



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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IRAN

In cities across Iran, widespread street fighting has erupted against the ruling Islamic Republic Party's (IRP) bid to consolidate its stranglehold on political power, by both eliminating its bourgeois rivals in government—centered around ex-President Bani Sadr—and crushing any mass opposition to the consolidation of its rule.

This showdown, brewing since the overthrow of the Shah and rapidly sharpening since March, escalated dramatically in the past several weeks, after IRP-controlled government bodies shut down Bani Sadr's newspaper and took away many of his governing prerogatives. Ayatollah Khomeini (who had previously taken a middle position between the IRP and Bani Sadr) openly condemned the President and stripped him of his command of the armed forces. This set the stage for the Iranian Parliament, dominated by the IRP, to vote Bani Sadr "incompetent," and Khomeini to formally remove him from power this past week. With the Army's declaration of support for the Islamic government, and the presidential functions taken over by a triumvirate of IRP leaders, Ayatollahs Beheshti and Rafsanjani and Prime Minister Rajaii, the IRP now has control of all aspects of the governing of the Islamic Republic.

Coming on the heels of the IRP-dominated government's capitulation to the U.S. on the hostage issue, their inability to wage the war against Iraq, and their increasingly open attacks on the masses, millions of Iranians were outraged by the IRP's grab to monopolize power. Not only supporters of Bani Sadr, but broad sections of the population saw it as an attempt to consolidate a new form of reactionary dictatorship—which many revolutionary and progressive forces realized was an effort to crush revolutionary forces within Iran,

THE IN-FIGHTING

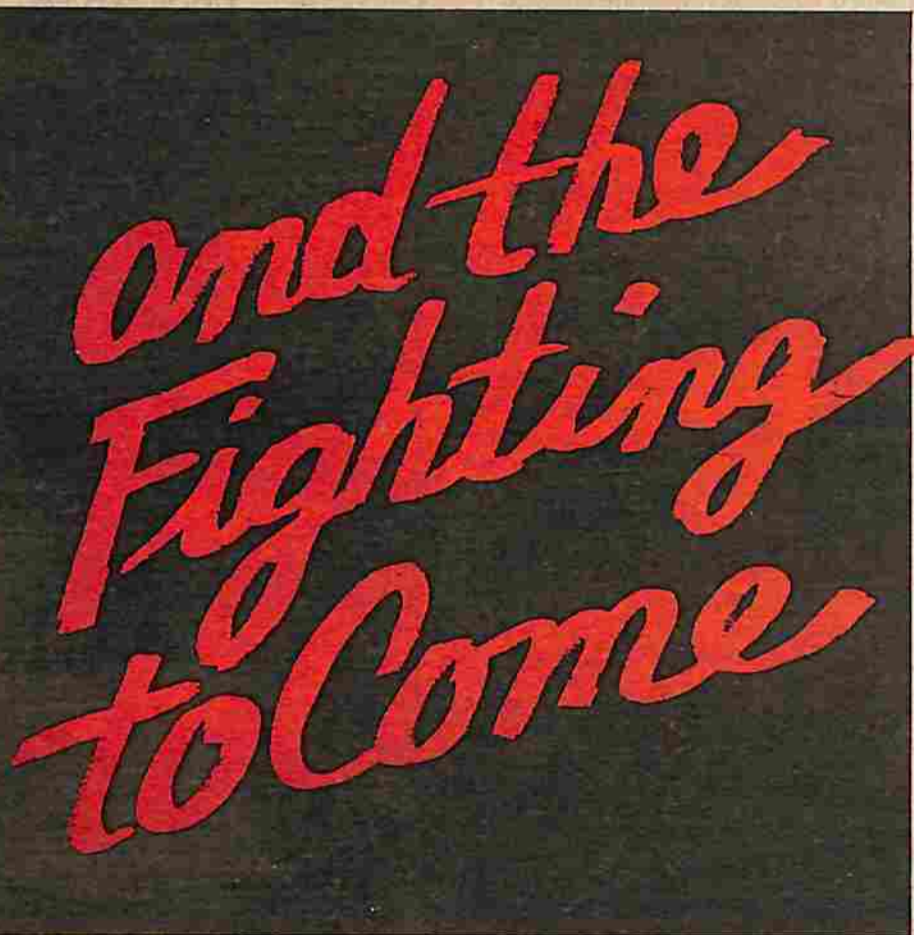
reverse the gains of the revolution, and pave the way to thoroughly capitulate to imperialism.

On Saturday, June 20—two days after Bani Sadr went into hiding, and the day the Iranian Parliament began proceedings to depose the President, several hundred thousand people took to the streets of Tehran in a massive anti-IRP demonstration, led by the Mujahadeen, who have made common cause with Bani Sadr in opposition to the IRP, and joined by a wide range of leftist and progressive forces.

As soon as the demonstration began, a fierce battle broke out. Gangs of Heshollah—reactionary lumpen street gangs, controlled by the IRP—viciously attacked the rally, slashing and stabbing hundreds of people. At the same time Revolutionary Guards, also under the guidance of the clerics of the IRP, let loose with volleys of tear gas, and then fired directly into the crowd.

Outraged, the demonstrators set fire to cars and buses to combat the effects of the tear gas, and then turned them over for use as street barricades. In the fighting that raged for hours afterward—which some Iranians described as the worst they had seen since the Shah's Bloody Friday massacre of September 8, 1978—some 25 were killed, 300 injur-

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Only the People Can Close the Case in Atlanta

Crimes are easily solved in the USA, aren't they? The problem is that when the criminals go about the business of "solving" the crime—and especially closing the case—do you have to ask: what's up?

For many months, the brutal murders of Black youth in Atlanta—and the events which have surrounded these murders—have become symbolic of the entire experience of the

masses of Black people in this country. The fangs of national oppression can't be hidden; on the contrary, every new development in Atlanta has driven the point home again and again. In response, millions of different nationalities have protested in one way or another. Millions more have gotten a clearer picture—or at the very least a glimpse—of not only the oppression this system heaps down on Black people, but also the mechanisms by which it does so. A torrent of outrage has come forward, in the U.S. and worldwide, in whispers but far more frequently in shouts, imperialism itself has been condemned for Atlanta.

At concerts musicians dedicate songs to Atlanta's murdered youth. On speakers' platforms, revolutionary na-

tionalists and many others draw connections between the crimes perpetuated in Atlanta to the crimes of this government around the world. In urban centers, ghetto youth link the daily work of local pigs to the word *Atlanta*. In factories, in prisons, in fact all throughout society, millions of eyes opening to political life have been focused on this city, watching for the next move of the murderers, and their masters.

On June 21, Wayne Williams was arrested and charged with the murder of Nathaniel Cater, the most recent victim of the Atlanta killings. Naturally, Williams is just the ticket: he's Black. All the months of the press making just this point, and now all the national fan-

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Murder in Mexia

Mexia, Texas. The standard UPI and AP blurbs in the back pages of the newspaper said it all. It wasn't even necessary to read between the lines. Three more Black youth dead at the hands of the police—this time in a small town in an area of Texas notorious for police terror directed against the oppressed nationalities.

These murders took place on the night of the local Juneteenth Festival in Mexia. Juneteenth—an unofficial holiday widely celebrated by Black people in Texas (and elsewhere), especially in the "cotton belt"—commemorates the day when slaves who worked under the blistering crackle of the overseer's whip on the plantations first received word of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 that ended slavery during the Civil War—some two years after it was issued.

The three teenagers—Steve Booker, Carl Baker and Anthony Freeman—had just graduated from high school and two of them were preparing to go to college in the fall. The night of the festival they were sitting in a car on private property when Limestone County Sheriff's deputies pulled up and busted them on "suspicion of smoking marijuana," handcuffed them, and began to take them to patrol cars parked on the other side of Lake Mexia. But the bridge over Comanche Crossing at the lake was filled with thousands attending the festival and apparently these cops didn't relish the idea of escorting their prisoners through this particular crowd on this particular night. (Besides, as events were to show, those pigs had other plans.) So instead they herded the three youth into a small aluminum fishing boat. A scant 10 or 15 yards from shore, the boat not-very-mysteriously sank. The cops had no trouble making the easy swim back. The youths—two of whom were known to be excellent swimmers—drowned.

The cops claimed that they had removed the handcuffs from their prisoners before shoving off—this despite the fact that a number of people saw the handcuffed youths being pushed into the boat. Their official story was that the boat was swamped when they grabbed for one of the youths who was supposedly "trying to jump out." After the bodies of Baker and Freeman were recovered, the Limestone County Sheriff called off the search for Booker because of "suspicion that he might have swum to the shore" (his body floated to the surface a short time

later). A Waco police pathologist called in to perform the autopsies declared that there was no evidence of foul play—no cuts, bruises or handcuff marks on the bodies recovered—and came to the profound conclusion that the youths had "died from drowning." Baker's brother was refused permission by the Sheriff's office to identify the body. His parents were never even notified by police of their son's death.

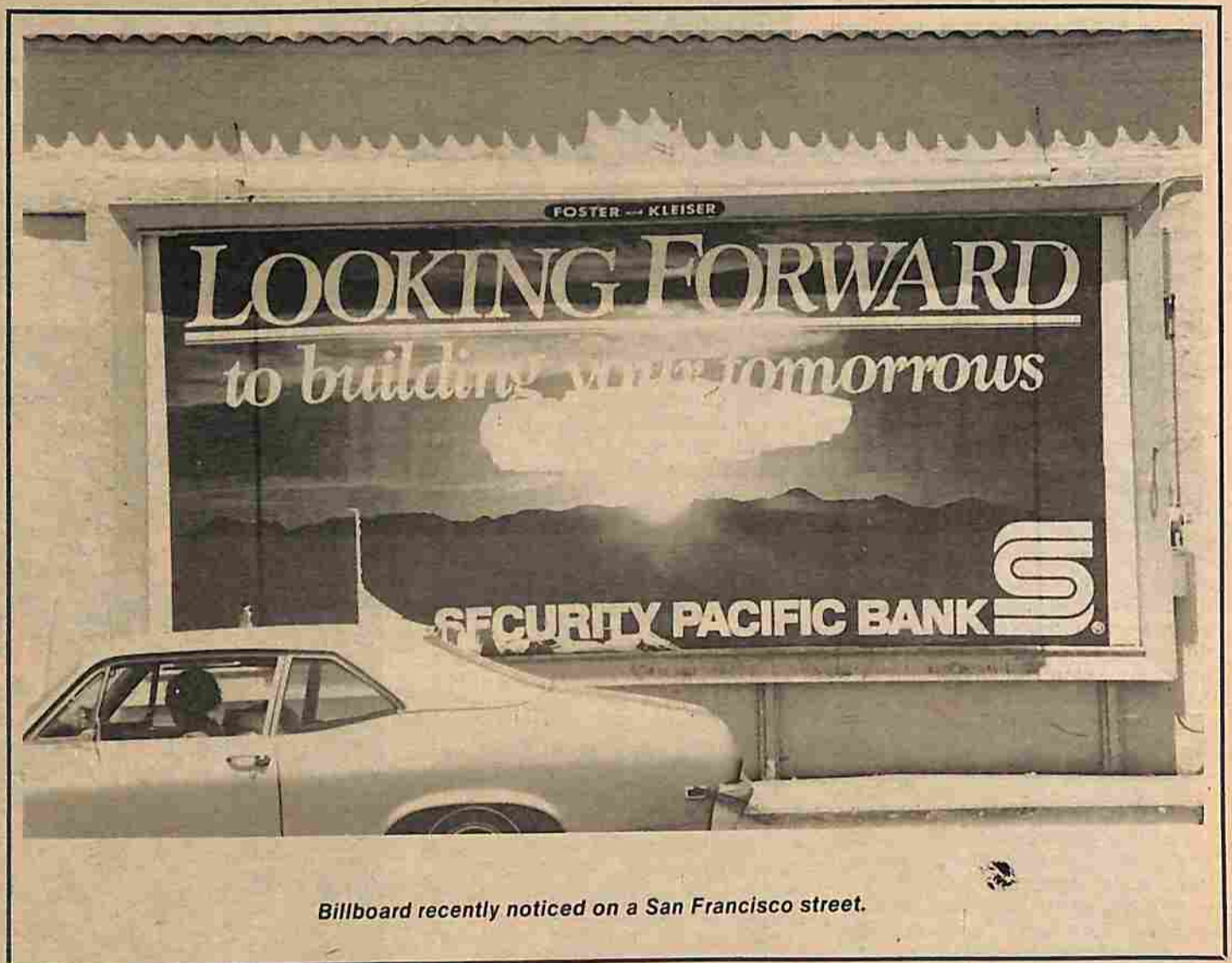
Of course, the cops' standard white-wash was never really intended to cover up anything much. The evidence of their brutal crime (if any was needed) was obvious enough to everyone. When Freeman's body was found, the cops carefully surrounded it with several boats before pulling it from the water. A Waco, Texas television reporter remarked: "They shielded the body

from our cameras on shore. They took a while before they pulled the body out, but we couldn't see what they were doing." Another witness, Arthur Beachum, Jr., said: "I saw them pull the body from the lake and it still had handcuffs on it. One officer took them off and put them in his pocket." The director of the funeral home in Mexia also revealed that he had seen definite handcuff marks on at least one of the bodies. And just in case there were any further doubts, one of the arresting officers made things perfectly clear when he described to reporters how the boat had begun taking on water and was then *purposely* capsized by the officers before swimming to shore.

These vicious lynch killings have sparked widespread outrage. At the request of the NAACP, the Justice

Department and the FBI are, of course, diligently bending every effort to find out whether or not the three youths' "civil and constitutional rights may have been violated." While refusing to suspend the cops involved, authorities have been obliged to appoint a Black state prosecutor to conduct a "court of inquiry" into the deaths. But the cops have announced that they will refuse to testify before this inquiry and will only talk to the Limestone County Grand Jury which is stacked with friends of these "good ol' boys"—and this only if they are ever charged.

This incident at an event commemorating the end of slavery only proves that slavery—if in a different form—has not been ended. That's up to us. □



Billboard recently noticed on a San Francisco street.

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U.S. Immigration Policy Bloated Beast on the Horns of a Dilemma

On the occasion of Mexican President José López Portillo's visit to the U.S., the government announced some proposed features of its new policy toward immigration from Mexico. Two important features of the latest proposal are the trial plan for allowing 50,000 Mexican immigrants to legally work in the U.S. on a temporary seasonal basis and a proposal to grant all those who have resided continuously in this country for 5 years "amnesty," allowing them to apply for permanent resident status. Much attention has been paid to this plan in the press, especially to the proposal for a temporary seasonal worker program which is described variously as the American equivalent of West Germany's "guest worker" program or a new *bracero* program. Of course the bourgeoisie has been playing both sides of the fence, on the one hand portraying these proposals as benevolent gifts to Mexican immigrants bestowed out of humanitarian concern for much needed immigration law reforms, and on the other hand running out especially through their labor leaders that these proposals are unfair to Americans and are gifts awarded to immigrants at the expense of the American worker, etc. The truth is that the bourgeoisie is not "giving" anybody anything, except their world renowned exploitation and oppression. They are merely trying in their own pragmatic way to deal with some very real contradictions they have around the question of immigration from Mexico to this country at a time of growing economic and political crisis. Neither is the latest proposal the same as the European form of the exploitation of immigrants known as the "guest worker" programs, nor is it a replay of the massive *bracero* program which existed from 1942 to 1964.

They are facing many contradictions around what is becoming a very vexing problem for them. On the one hand, immigration from Mexico (and immigration to this country generally) is a key part of maintaining the U.S. economy through the superexploitation of both legal and "illegal" immigrants; on the other hand, the extent of current immigration to this country is creating both economic and political problems for them. But this is not all they have to deal with. In addition, they have to take into account political considerations regarding the internal situation in Mexico, which needs the "safety valve" of immigration in order to maintain its own internal stability. This is also a great concern to the U.S., a concern that has to be weighed against some of the economic effects of immigration on the U.S. economy. In the process of dealing with these contradictions, they are sparing no efforts in levelling attacks at immigrant workers and attempting to politically weaken the whole proletariat in this country by promoting their most foul brand of patriotism and national chauvinism.

Taken as a whole, the Reagan plan is an attempt to take a precarious middle course to deal with the contradictions laid out above. It is an initial attempt to rationalize and regularize immigration from Mexico, as represented by the pilot temporary so-called "guest worker" program and also, to generally allow the presence of a certain number of Mexican immigrants and not resort to wholesale deportation at this time—a time when from a strictly economic viewpoint it would be better for the U.S. economy to resort to somewhat more drastic measures. And it is an attempt to restrict immigration within certain narrow limits through beefed up immigration, police, new I.D. card proposals, etc. But the Reagan proposals will not necessarily have much effect on the actual flow of "illegal" immigrants across the border. This flow basically can never really be stopped, only restricted to varying degrees.

Imperialism & Labor Mobility

Immigration in various forms, and from countries all over the world, has played a central role in and shaped the development of the imperialist economy of the U.S.—the largest employer of immigrant labor in the world.

Obviously the great majority of people now living in the U.S. are not

descendants of the inhabitants of the original 13 colonies or of the Native Americans who were brutally slaughtered and herded into concentration camp reservations. Permanent migrations of people from Europe, Asia and Latin America have taken place at various times in various waves, depending primarily on the rapid economic growth of capitalism and especially imperialism. In addition, temporary and seasonal flows of workers from Mexico and the Caribbean area have become an integral part of the U.S. economy, particularly, but not exclusively, in agriculture. And, of course, millions of Black people were forcefully brought here in chains as slaves.

In general, a feature of capitalism and greatly accelerated under imperialism, is large scale labor mobility across national boundaries from the lesser capitalistically developed countries to the more developed ones. As Lenin noted, "Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries." This process is either hindered or accelerated by political considerations and factors. Just as capital roams the world in search of the highest rate of profit through superexploiting the people of country after country and sucking up the material resources in these countries, so too are workers attracted to the higher wages and better conditions in the "home bases" of these capitals. And it is only the political struggles carried out both by and against the imperialists, who are compelled to protect the interests of their own national capital, that affects this inevitable tendency.

The expansion of capital in the U.S. has both called forth this immigration and has very much needed it as a condition for further expansion through superexploitation of foreign born workers in this country. But exactly which immigration practices have been adopted at various times have been subject to both economic and political considerations. Just who has been allowed in, under what conditions, and what happened to them after they arrived has been different at different times. Looking at the period since WW2 when the U.S. emerged as the number one imperialist power in the world reveals both a massive increase in immigration to this country (and also other U.S. bloc imperialist countries in Europe), as well as an immigration policy geared to U.S. imperialism's economic and political necessities. In the 1950s and 1960s, the heyday of U.S. imperialism, with a robust and growing economy based on its unparalleled domination of the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie both needed and could absorb large numbers of immigrants. In addition, the pressure to immigrate from the countries oppressed by the U.S. was accelerated. Former restrictions on immigration set up in 1921 were modified.

First came the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 which amended the old laws that had set up strict national origin quotas allowing Europeans and Chinese to immigrate legally to the U.S. The new, changed policy, was part of maintaining and fostering the image of the U.S. as the "bastion of freedom and democracy in the world" ready to take care of those fleeing the "godless totalitarian regimes" in Eastern Europe and China. Secondly, the bourgeoisie need-

ed large numbers of professionals and skilled workers which could be gotten already trained and experienced from the strata who were fleeing Eastern Europe and also parts of Western Europe, including Germany. Many of these European immigrants got better paying and professional jobs in the U.S. in the 1950s and were more generally incorporated into the mainstream of U.S. society. Immigrants from the oppressed countries both legal and "illegal" fared much differently. First, legal immigration from most of these countries was sharply restricted, forcing increasing numbers to come here illegally. Secondly, a large percentage of these immigrants were forced into the low wage jobs in the lower level or tier of the U.S. labor market (though some professionals and skilled workers, etc., were allowed into those occupations here mostly with inferior status).

The McCarran-Walter Act was further expanded with the Immigration Act of 1965, which further dropped some of the national origin quotas and expanded the definition of political refugees to include those who were leaving the Middle East. It defined political refugees as follows: persons who "because of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion... have fled from any Communist or Communist-dominated country or area, or from any country in the general

area of the Middle East, and are unable or unwilling to return to such country on account of race, religion, or political opinion." In addition, both the 1952 Act and the 1965 Act had a "parole" provision allowing for the U.S. Attorney General to temporarily admit any "alien" for "reasons deemed in the national interest." This permitted a lot of flexibility in the application of immigration policy, even allowing refugees from non-Communist countries to legally immigrate if the bourgeoisie deemed it necessary and desirable. Needless to say, this "parole" was employed very selectively and did not include millions of immigrants especially from Latin America and the Caribbean.

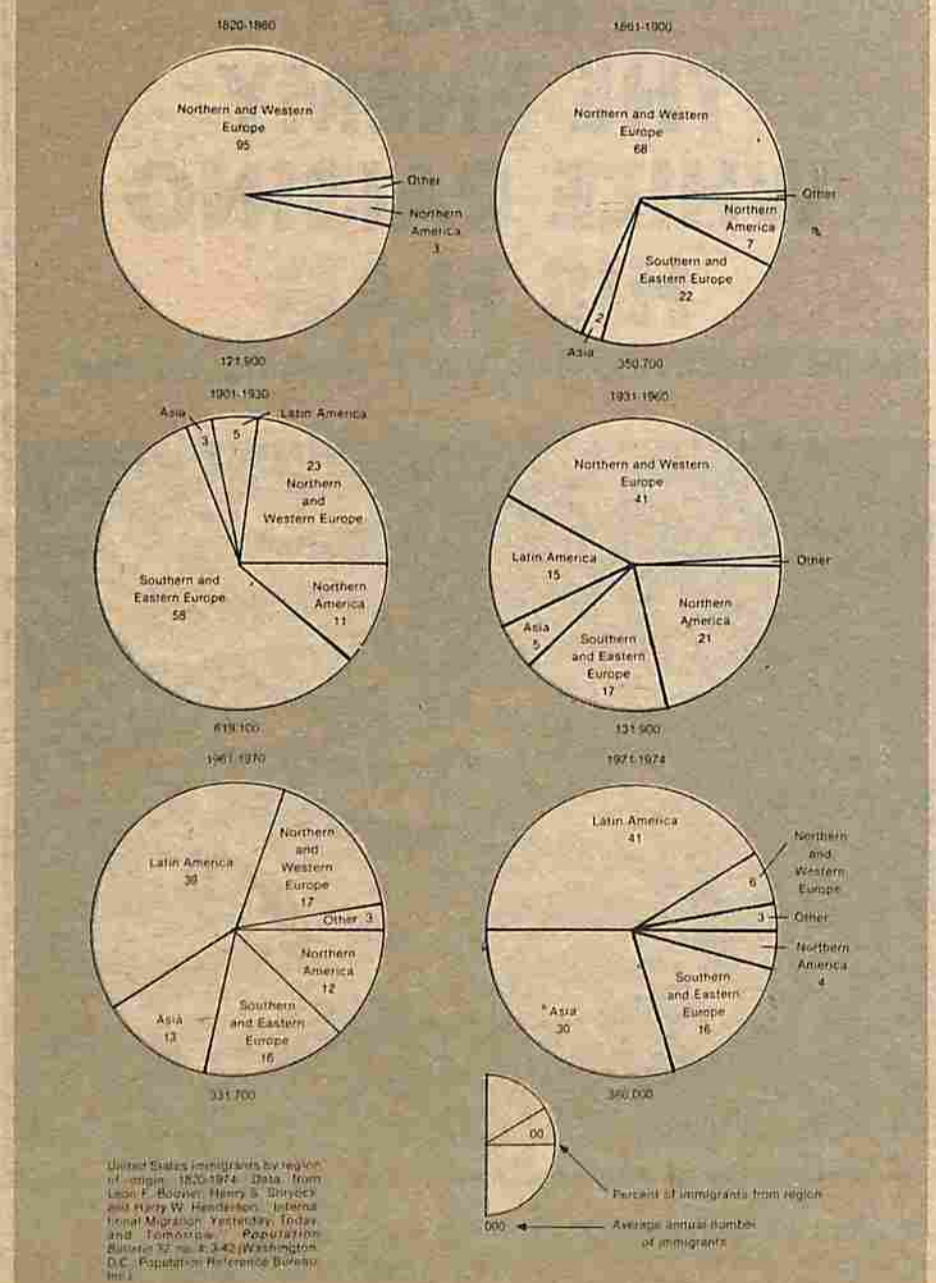
From An Oppressed Nation—Into the Lower Tier!

While just who would be admitted legally to this country and on what basis was determined by some very political considerations as shown above, the policy in the decades of the '50s and '60s was overall to encourage both legal and "illegal" immigrants. They were very much needed. In fact, the super-exploitation of immigrant workers from the oppressed countries was a major factor in the expansion of the U.S. economy in these two decades.

A disproportionate number of immigrant workers from the oppressed countries relative to their percentage of

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U.S. official immigration statistics by region of origin from 1820 to 1974



Vietnam Veteran Responds

“When You’re Shown a Little Truth, Don’t Let it Go By...”

This correspondence is excerpts from a tape by a Vietnam veteran who read the article on the recent protests of veterans in RW No. 110, “The Powderkeg and the Star Spangled Trap,” and wanted to respond to it:

I think that the article made really good points. I think they're trying to turn the Vietnam veteran's head back. They're trying subtly in the media to turn the veteran's experience around, to change his mind so they can use him—to say that it was all worth something, that he should have been over there. My experience in three years of the Navy was a revolutionary experience for me. I saw callous people. The captain of my ship—his father was an admiral, his grandfather was an admiral—and he made it very explicit to me that the positions of power were kept within the same class. The officers were very callous. Especially in the Navy there's a great contradiction between the way the officers are treated and the way the enlisted men are treated, maybe the greatest difference in any of the services. They had Filipinos—very racist, the Navy—all the orderlies were Filipinos who got sucked in because they're poor people, and the only way they could get United States citizenship was to go in the Navy. They had to go in for six years to get citizenship, but they could get no rank other than orderly. After six years they could maybe get some other rank like electrician or something, but they had to be an orderly.

The officers were served their food, at family style dinners with silverware

and everything; while we're eatin' in our dirty workclothes with metal trays, they're eatin' off of fine china, with piped in music, being served by orderlies in these really crisp white uniforms. Their beds were made, their shoes were shined by the Filipinos. The officers didn't do nothin'; they walked around like masters. We felt very much like we had nothing in common with our officers. Just talking to them, they all had different backgrounds, the best schools, the best neighborhoods.

One time we went in to bomb one of the communist islands. They put out a daily sheet, and the daily sheet would tell us what we were going to do the next day. And it said that we were going to bomb these contested islands off the coast of mainland China. This is during the Vietnam War when nothing was supposed to be happening on these islands... The next day this officer went around collecting all the daily schedules from two days before that even mentioned these islands. Obviously there was a change in opinion that this shouldn't get out there because we went in there unauthorized, or at least we weren't supposed to be authorized to go out and bomb these islands, during the Vietnam War, against China! It was a very provocative act. It just made us think, you know, how many other things are they doing that we don't know about? Going in and terrorizing villages, maybe in Malaysia, or something like that, that we don't even know about.

Like I said, it crystallized my view that definitely this country is divided into classes—masters and workers, and

that definitely the workers take the brunt while the masters have it easy and it was typified right on that ship. The officers walked around in crisp uniforms, never having to go down in the hot and dirty places, eating the best of foods while we were all dirty and scummy and putting in 16 hour days. And that's just a microcosm of the society as a whole. The suckers drive in to work from the suburbs in their air conditioned cars, while workers are waiting out at six in the morning in the cold for a goddamn bus. So it crystallized the idea that a few in this country live off the backs of and are parasitic on the many.

It was not just war, and what we were doing to the Vietnamese was just another segment of what it took to keep the rich in power—terrorizing people, killing people all over the world. All over the world, right. Not only in Vietnam, but in China—here we were going and bombing an island—for what reason? Just to prove a point to the Chinese—some point I don't understand, but I was involved. I didn't even know where we were, I wasn't even told. I wasn't even good enough to be told for what reason we were going down and firing on communist China. We weren't even involved in a war with communist China. And I was taking the risk, but I wasn't even good enough to be told why we were doing that. What am I, some kind of mindless slave?

There's no doubt in my mind that many many Vietnam veterans had the same experience—it was a very revolutionary experience—and that they're on the brink of protest. They have less tolerance for bullshit and the government's aware of this and they're treading very carefully around Vietnam veterans because they know that this is an explosive element in society. They want to keep the Vietnam veterans quiet because as I said they are an explosive element. They represent a lot to the rest of the segments of society. These are men that actually experienced it. Their opinions carry some weight and what they're going through that is a very sensitive subject. If the veterans are against the war and a person says, “Well maybe the war was okay,” if he goes up against veterans that are actually against the war, he's gonna hesitate and say, “Well, wait a minute, they were actually there, I'm gonna go with them.” And the government realizes that the opinions of the veterans carry a lot of weight. And I don't know why the government isn't more lenient in giving benefits if they're so sensitive about what the veterans are going to articulate about the situation. I would think they'd give them more just to keep them quiet. I don't know why the government hasn't done it. Maybe they don't have the money, maybe they're just that callous that they are just giving you as much as they think they can to keep you quiet to a certain level. Maybe there's just so many people that speak up that they can live with that, and they're so goddamn cheap in their habits that they've got it all down in black and white—if you give so many benefits, so many guys protest, if you give less so many more protest...

After Vietnam, a lot of people's opinion was that it was wrong, a mistake, but now the government is trying to change that into well, maybe it wasn't a mistake, maybe the mistake was we didn't fight hard enough, maybe we didn't put enough people in there, maybe we didn't kill enough, maybe we should have used the nuclear bomb. And they're obviously trying to soften people up for another war. They're involved in a Vietnam type thing right down in El Salvador. And hell, they must be afraid of the Vietnam veterans getting out there in the forefront and saying hey man, El Salvador, it reminds us so much of Vietnam, man it's scary. And I think people are sensitive to what the veterans feel. I think people have a conflict too. Because I think subtly they've been told that the veterans lost the war, to take the heat off the ruling class, but they know deep down inside

that it wasn't the veterans that lost the war, it was the goddamn ruling class.

You're being sucked in subtly. This article finally brought it to light. You have been changing your feelings, you have been getting this goddamn stupid patriotism back, this stupid shit that “yeah, maybe we're supposed to contain communism, maybe the best thing to do is kill people and end the question. Why deal with all this controversy and subtly—just when the ‘communists’ give us trouble go in there and shoot them, when the Russian imperialism give us trouble, you know.” I've been finding myself getting sucked in, and this article has started turning my head back again, to say hey, they've been playing a head game on you—don't forget what Vietnam meant to you, don't forget what it did to people, don't forget what it was really like, don't forget the indifference. Sure they're saying, “Oh you did a good job,” but that's because they're getting ready to use us again either on the battlefield or sucking in younger people and telling them, yeah, go on in, or it wasn't that bad or just keeping us quiet. And this article woke me up. It said don't let it happen, don't let 'em use you again. And they have been using me and they were; and it was working. I was changing my feelings again... And it is bullshit what they've been putting out, and I haven't been remembering what it was really like, and I have been letting my Vietnam experience get put in the past. But we shouldn't put it in the past. That's what the government wants us to do, put it in the past so people can forget about all that bullshit and I was letting that happen. And I shouldn't, because they're gonna do it to some other young kids and I don't want to see it happen. The biggest benefit I can be to society is to prevent this happening to other people. And if it is gonna happen that we create another generation of veterans, it better be for a damn good reason, not for the silly reason they did in Vietnam—silly because I had no vested interest there, I was fighting for the goddamn ruling class. They're the ones that had the tin mines and the plantations there in South Vietnam. They're the ones that have the factories in Japan that they were trying to protect with that domino theory and all that. But I shouldn't get sucked in again. I don't own plantations down in South America—they do...

The benefits cannot rationalize the war. It still was an unjust war. We used to run over fishing junkets, filled with Vietnamese, we wouldn't even stop. They'd run them right over, people would be drowning and they wouldn't even stop. It was blowing my mind, I mean here we are supposedly trying to help the people and we're drowning them off their own coast. And we were thinking, what the hell is going on inland—it must have been a crazy scene.

Ron Kovic—well, he might as well be hired by the government to sort of crystallize the whole movement towards benefits and away from the protest.

They've got all these guys out there and they're trying to turn the movement of veterans away from social revolution toward just getting benefits. They're trying to downplay the whole experience, and I've never thought of that before but it's logical that they would sabotage the veterans movement and what it really meant. Ron Kovic says “Until we deal with delayed stress and Agent Orange the country will not be able to move forward and forget Vietnam.” What if they even solved the problem of delayed stress and Agent Orange? What the hell, why should we forget Vietnam? The big lesson from Vietnam was not that we ended up with mangled people, but the lesson was that we went over and mangled people and got our own people mangled for no goddamn reason, just to support the financial empire of America, which most of us don't share. Hey, you can help the veterans all you want but you shouldn't forget Vietnam or the lessons. The lesson of Vietnam is not that the veterans have to

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Warrior Haig's China Trip

The Fundamental Strategic (Imperialist) Perspective in Asia

At Wellington, New Zealand, the last stop on U.S. Secretary of State Haig's two week trip around Asia and the Pacific, an official from the Haig entourage explained the Reagan administration's "Asian policy" which is based on a "fundamental strategic perspective." As reported by the *New York Times*, "A senior official said that the United States was not trying to repeat the past. For instance, he said, there was no desire for new military alliances to replace such treaties as the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization that collapsed as a result of the Vietnam War... the United States was seeking 'a far more subtle, resilient, complex and flexible overall structure.'"

The U.S. imperialists know well that they cannot "repeat the past"; their "fundamental strategic perspective" does not call for another regional conflict like the Vietnam War, but rather a global war with their rivals in the Soviet Union to redivide the world. In Asia, a crucial part of this worldwide superpower contention, the U.S. faces a complex and difficult task: both shoring up the diverse array of pro-U.S. forces that stretch from the Sea of Japan to the Arabian Sea, and building an anti-Soviet consensus, as well as clamping down on the explosive potential for revolution. Last month, the U.S. used strong-arm tactics on Japan, its anchorman in the region, to speed up war preparations. With this as a basis, Haig's recent trip was an effort to make major leaps in tightening up the other members of its bloc in the area.

Starting with a short stopover in Hong Kong, Haig's itinerary consisted of stops in Peking, Manila and Wellington. If it was not abundantly clear that Haig's tour was meant to be a direct challenge to the Soviet Union, Haig immediately dispelled any doubts with his warlike statements in Hong Kong. Declaring that the situation in Poland had undergone a "serious deterioration," Haig threatened that, "any external or internal suppression by the Soviet Union in Poland would have profound and lasting effects." Just what some of these "profound and lasting effects" could be had already been spelled out by Secretary of Defense Weinberger last April when he stated that U.S. arms sales to China in retaliation for a Soviet invasion was "not ruled out." Although Haig did not explicitly link the threat of playing the "China card" with the situation in Poland, he did not really have to—the National Security Council had already made public just a few days before Haig's trip its decision to hold extensive talks with the Chinese on the possibility of arms sales.

By the end of Haig's three days of talks with the Chinese revisionist leaders, it became apparent that the U.S. had taken a significant step toward carrying out this threat in actual deed. Haig announced that the U.S. had decided "in principle" to sell arms to China with the actual sales to be decided on a case-by-case basis. Plans were revealed for a visit to the U.S. in August by the Vice Chief of the General Staff of China's army to discuss the details of possible arms sales. The \$2 billion loan to China, already under discussion, could be used for future purchase of arms.

Summing up the talks as a whole, Haig characterized them as being "unusually significant and successful" and foreshadowing "the prospects that President Reagan's administration will be marked by a major expansion of Sino-American friendship and cooperation." One U.S. official described the Chinese as being "all hearts and flowers." Although the Chinese side was somewhat more subdued in their summation of the talks, they were quite happy with a strong anti-Soviet thrust of the whole meeting. The official Xinhua News Agency said that the visit showed, "The two countries have iden-

tical or similar views regarding the appraisal of the current global strategic posture and on certain major international issues, and some progress has been achieved in their bilateral relations." While the agreement on arms sales made for the most dramatic news, the discussions also included closer coordination in aiding anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Not coincidentally, the "20-20" TV program, aired on ABC as Haig was leaving Peking for his next stop, Manila, revealed the poorly-kept secret that the U.S. has enlisted several countries, including China, in a "new anti-Soviet alliance" to pour arms into Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion.

U.S. Ruling Class Disputes

A news analysis in the June 18th *New York Times* on the decision to allow arms sales made the point that "despite the dramatic impact of the decision to sell arms to China, Mr. Haig, and his aides strove to persuade reporters that the matter should be seen as a routine progression from attitudes of the last months of the Carter administration, when non-lethal equipment such as transport planes were authorized for sale." In a certain sense this is true; the "leak" in the U.S. media while Haig was in Peking that the U.S. and China have jointly orchestrated electronics and intelligence gathering stations since last year in northwest China to monitor Soviet missile tests underscores how far down on its knees Chinese revisionism had already gone in the service of U.S.

imperialism. This occurred while Carter was in office. It's also true that the arms sales decision will most likely not result in any immediate rush of huge arms sales or transfer of military technology. Haig said in Manila that he anticipates "a slow, evolutionary and carefully orchestrated process. We may indeed never be faced with the question in the first place, because I did not sense from the People's Republic of China an appetite for American arms." Such cautious statements must be taken with a grain of salt; there are certain reasons why Haig wants to play down the significance of the decision on the sale of weapons, such as a need to shape a more unified consensus within the U.S. ruling circles as well as among its bloc around the necessity and benefits of moving into such an open military relationship with China. However, even though the officially declared policy at this time is still to allow arms sales "in principle" only, such an announcement itself is a major political leap.

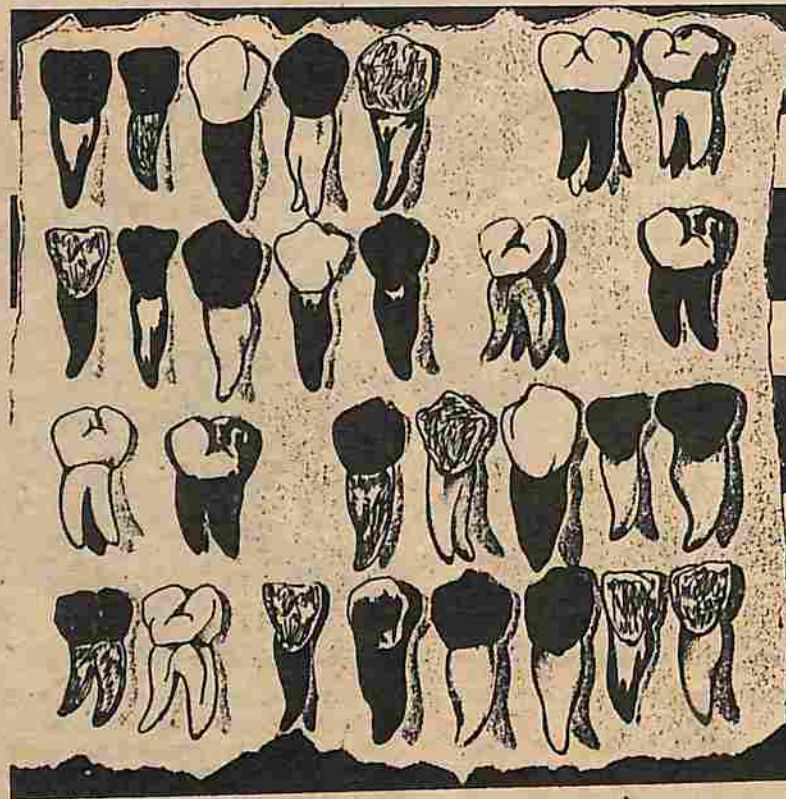
Although the enormous cost of arming China in order to be able to battle the Soviets with any effectiveness (estimated by the Pentagon at \$40 billion) has been mentioned recently, the main arguments within the U.S. ruling class against forging closer military ties with China have been political, not economic. Those pushing for a more cautious approach pointed out, among

other things, China's internal instability, the possibility of the current leadership or a rival faction that might come to power unfreezing the relationship with the Soviets, or the necessity to avoid provoking the Soviets prematurely. The "China card," according to this view, was most effective when not actually used but kept in the hand as a threat. But others advocating more overtly political and eventually military ties to China pointed out that the intensifying international situation made it imperative to pull in the reins on China now, even with all the risks involved. (Actually even the \$40 billion to arm China "economic" question was political. The argument was essentially that this would take years to accomplish and in the meantime who could count on what would happen within China.)

The news leak around the existence of U.S.-equipped intelligence-gathering stations in China was apparently an effort by those favoring closer ties to China to further convince those who still harbor doubts. The "revelation" was meant to picture China as already playing a valuable role for the U.S. bloc. News reports made sure to point out that the station was a replacement for U.S. listening posts in Iran that were lost when the faithful and precious U.S. puppet, the Shah, was overthrown in early 1979. Some reports went a step further, emphasizing that the Chinese station provided even better data than the ones that used to be in Iran. This goes right along with a statement by a State Department official before Haig's trip that China will be treated as a "friendly, less developed country and no longer a member of the international communist conspiracy."

All this is also directed at the pro-U.S. Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Indonesia and Malaysia in particular, worrying about their own regional interests, have some reservations about seeing a strong China playing an expanded political and military role in the region. Haig is said to have urged the Chinese revisionists to drop support for local communist parties in Southeast Asia in order to assuage the concerns of the ASEAN states. This should have been

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ROTTEN

Correspondence on Haiti

Study Reveals U.S. Schemes, Frontmen in the Works for Haiti

We received the following letter from a Haitian comrade revealing the machiavellian intrigues of the U.S. government in Haiti.

With the continuing economic and political crisis in Haiti, the President-for-life, Jean-Claude Duvalier may become a nuisance to the American imperialists and their propaganda of economic development in Haiti within the framework of the capitalist system. It is not then surprising to see several notorious characters emerging on the Haitian political arena. The first one being Ernest Bennett, the newest addition to the Haitian family of millionaires, and a new political spokesman of the Haitian capitalist establishment. The marriage of his daughter, Michèle, to Jean-Claude Duvalier is symbolic of the holy union of Haitian bourgeoisie and the fascist bureaucrats led by Duvalier: the former taking out a sort of life insurance policy on the "presidency-for-life" of the latter which they have continuously sought throughout the history of Haiti.

The U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1936 relied on the mulatto bourgeoisie which reinforced the economic and political power of imperialism for years to come. When in 1946 Estimé followed by Magloire started a new era of black power, it was only to give a black face to the mulatto-dominated capitalist establishment. Then came François Duvalier, a Haitian country doctor bred in the racial theories of Price-Mars who was to dismantle, on the surface, the social and political structure put in place by the American occupation, seize the revenues of the state to enrich his long-time frustrated followers, and build the most fascistic nouveau-riche bureaucrat-capitalist regime in the history of Haiti.

At first this out-of-style political power, which emerged as an uncontrollable force looked embarrassing to the U.S. government, more inclined to support a government more to the liking of the Haitian bourgeoisie. Despite the reluctance of the American government, Duvalier managed to stay in power by systematic elimination of his opponents both in the bourgeoisie and the already demanding proletariat. The early economic sanctions imposed on the Duvalier regime by the American government only gave the new regime the opportunity to force their hand into the previously "untouchable" wealth of the private sector. The Haitian bourgeoisie was quick to rally to the new government and the U.S. was quick to recognize this strong regime which had proved so capable of maintaining law and order as a bulwark against the proletariat and the ever-increasing influence of communism in the Caribbean. This new alliance of two formerly antagonist upper classes in Haiti was to leave the Haitian proletariat in the utmost state of misery, forcing a massive exodus.

In the name of this new political order the son of dying president François Duvalier was brought to power in 1971 by a joint action of international imperialism and the Haitian capitalist establishment. Last year the wedding of Michèle Bennett and the newly-imposed president-for-life sealed with the brotherhood of blood the most vicious conspiracy against the Haitian people since slavery.

Today with an economic and social crisis even worse than pre-Duvalier times, the Americans are preparing—as one possibility in their arsenal—to change the man before the structure collapses, if that is deemed necessary.

In that case Ernesto Bennett, a mulatto, is in place to become god-father of the Haitian people just like Louis Borno, also a mulatto, was under the U.S. occupation. Just in case the mulatto formula is unacceptable to the people, a black formula is being readied for the Haitian people from abroad in the persons of two long-time black imperialist agents: Paul E. Magloire and Clemar Joseph Charles—both living in the U.S.

One purpose of this letter is to reveal the true story of Magloire and Charles. The (undoubtedly CIA-supported) Council for Inter-American Security has published a study whose title is very suggestive of its intent and purpose: "Haiti: Ready for Revolution." In Chapter 3, Phillip Abbott Luce introduces Charles as a possible solution to the Haitian crisis with a very elaborate narration of his life and achievements, even going so far as presenting him as the financial wizard of Haiti. Between the lines the conclusion is a "suggestion" that the U.S. government replace Duvalier quietly with this new capitalist messiah before the Haitian people throw Jean-Claude out of power.

In the form of acknowledgements, Luce mentions the name of Magloire, former general of the Haitian Army, who became president of Haiti from 1950 to 1956. Magloire emerged from the Garde d'Haiti, a military apparatus built by American occupying forces and aimed at maintaining military dictatorship after the occupation. Magloire's political career started under Vincent, first post-occupation president of Haiti, who sent Magloire as his representative to a party given by the Leger family of the mulatto bourgeoisie. Color prejudice would have made it an affront to the social standard of the Haitian

mulatto establishment to receive a black man at a mulatto party. The Leger family, whose son George is actually the ambassador from Haiti to Washington, welcomed Magloire, who was to become the black defender of the mulatto establishment. He would be the one to lead the coup of 1946 in favor of Estimé, whom he later ousted to become president of Haiti himself in 1950. He was the last descendant of the military establishment built by the U.S. occupation forces.

It was under the Magloire government that Clemar Joseph Charles entered the capitalist arena in Haiti through the rip-off of a contract with General Electric of Coventry for the modernization and extension of our telecommunications system. The pipes which were to house telephone lines underground stayed lying alongside the streets of Port-au-Prince while Charles raked in millions. Later the same Charles was to form the Banque Commerciale d'Haiti, the first privately-owned Haitian bank, and the soon-to-be revealed source of underhanded financial dealings of the Duvalier government which later sent him to jail in a bourgeois power struggle.

Today this thief convicted by a corrupt government is being presented as a victim of the Duvalier regime, and the new messiah and savior of the Haitian people from economic and social misery.

Let it be known once and for all to the mulatto Bennett, legal thief of the wealth of the Haitian people, and the black Charles, illegal thief of a capitalist government, that the bells of popular insurrection are tolling and the Haitian masses are bound to win together with the oppressed people of the world.

The British Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny

To the RW,

Accompanying an article on Ireland in RW No. 107 there was a pictorial displaying examples of British imperialism at various points and places throughout history. Two of these pictures depicted scenes of India from what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny (1857-59). In discussing these pictures with people knowledgeable of that era and event, and through research of my own, the nature of imperialism (in this case British) suffers some exposure.

A "sepoys" was a native Indian who became a soldier in the British Army. The Mutiny concerned those mostly in the Bengal Army, the largest segment of the British Indian Army. These troops were composed of both Hindus and Muslims, from the areas of north central to northeast India.

Morale was at a low level among the sepoys of the Bengal Army at this time for many reasons. One was that, in true imperialist "divide and conquer" fashion, they had borne the brunt of British attempts to subjugate other peoples of India and neighboring countries, most notably the Afghans and the Sikhs. (The Sikhs are a religious sect with roots in the Hindu religion, and during this period controlled large areas of N.W. India and basically stood in the way of British conquest of Afghanistan. The British needed Afghanistan for their empire to counter expansion by Czarist Russia into central Asia.) Another was the growing insensitivity to Indian religious and social customs and the general contempt and



denigration of the Indian people by the British.

The spark which set off the revolt centered around the introduction of the Enfield rifle. The cartridge for this rifle had a wad of grease on the end which had to be bitten off before insertion. These cartridges were initially sealed with animal fat, anathema to the Hindus who revered cows and to the Muslims who held the pig as unclean. The British supposedly corrected this problem, but the sepoys were not to be persuaded.

On May 10, 1857, 85 sepoys at the garrison in Meerut in north-central India refused to accept the cartridges and

were imprisoned. The next day, their fellow sepoys released them and marched to Delhi, igniting not just a mutiny but a social rebellion against British rule which lasted well over a year, spreading from Delhi to Calcutta.

The photos in the RW sharply point out the British intent to not only suppress a mutiny, but to subjugate the Indian masses as a whole. The skeletons of the rebels (and civilians) shown in the courtyard at Lucknow were not just left as a grim reminder to the troops, but were a desecration to those bodies which could not be purified, according to religious beliefs. The men tied to the cannon muzzles were not just being

gruesomely executed. It was a religious belief that if a body was thus destroyed, the soul would never find eternal peace. The British also made quite a point of greasing those same cannonballs with animal fat.

Overall the British policy was to terrorize and subjugate the entire population at every opportunity. Whole populations of cities were slaughtered in retaliation for the mutiny. While the objectives of the sepoys varied from one area to another, the rebellion laid the basis for the future nationalist rebellions against British rule.

An RW reader

Seattle, Washington

2 Filipino Activists Assassinated

In the late afternoon of June 1 two men entered the office of the Cannery Workers' Union in Seattle and gunned down Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo. Viernes and Domingo, both members of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP, the Union of Democratic Filipinos), were shot several times in the back in what was clearly a planned, gangland-style execution. Viernes was killed instantly. Domingo, mortally wounded by four .45 slugs, pursued his attackers onto the street where they fled in a waiting car. While medics struggled to stop the bleeding, Silme gasped out the names of his two attackers.

Viernes had been elected dispatcher and Domingo elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Cannery Workers Union (Local No. 37 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union). This election, where the reform slate which included Domingo and Viernes won 11 of the 17 positions on the Union's Executive Board, represented a defeat for the decades-long domination of the Local by a clique of gangsters who supported the U.S.-backed regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. The union, which controls the dispatch of workers to jobs in Alaskan canneries, plays an important role not only in the Filipino Community in Seattle, but for many Filipino workers up and down the west coast who rely on the seasonal work in the canneries to survive. This work

itself, with incredibly unsafe working conditions, low pay, 12-hour, 16-hour and longer working days, is a glaring instance of the brutal exploitation and national oppression of Filipino and other workers. Both Domingo and Viernes were involved in a range of political activity in the Filipino Community, skirmishes to win various reforms in union and community activities, and in organizing opposition to the rule of Marcos.

While even now, weeks after the murders, all the factors are not clear (and may possibly never be clear), what is clear is that whoever the specific forces involved in directly planning and carrying out these murders, they are undoubtedly working toward the goal of maintaining the tightest possible grip on the Filipino masses in this country and in particular to suppress any opposition to the Marcos regime. The assassins, two petty thugs associated with Filipino gangs, were arrested the day after the murders. But nobody believes the matter ends there.

In the midst of widespread outrage sparked by the murders, an atmosphere of intimidation and threats is intensifying. Gang members associated with the two murderers have been hanging around the Cannery Workers Union Hall. On June 14, eight shots were fired into the air by a gang member outside another hall in Seattle's International District where some were waiting for the Cannery Workers' job dispatch to

begin. One cannery company, which had a union election slated for the day following the murders at its operation in Alaska, had news of the slayings radioed from Seattle to Alaska, where the management made sure the news spread quickly among the workers.

The Cannery Workers Union has historically been an important repressive tool against the masses of Filipinos in the Northwest. Gene Navarro, the president who ruled over the union from the early '50s to his death in 1975, was well-known for his pro-Marcos views and his close ties to the local Philippine Consulate. He was well-known for his use of a .45 pistol, which he always carried, to threaten and intimidate those who opposed him in any way. And while building up a machine by doling out jobs for bribes, allegiance and favors, Navarro also made it his business to suppress any hint of discontent with the canneries' brutal exploitation of the workers.

Through his control of the union, Navarro also became president of the Filipino Community of Seattle, Inc., which serves as a kind of umbrella organization for fraternal organizations, associations based on what region of the Philippines one's family comes from, and other organizations which together form a power structure closely tied to the Philippine Consulate and the Marcos regime. To back up this "unofficial" apparatus there is extensive official terror and intimidation. Those

opposing the Marcos dictatorship in this country have had relatives in the Philippines imprisoned, tortured and killed in retaliation for their activities. Those wanting to visit friends and family in the Philippines have been harassed or stopped from visiting altogether. Recent immigrants are threatened by U.S. Immigration officials who work closely with the vast network of spies and agents which the Marcos regime maintains in this country. And, in at least one case, a member of KDP was fingered by Marcos agents, stopped on an isolated street by Seattle police who demanded the names of those involved in anti-Marcos activity, and then beaten when he refused to talk.

But the network of reaction maintained in the Filipino community has emerged from the past few years extremely battered. The atmosphere in Seattle has changed from one where most people were afraid to publicly discuss their feelings about the Marcos government, to one where expressions of opposition are more and more common among a broad range of forces. Largely as a result of this spread of anti-Marcos sentiment the influence of traditional pro-Marcos forces and groups has declined significantly, at the same time they have become all the more desperate to reassert their hold on the situation. Last year a number of people were purged from positions in many of these organizations, in an at-

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Atlanta

Continued from page 1
 fare aimed at making it again—all this has come to maturity. No longer can any one believe that the killings are what is called racially motivated, no longer is this stinking system in question. Now, attention is to be focused on this one man, as it has been already. A breakthrough has been made, the case has been cracked. The criminal has been caught and, it is said, can possibly be linked to other murders, perhaps even other individuals involved. The crime is not only solved, but absolved. But unfortunately for the bourgeoisie, things are not so simple, to

say the least. For one thing, few believe it. Not only have events surrounding the arrest of Wayne Williams aroused great skepticism, but more importantly, those who are awake and angry are *not* buying the rest of the package which our rulers—en masse—are trying to sell. Too much has happened, too much has been exposed to bury the outrage and the understanding Atlanta has unleashed. It won't stand.

Some of the particulars surrounding the arrest of Williams make the authorities' motives and methods even clearer. As is generally known, he has been the object of extraordinary police surveillance and media attention. On the surface, there are to date a mass of facts and contradictory statements by

officials which cast doubt on Williams' guilt. But even if this were not the case it would make little difference. As we said three weeks ago, the question isn't whether or not a Black person is wrapped up in these murders. There have always been some slaves available for the work of the slavemaster.

More to the point was the statement in an article appearing in the *Atlanta Constitution* one day after Williams' arraignment hearing. The *Constitution* bluntly stated that "Those who monitor Atlanta's potential violence, meanwhile, said the arrest should be a big help in keeping the city peaceful through the long hot summer." And not just in Atlanta, they might have ad-

This was clear enough, but one bit of news which was greatly downplayed nationally indicated that this line of thinking stretched far beyond the desk of a local newspaper editor. The *Atlanta Journal* revealed that very top levels of the federal government pressed for the bust of Williams. Two days before the arrest, none other than Vice President George Bush (still sporting a green ribbon, no doubt) telephoned Georgia Governor George Busbee and demanded that Williams be grabbed. At a top level meeting the next day in Atlanta, local District Attorney Slaten—who had opposed arresting Williams prior to all this—suddenly had a change of heart. Three days later, the case was in court. All along, the FBI has played the key role in the pursuit of Williams, sometimes receiving public criticism from the Atlanta P.D. But while there continue to be apparent differences between local Atlanta officials and the federal government over how exactly to proceed, Mayor Maynard Jackson expressed his official gratitude in a nationally televised press conference with Ronald Reagan on the day after Williams' hearing. "We're a much better city through this tragedy with your help," he told the press.

It would, of course, come as no great surprise if the murders were to stop now—independent of the question of Wayne Williams. This would make the whole package even cleaner. Already, the FBI has announced that it will start withdrawing agents because, according to Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani, while there still is "investigative work to be done," it's "not so intense as before." It was also revealed that police surveillance was removed from the Chattahoochee River bridges. In other words: case closed.

Yet the summer offensive against Black people in Atlanta—of which this arrest is clearly a part—is far from over. The past months have seen an intense build-up of police activity throughout the city, as we've reported. And attacks have been launched in other forms as well.

One of these is SAFE SUMMER, a multi-million dollar program of prison like camps in the projects, set up with federal money. Youth are fitted with special T-shirts and I.D. cards, and are herded into these camps to keep them "safe." Of course, the rather transparent purpose of SAFE SUMMER is to keep the authorities safe, the prevailing bourgeois order safe. It is exactly the volatile situation among many of these youth that is so disconcerting.

Beyond this, the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders (STOP), the organization initiated by parents of murdered youth, has been attacked in different ways, notably since the group sponsored a national rally in Washington, D.C. on May 25. There have been death threats against the families along with attempts by Georgia's Office of Consumer Affairs to go after STOP for—get this—tax fraud. This has gone hand-in-glove with another media campaign of slanders quoting any and every fool who would blame the families for "exploiting the tragedies." Local columnists have hit all time high marks, once again blaming the active mothers themselves for the murders (Wayne Williams not withstanding). As one article remarked, "The significance of the dates of [certain of] those killings raises a shattering prospect—because they all came after the public uproar by a small group of parents of other victims...in other words, the terrible truth may be that the LIST, at first a mistaken creation of frustrated, frightened parents, became a self-fulfilling prophecy." Not to be outdone by this media attack, Atlanta police chief George Napper announced that he planned to arrest STOP officers on June 12th if they did not comply with certain laws he claims they had violated. He has yet to carry through with this threat, but the message is very clear.

In the weeks ahead, specifics concerning Wayne Williams may well get clearer. Already, it's obvious what use is being made of the whole episode. But for the masses of people who through Atlanta have seen the ugly features of this system more sharply, this "case" is certainly not closed. How could it be? The criminals are still in power. □

PROVOCATEUR EXPOSED IN WAKE OF ATLANTA SUPPORT MEETING

Law enforcement authorities are well-known for their untiring efforts to come up with a "solution" to the murder of Atlanta's Black children, but a recent offer of assistance in Los Angeles shows that they have lots of ideas left in their trick-bag. At an April 17 meeting of Emergency Coalition for Atlanta Children, a Black community group in Los Angeles, a certain hired public servant expressed dismay over the content of some lively discussion about ways to expose and oppose these racist attacks, saying, "The time for all this talk is over. I think the only way we can stop the murdering in Atlanta is for us to go out and kill white babies."

While it was later discovered that the above "suggestion" came from a L.A. City School Security Agent (also called "nars" by the youth) named Ronald Hubbard, it appears that his employer(s) were too modest to take credit for the idea: Hubbard identified himself in the meeting as "David Smith—a janitor for the school system."

When coalition members discovered Hubbard's identity, they immediately filed a lawsuit against the L.A. Unified School District; Hubbard personally countered by threatening one of them. School District spokesmen admit that Hubbard works for them but deny that

they sent him to the meeting or that he filed any reports on it for them. Los Angeles police also denied that he was working for them. The L.A. County Sheriff's Department apparently hasn't commented; and this makes sense, since these school Security Agents are trained at the L.A. County Sheriff's Academy.

This particular pig provocateur's usefulness in the field of "helpful suggestions," at least in the Black community of Los Angeles, has become somewhat limited. As the lawsuit became public knowledge, he quickly requested a "leave of absence" from the L.A. City Schools.

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

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 Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo Leninista (Spain)
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Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communiqué, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

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L.A. Feminist Women's Health Center Directors Testify at War Crimes Tribunal

U.S. Imperialism: Wanted For Crimes Against Women Worldwide

In the past several issues the RW has presented testimony given at the Los Angeles hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal on the weekend of May 29. The following testimony was given by Claudia Sperber and Edith Burr who are both directors of the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center:

Claudia: What we want to talk about is to accuse all the patriarchs of U.S. imperialism for using and abusing women's bodies and women's lives as part of their plan to control and dominate women all over this country and in third world countries throughout the world. We have a number of documents and quotes that clearly speak for themselves about population control—the agencies behind it, the actual names and faces of who it is that's behind this, and who it is that is abusing women's bodies. We have a short paper that Edith is going to read about the Agency for International Development which shows what this agency is and what role it has had in the abuse of women in population control.

Edith: The Agency for International Development, often referred to as AID, of the U.S. Dept. of State promotes dangerous and experimental methods of birth control around the world to eliminate poverty by reducing births. Formed in 1961 to assist other countries in transportation, agriculture and education, AID began in 1965 adding programs in the field of population due to the lobbying efforts of wealthy families and their private foundations. AID sees new technology and birth control as the answer to their claim of an imminent population problem and funds such agencies as the International Fertility Research Program in Chapel Hill, North Carolina with experiments

in new sterilization gadgets, IUD's and vaginal devices on women in scores of planning clinics around the world. Among the methods of birth control widely promoted by AID are the pill, which increases heart attacks and strokes in women, among other effects; and the IUD which can cause severe pelvic infection. One of the IUD's used by AID is the Dalcon Shield which has never been recalled by the state agency despite the deaths of 17 women in the United States. (You may remember when there was a lot of publicity about the dangers of the Dalcon Shield; some of them were recalled and immediately they were then sold to third world countries and they are still being used.) Another method to reduce the number of births in other countries is female sterilization—major surgery no matter how it is accomplished which can result in massive abdominal infection and even death. Ray Ravenhold, director of AID's former Office of Population, has made public statements that one his agency's goals is to sterilize one quarter of the world's women. Although other officials disclaim this goal, they continue to push sterilization programs. AID is only one part of a large network of private organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pathfinder Fund and the Population Council, international organizations such as the United Nations and other government bureaus whose goal is to limit the number of people born in non-white countries rich in natural resources. These agencies promote the myth that there is not enough food, minerals, water or energy in the world to go around because there are too many people on earth. People in third world countries know that there are not enough resources to go around because

multi-national and U.S. corporations are stripping the earth and seas of natural resources, dictating what crops are planted and underpaying workers for the profit of the corporations rather than for the needs of the people. Social researchers such as the authors of *Food First* are looking further into the "food crisis." They criticize the use of food as a tool of foreign policy—the planting of food for cash crops for export rather than a food crop that hungry people can eat and the distribution of food according to income rather than need. They also criticize the ineffectual agricultural technology and planning which result in food waste and shortage. On many occasions people in third world countries have declared to their governments and to the United Nations, as in 1974 at the World Population Conference in Bucharest, that they do not want the United States corporations or the United States aid running their affairs, in short, they want the U.S. out of their countries. They ex-

perience everyday the poverty and starvation created by the greed of corporations and see AID as a mere bandaid which further intrudes into their economical, educational and private lives.

In 1977 the Agency for International Development contracted with the American Public Health Association, the nation's largest public health organization, for 2.7 million dollars in health and family planning contracts, about one half of APHA's budget. This is despite APHA's principle that the organization be beholden to no arm of the government and despite the series of protests from members of APHA. The AID contracts are for administrative support, communication systems and social-demographic and biomedical projects, community delivery programs' support, and maternal and child health projects in other countries. It is not surprising then that there is a resolution—International Population

Continued on page 18

Gov't. Levels "Terrorist" Charges

"Stop the hearings! A woman's life is a human life," shouted six angry women holding up signs in the middle of Senator John East's hearing on the so-called "human life bill." In branding the reactionary nature of the proceedings right on its opening day, the six members of the Women's Liberation Zap Action Brigade represented the righteous indignation of millions against this new attack on all women. Stung by the women's protests, and forced to expand the hearings beyond the originally planned two-day hearing, Senator East is now pushing the prosecution of the six militant women to pay \$500 fines and spend six months in jail for their courageous protest.

This "human life bill," introduced by East's fellow senator from North Carolina Jesse Helms would define a fertilized egg as being an actual human person and thus entitled to all the rights and duties provided by the bourgeois constitution. This would supposedly prohibit the egg, now endowed with full citizenship, from being aborted—at least without due process. Since Senator Strom Thurmond is pushing a bill to restore the death penalty through the same judiciary committee, presumably the egg could be executed for espionage or treason.

The vicious, reactionary meaning of this legislation was pointed out forcefully by one of the later witnesses, Dr. Leon E. Rosenberg of the Yale School of Medicine, and going even a step beyond the throw back to criminalizing abortion: "This bill, if enacted into

Women Blast Anti-Women Bill

law, will prohibit the use of such commonly employed contraceptives as the intra-uterine devices (IUDs) because they prevent uterine implantation and, thereby, act against the fertilized ovum which has, by legal decree, been made a person." He further pointed out the legislation would also prohibit amniocentesis, the sampling of genetic material from the fetus to test for genetic defects and congenital disorders.

Demonstrators, who are frequently arrested on Capitol Hill, are normally charged under the District of Columbia Disorderly Conduct Law. But stung by the Women's Liberation Zap Action Brigade and the voices of many others which upset his little inquisition into "when does human life begin," Senator East has insisted that the six women be prosecuted under a special 1967 statute designed to punish "terrorist acts" on the Capitol building. This law prohibiting "violent entry and disorderly conduct" in the Capitol buildings has apparently never been used before. When attorneys for the women sought to obtain information on its previous use from the Capitol Police under the Freedom of Information Act, the Capitol cops refused citing the section which exempts Congress from freedom of information in theory.

The subcommittee hearings which angered so many women that long lines formed outside each session, have now ended. But a trial date of July 6th has been set for the Zap Action Brigaders. □

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— Suzanne Boettger

ARTBEAT

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Bloated Beast

Continued from page 3

the population are concentrated in the lower tier of the U.S. economy along with disproportionate numbers of oppressed nationalities within the U.S., especially Blacks and Chicanos, women and youth. For example, in the semiconductor industry, all clerical workers and 91% of assemblers, processors, and inspectors are women. And in the least skilled categories such as assemblers—Mexican-Americans, Filipinos, Azoreans, Indochinese, and Koreans make up 1/2 of the workforce. This industry alone employs over 222,000 workers.

This lower super-exploitable tier has been a key reserve and source of strength for U.S. imperialism, not only in the period of the rapid expansion of U.S. capital in the '50s and '60s, but also in enabling it to temporarily stave off and offset the serious economic crisis that the U.S. and the whole Western imperialist bloc have found themselves increasingly in the grip of since the early '70s. While the upper tier of the economy consists of the large scale, more capital intensive and technologically advanced plants employing the better paid, generally more skilled and unionized workers, this lower level, or tier, consists mainly of medium and small scale plants, service industries, and agriculture where the pay is low, work generally less skilled and not unionized.

Much light manufacturing, which makes up 40% of total manufacturing employment, is in this tier. While most firms in this tier tend to be less stable and less technologically advanced, in a number of cases some of the more dynamic growth industries (electronics, for example) are part of it. In many cases firms are actual divisions of large firms in the upper tier, being subcontractors and parts suppliers while others are actually financially connected, if not directly hooked up.

These "two tiers" are not monopoly and "non-monopoly" capital, but two parts to an integrated U.S. economy that are tied together by a complex network of subcontractual relations under the direction of financial capital—through which production is integrated and the labor force segmented.

It is important to note here that while it is true, as mentioned above, that the jobs in this lower tier tend to be less skilled, there are many skilled workers in it who get paid much less than skilled workers in the upper tier. A machinist from Mexico, say, who comes here already trained (thus saving the bourgeoisie here any training expense) could be working as a machinist in a foundry or a plastics factory for wages that are half of those for a machinist in an auto plant. (Even immigrants in the professions like doctors or nurses are not paid as much and are given inferior status as compared to their U.S. born counterparts. And many times this is even true of recent European immigrants.)

Without understanding something about the two tiered composition of the U.S. economy, it is impossible to understand the dynamics of the economy, the role of immigrant workers in it, and how the bourgeoisie has attempted to deal with the economic crisis of staggering proportions it now faces. In packaging their economic theories and solutions for popular consumption, the imperialists paint a picture of a single homogeneous labor market with simply a high wage and low wage end. In actual fact the two tiers have separate dynamics which interpenetrate and interact with each other, but are not identical. While these two tiers are not walled off from each other, there is not smooth and fluid motion, of labor in particular, between the two tiers. A worker in the upper tier, say an auto worker and particularly a white auto worker, when out of work will not readily accept or even necessarily be allowed into a job in say a plastics plant that makes parts for the auto in-

dustry. He may remain out of work for a very long time before even seeking a low wage job and then find it extremely difficult to get one even if some hiring is going on in certain industries.

Even the "lower tier" is not homogeneous. Whole industries like garment are dependent on and almost exclusively employ immigrant workers and would not even exist without them, not to mention large sections of agriculture in the U.S. And it is not the case that this will all break down when unemployment generally grows to larger proportions than is the case now. In fact, in many cases, it is the opposite with these categories actually hardening.

Unemployment & Immigration

It is clear from the above that the question of immigration and the immigration policies of the U.S. imperialists in light of the developing crisis of the whole Western bloc is not a simple one that dutifully follows classic and simplistic laws. The U.S. economy and the role of immigrant workers within it, in particular, has many specific features that are different even from the economies of the other imperialist countries in its bloc. Overall, the tendency in times of a worsening economic situation and growing unemployment in the imperialist countries is toward the repulsion of immigrant workers through deportations and cancelling of work permits, etc., and this can be seen very clearly in Western Europe today, though unevenly in different countries. However, in the U.S. in the past period there have been important counteracting tendencies to this general trend. This has everything to do with the specific nature of the U.S. economy as the bloated and increasingly parasitic center of an imperialist empire and an imperialist bloc, and the freedom and necessity of the U.S. bourgeoisie because of this. More particularly, it has to do with the role of the lower tier of the economy in restoring short-run profitability and staving off the developing crisis (as temporary as this fix may be).

In Western Europe today the trend is both to restrict immigration and to get rid of immigrants already in these countries. The "guest worker" programs in West Germany and Switzerland, for example, were set up between 1960 and 1973 precisely to allow for maximum flexibility in meeting the needs of the imperialists of these countries for large quantities of workers to super-exploit at a minimum cost and get rid of them when their presence created economic and political problems. In the 1960s, Switzerland had used its "guest worker" set-up to such an extent that one worker in 3 was an immigrant. In the 1970s, this all began to reverse and at points this reversal reached massive proportions as witnessed from this quote from a bourgeois source:

"More importantly, West Germany and Switzerland each run an economy with large numbers of foreign workers. When tight monetary policies lead to falling employment, the unemployed can be exported to the countries from which they came. And this is exactly what was done in West Germany and Switzerland. In 1978 industrial employment was 12% below 1973 levels in West Germany and 10% lower in Switzerland. This did not lead to massive unemployment since each country sent foreign workers home. Scaled up to an economy the size of ours, the Swiss rounded up 10 million workers and sent them home."

U.S. Parasitism & Super-Exploitation

Things did not come down the same way in the U.S. This is because the U.S. economy has a certain short term strength in being more supple and flexible than the economies of the other imperialist countries in its bloc. At the same time this very short term strength is due to its increasingly parasitic nature which in fact will turn out to be its profound weakness. This transformation is already well underway. To a significant extent the U.S. was able to offset the effects and development of the downward turn in the spiral in the '70s, precisely by improving profitability with the expansion of the lower tier of the economy both in industrial and non-industrial sectors which, as shown

earlier, include large numbers of immigrant workers.

Many people have observed the phenomenon greatly accelerated in the 1970s of so-called internal runaway shops. That is, the relocation of plants in low wage areas particularly in the so-called sun-belt area of the country (the South and Southwest). This trend has taken the form of both the new construction of entire plants in these areas or the buying out of smaller plants by large conglomerates. (The buying out of smaller plants also went on in other areas of the country.) And this trend continues as a major part of the bourgeoisie's efforts to stave off the crisis they are being engulfed by. In the long run, of course, this does nothing to alleviate the fundamental cause of their crisis which is an overproduction of capital and this is all bound to catch up to them with even greater force than before. Nevertheless, in the short term, the fix of increased profitability through a greater reliance on super-exploitation was a process they had no choice but to make.

A less observed phenomenon and perhaps far more striking, was the tremendous explosion in the more parasitic sectors of the economy which played a very important role in offsetting the developing crisis. It is surprising but true that during the period of growing unemployment in the period of the recessions and downturn in the economy during the 1970s, there was a very rapid growth in employment in certain sectors of the economy. One study notes the following:

"The 1970's were a time of startlingly rapid expansion in employment in the American economy. In the period of the economic crisis alone, from 1973 to 1979, almost 13 million new nonagricultural jobs were created of which almost 11 million were in the private economy. This is as though the entire labor force of Canada had moved south and found employment in the United States. The U.S. had by far the most rapid growth in total employment of any major industrial country: from 1973 to 1979, it was more than three times as fast as in Japan, while employment actually fell in West Germany, and was virtually unchanged in France and the United Kingdom."

The study goes on to note, however, that these new jobs were concentrated in services and retail trade and somewhat in state and local governments in the early 1970s. Services and retail trade together accounted for over 70% of all new private jobs created from 1973 to the summer of 1980, and by 1979, 43% of all employment in the U.S. in private nonagricultural sectors worked in these two areas. And further within these two sectors three industries each provided more than a million new jobs in the 1973-79 period, "eating and drinking places" including fast food restaurants; "health services" including private hospitals, nursing homes, doctors' and dentists' offices; and "business services" including personnel supply services, data processing services, reproduction and mailing, and the euphemistically named "services to buildings." The study adds:

"These three industries together accounted for more than 40% of the new private jobs created between 1973 and the summer of 1980. In that period their employment increased almost three times as fast as total private employment and sixteen times as fast as employment in the goods producing or industrial sector of the economy. ... Thus the increase in employment in eating and drinking places since 1973 is greater than the total employment in the automobile and steel industries combined. Total employment in the three industries is greater than total employment in an entire range of basic productive industries: construction, all machinery, all electronic equipment, motor vehicles, aircraft, ship building, all chemical products, and all scientific and other instruments."

Most of the jobs are concentrated in the lower tier of the economy. They pay low wages (real hourly wages in services in 1979, for example, were \$3.08 compared to \$3.85 for all manufacturing, \$5.22 in the motor vehicle industry, and in retail trade the average was \$2.61). They offer short hours, and they are

"deadend jobs." Women especially are concentrated in these jobs as well as large numbers of immigrant workers.

As mentioned earlier, the expansion of these sectors is largely a result of the parasitism of U.S. imperialism and a direct product of the fact that the U.S. sits at the bloated and rotting core of an imperialist empire. It is here where the offices of the big banks, financial institutions and corporate headquarters are located. They need those "services to buildings", etc. It is here where tremendous amounts of capital are hungering and yearning for some place, any place, to deposit themselves in the most profitable way even if in the very short term. Significantly, these particular sectors, while they enrich capital in the short run, contribute very little to improving the health of the rest of the economy. For example, the business services industry buys less than 1¢ worth of products from any manufacturing industry for each dollar it makes, while the motor vehicle industry for each dollar earned buys 2¢ worth of textiles, 3¢ worth of rubber, 1¢ of glass, 8¢ of screws, 7¢ of iron, 1¢ of engines, 1¢ of miscellaneous machinery, and 22¢ from motor vehicles and equipment. Thus this expansion in these sectors of the lower tier like that in the industrial sector in the past period, has done nothing to solve the basic cause of the crisis and in the long run will only exaggerate its effects.

So to summarize the point here, because of its highly parasitic nature and a certain flexibility because of this, the U.S. economy was able to absorb some of the immediate effects of the downward turn of the spiral in the '70s, even though this was at the expense of even greater cataclysms in the future. This was done largely through expansion of the lower tier of the economy in the industrial and significantly in the service and retail trade sectors. In light of this, they did not have the same necessity as did the Western European countries to export large numbers of immigrant workers (legal and "illegal"), though this began to be a problem and certainly some form of restriction had to be adopted sooner or later. They even had the flexibility to initially encourage the Vietnamese "boat people" and Cuban refugees to come here for largely political purposes, though the extent of this migration, especially that of Cubans, was not anticipated and has turned out to be a big problem of increasing dimensions for them. All this is now turning into its opposite and forcing a greater emphasis on restricting immigration or face grave economic and political problems. This pressure will increase though the U.S. bourgeoisie still has some room to maneuver here and is still able to offset its crisis somewhat by expansion of the lower tier of the economy.

It is also important to note here again, that all this has not for one minute stopped the bourgeoisie's chauvinist and anti-immigrant campaigns. These have been a continual feature of the American political scene—a feature that has taken on even greater dimensions as the pressures rise to actually "deal with the immigrant problem." And it has re-doubled with the huge political problem of increasing immigration from nations seething with revolution. Here the bourgeoisie is trying to take advantage of every division among the masses of people it can foster. And this includes taking full advantage of the increased competition for jobs among various nationalities in the lower sections of the economy. Take for example, the very conscious fanning of divisions in Miami between Black people and Cubans who are in competition for the worst of the worst jobs. This they do not only to create public opinion for deportations and other attacks on immigrant workers, but also to generally drive wedges between sections of the masses of people in hopes of preventing revolutionary unity and struggle. These offensives are bound to increase and intensify, especially campaigns among the better off sections of the workers to incite them against immigrants and the oppressed nationalities concentrated in the lower sections of the economy generally.

Continued on page 15

On July 4th

picNiC at tHe BeAch



INCITE! PO BOX 27005 OAKLAND CA 94602

South African Poet Threatened with Deportation

Chicago—Dennis Brutus, a Black poet living in exile from South Africa, has become the target of a calculated attack by the U.S. government. The Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) has ordered this long-time anti-apartheid fighter to leave the country or face deportation. Waging a struggle that began back in the early '60s, Dr. Brutus was instrumental in having South Africa barred from most international athletic competition, including the 1972 Olympic Games. For 14 years he taught in South Africa but his outspoken opposition to segregated sports and his refusal to advocate theories of Black inferiority led to his being banned from teaching, writing, publishing, and attending social or political meetings.

Later he did time at the infamous Robben Island prison in South Africa after his arrest at a demonstration against the apartheid regime's Olympic Committee. He escaped the clutches of the South African police and fled to Mozambique, where he was recaptured by the Portuguese and returned to South Africa. A second escape attempt resulted in his being shot at point blank range. He lay bleeding on a Johannesburg street for over an hour when the ambulance that arrived shortly after the shooting left him to die because he was not white. After serving a total of 16 months at Robben Island, Dr. Brutus was released and exiled from South Africa.

Since entering this country in 1966 he has systematically exposed U.S. support for the vicious practice of apartheid and most recently he took on his own employer, Northwestern University, around this question.

In May of 1978 Black students at Northwestern began to demonstrate against the university's \$80 million worth of investments in companies doing business with South Africa. Dennis Brutus along with other students, faculty, and administrators formed a committee to continue this struggle. The Ad Hoc Group to End Northwestern Investments in South Africa (AGENISA) began to negotiate with the Board of Trustees. Finally the board agreed to hold a conference on the question of whether or not the university should divest itself of the stock. But when the plans were drawn up by the university's handpicked chairman of the committee, the question of divestiture was dropped. Simultaneously, the Northwestern administration attempted to cut back funds for Afro-American studies and other programs affecting Blacks. These actions ignited protests by hundreds of students.

Especially now when the U.S. has embarked on a full-scale campaign to rehabilitate South Africa in the eyes of world public opinion, Dennis Brutus's activities in exposing the ugly visage of white minority rule can no longer be tolerated by the U.S. government. As was pointed out in the article "From Back Door Mistress to Blushing Bride" (RW No. 106), crucial to this U.S.-directed PR campaign is an effort to portray the apartheid system as being on its way out as the social system in South Africa.

But to hide the political nature of the attack on Dennis Brutus, the U.S. government has maintained that his threatened deportation is nothing but a routine matter, simply the result of his failure to follow proper procedures. Brutus resides in this country under an H-1 visa, a category for foreign born with special skills who work in the U.S., and is required to re-apply each year. Last year, due to circumstances beyond his control, Brutus was unable to file his application on time but was assured that this would not endanger his immigrant status. Then suddenly, last February 6, he was notified by INS that he must leave the country within a month even though by that time his legal papers were all in order. This decision has been appealed by Dennis Brutus, but INS insists on keeping him in the dark as to its status. Inquiries by many others have been answered with the typical runaround, and in the meantime Brutus could be informed of his imminent deportation any day. With this threat hanging over his head, Brutus turned down a summer teaching position in Zimbabwe for fear that he would be denied re-entry to the U.S.

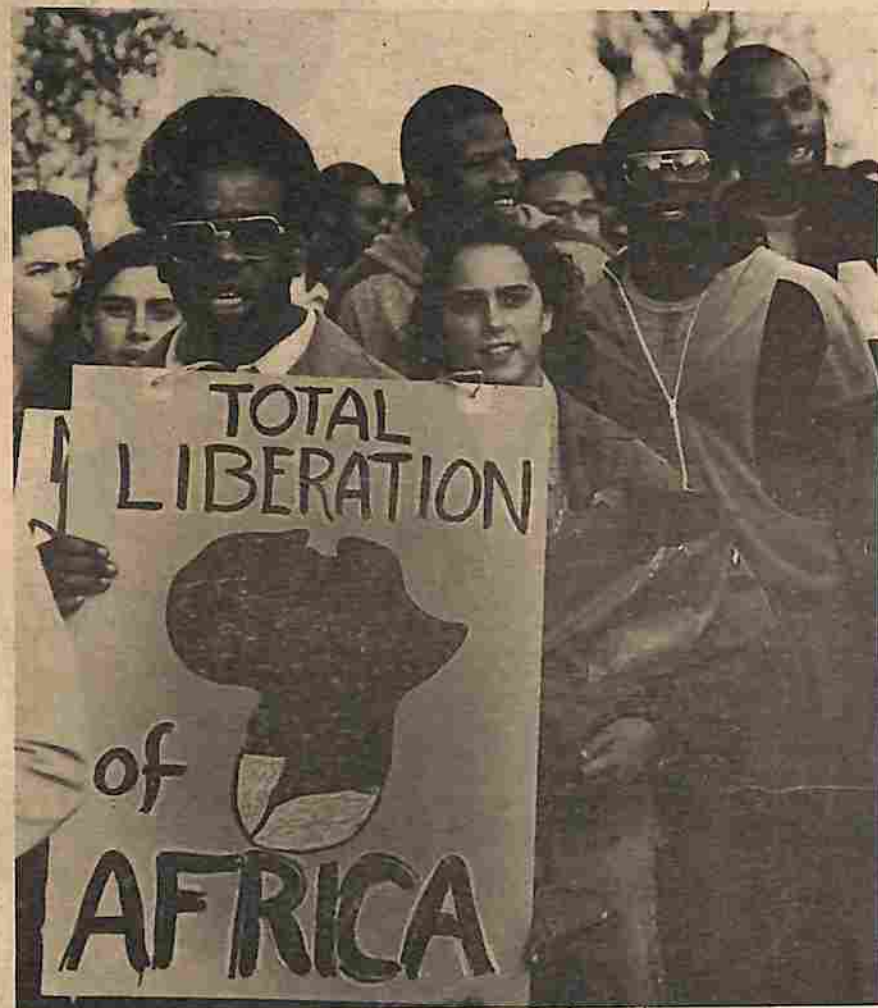
Even after being threatened with deportation, Dr. Brutus continued to agitate against apartheid. A case in point of exactly the kind of exposure of the South African regime that the U.S. does not want occurred in May of this year on the Northwestern campus. Dr. Brutus helped to lead AGENISA in boycotting a conference entitled "U.S. Policy Toward South Africa." It was co-sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and Northwestern University. This was to be a platform for popularizing the latest Rockefeller Foundation report on the relations between the U.S. and South Africa—a report that is nothing but the latest U.S.

public relations attempt to beautify South Africa's hideous features. The conference was to act as a vehicle to win honest intellectuals and students to the "new" U.S. policy toward South Africa. It was planned as a highly prestigious affair, a gathering place for prominent spokesmen of the U.S. ruling class, including George McGovern and former UN ambassador Donald McHenry. But the activities of AGENISA succeeded in turning this calculated whitewash of the South African regime into a dismal failure.

Prior to the conference AGENISA held a teach-in to build for the boycott which was attended by more than 150 people. People arriving for the opening of the conference were greeted by a spirited demonstration of 150 Black

Northwestern students, and also some whites, who were militantly urging a total boycott. Four intellectuals scheduled to appear as speakers boycotted the conference at the last minute, and large numbers of people were turned away.

The threatened deportation of Dennis Brutus is a clear statement from the U.S. government that opposition to South Africa is not permissible. This action is to stand as a warning of what lies in store for anyone who dares to criticize the regime. But already this warning is having the opposite of the intended effect, as artists, writers, professors and poets have reacted with outrage to the vengeful treatment of Dr. Brutus. Recently these forces united to form the Dennis Brutus Defense Committee, which is determined to stop the U.S. government from executing this deportation. □



Northwestern University students protest conference held to discuss Rockefeller foundation report on South Africa.

900 Athletes

Sports. The American way out of the ghetto. The perfect example of the equality and opportunity of America. Well... "You can work out the odds with a pencil," says Harry Edwards. "Less than 900 Black athletes were earning a living in sports—and not more than 1,500 overall including coaches and trainers. By comparison, there are perhaps 3 million Black youths between (the ages of) 13 and 22 who dream of a career as an athlete. The odds are 20,000 to 1 or worse. Statistically you have a better chance of getting hit by a meteorite in the next 10 years than getting work as an athlete." Harry Edwards is a professor at U.C. Berkeley and was the main organizer of the Black athletes' protest at the 1968 Olympics. (In case someone might doubt his statistics, the skeptical *L.A. Times* writer who reported this said he also checked it out and it added up.)

And then of course there is the fact that of these 900 only a handful are really making it. Most are not, and of those that are, only a few have more than a short time for glory and financial reward.

900 full-time paid athletes. That's an awfully small material base on which to build sandcastles of torturing lies and

racist stereotypes of all sorts. And the ruling class has played it from every angle: "Sports, the way out of the ghetto"; or "Blacks are crowding whites out of sports—so root for the Celtics, they've got WHITE stars"; or "Black people are good at running, jumping and other physical things, like low-paid manual labor." A thousand lies from a thousand angles. Their purpose is to maintain an ideological justification for the national oppression of Black people, and, in no small part, to provide a safety valve, an illusion of a way out, to keep the anger at this situation from erupting.

And now for other illusions. Jesse Jackson and some others conclude from this that somehow this situation is the fault of Black people's pursuit of the wrong careers. If only Black people would straighten themselves up (so this argument goes) and try to be doctors and lawyers they would find that they would be improving their stature in America. Are you kidding, Jesse Jackson? Since the Bakke decision, etc., it hardly seems necessary to point out that this is yet another torturing lie—and one told with the same overall social purpose—"Keep your faith in America and cool it!" If some further statistics

are necessary to make this point, the fact is that while Black people make up 60% of the National Basketball Association, they are less than 4% of the doctors and lawyers. While they are about 35% of Major League baseball they are less than 2% of engineers. While making up about 40% of the National Football League, they are less than 11% of high paid construction workers. At U.C. Berkeley, Harry Edwards points out, "Of the 4,800 instructors... 19 are Black."

This is clearly no accident, no "bad career choice" by Black people; this is capitalism, with its national oppression and general feature of the separation of mental and manual labor—a distinction with class markings that will only be overcome with communism, the abolition of classes worldwide.

To say this is a result of inadequate efforts by Black people to get an education is another well-oiled lie. The 1980 Census figures revealed that in the decade 1970-1980, Black enrollment in colleges nearly doubled. In 1977, a larger proportion of Blacks than whites, age 18-24, were enrolled in school. But to get a hint of the real meaning and the purpose behind this by the imperialists, look at the unemploy-

ment figures. In 1977, of 30.5 million whites ages 16-24, 18.6 million were employed for an employment/population ratio of 61%. This white group's unemployment rate was 11.3%. The figures for Black people in the same year and age grouping were: employment/population ratio of 37%, and an unemployment rate of 33%.

The meaning behind all these figures is clear. As the Census itself admits, "much of the upsurge in Black college enrollment reflected a rapid increase in part-time students"—junior colleges, etc. Coming off the shaking the ruling class received from the Black rebellions of the 1960s, and using some of the economic reserves they had available at that time (and which are now diminishing), the imperialists began a massive "keep them off the streets" and "keep their hopes in America" program. For the masses of Black people, while some may have had their hopes built up, national oppression has continued and increased.

The solution to all this has nothing to do with "choosing a better career than sports"; the solution has everything to do with choosing the path of proletarian revolution. □

BEDLAM AT THE BALLET

Aboard the luxury yacht of publisher Malcolm Forbes, Prince Charles and Nancy Reagan admired the view of the Statue of Liberty and "nibbled," according to the *New York Times* (America's newspaper of record) on "cold beef loin, Long Island duckling, cold Maine lobster, avocado mousse, cornbread and California strawberries with New Jersey heavy cream."

Below in the East River, Navy scuba divers swam in schools, searching for possible mines. Surrounding the yacht, which also carried the chief executives and families of U.S. Trust, Heinz, IBM, Saks Fifth Avenue, Texaco, Merrill Lynch, and other U.S. royalty, was a flotilla of fire, police and Coast Guard launches. 30 police helicopters circled overhead. (Forbes has complained that on two previous attempts to navigate the Harlem River, his yacht has been shot at, and people lining the shores have hurled rocks, garbage and other debris.)

Upon departing from the yacht, Prince Charles complained that "I ate too much." He simply had to flee to his Waldorf Towers apartment for a nap; the evening reception at Avery Fisher Hall and the Royal Ballet production of "Sleeping Beauty" which was to follow, promised to be a bit of a strain.

Whether the Prince slept well, or whether he tossed, turned and sweated like a man haunted by nightmares, we do not know. Even the *Times* omits these details. In any event, his real nightmare was still waiting for him when he woke up.

The House of Commons' Frantic Action

London. Last week, the British House of Commons approved a new bill that would prevent convicted prisoners from running in elections for Parliament. Not surprisingly, this little bill was introduced right after jailed political prisoner and Irish Republican Army member Bobby Sands was elected as an MP earlier this year in a stunning blow to British imperialism. As is well-known, Sands subsequently died in Maze Prison near Belfast after a long hunger strike protesting the treatment of Irish political prisoners—an event that sent shockwaves around the world. This bill would now disqualify anyone serving a prison sentence of one year or more from being nominated for election.

Obviously, Sands' election and the threat of more such moves by IRA hunger strikers was more than an embarrassment to the British imperialists. (Two more hunger strikers were recently elected to the Irish Parliament in the south). Clearly the British were not worried about some sort of legislative reform that these men could initiate. This was hardly the question, and in fact, the IRA hunger strikers' use of the electoral arena as an avenue of revolutionary political struggle was one of the few such examples of this in the world in recent years. Unlike revisionists and other opportunists, their message was not "Vote for me, I'll set you free"; it was political exposure. And this exposure of British imperialism—particularly in the face of their campaign to paint the IRA as a bunch of criminal terrorists with no popular support—has drawn blood.

This frantic little action by the House of Commons only furthers the exposure. □

And not only for him. For weeks prior to Prince Charles' scheduled 24-hour fairytale visit to New York City, the "heavy cream" of New York society had been polishing its glass slippers. Society columns served as the forum for great debates over vexing questions of protocol. Are the wives really expected to curtsy to the Prince? Must the girls wear those long white gloves to even take his hand? After all, let's not forget who we are... all the same, a curtsy does convey a certain old world charm

A 2000-man security force had to be called into being in order to prevent any unpleasantness from marring the Prince's brief stay. The force included 1725 police, a special State Department security contingent, a squad of Secret Service men assigned to guard Nancy, and special detachments from the Navy and the Coast Guard. The cost of the

security arrangements for the day was estimated at \$300,000 by New York City's chief of police.

"The official nervousness is an understandable one," observed the *New York Daily News* on the eve of the Prince's arrival. "Although Charles is here for a gala celebration at Lincoln Center—where he will attend the reception, ballet performance and an outdoor ball—the threat of violence never lurks far away"

Jennifer Penney, the dancer assigned to the lead role of "Princess Aurora" in *Sleeping Beauty*, a 19th-century ballet designed to glorify the monarchy, rehearsed her solo at the Met, striving to polish the "porcelain delicacy" of her movements with a "silvery edge." Miss Penney, and the male lead, David Wall, would make their debut before the Prince, although the ballet had actually opened two nights earlier. The top cast

was being saved for Charles.

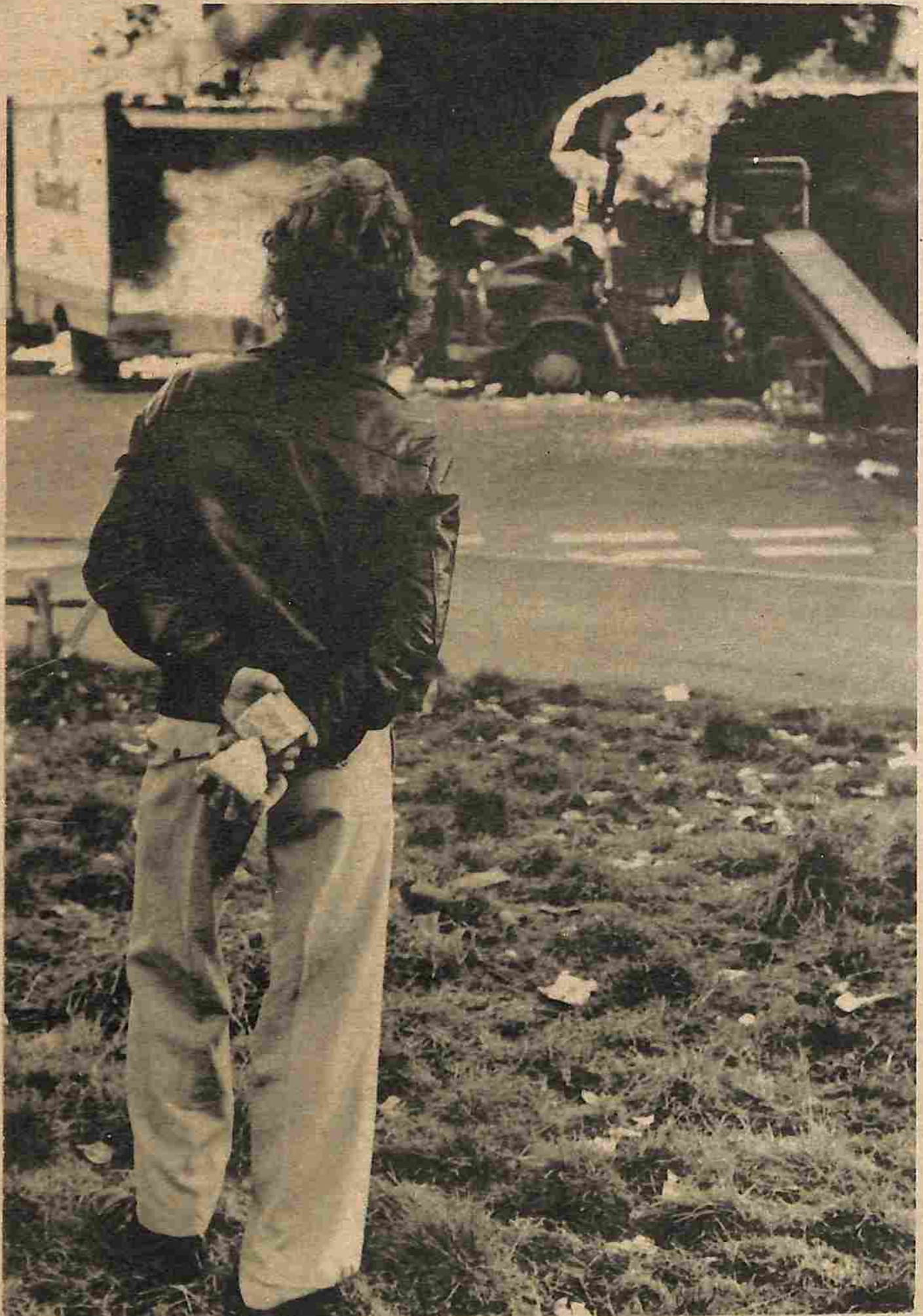
While the "Romantic Vision" scene was being honed to perfection, Sean Sands, Elizabeth O'Hara and Malachy McCreesh arrived in New York. All three had brothers, Bobby Sands, Patsy O'Hara, and Raymond McCreesh—who starved to death in the hunger strike of IRA political prisoners at Maze Prison in Belfast.

The three were demanding the chance to meet with the Prince "on neutral ground." When the corpse of Patsy O'Hara was delivered to his family, according to Elizabeth, his eyes had been burned out with cigarette butts.

The British press office in Manhattan issued a brief reply:

"His Highness won't grant an interview, it would be unconstitutional. The royal family is not allowed to become involved in politics."

Continued on page 19



Bristol? Brixton? Belfast?

Photo from a postcard from Northern Ireland

The Fundamental Strategic (Imperialist) Perspective in Asia

Continued from page 5

no problem for the revisionists, since they had already pledged to do just that when Premier Zhao toured Southeast Asia earlier this year. The Thai Communist Party's radio station located inside China was shut down in 1979.

Despite some outwardly bellicose bluster from the Chinese side just prior to Haig's arrival to the effect that "we would rather not buy U.S. weapons than agree to continue U.S. interference in China's internal affairs by selling weapons to Taiwan," this issue was largely pushed aside during the three-day talks. "The time and attention devoted to that has been minimal compared to everything else we have been talking about," explained one official in Haig's group. But just hours after Haig had predicted in a Peking news conference that there will be "a major expansion of Sino-U.S. cooperation and friendship," Reagan reaffirmed in a Washington news conference that the U.S. will uphold the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act, which authorizes the continuation of "unofficial" relations with Taiwan and sale of "defensive" weapons. It was a signal that the U.S. was not about to drop its \$800 million a year military sales to Taiwan, which has been referred to as "a rather impregnable aircraft carrier in a vital sea lane," and that the U.S. will use this threat of improving ties with Taiwan to wring further concessions out of the revisionists.

Overall, it is clear that the U.S. imperialists have taken an important strategic decision vis-a-vis China, as a part of their inter-imperialist rivalry with the Soviets. In our last article on Haig's trip (RW No. 109) we laid out both sides of the dispute over this within U.S. ruling circles but summed up that "Although it is unclear if a consensus has been reached on this question yet, the trend seems to be to strengthen the U.S. position in both China and Taiwan, although major arms shipments to China will probably not happen." It is now clear that the last conclusion was not correct. While the U.S. media reaction to the arms sales agreement indicates that disputes will continue within the ruling class and things will be taken step by step (partly also to keep bargaining pressure on both China and the Soviets), a consensus seems to have been reached. This was further indicated by a series of obviously carefully timed and orchestrated statements by Reagan administration officials around the same time as Haig's trip. All of them marked yet another round of threats and measures by the U.S. in war preparations against the Soviets. Reagan himself, as Haig was leaving China, referred to the Poland situation as marking "the first beginning cracks" in Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. This was a "no holds, no spheres of influence barred" type threat to their rival imperialists' interests. On June 19, Secretary of Defense Weinberger made more statements on U.S. armaments, "We must move very rapidly to be ready with what we have and to bring on to line additional strength right away." Reagan's appointee to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency said last week before Congress that it would be at least March 1982 before the administration would even be able to begin formal negotiations with the Soviets to limit strategic weapons, "I didn't know anyone (in the administration) who knows what it is yet that we want to negotiate about." There was obviously a globally coordinated message to the Soviets being sent out. However, more is involved here than "tough negotiating posture," and the events of the past two weeks underscore the seriousness and speed with which both the U.S. and the Soviets are preparing to actually face off in world war.

Soviet Reaction

It is still too early to tell what the Soviet Union's overall response to these U.S. initiatives in China is going to be. But referring to the news report of electronic intelligence stations in China, Soviet Union's Tass News Agency accused the Chinese of being "voluntary agents of the imperialists' intelligence services," and called this a "disgraceful role." Of course the Soviet rulers would like to see China serve such a "disgraceful role" in the service of Soviet imperialist interests, not those of the U.S. Hoping to exploit the fears of some ASEAN regimes about a strong China, the Soviets—for propaganda purposes—characterized the decision to lift restrictions on arms sales not so much as a threat to the Soviet Union but as a threat to Southeast Asia. "There is little doubt that the (U.S.-China) alliance is being built on the basis of expansionism spearheaded in the first place against the Asian nations neighboring upon China," warned the Tass News Agency.

Within China, there are forces who argue for reducing contradictions with the Soviet Union in order to ease the pressure created by the presence of half a million Russian troops as well as a huge deployment of tanks, aircraft and other weaponry poised menacingly on the long northern border. Some also cast doubts on U.S. motives and express fear (with just cause) that the U.S. wants China to be a sponge to suck in and bog down a significant section of the Soviet military. Being reduced to a "disgraceful role" might very well be the words used by these forces to attack Deng and the recent developments. The forces led by Deng quickly returned fire on such attacks with an article in a June 17th *People's Daily* which accuses the Soviets of reneging on the 1969 agreement to negotiate boundary disputes. Written by the Deputy Chief of the Chinese team in the original negotiations, the article states that the Soviets' actions on the border issue are "not only malicious but also dangerous, reeking of expansionism and gunpowder," and concludes that "the military and hegemonistic policy that the Soviet Union carries out against China are obviously the fundamental obstacle to the settlement of the Sino-Soviet border disputes and the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations." Some bourgeois analysts, for example in the *Washington Post* and the *London Times*, have interpreted this article as an offer by the Chinese to resume negotiations. Considering the harsh tone of the article, as well as the fact that on the same page there appeared several letters denouncing Russian-backed Vietnamese "aggression," this interpretation seems to miss the mark. However the possibility of China switching sides still exists and in fact might increase as the Soviet Union steps up its pressure, the U.S. calls for more concessions and the internal contradictions in the revisionist regime intensify. In any case, the appearance of the *People's Daily* article is a sure indication that the pro-Soviet voices are loud enough to require a quick and stern countermeasure.

Vietnam

Haig's trip to Manila to confer personally and collectively with the foreign ministers of ASEAN is a marked departure from the posture being taken by the U.S. in this region in the recent past period. Since being defeated in the Vietnam War and suffering worldwide exposure, the U.S. imperialists have tried to keep a low profile, even as they continued to pursue their interests.

Southeast Asia is an important source of such key materials as tungsten, magnesium, tin, rubber and oil. Control of the Straits of Malacca means the control of shipping lanes from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea. This is a passage for Mid-East oil,

the lifeblood for Japanese imperialism. The passing of Vietnam fully into the Soviet camp, with an excellent naval facility at Cam Ranh Bay (built by the U.S. during the Vietnam War) falling into Soviet hands, put the importance of this region into even sharper focus and raised the stakes for the U.S., forcing it to take a more direct role to not only offset the inroads the Soviet Union had made in Vietnam but to make some new advances for its own interests in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. also wants to seize on what it sees as a good opportunity to exploit the enormous political, economic and military difficulties Vietnam is presently mired in. The Soviet Union pumps \$4 million a day into Vietnam just to keep it afloat. There is a serious food shortage, and Vietnamese officials admit widespread unrest as a result of this. Vietnam also faces a difficult situation militarily: 250,000 of its best troops are deployed on the northern border with China, 200,000 are in Kampuchea to back up the Heng Samrin regime, a sizeable force is stationed in Laos and a big force must be kept within Vietnam itself to deal with rising unrest.

While still in Peking, John Holdridge, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs, said bluntly that the American objective in Southeast Asia was "to get Vietnam out of Cambodia, and the Soviet Union out of Vietnam," and that the U.S. will seek "to find ways to increase political, economic, and, yes, military pressure on Vietnam." Once in Manila, Haig continued in the same vein, saying he had come to confer with the ASEAN ministers on "the dangerous activities of Vietnam with the encouragement and with the support of the Soviet Union." Haig pledged that the U.S. was opposed to "any economic assistance to Vietnam and said ("in an icy tone and with vigorous gestures" in the words of the *New York Times*) "The U.S. sees no great value—in fact we see just the opposite—in letting them have their cake and eat it too." The U.S. recently rejected a request from an American relief agency to ship 250 tons of wheat to Hanoi and is lobbying to cut off aid passing through the United Nations.

Kampuchea Strategy

Haig is also said to have discussed coordinating strategy for a UN conference on Kampuchea scheduled to take place in New York on July 13. Vietnam and the Soviet Union have already refused to attend. One of the proposals being discussed within the U.S. bloc is the formation of a united front of forces opposed to the Vietnam-backed Heng Samrin regime. The united front would pull together the Khmer Rouge, former ruler Sihanouk and the anti-communist Khmer Serei. No definitive views on the united front came out in the Manila meeting, indicating there is still some disagreement on how exactly to proceed on it.

While the U.S. itself took a hard-line anti-Vietnam stand, even posing the threat of a military solution to the Kampuchea question, it was also working through the ASEAN to offer the carrot to Vietnam, raising the prospect of easing the pressure on them if they cooled, if not cut off, ties to the Soviet Union. A communique issued by the ASEAN ministers urged Vietnam to reconsider its refusal to attend the UN conference in July and stressed the benefits of regional and international acceptability that might result from a more conciliatory attitude. A negotiating strategy was also put forward (made public by the Japanese foreign minister who attended the ASEAN meeting, part of the increasingly visible role Japan is playing in this area for the U.S. bloc), detailing a plan for step-by-step Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, introduction of an international peace-keeping force, elections under U.S. observation and repatriation of refugees. But it is clear that there is no big split between "hard-line" U.S. and "conciliatory" ASEAN. According to the *New York Times*, reporters were told when Haig met privately with the ASEAN ministers, that the American stand was greeted with "total unanimity, total support and total enthusiasm for what we are doing." While some of

the ASEAN countries have some disagreements with the U.S., for instance feeling that putting too much pressure on Vietnam might push it even further into the arms of the Soviets, they also realize that they cannot deal with Vietnam, the most militarily powerful country in the region (aside from China) without U.S. backing.

Philippines

While in Manila, Haig also gave the stamp of approval to the Marcos dictatorship. Haig delivered a letter from Reagan congratulating Marcos on an absolutely phony "landslide" re-election to a new six-year term and presently legitimized his continued dictatorship after the equally phony "lifting" of martial law last January. To top it off, Vice-President Bush will represent Reagan at Marcos' inauguration on June 30th. The Philippines, with its Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, is an indispensable part of the U.S. war machinery in the Asia Pacific region. The American endorsement of Marcos on the heels of the widely-exposed sham election was a symbolic gesture to show that the U.S. highly values this puppet. Haig said to Marcos, "You can indeed be confident that there is a new America, an America that understands that it must once again bear its burden that history has placed on our shoulders, to lead and to shore up when necessary... those endangered in the front lines with the great risk we face today." But of course the only undying loyalty the U.S. imperialists have is to their own interests and they will keep other options open, for instance, continue to keep contact with the bourgeois forces opposed to Marcos. Still this endorsement was a slap in their—let alone the Philippine people's—faces, especially since there had been a major boycott of the election.

The June 12th issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, commenting on the Haig trip, says the politics of the region may be moving toward the U.S. goal of a "strategic consensus in Asia which would knit the U.S., China, ASEAN, and the Australia, New Zealand and United States defense pact (ANZUS) into an informal conglomerate of power in the western Pacific," but warns that "there are dangers in pushing the consensus too fast. For instance, the domestic upheaval following Japanese Premier Genko Suzuki's recent visit to Washington is one reason that Japan had to be dropped from Haig's itinerary. Each of his three official stops is similarly mined with explosive political problems which make putting that consensus on record a delicate task." Indeed the U.S. faces a situation fraught with danger. This danger comes from two sources not just one. The U.S. has not only the rival Soviet imperialists to fear, but also the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the area. One aspect of this was brought out in a June 19th *New York Times* editorial, which noticed that there had been two "high risk additions" to the list of countries the U.S. is supplying arms to in order to contain the Soviet Union, namely "China—communist China—and a \$3 billion aid package to Pakistan... Nations like Pakistan and China can have independent military purposes—toward India or Vietnam, for instance, that may not serve American interests." This little reminder that China is still "communist," if only in name, reveals the continuing concern about the possibility of China switching sides. The editorial is also a call to make sure that the arms the U.S. sends off to its client states are used to further the interests of U.S. imperialism, not narrow regional interests that might be detrimental to the overall interests of U.S. imperialism. And as the contradictions between opposing blocs of imperialist robbers intensify and their regional cronies are increasingly squeezed from all sides, still deeper cracks appear giving the revolutionary forces further opportunities to break through. This area is already marked by revolutionary struggle and is certain to see more. That despite such dangers the U.S. is forced to take big risks to prepare for war is a measure of how quickly things are developing internationally. □

"Foreign Aid" —Not a Bad Deal for Imperialism

Who believes that "foreign aid" and such institutions as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank are "American giveaways" to the underdeveloped world? The imperialists don't. That story may be fine for stirring up red, white and blue fever among the masses, but when these imperialists get down to serious talk among themselves they skip that rhetoric. Below we reprint a section of an interview with former treasury official C. Fred Bergsten, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs at the Treasury under Carter. The interview is in the March 2 issue of World Business Weekly.

WBW: Turning to the World Bank and the IMF, should the US give money to institutions that may not always act

in our best interest?

Bergsten: In terms of our economy, the IMF and the World Bank are important. For each dollar that the US contributes to the World Bank, it makes \$50 available. Out of that \$50, the US gets 20% procurement. So we get about \$10 back for every dollar we pay in.

As for the IMF, in November 1978 the dollar had been under pressure for 18 months, depreciating sharply, adding to our own inflation, and undermining our world leadership. As part of our effort to support the dollar, we borrowed \$3 billion worth of DM and yen from the IMF. So it's not only developing countries that use the IMF to stabilize their economies. □

UC Regents Vote for Nukes

On June 19, four months ahead of schedule, the University of California Board of Regents voted to renew UC's contract with the U.S. government to operate the government's nuclear weapons laboratories at Livermore, California and Los Alamos, New Mexico. Then the regents, whose votes were drowned out by 150 chanting protesters, fled their room at the Los Angeles Convention Center to reconvene in a room barricaded by cordons of riot-equipped police.

Since the Manhattan Project in 1943 which designed and built the first atomic bombs, used to incinerate hundreds of thousands at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, every single one of the 30,000 weapons in the U.S. nuclear arsenal has been designed under the auspices of the University of California. But since the '60s this has become a focus of mass protest by thousands of UC students and others.

In the 1960s, with the surging movement against the Vietnam War, the naked complicity of universities with the war in Vietnam and other crimes of

U.S. imperialism was broadly exposed. One product of this was a student referendum at all nine branches of the UC, in which two-thirds of the students voted to have UC sever all ties with the nuclear weapons labs. In the fall of 1971, as the five-year contract was due to expire, 2000 marched from Berkeley to Livermore, protesting the weapons research. In 1976, there were demonstrations when the contract was renewed. And by 1979, the weapons lab at Livermore was again hit with a demonstration of 3000.

So this year the regents, composed of the likes of U.S. Attorney General William French Smith and other bourgeois political representatives, weren't taking any chances. The vote was a foregone conclusion: the regents' only problem was how to get the vote out of the way as quickly and quietly as possible. They first tried to vote at their May meeting, but protests hit several UC campuses. At UC Santa Barbara, 26 students were arrested in a sit-in protest. The regents had to table the vote until June, when school would be out. □

Bloated Beast

Continued from page 10

Mexican Immigrants

In light of the preceding, it is easier to understand specifically the kind of considerations that are going into the shaping of the Reagan administration's policy on Mexican immigration. In addition to factors influencing immigration to the U.S. generally, there are several specific factors with regard to Mexican immigration particularly. First is the fact that historically, particularly in the Southwest, Mexican workers—many of them "illegals"—have been employed heavily in certain industries and not only in agriculture. Much of this work is seasonal and needs a guaranteed already trained work force, willing to take these back-breaking, very low wage jobs from year to year. Secondly, are very important political considerations regarding the stability of Mexico itself which has depended on the "safety valve" of immigration to the U.S. to prevent economic and political disaster (see *RW* No. 109 on López Portillo's visit). And third, is the simple fact that it is more difficult to control immigration across the 2,000-mile border between the U.S. and Mexico than other immigration and massive steps to do so have a big potential political price.

Thus while the bourgeoisie is forced on the one hand by its own deepening and very severe economic crisis to begin to limit immigration generally, including Mexican immigration, there are the contradictory economic and political necessities that have been gone into above. So the plan is to rationalize and restrict Mexican immigration somewhat right now, though this could be much further restricted in the future.

In particular, the pilot plan to allow 50,000 Mexican workers to legally work in the U.S. on a temporary seasonal basis is not a move toward a massive European "guest worker" program. The U.S. is not really into encouraging large numbers of "guests" these days. Nor is the seasonal worker plan the same as the massive "bracero" program—a program that took place in a period in which a large labor supply was needed due first to World War 2 and then due to the rapid economic expansion after the war. The seasonal worker plan is, however, a definite move in the direction of rationalizing and controlling the seasonal influx of Mexican immigrants with the government acting as a virtual slave-labor contractor. This

move and other proposed measures like the "amnesty" plan are also meant to at least demonstrate some restraint in U.S. immigration policy which is very important to the situation facing Mexico and its leaders, like López Portillo. It is also important to note that the seasonal worker plan and the "amnesty" plan, even if enacted to the fullest (which will by no means happen), would only recognize with imperialist legality what already exists de facto to a much greater extent than is sanctified by these programs.

Finally, whatever plans the U.S. comes up with will do nothing to stop the development of the economic and political contradictions they face around their immigration problem. Even measures that are to some degree successful in the short run will only sharpen other contradictions and set them up for far worse. For example, even if they were actually able to sharply restrict or even turn around the growing immigration from Mexico this would have a dramatic effect on the stability of Mexico, not to mention the immediate political ripples this would have among the masses of Mexican people, Chicano people, and others on this side of the border. And the status quo too is not acceptable, as the very measures they have taken to stave off the development of the crisis here are turning into their opposite now. Thus, they are faced with some very vexing problems and caught in the jaws of a situation truly beginning to spin out of control. As all this is developing, the inevitable influx of immigrants both from Mexico and other countries will continue to have a profound influence on the political situation in this country lending great strength to the revolutionary movement here. Yes, the inevitable tendency of capitalism to break down national boundaries, albeit ruthlessly and forcibly attracting immigrants on the basis of severe economic and political compulsion, is indeed fundamentally a profound curse for the bourgeoisie—and a great plus for those gravediggers of bourgeois society, the proletarians of all nationalities. □

Footnotes

1. Lester C. Thurow, *The Zero-Sum Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), pp. 62-63
2. Emma Rothschild, "Reagan and the Real America", *The New York Review*, February 5, 1981.

Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black
Nationalist
with
Communist
Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

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IRAN: The In-Fighting and the

Continued from page 1

ed, and 600 arrested.

After the demonstration of the 20th, street fighting erupted in nearly every major city in Iran. The Hesbollah have been roaming the streets armed with machetes, knives, and pipes, attacking any sign of protest—even assaulting people at random, in an effort to create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation. The government has attacked and arrested hundreds of opponents of the regime—from bourgeois opposition figures aligned with Bani Sadr (including shutting down the newspaper of ex-Prime Minister Bazargan and beating up former Khomeini aide Yazdi) to progressive writers and intellectuals and leftist revolutionaries; some 42 people have been executed so far, including the progressive writer Saeed Soltanpour, whose poems were read at poetry readings attended by thousands during the early mass protests in the fall of 1977 before the uprising that overthrew the Shah.

Various forces in Iran have responded to this assault by calling on-the-spot demonstrations and waging street battles with the Pasdaran and the Hesbollah—in some cases armed—that have seen hundreds killed and wounded. In the cities of Hamadan and Qazvin, strikes by industrial and government workers have virtually shut down the cities.

The Roots of the Conflict

The ouster of Bani Sadr, and the IRP's consolidation of power, is the coming to a head of a battle that has raged since the revolution shattered the Shah's monarchical political system and dispersed the old ruling classes, and rival factions of the Iranian bourgeoisie—who had allied to lead the movement to overthrow the Shah—began contending to establish a new political system under their domination.

On one side of this battle have generally stood the more secular, openly pro-Western sections of the Iranian bourgeoisie, typified by the National Front, the Freedom Movement led by Bazargan, and ex-Khomeini aides such as Bani Sadr, Ghobsehd, and Yazdi. While there have been and continue to be different political lines and factions within this grouping, they have generally favored forming a Western-style bourgeois political system, with only minor changes in the government and social system left over from the Shah, and establishing close ties with imperialism, albeit with more freedom for the Iranian bourgeoisie in the relationship than existed under the comprador rule of the Pahlavis.

Pitted against them have been a section of the Shi'ite clergy and various other political forces, including some landlords and old compradors grouped around the Islamic Republic Party, who have fought for the establishment of an Islamic-style bourgeois dictatorship, with the IRP section of the clergy playing a big role in running the government and the economy. Each side, too, has been riddled with contradictions and has been made up of various bourgeois forces, including those aligned with different imperialist powers.

In the struggle for power between these two bourgeois political factions, the IRP has been steadily gaining ground on their more secular rivals since the early days of the Islamic Republic. The IRP has taken one position in the government after another from them until only the Presidency, the directorship of the Central Bank and the formal control of the armed forces remained in their hands, while the IRP controlled the Majlis (parliament), the radio and TV, most govern-

ment ministries and the judiciary. The seizure of the presidency, the central bank and the command of the armed forces sealed the IRP's control over the state apparatus. Furthermore, most large industries and banks are either controlled by the state or the Mostazafin Foundation (previously the Pahlavi Foundation), which is now also controlled by the IRP; 30 to 40% of import-export trade is controlled through the Islamic import-export trading company headed by Ayatollah Beheshti, among other IRP leaders; and the IRP also has control of the Shah's land holdings, which were the largest in the country, and therefore has a further acquired stake in feudal and semi-feudal relations.

There were several factors in the IRP's success. For one thing, they had a grassroots political machine, including control of the mosque network and mass organizations such as the revolutionary committees that took form during the revolution, as well as their own military force, the Revolutionary Guards, now over 60,000 strong, that their rivals couldn't match. They had the mantle of being the true practitioners of Islam, and followers of Khomeini—both of which had gained tremendous popularity as a result of the victory of the revolution. And finally, cognizant of the depths of anti-imperialist sentiment among the Iranian people, and dependent on the urban poor and lower middle classes as their social base, the IRP hypocritically supported some of the masses' struggles against imperialism in order to knock their more openly conciliatory competitors from power. The struggle around the seizure of the U.S. embassy was a case in point; the IRP went along with it in public, and used it to knock down the Bazargan government, which had publicly opposed it.

Khomeini's Role

Although Khomeini has some sharp differences with the IRP, tending to take a more nationalist, anti-imperialist stance at certain junctures of the revolution, he has in fact aided the clerics of the IRP in their drive to monopolize power, largely because for him the clergy represent the vehicle for the creation of an Islamic Republic. From the outset, Khomeini allowed the aura of his name to be associated with the IRP; he consistently shielded the clerics from the wrath of the masses, although sometimes chiding them to not discredit Islam with their blatantly power-hungry, reactionary actions; and he has, after balancing the different bourgeois factions for some two years, come out more and more in recent weeks on the side of the IRP, in fact administering the *coup de grace* to Bani Sadr by dismissing him, albeit regretfully: "If—God forbid—a son or daughter of the Prophet were found guilty of theft, Mohammed himself would not have hesitated to cut his or her hand off . . ."

This is all a telling exposure of the limitations, vacillations and ultimate inability of even the more nationalist sections of the bourgeoisie in an oppressed nation to lead the revolution forward. The contradictions ripping away at Iranian society have forced Khomeini, perhaps against his desires, to promote the very forces that will lead to the demise of his vision of an independent Islamic Republic and to surrender to foreign imperialism—Khomeini's sworn enemy. Khomeini's leadership of the Iranian revolution stands as testimony to the still young and relatively weak character of the proletarian revolutionary forces and the international communist movement, and of the need for all such forces internationally to step up their work and their

leadership of the revolutionary struggle.

Despite the IRP's predominance in the government, they were driven, in recent months, by the profound contradictions gripping Iranian society—contradictions exacerbated by the splits in the government and the contention of rival imperialist blocs for control of Iran—to completely smash their rivals centered around Bani Sadr in an attempt to solidify their hold on the country. For instance, Iran is wracked by a serious economic crisis, with inflation running between 33% and 50% a year; industrial production is down 1/3 from the past year; the government is facing a possible deficit of \$18 billion; and the country's foreign exchange reserves are down from \$10 to \$4 billion. Yet conflicting economic programmes and the struggle to seize control of Iran's economic lifelines have further created economic chaos.

These economic problems have been intensified by the imperialist attacks on the country, in particular the U.S.-sponsored Iraqi attack, which has cost Iran an estimated \$16 billion in the last nine months and created some 2 million refugees—nearly 5% of the population. All the while, however, splits within the government have prevented even the naming of a foreign minister, much less any agreement on how to pursue foreign policy issues such as the war with Iraq.

And most fundamentally, these continued splits—with each side being forced to mobilize, to a certain degree, the masses against their rivals, and in particular Bani Sadr's increasingly vociferous criticism of the IRP for being dictators who have revived torture—have kept alive and fueled unrest among the masses, which is something both sides fundamentally oppose as a road block to their grasp for total political power.

The dilemma confronting these political factions in Iran reflects the bourgeoisie's inability to mobilize the Iranian people to break free from imperialism and transform society, and the continued assault of both superpowers. And in turn, the infighting in the government intensifies their difficulties, making it impossible for either side to rule without crushing the other, and suppressing the masses—further confirming the bourgeoisie's inability in the present era to lead the democratic revolution to thoroughly defeat imperialism.

There are real political differences between the "third-worldist," social-democratic Bani Sadr and the clerics of the IRP, but these are well within the pale of differences within groupings of the bourgeoisie. And Bani Sadr's vehement opposition to the IRP, which has taken more militant shape only in the last several months, is largely a function of the fact that he is being forced from power. For example, Bani Sadr now condemns the clergy for their dictatorial methods; and while from time to time he has favored a more political approach in suppressing the masses, only a few short months ago he presided together with the IRP in attacks on the progressive press and leftist organizations. The ex-president now "regrets" the Iranian government's vicious assaults on the Kurdish people, but it was not long ago that he himself was the commander of the same armed forces that launched the attacks. Bani Sadr has criticized the IRP's economic policies as promoting dependence on imperialism, yet Bani Sadr has put forward a program of relying on European imperialist capital and technology to rebuild Iran, and has never favored breaking Iran's ties with the world imperialist banking system. The ex-president assails the clerics for refusing to fight imperialism in the present war

with Iraq; yet most can remember when Bani Sadr stood in opposition to the takeover of the U.S. embassy and the struggle to deepen the anti-imperialist thrust of the revolution, and his open flirtation with the U.S. imperialists in seeking a solution to the crisis. In short, while the differences between Bani Sadr and the IRP are real and significant, Bani Sadr's opposition is that of a bourgeois political figure that is out of power, being forced to rely on the mass struggle to get himself back in.

And for all their anti-imperialist rhetoric, the IRP promises to be no more anti-imperialist than the rivals they so stridently denounce as being soft on the "Great Satan." They have already shown their vacillating nature in their capitulation on the hostages and their opposition to mobilizing the masses in the war with Iraq. And further, as has already been pointed out, in the process of grabbing power, the IRP leaders have gained control of billions in capital through their control of state-owned banks, industries, and trading concessions, and their expropriation of the Shah's lands and businesses.

The top leadership of the IRP are already showing signs of becoming a new comprador bourgeoisie, being drawn into the web of imperialist relations by the strength of Iran's dependence on imperialism and their antagonism to the masses' revolutionary interests. For example, they have recently concluded a huge grain deal with the U.S.; a five-year, one billion-pound deal with Britain's Talbot industries for automobile spare parts; and a large contract with Krupp Steel. And there are reports that they are beginning to bring back foreign advisors and technicians to run their economy.

In fact, by eliminating their rivals and crushing the revolutionary masses, the IRP is paving the way for more thorough and open capitulation to imperialism.

Imperialists' Reaction

Both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet Union, having worked to intensify the contradictions pushing the IRP to grab power and crush the masses, are now trying to maneuver to exploit the situation in their contention to pull Iran into one or the other of their rival war blocs.

In the past the U.S. imperialists have generally preferred to work through the more openly pro-Western secular forces, who are now mainly grouped around Bani Sadr, yet there has been no great outcry from the U.S. imperialists concerning Bani Sadr's fate.

In fact, now that he is losing, the ex-president, whom the U.S. once praised as "reasonable," "democratic," and virtually the only sane politician in Iran, is being ridiculed as a bumbling loser who didn't understand political power, or in the words of a *Chicago Tribune* editorial, a "craven lackey" of Khomeini, "who even looks pitiable with his Groucho Marx moustache and hangdog expression," "who had it coming." Even ex-President Carter got into the act, claiming that Bani Sadr torpedoed a hostage agreement in April of 1980 when he "weakened" in fear of the domestic political consequences of the hostages' release.

This imperialist critique of Bani Sadr, and more significantly the declaration of allegiance to the Islamic Republic by the Iranian army, which is a major bastion of pro-U.S. support in Iran, as well as State Department comments that "stability with the clergy is preferable to civil war with Bani Sadr" and that unrest against the IRP would benefit the Soviets, signals a U.S. tilt toward the IRP, with the imperialists' tack being to deal with the winners of

Fighting to Come . . .

the power struggle and force them to capitulate.

There are advantages for the U.S. in this course. For one thing, the U.S. realizes that the IRP, for all their bluster, are basically a reactionary bourgeois force, riddled with pro-U.S. elements and old Shah forces who are perfectly capable of capitulating to imperialism—as demonstrated by their naming of Major General Valiollah Fallahi, a notorious confidante of the Shah (who is also reported to have served in Vietnam under the U.S. command) as head of the armed forces.

Further, the IRP has made a decisive grab of power, and are intent on ending the revolutionary fires that have raged in Iran for the past 3 years. This, the U.S. imperialists realize, is a prerequisite for any government to come to terms with them, and a course they fully support. Such was indicated by a *New York Times* column, which stated that the fall of Bani Sadr and the IRP's consolidation of power "may produce a less adventurous government in Tehran." Also the IRP is much less politically exposed among the Iranian people than other forces openly associated with U.S. imperialism such as the armed forces. (Such a coup attempt on the part of the army or openly pro-U.S. forces inside or outside Iran would be more immediately recognized as an imperialist adventure by the masses, although the U.S. imperialists have certainly not abandoned such scheming if the occasion should arise to do it.) Along these lines, the unusually cool and "objective" reportage in the U.S. press regarding the IRP power grab is as opportune as it is another example of imperialism's viciousness; one can hardly escape the difference between the reporting on executions taking place in Iran today and the great hue and cry raised by the U.S. when their precious SAVAK agents and butchers were righteously put to death after the insurrection. But of course, the U.S. imperialists are not openly embracing the IRP success at bourgeois politics; for one thing, open U.S. support of the IRP at this point would certainly be the kiss of death for the IRP in Iran, and fundamentally, they haven't yet exhibited sufficient belly-crawling for the U.S. to be sure of them—nor is the situation well in hand in Iran.

This doesn't mean that the U.S. envisions a smooth peaceful capitulation in any case; it will continue to rely upon the bludgeon of the war with Iraq, its general build-up of military forces in the Persian Gulf, continued refusal to ship arms to Iran, and its policy of "non-encouragement" of trade; although if the IRP starts behaving, they could get a reward in the form of renewed U.S. arms shipments and trade.

It is not surprising to see the U.S. imperialists begin to support the clerical-dominated IRP when their denunciations of the clerics as "feudal reactionaries," "obscurantist fanatics," and "mad mullahs" are still ringing in the air. After all, the imperialists have never had any quarrels with reaction, obscurantism, or feudalism—witness the Shah himself, or the King of Saud. What the U.S. imperialists objected to wasn't the IRP's reactionary nature, but the measures they were forced to take against imperialism and the old pro-Shah forces. Now that these same religious figures are moving toward imperialism, we hear little protest against their brutal executions of hundreds of Iranians, and in some quarters the opposition to the IRP has already been dubbed "pro-Soviet terrorism."

The Soviet Union is also deeply involved in events in Iran, and driven by the mirror image of the necessity facing the U.S.—to keep Iran out of the U.S.

bloc and pull it into its own. This has led the Soviets to unite with the IRP to gain influence in the government (largely through the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party) as well as extend diplomatic and economic support to the Islamic Republic (despite the fact that the Iranian government has opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and still refuses to ship it natural gas because the Soviets' price was too low) in an effort to steer the government in an anti-U.S. direction. For example, after the April 1980 U.S. trade boycott, the volume of Iran's trade coming over Soviet transit routes tripled, until by late 1980 they were making up over 30% of Iran's total imports. Soviet allies like Syria and Libya, as well as Vietnam, have also been shipping Iran the arms that have been denied by the U.S. bloc, and the Soviets have offered to do the same. And in the current struggle in Iran, Soviet radio has supported the IRP against the "liberal conciliators," and pro-Soviet forces inside the country, namely the Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen Majority, have joined with the Hesbollah and the Revolutionary Guards in attacking the masses.

Despite their mutual embrace of the IRP, however, both superpowers are fully aware that the situation is in flux, and neither is wedded to having all their eggs in one basket to regain Iran; but both are driven by the necessity of preventing the other side from achieving a decisive victory in Iran.

For the U.S. this means that if the Soviets are gaining ground or the IRP is unable to crush the resistance against it, the U.S. imperialists may be forced to intervene directly, either through the Iranian military (which is not totally bound to the IRP), neighboring states, pro-U.S. forces in exile or inside Iran, or even more directly. Such was the clear drift of a recent *New York Times* editorial, which stated that, "When Iran mocks its own Constitution, and devours a fairly elected President, it brings further discredit to its revolution and instability to the region. . . . It is sad and ominous, not just for Mr. Bani Sadr, but for the Iranian people."

Likewise, the Soviets, despite some gains in influence, don't have hegemo-

ny or even dominance in the IRP, which is to some degree simply trying to use the Soviets as a counterweight to the U.S., perhaps in order to strike a better deal with the U.S. If the IRP dumps the Soviets, once they have control, the Soviets could no doubt consider supporting the Tudeh Party, the Fedayeen Majority, and groups like the KDP in Kurdistan, in revolt against the IRP clerics in the name of fighting U.S. imperialism and reaction. Again, the prospects for the future are for stepped-up contention over Iran.

Revolution Over?

The U.S. imperialists have taken the occasion of the IRP's reactionary grab for power and attacks on the Iranian people to once again proclaim the Iranian revolution—and revolution in general—a disaster, which is now set on a reactionary course for once and for all. "The revolution eats its children," Flora Lewis of the *Times* pontificates, "and the greater the upheaval the greater the gluttony. Iran now . . . is descending into a dictatorship of blood and horror."

There is no doubt that the IRP's triumph, which seems probable at least in the short run, does represent a watershed of sorts in the Iranian revolution, with the consolidation of a more thoroughly reactionary state machinery, undoubtedly more bloody attacks on the Iranian people, and probable capitulation to imperialism.

Yet the IRP's grip on power doesn't promise to be stable, nor the Iranian revolution over, by any means. Already nearly all communist and revolutionary groups in Iran—whether or not and to what extent they support Bani Sadr—have called for the overthrow of the present regime. These forces have grown tremendously during the past several years of struggle, and will pose a formidable challenge even now to the Islamic Republic.

There is also a wide range of forces lining up in opposition to the IRP-dominated government; sections of the bourgeoisie now cut out of power, including Bani Sadr himself, who has called upon the Iranian people to "unanimously resist dictatorship";

most of the Bazaar (Bazaar merchants), who shut down in protest against the attacks on the ex-president; sections of the armed forces, including three Air Force squadrons which declared their allegiance to Bani Sadr, and 20 groups in the Air Force who stated they would refuse to fight against Iraq without Bani Sadr as their commander; many progressive-minded members of the middle classes; and many forces among Iran's minority nationalities, including the Kurdish leader Ezzedin Hosseini, who recently issued a statement offering to protect Bani Sadr if he came to Kurdistan (while at the same time reminding the president of his previous treachery against the Kurds).

Among the workers, peasants, and other sections of the lower classes, hatred of the IRP is growing daily; Beheshti and Rafsanjani were run out of cities recently on the war front, and now Beheshti is afraid to go anywhere without a bevy of bodyguards. Even Khomeini, who has skillfully stayed above the day-to-day squabbles of his allies in the ruling class and maintained the mantle of a revolutionary fighter against imperialism (partly because there are real differences between him and the IRP), is beginning to suffer some loss of popularity, although his hold on the lower classes remains, for now at least, relatively strong.

The present struggle promises to provide rich potential for exposing the bankruptcy of the clerics around the IRP, and the limitations of waging the revolution against imperialism under the leadership of the vacillating classes, including forces like Khomeini, whose prestige and support is still one of the main barriers to the masses taking independent action. The IRP will not have more fundamental success resolving the crisis engulfing Iran than they have had in the past 2-1/2 years, even though their rivals are now out of power; and furthermore, Iran is an area of intense superpower contention which is bound to heat up with the approach of world war. Both these factors, as well as the resistance of the Iranian people, will create new upheavals, and new opportunities for revolutionary forces to advance in the twists and turns of the ongoing process of revolution. □

A Severe Case of Accidental Self-Exposure

(Marquee at the Pussycat Movie Theatre, San Francisco Bay Area)



Crimes Against Women

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and Family Planning—which coincides support for AID. The resolution urges Congress to promote more family planning in other countries and for AID to maintain its separate Office of Population. Feminists find the basic thrust of the resolution to be anti-women with the end result of furthering population control. Feminists are neither in favor of women having children or of not having children. Rather, we are pro-woman and in favor of women deciding when and where to bear children and how many children we will have. We are skeptical of population planners' concerns about women's rights when they stem solely from their goals of reducing the numbers of births. The programs of AID to control the population of third world countries are basically anti-women and against the efforts of people in other countries to run their affairs according to their own needs and values. The United States already thwarts the will of people in other countries such as Chile, Brazil and South Africa, by interfering in their governments and funding corrupt non-democratic dictators because these men are willing to give control of their countries to U.S. and multinational corporations. The American Public Health Association has no business pushing this (and one reason why we are addressing in this paper the American Public Health Association is because it is one organization that is in other ways very much in favor of being anti-organized doctors).

The other thing that we want to talk about is to quote more directly from Ray Ravenhold who is one of the main population control figures, to give you an idea more specifically of how exactly these plans are being carried out.

Claudia: These quotes are taken from an article from the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. The headline is: "U.S. Goal: Sterilize Millions of World's Women." The opening paragraph reads, "The United States is seeking to provide the means by which one quarter of the fertile women in the world can be voluntarily sterilized, the director of the Federal Government's Office of Population said here yesterday. 'As many as 100 million women around the world might be sterilized if these goals are met,' Dr. R. F. Ravenhold, the director, said."

And we have some statistics here on just how this program is working throughout the world.

Edith: Some reports say 3,000 Indian women each year are being sterilized. India is a country that Ray Ravenhold points to with pride as a country which upholds his idea that women if they are given the opportunity, if sterilization is available to them, will take it. The figures come together with those reported by other people of color. 20% of all married Black women are sterilized. In Puerto Rico one third of the women of child bearing age have been sterilized. The figures for Native Amer-

ican women have been reported to be as high as 42%. In foreign countries U.S. AID programs have increased the preparations for population control more than 500% in the last six years while decreasing funding for programs such as agricultural development.

Claudia: These statistics are all included as "voluntary sterilization." This is how he (Ravenhold) refers to it. Indeed, women have not been voluntarily sterilized. Even in Los Angeles itself you cannot call it voluntary sterilization when all over Watts and East L.A. you see huge billboards saying: Bandaid Surgery...Sterilization...Safe, Easy...Back at Work the Next Day; which is wrong and misinformation and coercing women into being sterilized. We don't call that voluntary either.

One group which Ray Ravenhold participated in and which he is greatly in support of is a group called PIEGO, which stands for Program for International Education in Gynecology and Obstetrics. This program is a federally financed training program for foreign doctors. The main purpose of the program is to train doctors in "advanced fertility management techniques, including sterilization"—in other words, using the third world as a training ground for experimental surgery on women. Dr. Ravenhold listed four reasons, including the protection of U.S. economic interests, for why the U.S. should lead in population control efforts. One of these reasons was that population control was needed to "maintain the normal operation of U.S. commercial interests around the world. Without our trying to help these countries with their economic and social development, the workers rebel against a strong U.S. commercial presence," he said. The self-interest thing is a compelling element. Another reason is "the continuation of the population explosion would result in such terrible socio-economic conditions abroad that revolutions would result. These revolutions could be harmful to the U.S.," Dr. Ravenhold suggested.

Edith: Another agency that is funded by AID is the International Fertility Research Program in Chapel Hill. I'd like to read to you some comments that were written after two women from our Health Center visited this organization:

"We drove to IFRP's headquarters at the Research Triangle Park located in a heavily wooded area in North Carolina, near Chapel Hill. The modern buildings are hidden in the woods and house Army research projects, the Environmental Protection Agency and other operations such as IFRP. The building houses a computer containing demographic data on the populations in every country and information on the effectiveness of all birth control methods being studied. Also inside is a small laboratory.

A doctor from India met with us in her Indian sari and launched a 2 1/2-hour candid discussion about how she

manages her responsibilities. She explained that those ideas that she likes she takes with her on her family-planning visits to some 40 countries. Since IFRP is one big field research project, her entire time is spent traveling from clinic to clinic. At the foreign clinics located throughout Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America she will try out a method and see how it works. Mainly, she explained, she is looking for how easy and how inexpensive a method is to administer and if it is effective in reducing pregnancies. She first orders a small study on, say, 300 women. If she thinks this study proves hopeful she will order another study on more women, say, 3,000. This one woman has so much power over what she gets researched and put on the market. One device she openly spoke out against was the Clip used in female sterilization to block the egg tubes. She did not like it because her preliminary results showed that it resulted in too many pregnancies. So she sent a telegram to each clinic which read: 'Stop using Clip,' and they stopped. Of course, we were not surprised to detect bitter resentment when the doctor (who designed the Clip) told us in a separate meeting at his research office at the University of North Carolina how research on an experimental device was stopped because of this woman's arbitrary decision. She showed us a variety of newly developed IUD's including her own, as she dabbles in inventing also. She expressed a concern with women in third world countries and poor women who had just given birth. When they leave the hospital they don't come back. We need to have methods employed right then, she said. She showed us an IUD called post-placental IUD which was strung with catgut and designed to be sewn into the uterus after delivery so it would attach to the uterus and eventually fit the contracted uterus as the catgut disintegrated. The doctor's description of example after example of experimental birth control programs brought home to us the extent that IFRP with the assistance of AID's money determines what methods of birth control women throughout the world will be using. One example of this is a vaginal sponge, a tightly woven sponge, that prevents sperm from entering the cervical canal. She explained that it was effective but it was too expensive to produce. So although there was possibly a safe and simple method of birth control for women, it is not available in this form because of its high cost to the manufacturers and funding agencies."

Claudia: In looking a little further into who is behind this and where the money comes from and where the power comes from, we encountered the World Bank, which purports to be a friendly helping hand, lending money to third world countries to help them develop. In reality what we found out is one condition of the World Bank to lend money; as in 1973, it required that any country applying for World Bank funding also subscribe to the World Bank family planning funding, i.e., read: population control. There's hardly a free helping hand there. All this contrasts so much with what we are trying, what feminists are trying to have women have under our own control, our own reproductive control. As we stated earlier we're not for women having children or not having children. What we want is to be able to determine our own lives. And we see these organizations, backed by U.S. imperialism, keeping all of us from having control over our lives as they are keep-

ing every third world country from determining its own destiny or trying to, unsuccessfully in a number of cases.

Another area that we see influencing is in the area of childbirth. Edith has some notes on some things happening around the country that illustrate that. **Edith:** I think it is pretty apparent to people when abortion rights become chipped away and when we see amendments introduced like the Human Life Amendment that if it were to go through, defining the beginning of life as being conception, any woman who has an abortion or a miscarriage or for any reason doesn't carry that life to term, could be charged with murder. It is sometimes less easy to see how population control is also carried out in the area of forcing women to have children under conditions that are completely in the control of medical, surgical specialists and at the same time are very dangerous. We see that with the increased caesarian section rate which has skyrocketed, doubled, tripled, quadrupled in the last five years. At the same time that the rate of caesarian sections in the hospitals is going straight up—which is one way in itself of discouraging women from having children, the alternative to hospital births—the practitioners who are attending home births are under incredible fire right now. We just learned this morning that one of the few physicians left in the Los Angeles area who attends home births, has had a preliminary injunction against his license yesterday which means he is unable to attend births. He's been brought before the Board of Medical Quality Assurance with the potential of losing his license. He follows a string of doctors around the state and across the country who are either having their hospital privileges taken away or they are being threatened with the loss of their license or both. In California you may also be aware that midwives have been arrested in great numbers and they probably will continue to be so. About a month ago the first lay midwife was found guilty of practicing medicine without a license. This, again, is something that is happening across the country. When we talk about women having a choice and talk about women having control, we're talking about our own lives as well as what is happening around the world.

Claudia: In summary, we accuse Ray Ravenhold of the Agency for International Development, David Rockefeller, International Planned Parenthood Federation, all of the white patriarchal imperialists who keep women from having control over our bodies, we accuse them of the murders, the deaths and the sterility of thousands and thousands, of hundreds of millions of women throughout the world. □

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

Filipino Activists

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tempt to quash anti-Marcos sentiment and suppress anybody threatening their domination of the community. Among those removed was Silme's mother, Ade Domingo, who lost an important post on a Committee of the Filipino Community of Seattle. It was in this situation that the reform slate which included Viernes and Domingo became the predominant force in the leadership of Local 37.

In the wake of these murders, outrage and anger, as well as shock and grief, quickly spread from the Filipino community to the whole city. In the week that followed, hundreds of people from the Filipino community, as well as large numbers of progressive and revolutionary-minded people of all nationalities, attended the memorial and funeral services held for Gene and Silme. At the same time tension is still high, the polarization of the Filipino

community was accelerated by these political assassinations, with the sides largely falling out to whether one is pro or anti-Marcos.

The bourgeois press has dealt with the murders as if they were simply a case of union reformers being killed in a dispute between union members. Particularly revealing was the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* which ran an editorial "condemning" the murders and then a few days later took the opportunity of Philippine "Independence Day" to print an editorial written by the Philippine Consul General glorifying the Marcos regime.

The forces behind these murders—whether unleashed by capitalists perceiving workers out of their control, or flunkies tied directly to the Marcos regime (and behind this, the U.S. government), or, as is likely, both—obviously go far higher than a handful of disgruntled union members. □

"When You're Shown..."

Continued from page 4

fight for their rights. The lesson is that poor people shouldn't have to go and fight for no goddamn good reason, and to terrorize other people and degrade other people and degrade themselves, and not even be explained to or treated decently in the process. So I don't think we should ever forget Vietnam. I think Ron Kovic is stupid. Why should we forget Vietnam? We shouldn't forget World War II either, or Korea. It's all bullshit. Until we start remembering some wars we're gonna have more and more. If we forget Vietnam then we're

gonna be down in El Salvador, South America or in Africa, or Malaysia, supporting the interests of the ruling class. So never forget Vietnam, it showed you the light, it might be the only experience you had where it's so explicit—what's happening in the world. And if you forget about it, you're doing a great disservice to yourself. You're only given one chance sometimes to see the truth; if you allow it to go by maybe you'll never see it again, and the rest of your life you'll live a lie. When you're shown a little bit of the truth, don't let it go by, hang onto it...

BEDLAM

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Imperial Rose Moët & Chandon Champagne, in its rarest vintage, had been flown directly from France, compliments of the manufacturer, for the Prince to sample at the pre-ballet reception. Charles sipped, grinned, and pronounced it superb. Then, we have it from the *Times*, he made his way down a line of honor, sporting a "pink-tipped white carnation in his lapel and a bright blue mottled handkerchief in his breast pocket." The *Times* insists that the women curtsied. "Suzy," one of the *Daily News* gossip columnists, insists that "I didn't see a single American woman curtsy. In almost every case a little bob did the trick."

The issue remains unresolved. In any case, the 1300 guests at the reception and ball, including Fords, Rockefellers, Astors, and dozens of other top families in the American ruling class, Henry Kissinger and numerous other present and former top government officials, filled a "mammoth tent decorated stunningly like an Enchanted Forest," and set up in a park adjacent to the Opera House. The park was circled by hundreds of police, including mounted patrols. Across the street from the Met, at Dante Park, thousands of other people were gathering. The glittering guests in the Enchanted Forest have a name for who, for what, was gathering at Dante Park: "an angry mob."

Many in the crowd at Dante Park had already begun to bang garbage can lids on the sidewalk—which, in Northern Ireland, is traditionally used by spotters to warn IRA men of the approach of British troops.

The demonstration swelled to an estimated 3-5000. Those assembled were marked by their diversity. The great wave of Irish immigration to New York in the 19th and early 20th centuries has made the "Irish question" a permanent feature of the political landscape. Big-time politicians such as Governor Carey—and even Mayor Koch—regularly work the Irish voters with statements in support of "Irish freedom." In Manhattan's Irish bars, customers toss their change into buckets for "medical supplies for Irish relief" and old songs of the Irish rebellion blare from the jukeboxes; the American flag and the flag

of the Irish Republic are both likely to hang on the wall behind the bar. Among many working-class people of Irish descent, a bitter hatred of British rule and support for the armed struggle to overthrow it are still seen as consistent with patriotic loyalty to U.S. imperialism. The Irish struggle is a thing unto itself, a matter of national heritage. But this illusion is also starting to unravel; at the same time as large numbers other than Irish Americans are being swept into the movement in support of the IRA huger strikers and into the whole political debate around Ireland, the anti-imperialist and revolutionary wing of the movement is growing in numbers and in depth.

All these various trends were in evidence at Dante Park—except for the big wheels and bourgeois politicians, who knew enough about the "dangerous" rise in militancy, and the pitfalls of addressing an anti-British crowd while Prince Charles was across the street, to steer clear. (But Mayor Koch didn't go to the reception either; he sent his cultural commissioner.) There were some off-duty Irish cops in attendance, at least ostensibly as "supporters." The organization that had called the rally, the Irish Northern Aid Committee, exerts a generally conservative influence, although some more militant forces, sympathetic to the Provisional Wing of the IRA, work under its umbrella. Radical activists in the H-block support committees, and numerous other groups which carried placards attacking the U.S. imperialists as well as the British, were all present. A number of younger activists in the broad pro-IRA movement in the city talked to the *Revolutionary Worker* about the struggle to bring revolutionary politics to the forefront of the movement. And there were, in large numbers, perhaps comprising the bulk of the crowd, thousands who came out for a chance to vent their hatred of Prince Charles and the rule of British imperialism he represents, many of whom usually don't play a large part in politics—or for whom, at least until recently, the Irish struggle is the only cause they have ever really cared about.

Inside the Enchanted Forest, the reception was winding down; it was nearly time for the Prince and his hosts, the aristocracy of U.S. imperialism, to make their way to the opera. Charles told an admirer, "I'm so tired. I hope I don't fall asleep." His admirer, "Si Si," replied, "Well, it would be all

right. After all, it's 'Sleeping Beauty.'" The Prince laughed: "But I do hope I'm not expected to be awakened with a kiss."

"It was scary..." As the creatures in evening clothes and green chiffon and taffeta gowns by Dior left the Enchanted Forest, they were awakened to reality with the cold kiss of fear. "It was scary," wrote columnist Liz Smith, "driving into Lincoln Center to a mass of screaming, fist-waving, and slogan-shouting." Some creatures came in limousines, others attempted it on foot. Shouting slogans against the British occupation of Northern Ireland—and others targeting U.S. intervention in El Salvador—the crowd at Dante Park swelled in front of the Met, blocking the entrance. Hundreds of police struggled to keep order and to clear a safe pathway for their frightened masters. The generally conservative leadership of the Northern Ireland Aid Committee also tried to quell the non-peaceful mood of the crowd, without success. Opera goers were jostled, cursed and shaken up. By the time the Opera House had filled and the lights had gone down, the mood of those who had sought an evening of fantasizing about the eternity of their power and rule, of dreaming of a world filled with fairytale royalty and slavishly loyal subjects, had already been ruined. But perhaps a brilliant "Sleeping Beauty" could banish their nightmare....

In Dante Park, the brother of Bobby Sands was addressing the crowd.

The Royal Ballet had begun its performance. While the prologue was being danced, Princess Aurora waited in the wings for her triumphal debut.

Then, suddenly, from the darkened boxes just in front of Charles and Nancy Reagan, the voice of the "angry mob" delivered a stunning, roaring accusation: "Charles is Prince of Death!" A man was on his feet, denouncing the crimes of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. Prince Charles had received his "kiss." And Nancy Reagan and all the other luminaries of U.S. and British imperialism sat frozen with terror in the darkness. The denunciations kept pouring out in a bitter torrent; and even the \$300,000 security apparatus seemed paralyzed in disbelief. Finally, security converged and surrounded the man and began to drag him from the \$1,000 boxes. At last!

But then a new voice rang out, this time that of a woman, then another

voice and another. "It was frightening," Liz Smith wrote the next day, "to sit in the Met watching the beautiful production of 'The Sleeping Beauty'... as a series of protestors began shouting in the dark. The tirades would continue each time until police evicted the shouters." Others present described the scene as "horrifying." The protestors had leaflets and began running up and down the aisles, tossing bunches of leaflets in the air.

The four, who said they were supporters of the IRA, had paid \$15 each to get into the Opera House. They, among dozens of others, were led at the last minute to the \$1,000 boxes because "ushers did not want the future monarch to see any empty seats in front of his box."

The following day the main stories in the *New York Times* and the other daily newspapers desperately tried to conceal the extent of the horror that the events of the whole evening, both outside and inside the Opera House, had caused in the top ranks of the ruling class of the U.S.—not to mention in the Prince and his retinue. Only the gossip columns allowed the frightened whispers about the "mob," the "rabble," the "threat of anarchy" to dominate over the usual minute accounts of who ate what where and when. The *New York Times*, especially, stressed that the "dancers behaved splendidly" in attempting to continue to perform, and portrayed the Prince and the audience in general as so blissfully absorbed in the play as to barely notice the disturbance. All of this is predictable: the disruptions were "disgraceful," but don't think that your noble rulers are actually affected by it all, much less shitting *paté de foie gras* and New Jersey heavy cream all over their taffeta chiffon whatnots.

Only in "Suzy Says" and "Liz Smith's Confidential" did the truth come out. But in the British papers, it was a different story: the *London Times* called the demonstration outside a near riot which posed a threat to the Prince's security; the whole thing was on the verge of becoming an international incident—another powerful reason for the New York press to attempt to black out the demonstration and try to downplay the protests inside the hall.

Did the Prince, following the post-play ceremonies and a final dance with Nancy Reagan, sleep well? Did Ronald and Nancy Reagan? The *Times* omits to say. And so does Suzy. □

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Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

from the New Constitution