expresses is this: it is quite all right that the unproductive ones consume the great mass of products, since they contribute just as much as the laborers to the production of wealth even in their own way." (*TSV*, Vol. 1, p. 290)

Marx, in what must surely rank as one of the most biting and brilliant satires of such sophistry as Gilder's, then proceeds to take on the challenge of these "learned" men. In effect, he retorts, "OK, you would have us believe that everyone is doing something useful; well, let me apply the logic of your argument, and tell me what you think!" In what follows, we reproduce a passage from *Theories of Surplus Value* appropriately entitled "Apologist Conception of the Productivity of All Professions." (Vol. 1, pp. 387-88)

### Apologist Conception of the Productivity of All Professions

A philosopher produces ideas, a poet poems, a clergyman sermons, a professor compendia and so on. A criminal produces crimes. If we look a little closer at the connection between this latter branch of production and society as a whole we shall rid ourselves of many prejudices. The criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as "commodities". This brings with it augmentation of national wealth, quite apart from the personal enjoyment which—as a competent witness, Herr Professor Roscher, (tells us)—the manuscript of the compendium brings to its originator himself.

The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all these different lines of business, which form equally many categories of the social division of labour, develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honourable craftsmen in the production of its instruments.

The criminal produces an impression, partly moral and partly tragic, as the case may be, and in this way renders a "service" by arousing the moral and aesthetic feelings of the public. He produces not only compendia on Criminal Law, not only penal codes and along with them legislators in this field, but also art, belles-lettres, novels, and even tragedies, as not only Müllner's *Schuld* and Schiller's *Räuber* show, but also (Sophocles') *Oedipus* and (Shakespeare's) *Richard the Third*. The criminal breaks the monotony and everyday security of bourgeois life. In this way he keeps it from stagnation, and gives rise to that uneasy tension and agility without which even the spur of competition would get blunted. Thus he gives a stimulus to the productive forces. While

crime takes a part of the superfluous population off the labour market and thus reduces competition among the labourers—up to a certain point preventing wages from falling below the minimum—the struggle against crime absorbs another part of this population. Thus the criminal comes in as one of those natural "counterweights" which bring about a correct balance and open up a whole perspective of "useful" occupations.

The effects of the criminal on the development of productive power can be shown in detail. Would locks ever have reached their present degree of excellence had there been no thieves? Would the making of bank-notes have reached its present perfection had there been no forgers? Would the microscope have found its way into the sphere of ordinary commerce (see Babbage) but for trading frauds? Doesn't practical chemistry owe just as much to adulteration of commodities and the efforts to show it up as to the honest zeal for production? Crime, through its constantly new methods of attack on property, constantly calls into being new methods of defence, and so is as productive as

strikes for the invention of machines. And if one leaves the sphere of private crime: would the world-market ever have come into being but for national crime? Indeed, would even the nations have arisen? And hasn't the Tree of Sin been at the same time the Tree of Knowledge ever since the time of Adam?

In his *Fable of the Bees* (1705) Mandeville had already shown that every possible kind of occupation is productive, and had given expression to the line of this whole argument:

"That what we call Evil in this World, Moral as well as Natural, is the grand Principle that make us Sociable Creatures, the solid Basis, the *Life and Support of all Trades and Employments* without exception (...) there we must look for the true origin of all Arts and Sciences; and (...) the moment, Evil ceases, the Society must be spoilt'd if not totally dissolve'd" (2nd edition, London, 1723, p. 428).

Only Mandeville was of course infinitely bolder and more honest than the philistine apologists of bourgeois society. □

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**TO THE  
MARXIST-LENINISTS,  
THE WORKERS,  
AND THE OPPRESSED  
OF ALL COUNTRIES**

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  - Grupo Marxista-Leninista do Senegal
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# The Coalfields Then And The Coalfields Now

## A Strike Then—A Strike Now

But discontent simmers in the coalfields nonetheless—and the events in March as the contract ran out showed it.

Negotiations stage-managed by the capitalists built to a phony crescendo right as the old contract expired. A "break-through" happened. And UMWA Sam Church was packed off on a whirlwind tour of the coalfields "to sell the package." The official script called for miners to ratify, set the pace for "responsibility to the industry"—and work right on through for another three years. It would have been the first contract negotiation, and in fact the first major industrial dispute of any kind, in the coalfields that hadn't produced a strike since the post-WW2 calm shattered among miners in the mid-'60s.

Miners didn't go along with the scenario. In at least a distant echo of '68 and '71, and '74 and the 111-day strike in the winter of 1977-78—miners made bonfires of the joint company-union proposals, hounded and humiliated the representatives sent to convince them. They buried hopes of total docility with a 2-to-1 "No" vote. There was a mood, extending quite broadly, that things were no good, and striking was the way at hand to make that clear.

So even though this was no raging battle, what followed was not uniformly quiet. Especially in Kentucky, where non-union "dog-holes" have been gaining ground on unionized territory, sporadic hit-and-run violence was aimed at attempts to truck coal to barges on the Ohio River. In the more solidly "UMWA country" of West Virginia and Pennsylvania—a rally here or there, a few well-publicized incidents of dealing with some scabbing operations.

But few have missed the difference in mood—not only in how much the strike is in the hands of various officials this time (especially those up for election or aspiring to be), but even more important in how the masses of miners viewed the strike, and what they expected out of it:

"There's a conservative feeling. The whole thing boils down to trying to hold on to what you've got. And for a lot of guys, they've been convinced that in the past we were just hurting ourselves. Now people don't want to rock the boat in the industry. You know, 'don't bite the hand that feeds you.' They're cautious. And at the same time, we've already lost half of our health plan—the guys just don't want to step backwards anymore."

The strike this time was a determined statement of "holding on"—and ended with the second proposal of June 6, which eliminated some of the most blatant "take aways." If the strike wasn't a return to docility, it was also in another world from the tumultuous eruption from the bottom, the feisty and optimistic rush for the future, that characterized the upsurge from 1968 to 1978.

"I remember the Gas Protest of 1974. We were out three weeks, it seemed so simple. We said 'No Gas, No Coal,' and refused to compromise when they offered gas for just the working miners to get to work on. In a week we had Miller (UMWA president) hollering 'Boys, you've made your point,' and we told him to go to hell, we weren't striking to 'make points' we were striking for goddamn gas. In two weeks we had the Governor squirming, and even got the Mayor of War to hijack a gas tanker using town cops. They brought in 250 state troopers and hundreds of 'John Doe' warrants. We kept picketing. They jailed 6 guys, and we made them put them back on the streets—and in three weeks when the steel mills started shutting down, we had all the gas we wanted and they dropped the gas ra-

tioning. I swear, I thought to myself—cut off coal for four weeks and we can demand anything! That's how strong we felt."

\* \* \* \* \*

Let's dispel the "romance" of the coalfields that some revisionist "poets of labor" would have us swallow. All the standard phrases about "beautiful green hills" covering "the dark bowels of the earth" fall away when you live the reality of dusty boring little coal camps.

People were herded there at the turn of the century for only one reason—to work and make profit for the capitalist class. Because shelter was needed, some was built. The rest you see is the means of production and its refuse. Even the heavy summer growth can't hide the smoldering piles of mine gob, or the junk yards of worn-out equipment or the deep scars raked in the hillsides by strip mining.

One road in, one road out; and little to do but work underground and raise kids. Soap operas for women, beer joints for the men, churches for the pious—and little else. For the people who live here it is the petty isolation of rural, small town life—and grinding man-killing labor on huge rock-crushing machinery miles under the ground. It is the kind of place people try to get away from.

What is interesting, and yes, sometimes heroic, about the coalfields is the struggle between the classes. Worker against the boss, union against company, "the men" against "the Man"—locked in a grim, by now legendary, test of strength. But this too, is nothing to worship at the feet of.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mac, a disabled miner and veteran activist, sat me down in his living room and told me what he had seen and done in his fighting days. Mac grins as he talks of smuggling leaflets into the mine in his bucket, the small revenge gotten on this—or—that asshole overseer, the feeling of strength and new life when the upsurge broke loose in the Black Lung Strike of 1969, his arrest and beating by the state police. Reaching for another cup of coffee, I suddenly notice that his children had quietly filed into the room, squatting against the walls to hear stories they know by heart. These are the times when the light comes into their father's face, when his despair and fatigue leave him—for a few moments he is no longer a slave.

The conversation resumes, and turns to where things are now. The light is gone. And he stirs the dregs of betrayal, the political confusion, the anger of watching the masses of men turn against the heavy pace of the struggle. In one sense the struggle brought changes—the miners now live and earn at levels similar to the rest of basic industry. The company towns are dissolved. But in another sense everything is as it was... debt to the company store is replaced by debt to the banks and loan companies. After fifteen years of painting and paneling company shacks, of putting up aluminum siding, of pouring concrete porches, they still look like what they are, only now interspersed with trailers—temporary housing made permanent. "What have we gained?" Life still consists of raising your kids to take your place on the bottom. Mac is no longer active. "I'm sitting this one out." And he is not alone.

\* \* \* \* \*

Interviewing a manager in charge of repossessions in a loan agency you get a picture of how things had changed, not only in the strike but in the years leading up to it. I asked her what she thought about wildcats. "There used to be constant strikes" she said, and recalled how the evening news would be

followed by a string of televised injunctions. "By order of Judge Knapp, the members of Local such-and-such are hereby ordered to return to work on the next available shift." She continued, "That was many years ago by now; things have been quiet since the last big contract strike." This strike? "Miners prepared for it by habit. We're now two months into it and delinquencies in payment simply haven't gone up, at least as far as I can tell. Naturally, we have a lot of people paying just interest and leaving the principal for later. But the miners don't seem to be really hurting—and they don't seem to be talking about what they are out for. Things are really quiet." An insurance agent in the same town painted a similar picture. "The 1978 strike almost put me out of business. I had 78 so-called 'accidental' burnings of trailers in that strike, and you know what that was, people were about to lose everything they had. The mother company almost pulled out altogether. This time I guess it's different." In 1977 miners "prepared" for the contract not so much by saving, as by striking. Little mining was done in the summer of 1977—as miners wildcatted over health care cuts.

## Not a "Desperate" Strike Wave

To understand where the change came from you've got to understand the difference between strikes of desperation, of hunger, like the coalfield wars of the '20s and '30s—and what lay behind the upsurge that raged from '68 to '78. This was a movement that grew out of a feeling of strength. Coal came out of a slump in the '60s. Hiring started, new mines opened like crazy with the young rebellious blood of Vietnam vets. The commodity was in demand, and for the first time in a generation—miners could sense the strength they had in stopping production. Each one or two day walkout fueled the next because in many cases they brought victories, quick concessions on job rights, a lessening of the infuriating harassment and the grotesque man-created dangers of underground work. While coal mining remained miserable, dangerous work, and the companies hardly gave up attacking—especially to defeat the strike movement itself—the fact remains that overall conditions were improving somewhat for working miners.

Those who thought, and preached, that the upsurge of thousands of wildcats were an example that "hard times are fighting times" and who saw the miners as a harbinger of resistance to the 1974-75 economic crisis (and certainly, revolutionary communists were among the guilty) missed the point. It was a movement fed not by a worsening of conditions but the bettering and by the determination to "catch up" with the rest of the working class. And it reinforced the spontaneous trade union idea, that if the miners simply "organized," cleaned house in the union ("Make the UMWA Great Again!"), simply outlasted the companies through unity and sacrifice—that the "imbalance" between labor and capital could be corrected, the worst injustices eliminated. Miners had been "at the dog's asshole" throughout the fifties, and at the first opportunity found their voice against years of accumulated outrages, starting with the Black Lung disease that machinery had made into an epidemic. It seemed possible to win "a decent life, and force the companies to quit fucking with us." The illusion was that each strike and victory would lay on the previous ones like bricks in a protective wall.

It hasn't worked that way. And the most important snag has been the growing malaise of the industry, sporadic layoffs, closing of less productive mines—a feeling of weakness again, fanned by the incredibly pervasive propaganda that "job security," the health

of the industry, even the survival of the union all depend on "a stable workforce." In other words, "don't bite the hand that feeds you." And given the weakness of revolutionary consciousness, the miners have been (in the words of Karl Marx) "fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects...they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction...they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady." The feelings of real changes coming have faded.

It is not that "hard times" have finally arrived and now "strikes of desperation" are the order of the day, the situation is more contradictory than that. "Strikes of desperation" require a sense that "we have nothing to lose"—and that is the exact opposite of where things stand—miners have the fluttering feeling that they are facing losing what they have, and see little hope for gaining more. In the minds of the workers, this contract strike was not so much "for the survival of the union" (as some trade unionists and much of the "left" press wanted to portray it)—it was a fight to stand pat.

## Illusions Lead to Demoralization

For the most active who fought so hard—who risked jail and bullets on the picket lines of countless wildcats—the illusions of militant trade unionism have led many to demoralization. It seems like it all was "plowing the ocean." "What was gained?" A decade of struggle, and you look up to see yourself sliding behind.

From 1969 on, the union was in constant turmoil. Union officials literally changed weekly in some locals. Checking this out is a good dose against getting too fascinated with "rank and file" control of the local. Arnold Miller came and went at the top, first inspiring hope, finally hounded out with merciless ridicule. Only to be replaced by a Sam Church, "I swear, he has got to be the most ignorant man on earth. Having him represent us is more embarrassing than being associated with the 'Beverly Hillbillies.' He just eats up anything, I mean anything, the companies and Rockefeller tell him—and isn't even slick about it. I don't see how he breathes."

At the local level, militants were boosted into union positions by the hundreds, and burned out just as quickly. An older miner, a veteran of the strike movement, and recently voted out as local president, "These younger miners, they look at me and the rest of the officers and say 'This is wrong, that is wrong, why don't you fix it.' And we can't. All we have is a contract, and the grievance procedure. And we can't do any better with it than the sucks we replaced. In fact, we do worse—'cause the company at least throws an occasional victory to the sucks to make them look good."

The benefits won over the years, the pensions, the health card, the Black Lung benefits, the safety laws have been steadily eroded, starting at the moment each concession was granted, undercut seemingly at the companies' discretion—and with Reagan's mouthings, everyone expects a future once again stuck defending things which were inadequate to begin with. As for the wildcats themselves, which reached a crescendo where in some areas up to a third of the work time for years running was spent in illegal strikes—after initial years of concession, especially to strikes at the local level—the bourgeoisie responded to the upsurge as the serious social movement that it was, and took calculated aim at the very ability of the miners to wield their strike weapon. At the height of the movement, 1974, '75, '76, the burning issue became not this or that "practical" reform but the "Right to Strike" itself—and each of the increasingly savage convulsions that swept the national coalfields yielded no simple victories and temporary calm but car-

ried within themselves the seeds of the next round of intensifying confrontation, as the bourgeoisie maneuvered to crush resistance.

For the mass of workers, there is still no choice but to resist. And the two months of strike this spring show that they are capable of at least going through the motions. There was even talk during this strike of having a "real strike" soon after returning to work if Reagan carries through his threats of cutting away at social security checks!

But for the more politically advanced and those who had been most active, this level of things appears just so much like a treadmill—more talk of more of the same. And it is a time for licking wounds, of demoralization linked with agonizing over where to go next. Ed summed it up, "Different times, different situations, different attitudes."

**"Wasted Days And Wasted Nights"**

"Six years in the marines," Donnie used to say, "Fucked by the olive-green wienie for six years—When I got out all I knew as that I was going to grow my hair down to my ass and never say 'yessir, yessir' to them again." And he hadn't. Daily, jokingly, he had confronted everyone who knew him with his broader experience, and placed the little pieces of what was happening in context. He told stories of the woman he had fallen in love with while stationed in Iceland, and the details of people's lives there to promote internationalism; "Out of the army into the mines—just switching branches in their service. They still tell us 'you maggot, you worm.'"

Not a leader, not even the kind of intensely active trade unionist that the upsurge had created by the hundreds. A worker whose experiences in the imperialist military had made him a rebel—and whose contact with the *Revolutionary Worker* had made increasingly conscious. Right on the heels of the overthrow of the Shah, Donnie had run into an Iranian student at a party, and pumped him for information on the revolution. In the dinner hole underground he had told us the story, "This guy supported the Shah! He told me how terrible it was, how law and order had broken down, how even today he couldn't get his money out of the country. And right away I knew something fishy was up. What do you know, when I got the truth out of him, this little bastard was an incredible landowner. He bragged to me about how many peasants he had had, how well he had treated them," Donnie's eyes twinkled, "he said both labor and human life are cheaper over there."

Arriving in the southern coalfields, his trailer was a natural first stop for me to see where people were at. His daughter told me where to find him, "The Subterranean," a beer joint in the nearest town. Down in the basement of an old building, a row of bar stools, a pool table, a jukebox and darkness. Donnie spun around on his bar stool and spotted me: "Well, look at this, there comes the revolution." He was stoned on his ass. And had been that way for eight months. "One day I said fuck it, and just quit going down to that fucking mine." Hearing I was still actively revolutionary, that I was writing an article on the coalfields, he told me, "Look around the room. Every one of those old men is disabled. Eat up with Black Lung. That one was crippled. Their checks are everything to them. They're worried to death Reagan might snatch them. They're worried the mines will all shut down like in the fifties. And those young people will leave." His arm swept to the far side of the room where young miners were gathered around the pool table.

"But just try talking to them about revolution and communism—'cause they're just as scared that something is going to fuck this country up and ruin their lives that way, as they are of the government that has already bled them dry. You're dreaming, and I've found



*"... and each of the increasingly savage convulsions that swept the national coalfields yielded no simple victories and temporary calm but carried within themselves the seeds of the next round of intensifying confrontation..."*

**June 1976—The entire third shift of one mine, 18 in all, led to jail by federal marshals for refusing to bow to back-to-work order in local dispute. Gasoline poured on the flames of the right-to-strike movement.**

freedom my own way. And that's what it's about—freedom."

He looked straight at me and said, "I'm glad you found me here, quite appropriate. This is my new home. Looking for freedom—this is where it ends. I paid off my trailer. Nobody hassles me. I work odd jobs for my father when I want to. And I keep my mind ripped." He stared at me, his eyes red and heavy with herb and oil. "I've got it made now. My biggest worry when I leave here is that maybe I won't find some hussy to climb on my motorcycle with me."

"I am really happy. You believe that?" He repeated it twice and looked away. No, I didn't believe it and neither did he.

\* \* \* \* \*

A Labor Day rally, a couple years back, but after the upsurge. A typical affair concentrating all that is nauseating about the American labor movement—in between the cotton candy sales were overstuffed union officials in their plaid sportscoats hugging and praising various politicians, while both were vying for the opportunity to corral some of the masses for hand shaking and back slapping. Tables had been set up by revisionist artists selling morbid pictures of long suffering miners and sobbing women. Up on a stage to the side was the official union version of a "good time" for the working class: first came an "Ugliest Coal Miner Contest," then assorted holy roller preachers proclaiming that Jesus was coming to this Sodom and Gomorrah, and finally, typical "let's hear it for a great friend of labor..." as various hangmen of the capitalists were introduced to the workers to make their speeches. Circling the field and scouring the entrances were teams of armed bodyguards and police to keep revolutionaries at a distance.

People were leaving in droves. Suddenly the bright spot of the day...a



**1975—For today, the tables are turned: cops seize sound truck keys saying "Now you march where we tell you to march." They miscalculated. In the picture above the keys are being returned.**

car, loaded with young miners, zooms out of the line of leaving cars, careens past the field. An empty beer can sails out of a window and bounces off the protecting cyclone fence. A shout: "Goddamn you sucks and scabs. We'll get you yet."

As one man put it: "The radical fringe is still out there. Right now everybody is kicking back. But it is still out there."

\* \* \* \* \*

Roger, former activist of the Miners' Right to Strike Committee, and another one "sitting things out":

"I went out once during this strike (there was one rally called here in District 17) just to see what was cooking and if I ought to get involved. I took one look at who was there—nothing but bullshit, one suck official after the other, getting up, saying nothing, and then passing around their election

cards. If that's what is now, I'd rather stay home."

\* \* \* \* \*

At one point it was rumored that Sam Church was actually going to show his face in some corner of that same district. Miners gathered spontaneously to prepare for him. And one miner reported the whispering in the crowd, "Where are the communists?" Meaning—we're ready, but where is some leadership?

\* \* \* \* \*

Clearly the mood is restlessness among the broad masses, the intermediate—but that "radical fringe" has run up against the limits of what they themselves know and understand.

And the arena is left to the men one proletarian describes as, "those ballbearings—slick and oily, there to

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# Coalfields

Continued from page 11

keep the top and bottom running smoothly together."

Where that leads the workers comes out clear in the poster plastered all over District 17 advertising a benefit support meeting in Charleston. The big letters read, "RED NECKS, WHITE SOCKS, AND BLUE RIBBON BEER." Here in the form of promised entertainment (it is the name of a song) is a theme for the miners, the rural equivalent of the hard-hat stereotype: the militant but all-American yokel.

## Narrow Framework

Stuck in a narrow framework defined by the endless contest between miner and coal company, with an outlook that may see events in the next holler but blots out the rest of the world and the motion of capital and history itself—how could the movement *not* come up against its limits and collapse? And the key to this is the understanding, the trade unionism, that guided even the most active and advanced during the upsurge. If the way to the future is a steadily bigger and badder resistance of the miners around their own particular oppression, what task did the advanced see for themselves? They saw it as organizing the majority to take action around what they could be brought to understand relatively quickly—a formula for limiting the struggle to where the shoe happens to pinch at the moment, for being whipped around by the rapidly changing moods of the more "average" masses of workers and *their* perceptions of what is "winnable" and desirable for them at any given point. The vast majority of the most active and even the more politically advanced miners were trade unionist, and expected the struggle to lead to at least some real and lasting reforms, including a lasting shift of (or at least more "balanced") power relations. This dovetailed well with "left" economism among communists who, while never really believing in lasting reforms, did think that ever more powerful strikes, if sustained, would lead more or less directly to political challenge to capitalist power itself. Where could this trade unionism lead people who didn't break with it but to ultimately seeing the backwardness and inertia of the masses themselves as the root cause of continued oppression—the birth of real cynicism? This is especially so as the objective—and inevitable—end of the strike upsurge developed with changing conditions.

A former member of the Miners' Right to Strike Committee: "I'll tell you something, man, and coming from me it means something—I just don't see what defending the union means anymore. All I see is 'bucks and benefits', that's all it is now. And that's all it really ever was—even though it looked different. And if *that's* what it's about, if the majority is satisfied with 'double triple-time shifts on your birthday', or some bullshit like that—then you might as well get out of the mines and make some real money." And even driving to Ed's house you could see that's where he was heading. A huge back-hoe, his own personal piece of the means of pro-

duction, filled his whole driveway. "I've spent every day of this strike hustling for jobs for that thing. I haven't even made enough to cover the payments on it. But my outlook now is my family—I ain't bitching, I ain't complaining, I'm just like everybody else—struggling to get by. And that definitely means if I could just get this business together, I'd quit the mines in a second, and party about it."

The whole point is that beating your head against the question of "where to go with the miners' movement" isn't even the question on the agenda for miners generally, let alone for the more advanced and class-conscious proletarians in the coalfields. The world of the 1980s is shaped by far more sweeping social questions and the eruption of tremendous turmoil, things with increasing immediacy—the accelerating pace of motion toward world war, the deepening social crisis within U.S. imperialism, the possibilities of more outbreaks of the oppressed (including especially oppressed minority nationalities), and emerging as a distinct possibility a revolutionary crisis out of the raging contradictions within the system—in which the miners, as a part of the working class, will have to make political choices based on far more than their understanding of how they themselves have been historically exploited by their immediate employers.

In the coalfields, there has always been a contradiction between the level of trade union consciousness (the raw "us/them" hatred) that miners have, and the degree to which broader political (specifically, revolutionary) class-consciousness is missing. This is a part of the country where the masses divide people up into "union men" and "company men"; there are the "radicals," the "sucks" and the bosses. That embryonic consciousness coexists with patriotism and mind-numbing religious fundamentalism. This is a part of the country where the bourgeoisie has succeeded among significant sections of the workers in associating the very notion of "rebel" with the Confederate flag of slavery, where Black people are still referred to as "the colored" (or worse), where major chunks of the masses believe "we are living in the last days" before the second coming of a messiah. Some of this has changed—especially among those most influenced by the world outside the coalfields, but some remains.

In political crisis, it is *political* understanding that will determine the role that the masses of miners play. Their economic struggle is a basis in many ways, a school of many experiences. It has dragged (and will continue to drag) even the most passive sections of the class into motion. "The masses learn from their day-to-day struggle"—an old sacred cow. The fact is they do learn there, but *what* they learn depends on the political context, and principally on how political understanding is brought in from without. Left to itself the economic struggle not only teaches its own futility, and breeds the fatigue and frustration that are so easy to find, but trains people in narrowly focusing on themselves.

The question that really confronts the miners is what role they can, and will, play in far more sweeping political struggles that will inevitably break in the U.S. and the world. And the question facing the advanced is how to prepare for that role, and while not

leaving the economic struggle, especially where it's sharp, this preparation will not be mainly there.

Any examination of the past and the lessons of the miners upsurge, even at its most "radical" and militant, shows that the role that miners will play—whether they (or a significant section of them) will be a pillar in a revolutionary movement or whether the unity and strength that miners have built will confront the revolutionary upsurges elsewhere in the country as a political foe—is a question that is not at all settled.

In the heart of the Gas Protest Strike in 1974, the state came down heavy in the second week. They put up an army of state troopers at National Guard headquarters, and it was like unofficial martial law. They had road blocks, they broke up any gathering of miners on the sides of roads with searchlights, checking papers, writing down license plate numbers, serving warrants. Tensions grew. Men were afraid to go picketing, and they were furious at the two or three mines where men kept trying to slip into work and break the strike. Everyone could see that the scabbing was concentrated in the few locals with the highest percentage of Blacks, and that the ring leaders of the strike breaking among miners were a clique of officials who also happened to be Black.

Suddenly one night, a picket staggered into the meeting on the bypass—he had been pistol whipped by three Black workers in a Gary bathhouse. They had knocked him silly and gone into work. It was like a fever gripped the meeting, about fifty or sixty of the most active men, all white. One asshole, obviously drunk, climbed on the back of the pick-up truck, "It's been coming for a long time—let's go get some of these niggers, the cops won't be watching the Central Cafe"—one of the few local hangouts of Black youth.

Here in a strike challenging the oil companies and the state, under armed attack, in one of the first great outbreaks of struggle in five years—the very pressure of the bourgeoisie brought the sharpest political weaknesses of the masses to light.

Naturally the meeting split into two warring sides. A dozen started moving for their cars muttering, "If that's the way it goes, count me out." We all argued back and forth and the whole mood was beaten back. But the mess lingered and there were even shootings between Black and white miners before the strike ended—milked to the max by the companies.

The miners' upsurge was an outbreak; thousands shook themselves out of official channels, and battered at an enemy that had ridden them as long as any could remember. With determination they shed one clique of union officials after another that tried to harness and crush the movement. For years rebellion reigned. Miners opened to new ideas, questioned old allegiances, showed themselves willing to go up against any force the imperialist could throw at them whether armed with demagoguery or guns. That struggle was, and the coalfields still are, fertile ground for revolutionary work. But both the miners themselves and more importantly the world and its intensifying contradictions have moved beyond what existed then. Economic struggles, even new wildcats, will undoubtedly play their role—but even at their height, at their most militant, these strikes were resistance to oppression, not the struggle to eliminate it. That struggle goes on, in fact on a higher level overall. And this is true despite the fact that the wildcats have (for now) run their course. In fact, lessons of that movement, including especially of its ebb, can contribute to what is to come. Simple one-sided worshipping the struggle as it once existed, and searching for ways to bring it back, misses the boat.

## Thinking of the Future

Everybody I talked to on this trip I asked the same question. "The government has never used the West Virginia national guard against the miners' strikes—they know the soldiers are

mostly miners and they can't rely on their loyalty. Where do you think those same troops will stand if they are called in to crush an urban rebellion, say, in Atlanta now, or even at some point, an actual insurrection starting in other areas?"

John, a Black Vietnam veteran and a class-conscious proletarian, jumped on that question. "That's just what we saw in 'Nam. I was on the ground. I saw a country without a dog or a cat (and definitely no pigs) walking around—all eaten. And I could see what those people were going through. Not only that but I saw the way they were shoving Black people out on the front lines to get killed. Naturally I didn't want to fight them. I guess that's really what turned me to thinking, 'cause when I ended up in 'Nam, I thought I was ready for it, but there was no way I was ready for what I saw there. But you get someone who doesn't know or understand the people he is fighting, get a man up in a cockpit—because you are distant from what you destroy, the less you see, the less you understand about your 'enemy', the less you feel. And it applies here to revolution, to do positive warfare you need a standing army, but you also have to have a percentage of the population that do it clandestine, who understand and do it their way, when they take the opportunity—they'll have to pass a revolutionary and turn their head. You need active support and neutralized support, those people who say, 'They went that-a-way' and throw the Man off the track."

Despite this understanding that ignorance of the real forces in motion could lead people to act against their own interests, still, in his view, a revolutionary turn would come naturally, almost automatically, at a certain point: "Here you got the two of us, Black and white, in a boat sinking mid-stream. Both of us got to get out and swim, and it don't make a difference which shore immediately, and if we just happen to be closer to one than the other, both of us will possibly go the same way. When the possibility appears, people will think about it in a way they never did before.

"For one thing, as far as any movement going anywhere, the movements of unionized workers, the miners are as close to requiring the ownership of the means of production as anybody... Now, they haven't done it. And the basic principle on the line is for a political organization, and for concerned individuals like us who would like to see that and we advocate that, we still don't have a mass approval of it... but the gap between the haves and the have-nots is widening, it doesn't take much for the student of events to observe that. More and more people are getting mad, you can see a polarization. It just needs that initial kick, that benefits a number of people enough to propagate itself, whatever it is, it may be just one mine where a number of miners call on the union and demand ownership."

More sober, was Ed: "It all depends on how things go down. Right now, there might very well be a feeling among many (not all, mind you) of 'blow the motherfuckers away!' Damn, have you seen what they are doing to people's heads these days. Even a lot of the young guys...right now Daddy's got them tuned in, like drones—make that money and to hell with everything else. Since this Poland/Iran stuff, you catch people starting to put out their flags—ready for war...you know, like apple-pie eating is supposed to be back in style. They don't comprehend what war means. How can you look at war as a way to stimulate the economy? They just don't see what they're supporting."

The question is posed. Intense and urgent revolutionary political work "preparing minds and organizing forces" is called for. What are the revolutionary currents in the coalfields? Where are the forces that would recognize a chance to do more than lash back? What are the roads to the political thinking of the miners that could be transformed into a powerful influence? And where does the traditional trade unionism of the miners stand next to this?

The next article in this series will explore some of these questions. □

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# TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL PERSECUTION

## "Les Miserables"

To whom it may concern:

If you are poor and living in the U.S.A. you can very well qualify to be a character in Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables."

In the Southwest which is the part of the country where I come from, we have slums no different than those of the third world countries.

So much the same that the Peace Corps were sent there for dress rehearsal before being sent to Latin America, and other places similar. Racism and discrimination are everywhere along with POLICE brutality against Chicanos (Mexican Americans) and Blacks.

I work in a factory near a suburb named Cicero, Ill. (once a turf of Al Capone) where Blacks and Latinos work and even do their shopping during the day, but let them come around at night and they are not welcome. The first to harass and brutalize us are the police. Some Blacks have had the illusion of living in a "democracy" and have bought homes in some of these suburbs only to have their dreams shattered, and woke up to the reality of living in a so-called FREE country.

Where their homes were fire bombed by such patriot groups as the K.K.K. and the American Nazi party, while the Police turn the other way. As I write this letter today there was a raid here in Chicago by the "MIGRA", whose tactics against our Mexican brothers are similar to the Nazi brown shirts. The only crime committed by these "Aliens" as they are called, is that they want to work.

In my younger days, as many Chicano families did, I used to migrate from the Southwest to the Northern States to work in the fields of sugar beets and harvesting potatoes (stoop labor). The companies would pay the rancher directly, not us. The rancher had a contractor who would recruit workers from Texas. Our pay from the factory was \$1.25 an hour. By the time we got our pay after the rancher deducted our bunk and use of electric and water we would wind up with about 50¢ an hour. Our barracks were once used to keep German P.O.W.'s in Wisconsin after WWII. Where later the P.O.W.'s blended into the regular community, much to the dismay of some of the residents.

Of course the American Japanese at the time were in concentration camps, and their property confiscated. On another occasion we went to work for this farmer who vacated pig pens and chicken coops and turned them into living quarters for us, and also had the gall to tell us he didn't permit the use of booze or beer on his property because he was a Christian, and alcohol was against the laws of his religion. Is there oppression here? Come and see for yourself, visit any slum in the U.S.A., visit the jails where people haven't even been brought to trial, and are already serving time. Visit the homes of the elderly, where old folks are treated like used and wasted machines, and not as humans who once contributed to the wealth of this country.

Visit our Veteran Hospitals where young men who fought in Vietnam who lay flat on their backs with nothing to look forward to. I'm talking about the 1960s and '70s and '80s.

I could go on and on, but I don't write short hand and I only have about 260 pages. I am not writing this to generate pity, because after living all my life in this "Democracy" I have taken my stand on the side of the "Les Miserables" and look forward to the destruction of this decadent System which produces misery and suffering for all.

Respectfully,  
XXX

## Robert McAfee Brown

I am voluntarily submitting a statement to be used in connection with the extradition hearings of Bob Avakian from France to the United States. I do not know Mr. Avakian, nor do I have full knowledge of all the facts surrounding his case, but I do have knowledge of other situations in the U.S. Courts which make it clear to me that it is difficult for people who engage in acts for political motivations to be assured of receiving justice. I refer to the experience in various court cases of Philip and Daniel Berrigan, Roman Catholics, one still a priest, whom I know well. Because of their belief that our policies in connection with escalating the arms race are likely to increase possibilities of a nuclear war, they have engaged in a variety of actions that have led to their arrest, most recently in symbolic acts of protest at plants where nuclear weapons are being constructed. They do this out of high moral commitment, they remain on the site awaiting arrest, they give a clear rationale for their reasons in engaging in actions designed to alert the rest of us to the folly of armaments escalation, and they act out of concern for United States citizens and for all members of the human family.

And yet, they are never allowed to introduce into court the reasons for their actions, to appeal to such legal actions of international tribunals as the Nuremberg Trials, to call upon expert witnesses to testify about the effects of nuclear explosions. They are deprived, in other words of the chance to make their case in court.

When I see the kind of treatment they are given in court, for what are, on any standard of judgment, concerned and relatively benign sorts of actions, I am increasingly worried about the fate in court of those whose actions will not be so perceived, even though they too may be moved to act by convictions and principles of their own. I find it hard to

conceive that our courts can give a fair and impartial hearing to people like Bob Avakian.

Robert McAfee Brown

## Chilean

I fully support Chairman Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. If Chairman Bob Avakian were to remain in the USA, his role as chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA, (the revolutionary leadership of the masses of people in the US) would be seriously stifled by the political persecution from the government and the ruling class behind them. This is if he is not murdered by them the way RCP member Damián Garcia was murdered, or like countless other revolutionaries who have been murdered by the US government and those above them.

The following statement is on my experience with freedom and democracy in the USA; that this is true only for those who rule and not for those who have to live under their rule, the masses of people and most specially for those who oppose and expose their plunder and who represent true revolutionary leadership for the oppressed—people like Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

I am no stranger to persecution. I was born in Santiago, Chile, as a child I remember that the men in our temple carried guns and rifles for self-protection against Nazi gangs who were attacking Jews and progressives; this while Chile was still a "democratic" country. I remember that we stopped going to the temple because it was fire bombed.

After the legally elected president of Chile, Salvador Allende, was murdered (together with 30,000 other Chileans) by the fascist junta (who enjoyed the full backing of the US government and

its different institutions like the infamous CIA, and corporations like ITT, Anaconda, Kennecott, Ford, etc.) there have been several political murders in my family; a cousin of mine was chased down and pressed against a wall until he was cut in two by an army troop carrier during the coup, his father, my uncle, was taken to the stadium in Santiago and shot. My immediate family like my sister, my grandmother, uncles and aunts, have had to scatter themselves all around the globe to escape political persecution, torture and most likely death (this together with 1,000,000 other Chileans who are also in exile).

Some of the most horrendous crimes have been committed so as to keep control of a small nation of 10,000,000 Chileans in the southernmost part of the continent. There is not an ounce of doubt in my mind that they would use even more vicious means to go after the Chairman of the RCP USA, Bob Avakian, so as to prevent revolution in the USA.

I personally have been beaten, threatened with death, and arrested numerous times in connection with selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper (the voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party of which Bob Avakian is chairman). I was with Damián Garcia, a member of the RCP, as he bled to death after being stabbed to death by police agents. In fact I was arrested and dragged off by police at the site of the murder as I had tried to give resuscitation. I am certain that if they could murder Bob Avakian and get away with it they would.

At the time when the student newspaper at UCLA had joined in with the *LA Times* in its attacks on Bob Avakian, (an article in the *LA Times* that quoted Bob Avakian as having had made a threat in the life of the president of the United States, Jimmy Carter,

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## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

*This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people*

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized\* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

\* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

# California Cops Lynch Black Football Star

It had the look of a lynching. Instead of white robes, they wore blue uniforms and badges; instead of at night, they carried out their foul act at mid-day. On June 2nd, Ron Settles, a 21-year-old Black man was hanged in a jail cell in Signal Hill, a small community in the middle of Long Beach, California.

Ron Settles was a star running back on the Cal State Long Beach football team—he had never before been arrested. He helped to coach the baseball team at nearby Franklin Junior High; his family and friends said he had "everything to live for."

At just before noon on June 2, Settles was stopped for speeding by Jerry Lee Brown, of the Signal Hill Police Department. According to initial police reports, Settles leaped from his car brandishing a 9-inch butcher knife and charged Brown. Somehow Brown had time to call a backup and three cops "subdued" Settles. The search of his car turned up "drug paraphernalia and a small amount of cocaine." Settles was arrested on felony assault on a police officer with a deadly weapon, possession of cocaine, resisting arrest and failure to identify himself. After being booked, police said, Settles refused his phone call and was placed in a cell. At a routine cell check 2 hours later, Settles was "found" hanging from the bars of his cell by a noose fashioned from a mattress cover.

"Suicide," announced the police. The next day, the Signal Hill police chief said, "The case is closed... at this time there is no reason to believe a crime has been committed." But to Ron's family and friends, and to the masses of Black people and others who are goddamned sick and tired of the atrocities committed by L.A. area pigs, this case is far from closed. 900 people attended Ron's funeral on June 8th, including the Cal State Long Beach football team, the Franklin Jr. High

baseball team, and many students. Ron's parents called the hanging "foul play" and hired an attorney and an independent medical examiner.

Day by day since June 2nd, the police story has been exposed as a pack of lies. Police have now admitted Settles never actually got out of his car until pulled out by them. As for the knife, a friend of Settles said he'd left it in the car after a picnic—in the trunk. And family, coaches, and friends say that Ron has never used drugs of any kind—football was his life.

Concerning the "suicide," there was one other prisoner in the Signal Hill jail cell when Settles was booked. This prisoner, Bernard Bradley, was conveniently removed from the jail an hour and a half before Settles was hanged. Bradley told the media that he was never even issued a mattress cover, and as far as he could see, neither was Settles. Bradley also said Settles was beaten by the cops, "They had him in the booking room, there was a lot of commotion... there were three voices in addition to the kid... they were all cursing... finally, the kid screamed, 'yes, yes, I'll cooperate,' but they kept beating him because he was still yelling."

Police then admitted that there had been a "slight scuffle" while Settles was being searched. According to them, Settles, hands cuffed behind his back, kicked Brown in the thigh and then grabbed his groin and backed him against the bars. But police contended they used the batons only on Settles' legs. Bradley, however, said that Settles had been severely beaten around the face. Still he said, Settles talked with him about school and football. "That doesn't sound like a man about to take his life," he said.

Arresting officer Brown has quite a history of his own. He has worked as a Signal Hill cop since 1970, the year he was fired from the LAPD. (Neither Brown

nor the LAPD are willing to say why he was fired.) Since 1977, Brown has been named in 3 lawsuits against police brutality. One man, Ruben Cabrillo, died after lying in a coma for 2 years after a beating from Brown. Police tried to cover for Brown, denying he was in the station when Settles was hanged, but Brown blurted out that he was there, admitting it to reporters (at which point the chief retreated, oinking, "I'm not going to have the officers tried in the newspapers.")

A resident of the area talked to the *RW* about the Signal Hill police: "Verbal abuse... whenever they stop you it's 'nigger' this and that. The minute you try to say something, even be nice, they're kicking and jabbing." He told about a teenager who was picked up by the Signal Hill police several weeks ago, driven to an isolated place, and beaten

until he was "hardly recognizable" before being thrown out of the police car without charges.

As the police became more exposed, the Los Angeles County Coroner announced it is "anticipating an inquest" into Settles' death. Originally, the coroner had announced "self-induced hanging" as the cause of death, but now they have discovered unexplained "marks" on the body. Historically, the purpose of such "inquests" and other "investigations" are well-known—nothing but the official seal of approval stamped on the weekly murders by L.A. police. The police, after all, have a job to do...

But, a friend of Settles put it this way, "People will only accept this kind of thing for so long, then they're going to react. Miami proved that..." □

## Indians

Continued from page 8

about the glories of urban life for Indians began to fall on deaf ears. In 1972, the BIA abandoned the urban "Relocation Program" and started the "Education Assistance" program. This effort is geared especially at getting the youth—who are likely to be the most militant resisters to America's escalating war on Indians—off the reservation. This is a particularly vital concern to the bourgeoisie, not only because of the obstacle these youth present to land thievery, but more because of the political exposure—indeed political shock waves—that such struggles produce throughout society. A crucial role in the government's mad scramble to shut off this potential floodgate is played by the BIA. Based on interviews with a number of Indians who currently live in a major city, the *RW* is able to reveal the methods behind this latest BIA madness.

While many reservations now have public schools in the area, they often only go up to the 8th grade. At that point, BIA agents notify the families that their children will have to go to a BIA boarding school, which somehow is generally a long way from the reservation. For example, an Aleut from Alaska with whom we spoke told us that he was sent to one of these "brainwashing centers" in Oklahoma! He also told us that his case was quite common. When we asked why he thought this was so, he replied, "So they can push Christianity, stop you from speaking your language, cut off your hair and get away with it. They want to keep you far away from your land base."

Those who graduate from these schools have already spent four years away from home. While they may have visited the reservations during the summers, this usually convinces them that there is no way to make a living there—unless you happen to be a friend of the tribal chairman. This is where the "Education Assistance" program comes in. The BIA offers to send the youth to some type of vocational training—in an urban area, of course. Thousands of young Indians are funneled off the reservations and into the cities through this program.

Those who rebel against this plan usually end up confronted by either the BIA or tribal police and tend to end up in youth camps. But even here, moving them as far away as possible from the reservation is the norm. And adults arrested on the reservation get the same treatment. A number of former prisoners told us that they had not only been forced to do their time at a prison thousands of miles away from home, but that a condition of their parole was that they remain in the city where the prison is located. While they are sometimes allowed to visit other cities, requests to visit their family or friends on the reservations are almost always denied by the parole officers. In fact, it is not uncommon for young Indians to get arrested on the reservation, sent to a youth camp far away, from there "graduate" to federal prison and end up paroled (temporarily) as an "urban Indian." Given the conditions of life in the cities for Native Americans, it is easy to see why this parole is usually a temporary phenomenon.

But despite the best efforts of the

government to funnel Indians off the reservations, the struggles in these areas have been sharply escalating. After nearly 50 years of trying, the BIA is well aware that "urbanization" of Native Americans is not going to accomplish the desired evacuation from the land, and the servants of the capitalists are certainly not limiting their preparations to this. For one thing, the BIA is paying particular attention to training Indians for police work on reservations other than their own, and making use of certain contradictions between the various tribal councils (contradictions created by the U.S. government, of course, as in the "Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute" in Big Mountain) for just this purpose. As one young Native American told us: "That way they won't feel like they're shooting down their own brother."

But the intensified struggles on the reservations are having a profound impact on those who are supposed to have "disappeared" into the cities. Most Native Americans, even those who have lived almost their entire lives in urban areas (including teachers and the few other professionals among Indians) usually maintain family ties with the people on the reservations, and often go back for periodic visits. This has helped to widely expose the U.S. government's intentions towards Native Americans, and many urban Indians have been carrying on support work for the struggles on the reservations. In doing so, they have helped to electrify the jolt of such struggles on broader forces in the cities. At the same time, many of the recently "urbanized" youth are making plans to return to the reservations to join the struggle; as one told us, "Now we've got something to do there."

How all of this will fall out in the coming period, when upheavals are battering the ruling class on many fronts, remains to be seen. Undoubtedly, many Native Americans will return to the reservations while others will feel that the struggles in the cities is where they should be. Indians returning to the reservation to join the struggle (a process that can already be seen) bring with them the broader experience of life off the reservation, of contact with other political movements, of the socialization of urban life and the military, etc. And all this is bound to have an important impact on developments on the reservation and the revolutionary movement more broadly. It does not, however, change the basic nature of the struggle of Native peoples in general, the struggle of particular oppressed nationalities, the heart of which is the question of land.

And of course, there is the other side—the urban Peter MacDonalds—some of whom run government-funded poverty pimp type operations or work for various agencies, and in one way or another declare that all Native Americans want is a piece of the American dream. But the vast majority of Indians—rural and urban—have seen up close and firsthand that this dream is in fact a nightmare for the oppressed. As one Native American woman who has lived in urban areas for almost 45 years told us: "The government's not interested in you as a human being, but just as a number. They're interested in how many they can get off the reservation and into the mainstream. But most of us Indians are swimming *upstream*," she continued, "we ain't gonna go with the mainstream." □

## Hunger Strike Hits State Torture on Illinois Death Row

Nearly a year ago Illinois' death row unit was moved from a penitentiary near Chicago to another prison hundreds of miles away in the rural, southern part of the state. Governor James Thompson claimed that the transfer of the unit from Stateville to the Menard Correctional Center was a noble, humanitarian gesture. He promised that the conditions in the new unit would be a vast improvement over the old one. But, the *RW* has learned that 14 of the men in the condemned unit began a hunger strike on May 28 to protest the barbarous conditions at Menard.

Shipping these men out to Menard, was a conscious move to isolate them from their supporters, from their lawyers and families. An important demand of the hunger strike is that prisoners from the northern part of the state be returned to the former death row unit at Stateville Penitentiary located near Chicago. Several of these condemned men have been fighting legal battles to overturn their convictions but have been severely hampered by the fact that their lawyers and supporters are virtually out of reach in Chicago. The state has been especially rabid about clamping down on these men because they have linked the fight around their individual cases to the general struggle against the death penalty.

The state's transfer of the death row unit was also a calculated attempt to cut off the prisoners from public attention. In September, 1979, several months before the transfer decision was made, the condemned men had some success in publicizing their oppressive conditions through a brief takeover of death row. They joined with prisoners in the adjacent special segregation unit to pro-

test the brutality of the guards, the filthy, rat-infested conditions and other abuses heaped on them. The state retaliated heavily by hitting 13 prisoners with six felony counts apiece for a brief revolt that lasted only a matter of hours.

The current hunger strike is a continuation of the struggle against the bestial conditions that death row prisoners are subjected to. A suit filed last month by the American Civil Liberties Union details how the conditions endured by these men are even worse than the horrendous situation facing the prison population as a whole. Every move of the condemned prisoners is closely scrutinized and punishment is severe; they are caged in tiny, 40-square-foot cells that provide less than six square feet of free floor space, restricting the prisoner to sitting on a bed or standing at the bars of his cell; they are locked up 22 hours a day with no activities and exercise is restricted to an all-concrete, walled-in yard; those who use the law library are subjected to even more harassment. All this is a premeditated attempt by the state to demoralize death row prisoners and break their will to the point where they will passively accept their fate.

While a torrent of publicity surrounded the case of Steven Judy—a man who recently demanded to be executed under Indiana law—a virtual blackout has been imposed for years on prisoners who have fought against the death penalty. The state would be only too happy to have these men willingly follow in the pathetic path of Steven Judy and Gary Gilmore but, failing this, is determined to silence their protest, a feat which they have not been able to accomplish. □

## Attempted Blacklist in Boston

# Medical Hierarchy Moves to Down M.D.

On Tuesday, May 26th, 1981 the Massachusetts Medical Board held a "closed" hearing on charges it brought up on Dr. James Ryan of Boston. Ryan was charged with "disclosure of confidential information" regarding Marc Seidenberg, a Zionist who was participating in the Aliyah program, which is nothing less than the enlistment of settlers by Israel to occupy Palestine.

Upon completion of a medical exam on Seidenberg early last year, Ryan refused to sign the Aliyah papers for two reasons: the exam revealed a medical condition that required further procedure for emigration, and secondly, as he stated at the time, "I support the right of the Palestinian people to reclaim their homeland." Seidenberg then went rabid, "Fucking gentile... anti-Semite," he called Ryan. "There are no Palestinians because there is no Palestine. There is Israel and this is our land and we will never give it back." Subsequently Seidenberg got his papers, but before leaving for Palestine, he immediately contacted the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which set upon Ryan with a vengeance. Thus began a series of attacks and intrigues that reveal an entrenched Zionist network in the Boston area medical profession which acts with the backing of even higher authorities.

Leonard Zakim, the Civil Rights Director of the ADL, immediately sent a letter to the Board concerning the hiring of Ryan at another hospital as chief resident. In a blatant attempt to blackball Ryan, he wrote, "I am sure you share our concern over the potential of this terrible incident occurring again if Dr. Ryan is allowed to remain in positions of authority." The General Director of Beth Israel Hospital, Mitchell T. Rabkin also coached the Board to begin keeping a file on Ryan due to the nature of this case. And Victor M. Rosenoer, M.D. of the Lahey Clinic expressed his "trust" that the Board would "deal sternly with this behavior in order to

prevent the politicalization of medical care of patients." The Department of Public Health in Boston received a letter from Barney Frank, who eventually replaced Father Drinan in the Fifth Congressional District, in regard to the Ryan case that "such behavior" will "not be tolerated."

The Board also received over 100 letters demanding the charges on Ryan be dropped from people from all walks of life, both from the U.S. and foreign countries. In the face of this, and to shift tack a little, the Board dropped the charges in May of 1980. At the time they warned Ryan of "unprofessional conduct" and "similar circumstances" and cited "politicalization" of this case as being extremely difficult and "costly". Only days after the reprimand and "closing" of the case, Seidenberg's father sent a letter requesting a "re-hearing." On June 5, Leonard Zakim insisted the Board re-hear the case in the "hope the Board will exercise its statutory responsibilities in a swift responsible fashion." He could have added "as we have done in the service of U.S. imperialism carrying out statutory responsibilities in Israel." But in a particularly intriguing move, Ryan was contacted on June 11 over the phone by Leonard Fein, the editor and publisher of MOMENT magazine, a periodical that promotes the Zionist "dream." Fein requested an interview from Ryan, "To show both sides," and when Ryan refused to be interviewed in MOMENT on June 13th, a letter from Fein was hand-delivered to the Board the very same day. Fein expressed the "hope that the Board will reconsider its position and hold a formal hearing on the matter", adding, the "legislative mandate" of the board must be implemented. When the Board "closed" the case they were well aware that Ryan revealed both reasons why he not only refused to sign, but actually could not sign, because of Seidenberg's medical problem. When Seidenberg first went to

the ADL they unleashed a torrent of press work, articles in Jewish papers and others, claiming that Seidenberg had a "successful" and "satisfactory" medical exam when in fact he hadn't.

At the end of June, 1980, the Board reinstated formal proceedings, this time they and not Seidenberg were the complainant. And official records of Board meetings reveal that the Board's attorney was instructed to keep the new charges to "medical considerations." All of this is much like what goes on when political prisoners are dealt with as "common criminals" in civil court-rooms.

Just how "medical" these considerations were, unfolded in the last year and at the hearing, held on May 26th, 1981. Last summer the Massachusetts Legislature passed a statute that claimed medical cases under investigation are not accessible to public review until a final decision has been made. Under this statute they denied Ryan access to formally accessible documents. And when Ryan's lawyer served interrogatory motions to question the ADL and the Seidenbergs, the State Hearings Officer (HO) denied them by invoking the statutes and declaring that these parties were not "involved" and "not relevant to a material issue." On May 26th, Seidenberg showed up (he just happened to be in the States) with his wife, his attorney, Leonard Zakim and Zakim's lawyer. Far from not being involved, the HO made clear in his opening remarks the field belonged to the Zionists. He held up a pile of statements supporting Ryan and said, "Let the record reflect, this is going to have no impact in the case whatsoever." He reiterated this several times just to make the point clear. Just how involved the Zionists were slipped out when the Board's attorney Barret referred to Seidenberg as the complainant. The HO like every good concert master corrected him, "No *you* are the complainant."

Even in Seidenberg's testimony the

"politicalization" of this incident stood out starkly. When questioned by the Board's own attorney on what took place, Seidenberg testified that when he saw Ryan in the lobby after he left the examining room in a huff, he continued to argue "our political differences." And when Ryan's attorney pointed it out that the ADL initiated the false disclosure of Seidenberg's medical condition as "satisfactory," and that Ryan acted within reason to correct this, the HO replied, "He (Ryan) could hardly be the reasonable person you refer to."

Since the hearing before the State HO, each side has until June 25 to submit a legal brief on the evidence and testimony presented at the hearing to the HO who will then "deliberate" and submit an opinion to the Board. What the Board does then can be appealed in state or federal court. To buttress the political persecution of Ryan, Edward Stone of the Federal Office of Civil Rights instructed the Board in no uncertain terms, "I believe it would be wrong to issue a reprimand or suspend this individual's license: he should have his right to practice medicine permanently taken away and in such a fashion that when things have blown over, he cannot quietly be enabled to resume practicing medicine outside Massachusetts or outside the United States."

Of course, the scope of this offensive against Ryan is broader than the particular ax a few Zionists have to grind. It goes beyond his particular progressive stand in support of the struggle of the Palestinian people. "Politicalization" is indeed at the heart of the matter. Ryan spoke out, so now his license to practice medicine is threatened. Progressive and revolutionary politics within important professions like medicine are bound to be the object of further attacks in the future. And in turn, this will increasingly be an arena of sharp class struggle. □

## Correspondence from Buffalo, NY

We received this correspondence from Buffalo, New York.

June 5 was a typical Friday night in a mostly white working-class section of Buffalo's First Ward. 40 youth were partying. But not all that typical was the pitched battle that ensued against cop harassment, pulling even parents and older people into the intense struggle.

It started after dark up on the Dels

## "If It's A Fight They Want, It's A Fight They're Gonna Get"

(short for the elevated Delaware Railroad track that runs through the Ward neighborhood), with the demand from firemen that the youth put out a fire which they had built for light. The firemen declared, "We've got complaints from neighbors." firemen were assured that the bonfire was under control, but that was not enough. The firemen considered the youth out of

order and uppity, so they called the cops. The cops soon arrived, coming in like Starsky and Hutch—acting like they were going to run everybody down to make people scatter. Some did. But, 12 youth stayed at the fire, figuring to make a stand not just over the fire but against the continual harassment of being kicked around, whether being scattered off a corner or actually busted for having a party in their own yard.

Seeing this defiance, the cops grabbed one of the more vocal youth, clubbed him and threw him in the cruiser, then took off amid angry shouts of "Police brutality!" The cruiser met another out-of-control scene on the street, which was filling up with angry youth yelling, "Police brutality! Let him go!" Cornered and surrounded by a gathering crowd, one of the cops put out the call. "Riot!" went screeching over the police bands in Buffalo. The beaten youth was taken downtown. 15 cop cars from several precincts came in for the assault, hitting, swinging, and pushing anyone in sight, young and old, trying to push the angry people back into their homes. But the crowd built to at least 200 people in a 2-block area.

One 15-year-old non-participant was knocked off his bike as he was riding in to check out the scene. Police grabbed another 15-year-old because he wouldn't put out a cigarette, and when people protested this, they put the handcuffs on so tight that he had marks the next day. A teenage girl was knocked from the street right onto the sidewalk. Another youth was busted for walking through the scene to get to his house. A precinct captain tried to get an 18-year-

old to put out a cigarette by smashing it into his face, but was surprised when he got back a punch right in the mouth. The youth was pounced on by three cops who pinned him to the ground and dragged him. He resisted and kicked all the way to the car. They took him away over the strong protests of his father, beating him in the elevator at the downtown lock-up. As they drove off, police were jeered with cries such as "Pig, pig!", "Oink, oink!" and other mockeries.

The overwhelming sentiment among the youth is that the shit's not over, that it's just the beginning. One youth described it this way: "It's all gonna come down to an all-out battle between the cops and the youth. That's the whole thing. It's gonna be an all-out battle. We're gonna start our own goddam war. They can only push people so far. If it's a fight they want, it's a fight they're gonna get. It's gonna be just like they're doing in Ireland. ..."

Everyone knows there will be other battles because of the conditions the youth are facing. As a brother said, life under this system "is hell. I don't have to look anywhere else." He put it well when he said, "I was watching the movie 'Roots' on TV. That reminds me a lot of this, because they're actually trying to tell us when we can work, when we can sleep, when we can get up, what we can do outside, what we can't do outside, where we can go outside and where we can't go—stuff like that. That's what it's all about. It's like we're the rich man's slave. We do what he tells us to do or we get in trouble. That's bullshit and I don't like that." □

## Michigan Prisoner Writes:

### "It's Not Long in the Wings Before This Whole Facade Comes Down"

6-9-81

Dear Friends:

My name is XXX and I am doing a double Natural Life sentence in Marquette Branch Prison, Marquette, Michigan. I can tell you that what has happened here last month (the uprising) was long overdue and very much in need for a long time. I'm 26 years old and am white, and I've always felt that the prison system of this state was nothing but a farce for the capitalistic fools who want nothing but to keep robbing the poor of everyone's people of their hard earned dollars, so they can feed their pig faced families. I wasn't brought up this way to hate, but hate I do. I hate what this country has turned

into. I hate what this government in the U.S. tries to feed—force feed down the throats of the otherwise innocent peoples of this world. I can understand why the blacks of this country are fed up, and should be. It's not long in the wings before this whole facade will come down on everyone's heads who won't listen to reason and make ready to make their stand against their oppressors!! The time is now right to take history into our own hands Brothers & Sisters! Let's not waste a single second!

Yours truly a Brother in the Struggle  
XXX  
Marquette, Michigan

# Tribunal

Continued from page 7

other things the concept of nationalism as a biological imperative. This is one of the many themes of the sociobiologists, that the reason we are nationalistic is the same reason that prairie dogs are territorial; i.e., it is in our genes. We can do nothing about it and therefore we just simply have to learn to live with it. This is nothing more than a reflection of the way ruling-class people think and perpetuating this philosophy is simply a way of maintaining class structure and a way of maintaining control over the thinking of the entire population. It seems to me that one of the biggest challenges to us is to be able to break away from this kind of socialized thinking and this kind of mentality. Because of the fact that there are so few who are aware of this game, there's a great job of education that needs to be done in order for people to reach the level of awareness where they can find out why all of these crimes have been committed and who is perpetrating them and who is benefiting from the fact that they are being committed, whose interests are being served by all these decisions. I think it is time we get into that kind of analysis and we start understanding really where these things are coming from and why they are happening and how we can develop a strategy to try to arrest it. I think if we can reach that, one of the benefits that could come from expanding a conference of this type, is that we will be reaching out to many kinds of people who are concerned about a variety of issues, all of which are arising for the same reason: because these methods serve the ruling-class needs and are perpetuating the status quo for them.

**Question:** Could you elaborate more—you said in 1927 the effects of radiation on genes were already known, what

kind of testing went on, what were the effects?

**Woodward:** In 1927 two people, two geneticists independently discovered the effects of radiation on genes. One was a man by the name of Sterdevant who discovered this on the corn plants. The other one was a person by the name of Müller who received a Nobel Prize for his discovery. He did the same thing with *Drosophila* (fruitflies—*RW*). So it wasn't an insignificant finding and it wasn't the kind of thing that was unknown to the world because Müller received such recognition for the discovery. As a matter of fact there were large numbers of studies once this was done that were pursued after that both to study the effects of radiation on genes—and this was, of course, many years before DNA was discovered as the genetic information. The only thing that was being observed was that the mutations were being produced and that you could observe alterations in the structure of chromosomes in organisms subjected to sublethal doses of radiation. It wasn't until the 1940s when it was discovered what the genetic substance was chemically. Genetic tests were performed to show that the radiation effects were genetic and did not result in damage to a single individual, but that the effect that was produced would be passed on to all the subsequent generations. Incidentally, one of the reasons why it is so difficult to get people to pay very much attention to this is because of the fact that in human beings, that are referred to in genetic terms as diploids, there are two genes representing every characteristic and damage from radiation usually affects only one of the pair since it is a chance phenomenon. Therefore, it doesn't show up immediately. For that reason a lot of the genetic damage that was done in Hiroshima and Nagasaki has never been observed yet because there haven't been matings between individuals to allow it to show up. Let me just say a bit about why these genetic effects

don't show up.

First of all, most of the mutations that you produce in any kind of organism by radiation or by any other source that is mutagenic, are recessive; that is, when present with another gene, a so-called normal gene, it won't show up. The explanation of its recessive nature is because essentially all of the genes that exist in our population today are functional genes, that is, they do something. When you alter a gene about the only real way you can alter a gene is to make it not do something since it is already doing something. When you make it cease doing something it becomes recessive because the other gene that is paired with it is doing something and it tends to mask its effect, i.e., performing a chemical function will dominate a failure to perform that function.

After you start looking at the genetic effects that are produced by an atomic bomb you look at the survivors of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of course after the first generation you're not going to see very many effects because the only ones which would show up are where gross chromosomal damage was done and you removed or damaged both members of a pair of genes, which would be a much more rare event. For all the people who had their genes altered in some way when only one of the pair was altered, these genes will continue to be passed on from generation to generation. But they will only show up occasionally until they are so widespread in the population that they include a very high percentage of people within the population. So, what are we going to see as years go on in the descendants of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? We're going to see more and more of the genetic effects that were incurred in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They are going to continue to rise. There was some alarm at the very beginning because there was an immediate increase in the incidents of leukemia. The effects were showing up.

But the fact of the matter is that the greatest damage of all to the genes of those survivors will continue to show up in large numbers in future years. Even the survivors of the Nazi prison camps don't have that problem to contend with.

**Question:** Concerning the effects of radiation on genes. Many of my people in the Southwest, among the Dine' nation, we have uranium mines and milling going on. We have a very large mining and milling of uranium going on in the northwest of New Mexico. I was wondering would this same effect from radiation of the mining and milling affect the genes of the men working now in the uranium mines.

**Woodward:** The same problem exists here. If we were to talk about all the very same problems that are related to the mining and use of radiation for "peaceful purposes," we could talk about even more crimes. Perhaps the more appropriate designation for this tribunal would be "war crimes and peace crimes." So many of these crimes have been committed by the war criminals under supposedly peaceful conditions. The kind that you specifically mention are of that type. They are really imperialist crimes; they are capitalist crimes. They are committed by people who stand to gain economically and the effects are going to be the same. In your case the degree to which they were exposed to radiation will show up as mutations to the same degree. In this case you don't get immediately sick but the progeny of these people will carry the defects. There is a total correspondence between the level or dose of radiation and the number of defects that will show up in the population. □

The next hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal are scheduled for Chicago, Atlanta and New York City. For further information contact:

War Crimes Tribunal  
P.O. Box 582  
6520 Selma Avenue  
Los Angeles, CA 90028  
or call: (213) 384-7840

## TESTIMONY

Continued from page 13

and which in fact the *LA Times* was later forced to print a retraction), I was on the UCLA campus exposing this latest move; for this me and another person were arrested by campus police. As we were being taken away from the crowd to an empty parking lot, I was exposing the political nature of this attack to the people, this in connection to the murder of two Black Panther Party members in the same campus years earlier, a case that has been clearly exposed as part of COINTELPRO where in that particular attack there has been eyewitness testimony of an FBI agent driving the killers out of the scene.

In response to this exposure the arresting officers responded "Yeah we killed two of them, and we can make it 4, 5, 6, 8".

When we were taken in the station there were extra photographs taken of us and threats of calling the Nazi party to tell them that we were to be dropped off at a certain street corner so that they could deal with us. At one point we were taken out of our detention cell and ordered to take off our T-shirts (T-shirts with the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade logo on them and the slogan, "I was born in the sewer called CAPITALISM... but now I'm living for revolution!") These were also photographed and booked as part of the evidence.

In building for Revolutionary May Day 1980, May Day organizers went to Will Rogers Park in Watts where a local radio station was holding a concert to which there were several hundred spectators. When the organizers first arrived the events had just finished. The organizers stepped into the park with bundles of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper calling on people to step forward for May Day 1980; the police started to amass with clubs and riot gear and began going after people, the May Day organizers, arresting them and beating them on the spot with their clubs. Two police officers came after

me, I had a stack of *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers in my hands, I was grabbed, cuffed with plastic cuffs and taken to one of the police cars. In the process I was loudly exposing the attack by the police and during all this time the police officer that had me was trying unsuccessfully to shut me up by putting a choke hold on me. When we got to the patrol car his partner grabbed me by the hair in back of my head, put me by the fender of the car and thrust my head face first toward the hood of the car. I turned my head and hit full impact with the side of my head the hood of the car, this left me unconscious enough so that I could not coordinate my legs to walk so I was grabbed by my hair and the back of my cuffs and put inside the back seat of a patrol car together with five other May Day organizers.

When we were taken to jail the men were separated from the women. At one point a jailer dragged one of the women comrades choking her by our jail cell, the next moment we hear the women in some other part of the building start singing the *Internationale*, several guards passed our jail cell in the direction of the singing, moments later the singing stops, silence. We broke out singing the *Internationale*, a large group of guards amassed outside our jail cell, one of them opened up the door started pulling us out, the hall-way was lined with guards, we were beaten all the way to the other cell in back of the building. The guards were beating on people with their blackjacks. Among the comrades was Hayden Fischer one of the 2 with Damián García who had scaled the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas, cut down the Texas Flag and in its place raised the Red Flag. I saw him fall to the floor face down in a prone position, a guard was over him beating him furiously with a blackjack across his back. Another comrade who had lost his glasses was taken by a guard after being beaten, the guard holding him by the back of his head pushed his

face forward to hit the corner of the steel door frame of the jail cell, cutting a deep gash above his right eye. At one point during the beating I tripped over a comrade and fell to the floor, immediately the guard grabbed me by both of my ears and lifted me off the ground and pushed me in to the jail cell. When we were inside and the door was locked up, jailers came by and sprayed the jail cell with mace, the cell had no windows, the only door was closed tight, hardly any ventilation, one of the comrades had it specially bad under those conditions with his asthma flaring up.

As a result of all this one comrade had a temporary loss of memory, all of us had multiple bruises, a couple of us had pulled ligaments as a result from the blackjack.

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### Provocateurs

I am writing in support of the application of Robert Avakian for political status in France. Mr. Avakian is the intended victim of a political frame-up by U.S. government officials. Protestations of "American innocence" of purely political repression are futile in the face of literally thousands of documented instances of political terrorism by the government of the United States. I would like to testify to my own first hand experience with these activities.

While I was engaged in the mass movement to end American involvement in Vietnam I was approached by a Robert Gratwohl with a plan to firebomb a campus R.O.T.C. building in Dayton, Ohio. I informed Mr. Gratwohl, who was only a casual acquaintance, that I did not support such acts because they were both counter to my philosophy and counter-productive.

Gratwohl, who was subsequently revealed to be an "undercover" operative of the F.B.I., later asked me to participate in the armed robbery of a tavern in Southwest Ohio. He also wanted me to supply the guns from my "contacts with the Mob in Jersey City!" I told him I could not get any guns and then I warned some of our mutual friends that he had a plan to get everyone killed. He soon after told me that he had found another source of firearms and that he still wanted me to participate. I thereupon informed him that I was of working class origins and that I knew the nature of the type of bar he wanted to rob. I told him that his plan was suicidal. He later reported to his F.B.I. masters that I had "backed out of... robbery" as evidenced by my F.B.I. dossier.

I have also been approached by two undercover members of the Dayton Police with a plan to start a riot at Cox Airport. Without revealing that I knew they were cops I strongly discouraged them. Nevertheless they showed up at the airport that night armed with chains and knives. I was there with friends to meet Jerry Rubin who was flying in to tape a T.V. show. These cops saw someone whom they knew could identify them as cops so they started a ruckus, pulled their weapons and threatened to kill this individual. I had to get the aid of County troopers to have them removed. I have never been convicted, indicted or arrested for any criminal act.

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# Potential Forces for Revolution

Continued from page 3

mean when we speak of the "real proletariat"—those whose position is such that basically they don't have anything to lose but their chains, which includes the masses of the oppressed nationalities but millions and millions of white proletarians as well.

Before speaking further to the national question and the particular role of (especially the advanced) workers of the oppressed nationalities in relation to proletarian revolution in the U.S., what about the objection that (to raise up again the example of Russia) the masses there—in particular the peasant masses—were extremely poor, bitterly oppressed under the Tsarist autocracy (and even after it was overthrown) while in the U.S., even if we say that there is a section of the working class that is (already) desirous of radical change, the rest of the people are better off and certainly not nearly as oppressed as the masses in Russia then? Well, the masses of peasants in Russia then (the great majority of the population) desperately needed and demanded land and an end to the oppression by the landlords especially: objectively they needed and they demanded radical steps but ones corresponding to the bourgeois-democratic revolution (even if those steps were only carried through with the victory of the proletarian revolution). And here again is a basic difference with the revolution in the U.S. Still, the thing which, so to say, "swung" the peasants over to the side of the proletariat—or made it possible for the proletariat to build an alliance with them to carry out the proletarian revolution—was the heightened crisis occasioned by WW1.

Can anyone say that with a similar severe crisis—one qualitatively greater and involving more frequently recurring and more intense shocks and jolts throughout society than what is being experienced now—either as a result of world war or even before it, can anyone say that it would not be possible in those circumstances to forge an alliance with broad sections of the working class (beyond the "real proletariat" as we have referred to it) and with sections of the petty bourgeoisie, in order to carry through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship? Can anyone say this will be impossible, especially if it is kept in mind that, as Lenin said, the "friendly neutrality" of a large part of sections such as these could decide the issue in favor of the forces of the proletarian revolution in the field against the forces of the bourgeoisie and reaction? Some may say it, but meanwhile we will continue and deepen active preparation for just such circumstances and for seizing the time and carrying through whenever they arise.

Returning to the national question and the particular role of (especially the advanced) workers of the oppressed nationalities in relation to all this: the point is exactly that they can and must be a tremendous force for proletarian revolution themselves and a spark and lever to awaken and activate others among the proletariat (both what we have called the "real proletariat" and also other strata within the working class, broadly defined) and even among the petty bourgeoisie, to political and revolutionary activity and struggle. But, as stressed in the response to the "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" (see *RW* 75, also reprinted as a pamphlet—ed.) this can only be fully realized if it is given a class-conscious expression and these workers (as well as others) are trained as communists—revolutionary fighters and leaders in the fullest sense. As also stressed in that response, a desire for radical change does not in itself make for revolution, nor does it make for a (thoroughly) revolutionary outlook and stand.

Further, there will be a tremendous struggle waged among such advanced, revolutionary-minded forces.

It is not only the revolutionary communists, but also the bourgeoisie and various opportunists, as well as bourgeois nationalists, radical petty bourgeois elements and revolutionary nationalists, etc., who can and do recognize that the proletarian masses of the oppressed nationalities will play a crucial role in determining the direction of things. And, as the response to the "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" also pointed out, there are real reasons why the pull toward an outlook similar to his is exerted on large numbers of the oppressed nationality masses, including the most revolutionary-minded ones. The basic answer to this is set forth in that response. But in addition to that it is important to focus on what is said in a recent document on this same basic question, both in terms of the vanguard role, in a certain sense, of these oppressed nationality proletarians with regard to the proletarian revolution in the U.S.—and for the cause of the international proletariat—and also, on the other hand, the emphasis there on the fact that "exactly the point is developing this as a force for the proletariat as a whole—in this country and the whole world—or else their advanced sentiments will be suffocated with nationalism, reformism, etc., for as Lenin pointed out 'The proletarian who is not conscious of the idea of hegemony for his own class, or who renounces this idea, is a slave who does not realize his slavish condition; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but not for the overthrow of slavery.'"

This statement by Lenin (from "Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement," September, 1911) is very important to grasp here in its fullest significance. What it means, among other things—and why in the above statement in the recent document nationalism is linked and equated with reformism—is that even revolutionary-minded masses among the oppressed nationalities will end up in a reformist position unless they make a leap beyond nationalism to internationalism, to the communist outlook overall. Why is this so? Because it is not only a basic and general truth that nationalism is the outlook of the bourgeoisie; more specifically, if the question is simply, or first and above all, "what is good for my nation (or even the workers or masses of my nation)", then there is no way that the class question can really be brought to the fore—in its fullest and most fundamental sense: the revolution of the proletarian class throughout the world to overthrow and finally bury imperialism and all exploiting systems and eliminate class distinctions themselves. Therefore, to adopt a nationalist stand—or not to make a leap beyond it to the communist, internationalist stand—means (whatever anyone's intentions or declarations) to give up "the idea of hegemony for his own class" (the proletariat). It means ultimately that one will be reduced to the position of at best "a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but not for the overthrow of slavery"—for example, fights (objectively if not subjectively) at most for the establishment of Black capitalism but not the abolition of capitalism altogether, not only in the U.S. but throughout the world.

This does not mean that combatting nationalist influences among the proletarian masses of the oppressed nationalities is more of a problem than national chauvinism (or racism) among white workers, nor certainly that these oppressed nationality proletarians will play a more backward role with regard to the proletarian revolution. As not only the response to the "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations" but also the recent document points out, in certain important aspects these oppressed nationality proletarians, and especially the advanced among them, can and will play a kind of vanguard role. It is with this understanding that the importance of winning them to and arming them with the proletarian outlook, as opposed to all forms of the bourgeois outlook, in particular nationalism, can be fully grasped.

The letter refers to the following erroneous view with regard to overcoming national divisions to build

the revolutionary unity of the working class: "The assumption that one, the white workers are uniformly backward; two, that such backwardness can only be overcome by appeals to narrow self-interest and three, that on such a basis an alliance could possibly be formed." With regard to this, and particularly to point two within it, how about one of the generally more advanced groups among white workers, from among whom many revolutionary-minded people have emerged—the (white) veterans of the Vietnam war? They were hardly radicalized by "appeals to narrow self-interest". They were radicalized by being caught up (even on the wrong side—at first) in big events, world events. (And similar experiences, with the additional element of directly suffering national oppression, have had a radicalizing effect on "minority" vets too.)

Further, in reference to the letter's comments on the "actual legacy in this country" and "the fact that frankly it's hard to dig up many concrete instances of the entire class taking up national oppression", I assume that "entire class" here does not mean "the working class *en bloc*", an erroneous view we've made the object of criticism (and self-criticism) especially lately. Rather, the question is have workers of all nationalities (the "entire class" in this sense, and in particular white workers) taken up the fight against national oppression? First of all, there are some instances of this, including some important ones. But second, I think the criticism that follows—"the corrosive effects of basing oneself on the section of the class where these prejudices are more dug in"—is very much to the point. And this means that real instances are lost sight of where white proletarians did take an active part in the fight against national oppression—for example in protests, even street fighting, etc.—especially during the high tide of the '60s movement, in which there were more than a few white proletarians involved (especially younger ones), even though this did not (in the main or most importantly) take the form of discussions and resolutions in the trade unions, trade union delegations (or even workers' contingents as such) in demonstrations, etc.

More, this country is not what it was in the past, particularly before the tremendous changes—material and ideological—that went on after WW2, reaching their highest peak (so far) in the '60s (even though, needless to say, the system is still the same and remains to be overthrown and finally buried). The letter mentions "Roots"—its very positive effect on white workers and their response to it, and how it "tremendously politicized the atmosphere and unleashed the more advanced sentiments"—and this is true, whatever the intent of the bourgeoisie might have been. Also, think of the implications of what is revealed (exposed) in the article on the racist murder in Charlotte County, Virginia (*RW* 86). I was struck not only by the outrage of the murder—and of the whole oppression of Black people there—but also very powerfully by the fact that, in an area so backward as that, even there "Many people in the county, particularly the youth, 'just don't buy that crap anymore.' According to a number of youth, interracial dating is a fairly common occurrence in the local high school." When this is the case in somewhere like Charlotte County, Virginia, as it's described in the article, then the bourgeoisie is in real trouble and closer to its doom (and let's not hear anymore about how everything in the '60s—and particularly the impact of the Black people's struggle on the whole society—was wasted and "didn't do any good"!).

The bourgeoisie cannot put an end to, it cannot do without, and in fact must intensify, vicious oppression of Black people—and yet in a place like Charlotte County, Virginia, among the whites the youth especially (or many of them at least) "just don't buy that crap anymore" and interracial dating is a common thing at the high school! Foam and rave, do your worst, bourgeoisie and your reactionary attack dogs—your days are truly numbered. Of course, to make this a reality, "we have some work to do"! □

## L.A.

Continued from page 4

racist filth from every major media outlet in L.A. and nationally. The press has consistently tried to paint the imperialist image of a "typical Mexican"—fat, dumb, can't speak English, etc., etc. (Many commentators have implied—some "jokingly"—that Valenzuela thinks he's still pitching exhibition games.) Some of this vermin is unbelievably foul, like when Jim Murray writes that he's going to copyright the Fernando Valenzuela story for a Disney movie and call it "Son of Blubber"!

At the end of the last season the Dodgers were in a tight pennant race. In a crucial game against Houston, the Dodgers brought Valenzuela into his first big game as a relief pitcher. The Astros had the potentially winning runs on base and one of their best hitters at the plate. Valenzuela coolly struck him out and went on to win the game for the

Dodgers. The press immediately reported that he probably kept his cool because he didn't understand how important the game was or how good the hitter was! Reporters continually ask him insulting questions "Do you realize what you're doing?" Or as Jim Murray who, in purposely poor English, wrote, "He don't care about nuthin'. Three men on, bottom of the ninth? 50,000 people screaming? Freddy don't care. He don't understand them anyway." But he never loses his cool whether facing opposing batters in difficult situations or facing every obnoxious reporter and photographer they can throw at him—it seems to be very disturbing to the sports commentators who can't stand the fact that this "typical Mexican" can handle the game and them so well. His coolness on and off the field just has to be due to the fact that he is oblivious to what's going on around him. After all, a 20-year-old Mexican "kid" just can't be this way in the minds of these reporters so steeped in racist ideology. The reality is, however, that Valenzuela realizes exact-

ly what is going on and he can deal with it, a tact quite apparent to many of his fans. The articles go on to list player after player preceding Valenzuela who supposedly made a big splash and then faded into obscurity, hoping that Valenzuela is only a "flash in the pan" and that they can help usher him into obscurity. (Actually, most of Valenzuela's predecessors who "faded into obscurity" did so by having baseball ruin their health by overpitching them to exhaustion and ignoring their injuries and forcing them to continue pitching.)

The press constantly gets on him for not speaking English. *Inside Sports* says, "Only one thing keeps Fernando from being a superstar; he doesn't speak English"; in another vicious article, Jim Murray compared Valenzuela to an established white, southern pitcher bemoaning all the attention Valenzuela is getting and listing one of the white pitcher's accomplishments as "he doesn't need an interpreter"! Valenzuela has attracted a great many fans and interested literally millions of peo-

ple in professional baseball. He personally gets a lot of respect from his fans. And this has everything to do with why the bourgeoisie is trying to drag him through the mud and slander Mexican and Latin people generally. And in spite of the fact that he can't speak English, which the press (few of whom can speak a word of Spanish) has been quick to take advantage of to slander and mock him, Fernando Valenzuela remains just as cool as ever on and off the mound. His popularity continues to mount and though he has lost a few games giving him a 9 and 4 record, his pitching remains outstanding. And if all this is an aggravation to the bourgeoisie (even as some try to make as much money off him as they can) who are eager to see his demise either on the pitching mound or by becoming their "he's a credit to his race and country" hero, well that's just fine and dandy. As for their chauvinist lies, slander and abuse—where else but in America (or the other imperialist countries) the land of baseball, hotdogs, apple pie and...the neutron bomb. □

# Vets

Continued from page 1

that Vietnam vets have played in the past. It is not the unique property of Vietnam veterans to have been chewed up by imperialism. But their experience in Vietnam did put them on the front lines to witness the imperialists' war of aggression first-hand, and to witness the imperialists' mighty armed forces get whipped by the Vietnamese fighters for national liberation, and veterans have demonstrated this understanding very clearly in the past. While the injustices against the Vietnam veterans are real enough—the lousy medical treatment, unemployment, imprisonment and chemical poisoning as a result of the U.S. war arsenal—there are many vets who know that the problem is *not* that they haven't been treated like CIA agents with hostage style ticker-tape parades and yellow ribbons.

This has been a great problem for the imperialists. The GI's who rebelled against imperialism, fragging their officers; those who deserted the military, some to join the Vietnamese people in their fight for liberation like the famous black-and-white duo known as Salt and Pepper; those who testified in the 1971 Winter Soldier hearings and in the current Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals; the more than one thousand vets who threw their medals on the Capitol building steps in Washington, D.C. at the Dewey Canyon III demonstration in 1971, with one vet proclaiming, "The next time we fight it will be to take these steps"; the widespread breakdown in the military in Vietnam and the tremendous revolutionary role of the Vietnam veterans in the U.S. including most recently in the Miami rebellion: it is this history of Vietnam vets as heroes in the international struggle against imperialism that makes the ruling class cast a wary eye when Vietnam vets hit the streets. Unfortunately this revolutionary role is quite lacking in the most recent protests, smothered under an economist and patriotic political line (both spontaneously and consciously) which purports to bring the plight of the Vietnam vets to the attention of government officials and the "mainstream." This was sharply illustrated as one protesting vet in Los Angeles told the *RW*, "It was like we were the Roman legion, and we were sent out to the far reaches of the empire to defend it... Some of us were blessed with coming to see that's what it was all about, to see all that goes into defending the American empire." But this was told in *whispers*, and while certainly not all of the participants in this particular action would have agreed with this guy on the nature of the war, it was definitely a sign that some people knew more than what they were putting out and that the veterans were being mobilized under a line which basically told people to keep their mouth shut about the bigger political questions in the hopes that such silence would be rewarded, with palpable—even if pitiful—results.

The protest in Los Angeles began on May 20, sparked by the death of a Vietnam vet who two months before had driven his jeep into the middle of the VA Hospital lobby, plowed through two plate glass doors, ordered everyone out, and then proceeded to pump 14 rounds from an assortment of weapons into the walls, including aiming directly at a picture of Jimmy Carter. James Hopkins' desperate act had erupted after years of trying to come to grips with the effects of having his mind and body used as cannonfodder by the imperialists in their futile attempt to subjugate the Vietnamese. His was a fairly typical story. At age 16, he enlisted in the Marines and was shipped to Quan Tri, the second most "defoliated" part of Vietnam. After three years in combat, he received a less than honorable discharge, exposure to the deadly herbicide Agent Orange, a permanent hearing loss, and constant nightmares. He had continual diarrhea and other symptoms, but VA doctors denied that this had anything to do with his exposure to U.S. chemical warfare. He had briefly tried the VA's infamous

"psychological treatment" (mainly massive druggings) and thought that going to another psychiatrist who wasn't hooked up with the government might help, but somehow, like thousands of others, the VA had lost his records. His hearing got progressively worse and by this year he was almost totally deaf; but when he tried to get authorization to have two telephone typewriters installed in his house so he could use the phone he was denied and told that he would have to go through hearing tests again. He later said that this "was the straw that broke the camel's back," and without knowing exactly who was to blame or why, he exploded through the VA Hospital's plate glass facade.

But his sudden death two months later was the catalyst for a number of equally angry and bitter Vietnam vets. Press reports after his death attempting to discredit him, called James Hopkins a "metaphor of misery" and a "martyr" among Vietnam vets, but there is the sense that his death was meant as a different kind of metaphor. While the media called his death an "apparent suicide"—never failing to point to "an empty liquor bottle beside the bed," there remains a widespread feeling that he was murdered, either by his exposure to Agent Orange or by government agents attempting to send a message of intimidation to Vietnam vets—a notice that they'd better not get out of hand. Hopkins' wife, Suzanne, told Tom Snyder on national TV that no way had her husband died by suicide—that he was murdered by the U.S. government and set up to look like suicide. But rather than intimidating the vets, his death touched off further protest. Six veterans, organized by a local group called the Center for Veteran's Rights, began a sit-in in the hospital lobby, vowing to stay there until there was an investigation of Hopkins' treatment and an investigation of VA hospitals generally, by someone other than the VA. More veterans and supporters began to converge on the hospital to set up a tent encampment on the hospital lawn, where eventually 12 vets went on a hunger strike to dramatize their demands. Other demands were added to the original ones: research into the long-term health effects of Agent Orange and other "defoliants," a program to screen all vets who now claim disabilities that have surfaced years after the end of the war (including emotional and psychological problems, called "Delayed Stress Syndrome" by VA shrinks), and a meeting with Ronald Reagan, to get the presidential guarantees that these demands will be taken care of.

Even the very specific demands of the protesting vets contained the seeds of exposure of the nature of this system, the type of war it waged on the Vietnamese people, and what is in store for the future. Where, for example, does this problem with Agent Orange come from anyway? Why only from the fact that the U.S. flew 19,000 "defoliation" missions over Vietnam, dropping more than 12 million gallons of Agent Orange alone as a crucial part of the U.S. war of annihilation against virtually an entire people fighting to be free of its blood-soaked tentacles. This "defoliation" left the veterans in bad shape, but this is not the main thing about it. It was an anti-people weapon in war—against a people's war. It has left Vietnam with percentages of deformed children and rates of cancer of the liver (to name two products of Agent Orange that there has been some research on) which are among the highest in the entire world. Anyone who caught the program on ABC Nightline this past week on Agent Orange could quickly grasp the importance of *revolutionary* exposure on this question. In typical imperialist fashion the show rushed to cool out the anger of the vets and show concern by discussing the "problem of Agent Orange." And likewise, in typical imperialist fashion, the show began by stating that the government had been waging a "war against the jungle" and neglected to take into account the effects of these defoliants on "human beings—the soldiers who went behind the planes" that sprayed the "jungle." According to ABC Nightline, the Vietnamese are not human beings and the war in Viet-

nam was a war against the jungle! In fact the only mention of Vietnam in the entire show was in reference to the *Vietnam* vets. This ought to tell people something. In addition to exposing once again such disgusting chauvinism and utter contempt for the people of the world, the imperialists also revealed what they *don't* want to come out, as they try to enlist the Vietnam vets in their next war and put the "Vietnam syndrome" behind them. And furthermore, it is another example that there is nothing too cynical or too low for the pre-recorded media to mouth in the service of imperialism—they are perfectly willing to talk about *Vietnam* vets. They will even discuss benefits for Vietnam vets as the Senate proved this week when they voted for free medical care for victims of Agent Orange. Of course they didn't allocate any funds for such treatment. But they are not going to be able to fundamentally solve the problems of the vets anymore than they can fundamentally solve the problems facing the masses of people in general. The misery of the vets is part of the very system they fought in the service of in Vietnam.

Likewise for the "Delayed Stress Syndrome," like the constant nightmares that nearly all of the vets the *RW* spoke with at the protest attested to: visions of burning entire villages, cutting off ears of Vietnamese peasants, and witnessing gang rapes of Vietnamese girls. Are these nightmares the product of an "unfriendly reception from the anti-war movement," as the bourgeois media's latest explanation for the psychological problems of vets puts it? No, these "visions" are the war crimes committed in the service of imperialism, terror tactics against oppressed people which the U.S. armed forces trained its soldiers to carry out. And the possibility of all this spewing forth, of this vivid exposure from those who were press-ganged into service to the criminal aims and methods of the U.S. imperialists, is exactly what gives *them* nightmares every time Vietnam veterans get pulled into political life. But these same rulers also need to use the Vietnam vets once again, to mobilize the forces as they put it from a "very unpopular war" for their future one—world war against their equally imperialist Soviet rivals. They need to mobilize the vets to actually fight—at least in its initial stages—while they rapidly train replacement cannonfodder by the millions to throw into the ovens. But more importantly they need to mobilize them *politically* to help the bourgeoisie reverse correct verdicts about the Vietnam War that have been delivered, in no small part due to the actions of advanced Vietnam veterans themselves. Re-summing up that war is a crucial part of preparing for the next one for U.S. imperialism; contrary to the beliefs of many Vietnam vets, the government is not finished using them to do its dirty work. It has not simply "thrown them away" into lousy hospitals.

In this regard, the bourgeois media plays a crucial role and it certainly did so in this protest. The report on CBS Evening News the night after the eviction was typical. Dan Rather proudly announced that one of the vets had cried out, "God Bless America" as a spokesman announced that the vets would leave peacefully; meanwhile the TV news film ferreted out every American flag it could find in the dismantled camp, focusing long and hard on some of the vets marching away from the hospital chanting in cadence with an American flag in the lead. Local news reports throughout the protest had done the same, as reporters and cameras zeroed in on every reactionary utterance and made instant spokesmen out of anyone willing to "say a good word for America." Particularly prominent on these reports were buttons that had been passed out early in the protest and were picked up on by a few of the vets. They read: "Vietnam Vets: Hostages to a No-Win War."

This showing up on TV is not very surprising. But it reflected a strong trend which operated within the protest. This protest overall was conducted by the more intermediate section of Vietnam vets, focusing spontaneously

on their own immediate contradictions with the government. These vets viewed the struggle for "benefits" or "vets' rights"—as the main question facing Vietnam veterans. With this view as the overall theme of the protest, all kinds of patriotic shit could and was run out in the name of "advancing the cause." At a Memorial Day ceremony held by the veterans, Suzanne Hopkins—the same woman who said that the U.S. government had killed her husband—said, "100 years ago, 200 brave men held the Alamo against 3000 Mexican troops—that's the way we'll fight the VA."

Initially, when the questions of the lessons of the Vietnam War surfaced, the view that this protest was based on "vets-unity", that is unity of *all* vets—was put out. The concept of *all* vets, which would include such "vets" as General William Westmoreland and Curtis LeMay was clearly bogus; needless to say there are veterans and then there are veterans. But the point and the effect of this "unity of vets" was clearly to stifle controversy. The relatively more advanced sentiments on the part of some of the protestors who have seen some things more clearly and know a lot better what the real deal is were smothered beneath the weight of a deadly combination—keeping to a narrow economist focus coupled with dreams of "broad support from the mainstream."

In case the line of unity didn't do the trick, those who saw their role as exposing imperialism and the unjust nature of the war in Vietnam within the confines of a broad movement for "vets' rights" were subjected to death threats from some rabid flag wavers—and/or government agents. A vote of the protestors upheld their "right to speak" under the banner of good old American "freedom of speech," and with *this* as the signboard, it is not surprising that they ended up whispering a few things to a few people, but never publicly and certainly never in front of the TV cameras.

More broadly, there was the fairly widespread sentiment that *any* protest would screw up any future recruiting efforts by the bourgeoisie. A lot of vets said that they had told their younger brothers or their children never to go into the military—and felt that just being out in front of the VA hospital would make this point on a grand scale. But where one stands on "benefits for vets" is not the dividing line—rather it is whether one is going to be a "good American" or stand with the people of the world against those "good Americans"—the imperialists and their reactionary social base. Waving that flag will certainly appeal to the "mainstream"—which is what a Black vet was told when he pointed out that the presence of so many red, white and blue rags would keep many Black people away from the protest since, "They know that it means slavery and pigs shooting down people in the streets." Only anti-"mainstream" activity by those who are politically conscious can contribute to the possibility of a *revolutionary* solution.

The tendency to narrow the protest to the fight for benefits and appeal to the "mainstream" gave wide berth for conscious opportunists to speak for the protestors. There is recognition that an overt attempt to appeal to the great majority of Vietnam veterans on a gung-ho war fever basis would quickly turn into its opposite. Instead, economism is promoted as a diversion—trying to lower vets to the miserable state of being concerned only with their own condition, chasing after crumbs and forgetting what they have seen and know of this system and its crimes worldwide. In this effort people like Ron Kovic have served well in the past, notably during the attempt to subject Vietnam vets to "national honor" when the hostages returned from Iran. Kovic was Johnny-on-the-spot for this protest as well, putting it together on the TV cameras as follows, "Until we deal with delayed stress and Agent Orange, then this country will not be able to move forward. We will not be able to say we've dealt with the legacy of the Vietnam War."

Oh yes, the imperialists would like to

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## WW3

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fashionable ever since the Vietnam era and the institution of the volunteer army to blame the problems of the military on the "dumb, lazy recruits" (by which is meant a barely veiled racist slur against Blacks). Now, however, the onus is being subtly turned in a different direction: the "middle class" won't join the military, seeking instead comfortable, higher-paying jobs on the outside; they unreasonably expect the poor to do the fighting for them. One naval ensign is shown smirking, "I came in for the training, I got it, and I'm leaving"—even those who do join just take advantage of the "opportunities," then skidaddle to civilian life.

CBS admits that such an attitude is "understandable," highlighting poor pay and lousy living conditions in the military. Rather than leaning too much on portraying the military as filled with "rejects and retards," however, CBS (and the officers and drill sergeants interviewed) portrays "our boys" as a "fine bunch of kids, better trained and with a better attitude than ten years ago," but forced to bust their ass 12 to 14 hours a day because they are short of help. "Things can't go on this way, something's gotta give—either we get the forces we need, or the whole house of cards might collapse."

Certainly, this can be read as a call for the draft. There is still mixed sentiment within the bourgeoisie on the timing of that move. More to the point, the program made clear that, due to the technical requirements of modern warfare (among other things which CBS did not touch on, such as the political reliability of the military drawn disproportionately from the basic proletariat and the oppressed nationalities), the educated professionals and petty bourgeoisie who have remained aloof and largely immune from military service in recent decades have to be coaxed or coerced into uniform.

Segments III and IV also editorialized on U.S. imperialism's strategic military priorities, expressing concern about the effectiveness of the Rapid Deployment Force and criticizing the "military-industrial complex" for continuing to opt for highly sophisticated, ever more expensive weapons systems over "cheaper, more reliable" systems which could be produced in greater quantity. The fourth segment focused on the F-18 Hornet program, a "high-tech" Navy fighter bomber commissioned ten years ago and still in testing. CBS bemoaned continual cost overruns, fancy equipment grounded because of "bugs," the possibility that the whole thing might be a multi-billion dollar turkey.

Superficially, CBS tried to portray

the problem as the result of entrenched special interests feeding at the public trough. The fear was expressed, with the results of war games and testimonies from former test pilots introduced as evidence, that in actual combat, the U.S. might meet disaster in pitting smaller numbers of F-18s and XM-1 tanks against swarms of less sophisticated but abundant Soviet weaponry. The XM-1 tank, CBS correspondent Richard Threlkeld sneered, only gets "three gallons to the mile—and I didn't say three miles to the gallon." But despite vague calls to somehow produce leaner and meaner military hardware, Secretary of Defense Weinberger is shown defending the high-tech orientation:

"All these criticisms are based on the mythical assumption that the Soviets are not producing extremely sophisticated, advanced weapons systems of their own. They are. And we have to do the same."

It is, indeed, the military rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—and the objective, on both sides, of preparing for a world war to redivide the world, an objective which must be supported by throwing everything into the balance to ensure victory—that creates the conditions for an arms race without any limit whatsoever, short of the collapse of the imperialist framework within which it is being conducted. The race to the "frontiers of technology" for a military edge, the breaching of those frontiers, the obsolescence of weapons systems before they are even produced, is not designed mainly to fill the coffers of the defense industry—it is an inherent feature of the go-for-broke character of this imperialist contention. At the same time, all of the problems pointed to in the CBS documentary, shortages, incredible problems of maintenance, the constant threats of breakdowns, the difficulty of operations, and utterly uncontrollable costs—are not only real, but extremely acute and pose a severe threat to the credibility of the war machine. Nevertheless, the imperialists have no choice but to feverishly produce new, more sophisticated and highly advanced weaponry. Each cannot allow the other to gain a decisive advantage in this area either in numbers or sophistication, for to do so would risk losing the war.

However, in pushing for a no-frills more cost-effective military the CBS program is pointing to a very real contradiction facing the bourgeoisie. The entire spectrum of military industry and technology requires the additional investment of large sums of money, and the concentration of the most advanced technology and most skilled people in the military. This is putting and will put even more of a strain on the U.S. economy which is bound to create political problems for them and unfavorably effect their stability within the Western bloc. Because it is the U.S.

that is leading the bloc and on the front lines, it has to devote a very high percentage of its GNP and so forth to the military—higher than other countries in its bloc and this percentage will have to increase astronomically. And, again, this cannot be done merely by a shift in the resource allocations within the same general economic framework, but only by the militarization of the economy as a whole, and the creation of a true war economy. And this will have to happen soon. The transition process is already underway; but far more massive and shocking changes are yet to come—and there is intense concern and debate within the imperialists' own ranks about the timing and degree of all this.

So, Segment IV's focus on the cost effectiveness of military spending boils down to the imperialist ruling class letting its "citizens" in on a little secret: "We've got us a problem, here, and ignoring it won't make it go away." The bottom line is that the U.S. will need more and better troops, more effective weaponry, and an "enlightened" and knowledgeable public ready to do whatever is necessary, make whatever sacrifices they are called upon to make for "our nation's defense."

And this was all brought to a head for the final clincher, Segment V—Walter Cronkite (the man who everyone trusts) goes to visit the enemy. There was little subtlety here. All the standard shots of Soviet troops marching in lockstep and parading in Red Square were shown with not only the standard warnings of the Soviet threat—they're massively arming, they lost 20 million in WW2 and are not afraid to lose this many or more again, and they have expansionist aims—but also with important interjections of their many weaknesses which may just make it possible for the U.S. to win the war. Walter talks with a Soviet dissident historian and western newsmen in Moscow who point out the Soviet Union's "totalitarian" expansionist nature etc. as well as hitting at their very real pro-

blems. Much of what was said is, of course, true though wrapped up in their "Red threat" rhetoric. And naturally, Walter conveniently omits the fact that almost everything that is said about the "Russian menace"—which they continue to spout even though they are well aware that the Soviet Union is anything but Red but is indeed a rival imperialist threat—is equally true of the U.S. as well. In fact, the similarity of what the Soviet imperialists say, even in the language that they use, and what the U.S. imperialists say is striking indeed.

But the rabid message of the series is made very clear by this final episode. If you don't want to be swallowed up by the Soviet hordes then let's get ready to fight with our heads up and win. After showing the Soviets on maneuvers the film quickly cuts to a U.S. soldier and the interviewer asks, "Are you ready for war?" The reply, "Yes sir, I'm ready for war!" Then, "Do you think the American people are ready for war?" Reply, "I don't know, but I hope they are ready for war, sir!" Then a quick cut to a U.S. Air Force officer indoctrinating his fighter pilots on the evils of communism who says, "Get him. I don't care if you have to shoot him in the face!" Gee, I think we got the point Walter, CBS, and U.S. bourgeoisie. In the very final bit, we have Dan Rather back in Omaha, Nebraska summing it all up and among other things expressing his hope that the Russians "don't force us into destroying Europe in order to save it." Truly, a fitting end to this five part exercise in imperialist madness. The series itself provides one more compelling argument for exactly why the masses of people of this country and throughout the world must exercise the choice that is not mentioned by Dan Rather and Walter Cronkite in their so-called realistic presentation, and that is to urgently prepare to overthrow imperialism as the soonest possible time. After viewing the show this seems like the most realistic thing to do. □

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## Vets

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"deal with the legacy of the Vietnam War" and they would also like to "move forward," but as we have pointed out, the content of this has little to do with the problems of vets from Agent Orange and "delayed stress." Kovic's statement is as ridiculous as it is reactionary because the imperialists will only deal with such problems to the extent that they are forced to throw out a few crumbs to placate and mobilize the veterans, and in fact narrowing the question to the veterans' own condition is exactly the way they are trying to bury the political nature of the Vietnam War and their plans for the future as well.

Even with all this, the ruling class showed great discomfort throughout the course of this protest. During the first weeks, various spokespersons had stepped forward to announce that VA promises of committees and investigations were sufficient and that the vets were being dealt with fairly—"so let's all calm down and go home." But each time the vets refused to move. While the flag waving in the media escalated,

some new elements began to appear. VA spokesmen started complaining that "their demands keep changing" and fabricated reports of "violent incidents within the protest" also surfaced. This was quite ridiculous since keeping everything "non-violent" was a rigidly enforced condition of participating in the protest. The media even dug up other "Vietnam vets' leaders" to attack the protest, saying that the demonstration was "too confrontational," and that vets should rely on lobbying Congress instead. Finally after two and a half weeks, with the tension beginning to rise once again, the vets were all evicted.

Various protests have continued in other cities, and the imperialists are undoubtedly viewing this specter of Vietnam vets with a schizophrenic mixture of utter dread and fitful dreaming and scheming that their message will come through unscathed. For veterans and all class-conscious proletarians, there is much to be learned from these things, and some work to do. As we have pointed out before, "Their slogan cannot be: Better benefits and body bags. Instead it must be: Continue to expose the war crimes and all crimes of U.S. imperialism and bring this sucker down!" □

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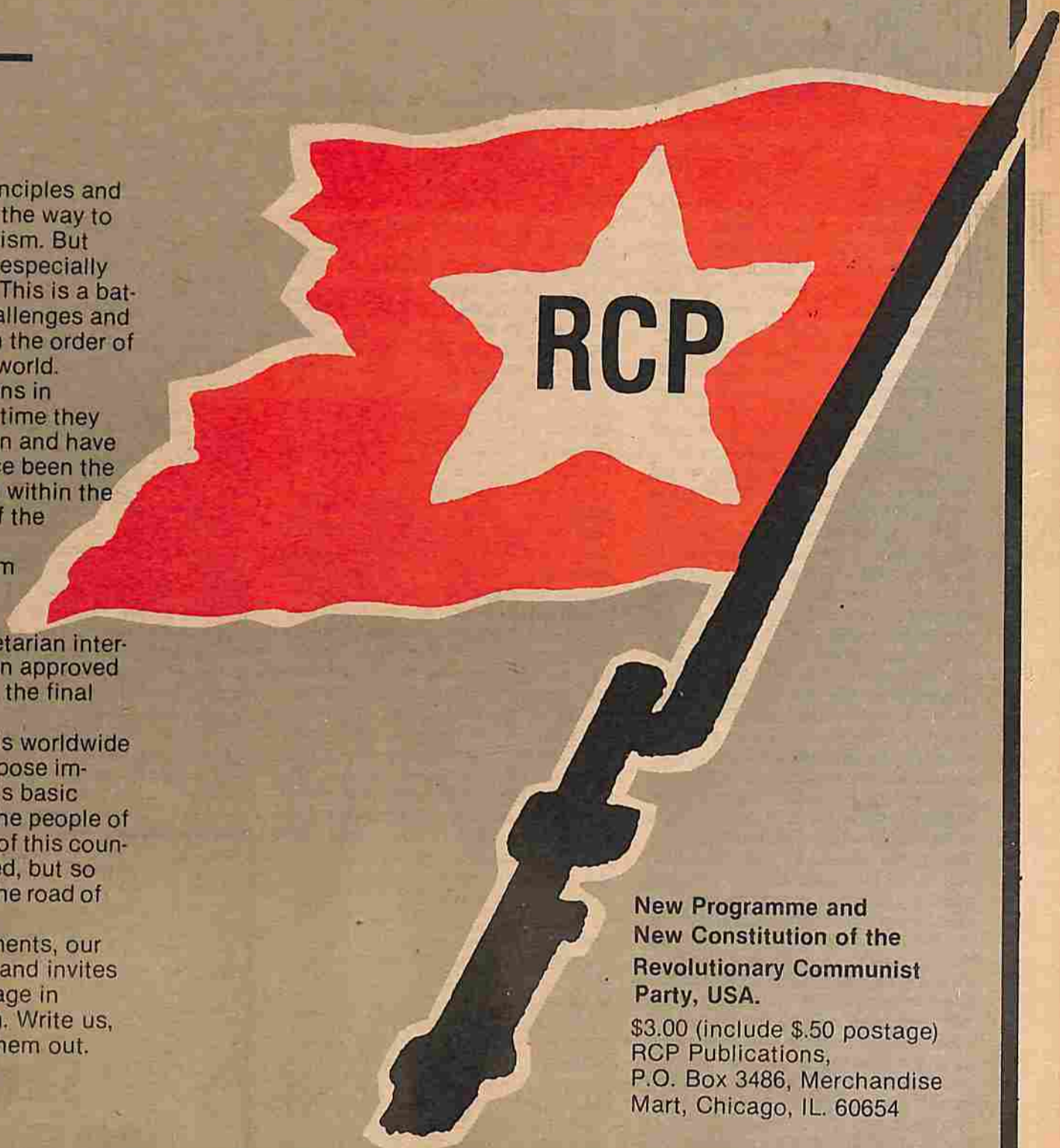
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