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Reagan's Latin American Rodeo:

Gendarmes, Tin-Horns, and the Pro-Yankee Non-Aligned

In recent weeks the U.S. has launched somewhat of a diplomatic offensive aimed at strengthening its position in the neocolonies in preparation for world war. No sooner did Vice President George Bush return from his African safari than his immediate superior, Ronald Reagan, set out with a smile on his lips and 150 Se-

cret Service agents for a 5-day Latin American rodeo. The carefully selected stops included Brazil, Colombia, and Central America—each featuring a somewhat different terrain and requiring different tactics. But the object of the contest was the same in each spot: fortifying position and above all giving the So-

viets and pro-Soviet revisionists no quarter.

Reagan's trip was designed to strengthen and solidify some of the U.S.' most important lackeys, especially in relation to the increased maneuvering of the Soviets and their lackeys in Latin America. Given the complex requirements of serv-

ing the U.S. in an area where they are thoroughly despised by the masses, it is no wonder that these compradors run the gamut from regional gendarme to tin-horn dictators to pro-Yankee non-aligners. And depending on each particular situation, there were differing
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THE REAL TERROR AT THE MONUMENT



The wreckage was left conspicuously untouched, the blood still on the ground where police had murdered the man in cold blood in an extended hail of gunfire which had been televised for all to see the night before, as on Friday morning in Washington, D.C. a small group of people who had seen this man at many protests against nuclear war, gathered angry at the monument and left a rose behind. It may come as a shock to those who mocked and murdered him, but there are people who watched, outraged at the vicious display of hypocrisy and firepower in the case of Norman Mayer, and who know which end is up.

At 9:20 a.m. on December 8th, Norman Mayer, a 66-year-old anti-nuke activist, pulled up outside the entrance to the Washington Monument and demanded an end to nuclear weaponry, that a national dialogue on nuclear weapons be held and that the media devote 51% coverage to this issue: "They have been pretending that we are not threatened every day of our lives with annihilation. And, whether by collusion or otherwise, they refuse to give the real information about the precarious and uncontrollable situation the world finds itself in." Claiming that his van was full of dynamite, Mayer announced that he was going to blow up the Washington Monument unless his demands were met. As to why he chose the Monument, Mayer stated, "It's one of the sacred icons."

His demands were hardly "outrageous" and many, including revolutionary communists, would not use his tactics, but the issue behind his protest is certainly one which has moved even confirmed pacifists to contemplate the "unreasonable." We are speaking about nuclear war, a point which the imperialists and their whole entourage have attempted to shove under the rug of "terrorism" in this whole affair, while they so calculatingly exhibited their violent state apparatus.

No sooner had Mayer arrived at the monument and issued his demands than the press immediately began portraying him as a lunatic, characterized by the *Washington Post* as a "lone crusader", "obsessed" with halting "madness." Ah, but madness on a grand scale is one thing and opposing it is quite another. Mayer is "mad," yet less than 14 blocks away Congress calmly debates the best methods of deploying their MX missiles

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The hearings to determine permanent custody of Tina Fishman's daughter began on December 7. In the first two days of the hearing, the government has continued its effort to "clean up" some of the more blatant aspects of the legal kidnapping it carried out 16 months ago, and through this "laundered" process, to make permanent its kidnapping and push forward the legal and political assault on women revolutionaries that has been at the heart of it all along.

Readers of the *RW* will remember that the initial kidnapping of Tina's daughter, carried out at a time of intense government escalation in its prosecution of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, was founded legally on a blatant violation of the government's own laws. The Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act, which requires child custody cases to be tried in the area where the child lives permanently, was thrown out by Commissioner "Cointelpro" Browning. Browning ruled that in the case of Tina's daughter, Riva, an "emergency situation" existed, because Tina was "intentionally withholding intangible necessities of parenting," that she "is presently awaiting trial in the east on felony charges," and that Riva, who was visiting her father Ted Fishman in California, should stay with him. Though this was all very necessary to set a political example, it was pretty messy in more ways than one, and in preparation for this hearing some reshuffling of personnel has gone on, and the reactionary forces have changed their tune though not their song.

Commissioner Ragan, a liberal replacement for the badly exposed Judge Browning, started off the hearing by noting the kind of social question the case has become. Speaking before the packed hearing room, filled with supporters of Tina that included revolutionary communists, feminists, Gray Panthers, members of the American Atheists Association, members of the Women's International League For Peace & Freedom, and others, Ragan noted the "rather large contingent of press" and "a folder of somewhat vitriolic correspondence — I never realized there was so much emotion out there!" He then added, in a hint of his recognition of the forces opposing the kidnapping and his understanding of what his role is in relation to them, that he "stopped reading them because there were so many, and I do not want to be prejudiced."

Ragan quickly began to establish the basic terms for the hearing and the relation between the current hearing and Browning's actions. In ruling on a motion by Tina's lawyer to overturn Browning's original decision, because there was no legal (but plenty of political) basis for either the ruling, or the change in jurisdiction to California, Ragan said he would rule on that, but after the hearing — in other words, "I'm not going to uphold Browning's out-front political decision — I'll just hear the case here and then decide if it can be heard here." Ragan then went on to render this double-speak more profound: "I'm not using

A Very Political Kidnapping

Friday, December 3, 1982

Custody fight centers on atheism, communism

Politics and parenthood on trial in Peninsula child custody case

Radical politics an issue in custody suit

A custody case with political overtones

Fishman Case may set a legal precedent

Mother: Politics on trial in custody case

'Politics' Charged in Custody Case

this court as a forum for political beliefs — there have been banners today, and literature being passed out — I myself got one and I refuse to read it for fear it would be prejudicial Philosophical beliefs, religious, sexual beliefs, moral beliefs will not be ruled on in this case unless they affect the child"

Because there is so little legal basis for this hearing to even be happening and because the whole thing has been and continues to be such a blatant political assault, keeping "philosophical, religious, etc. beliefs" out, "except as they affect the child," has been the formula for continuing and making permanent the kidnapping. As enforced by Ragan, this means keeping revolutionary ideas and politics out, and identifying the interests and desires of the child with Zionism, Lockheed

missiles, obedience, sewing and cooking, *ad nauseam*.

The insistence that this will be nothing but a "normal child custody case" has in practice meant precisely that Browning's original openly political ruling is being upheld and furthered. During the second day, after Ted Fishman had been on the stand running down how the situation in August 1981 constituted an emergency (for example, Riva was approaching her homework in a "cursory" way, only spending 45 minutes per night), Tina's lawyer asked, "What do you think of Tina's politics?" This was ruled out of order by the judge — no politics allowed. When the lawyer protested that Ted's original declaration argued that Tina's political activities, especially with the RCP, constituted an emergency, this exchange

occurred:
 Judge: "I have told you before that politics aren't going to be considered in my decision. They might have been considered before, they are not going to be considered now."

Tina's lawyer: "This goes to the bias of witnesses."

Judge: "Denied — because of length, time, and remoteness of issue."

This denial of the political heart of the case, and the attempt to restrict the hearing to "Is Riva happy now?", is precisely how the state is now exacting its political punishment. As Tina's lawyer said, "They want to base this whole thing on the last 16 months, which makes this nothing more than a rubber stamp of the court-sanctioned legal kidnapping."

Another example of the "rubber stamp" was during the attempt at testimony by Marion Neudal, a feminist lawyer who has extensively studied child custody, and who was going to testify about how in contested child custody hearings today, men usually win. Ragan did not allow testimony about this kind of bias at all, and only let her testify about Tina's home life.

Another instance was the jumbled testimony of Don Daugherty, a reactionary probation officer who had written a blatant report justifying the original kidnapping after the fact. Daugherty was having such a hard time staying within the new "non-political" guidelines of the hearing that he *denied* making the anti-communist statements in his own written report, which is one of the central documents in the case. After Daugherty blurted out that "Yes, Tina's politics were an issue," Commissioner Ragan rescued him by simply ending cross-examination by Tina's lawyers, an almost unprecedented move.

Through this hearing so far, it is clear that not only is the government making every effort to uphold and make permanent the kidnapping of Tina's daughter, with all the implications the original kidnapping served, but a legal and political basis is being laid to uphold such kidnappings in the future. The press has played a major role in this. While the hearing has been run under the guise of "no politics," the newspapers and TV have been very out front with creating public opinion about the terms of the case. The case received front-page coverage in the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *New York Times* had reporters in court, and there were TV cameras in the courtroom. Different articles have emphasized different aspects of the various violations of mainstream motherhood (or parenting, as the case may be) that are being made the basis for taking Tina's child away: atheism, a woman outside of the home, involvement in revolutionary politics, being one of the Mao Defendants.

At this point, the hearing may go on past the middle of next week. Funds are still urgently needed. Contributions may be sent to the Committee Against the Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter, c/o 17 Brenham Place, San Francisco, CA 94108.

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This is the fifteenth in a series, "Reflections and Sketches," by Bob Avakian. It has been transcribed and edited from a tape.

There is a material basis for proletarian internationalism. And this material basis means for one thing that, owing to the fact that imperialism is a world system and that while it integrates many different processes, the advance from the epoch of capitalism to communism is a process on a world scale and in that fundamental sense is a single integrated process though it does integrate within it these many different processes and different struggles within different countries. This again is an important part of the material basis of proletarian internationalism. (And here I would refer not only to "Conquer the World? . . ." but also once again to "The Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism" which appeared in the *RW* No. 96.) But this material basis of proletarian internationalism also means that there is a class basis for this internationalism. Now let's not get social-democratic, economist and Menshevik about this — "the workers, the workers, and only the workers are any good." But there is a real social base for this line, and in this regard again I refer to my comments in the series on party building, and in particular the one that appeared in the *RW* No. 144, "A Social Base for Proletarian Internationalism."

There is again a real social base for this, and it above all — not it alone, but it above all — has to be mobilized around this revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line. This social base does in fact consist of those who, as Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* have put it, can live only so long as they can work, and can work only so long as they enrich the bourgeoisie, and who are degraded and crushed by the conditions of life and by the exploitation under capitalism, who do have nothing to lose but their chains, and who in the basic sense are not caught up in the whole treadmill of respectability and so on, but whose position impels them to struggle against the established order.

Even for such people obviously there's a question of leadership to enable them to become conscious of their class interests, not only within their country but fundamentally and above all on the international plane. There is a leap to class-consciousness and to internationalism even for such proletarians. And this leap certainly involves struggle and it is not a leap that is made once and for all time, but something which is a question of continuing to advance with changing conditions and new tasks and challenges, or falling back. There must be a consistent struggle not only practically but also very importantly in the ideological realm against bourgeois ideology and its influences, and specifically and very importantly against nationalism, even chauvinism in one form or another. But on the other hand, and here it must be emphasized, this is not a leap for such proletarians from nowhere and from no foundations. It is a leap in a certain sense from their position in society, their class experience and from their life experience broadly defined. It is a leap from that, but at the same time it is a leap from *that*. There is, as the song says, the question that "If you've ever been mistreated, you know what I'm talking about," and I'm talking about proletarian revolution and internationalism. This is why the masses among that social base, especially the advanced, those awakening to political life, do in fact gravitate toward this line. The point is, however, that there are and will continue to be real and powerful pulls in opposite directions and these will be especially sharp at key turning points, when the question of leaps forward is posed very sharply. And these basic proletarian masses as well as others must be trained, not just theoretically, but concretely, not just in the ideological realm but in political battles to take a consistently internationalist stand and to make this as strong a pull as possible within the general social upheaval and struggle in society. This is a crucial aspect of preparation both for these advanced and for moving broader masses and winning them to the revolutionary position as things sharpen and whenever the revolutionary situation finally does develop.

Reflections and Sketches By Bob Avakian

On Both Aspects of Proletarian Internationalism, Or, If You've Ever Been Mistreated You Know What I'm Talking About

In this regard I'd like to return to Lenin's famous definition of proletarian internationalism. This is cited, for example, in paragraph 41 of the "Basic Principles . . ." document prepared by leading members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile. There it says: "As Lenin so powerfully expressed it: 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception'." (This in turn is taken from "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.) Now this well-known and often-cited definition of Lenin's of proletarian internationalism, while perhaps taken by itself might not sufficiently emphasize approaching things on the world level first and foremost and as the foundation (an orientation which in general is certainly not lacking in Lenin) while taken by itself it *might* be said to have this limited shortcoming, still this definition is not only profoundly correct in an overall sense but it specifically has the great strength of closely linking the two things, that is, of linking actually fighting for revolution in the country you are in with supporting this and only this line and struggle in all countries. This is the great strength of this definition. In other words, fundamentally and in the final analysis without fighting for revolution where you are you can't really support it everywhere else and vice-versa. And you cannot do this without mobilizing around this line, first of all and fundamentally, the *main*, the proletarian, social base for this. This from another angle is the importance of both aspects of proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism must be made a material force and must not remain merely a good idea. □

An Unsettling Episode

The government is pursuing charges against 16 of those arrested during and after the outbreak of street-fighting in Washington, D.C. on November 27, the day the KKK was supposed to march. Federal prosecutors have publicly stated that they are outraged by such rude and rebellious behavior and intend to make the charges stick. Almost all of those arrested are Black youth from various different neighborhoods in D.C. and the surrounding area.

At the time of the outbreak, police, in apparent random fashion, grabbed whoever they could get their hands on — 38 in all. One person who has been charged with a felony had come downtown to take pictures of the day's events and happened to be standing near a cop. For this crime he was dragged off to jail. Another person reportedly was riding down the street

on his bicycle many blocks away from the fighting when he was pursued by police, knocked from his bike and arrested for burglary. Over half of those arrested were released with citations and small fines and will not be appearing in court — those particularly who had been visibly beaten by the cops. Police taunted and jeered those they kept in custody: "You are the ones that are going to pay." Eleven people face felony charges of burglary and receiving stolen property, and three face misdemeanor charges of assault and destruction of property.

Last week, we reported that two people were arrested in the days following the outbreak when, supposedly with the help of "tipsters," police identified them from newspaper photos. One of these youths told of being awakened at 6 a.m. by the police who banged on his door,

presented a warrant and arrested him on the spot, claiming he was the youth pictured stealing a bicycle out of a shop window. This youth was not present at the events on Saturday, and does not even faintly resemble the youth in the picture (most obviously he wears a moustache and the youth in the picture does not). This youth, arrested in purely arbitrary fashion and who has no prior record of anything, now faces the most serious charge of all — "grand larceny" for theft of a bicycle worth over \$500.

The police and government are determined to make their point: lest anyone think it was a righteous outburst against oppression, according to them it was nothing but a "mindless crime spree" by "misfits and criminal elements" and they intend to make somebody (anybody) pay for it. But the bottom line is: let this be an

example to all of you whose eyes lit up at the sight of Black people and people of all nationalities rebelling in the streets — this kind of rebellion will not go on.

In fact, the more the authorities go on about "mindless criminals," the more they reveal that they were indeed shocked and stung by the events of November 27, and the fact that "their very own" Black youth exhibited such joyful defiance of the established order. Even their British allies, who are well schooled in attempting to criminalize and explain away such things occurring in the ghettos of Brixton and other cities in England and who rushed to offer such an explanation in the pages of *The Economist* magazine, with an article entitled "Not So Much A Riot," were forced to comment, "Still, the episode was unsettling." □

A Gift From The Surgeon's Knife

Dear *RW*,

I work in medical admitting at a public hospital in a major city. I recently admitted a patient whose case should interest you. A Haitian man came in because of excruciating stomach pains and inability to eat for a few weeks. His doctor was Indian and spoke no French, and although mine is minimal, I was asked to translate. As we talked, I learned that he had recently come to this city, having spent 18 months in Krome detention center in Miami. I remembered from reading the *RW* that the food and water sources in Krome had been poisoned-contaminated, so at first I ask-

ed him whether he could be ill from that. "No," he told me, "the people who had become sick from the water had eye infections, and the men developed breast engorgement." Given the stress of his recent experience, separated from his family, and caught between an island of fascism and a mainland of prisons and lies, as well as given his physical symptoms, it was likely that he had an ulcer. As you may know, an ulcer is a chronic problem generally caused when anxiety causes an increase in the stomach's activity and its acid secretions cause the stomach to ulcerate, that is, to turn in on itself and begin digesting the sto-

mach itself

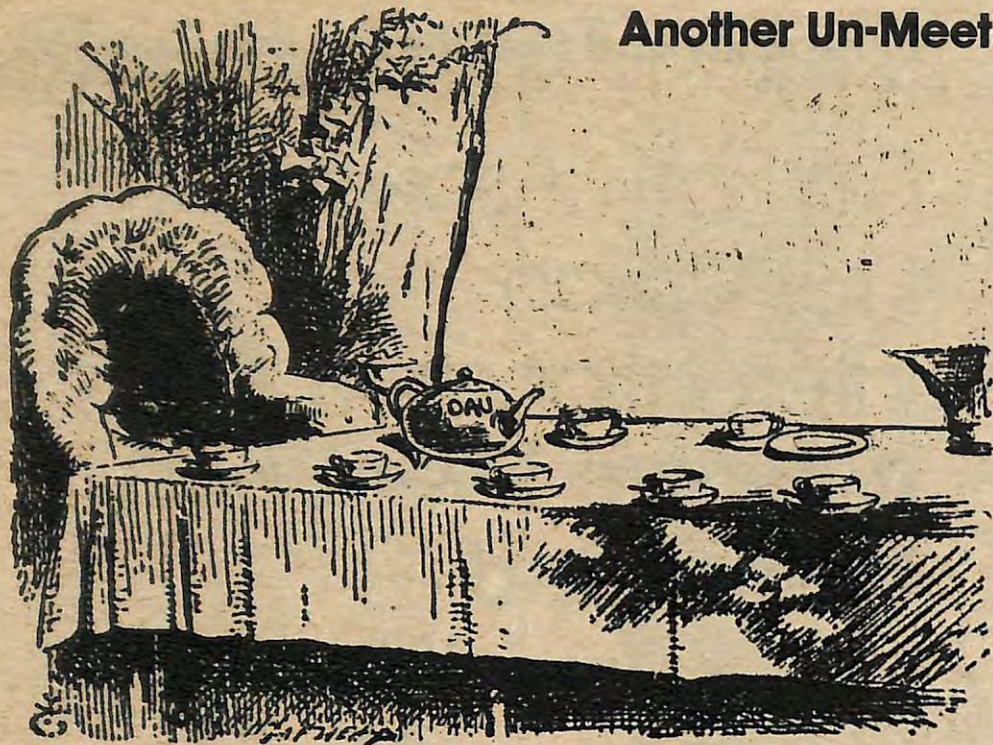
I asked then if he had ever been hospitalized. He replied that he had never been seriously ill in his own country, but had been hospitalized once in Miami. This occurred after 5 days on a hunger strike which he participated in when many refugees protested the conditions at Krome and their continued incarceration there. He indicated that he had been taken to a Miami hospital where they performed an operation, and he pointed to his groin. I was puzzled because I couldn't think of any operation that would be indicated in a person who hadn't eaten for 5 days. Later that

evening I asked the doctor if he knew what the operation was. "Of course," this doctor said, "a vasectomy. I know the scar because I've performed many myself in my own country."

So this was quite an All-American welcome this man had received. How benevolent of the justice system to finally release this man after 18 months in federal detention, carrying within himself the scars of both humiliation and political punishment and now also the gnawing and sharp pains of his anger literally turned in on himself.

R.T.

Another Un-Meeting of the OAU



U.S. Drawing Battle Lines In Africa

Over the last six months the entire continent of Africa has been increasingly marked by the tightening up of the machinery of the two imperialist blocs. This has been particularly evident with regard to the U.S.-led bloc, whose economic, political and military moves have taken somewhat of a leap during this period. As we pointed out in last week's *RW*, this leap was sharply unfolded around the new U.S. policy on Namibia and all of the other ramifications that this is a part of. At the same time, however, there were also a number of other manifestations of this offensive over the last month or so, of which one of the sharpest was the recent U.S.-engineered collapse of the second attempt in three months to pull together the annual summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

By November 27, the second "un-meeting" of the OAU had come and gone. The occasion of this "un-meeting" marked the second time in the entire 19-year history of the organization that it was unable to meet because of consciously organized walkouts and boycotts — the first time was in August of this year, when pro-U.S. forces organized a massive boycott at the summit. While a great hue and cry has been raised about the possible dissolution of the organization and the "crisis of the OAU" coming off of this most recent collapse, in reality this "non-happening" reflected a very real happening that is much more significant. In fact, while some forces wail about the OAU collapse symbolizing the inability of African nations to overcome the "disunity and disarray" on the continent today or attempt to cast the whole affair as a battle between "radicals and moderates," the truth of the matter is that the most pressing issue conjured up and concentrated by the recent developments in the OAU has much more to do with the pressing necessity to unify the various African nations behind the banners of their respective blocs.

What characterized this second abortive attempt at meeting was the increased jockeying of these blocs to put themselves in the best possible position for a knock-down, drag-out redivision of the world. In August the failure to meet was ostensibly precipitated in part by the admission of the Polisario (a group which is waging a war against a U.S. ally, Morocco, and which is supported by the pro-Soviet forces in the OAU) as a full-fledged member of the organization. In response to the admission of the Polisario to the organization, Morocco led and organized a boycott of the meeting which pulled away enough pro-U.S. forces to prevent the formation of the quorum necessary for the summit to take place. In October, the OAU announced that a "compromise resolution" of this "divisive issue" had been reached and had paved the way for a second attempt to meet. This compromise resolution is in itself revealing — in order to allow a meeting of the OAU, the Polisario had to temporarily and "voluntarily" withdraw from the organization. Of course, this resolution actually resolved nothing, and as the second meeting began to come together, all of the other issues of the day burst forth as "crucial and divisive issues."

Chief among these was Chad, which

once again had the dubious honor of being represented by two different delegations at the same time — the Hissene Habre forces backed by the U.S. bloc and who had militarily seized the Chadean capital earlier this year, and the Goukhouni Weedeeye forces backed by Libya and the other members of the Soviet bloc. After 12 days of back and forth on the issue, the pro-U.S. forces refused to meet unless the Habre delegation was recognized and in fact seated, as was indicated by the walk-out of at least 14 U.S. bloc countries from various meetings because of this issue. For their part, the pro-Soviet forces ended up refusing to meet if the Habre forces were recognized and seated in opposition to the Goukhouni delegation. Needless to say, it wasn't long before everyone packed up and went home.

Great Potential for Divisiveness

And, even if the OAU had managed to work out yet another "compromise resolution" on this issue (which was apparently attempted by the leading U.S. forces of Nigeria and Kenya — although it was a total sham and never really had much of a chance of getting over, as will be gone into later), there were still a whole host of other issues lined up behind Chad which would have proved to have been just as divisive. In fact, if the Chad issue had been "resolved," the next immediate question that would have popped up, and to a certain extent already had, as the dividing line, was the whole issue of even allowing the pro-Soviet Libyan leader, Qaddafi, to assume chairmanship of the OAU. One indication of how this issue would have ended up is provided by the fact that three of the U.S. bloc members — Egypt, Sudan and Somalia — had refused to even attend this meeting on the basis of it being held in Libya. Added to this is the fact that "anti-Qaddafi expansionism" is one of the main themes under which the U.S. bloc is being pulled together and the fact that many of the August boycotters and November walkouts (as well as others such as Nigeria) have already gone on record as being lined up behind this same theme.

And beyond these three questions stands an endless series of other issues that hold out great potential for divisiveness today. In fact, following the November collapse, there has even been open speculation about the dissolution of the OAU altogether and in its place the formation of two separate organizations. But it is not simply the "issues" themselves that make it impossible for the OAU to meet; it is the very tenor and character of the times, the context of intensifying contention and all of its ramifications which cause these issues to arise. At the heart of the matter is the fact that today the very ground upon which the OAU was ever able to operate is increasingly being cut out from under it. Underlining this is the fact that in the period between the August and November non-meetings of the OAU, the French imperialists, as part of staking out their own interests and overall moving to tighten up the U.S. bloc, managed to pull together a "very successful" meeting of the Franco-African summit. In addition to all of the various French neo-colonies who had boycotted the OAU in August, this sum-

mit was also attended by a number of major U.S. puppets.

Along these same lines, the social-democratic Second International, which operates as a branch of the U.S. bloc and includes among its more notable members Mitterand of France, Willy Brandt of West Germany and Leopold Senghor of Senegal, has become increasingly active in Africa over the last few years. In 1975 the Socialist International organized and held a conference on "Liberal Planning and Roads to Socialism" in Tunisia, during which Leopold Senghor, the "grand old statesman" of French neo-colonialism in Africa, proposed the founding of a continent-wide organization of African political parties based on social-democracy. The purpose of this grouping can most clearly be seen when viewed against the backdrop of Soviet-bloc activities in Africa at the time — the mid-1970s marked a turning point for the Soviets during which they were able to make some significant gains in Africa, particularly in terms of the establishment of a number of revisionist "Marxist-Leninist" parties in the service of Soviet imperialism, and were actually able to capture state power in a number of strategically important African countries. Over the years the social-democrats stepped up their activities in Africa and in 1981, a second conference was held in Tunisia which marked the founding of the African Socialist International, composed of 11 different African social-democratic parties. The charter of this organization was an open proclamation of what the social-democrats are up to in Africa. This charter contained a key provision which condemned the pro-Soviet "communist parties" in Africa and labeled them "an alien body" on the continent. In view of all this, the social-democrats are obviously very important for the Western bloc imperialists, complete with their buckets of pink paint. Continuing to step up their activities and in an effort to branch out still further, the social-democrats are reportedly hoping to hold their next major gathering in Zimbabwe.

Of course, all of this bloc-tightening and maneuvering is being carried out under all sorts of high-sounding demagoguery. This was especially evident in relation to the OAU affair. Although the inability of the OAU to meet is fundamentally rooted in the intensifying contention and maneuvering of both the U.S. and Soviet blocs, at this particular time emphasis has to be placed on the offensive launched by the U.S. bloc. Ironically, in carrying this out the U.S. puppets have utilized a heavy chorus of cries concerning "the preservation of African unity." In fact, in order to highlight the irony of this point, it need only be pointed out again that each and every boycott and walkout that has occurred thus far has been led and organized by these very same pro-Western neo-colonial forces.

An outstanding example of this demagoguery and the reality that lurks just underneath it is provided by Sekou Toure, the president of Guinea and a relatively new arrival to the U.S. bloc who, based on his reputation as anti-colonial and a founder of the OAU, is destined to play a major role in service to that bloc throughout Africa. During the 18th

OAU summit in Nairobi, just as things were beginning to heat up to the current level, Toure presented a speech which crystallized this line of U.S. demagoguery. Ending up his speech, Toure stated, "We must avoid the spectre of division and dissolution in the OAU." Interestingly enough, Toure's speech was delivered as a glowing introduction to the speech by King Hassan of Morocco, which attempted to justify the Moroccan position in its war against the Polisario. (Actually, it was rumored at the time that Toure had even assisted Hassan in writing this speech.) And apparently "forgetting" all about his worries over the dissolution of the OAU, Toure was one of the prime participants in the 1982 boycotts and walkouts.

During the most recent attempt to convene the 19th summit, it was Nigeria and Kenya (whose president, Daniel arap Moi, is currently the chair of the OAU), which provided one of the best examples of the real meaning of the U.S. demagoguery. In an attempt to "resolve" the Chad issue and again "preserve the unity of Africa," Nigeria and Kenya jointly proposed a "compromise solution." The gist of the "compromise" was that the OAU would officially recognize the pro-U.S. Habre delegation, the Habre forces would then voluntarily agree to withdraw from the summit, and there would be no attempts by Libya or the other pro-Soviet forces to seat the Goukhouni delegation as representatives of Chad. This so-called compromise is interesting, to put it mildly, on a number of points. First of all, it is a classical version of the old "heads I win, tails you lose" scam, guaranteed to advance the interests of the U.S. bloc, especially in view of the fact that it amounts to a *de facto* declaration by the OAU that Habre is the "sole representative" of Chad. Secondly, both Nigeria and Kenya undoubtedly knew that the Habre forces would never go for it, and, as if acting on cue, Habre immediately publicly denounced the "compromise" as soon as it was proposed. Third, given the fact that 14 U.S. bloc countries had already walked out of the Council of Ministers meeting (the meeting of African foreign ministers which precedes the summit of the heads of state) over the issue of actually seating the Habre delegation, this compromise had little more than a snowball's chance in hell of mustering up a quorum for the meeting. In every sense, the Nigeria/Kenya "compromise" added up to a showpiece of demagoguery whose only outcome could have been the further tightening up of the U.S. bloc.

Coupled with this, and in fact the key component of the U.S. drive to "preserve African unity," is the battle against the "main threat to that unity" personified in the "expansionist aims" of both Libya under Qaddafi and all of the other pro-Soviet regimes in Africa. And, once again Nigeria provides an excellent example of just what the U.S. means by this. Under the guise of combatting "Libyan expansionism," Nigeria has reportedly been meeting with Algeria, another member of the U.S. bloc, on the issue of pulling together an African continental army which would operate under the auspices of the OAU. The real heart of this Nigeria/Al-

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Attica Brother Murdered In Detroit



A photo taken at an October 24th benefit concert for Darnell. From left to right: John Sinclair, a Detroit-based jazz promoter; Darnell Summers; and Brother Shango.

Wednesday, December 1, Brother Shango (Bernard Stroble) was gunned down in the street outside his home in Detroit. He was ambushed by a low-life assassin as he stepped out of his car. Brother Shango was a leader in the rebellion at Attica Prison. And in the years since Attica — 8 behind bars and 3 out on the street — he maintained his revolutionary bearings. Most recently he became active in the struggle against the railroad of Darnell Summers. The circumstances leading up to Shango's murder, together with the actions of the police and the accompanying blast of slander in the news media, stamped the whole incident with a very foul stench. Whatever the particular involvement of the imperialists and their robot gunslingsers, his death bears all the markings of their blood-stained M.O. — murder to eliminate a revolutionary from the scene as they attempt to afix their verdict on the rebellions of the '60s in the face of a profoundly more volatile period.

Shango was part of and contributed to a rebellion that shook this imperialist stronghold from the inside and the reverberations from Attica spread worldwide. Erupting from the depths of one of their "impregnable" dungeons, 1200 declared to the world, "We are men. We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such We will not compromise on any terms except those agreeable to us." Proclaiming their solidarity with the masses of Vietnamese people fighting U.S. imperialism, the brothers at Attica took their stand at the side of the people of the world. With clear cognizance of the importance of their actions — not simply for prisoners but for all those crushed down by imperialism — Herbert Blyden's words thundered across

D-Yard: "We are standing here for all the oppressed people of the world and we are not going to give up We are going to show the way! For we have the way." And in the midst of the death and carnage wrought by the bloodthirsty New York State Troopers re-taking the yard, the message of Attica — "It's Right To Rebel" — echoed more powerfully than their armed might. Rockefeller, who gave the orders for the assault on behalf of the whole ruling class, revealed how the spectre of Attica haunted this most criminal class when he said, "I think we have to look at these things not only in terms of the immediate but in terms of the larger implications of what we're doing in our society."

Shango played a leading role in the thick of the Attica rebellion. Acting in accord with the division of labor among the central leadership, he remained largely out of the public eye. He carried out the responsibilities among the men in the yard, working to aim the anger and sense of liberation to serve the most sweeping objectives of the rebellion. He was, in the words of one reporter whose presence was demanded by the inmates, "a high-impact, low-profile kind of brother." Shango was wounded when the New York State Troopers stormed the yard, massacring 43, including 9 of their own pigs. He lay absolutely still in a pool of his own blood for hours. Any movement, any sign of life would have meant certain execution at the hands of the pigs hellbent on revenge — seeking out the leaders for special treatment.

In the aftermath of the rebellion Shango was framed on a charge the state concocted to go after certain leading figures — the death of two white inmates known widely throughout the prison as snitches.

Shango waged a political defense and they were never able to connect these deaths — which very well may have been at their own hands — with Shango. He was acquitted of the charges in 1975.

After 13 years in prison a federal court overturned an earlier conviction and he was released from Jackson State Prison in Michigan in 1979. A concerted effort was made to get him off the streets and into more respectable surroundings, thereby closing the book on the rebellion he was associated with. He turned down various enticements of a position in the administration of Detroit Mayor Coleman Young because he wanted "to be on Linwood (Avenue)." The stretch of Linwood he was on had been something of a political center during the early 1970s. For years his mother's storefront mission had served as a headquarters for Attica support work and other political activities. In the winter of 1981, the same night that a forum was held to discuss the pamphlet on *Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations,"* at the mission, a brick came crashing through the plate-glass window. The brick was followed quickly by cops from the 10th Precinct who came screeching up with guns drawn. The *RW* was sold at several stores on the block. Shango carried flyers and newspapers in the shoe repair store where he worked.

It was in the current struggle to free Darnell Summers that Shango began to play a more visible and active role. The imperialists' efforts to make an object lesson of Darnell by dredging up a phony 14-year-old murder charge rekindled some glowing embers in Shango and it provoked him to wrangle with some profound questions about the '60s and the period ahead in the '80s. At a press conference called on the steps of the Detroit Records Court, immediately after Darnell's extradition to Michigan, Shango was right out in front. That press conference delivered a clear response to the gauntlet thrown down by the bourgeoisie around the case. While Darnell was still in Wayne County Jail, Shango expressed a lot of interest in getting on with him. He made a point of talking the case up among people he knew. Soon, flyers were up on the walls of his shop and there was a stack of leaflets along the counter. He began more active distribution of the *RW*, selling it right out on Linwood. Most recently he had arranged for the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers to use space above his mother's storefront mission as an office. This brother, tempered in the storms of D-Yard, was a revolutionary who had maintained his bearings in the face of bullets, both lead and sugar-coated. He was wrestling with cardinal political questions at the very time he was becoming more active in a crucial political battle.

This is the context for the foul-smelling circumstances surrounding Shango's death. Over the last year there had been a marked increase in drug trafficking along Linwood. It was, in the words of the

Detroit Free Press, a "drug market." In a photo essay focusing on the street, the *Free Press* quoted Detroit police who identified several of the dealers as members of Young Boys Incorporated — a large-scale drug ring that used young men to distribute narcotics. The police of the 10th Precinct, who have a long and sordid involvement with drug-dealing, would laugh when residents complained about the open drug activity. The situation led to intensifying contradictions between Shango and the dealers. The police and other agencies were certainly in a position to be attuned to these developing contradictions between the dealers and Shango, on whom they kept a close eye.

Recently, a heroin "shooting gallery" opened in the apartment above Shango's shop. There were a series of break-ins at his store. At the end of November, for reasons known only to themselves, the police raided the shooting gallery. Small quantities of drugs were found and several arrests were made. The next day the place was back in full swing. This time, Shango went to shut the place down. He had told his mother, "We can't let them run our community and our lives." He physically removed three people from the apartment. An hour later, according to press reports, "young men, driving Mercedes Benzes and Cadillacs converged on the block brandishing long guns and swearing revenge." No police cruisers happened to pass by during this incident.

The next day, after he'd closed down the shop and was returning home, Shango was murdered. The police are under a lot of pressure in this case. They have received numerous calls charging them with Shango's murder. In this light, they are making a big deal of trying to find the murderer. One police lieutenant said, "We are working as hard as we can to solve this case. We want to clear ourselves of any implications." Remarks by some ex-cops and lower-level porkers give a sense that indeed they might have to work to clear themselves. One of the cops investigating the shooting told a progressive reporter who was seeking information, "Look, we're not gonna tell you anything. This man shot two cops back in the '60s." And two ex-pigs, quoted in a *Free Press* article on December 5, virtually bragged about the hand of the state in this killing, saying, "Justice has a way of working" and "today (the day of Shango's murder) was coming. I always knew it would."

The police accounts of the murder are highly suspicious. They were on the scene very quickly after the shots rang out — unusual given their normal response time to calls coming from the neighborhood. One press report quotes them as saying that a scout car happened to be cruising by and spotted a man running with a shotgun. A short time later they found Shango's body lying in the street. In another press report they claimed to have fired at the killer but "apparently missed." According to neighbors, the killer hid from police behind the porch railing, "casually shed a jogging suit he had worn to disguise his street clothes, lit a cigarette and calmly walked away." However directly or indirectly they were involved, the imperialists had every motive for wanting Shango dead and for wanting to use his death to attack the hatred of oppression and the uncompromising spirit of rebellion that he embodied.

Towards this end the news media in Detroit has been stoked up and moved out on the track. Through the pages of the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* another blast has been leveled. The reportage covering Shango's murder oozes with headlines like "Detroit Bad Boy Slain," "Detroit's Meanest Man Recalled By One of His Victims." In this last article Shango is depicted as a "one-man crime wave," "the meanest man to come through Records Court." All this is brought to mind by a gentle-spoken, wine-sipping, philosophical soul who muses over Shango's life and death. It turns out this poetic soul is an ex-pig from the 10th Precinct. The same one who had forecast that he knew Shango's day was coming.

But the blast from the media contains a double-barreled charge. For those who may have been inspired by Attica or don't

(Continued on page 6)

Free Darnell Summers!

As recently reported in the *RW* (see No. 182) the prosecutor in the railroad of Darnell Summers has expressed his fear of opening a "pandora's box of legal problems" if the planned trial of this revolutionary goes to court.

Yet while the prosecution recently requested and won a trial postponement until Feb. 8, 1983, in order to maneuver in various ways to try to tighten up the railroad, Darnell's defense and supporters are going on the offensive to pry the "pandora's box" wide open and to knock this raggedy railroad out of it all together.

On Friday, Dec. 17th the defense will fire an important opening shot in this offensive. A hearing is scheduled then in order for the defense to present the motions it has filed which demand dismissal of the trumped up murder one charge the government has foisted on Darnell. From many angles and aspects these motions cut sharply into the outrageous lies put forward to indict Darnell. It is possible that the judge may decide to hear arguments from both the defense and prosecution in order to rule this time around on either a motion for Darnell to be co-counsel in his case, or a motion to demand dismissal due to lack of speedy trial. The other motions, including the demands to dismiss on the basis of bad faith prosecution and the demand for disclosure of electronic and other surveillance and intelligence material gathered by a long list of spy outfits (which, if released, would do serious damage to the state's "case"), will most likely be ruled on at a later hearing, as yet unscheduled.

In order to meet the mounting expenses of the offensive against this railroad such as legal fees and the upcoming publication of a brochure, the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers is appealing for financial contributions to be sent in now to: Legal Defense for Darnell Summers, c/o First Independence National Bank, 234 State St., Detroit, Michigan 48226. To contact the Coalition: Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, P.O. Box 206, Inkster, Michigan 48141. □

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In A Manner Befitting His Life

In response to Shango's murder and the slander heaped on him in the news media, several forces came together on Thursday, December 9 to make a statement to the press. Reverend Mozie Smith, Shango's mother and a long-time fighter against oppression, who had moved to Buffalo to take up Attica defense work in the '70s, spoke first. "The whole way society is set up is responsible for Shango's murder. They divide white against Black, force us to try to live with nothing, but like the men at Attica said, 'We are not beasts and we will not be driven down.' Shango's death has not put a dent in my spirits. The struggle continues. We have work to do around Darnell Summers' case." Carl Dix, speaking on behalf of the Revolu-

tionary Communist Party, followed: "Shango was a leader of the Attica rebellion and the spirit of Attica continued to move him. In the face of his death, is the revolutionary goal that he fought and died for hopeless, as some say? No. He was murdered exactly because the government and police fear that people will be inspired by Attica and the life that Shango led." Chokwe Lumumba spoke on behalf of the Provisional Government of Republic of New Afrika: "Shango was an important historical figure. He represented the struggle of the Attica rebellion coming out of prison and back on the streets. His murder occurred at a time when the level of struggle for revolutionary change is heightening." Darnell Summers made a brief statement.

In the days following Shango's funeral a leaflet from the Revolutionary Communist Party was distributed in a number of neighborhoods, unemployment of-

fices, and throughout the downtown area of Detroit. The leaflet was taken up with special intensity by a number of ex-prisoners who identified closely with the Attica rebellion and were outraged by the attempt to slander that struggle. In the face of this vicious attack, the leaflet read that the imperialists "know and fear that the future holds even more than the certainty of more powerful rebellions like Attica and that more leaders like Shango will emerge to challenge their oppression. Most horrifying to them is that the storms on the horizon hold great possibilities for the masses of people to go over from rebellion to revolution—the overthrow of imperialism—in large parts of the world, including perhaps here in the USA.

"Let us honor the memory of Shango in the way most befitting to his life by working to bring about that great event. Let us carry the spirit of Attica, the spirit of It's Right To Rebel, more firmly, more consciously, into the '80s and prepare to seize the opportunity to push revolution forward everywhere and anywhere."

Attica Brother

Continued from page 5

swallow the line that "the bloody Attica prison uprising" was the work of mad-dog criminals, there's another analysis. Shango is portrayed as a "street rebel with radical philosophy" who fought the drug dealers and lost; who led the bloody uprising at Attica and lost — a noble soul but a loser, his life of struggle was a waste. For those with similar inclinations, the point is made that had he chosen a more practical path his life could've been "more productive."

This kind of verdict on the Attica rebellion and the life of Shango was addressed by several speakers at his funeral. Haywood Burns, a well-known attorney, who had been one of Shango's lawyers, flew out from New York and spoke at the funeral. He said, "Shango taught us to stand up, not to stand back. If we live like he wanted us to live, Shango will indeed live on and so will we." A reporter for the *Michigan Chronicle*, who had been invited to Attica by the inmates during the rebellion, brought out how when he went into the prison they asked him to sign a statement releasing the state of New York for any responsibility in case of death inside the yard. The Attica warden Mancussi said, "Aren't you afraid to be going in there?" The reporter responded, "Are you kidding. I'm afraid of the guns out here and you should be asking me to sign a statement when I come out." He related how Shango struggled that he go back outside rather than remain in the yard when it was retaken so that the word of the rebellion could be spread. Darnell Summers spoke. He talked about how he had been inspired by Attica and how meeting Shango was a momentous experience. "The way that he took up my case was indicative of the way he took up everything." Then Darnell read the following lines which were originally written after police murdered RCP member Damián García before May 1st, 1980:

*They're hoping they can make you kneel
That you won't face that cold steel
That you'll lose sight of all you've seen
That you'll no longer dare to dream
For everyone there comes a time
When the same choice must be made
To fan the flames inside
Or let the embers fade
Talking 'bout
Talking 'bout
Shango
Talking 'bout
Talking 'bout
You*

Later family and friends broke into tears and applause as a large banner that read, "Long Live the Spirit of the Attica Rebellion. Long Live the Memory of Shango" was hung across the width of the room where the wake was held. Pointing to the banner, Shango's mother said, "We're gonna take this and hang it right over the shoe store."

The Real Terror at the Monument

Continued from page 1

whose power is 17,000 times greater than the bomb they dropped on Hiroshima. Mayer is "mad" yet across the Potomac River, the planners in the Pentagon, operating under the largest military budget in history, scheme out ways and means of keeping the U.S. Number 1 even if it takes incinerating large chunks of the world to do so. Mayer is "mad", yet the likes of Edward Teller, "the father of the hydrogen bomb," who has devoted his entire life to bigger and better ways of incineration is a brilliant scientist. It's perfectly sane to threaten to blow up the world in the cause of exploitation and oppression of man by man — but nuts to oppose it. Here, at least, was a man who apparently devoted himself for ten years to something meaningful and worthwhile as opposed to the mass murderers and media apologists for mass murderers or other philistines who are attacking him. Here also is someone who at least sees the world rightside up — the dangers and something of where they are coming from — as opposed to all the motherfuckers who promote and live an upside-down view. And he is the one who is crazy!!! Maybe a line in E.T. should have been, "How do you explain this to a higher intelligence?"

But according to the press, nuclear war was not at issue here, except when it was absolutely necessary to mention Mayer's background or demands, and then they mocked and twisted everything on its head. They showed Ground Zero diagrams similar to those used to demonstrate the effects of nuclear blasts, to illustrate the impact of a possible ex-

plosion at the Washington Monument (which they later even admitted would not have been destroyed — monuments to them, after all, are meant to last). At the pig press conference after they had blown Norman Mayer away, they even had the nerve to hold up one of his leaflets and imply that the line "abolish nukes, or have a nice doomsday" was a terrorist threat by him to blow up the monument! One TV reporter quipped about "the irony of a man using the threat of violence to accomplish a stated goal of peace." Let's have an instant replay on that one, which certainly ranks in the hypocrisy hall of fame. Or maybe this sane reporter forgot that it was none other than the President of the United States himself on the occasion of naming the MX missile the "peacekeeper" who said: "We desire peace, but peace is a goal, not a policy... it does not describe the steps we must take, nor the paths we should follow to reach that goal." We didn't hear any comments on this terrorist! Apparently terrorism is ok only if it's on a grand scale and done by the state.

According to press reports which had demonstrated their reliability formidably by this time, at 7:35 p.m. Norman Mayer began to move his truck away from the monument. Instantly police opened fire with a hail of bullets. The truck skidded and flipped and Mayer lay dead inside with a bullet in his head. One reporter who had been involved in negotiations with Mayer said that Mayer told him, "I'll see you in the morning." But a decision had been made. There would not be another morning for this man. Orders had been given earlier that the truck

would not leave the area no matter what. The police certainly have made no pretense that they ever gave him an ultimatum. (Nor is it out of the question that they even "offered" him a "chance" to leave through a negotiator to set him up and legitimize shooting him "trying to get away." Maybe so, maybe no, but anyone who ever heard a pig ordering them to "run" knows what's coming next.) No explosives were ever found but the pigs just shrugged their shoulders and said that their explosive sniffing dogs made a mistake. Bullshit. They wanted him dead so he couldn't speak about that nasty subject anymore. For an hour, they never even went to the truck to determine if he was dead or alive; and when they finally did approach the truck they sauntered around the back for a long time and let him lie in the cab of the van.

It should have been a tip off right away, when Dan Rather suddenly went into a big tirade about "terrorism," that they had killed him, that it was time to start justifying his murder before it was announced. And it must be said that the "free press" was right on cue, with their prepackaged "terrorism" newsreels and their instant "Responsible Anti-Nuclear Leader" to denounce the man. And as phalanxes of pigs on motorcycles and horses made their final big show at the monument to death and destruction, Ted Koppel and guests wondered aloud if the press had done enough for the imperialist cause, amidst audible sighs of relief that we don't live in one of those dictatorships where the press just reports the party line like a bunch of robots, telling people what to think.

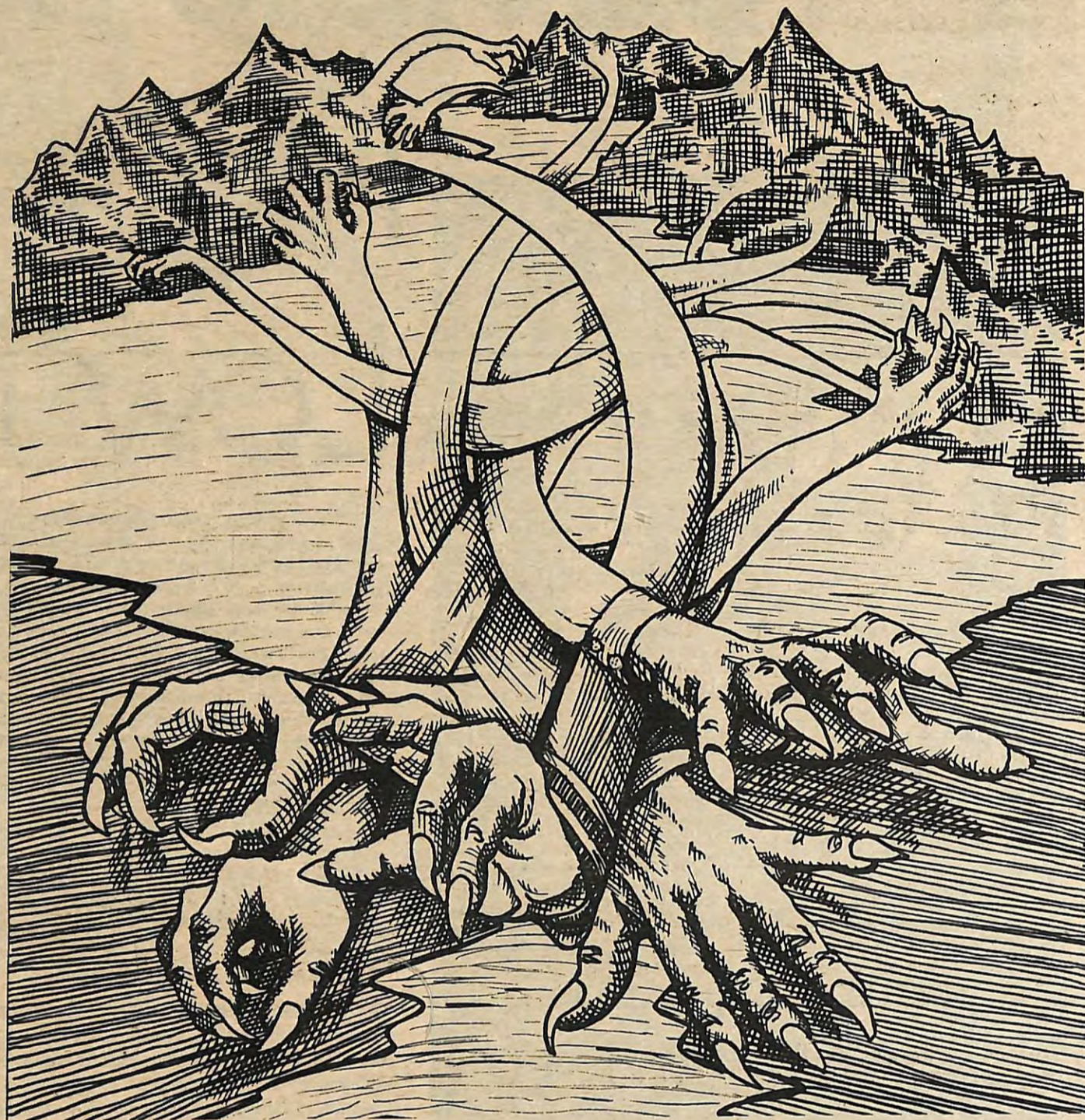
As The Dust Settles...

Major Shifts in French Asylum/Extradition Policies, And More

So now it's all official. In a significant departure from past policies, the French government recently announced a number of new reactionary measures — among which is a major shift in its approach to the granting of political asylum and sweeping changes in its extradition policy. These new measures give France greater flexibility in getting rid of undesirable elements and in instituting internal clampdowns as these become necessary, and above all serve to reaffirm France's commitment to strengthening the Western imperialist alliance by promoting greater coordination and cooperation between the allied states.

The particular moves were hardly unexpected. They were simply Phase 2, the consolidation phase, of the campaign which had begun during the summer months with the creation of a climate of well-orchestrated terror and near hysteria, replete with well-publicized calls for law and order and for new measures to be taken to keep France from becoming a hub and haven of "international terrorism" and to stomp out the dark forces from somewhere outside its borders from tearing at the very fabric of the society. *RW* readers will recall that the supposed basis for this campaign of hysteria had been a long and smelly trail of bomb explosions in Paris (whose undefined targets and origins were suspicious to say the least). This was followed by the vicious slaughter of randomly selected people in an old Jewish neighborhood who were mowed down by a machine gun-toting commando in a coldly professional operation, which was most likely the work of the Israeli Mossad or related intelligence services, as the instantaneous effect was to divert media attention from the plight of the Palestinians to the need to defend the rights of Jews — a climate which certainly facilitated the sending of French imperialist troops to Lebanon on the side of the Israelis shortly after this incident. All in all, this period of media-generated hysteria succeeded in simultaneously diverting attention from, and rendering more acceptable, the blatant imperialist maneuvers of the French outside their borders, while at the same time laying the basis for tightening up internally by unleashing a xenophobic wind and concocting a dark enemy labeled International Terrorism said to be lurking behind every door and gnawing at the very foundations of democratic society. (For more on both aspects see "Of Witch-hunts, Pith Helmets and Crocodile Tears," *RW* No. 169.)

Today the climate of hysteria, which could hardly have been sustained, has in fact been allowed to die down, with newspaper accounts of occasional bomb explosions moved from page 1 to the back pages. And as the dust settles and relative "normalcy" returns, the state calmly reveals itself to have acquired an extra set of teeth: already the summer months had



seen the creation of a new Ministry of Public Security, greatly increased numbers of police forces, the sending of delegations to Germany to study their infamous "anti-terrorist" intelligence system, etc., etc. The events of the summer, coupled with supposed pressure from allied states to quit being a haven for terrorists, gave the French government a perfect excuse for launching a big debate on whether or not France should modify its asylum and extradition policies. At this point the feeling is that there has been enough talk and that it's time to act, while memories of the violent incidents are still fresh in peoples' minds and yet attention is shifting to other questions such as the worsening economic situation. Thus the

government has simply announced a series of outrageous steps and made clear that they are simply not up for discussion. Among the highlights of the new policies:

—A computerized list of "terrorists," compiled from international intelligence records. This list, supposedly covering the last 5 or 6 years, and said to be made up "mainly of foreigners," already has 25,000 names on it and is expected to grow to 60,000! While officials say this is more reasonable than the German system, which lists 2 million names, even the bourgeois press and organizations such as the League of Human Rights have had to publicly wonder where they even found so many terrorists and whether this list is going to include anybody who opposes

the government. The government's answer was that there's no need to worry if you were in a demonstration in the '60s or early '70s and have kept your nose clean since — which doesn't exactly answer the question (or does it?). They also say the list covers only known terrorists and, oh yes, anybody supporting them and, oh, anybody with direct contact with them (prompting one paper to ask whether this includes family members or someone lending a car to someone who later becomes a terrorist). While a little liberal snickering of this sort appears in the press there is no question that the government is going ahead with this plan and will shortly install 50 computer termi-

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It was a curt little message from the OFPRA (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Countryless Persons, which had originally denied Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status) to the Appeals Commission charged with reviewing this decision. It was dated October 25th and it indicated that it should be seen as an appendix to the OFPRA document of March 16th. The note reads as follows:

"Our Embassy in Washington has informed me on October 18th 1982 that an agreement having been reached between the prosecution and the defense, the charges against Mr. Bob Avakian in Washington's Federal District Court had been dropped, and that the judge had closed the book on the case on June 3, 1982." End of note. Why was the OFPRA "informing" the Appeals Commission of this fact at this late date when it has been well known since early summer? Surely they are not simply trying to impress us

with the world-renowned slowness of French administrations... and surely they are not trying to make the point that this supposedly unimportant case is after all worthy of the attention of their diplomatic corps in Washington. We're quite sure in fact that this is not the first example of back and forth on this case between the U.S. and France. In fact readers might recall that the March 16th document, referred to in the note, is the disgusting hatchet-job piece sent out by the OFPRA (interestingly enough, very shortly before the charges in Washington were dropped) in which, through an assortment of lies, distortions, omissions and what have you they attempted to create an impression that Bob Avakian is not really a target of political repression in the U.S., despite the mounds of evi-

Just A Little Note?

dence to that effect, or (if that doesn't get over) that he might just be some kind of terrorist! But perhaps the key sentence of that viciously ridiculous document was one that stated that as far as he personally was concerned, Bob Avakian had presented evidence only of legal charges against him — a blatant lie, since the mounds of evidence submitted made it clear that the Mao Defendants case was but one facet (albeit a very crucial one) of the government's attack, and documented many examples of everything from surveillance to Secret Service manhunts, to death threats directed against the Chairman. The fact that the Mao Defendants' case had never been the sum total of the repression which had made it necessary for Bob Avakian to seek political refugee status abroad, has been made

consistently clear in all the documents submitted ever since the original demand was filed. The OFPRA is of course aware of all this. This recent note represents a reiteration that their most favored approach at this point is to keep harping on the fact that Bob Avakian doesn't need political refugee status because the legal charges have been dropped — and to act as if all the other evidence doesn't exist. Recent times have also seen some French authorities, including at fairly high levels, deliver some not-too-veiled messages that they don't care too much for Bob Avakian and his brand of politics (surprise, surprise). These comments, coupled with the more recent note once again downplaying the seriousness and validity of the demand for refugee status, are an indication that the authorities are maintaining their two-pronged approach in their determined efforts to deny Bob Avakian the political refugee status for which he clearly qualifies. □

Soviets In Egypt: High Dam, Low Road

Part I



The following excerpt is taken from a book entitled *Class Conflict In Egypt: 1945-1970*. The book appears under the name Mahmoud Hussein. The English edition was published by Monthly Review Press (second edition — 1977). Sadly, the book is no longer in print.

Our reprint will appear in two parts. Both sections, that in the current issue and that which will appear next, deal in particular with the role of the Soviet Union in Egyptian affairs, its political and economic penetration of the area, its connections and relations with the class forces grouped around Nasser (and, on the other hand, those of Nasser vis a vis the Soviets), and the international situation which conditioned these developments. The excerpts are a valuable contribution to the debate on the nature of the Soviet Union, exposing as they do some of the mechanics and motives of Soviet international operations after the restoration of capitalism in that country, but prior to the development of the Soviets' ability to openly challenge the U.S. and the Western bloc on a world scale.

Class Conflict in Egypt as a whole is an extremely enlightening and provocative work. Written between 1969 and 1974, it is clearly a product of the times — a product of the class struggle in Egypt and the

class struggle internationally, especially in China. As is stated in the introduction:

"This work presents the conclusions of a study of the history of the Egyptian people in recent decades. It is only within the past years that two decisive events have enabled us to systematize these conclusions. The first event concerns the Egyptian people in particular—the growth of the patriotic and democratic mass movement. Stifled since 1954, it experienced an upsurge in June 1967, on the very eve of the defeat of Nasser's regime. This event demonstrated conclusively that the Egyptian masses are the only depositories of the national dignity. The second event is the work of the Chinese people, one which has already become the common property of all the peoples of the world — the great proletarian cultural revolution. The basic revolutionary concepts which it crystallized have demonstrated to the world that no power which represses the creativity of the masses can be revolutionary and that the revolt of the masses against such a power is always revolutionary."

This week's excerpt is taken from a chapter headed: "The Emergence of the State Bourgeoisie (1955-1958)."

The decisive turning point for the regime

The period from 1955 to 1958 was marked by the intervention of the Soviet Union, then becoming a major social-imperialist power in the capitalist world market. This fact is absolutely essential to an understanding of the internal changes in Egypt. It allowed for a change in the balance of class power to occur in the development of the state bourgeoisie, as opposed to the traditional bourgeoisie, and in the qualitative political weakening of the autonomous movement of the popular masses. At the same time it provided the Nasser regime with a wide economic and political margin for maneuvering with respect to the Western imperialist camp.

The new Soviet leadership temporarily presented the nationalist bourgeoisies and the petty-bourgeois elites, oppressed by the Western monopolies, with a chance to develop and promote the relative development of their national economies. This strategy coincided fortuitously with the Nasserist views. It meant that the Soviets would import most of the cotton produced, that they would be willing to supply the Egyptian army with modern equipment, and that they would offer to finance Egyptian purchases of machinery, steel products, chemicals, petroleum, and other industrial materials on easy terms. And the High Dam project would soon be added to these advantages.

Strong ideological and political reservations within the Egyptian leadership had to be overcome, however, in order to establish substantive relationships with countries outside the Western camp, countries of the so-called Communist bloc. It was argued that these relationships would loosen the sway of the Western imperialist countries without breaking the ties with them and without implying the least adhesion to the official ideology of the Eastern bloc countries; also, such relationships would not be interpreted as being a uniquely Egyptian or Arabic stance, but as part of an international Afro-Asiatic, and later tricontinental, movement.

The principal Egyptian leaders quickly understood the advantages of a situation in which the Eastern countries would temper the pressures exercised by the West; furthermore, they were able to argue that other non-Communist countries whose position was comparable to that of Egypt were adopting a similar approach. In addition, this orientation, soon to be consecrated by Egypt's participation in the Bandung Conference in April 1955, provided the regime with excellent credentials. It could boast of a policy of "positive neutrality," which was then seen as essentially "anti-imperialist" and as part of the "revolutionary" assembly of oppressed countries, while at the same time it ushered in for Egypt a new era of "national growth," and economic development.

Nevertheless, the first agreements for arms purchases from Czechoslovakia and for the sale of Egyptian cotton to the Soviet Union were to start a chain of domestic and foreign reactions which were unforeseen by the Egyptian leaders.

The monumental project of constructing the High Dam on the Nile to create an enormous power source and irrigate new areas—representing a third of Egypt's arable land—set off the process. The High Dam represented both a synthesis of economic projects and the political symbol of the new power's policy orientation. It thus became of ever increasing concern to the regime.

The regime engaged in extended bargaining with the United States and Great Britain about the project in hopes they would undertake its technical and financial implementation, relying on the prestige Egypt had recently acquired at Bandung and on the fact that the Western countries no longer possessed the worldwide monopoly on the capital and technology required for the project. The United States and Great Britain, knowing the economic, political, and ideological ties which determined Egypt's structural dependence on the Western market and convinced that the Soviet Union's new stand did not fundamentally alter these,¹ attached a certain number of conditions to their acceptance of the project. Basically, they claimed the right to control the Egyptian state's economic policies and, in the guise of setting it on a sounder basis, to oppose the overall program to develop low-return industrial projects which would compete with Western production.

It was then that Nasser, who had just been elected president of the republic, decided to nationalize the Suez Canal. This decision was both economic and political. The profits of the Canal Company were far from negligible (about thirty million Egyptian pounds per year at that time). But the essential meaning of the action lay in its challenge to the traditional colonial powers, Great Britain and France, and in the new opportunities it offered for exerting pressure on all the Western powers because of the patriotic upsurge and international solidarity it would trigger.

The tripartite aggression against Egypt which followed was meant to deal the death blow to the Nasser regime. The combined military forces of France, Great Britain, and Israel were to paralyze the Egyptian military forces, which at the time were still small and inadequately equipped. Given a situation in which the popular energy had been

1. The United States and the other Western countries would only see the implications of this new stand years later.

Nasser playing both sides of the fence in 1956. Top (inset), Nasser with Soviet foreign minister Dmitri Shepilov (left) at former King Farouk's guest house. Below, with World Bank President Black in Nasser's garden.

Cover photo from *Class Conflict in Egypt*.

mercilessly repressed—as will be seen later, the participation of civilians in combat during the period of aggression was strictly limited—the Egyptian state materially had no chance to win against the aggression.

It nevertheless survived and even won a series of economic and political advantages because the international situation was exceptionally favorable. England and France, on the decline, could not challenge the United States, which, because it was not directly touched by the nationalization and was seeking to take maximum advantage of the situation at the expense of the belligerent powers, exerted pressure on them to stop the operations. Israel, in turn, could only follow the line adopted by the Western powers.² Finally, the Soviet Union seemed ready to provide massive support to Egypt if the aggression continued.

The Nasser regime made tremendous political capital of the withdrawal of British and French forces.

In the meantime all the banks, insurance companies, and large British or French companies were Egyptianized, with their capital passing into Egyptian hands. The financial and banking institutions were taken over by the state, which found itself controlling both the financial infrastructure and the most important foreign economic interests. These measures entailed a drastic change in the relationship between the Egyptian economy and Western European monopoly capital: the latter suddenly lost its major source of direct economic pressure inside the country.

Furthermore, in reaction to the economic blockade which the Western countries temporarily imposed on Egypt in retaliation against the nationalizations, Nasser turned to the Soviet Union, which, in 1957, provided him with twenty million pounds worth of first priority supplies. In 1958 a series of agreements was signed with the U.S.S.R. advancing the credit and technical assistance needed for the first stage of the construction of the High Dam and for the creation of several dozen factories in exchange for Egyptian cotton. These years were thus a decisive turning point for the regime.

Egypt on the world capitalist market

The period from 1955 to 1958 was one of worldwide delusion. At the Bandung Conference several dozen national-bourgeois leaders from Asia and Africa met representatives of the People's Republic of China

2. The withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai at the beginning of 1957 was nevertheless contingent on conditions, to be discussed later, which were divulged ten years later.

and discovered through them new opportunities for contacts with the East and for withstanding the pressures exerted on them by the Western imperialist states. While providing them with various kinds of support for their plans of capitalist development, as well as with crucial political credentials in the eyes of their people, these opportunities did not jeopardize their own privileges as a domestic class or radically sever their ties with Western imperialism.

Nevertheless, a sense of national identity for the long humiliated and subjugated Asian and African peoples bloomed during this stage. For the first time ever, the peoples from the countries represented at the conference saw their national representatives uniting outside the aegis of the imperialist powers and without imperialist intervention. They thus acquired new status and dignity. In most cases, however, this new dignity remained bourgeois in nature. This period saw the strengthening of bourgeois national feelings to the relative detriment of the Western imperialist states and of local feudal and comprador classes—and above all to the detriment of the patriotic popular movements of these countries.

Indeed, the political delusions generated by this situation, strongly fostered by the local bourgeoisies as well as by the Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which had just taken over all power in its country at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were to have disastrous effects on the international revolutionary movement. In the end these delusions were to give birth to a wild scheme, elaborated by Soviet revisionists after their Twenty-second Congress. The Soviet plan would supposedly provide a new opportunity for bourgeois-national or bourgeois-bureaucratic leaders to disengage from the world capitalist market and from their dependence on the imperialist countries. They would thus be able to take a noncapitalist road by relying increasingly on the socialist countries externally and on the petty-bourgeois elites domestically. The growth of political or military mass initiatives in these countries and, therefore, of the leadership role of the local proletariat was thereby unnecessary for the attainment of the socialist road, as the Soviet Union would assume the role of a worldwide dictatorship of the proletariat!

Such delusions were a cover for the class interests of the national bourgeoisies and of the petty-bourgeois elites, who aspired to promote national capitalist development to the detriment of a mass patriotic revolutionary movement and in spite of the pressures exerted by the Western imperialist states. Such class interests paralleled those of the

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Soviets In Egypt: High Dam, Low Road Part I

Continued from page 9

new Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie in search of areas of influence and economic domination outside Europe.

The artificial political and economic credit thus gained by the African and Asian bourgeois leadership during this period tended to demobilize the popular masses. It encouraged them to trust to bourgeois leaders and foreign support to solve their problems; it led them to accept the repression of the mass movement by these bourgeois leaders for the sake of regaining the national dignity and immediate economic development which these leaders could hasten with the aid of the new Russian bourgeoisie.

In short, this period witnessed the political demoralization of the mass revolutionary movements and, in particular, the ideological, political, and military dismantling of the anti-imperialist movements of armed revolutionary struggle. It gave priority to peaceful economic development—i.e., the growth of the productive forces of these countries—over the violent political development of the mass movement—the revolutionary transformation of the social relationships of production.

The “democratic bourgeois anti-imperialist revolution,” then, was merely the consolidation of the national capitalist road with the blessings of the Russian bureaucratic bourgeoisie. By usurping the prestige of the October Revolution and putting it in the service of the neo-imperialist interests of its new bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union again brought into question the prodigious post-World War II revolutionary upsurge. It thus gave an ideological guarantee to the system of imperialist domination, in which it was not taking part. To some extent this guarantee also served the local bourgeoisies of the oppressed countries.

By the end of 1956 the Egyptian state power had acquired very wide freedom of political movement, domestically as well as internationally, which had resulted particularly from the decisive changes in the relationships between the Egyptian economy and Western European monopoly capital after the Egyptianization and nationalization of British or French companies was followed by the political failure of the tripartite aggression. And this freedom of movement was largely reinforced by the prestige of the new relationship with the Soviet Union, which was claimed as proof of the true anti-imperialist character of the new state power, of its determination to realize the national independence of Egypt.

Yet under the Nasser regime Egypt was basically powerless to achieve true national independence. Integrated in the world capitalist market, it could only succeed in gaining a relative margin of freedom within this market, only insofar as contradictions between the dominating imperialist powers neutralized temporarily and relatively their own capacity to impose their direct will singly or collectively on Egypt. Indeed, representing capitalist exploitation, and based as it was on the systematic repression of the popular movement, the Nasser regime could not rely on the revolutionary initiative of the masses to realize its projects against the will of the imperialist powers. Rather, it could realize them only with the massive capital and technical assistance, civilian as well as military, of these powers. It was precisely on such external assistance that the regime based its projects.

Certain international circumstances were particularly favorable to the realization of these projects. First, the traditional imperialist powers, France and England, which had a direct stake in Egypt were declining drastically. Second, the new powers which entered the arena to replace them—the Eastern European countries undergoing a rapid capitalist transformation and the Western countries, such as the United States, followed by West Germany, Japan, and Italy—were engaged in fierce competition. Finally, the imperialist tendencies of the Soviet Union, which dominated the Eastern European countries, had not yet fully crystallized; it had not yet begun to apply the whole range of typically imperialist pressures, and in these early years the ties it was in the process of establishing with countries like Egypt still retained quite a loose, flexible, and undefined character.

Its nationalist orientation toward development and its willingness to upset the most outdated domestic structures made the new Egyptian ruling team particularly apt at taking advantage of the rapidly changing balance of international forces. Through the new state power, the relationships of the local ruling class with the major powers of the world capitalist market thus took a new form. For a few years the Egyptian state power acquired a relative freedom of political movement on the international scene. Its politics were no longer subordinate to London, and the competition between the Eastern countries and newcomers from the West to replace London allowed it a freedom of movement hitherto unknown.

When the power of the imperialist countries which had directly dominated Egypt crumbled after the failure of the tripartite aggression, the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union resulted in a temporary direct-domination gap. The American imperialists called this a period of “power vacancy” and determined to fill the gap. The revisionist Soviet leadership which had just taken power called it a “bourgeois-democratic revolution” and decided to “protect” it against imperialism. As a result the Egyptian state power gained an unusual margin to maneuver for a few years. Relying on its new political prestige and on a favorable domestic balance of forces, it utilized the opportunities afforded by the rivalry of the two camps to promote Egyptian capitalist development.

This margin of freedom disappeared as soon as the Soviet Union decisively consolidated its political and economic hold on the country. We shall return to this point. During the period considered, however, this relative freedom within the world capitalist market was interpreted as the accession to national independence. We must therefore elucidate

this concept.

National independence is measured by a country's capacity to escape the domination, pressures, or influence of any force foreign to the nation, that is, of any imperialist force. It implies the autonomous capacity to defend oneself against the hostility of one or several imperialist powers without becoming dependent on another power. It implies, therefore, the capacity of development outside the capitalist camp. In other words, it implies the total mobilization of the nation's vital forces—the broad popular masses—the only ones capable of constituting a conscious, organized, productive fighting army which could withstand any form of external pressure—direct or indirect, military or economic—while creating the material forces for an original and independent national development.

The broad popular masses alone have a real interest in taking such a road, in breaking both the foreign and domestic fetters of oppression. The only true anti-imperialism resides in the rejection of any foreign dependency and can be achieved only insofar as the popular masses are mobilized and organized to impose it.

The new state power, as we have seen, did not pose the problem in these terms. The class interests it represented were defined by integration into the capitalist market and the exploitation and repression of the wide masses. How is it, then, that it could have passed as truly anti-imperialist?

It was possible as long as nascent Soviet imperialism had not revealed its true face and, therefore, as long as Egypt, by leaning increasingly on it, seemed to move away from the world capitalist market. Western imperialism was the exclusive visible threat at the time. Egypt challenged it through the progressive establishment of ties with Eastern Europe and thus, rather than appearing to submit to a new form of dependence, seemed on the way to a radical liberation from all imperialist ties as it became closer to the socialist camp. Indeed, socialist aid to the Nasser regime corresponded exactly to what the Western imperialists had denied it until then; it appeared to constitute truly disinterested, anti-imperialist aid.

Yet it must be clearly emphasized that, from the first, this aid helped to perpetuate and consolidate Egypt's integration in the international capitalist market, which the Soviet Union was itself in the process of penetrating. Egypt remained essentially a producer of cotton for export, in exchange for which it received from the Eastern European countries credits toward the purchase of military and industrial equipment. In other words, the structure of Egyptian dependence on the world market, inherited by the new regime from the old one, remained untouched. The center of gravity of this dependence was shifting, temporarily resulting in a revitalization of Egyptian capitalism, but the basic situation of dependence remained unchanged.

The Eastern countries' buying of Egyptian cotton at prices more or less equivalent to those of the world market and selling planes and machinery to Egypt at generally higher prices than those of the Western market—themselves exorbitant monopoly prices—did not in any way constitute a revolution in the international relationships, as pro-Nasser and revisionist propagandists would have it. The United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy provided the decisive proof that these relationships conformed to the fundamental laws of the world capitalist market when, after a period of adaptation, they offered to establish similar relationships with Egypt, involving the purchase of raw materials against the sale of agricultural or industrial production materials.

What was new was that the Soviet Union agreed to purchase large quantities of cotton on a regular basis and to sell the means of production and the modern armaments which, until then, the Western countries had refused to provide; that it offered relatively better credit conditions than they had; and, finally, that, throughout this period, it did not attach political conditions to the economic deals. In other words, the Soviet Union was still learning about imperialist relationships. A latecomer on the international scene, it seemed, at the outset, to present a relatively more attractive stance and make more modest demands than its predecessors had made. Thus it forced them by its competition to grant the dependent bourgeoisies of the world market a few concessions they would not have made before.

This, it must be repeated, was a conjuncture favorable to the growth of the Egyptian state bourgeoisie but not in any way to the weakening of Egypt's organic dependence on the world capitalist market. In brief, what must be grasped is the difference between the temporary vacancy of direct domination during the few years after 1957 and national independence, which is measured by a people's capacity to rely on its own forces—that is, to shed all dependence and tutelage.

If Egypt's direct dependence on a specific imperialist country had temporarily come to an end, its organic dependence on the world market and, therefore, its capacity to free itself from it through its own forces remained unchanged. As a result, the Egyptian state temporarily had a greater freedom of movement within the world market, but its capacity to resist the domination of all the imperialist countries and to reject all forms of dependence (that is, to pull the Egyptian nation out of the world capitalist market) did not increase at all.

Though the Nasserist road did not lead to real independence, for a time it gave the regime sufficient freedom of movement to enable it strongly to reassert the Egyptian identity, to enhance Egyptian prestige, and to take international initiatives which stirred impulses and new hopes among the Egyptian people by restoring their pride. But the creative potential thus liberated was systematically neutralized by the regime itself. Transformed into massive support for the regime, it never became really capable of imposing and defending the full, final independence of Egypt.

Revolutionary Youth Convicted In Atlanta— Again!

On Friday, December 3, Webster Brooks and Greg Johnson, members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), were convicted in an Atlanta courtroom of "criminal trespass." They had been arrested last March on the campus of Atlanta Junior College (AJC) in the wake of the conviction of Wayne Williams as the "sole perpetrator" of the murders of more than 28 Black youth. Their crime? The distribution of a proclamation signed by the RCP and RCYB which blasted the trial and conviction of Williams as "not just a cover-up . . . (but) in fact a perverse extension of the very murders themselves." "These people have a very marked propensity for this type of activity," declared State Prosecutor Duane Cooper, who is on standing assignment to prosecute all RCP-related cases tried in state court in Atlanta. Of course, the exposure of the foul and vicious national oppression that the bourgeoisie has a "marked propensity" for — while clearly the principal reason this trial came down in the first place — is supposed to be forgotten in this purely non-political case of "criminal trespass." On the contrary, the trial and conviction of Webster and Greg is one more indication that the authorities continue to find themselves on very shaky ground since their use of the Williams verdict to pronounce "Case Closed!" in the Atlanta Black youth murders.

Months after the Wayne Williams case they still have to admit that few in Atlanta have bought this "solution" to the murders. A *Washington Post* article this past September reflected the contradictory and still uneasy mood in Atlanta when in the same breath it tried to sum up that "most Atlantans seem satisfied" with the verdict and wound up concluding that still "there are those who are not completely convinced." A case of journalistic understatement? Hardly. Recent events in Atlanta have shown that far from satisfaction resulting from the Williams verdict, quite the opposite is the case. The

press has picked up on the fact that in Williams' appeal there is to be new evidence linking others to the murders, while on another front a committee of mothers of murdered youth has continued to conduct its own investigation of other suspects. Add to this the fact that Toni Cade Bambara — a progressive Black poet and author — recently excerpted a chapter from her soon-to-be-published book on the Atlanta murders that vividly portrays them as an integral part of the daily torture of Blacks in the U.S., and it is easy to understand the furrowed brows and the gnashing of teeth emanating from the high and mighty. It is in the context of these events that the trial and verdict took place.

The AJC campus had not been very hospitable towards the authorities during the murders and the Williams trial. Last February, some AJC students, inspired by a city-wide teach-in on the murders, decided to organize a teach-in on their campus. With only a few days notice over 150 students and several teachers joined in discussion and hot debate over what was the real cause of the murders and the hand behind them. When the Williams verdict came down nailing him for 26 of the official 28 murders (estimates have run as high as 50 murdered and missing Black youth), a wave of outrage swept Atlanta. For many, the proclamation cut through the legal mumbo-jumbo and the "lone nut" scenario.

As soon as the proclamation hit the streets, so did the cops — with a vengeance.

At AJC, Webster and Greg, who had never before been told to leave the campus, were ordered off by none other than the Dean of Students and a strutting peacock of a professor who prides himself on being "in charge of clearing the halls" and acts the thug whenever any student activities appear "dangerous." Webster and Greg had been sitting at a cafeteria table with about 12 other students when these two stormed in and ordered them off campus. Much to the shock of the Dean and his pal, a 30-minute debate erupted involving some 80 students, ending only when a phalanx of Atlanta cops dragged Webster and Greg to jail. Students who protested were threatened with arrest.

A few days after the AJC bust, at the MARTA Five Points transit station downtown, several youth took up the proclamation, grabbing two banners and marching through the area calling on others to join. "The whole thing's a cover-up, the whole thing stinks!" they chanted. Once more Greg and Webster were snatched from the crowd, even as up to 200 people circled close and demanded their release. (Webster and Greg were convicted last summer for "obstructing

an officer" and sentenced to 6 months, pending appeal, for this arrest.) Several days later, as the MARTA station became a hotbed of activity exposing the real deal behind the Williams verdict, the pigs attacked again, arresting 4 — including Greg. This case is still pending. The very actions undertaken by the authorities underscore just how hellbent they were to keep the proclamation and the youth taking it up off the streets.

At the trial though, not a single word was uttered about the youth murders or the proclamation by the Dean or the professor — the only witnesses for the prosecution. Instead, they tried to claim that Webster and Greg were "taking over the cafeteria" and "cussing out the students." The professor, who prides himself on the file he keeps of all the "subversive literature" that enters AJC, denied straight-up ever seeing the proclamation. To the extent that the prosecution admitted its political motives it was only to label the RCYB as "dedicated to disrupting the government and causing disruptions."

Attempting to hold together the "non-political" charade, prosecutor Duane Cooper, in his closing remarks, uttered with a straight face that: "What these people believe is irrelevant to the state." Say what? Irrelevant? Logging a combined record of 12 arrests, Webster faces 6 months probation and a \$500 fine for a bust in the Bowen Homes projects around May Day '81 and 6 months jail time for the MARTA bust, while Greg faces a total of 1-1/2 years in jail and a \$1,000 fine for burning American flags in Techwood Homes during May First 1981 and the MARTA bust. With prosecutor Cooper promising to go for the maximum one-year sentence for the AJC "criminal trespass" case (including fines), when sentencing comes up at the end of this month or early January, it is quite apparent just how relevant the authorities find the opposition to the Atlanta child murders and the exposure of their bloody hands behind them. □

What Makes Brazil A Bastion Of Democracy

Dear RW:

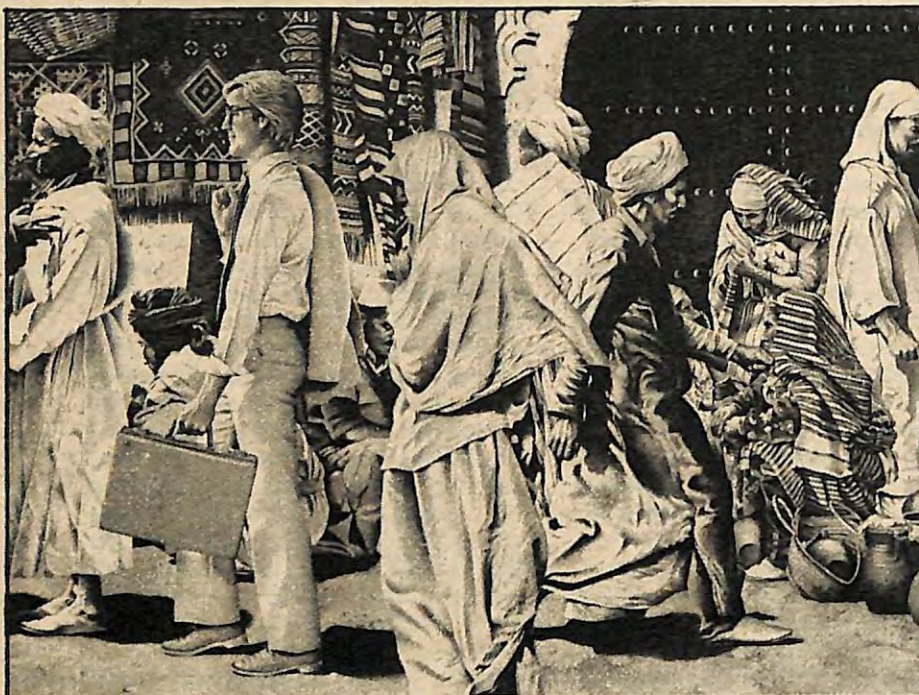
A couple of anecdotes, brought to mind by Reagan's Brazil visit, which throw a little light on the nature of the relations between these two countries and the role of Brazil in the U.S. bloc:

The first concerns Brazil's role as a regional gendarme for U.S. imperialism. In 1970 the left-leaning, somewhat nationalist Torres government in Bolivia was overthrown in an armed coup. I had heard, while traveling in Latin America, that the whole thing had been engineered with the cooperation of Brazil, with armed forces being staged in Brazil and in the adjacent areas of Bolivia, and the covert but active participation of the Brazilian armed forces, who had, in turn, been led to power by U.S. armed forces and CIA advisors. But still I was surprised to find how blatant this Brazil/U.S. intervention was when I went to Bolivia myself about a year after the coup. There were constant police checkpoints and anyone entering into a particular area had to register with the local control office and get his papers marked. I found that both in the main police headquarters in La Paz and in the local headquarters in the countryside there was always at least one Brazilian — sometimes in plainclothes, sometimes in uniform — who was clearly in charge and who took over any particularly important interrogation of suspicious travelers. Then, in a city near the Peruvian border, in a bar favored by officers, there was a pile of matchbooks in a basket near the cash register, each one emblazoned with a motto that was particularly familiar in 1972: "Bolivia — love it or leave it" — and most cynically, this slogan was written in Portuguese.

Another, very recent story: Recently I got a letter from friends in Brazil complaining that they hadn't received any of the political literature I'd sent them, and explaining why: "Here in Brazil, after years of dictatorship, we are now undergoing what is called the 'abertura democrática' ('democratic opening'). This means they open our mail and democratically confiscate it."

Petty Strivings Maybe, But A Big Appetite . . .

In his essay "The 'Disarmament' Slogan," Lenin takes stock of "the petty striving of petty states to hold aloof, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity . . ." As can be seen from the accompanying ad, such strivings and desires are based on a big appetite.



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Battle Lines In Africa

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geria proposal for such an army was graphically illustrated in the role played by the Nigerian, Zairean and Senegalese troops, operating as a sort of OAU army in embryo, in the aftermath of the Libyan invasion of Chad in late 1980. Under the guise of protecting Chad from further Libyan incursions, the entire operation was funded by U.S. and French imperialism and served only to attempt to stabilize Chad under the wing of the U.S. bloc. In fact, it was under the watchful eyes of this force that the more committed pro-U.S. Habre forces literally took over the capital of Chad and militarily ran out the weaker and vacillating Goukhouni forces from Chad and into the arms of Libya.

Great Potential For Demagoguery

Of course, it should also be pointed out here that the use of such demagoguery in pulling together the war bloc is by no means limited to the U.S. bloc. In fact, the recent events surrounding the OAU were also a staging ground for precisely the same kind of demagoguery, with exactly the same aims, being run out by the Soviets and their bloc. From the Soviet side, however, all of their bloc-tightening was couched in strident denunciations of Western "colonialism and imperialism." Under this banner, Qaddafi once again proved himself to be a demagogue extraordinaire. According to all the various press reports, the speeches delivered by Qaddafi throughout the 12 days of attempting to pull the summit together were riddled with furious invective against "Western imperialism and colonialism." In his closing speech, Qaddafi railed against French and U.S. neo-colonialism — informing the French neo-colonial puppets that their attendance at the earlier Franco-African summit was a "disgrace" and that he saw no need for Libya to continue sending separate ambassadors to each of the French neo-colonies, since he could just send one to Paris in order to deal with them all. In reference to the U.S. imperialists, Qaddafi denounced the U.S. puppets for aligning themselves with a country which treats Black people worse than dogs and which "feeds on the blood of the people of the world." At one point it was reported in the *Washington Post* that Qaddafi even went so far as to call for "war against America." However, while Qaddafi spouts seemingly righteous denunciations of the role of the U.S. bloc imperialists in Africa, he is conspicuously silent about the Soviet social-imperialists, and in fact his opposition to the U.S. bloc is limited to and conditioned by the degree to which he can promote the interests of the Soviet imperialists through his role as a point man for the Soviets in northern and western Africa. For example, although Qaddafi has many harsh words for the crimes of the U.S. in Africa, he openly promotes and embraces the Soviet-backed military junta in Ethiopia, even as they wage vicious wars against the people of Eritrea, Oromo and Tigray — wars which in many ways are reminiscent of the U.S. war in Vietnam, including in the use of "yellow rain" and napalm in an attempt to crush the struggle of the people.

Qaddafi certainly has his own bourgeois ambitions in Africa, as shown for example in his attempted annexation of Chad and his various other forays, but these ambitions can only be pursued by hooking up with one imperialist bloc or the other, which today has meant aligning himself with the Soviets. And, while Qaddafi's ambitions may sometimes bring him into conflict with the Soviets, it should also be pointed out that even here the Soviets are able to attempt to utilize these conflicts in order to enhance Qaddafi's role as an "independent" political force in Africa. And, more fundamentally, whatever conflicts do arise between Libya and the Soviets, they are overwhelmingly very secondary to the overall dovetailing of interests there. The 1980 Libyan invasion and attempted annexation of Chad and all of the intense jockeying around the Chad issue today is a case in point. Qaddafi's moves have been motivated by both a quest to expand his turf and a desire to prevent the development of a situation where Libya is completely surrounded by very hostile pro-U.S. regimes. At the same time, the

Soviets are undoubtedly looking forward to the potential of establishing a stronghold in central Africa and are none too enthusiastic about the prospects of their main conduit for arms and military aid to the Middle East and Africa, Libya, being hemmed in by pro-U.S. regimes. And by way of further example, it should also be noted that although Qaddafi felt compelled to take some swipes at "the personality problems of Idi Amin" during the most recent OAU debacle, it was not all that long ago that Qaddafi was able to find political and military unity with Amin (and eventually even offer him initial sanctuary) as he dispatched troops and money to the Soviet-supported efforts by Amin to ward off the U.S.-backed and financed Tanzanian invasion of Uganda in 1978-79. Joining Qaddafi in all this demagoguery at the OAU were the various straight-up neo-colonies and clients of the Soviet imperialists in Africa, most notably Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia.

One of the main focal points of immense amounts of demagoguery, from both the U.S. and Soviet blocs, has been South Africa. This is especially true of the various U.S. puppets and client states in Africa since, as we pointed out last week, a key component of the stepped-up moves by the U.S. bloc to tighten up its ranks is the pulling together of some form of a working alliance between these various regimes and South Africa. For the most part, the U.S. bloc demagoguery on this issue has been designed to cover up the formation and workings of this alliance. However, the political and objective realities that this demagoguery attempts to hide are best illustrated by a couple of sharp examples.

First is the current chairman of the OAU, Daniel arap Moi, of Kenya. When Moi first assumed chairmanship of the OAU in 1981, his opening speech at the 18th summit of the heads of state declared, "We condemn without any qualification the inhuman policy of apartheid and the schemes and devices of the South African regime." In addition, it was during this session of the OAU that a resolution was issued which called for an airline boycott of the South African regime. Of course, the irony in all of this was the fact that, according to *Africa Now*, as the various African heads of state arrived in Nairobi for the meeting, they had to be immediately rushed out of the airport in order to prevent them from seeing evidence of the fact that Nairobi has become the most important refueling stop for South African air traffic to Europe.

The example of Robert Mugabe and "independent" Zimbabwe is much sharper. Mugabe has built his reputation, and to a large extent his political role in Africa, on his supposed "radicalism" and the defeat of white minority rule in Rhodesia. Yet, on the first anniversary of the "independence" of Zimbabwe, it was this very same Mugabe who publicly offered the "olive branch of peace" to South Africa. And, during a 1980 television interview in New York, Mugabe stated, "We know that apartheid is abominable. It is repugnant to the whole international community. But we must accept that South Africa is a geographical reality, and as such we must have some minimal relationship with it." And this is indeed what Mugabe has done, although to label the virtual dependence of many of the economic lifelines of Zimbabwe on South Africa as a "minimal relationship" is certainly the understatement of the century. Two-thirds of all the productive investments in Zimbabwe are owned by foreign companies, and within this, 50% of them are owned by South African companies. 95% of Zimbabwe's overseas exports move through South Africa's rail and port system, and its import pattern is roughly the same. South Africa supplies Zimbabwe with its oil and equipment for its railways. And finally, Zimbabwe's telecommunication system is directly tied into relay and switching centers in Johannesburg.

All of this is not to say that somehow the necessary alliance between South Africa and these various pro-Western countries already exists or simply needs some fine tuning. The situation today as far as the U.S. imperialists are concerned clearly calls for a leap beyond what presently

exists. But the point is that there already is a strong material basis for this happening — and not just for a few of these countries. It should also be noted that this entire situation is fraught with contradictions, not the least of which is the fact that the very political stability of many of these regimes themselves is in many ways being put on the line. And it is partly here where the Soviet demagoguery on South Africa comes into play — allowing the Soviets, under the banner of being "anti-apartheid" and "anti-colonial," to fish in the waters stirred up by these contradictions with the aim of attempting to throw up obstacles to the tightening up of the U.S. bloc and further unleashing political unrest within these countries themselves. However, it is a fact that these countries, including the ones like Nigeria that are not directly tied into South Africa, are all very much tied into and bound up with the imperialist powers in the U.S. bloc. And, it is the overriding interests of these powers and the bloc as a whole that is compelling these neo-colonial countries into a working alliance with South Africa as part of that bloc.

Two-Edged Sword

But the process of stepping up and tightening up the entire bloc is much more complicated than simply placing the pieces of a puzzle in their proper places. Instead of being a smooth, well-orchestrated affair, it is a situation plagued with profound, intertwined difficulties and contradictions on every front, political, economic and so forth. And these very contradictions at all levels weigh more heavily and become more serious at just the same time as the motion toward welding and consolidating the bloc together increases.

One very crucial aspect of stitching the bloc together has been on the economic front, through economic aid, that is, in the realm of the dollar and the related international monetary system. In many instances in Africa, although certainly not unique to Africa, this has come down to literally pinning together and propping up regimes teetering on the brink of bankruptcy as well as many others that are swinging heavily in that direction. But the key in determining who gets what aid is certainly not a question of economic growth or need; rather, and this is increasingly so, the determining factor is a matter of strategic and military importance. A glaring example of this is Sudan, which stands the closest of all African countries to complete bankruptcy — although it is certainly not the only example, since, as *New African* points out, there are at least nine African countries that cannot even attempt to pay their bills at all. In September of 1982, it was reported that Sudan's debt was \$6-8 billion. Still, though, given its strategic and military importance, as reflected by the fact that Sudan is the recipient of the largest amount of U.S. military aid in Africa, and the fact that an economic collapse in Sudan would pose even more problems in the world economic set-up, the U.S. bloc is not about to allow Sudan to go under. Hence, a whole slew of international monetary agencies have continually come to Sudan's rescue by renegotiating its mammoth debts. Of course, all of this renegotiation and attempted salvation also entails increased repression of the masses of people and infamously harsh austerity measures — all of which only further contributes to the overall destabilization of Sudan in another way. It was even suggested after Sudan's most recent economic rescue that one of the austerity measures implemented should be the abolition of food and fuel subsidies. Reflecting the precariousness of their overall situation, the Sudanese government promptly rejected this proposal, citing riots among the Sudanese people earlier this year as the reason why.

But this very method to shore up the bloc, along with the unprecedented amounts of money doled out for the massive military build-up, inevitably bounces back like a rubber check, further destabilizing the whole scene — including both the neo-colonial regimes and the imperialists themselves. The very financial and monetary structures which serve as the key link in stitching the entire bloc together resound back as carrier cells of the ever-deepening crisis. For the imperialists, this is a do-or-die situation, best characterized as attempting to walk through hell in a gasoline sports coat. As

Basic Principles For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and the Line of the International Communist Movement puts it: "... this is a double-edged sword the imperialists are holding: after a certain point, the bankruptcy or near bankruptcy of many of these countries becomes a threat to the whole financial structure of the imperialists themselves, and beyond that the increased suffering of broad sections of the masses is bound to and does give rise to increased and more powerful rebellion. And yet the imperialists can in no way let go of this sword."

And Crossed Swords

Clearly this is not merely a figure of speech, for there are indeed some very real swords being sharpened and prepared for battle. A substantial proportion of the African continent has been engaged in war over the last few years. Aside from the various national liberation struggles going on — whether against the U.S. or Soviet bloc — many of these wars have actually been proxy wars between the two imperialist blocs and have been carried out as preparations for, and even partial steps toward, the redivision of the planet through world war. Among others, these wars have included the war in Chad, the wars between Egypt and Libya, Somalia and Ethiopia, Sudan and Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda, and the continental attacks by South Africa on the pro-Soviet regimes in Angola and Mozambique. The entire continent has been cordoned off by a whole network of military bases and ports, most of which are in the hands of the U.S./NATO forces (47 of them, to be exact), while a smaller number are in the hands of the Soviets. Since 1978 Africa has become the No. 2 arms importer in the "third world" (second only to the Middle East), and in 1981 spent an estimated \$8 billion on arms alone.

It is on this terrain that the U.S.-led bloc has intensified its moves to militarily gear up its ranks. Over the last month or so the U.S. bloc has carried out a number of military exercises throughout Africa — all "coincidentally" timed to coincide with the OAU meeting and the announcement of the new U.S. policy on Namibia. In late November, 5000 French troops joined with Senegalese troops to conduct joint military exercises which covered 8,000 square kilometers of Senegal and involved amphibious landing exercises on November 29 and air-land exercises on December 3. The French troops included members of the French garrison stationed in Senegal as well as important units of the France-based army, navy and air force. The French naval forces involved in the exercises included an aircraft carrier and a missile carrier. Also in late November, the U.S. itself carried out its own military exercises in Africa. According to *Africa News*, three ships from the U.S.' South Atlantic fleet were conducting training exercises which involved visits to ports in 13 West African countries during the month of November. Entitled the "West African training cruise '82," this exercise was supposedly a "goodwill mission" aimed at "enhancing navy-to-navy relations." However, also included as a key part of these exercises were "orientation training" sessions for the coast guards and navies of all the various countries visited. Interestingly enough, especially in light of the developing U.S. strategy for the "defense" of the South Atlantic, the three ships involved in this exercise had just completed the annual UNITAS exercises with 11 Latin American countries. And, on November 27, the U.S. Marine Corps engaged in amphibious landing exercises in Somalia. Conducted near the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force base at Berbera, this was the first time ever that these types of exercises were held in Somalia, and they were the second U.S. military exercises held this year in Somalia.

In addition to the various military exercises, the U.S. bloc has also been actively engaged in attempting to pull together a number of different regional military alliances in Africa. In northern Africa, the "Cairo-Khartoum axis," which includes Egypt, Sudan and Somalia, has been pulled together on the basis of a "common opposition to Libya." More recently, the November 29 issue of *West Africa* reported that the chief of staff of the Nigerian army had arrived in Zimbabwe for military talks with Zimbabwean government officials. And, for the last few

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Won't You Come Home Dear Enver . . .

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:

Given the recent and widely-publicized Soviet efforts to "play the China card," evidence of a similar Soviet initiative toward Albania may be of some interest to readers of the *RW*. To be sure, in the context of the current international situation and when compared to the China overtures, moves toward Soviet-Albanian reconciliation are most definitely "minor league," if not "Little League." Yet the lingering influence of Albania's line among some Marxist-Leninists internationally may justify some attention to this development.

On November 29, an article appeared in a prominent position on the international page of *Pravda*, newspaper of the Central Committee of the CPSU, entitled "Holiday of the Albanian People." Now the appearance of just about any comment on Albania, much less on Albanian holidays, in the Soviet press is itself rather unusual. But this piece was further distinguished by a particularly conciliatory, even comradely tone. The article begins by noting that November

29 marks the thirty-eighth anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascist occupation, and that the preceding day had seen the seventieth anniversary of Albania's formal independence from the old Ottoman Empire. Five paragraphs follow very briefly sketching the history of twentieth century Albania, and, then, the break between Albania and the Soviet Union and "other countries of the socialist community" is recalled in a short sentence.

After this we get to the heart, and obvious purpose, of the piece. I will translate: "On the basis of a principled line on the improvement of relations and the development of friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries, the Soviet Union has, ever since the October 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU [which deposed Khrushchev], repeatedly declared its readiness to renew normal relations with Albania. In his recent speech at the mourning assembly [Brezhnev's funeral] in Red Square, General Secretary Iu. V. Andropov stressed that our party will do everything for the most extensive

strengthening of the unity of the great community of socialist states, for the unity of the ranks of the Communists of the whole world in the struggle for our common goals and ideals."

Recent statements to this effect by the Soviet rulers have generally, and correctly, been understood as directed to their East European allies and, more directly, toward China. But the article pointedly notes that these words apply as well to Soviet-Albanian relations, and it goes on for a seemingly interminable paragraph gushing about the "warm, comradely feelings" of the Soviet people toward Albania. (Actually, during a recent stay in the Soviet Union, I met very few Soviet citizens who knew much or even thought about Albania, and those who did tended to view the country and especially its leadership as an international joke!)

The article reports that in Moscow a meeting of Soviet historians was being held to commemorate the anniversary of Albanian independence, and that the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society (who would have guessed such a group even

exists?) was marking the anniversary of Albania's liberation from fascism with a program. Further, we are informed that these "two notable dates" occasioned publication of a series of works on Albanian history, language and ethnography by Soviet scholars. The article concludes by expressing the "sincere sympathy" of the Soviet people for Albania, and wishing the Albanians "success in socialist construction."

It has for some time been clear that no question of fundamental principle distinguishes the line of Enver Hoxha from that of Brezhnev, Andropov & Co. For example, the Albanian government joined the chorus in denouncing the uprisings of the Polish masses against the regime in Poland and implicitly supported the government's martial law clampdown. Indeed, there have been more than a few hints that the Albanians have begun knocking at the Kremlin door. Now the Soviet leadership has made clear that they too recognize this reality. The door, "comrade" Hoxha, is open.

A Reader

As The Dust Settles . . .

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nals throughout France.

—The European Court: This idea continues to be floated about by France from time to time, although it is not really getting off the ground. The idea would be to have an inter-ally court judge "blood crimes and terrorist acts" and rule on whether or not to extradite from one place to another. France would like to shift the responsibility for extraditions onto such a court for public relations purposes (preventing its "socialist" mask from becoming completely tattered), but at this point it's mainly a device to promote the idea of close cooperation among the allied forces in all spheres. Discussion of this proposal has also provided a means to get some of the allies on record complaining of France's lax policies towards so-called terrorists, thereby providing a perfect opportunity for France to have to "reassure the international community" by promising to be more in step with the rest of its bloc.

—The new official extradition policy: This is by far the most significant new development. Supposedly answering calls to "clarify" its policy in the wake of the past summer's "wave of terrorism" and acknowledging its European partners' mounting exasperation with their lax policies, the French government announced it was modifying its approach. The very same government which loudly proclaimed 18 months ago that there would never be another political extradition from France as long as they were around now says that unfortunately the international terrorists (yes, them again) have forced a change in the ground rules. The new policy makes it easier to deny asylum and easier to extradite political people. Stating that it would not be retroactive, the government implied that Basque separatists whose extradition to Spain had been denied a few months ago, would "have nothing to fear" (but the rest better watch out) and that Oreste Scalzone would most likely not be extradited to Italy. Scalzone is an Italian leftist described as a propagandist and theoretician who supposedly had links in the past with Italian terrorists. The French government, fully aware of his identity and reputation, recently granted him residency papers. They arrested him barely a month later and were considering extraditing him. Under the new policy it seems he won't be extradited but *only* because he'd effectively been granted asylum and papers before the new policy went into effect — the overt implication is that today he'd never get asylum in the first place and they'd gladly extradite him. No matter exactly how this case ends up, the government has made its point.

Under the new policy, the "severity of the crime" one was charged with would

take precedence over political motivation in evaluating an extradition request. The fact that "terrorist acts" or "crimes of blood" are charges which are often *fabricated* by reactionary states in order to frame political people and especially revolutionaries was blatantly disregarded. Thus in a case such as that of Darnell Summers, the Black revolutionary from the U.S. recently extradited from W. Germany back to the U.S. on the basis of a flagrantly fabricated charge of killing a cop in the '60s, one would now expect France to have a very similar approach. This is all the more true because of the most grotesque new twist in the policy, one which hits right at the heart of what this is all about: From now on a criterion which will *officially* get weighed in evaluating whether a political person can be extradited to another country is "the type of political and legal system of the state demanding the extradition." More specifically, a political person would be extraditable if accused of having committed acts of "unacceptable violence" in a "democratic country" where the justice system functions "normally" (*sic*). Needless to say, all the countries of the Western imperialist bloc which fall under the rubric of democratic countries would have a free hand in extraditing revolutionaries and other political opponents as long as they bothered to fabricate some bogus charges involving "unacceptable violence"!

The new policy states that the same criterion would not be applied to people from countries where violence has been "institutionalized by the state" and where perhaps violence has to be met with violence. But they of course reserve for themselves the right to make the distinctions between countries in accordance with their broader political interests of the moment. In fact, this part of the new policy is a reflection of the fact that France's tightening up internally and *vis à vis* its imperialist allies should not prevent it in any way from playing its special role, posturing as the friend of the 3rd World, peacekeeping force, etc. — quite the contrary. Thus it is maintaining its reputation of granting asylum to people from countries it is currently willing to criticize (El Salvador, Chile, Turkey were examples cited in the press). But even here we should note that the same enthusiastic welcome may not be granted to those genuine revolutionaries who are actively fighting imperialism as a whole . . . One cannot but note that Hüseyin Balkir, the leading revolutionary from Turkey who is in jail in Germany facing possible extradition to Turkey, where he is under an official death order, is not exactly benefiting from France's supposed great concern for people coming from places where torture is commonplace, etc. —

and this despite the fact that he holds French-delivered UN refugee papers, official travel papers and is a resident of France! The very least that can be said is that the French government is not pulling all the stops to get him out of German jails and back to France even though his life is daily threatened.

And of course there's no way France would say a country like the U.S., for instance, has "institutionalized violence," despite the incessant murders of Black people and others at the hands of the police, the countless courtroom frame-ups, the state violence in the prisons, the never-ending attempts to destroy revolutionary organizations and leaders, and despite the waves of terror unleashed by the U.S. around the world on a regular basis — from the nuking of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to the incinerating of Indochina to the mass slaughters in Central America and Beirut, to name just a few. No, this is just "business as usual" under bourgeois democracy, and all these "democratic countries" are the literal blood brothers of France and therefore off the hook.

Africa

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months there has also been an increasing amount of rumbling about the need to pull together some type of East African security alliance which would include Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Completing all of this, Israeli foreign minister Shamir just recently concluded a visit to Zaire during which a number of significant military agreements were signed. Arrogantly hinting at U.S. bloc plans for a bigger Israeli role in Africa, Shamir labeled this trip "Israel's return to Africa" and, in a move obviously carrying a broader message, Shamir even offered to supply Zaire's army with weaponry taken from the Palestinians in Lebanon. (Strangely stepping out of character, Mobutu refused this Israeli offer.)

Beyond all this, the U.S. alone has allocated phenomenally large amounts of money to all of its clients and puppets in Africa for military and security purposes. While exact figures for 1983 are not yet known, the point can definitely be made just by looking at what the U.S. allocated to these regimes in 1982 and keeping in mind the fact that over the last six months U.S. government and military officials have loudly boasted about increasing military allocation to "friends of the U.S." and the need to step up preparations for all "contingencies in Africa."

In Africa, as elsewhere, although the U.S. dispenses its military aid throughout the continent, its greatest effort is concentrated on the strategically most important countries. In 1982, Kenya received Foreign Military Sales credits (FMS) of \$51 million, compared with \$6 million in 1981. Kenya also received a \$1.3 million credit for a military training program.

While, broadly speaking, this has always been the case given the overriding common interests of all the members of the alliance, it is also true that at different times France has opted for a more liberal approach on the asylum/extradition question, both in line with the pursuit of its own interests and in accordance with their particular role within the Western imperialist bloc. What is new here is that now more emphasis is being put by France on openly flaunting the tight brotherhood aspect of the alliance, and that consequently new concrete steps must be taken to reinforce these bonds on a number of different fronts. It is in this light that one should interpret the recent toughening-up of the asylum and extradition policies and the steps taken to fight "international terrorism" — in addition to laying the groundwork for whatever clampdowns might be needed on the home front, these moves are important affirmations of the fact that France is seeking a more unified approach in maintaining cohesion and "social order" within the alliance — and especially with the future in mind. □

Part of Kenya's allocation was to be spent on more F-5 fighter planes, transport planes and anti-tank guns. In addition, Kenya was also granted an extra \$26 million to dredge the Mombassa harbor (one of the bases for the Rapid Deployment Force) and to improve two military airports. Somalia received \$20 million in FMS credits in 1982, and \$350,000 for military training. This money was to be used for the purchase of air "defense" equipment, including missiles, and for bringing the port of Berbera and the Berbera and Mogadishu airports up to operational level. Zaire received \$10.5 million in FMS credits, and \$1.56 million for training as part of the Southern-Central African Security Assistance Program. Zaire's money was earmarked for buying spare parts for its C-130 aircraft and ground transport, patrol boats, communications equipment, jeeps and tanks. Sudan received the largest chunk of U.S. military aid in Africa in 1982 — \$100 million in FMS credits (compared to \$30 million in 1981) and \$1.3 million for a military management training program.

Related to all this, it should also be pointed out that significant amounts of other forms of "development aid" have also been earmarked for attempting to shore up and repair the infrastructures of all these countries. This task ranges from the building and repair of ports, military bases, railways and road systems to the development of large-scale and modern telecommunications systems (aside from the U.S., France has been the other most active member of the U.S. bloc in terms of developing telecommunications systems for these countries) — all a very necessary part of strengthening these bourgeois regimes as well as putting the bloc on a war footing for the future. □

Tin-Horns

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methods employed in the effort to shore them up. Nevertheless, the imperial madness behind the methods was consistent.

One thing that this trip did *not* need, from the U.S. standpoint, was any interference from the masses. There was a concerted effort to keep Reagan as far away from the people as possible; indeed, some Latin American reporters began calling Reagan "the invisible man." Messy riot scenes and such would not sit too well in light of the objectives being pursued. Nevertheless, the imperialists were unable to fully carry out these desires. There were demonstrations in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and three cities in Colombia. The most significant activity took place at the National University in Bogotá, just 20 kilometers from the presidential palace where Reagan met with Colombian president Belisario Betancur. The Mexico City daily, *Excelsior*, described the action: "Insurgents, students, terrorists, and communist activists burned buses and U.S. flags as a sign of repudiation of Reagan's visit." Colombian police teargassed the crowd and students responded with rocks, bottles, and general streetfighting. The *Excelsior* correspondent described the demonstration as "enormous" and said that the action didn't let up until Reagan left the country.

But such activity was quite obviously downplayed in the press, and very few details were made available in either the U.S. or Mexican press reports. This was not a time for bringing up unpleasant difficulties, but rather for maneuvering around them. With the aid of years of grade B movie experience, Reagan managed to maintain a friendly, if somewhat frozen, smile through all the various encounters — a symbol of the pat on the back the U.S. was giving to those who do its bidding. As one Reagan aide told *Newsweek* on the eve of the trip: "You can't say there are jewels of success down there, but after he comes back we should have relationships that are much stronger. You have to assure them on a regular basis that they're important — and they are." After all, they are the guardians of what the U.S. considers its back forty.

Brazil

Nowhere was this more evident than in Brazil — the centerpiece of Reagan's trip. Here the emphasis was on "partnership" although there was a certain care taken to insure that there would be no mistaking who was the *junior* partner. General Figureido brought Reagan to his ranch for a barbeque — "just like being at Santa Barbara," according to Reagan's aides — with *American* country music blasting out in the area. And if this didn't get the message across, Reagan's little mistake — a toast to the "people of Bolivia" — did. Brazil is, after all, still just a Latin America *peon* to the U.S. *patron*.

But then again, not just any *peon*. Taking up half of South America's territory, Brazil is the world's 10th largest economy, the world's seventh largest steel producer, has a large auto and electronics industry and exported over a billion dollars worth of armaments in 1981. It has also served to funnel Western imperialist investment capital into other areas of Latin America. At the same time, Brazil has, along with Mexico, the world's highest foreign debt (somewhere near \$90 billion), huge slums in its large cities, about 40% of the population that still lives entirely outside the money economy... and death squads. Its capital city of Brasilia is the appropriate symbol. Built 22 years ago in a desolate region of scrub brush and hills, it now contains gleaming skyscrapers and the glass-and-marble presidential palace — and no people. The masses are definitely not allowed in Brasilia — and even the government employees who live there take off on the weekends and go to Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. How fitting for Reagan to gaze out at Brasilia and exclaim, "My eyes are dazzled at the progress of the Brazilian nation" — a "progress" fully as hollow as its capital city.

Nevertheless, Brazil is the "third world giant" that is already playing a crucial role in Latin America and beyond for the U.S., and is slated to play an even more important role in the future as the U.S.'s



Bogota, Colombia.
Torching the American flag.

main military gendarme in Latin America. Not only has it supplied weaponry for U.S. lackeys all over the region, being particularly active during the Carter "Human Rights" cutoffs (e.g. El Salvador, Guatemala, etc.), but it has also been directly involved in coups and in setting up similar "National Security States" modeled along its own U.S.-created lines in countries like Uruguay and Bolivia. More importantly, Brazil is strategically situated along the critical sea lanes of the South Atlantic, vital for trade in Persian Gulf oil and southern African minerals, and certain to be a key naval arena in world war. The U.S. has previously made noises about a possible South Atlantic Treaty Organization, to include Brazil and Argentina together with South Africa, but this has yet to be formed. For the moment, the U.S. will make use of Brazil's trade and political links with Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau to work at undercutting the Soviet hold there, while Brazil publicly "disagrees" with the U.S. on South Africa, Namibia, and so forth. In this, it is much like the Central American "disagreement" that Figureido ever-so-mildly aired during one of his many joint speaking engagements with Reagan. As a Brazilian diplomat told the *New York Times*, "We cannot be seen by other Latin countries as being your representative. In fact, we wouldn't even be useful to you in that situation."

In the past some of Brazil's efforts to become a "third world leader," has meant at times taking positions that were somewhat inimical to immediate U.S. interests. But realities being what they are, this has mostly worked out to the U.S.'s benefit in the long run. The *Estado do Sao Paulo* ran an editorial saying that "The Brazilian government for its part has finally recognized that a country with our economic and financial vulnerability cannot afford 'great power chauvinism', and the North American government, for its part, has finally recognized that the specific differences between Brazil and the other countries of Latin America are the great trump card that Brazilian diplomacy represents for the U.S. at such a difficult moment in its dealings with other members of the inter-American system."

The U.S. has also realized the critical importance of tightening up some of the loose ends for the future. Basking in the "cordial spirit" of "improved relations," Sec'y. of State Shultz announced the formation of two "working groups" that would increase cooperation between the U.S. center and its Brazilian outpost; the groups will deal with military assistance and nuclear weapons...uh, power.

But Brazil's role is being threatened by the symptoms that, to one degree or another, are affecting all of Latin

America. The above mentioned "economic and financial vulnerability" is much too real for the imperialists and their followers. After years of frenetic and highly disarticulated imperialist-backed development, the bottom is dropping out of the economy and Brazil is unable to meet its debt payments to Western financial institutions. Although there have already been 2 years of stringent "austerity" measures imposed by the generals and their technocrats, leading to a fall in Brazil's gross domestic product by 2% last year, there is much more of this required, including cuts in government social programs, reductions in imports and wage cuts for most workers. These are demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the \$6 billion loan that Brazil needs to temporarily and partially bail out its imperial creditors and prevent a default.

It is the *political* ramifications of all this that are most threatening to the U.S.' plans for Brazil. The economic crunch exacerbates an already volatile situation. Of particular concern to the U.S. is the significant extent to which the Soviets have been making inroads here, both directly and through the "illegal" but highly visible and officially tolerated CP. Those inroads have involved looking to pick up the fallout from the soured "Brazilian miracle," with a certain emphasis on the sections of the bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie, and the representatives in the military, that were built up and expanded during the high growth years; at the same time, and more covertly, the revisionists have also sought to gain influence within other bourgeois parties and in the trade union movement. These parties joined by the revisionists have made the U.S.-dominated IMF and its "austerity" demands a particular target.

To try and counter this activity, the U.S. came up with several economic maneuvers. In line with the U.S.' overall necessity, Reagan offered a toast to Brazil's "austerity" measures, equating them with the cuts in social programs that he has presided over in the U.S., saying "self-discipline is necessary. So too, is mutual accommodation." Then he offered a new \$1.2 billion loan and urged other lenders to follow suit. He also announced two changes in U.S. policy *vis-à-vis* Brazil's economic position. While he made a point of attacking "the ugly spectre" of protectionism, Reagan announced that the U.S. would no longer oppose Brazil's export subsidies and would temporarily waive sugar quotas, both moves that will help Brazil earn more foreign exchange to pay off its huge debt and please sections of the Brazilian bourgeoisie who are getting squeezed by the austerity process. Taken together, these concessions were designed to blunt the Soviet efforts to make hay out of the IMF loan and the

overall economic straits that Brazil is in. And they were also set up to gather maximum impact. Reagan's aides had previously stated that there would be no new economic programs announced on the trip, but then, after the friendly barbeque and meetings with Figureido, the "surprise" announcements were made — as if the general just *charmed* the concessions out of Reagan. See, it really does pay to stick with the U.S. and its most-favored props.

As it would at every stop on this tour, U.S.-style democracy came in for some high praise from Reagan in Brazil. In this case, he was specifically referring to the *abertura*, or "opening" in Portuguese (Brazil's official language). The *abertura* is an electoral scheme that guarantees that political power will remain in the hands of the PDS, Brazil's ruling party, while involving as many of the masses as possible in the opportunity to vote for the demagogue of their choice. (The CP, forbidden to run openly, backs other reformist and/or big bourgeois candidates.) When it became apparent that the opposition parties would get many more votes than the rulers, the election rules were changed to insure the necessary results. Thus, even though the PDS got less than 40% of the vote, and was soundly beaten by the principal opposition party, it still controls the new congress as well as the executive branch which has the final say in government. But the *abertura* accomplished its purposes of providing the proper outlet for the many frustrations of life in dominated Brazil, while also somewhat containing the influence-mongering of the revisionists. For example, in the race for governor of Rio de Janeiro state, the CP backed the main opposition party candidate, a well-known lackey of the government and the generals, hoping to gain a larger foothold in the ruling echelons. But their favored candidate was "upset" by a third party social-democrat who, backed by West German and Portuguese social-democracy, succeeded in stealing the CP's thunder — and much of its support. But the *abertura*, as much as it has created some difficulties for the revisionists, is also an opening for them to work through other parties.

As a measure of its importance to the U.S., Brazil was the central leg of Reagan's journey. He spent 3 of the 5 days there, and garnered the majority of his trip's press coverage. But the Caribbean basin is a geopolitical entity that also demands a great deal of the U.S.' attention, and Reagan couldn't go home without registering his message there as well.

Colombia

The first clue that something special was on tap for Colombia came very early on in the visit. The first event: a wreath-

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Blood Wedding In Venezuela

The Venezuelan Social Christian government of Luis Herrera Campins, as part of its efforts to rally around the flag of Venezuelan democracy even the pro-Soviet forces who've been persuaded to give up the guerrilla life for a shot at the "historic compromise," has revealed exactly what such compromises are made of. We have just received details from Venezuela of the cold-blooded massacre October 4 of 23 captured guerrilla fighters. This was the latest of a series of blows dealt by the government against the Bandera Roja Party which refused to capitulate to the government and to U.S. domination.

For years, Venezuela has been governed for the U.S. by an alternating series of governments: the Acción Democrática (a social-democratic party best known for its massacres of revolutionaries in the 1960s) and Campins' COPEI (linked to the Christian Democrats in the Salvadoran junta and notable for its vociferous support for U.S. policy there). Recently, both the old-line pro-Soviet CP and leaders of the pro-Cuban guerrilla movement whose split with the CP in the 1960s was once considered the sharpest example of the differences between these two political trends, have merged in the "Coordinating Committee of the Left," in order to participate in the 1983 Presidential elections. Under the slogan "Either we unite the left or all its leaders will be consigned to the trashcan of history," the CP and the former guerrillas of the Movimiento al Socialismo have bludgeoned a variety of forces into their electoral combine, spreading wild dreams about a "Mitterand-type government" which would attract elements of both the AD and even COPEI. Teodoro Petkoff, the MAS's candidate in what is being promoted as the "primaries of the left," explained, "Given the fact that we live in this country, relations with the

U.S. have to be maintained, developed and cultivated." In other words, what these "socialists" seek is exactly the kind of "historic compromise" that would allow pro-Soviet forces to help run a country in the U.S. bloc by agreeing beforehand not to dispute U.S. domination — and lay the basis for a real step forward towards Soviet domination with the advent of different — say, wartime — conditions.

The Bandera Roja Party rejected and fought against this attempt to subordinate the national liberation of the Venezuelan people to the interests of a rival superpower bloc. Bandera Roja was formed twelve years ago as part of a wave of new parties forged in the split with Soviet revisionism led by Mao Tsetung. In 1978, it was one of four Latin American parties that signed a highly significant manifesto against revisionism of all kinds, which upheld Mao's contributions at a moment when revisionism of both the pro-Soviet and Three Worldist pro-Chinese revisionist variety was making rapid headway on that continent. Later Bandera Roja failed to take the same firm stand against Enver Hoxha's revisionist denunciations of Mao, a serious error of principle which led to other errors. Nevertheless, in refusing to go along with the call to "unite the left" and

accept "the rules of the game" of U.S. domination, Bandera Roja very much went against the tide in the Venezuelan left.

For this it was awarded recognition as one of the pro-U.S. government's main enemies. At the same time various "socialists" and "communists" were indulging in an orgy of praise for the "stability of Venezuelan democracy," Interior Minister Luciano Valero announced war on Bandera Roja: "We will destroy the guerrilla movement because they haven't welcomed the pacification policy put forward by the government of Luis Herrera Campins."

In April, Gabriel Puerta Aponte, head of Bandera Roja, was captured and imprisoned along with others accused of being party leaders. In the following months, the editor of the legal newspaper *Que Hacer?* and a number of leaders and members of the legal People's Struggle Committee were also imprisoned on charges of being linked to the illegal Bandera Roja. *Que Hacer?* was forced to cease publication.

Then, on Oct. 4, 1200 army troops and members of the DISIP (political police) surrounded an area near the town of Cantaura in the state of Azoátegui in the eastern part of the country where Bandera Roja's Frente Américo Silva guerrilla

detachment had been very active. Helicopters and planes criss-crossed the mountainous region as troops and police moved in. A few guerrillas were said to have escaped, but little is known about what happened in the attack on their camp. It was only 15 days later that the government permitted anyone into this area, where the armed forces still maintain a reign of terror against the Indians and other peasants. Bulldozers had destroyed whatever evidence that remained, and army guns kept all witnesses silent. But efforts by families of the 23 guerrillas reported slain finally led to digging up the bodies heaped together in a common pit. Quite a few of the bodies showed clear signs of horrible tortures and of having been shot point-blank. Though the government claimed they'd all been killed in battle, there could be no doubt that in fact they'd been massacred.

In the weeks that followed there were several demonstrations and public meetings against this massacre, including one by 4500 people at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas, where several of the murdered fighters had been students. This crime and its exposure of the nature of Venezuelan democracy and the imperialist guns it is based on has thrown blood on the honeymoon between the revisionists and the ruling class. □

Tin-Homs

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laying ceremony at the statue of Simon Bolivar, "The Great Liberator" of South America. Perhaps that would not ordinarily be considered so remarkable except for the fact that the ceremony required the mobilization of 3-4000 Colombian troops, with tanks and machine-gun mounted jeeps everywhere, 150 Secret Service agents, snipers in the cathedral belltowers, barricaded streets and what the *L.A. Times* described as "security... tighter than it has been for any U.S. president in recent times..." All this for a "ceremony" that took less than 10 seconds, while the masses jeered and yelled "Fuera" (Out) from behind the barricades over a block away. To some, it might have seemed like much ado about nothing, but there was a definite purpose behind this highly symbolic act. In the 19th century, Bolivar had led the fight against Spanish colonialism, a rival for U.S. influence in the hemisphere at the time. And a key part of Reagan's visit to Colombia was to demonstrate U.S. support for the "anti-imperialism" of Colombian president Belisario Betancur.

Betancur, you see, is a champion of what has been called "pro-Yankee non-alignment" — that is fierce Colombian nationalism in the service of U.S. imperialism. A key component of this form of demogogy (also dubbed "nationalist reformist populism" by Colombian Marxist-Leninists) is great public displays of opposition to the U.S. while bending every effort to serve its interests and maneuver on its behalf and work at every turn against Soviet penetration raising the banner of "non-alignment." Such pro-U.S. "anti-imperialism" is really quite necessary in a number of countries in Latin America, though the U.S. always maintains the option of military dictatorships when necessary. After all, it is a bit difficult to enlist the support of the masses of people with open declarations of love for Uncle Sam. Instead, reactionaries like Betancur have adapted to the situation with a new pose, acting as saviors of the people and champions of the fight to end the miserable conditions and wretched results of U.S. domination.

Reagan's quick stop in Colombia was

meant as a sign of U.S. approval of such necessary tactics even though this would naturally mean a few harsh words from Betancur. Thus he treated Reagan to some highly publicized criticism and objections to U.S. policy on a number of points. In the service of imperialism's necessities, even Ronald "cowboy" Reagan must sometimes swallow a little humble pie. The Colombian president called for everything from liberalized trade and more loans from U.S.-dominated institutions to an end to efforts to isolate Cuba and Nicaragua. He called for an end to the arms race, in a way: "Each Latin American child is born owing \$300, while each minute this crazy world spends \$1 million on deadly weapons." He took on Central America: "Our responsibility as heads of state does not allow us to remain unmoved by the daily opening of gravesites in the ground of our common geography." And he put in a few good words for "non-alignment": "We should make non-alignment to any power our philosophy in order to seek our identity." It was obvious that Betancur was finding his identity in "standing up" to his mentor.

Contrary to the press play, none of this was any surprise. In fact, Reagan had received a preview of Betancur's remarks a full week before his trip. Obviously going to Colombia was seen as very important matter and not because Reagan wanted to warn them to stop growing marijuana and cocaine. Not only is the Colombian regime an important model for some other countries in the region but it itself is an important part of U.S. strategic goals. Colombia connects Panama and South America and sits astride the Panama Canal and the Caribbean — another area that is critical for the movement of goods, troops and materiel, especially to Europe. Here too the Soviets and their frontmen are maneuvering, including among the more nationalist sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. This has surfaced in a variety of ways, including guerrilla activity. Betancur's nationalism is a counter to this, and the U.S. is not about to leave this field clear for the other side.

Along the same lines, it was no accident Reagan's visit came as Betancur announced that his "amnesty plan" was going into effect and he freed 25 guerrillas from jail, mainly members of the nationalist M-19 organization but also offering freedom to members of the CP-led

guerrilla group, FARC. For their own reactionary purposes, CP leader Viera and others have turned in their weapons and accepted the offer. The revisionists too are very interested in mucking around in pro-Yankee "anti-imperialism", seeking opportunities for advancing the influence of pro-Soviet "anti-imperialism." This is why Cuba, too, has been full of praise for Betancur's "non-alignment" lately. Undoubtedly, a great deal more of this demagogic jockeying will be heard from both sides.

Central America

Reagan's message here was a hardline "NO" to the historic compromise efforts of the Soviets and their revisionist frontmen throughout the region and firm support for the tinhorn butchers the U.S. has put in power. Of necessity, there was a certain focus on Nicaragua where such a tandem of pro-Soviet revisionist forces and more pro-Western bourgeois forces is already in power, albeit more and more led by the former. The message was clear-cut — it won't be tolerated there, or anywhere else.

The stage for Reagan's arrival was set the day before Air Force One set down in Costa Rica. An article appeared in the *New York Times* stating that the Pope would refuse to visit Nicaragua unless the priests who are serving in the government resigned — a demand for the breakup of this historical compromise. Then Reagan arrived, making it a point to meet with the leaders of all the other Central American regimes, and to do so in the two countries that "sandwich" Nicaragua, as one TV anchorman so eloquently reported. His arrival in Honduras was particularly noteworthy, since it comes in the midst of widespread reports in the U.S. press that Nicaraguan exiles in Honduras are being armed, trained and sent into battle to eventually help overthrow the Sandinista regime, with U.S. Ambassador to Honduras, John Negroponte, the overseer of the operation. And on the very day that Reagan landed in San Pedro Sula, the *NY Times* reported that 150 CIA agents were in Honduras for just such a purpose.

Costa Rica was chosen for its democratic facade. Here is a regime that is totally and completely dependent upon the U.S., but has through extensive loans and other measures, been able to maintain a certain amount of U.S.-dominated "stability." Now, the chickens are com-

ing home to roost and Costa Rica's economy is falling apart, driving its president, Luis Alberto Monge into fits of obsequious sycophancy in the quest for a transfusion from the U.S. before its too late. Still, Costa Rica is the only place in the region where the following theatrics could have occurred with each set of actors playing their parts to a tee: as Reagan gets up to address the national assembly, a leader of a revisionist party interrupts and begins reading a prepared statement. Some of the compradors in the gathering yell at him to get out, but when a couple of well-placed security guards begin to move, the "democratic" compradors jump up to defend his "right to speak." Reagan runs over to his earphones, pretending to be listening to the translation intently. Finally, he interrupts, calling it a "tribute to democracy" that the revisionists have been allowed to speak for so long because "he wouldn't be allowed to do so in a communist country." As if on cue, all the little lackeys jump up shrieking, applauding, and so forth.

On the other hand, such magnanimity can't be tolerated in those places where the U.S.' hold is getting shaky and there is widespread rebellion and turmoil among the masses: Guatemala, for example. Here, after the obligatory call for more "human rights," Reagan simply declared General Rios Montt a born-again "democrat", announcing that the good butcher had been getting a "bad deal." Rios Montt proved it by announcing that he would lay down rules for new elections by next March 23. He made it clear that *everyone*, including "self-proclaimed socialist parties" could participate. Then, when he was asked about reports that the Guatemalan army was pursuing a scorched-earth policy in large sections of the countryside, the General replied, "We have no scorched earth policy. We have a policy of scorched communists." Fitting bloodthirsty words to end a journey whose purpose was to prepare for a worldwide bloodletting. □

CORRECTION

In the article "The Perverse and Persistent Prosecutors of Pierce County" in *RW* No. 182, the woman charged with manslaughter was misidentified. Her name is Cheri Lauderdale. □



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