



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

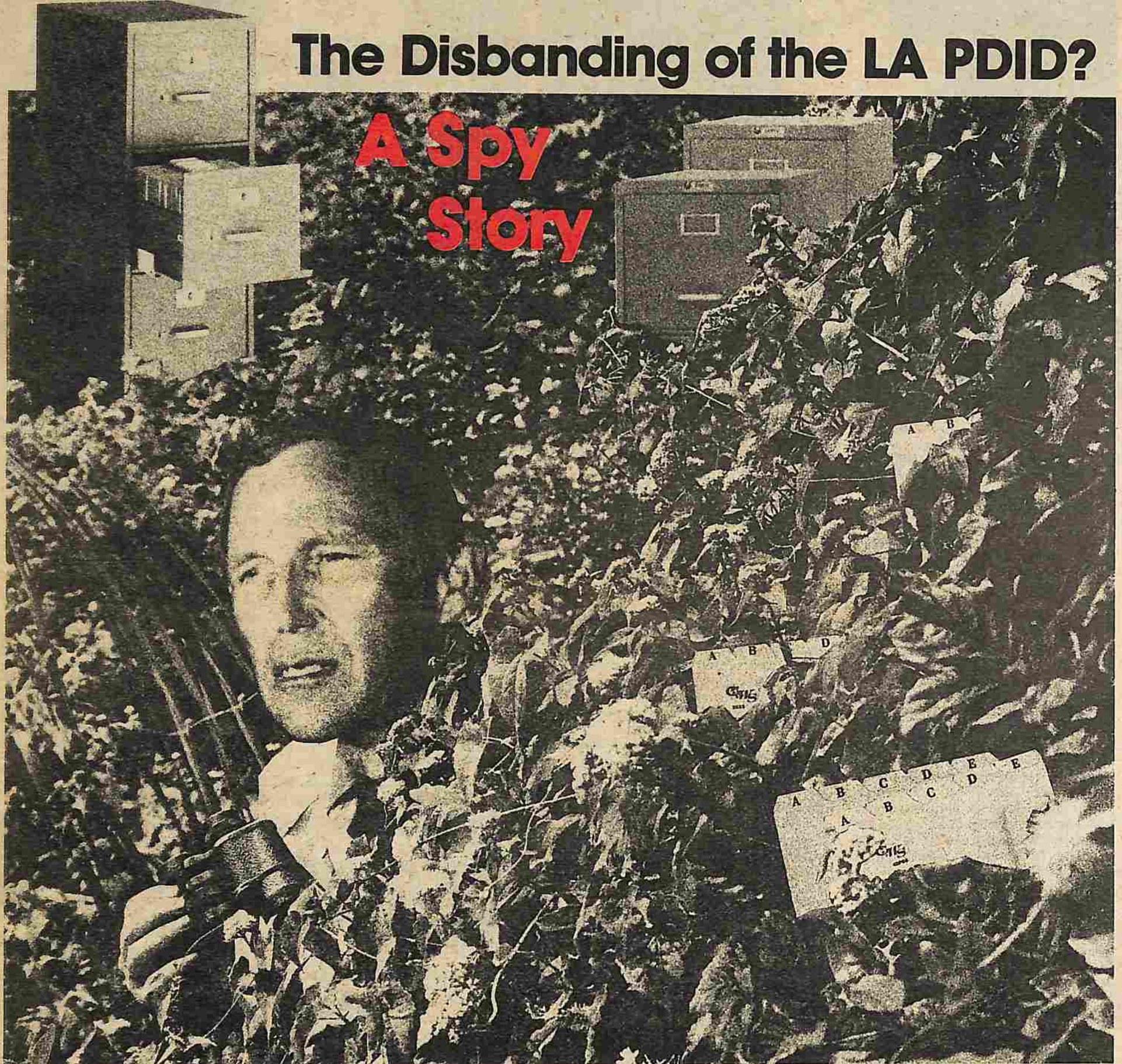
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The Disbanding of the LA PDID?

A Spy Story



LAPD Chief Gates

Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao Totally Unrepentant

On January 25, the revisionist rulers of China announced that the death sentences handed down against Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in 1981 were reduced to life imprisonment. The announcement came on the very day that the two year period of suspension of the death sentences expired, making the two revolutionary leaders and heroes of the international proletariat liable for execution. It was two years ago that the revisionists' hopes of a smooth and orderly trial and execution of the two were smashed to pieces by their firm, revolutionary stand — Chiang Ching with the stinging denunciations of the revisionists

and stirring defense of Mao, and Chang Chun-chiao with his uncompromising silence and contempt for the bourgeois legal proceedings. The revisionists made the decision on the suspended death sentences with Chiang Ching's fiery statements at the end of the trial — "Making revolution is no crime, it's right to rebel! Down with revisionism, down with Deng Xiaoping!" — still ringing in their ears.

The decision not to execute Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao was highly political. The revisionists themselves admit that the two have continued to stand firm. Last August, the revisionist party

chairman, Hu Yaobang, said that Chiang Ching "is not at all remorseful" and "still continues to hold a hostile attitude towards the government... Politically and ideologically, her behavior is still that of an enemy." The *New York Times* reported a story of one of the ways in which Chiang Ching continues to resist: She has been put to work in jail making dolls, but she emroiders her name on each doll so they cannot be sold and they are reportedly piling up in a warehouse. Although reportedly very ill with cancer, Chang Chun-chiao likewise continues to defy the authorities. Even though all this

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The somber faces of the Los Angeles Police Commissioners reflected the seriousness of the action they had just taken at their January 18 meeting. One by one, they explained their reasons for the decision to "deactivate" the LAPD's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) within 45 days and come up with some kind of replacement structure that will improve "the efficiency of our intelligence activity," in the words of one of the commissioners. It was left to society matron Reva Tooley, a former president of the Police Commission and currently one of its most vocal and concerned members, to sum up the difficulties. Tooley fluttered that PDID had "become a problem of such major proportions that it threatens to tarnish the reputation of the department as a whole," adding that "there will not be and cannot be full public confidence in our department as long as PDID continues to exist." Through it all, Police Chief Daryl F. Gates sat stone-faced and impassive, with only the slightly visible

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Chiang Ching



Chang Chun-chiao

Unrepentant

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has come to light, the revisionists have managed to keep it out of the front pages. But executing the two would once again focus attention in China as well as worldwide on their revolutionary stand and line, and the legacy of Mao and the Cultural Revolution.

While the Chinese revisionists try to pass off their decision as an example of how "civilized" and "in charge" they are, the fact that such developments would not be in the best interests of the Chinese revisionists, as well as imperialism as a whole, has been pointed to quite openly by their imperialist Big Brothers, the U.S. ruling class. Reuters News Agency reports in the January 26 *New York Times* of "Western diplomats" who said that the present leadership was unwilling to carry out the execution "because of the effect the action might have both on China's internal stability and on what they described as its newly won moderate image abroad." Two days earlier, before the revisionists had announced their decision, the Peking correspondent for the *New York Times* had written that no one expects the two revolutionaries to be executed, "if only because it might inflame dormant Maoist passion." Indeed, the trial two years ago touched off a burst of activity of pro-

Mao groups, as well as even broader sympathy and admiration for the two's staunch and principled stand, both within China as well as internationally. This is exactly what an anonymous official in the legal sphere in China was referring to last July when he confided to a Japanese reporter that a decision on Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao is a "special case" and that, "we must think of the political effect... it might be better if they lived longer."

The revisionists will not openly reveal the real political reasons for commuting the death sentences, and as a result they are in a real bind over how to explain their actions. After all, weren't Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao responsible for the "crimes" of making revolution, in particular in leading China to the "disaster" of the Cultural Revolution and the "persecution" of good revisionists? And why are people regularly executed for lesser crimes — like a former county-level official and a bank accountant just recently, both for embezzlement — while the two convicted of much more serious "crimes" are not? The court explained the decision with a bit of bourgeois legalese by saying it was in accordance with the Criminal Code. The code reads that death sentences may be commuted to life imprisonment if the prisoners show "sufficient repentance." On the other hand, it calls for immediate execution if the criminal's "resistance to reform is flagrant."

Because of what happened during the

trial two years ago and the well-known continued resistance of the two in prison, it would simply be too ridiculous to lie that Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao had shown "sufficient repentance." The solution they come up with is to say that the two revolutionaries "have not resisted reform in a *flagrant way*," leaving the term "flagrant" open to much interpretation, and only further exposing what everyone in the world knows — that it would pose big political problems to carry out the death sentence.

Although political necessities have forced the revisionists to remove the death threat over the two for now, the situation could still change in the future. The very flimsiness of their legal maneuverings to cover up their political attacks this time means that, should the need arise, the revisionists can very well conjure up some other legal wordplay to

justify executions.

The decision to commute the death sentences shows their cowardice and the essentially weak position of the revisionists. Of course, the revisionists have not released their claws off the revolutionaries — the two are still in solitary confinement. But fundamentally, what comes through is the contrast between the spinelessness of the revisionists and the revolutionary heroism of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. As Bob Avakian said in a statement about the trial two years ago: "Fear — and fury, but fury without justice, and ultimately in vain — fear, that is a response that represents the imperialists, reactionaries, revisionists and all those who would desperately cling to the past; daring, the daring to seize the future out of the most tumultuous and wrenching conditions — that is the stand that represents the international proletariat." □

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Talking with Ronald Reagan during his recent visit to Washington, Japanese Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone referred to the deep political and economic difficulties facing Japan and compared himself to a "short-term relief pitcher" called in to an important game with bases loaded and no outs. "He must be careful of each pitch, or he'll be knocked out of the box," said Nakasone.

In an interview with the *Washington Post*, Nakasone reared back and fired a zinger of a fastball by declaring: "My own view of defense is that the whole Japanese Archipelago or the Japanese Islands should be like an unsinkable aircraft carrier putting up a tremendous bulwark of defense against infiltration of the (Soviets') backfire bomber. To prevent backfires from penetrating through this wall should be our first goal." He added that his goals also included having "complete and full control of four straits that go through the Japanese Islands so that there should be no passage of Soviet submarines and other naval activities," as well as defending the sea lanes between Guam and Tokyo and between the Straits of Taiwan and Osaka.

It's amazing what a difference a year and a half makes! It was in May of 1981 that Nakasone's predecessor, Suzuki, came to Washington. A joint communique issued after Suzuki's meeting with Reagan referred officially for the first time to the U.S.-Japan "alliance" and a "division of roles" between the two countries in defense of Japan. This statement set off a political bombshell in Japan, as opposition groups attacked Suzuki for openly identifying Japan in the military alliance with the U.S. and promising a stepped-up military role for Japan. Suzuki had to backpeddle and deny he meant to use the word "alliance." His foreign minister was forced to resign and take the blame for the "confusion."

Twenty months later, Nakasone not only talks of Japan's military role but says Japan should be a "bulwark of defense" against Soviet bombers and warships. He throws around the word "alliance" with open abandon, even calling it an "unshakable alliance." To top it off, Nakasone describes the U.S.-Japan ties as *unmei kyodotai* (common fate) — a phrase used to describe the World War 2 Axis Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy. Perhaps that's going too far for some in the Japanese ruling class. A high-ranking member of Nakasone's own Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) complained that, "The connotation is that when we die, we all die together." Nakasone's performance in Washington once again creates political controversy in Japan. But unlike Suzuki, who had to beat a hasty retreat, Nakasone has taken the storm head on and threatened that if his programme of austerity (except for defense

spending, of course) at home and more overt war moves in open alliance and cooperation with the U.S. are blocked, he will dissolve the Diet (Japanese parliament) and call for a new election.

These shifts in the space of a year and a half are a sharp indication of Japan's urgent necessity to prepare for world war and a striking example of the increasingly rapid efforts being made by all the imperialist powers in the U.S. bloc to tighten up their alliance for the showdown with their Soviet bloc rivals. Few observers have failed to recognize this — certainly not the Soviet imperialists. Responding to Nakasone's resolve to take them on in an area that is vital to the Soviet military (80% of its naval fleet must pass through the straits around Japan, for example), the Soviets issued a stern and bellicose warning through the TASS news agency: "In the present nuclear age, there can be no unsinkable aircraft carrier, and by deploying ... arsenals of armaments, including American, the authors of such plans make Japan a likely target for a response strike." In true gangster fashion, the Soviets referred to the U.S. atomic blasts over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and said that a response strike "for such a densely populated, insular country as Japan, could spell a national disaster more serious than the one that befell it 37 years ago." Ah, spoken like true devotees of peace.

Nakasone's visit, and even more his recent election, indeed represented a certain resolution of struggles within the Japanese ruling class and between Japan and the U.S. over how to cement the war alliance and precisely how much and how fast Japan would step up its military expansion. All along, this struggle has been enmeshed with the continuing and deepening economic contradictions between the two countries. It is significant, however, that in spite of advance indications, economic issues did not dominate the Nakasone-Reagan talks.

The U.S. had been turning up the volume of late on its charges that Japan's huge and growing trade surplus with the U.S., amounting to about \$20 billion in 1982, is the result of unfair trade practices that limit the import of foreign goods into Japan. The U.S. Ambassador in Tokyo claimed that he was "very fearful of protectionist legislation" that the U.S. Congress might enact. The day of Nakasone's arrival, big shots from U.S. business and labor leaders gathered in the White House to urge Reagan to demand tough concessions. When asked how threatened Nakasone might feel by the "domestic content bill" recently introduced in Congress that would require foreign automakers to use a high proportion of American goods and services for cars sold in the U.S., United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, a participant in the

White House meeting, answered, "I hope a lot." "Nakasone is walking into a buzz-saw," warned a U.S. trade official.

Japan also did some preparatory work for the visit. On January 12, thousands of farmers marched past the U.S. embassy in Tokyo chanting, "No more beef, no more oranges." Although Japan is already the leading importer of U.S. beef and citrus fruits, the U.S. is pressing Japan to open the market even wider. Nakasone's LDP has strong influence among farmers, so the demo was clearly supported or even mobilized by the government to highlight the difficulty of further trade liberalization in an effort to counter the U.S. pressure. Japan also announced a new package of changes in import regulations and cuts in tariffs, the third such concession in less than a year, to make it easier for U.S. products to penetrate the Japanese market.

The trade imbalance is one aspect of the sharp economic contradictions between Japan and the U.S. The contradiction in commercial trade has especially sharpened dramatically over the last several years — the 1982 trade surplus figure of \$20 billion in favor of Japan compares with \$9.9 billion just two years previously. Japan has indeed made some major inroads in the U.S. market in such sectors as auto, steel and electronics, while putting up barriers like tariffs, quotas and safety regulations to protect its domestic markets. The U.S., beset by deep economic crisis, cannot allow serious deterioration of those very industries targeted for export by Japan which are strategic not only for the whole economy but for military preparations as well. Thus, in 1981 the U.S. forced Japan to agree to a two-year "voluntary" quota on auto exports to the U.S. But even though the Japanese auto makers observed the quota, their share of the market climbed even higher because of the overall depressed state of the U.S. markets. Last year's Silicon Valley "sting" in which FBI agents nabbed employees of Japanese computer firms for trying to buy IBM "secrets" was also an effort by the U.S. to put a damper on Japan's aggressiveness in the commercial sphere of high technology industries (while at the same time encouraging Japan to develop military high-tech — see article in *RW* No. 178). While putting up restrictions to access to the U.S. market, the U.S. has also been pressuring Japan to make it easier for American products to penetrate Japan. The U.S. has also castigated Japan for spending only 1% of its GNP on defense as compared to over 6% for the U.S.

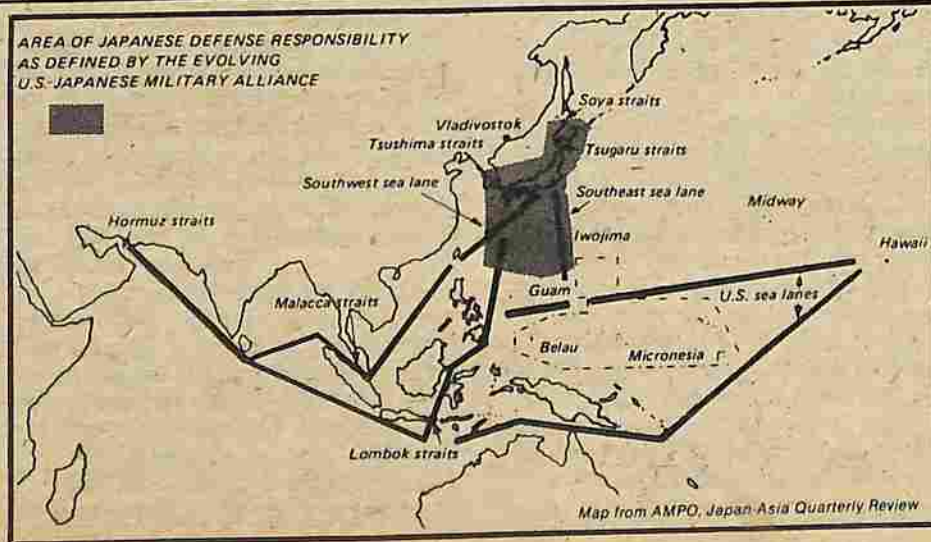
The friction over commercial trade is also linked with the contradictions in the international financial structure. The U.S. accuses Japan of purposely keeping the yen weak in relation to the dollar, thus making Japanese exports cheaper. Japan counters by claiming that the currency misalignment is caused by artificially high interest rates in the U.S.

While Japan has been forced to bow to significant degrees to U.S. demands and pressures that it limit advances into the U.S. market and open up its own, there are limits to what it can do without dire consequences to its whole economy, including its military expansion. One manifestation of the deep problems Japan is already facing is the spiraling budget deficits, which reached 28% of the total national budget this year (as compared to 12% in the U.S. and 11% in West Germany). The Japanese government's issuing of deficit financing bonds helped pull the country out of its 1973 oil crisis, but now the chickens are coming home to roost. Because of the worldwide economic downturn and its effect on the export-oriented Japanese economy — the value

Commander Nakasone Goes to Washington



Japanese SDF (armed forces) recruiting poster. Youth in uniform and listening to his SONY Walkman says: "I have been Japanese since I was born. We've been at peace the whole time."



of Japanese exports fell by 8.7% last year, the first decline since 1952 — Japan can only tighten the noose around its own neck by raising more bonds and hiking up the tax rates.

The fact is that both Japan and the U.S. are caught in the downward spiral of a bloc-wide crisis. Although there will continue to be economic measures and countermeasures and sometimes very sharp conflict as the U.S. and Japan (as well as other imperialist allies of the bloc) maneuver and compete among themselves to lessen the effects of the crisis and strengthen their own position, more and more they are all acting on the understanding that there is no way out of all this except through hammering together their alliance and waging and winning a war of redivision of the world against their rival Soviet imperialist bloc.

Nakasone's trip was as clear an indication as any of this fact. Obviously pleased by the Japanese Premier's steps on the military front and heightened unity on Japan's role in the alliance, the U.S. let economic issues take a back seat. The threatened "buzz-saw" and grilling of Nakasone over Japan's "unfair trade practices" did not materialize. For example, what was described as "one of the most difficult trade issues" — a proposal

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Memorial Held for Comrade John Kaiser in Eugene, Oregon

On the evening of Tuesday, January 18th, a memorial was held in Eugene, Oregon for Comrade John Kaiser, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and one of the Yellow Ribbon defendants who died suddenly and unexpectedly of encephalitis on January 3rd. It was a big political event that had broad impact in the Eugene area. Over 100 people came to honor Comrade Kaiser and to learn from and draw inspiration from his life. The crowd at the memorial — which was held in the Erb Memorial Union, the very building where the now famous ribbon burning took place — was representative of the many kinds of people who had been stirred by that defiant action and who had come to respect John Kaiser and his outrageous revolutionary politics. Those attending the program included: a contingent of Iranian students, other foreign-born from many parts of the world, proletarians of many nationalities, students and professors from the University of Oregon, lawyers and other professionals, and activists from the many social movements in Eugene from the anti-nuke movement to the prison reform movement. A group of people traveled from Portland to attend the event.

Many people came forward to plan and build for the memorial after hearing of Comrade Kaiser's death. News of his death had flashed across the city on January 3rd. It was a major story in all the local media — newspaper, radio and TV. Members of the RCYB were stopped everywhere they went by people expressing their shock at hearing the news of this loss and their admiration for Comrade Kaiser and what he stood for. Some said that they were "rethinking what's important about life and what mine's going to be counted for." Twenty people attended a meeting to plan the memorial on just a few hours notice. The same was true in Portland, 100 miles north of Eugene. Many more helped build for the memorial. A number of organizations stepped forward to secure a room (the Brigade is a banned organization on the U of O campus) and the school readily approved it. Printing and leaflets were donated. The night before, a local radio station dedicated a set to Comrade Kaiser and the DJ announced the memorial throughout it. On the day of January 18th a banner in honor of John Kaiser was displayed for two hours in the Erb Memorial Union. RCYB members and others spoke to a crowded school cafeteria announcing the memorial and calling on people to attend. Members of John Kaiser's family came along.

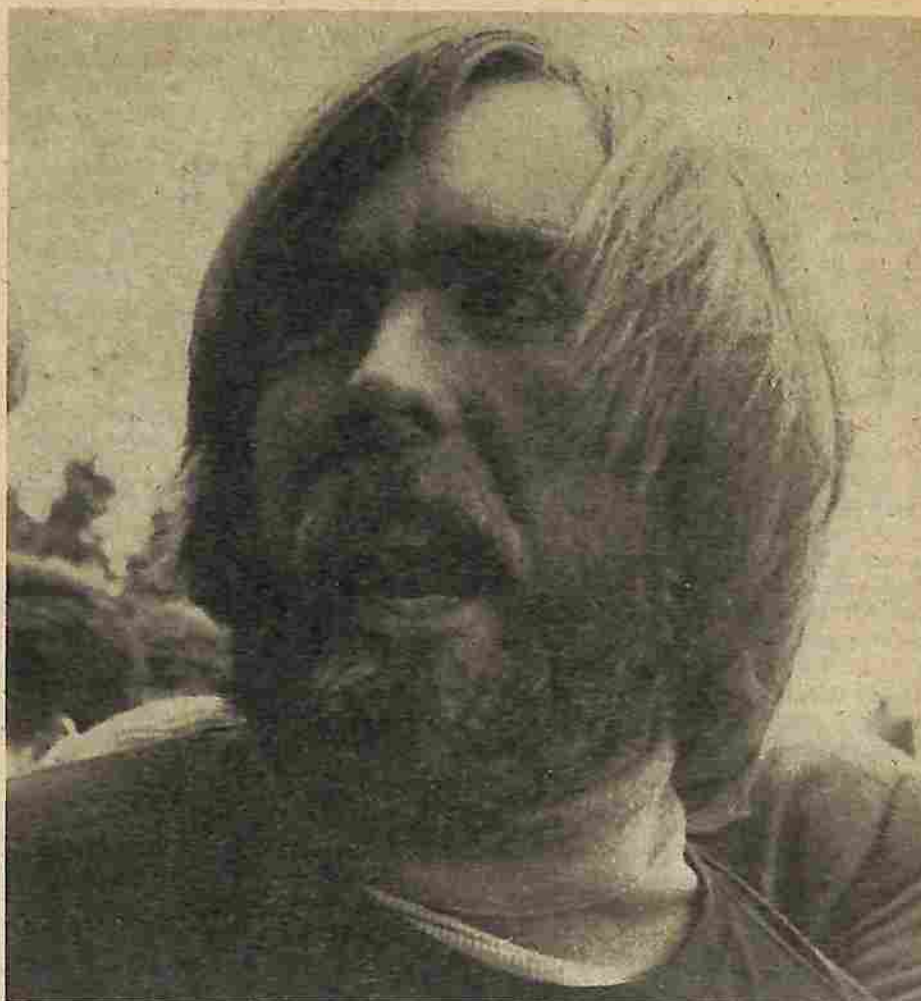
The room where the memorial was held was lit up with bright banners among which were those celebrating and supporting the struggles of the Iranian people, the Palestinian people, Chiang Ching and May First. On a wall hung a stylized reproduction of Comrade Kaiser with the burning yellow rag and Nancy Whitley with the match that lit it, under the words "your yellow ribbon, your red-white-and blue, your whole stinking system, we spit on you. We stand with the people of Iran." On the opposite wall were pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Front and center was a large banner depicting the youth of the world with a life-like portrait of John Kaiser in the forefront. After the program this banner was presented to Comrade Kaiser's family. Next to it was a large red flag, a red wreath, and a banner signed by the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reading, "In Honor of Comrade John Kaiser." After a showing of video footage of one of Comrade Kaiser's proudest moments — the yellow ribbon burning at the speech of the infamous Victor Tomseth — and a brief recounting of the history of the battle to overturn the outrageous felony charges the bourgeoisie came down with in response, a spokesman for the Commit-

tee to Free the Yellow Ribbon Burners spoke. Speaking of the ribbon burning and John Kaiser's revolutionary stand she said, "John had faith that people would come to understand. He had faith that the people would see the ultimate hypocrisy... And sure enough people now see, begin to see." She ended her statement with a call: "But now John is gone. Who among us can fill the void? Who will develop the strength and courage to continue? Or shall we all, in John's memory and in John's footsteps, carry on the work?" A representative of the Iranian student group SETAD read a statement: "The death of Comrade John Kaiser is a tragedy and a loss to us. Comrade John had always been more than a political ally to us, although certainly he stood with us in every battle. But John was also a personal friend with many Iranian comrades and so John always had a unique sympathy with our struggle. He demonstrated that sympathy by burning a yellow ribbon in front of hostage/spy Victor Tomseth... As for us, he was always an inspiration. We would always see him active and he made us guilty of our inactivity. We had our disagreements but they were also good... We learned a lot from him and came to rely on him very much. He would never deny any help even though he was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, which was a demanding job in itself. But he always found time to help us and talk with us. His memory is extremely dear to us and our sorrow very deep. But he will always live within our memories and Comrade John's contribution to the Iranian movement will never be forgotten."

A long-time friend and fellow RCYB member recalled Comrade Kaiser's development into a revolutionary communist: "John and I both came to Eugene from different parts of the country and from different backgrounds. But we were both looking for the same things, the revolutionary movement. Though we were very young, we sort of grew up with the Brigade and the RCP... In the early years of the Brigade, we were very active. There was never a time when there weren't abuses to be opposed... But as I said — I saw John grow up with the Brigade, the RCP, and its line as a whole. And I had to ask myself, 'Why? How had he changed?' And I understood that he had bit into the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and hung on like a bulldog."

Nancy Whitley, co-defendant, RCYB member and a close personal friend of Comrade Kaiser began her statement by reading from the poem "Ode to a Plum Blossom" by Mao Tsetung. She concluded by saying, "In his life, John understood and lived the possibilities and dangers that we all face in this era of turmoil and struggle. As John and I wrote in our statement to Hüseyin Balkir, a revolutionary from Turkey, 'The desperate attacks on the people and our heroic leaders will always be turned into their opposite. They will serve only to deepen our hatred, brighten our determination, and hasten our victory'... John will be missed, by the masses and our comrades here. To me he showed that it does make a difference how you live your life — that we can make history."

Comrade Kaiser's family flew to Eugene to attend the memorial after a small private memorial in their hometown because "truly honoring him can only be done where his work was and in a manner befitting the content of his life." Wearing a black armband, John's sister Jonie spoke for the family. After she spoke, John's lawyer addressed the gathering describing the relentless hounding, the many arrests and beatings that Comrade Kaiser had received from an enraged bourgeoisie. He also recounted how John had stood firm in the face of these attacks and taken them on at every



John Kaiser

turn. After announcing plans to continue the battle to overturn the yellow ribbon conviction, he called on the audience to contribute to the John Kaiser Memorial Fund as part of the RCP Fund Drive. Over \$1500 in pledges and donations was raised for this fund at the memorial.

The formal part of the program was closed by a speaker from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. Their statement read in part: "John fell victim to encephalitis, but in dying he knew that the cause to which he had been devoted would not die, that it would be continued by tens, hundreds of thousands, millions of others — fighting until victorious. Revolution is a struggle, it requires sacrifice. It requires people to consciously put themselves and their lives on the line for the future. This is the only thing John saw worth living and dying for, the only thing worth devoting his life to. He was determined to leave a revolutionary legacy and foundation to build on, and we can truly say that he did. Now is the time, with the pride we feel in our comrade's life, and realizing history's demands that we call on all those who see the need to step forward and act with the boldness and determination of the advanced class — to be like John and to take off where he left off."

After the close of the formal program many people stepped forward from the audience to speak to the crowd. "We sometimes can see far away, sometimes we don't see, sometimes we see to one side, to our left or to our right. Today I see the crop that has been yielded from the seeds John planted." This statement by a proletarian from Mexico captured an important theme of many of the testimonial statements. Perhaps the most powerful and moving statement was given by an Iranian student from Eugene whose words summed up for many the significance of Comrade John Kaiser's life:

"I'd like to make a testimony about a traitor, a real traitor, and a damn good one at that. John was a traitor, he committed treason against the bourgeoisie. And he was an enemy, an enemy of the bourgeoisie. And an indomitable one. And his spirit, he influenced me, personally, as a personal friend. He was a product of history, seeing that behind this imperialist government, behind this so-called welfare state, there is nothing but a warfare state. He grasped, with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, his historical duties and he never backed off, he went forward and did whatever and did what every conscious individual should do. He made that connection between theory and practice and what he thought was what he did... He answered to the needs of his times. Although he lived a short time, he lived a very productive life. Millions of people come and go, many intellectuals come and go, but they do not respond to their duties and they come and go as if nothing had happened.

They just make it possible for this old dying system to survive for a day or more longer. The imperialist system cannot see the future. If it looked into the future it would see its death, so it has to look in back. John was a prototype of the future. That's a type that's an exception today but the rule tomorrow. People like John will be all over tomorrow. And I would like also to say that he was a true friend. True friend, a friend who proved it in practice. A friend when you needed him, when the people needed him he responded. A friend not as an individual but of the masses of people. Talking about Iran, the Iranian revolution, when the masses of Iranian people took to the streets and shook Iran and the world with their tumultuous slogans of 'Death to the Shah!' and 'Death to U.S. Imperialism!', John echoed those voices, and echoed the interests of the oppressed masses here in the U.S. He exposed the imperialists of all types. And he didn't reconcile. He was very sharp in his position. He would not give up and with all the attacks that were made against him he never gave up. And I would say that he really continued this fight. And when in the midst of the hostage crisis there was all these attacks against the Iranian revolution, he stood as a true friend. He proved it. He went and burned that yellow rag and he spit in their face. People were asking, we among the Iranians, we talked about this, how could an American person do this? Iranians were discussing this. But you see, the things that connect people are not nations, not the boundaries that are set up by the imperialists. Those are the class, the class basis. John understood that oppression and responded, responded to that, with hatred. He leapt into their shocked faces. And so I want to make an analogy, it's like drops of rain that come down from the sky and they form streams and they go and gather. They build dams to stop it, they build dams to stop this natural flow, but the rains keep coming, the pressure builds up. And no matter how big the dams they build it's a natural flow. Those drops of rain will gather and push and break the dams violently and go to the sea. Where the individuality of every drop of rain is lost, where the contradictions between the interests of the individual and society are dissolved. That's the path that John was going on and he was very instrumental. He acted as a vanguard and he led the people, he led the masses. He was a very good teacher, but also to the same degree a very good student. He would learn from people, he was out there. In sun and rain and heat and cold he was out there keeping it up learning from people and teaching them. That's what a good teacher is about. And he thoroughly knew the spirit of his cause and I think this is a good path, a path, a cause, which leads to the emancipation of mankind. And a damn good one to die for." □

Soviet Debate

A Question of Management

The following three selections are reprinted as a contribution to the debate on the nature of the Soviet Union. The first, "One Man Management and Involvement of the Masses in Control of Production," is from the horses' mouths: it appears in the Soviet book, *Political Economy: Socialism* (Progress Publishers, 1977). The second is excerpted from an article titled "Enterprise Management Has A Class Character." The article, written by Chinese revolutionaries, was originally published in the

Shanghai newspaper Liberation Daily. The English translation is from the book, *Workers and Workplaces in Revolutionary China* (M.E. Sharpe, 1977). The third selection, also by Chinese revolutionaries, is excerpted from *Fundamentals of Political Economy* (the Shanghai Textbook). It is drawn from the chapter, "Socialist Public Ownership and Production Relations," and is there subtitled, "Struggle for the Consolidation and Development of the Socialist Public Ownership System."

One-Man Management and Involvement of the Masses in Control of Production

Co-operation requires unified control and management of the joint labour process. "All combined labour on a large scale," Marx pointed out, "requires, more or less, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs."

The establishing of socialist production relations abolishes the management as a function of exploitation, which is characteristic of capitalism, and ends the arbitrariness of employers and rightlessness of workers.

Socialist management organises the utilisation of the productive force of social labour in the interests of the working people themselves. It operates in the form of *one-man management* based on the support of the broad masses of the workers and their direct involvement in ma-

agement and control.

In the production process the whole body of workers is subordinated to the will of one person, the leader or manager empowered by the socialist state, or the elected representative of bodies of working people, who runs the business in the interests of all society and is personally responsible to society for the matter entrusted to him. Without this, co-ordinated activity of a large number of people, and consequently the existence of co-operation of labour in general, is impossible.

The will of the individual leader or manager in socialist society, however, is not counterposed to the direct producers as a power alien to them. It conforms with the interests of society as a whole. The managers are the proxies or agents of the people. A feature of socialist management is the *organic combination of one-man management with broad involvement of the working masses in control of social production.* □



Workers at the Shanghai Machine Tool Factory raising big character posters criticizing Deng Xiaoping, 1976.

Enterprise Management Has A Class Character

Chiang Yang-nan (The Wu-sung Chemical Plant)

Why must there be management in a factory? Some comrades believe that with so many people working together, each with his own task yet mutually linked, production could not proceed in an orderly fashion without management. Some comrades also believe that management is nothing but the organizing principle for production. It is a prerequisite for any sizable labor project and a means for organizing and coordinating production. Are these views correct?

Marx remarked in *Capital* that "any comparatively large-scale direct social labor or communal labor requires varying degrees of direction to coordinate individual activities and perform all the general functions stemming from the overall movement of production, a movement which is different from the overall movement of independent sensory organs."* Citing the example of an orchestra's need for a conductor, Marx explained that management is an objective necessity in communal labor, and it is closely connected with the development of production. However, Marx subsequently noted: "If labor which is related to capital becomes cooperative labor, this kind of administrative, supervisory, and adjustment function then becomes a function of capital. And this kind of management function ena-

bles the special function of capital to acquire a special character." Here Marx clearly points out that the class character of capitalist management is the function of capital, that is, the function of capitalists exploiting hired laborers by using the means of production they possess. This nature of capitalist management is determined by capitalist production relations. Capitalist industry has developed through several historical periods, comprising the periods of simple coordination and cooperation, handicraft workshops and big, mechanized industry. There have been a great many changes with respect to production skills, coordination of production, and organization of labor. The level of productivity has been greatly enhanced, and the form of management has undergone various corresponding changes. However, the class character of capitalist management remains unchanged. It has always been as Lenin described: "What the capitalists are concerned with is how to manage business by robbing and how to rob through management." Therefore, the management in a capitalist enterprise is nothing more than the means by which capitalists exploit workers.

Analyses of capitalist management by the revolutionary teachers of the proletariat convince us that in a class society there is no management which rises above classes; management of an enterprise always bears a class character. The question is which class possesses and exercises the power of administration and which class benefits from it. The nature of the production relations determines the nature of an enterprise. In different

kinds of enterprises, management has different characters. This is a basic starting point for studying the issues of management. We cannot depart from this principle when we analyze capitalist management, and we must not deviate from the same principle if we intend to comprehend socialist management.

In socialist enterprises, the proletariat and the laboring masses have become masters, and they hold the power of administration. Under these circumstances, can we define socialist management as only a question of strengthening the specialized organizations, carrying out the "five principles of administration" well, and improving the "seven systems"? No, we cannot. "Marxists should on no account depart from the correct position of analyzing class relations." Take the "five principles of administration" and the "seven systems", for example. Some of these administrative regulations directly reflect the relations between man and man, that is, they are connected with production relations. Some regulations stem from the need for production skills, representing the demand of the productive forces. However, the questions of who makes these regulations and who carries them out are certainly involved with the relations between man and man. In a socialist society classes, class contradictions, and class struggle exist. Every kind of human relationship bears the imprint of a class and represents certain class relations. If we view the management of socialist enterprises only from the question of how to organize and direct the production, we will surely leave out the class character of the management. Conse-

quently, we will be unable to distinguish the class characters of the two entirely different systems of management, those of socialism and capitalism, and are likely to lead the management of socialist enterprises astray.

With the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius developing in greater depth, the issue of political line involves all fronts, whether political, economic, or cultural. Adhere to Marxism or practice revisionism? Proceed along the road of socialism or revert to the path of capitalism? These are questions of paramount importance and hold true in all cases, including enterprise management. Consolidating and strengthening the leadership of the proletariat in socialist enterprises and criticizing capitalism and revisionism should be taken as the fundamental factors in socialist management. If we deal with production and the enterprise merely from the point of view of production and the enterprise, neglecting fundamental factors, we are bound to ignore the proletarian character embodied in the management of socialist enterprises and lead management astray.

In socialist management we must primarily grasp the political line and orientation of the enterprise. But this does not mean to say that we can relax our hold on the concrete work of management. With the two-line struggles as the key link and adherence to the socialist orientation as a prerequisite, we must conscientiously grasp the specific work of management. The management of socialist enterprises comprises many aspects, such as plan control, management of production,

Continued on page 6

* This quotation is clearly the same as that which appears in the Soviet article above; Chinese to English translation probably accounts for the differences. The quote can be found on page 330 of the International Publishers paperback edition of *Capital*, Vol. 1.

Management

Continued from page 5

labor control, technical supervision, financial administration, supply service, care for life and welfare, and so forth. These are obligatory tasks, and must be fulfilled. However, if we do not attach priority to the question of which political line we carry out and which road we follow when performing these tasks, we certainly cannot do them well.

Whether a socialist enterprise fully implements the plan set by the state or one-sidedly seeks profits and value of

output; whether it holds a responsible attitude toward the people and improves the quality of its products incessantly or turns out crude and inferior products to the neglect of quality; whether it persists in economical accounting and is industrious and thrifty or runs the business in a rough way, being extravagant and wasteful; whether it fosters the spirit of socialist coordination, yielding to the convenience of others, or practices selfish departmentalism, disregarding the common interests of the whole nation—all these are not purely business questions but relate to the political line being pursued. It is the same with the implementa-

tion of various regulations in management. When enforcing the regulations, whether to have faith in the masses, rely on the masses, and correctly handle the relations among the people in an enterprise or whether to have an eye on material factors to the neglect of human factors, grasping regulations from the viewpoint of regulations and doing things by resorting only to administrative orders; this is also not purely a business question. It involves the political line being executed. These are all vital issues concerning the two political lines and the two roads. It is only by using the Party's basic line for guidance and by seizing the plan of

struggle between the two classes and the two lines that we can grasp the essentials of enterprise management, things governing the whole situation, and matters of paramount importance. We must correctly tackle issues concerning class contradictions and class struggle. At present, we must grasp especially well the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, which is a matter of primary importance. Only thus can we correctly settle all the contradictions existing in the enterprises and help bring about a lively and thriving outlook in both revolution and production. □

Struggle for the Consolidation and Development of the Socialist Public Ownership System

The socialist public ownership system demonstrates that the proletariat and the laboring people are the masters of the means of production. But, how can one tell whether they are in fact masters of the means of production? That depends on their role in the production process. In capitalist society, the laborer is used in the production process as labor power by the capitalist. Through the use of labor power, the capitalist extracts as much surplus value from the laborer as possible. The laborer is merely a paid slave. The capitalist is the real master. This leads to acute opposition between the worker and the capitalist. In socialist society, the role of the laborers in the production process is completely different. They participate in the production process as masters. They create wealth for society through conscious labor. Then, who organizes this production process? Ultimately, it should be the laborer himself. Naturally, this does not mean that all laborers directly organize and manage production. The broad laborers appoint representatives through the state and the collective, or they elect representatives to organize production. But here a problem arises: If the broad laborers delegate to their representatives the power to organize production, can these representatives represent the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people in organizing production? After the laborer has delegated his power to organize pro-

duction to a representative, is there any power left to the laborer himself? This problem has occurred in history... In today's Soviet Union, those who organize production do not represent the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people at all. They represent instead the interests of the bureaucratic monopolist bourgeoisie. The socialist public ownership system of the bureaucratic monopolist bourgeoisie has become the economic basis of Soviet society...

To ensure that the leadership of the enterprise under the state economy and the collective economy is in the hands of the Marxists, the proletariat and the laboring people must engage in a resolute struggle with the renegades, special agents, and capitalist-roaders who have usurped the leadership and win it back. This type of struggle cannot be resolved with one Great Cultural Revolution. In their futile restoration attempt, the bourgeoisie will try everything to usurp the leadership of the state and the collective economy. At the same time, the representatives (cadres of various levels) of the proletariat and the laboring people who control the leadership of the state and the collective economy must strengthen the transformation of their world outlook and try hard to become Marxists so that they can truly represent the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. If they do not work hard in this direction, it is possible that under

the influence of the bourgeois world outlook, they may go against the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people in the process of organizing production. Some people are interested in material incentives, profit, and restrictive measures in their operation and management of the socialist economy...

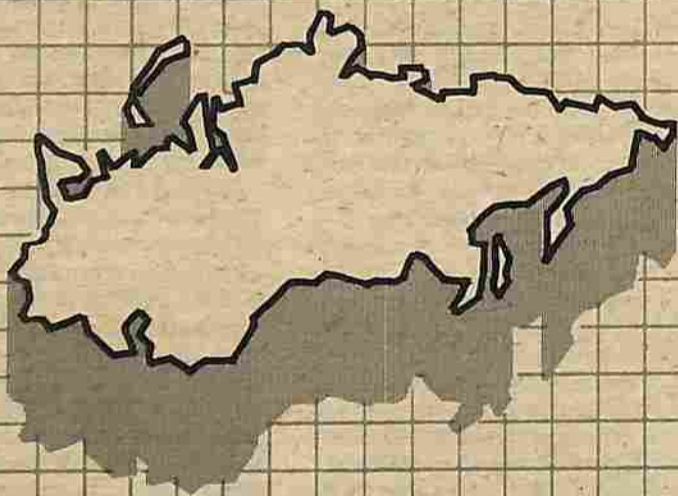
In order that the leadership of the state economy and the collective economy really be in the hands of the Marxist, it must also really be in the hands of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and other laboring masses. These two aspects are inseparable. Since the laboring masses are the masters of the socialist economy, it does not mean that they no longer have the right to interfere once the leadership has been delegated to a few representatives. The revisionist "one-head system" championed by the Soviet revisionists is an institutionalization of this viewpoint. Facts have demonstrated that this is a chloroform spread by the bourgeoisie and its agents in order to usurp leadership. Engels once pointed out: "The inevitable result of individual management of industries is private ownership." If the leadership of the enterprise under the socialist ownership system is not in the hands of the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, and other laborers, the revisionist "one-head system" will proliferate. Under the revisionist "one-head system," the laboring masses are in effect

separated from the means of production. They listen to the orders from the "head." Without leadership over the enterprise, they are no longer masters of the enterprise. If this develops, they will be treated as pure labor power in the production process by the "head." The laboring masses will no longer have the right to question whether this production process serves the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. This way, socialist enterprises will gradually slide into the mudhole of capitalism...

The crux of the question concerning who controls the leadership of the socialist economy lies in whether or not the line implemented by the departments in charge of production operation or economic management represents the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. The revisionist line always goes against the interests of the proletariat and the laboring people. It fosters material incentives, profit, and restrictive measures. On the other hand, according to socialist principles, the Marxist line always insists on having revolution guide production and strengthening operation management by relying on the masses as the masters. Therefore, firmly adhering to the Marxist line and criticizing and repudiating the revisionist line is the ultimate guarantee for the consolidation and development of the socialist public ownership system. □

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SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"...in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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Corrections for RW No. 189

In the article "Clear Tracks on Trail of Coincidence: the Hounding of Hayden Fisher" it was incorrectly stated that Hayden Fisher had been stabbed "repeatedly" during the attack that resulted in the murder of Damián García. The article should have said, "In the same assault that resulted in Damián's murder, Hayden Fisher, another of those who seized the Alamo, was stabbed in the

back (about 1/4 inch above the kidney) and kicked repeatedly while he lay on the ground." In addition, the article gave March 2, 1980 as the date of the Alamo takeover. In fact it was March 20.

In the article "Employed and Unemployed in Houston's Tent Cities," the sign mentioned in paragraph three should have been quoted as reading "Welcome to Tent City, Population 200."

Hawaii Eviction at Makua Beach

In the early morning of January 20, 50 Hawaii state guards and Honolulu police, backed up by paddy wagons and bulldozer, descended on Makua Beach for the second time in two months. For many years this remote beach on Oahu has been home to some 40 families, mostly Hawaiian, who have built shacks, fished, and carried on their Hawaiian culture there. Two months ago, after a hurricane devastated the area, the government saw its chance to attack the so-called squatters.

In December, just as some families began to move back and make repairs, state guards with shotguns drawn and Doberman pinschers blockaded all entrances to the beach and bulldozed the houses into heaps of rubble, along with clothes, fishing nets, dishes — in some cases, all the personal possessions the residents owned. Warning signs were posted everywhere and anyone returning was threatened with arrest. Then, on Jan. 15, some 200 residents and supporters staged a march and homecoming to Makua. It was the 90th anniversary of the landing of U.S. Marines in Honolulu and the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani in 1893. When the state moved in again, on Jan. 20, six residents were arrested in a counter-action for "obstructing government operations." They face one year in jail and \$1,000 fine.

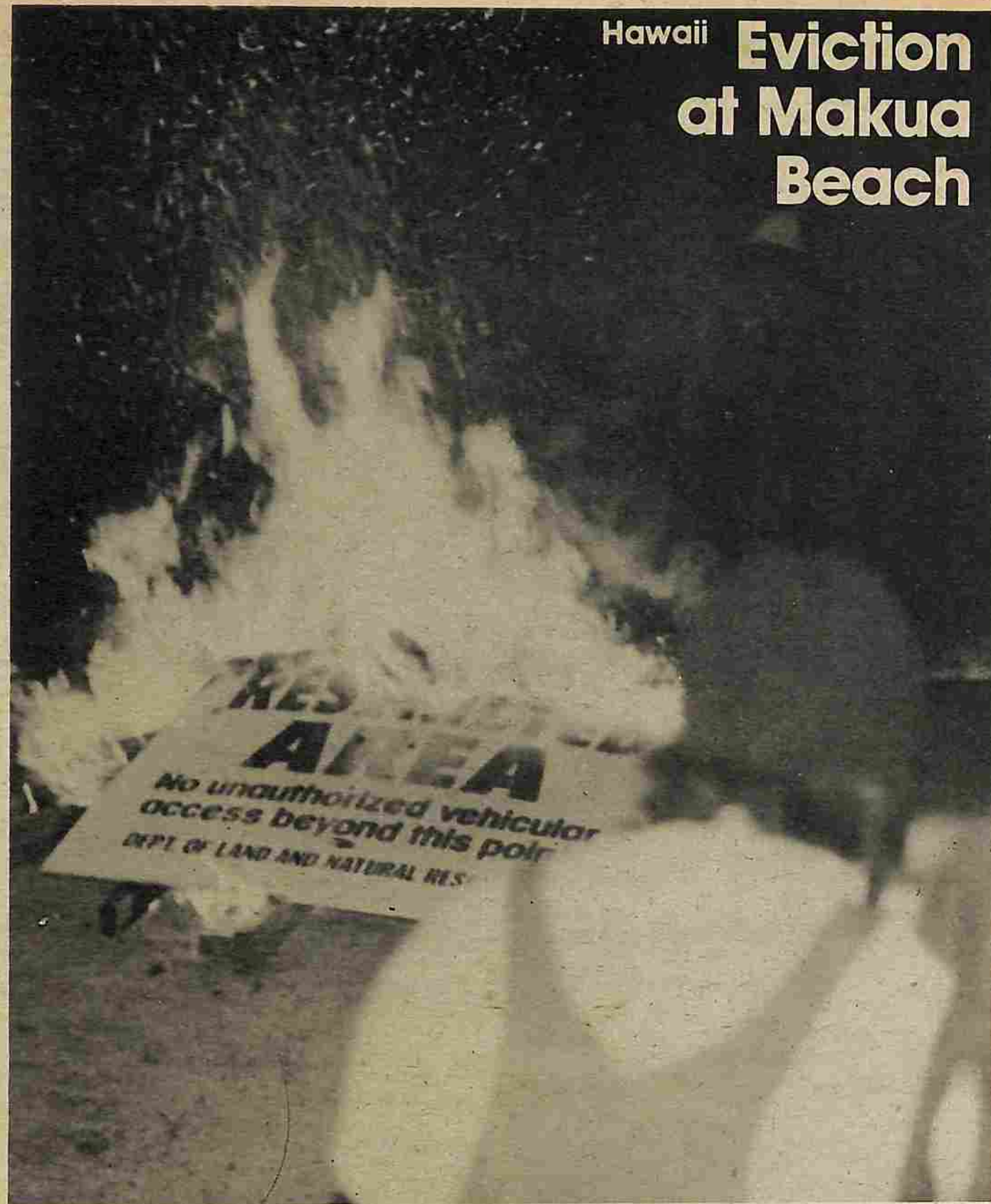
The six refused to post bail or enter a plea in court because they "refused to dignify the court by answering its charges." They do not recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts over them. Furthermore, they point out, they are not "squatters" since, as Hawaiians, they "have a right to this land."

Makua lies at the far northern end of the poor and rural Waianae Coast of Oahu, where the paved coastal road comes to a stop. Again and again during the homecoming people expressed the feeling that "We've been pushed to the end of the road" — both literally and figuratively. "They're pushing the Hawaiians further and further back. They keep talking and taking," said one woman. A man who had come from another island to support the struggle said, "If we are pushed out of Makua where will we go — into the sea?"

One of the women arrested at Makua told the *RW* she had been evicted twice before: once as a youth from Damon Tract, a large working class district near Honolulu which was razed to make way for the airport before World War II, and again recently from Sand Island in Honolulu Harbor where people also resisted eviction by the state.

Another resident said his family had moved four times in a few years, each time further up the Waianae Coast. Even though they still have a house in Waianae, they spend most of their time at Makua because it is important to them for the children to learn the way of life of the old Hawaiians.

The state claims that Makua Beach is planned for a part of a regional beach park which the "squatters" are selfishly keeping from the "public." But not only has no money ever been appropriated for



this "park" but Makua Beach is smack up against a target practice area!

The whole of Makua Valley is owned by the U.S. Army, which seized it by eminent domain in World War II. It is off limits. On occasion, the residents see tanks roll in and pulverize the landscape with powerful shell blasts. Planes come screaming low over the beach and drop bombs into the valley which shake the earth for miles. Sometimes explosions start fires which ravage miles of forest. Unexploded ordnance and bullets are found along the main road and by children along the beach. Past Makua, in the rugged, heavily guarded mountains, are missile sites and military installations. Clearly, a public park here is highly unlikely. And the existence of a community of people who generally do not recognize the authority of the U.S.

government could no longer be tolerated.

The dispossession of Hawaiian lands goes back to 1848 and the Great Mahele (Division), which established private ownership of land and enabled white settlers to acquire land. Within 20 years, most of the land in the islands belonged to foreigners, obtained through trickery, adverse possession, mortgages and other means of taking advantage of the poverty of the people. Much of the remainder belonged to the Hawaiian government, but this was seized by the small band of planters and businessmen in the 1893 coup and then ceded to the U.S. when it annexed Hawaii as a territory four years later. Makua Beach is part of these "ceded lands," which were turned over to the state government when Hawaii became a state in '59. Makua residents claim that therefore the state has no right to Makua

Beach, that it was stolen by force from the Hawaiian people.

In the 1970's, as Hawaiians were pushed further and further off the land by development, there was an upsurge of Hawaiian struggles for the right to land, and of consciousness of national oppression. In many cases, the military has been targeted: it controls 25% of the scarce and valuable land on Oahu. For instance, an important focus of struggle is the bombing of the island of Kahoolawe. Kahoolawe is considered a sacred island by the Hawaiian people and is rich in archaeological sites, which on other islands have been destroyed by zealous missionaries.

The recent struggle over Makua is only the latest expression of a long standing contradiction; and the six who will stand trial for resisting have widespread support throughout the islands. □

The Suspension of Rookie Cruz

The Miami cops have moved decisively against one of their own. Rookie cop Louis Cruz has been suspended from the force. Cruz was the junior man on patrol in Overtown last December 28, following the lead of cop Luis Alvarez in their shakedown of the video arcade. It was there that Alvarez murdered 20-year-old Nevell Johnson. In the midst of the rebellion that followed this police murder, another of Miami's finest, SWAT captain Reeves, killed yet another Black youth, 17-year-old Alfonso Singleton. Both clearcut cases of murder, like that of Arthur McDuffie back in 1980 and those of the ten Black people who were killed in the May, 1980 rebellion that followed the acquittal of McDuffie's cop murderers.

But that isn't why Cruz was suspended.

Indeed both Alvarez and Reeves remain in good standing. For you see, the suspension of Cruz had absolutely nothing to do with his direct participation in the murder of Nevell Johnson. Cruz's suspension came down in relation to his action in one of the myriad of "investigations" that are being conducted into the incidents of December 28. A suspension that is indeed revealing as to the real nature of these investigations as well as to the groundwork being laid by the police and federal officials to attempt to exonerate their boys.

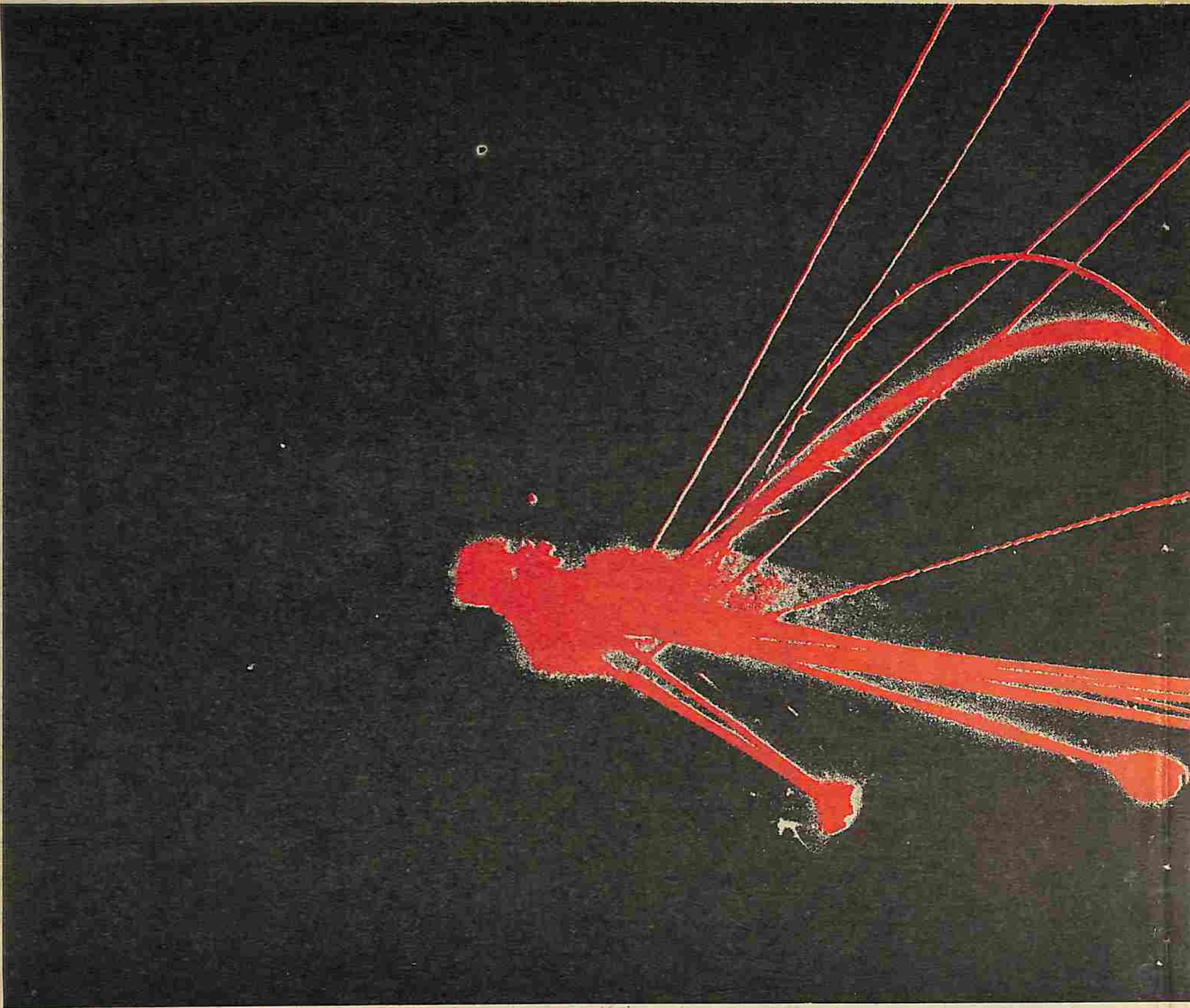
Rookie cop Cruz was charged with "violating police procedure" after he was caught with a tape recorder not quite hidden under his uniform, taping a "private session" with his police superior. While the subject of this particular session has

not been revealed, it is obvious that Cruz saw some self-interest in the subject matter, an interest that may well stem from the pending investigation. (Whatever the "private session" was about, you can be sure the contents of the discussion would not improve the image of the Miami police department.) And in this instance it appears that Cruz chose to violate not simply an old police regulation, but that unspoken police "moral code" that cops do not rat on each other.

There is some history in Miami for this type of cop violation just as there is some history to police murder. Back in 1980, one Miami cop, Charles Veverka, decided to testify against the others who had helped him beat McDuffie to death (of course, Veverka thought he was getting immunity from prosecution for his

testimony). But not long after the Tampa, Florida jury brought back a verdict of acquittal for the other murdering cops, Veverka was singled out by the Feds for prosecution for violating McDuffie's civil rights. The other seven Miami cops were never even charged.

In some haste, and perhaps ignorance of this history, Cruz shortsightedly chose to cover his own ass. He clearly did not know what Alvarez, Reeves and the others knew, that his cooperation in a much bigger cover-up was required. Because two things stand out above all else in these matters in Miami. It is quite normal police procedure to murder Black people and rampage through the neighborhoods. But while pigs may squeal in this way, they cannot squeal on each other. □



The following is the fourth and final part of a series of excerpts from an interview with Bob Avakian conducted by Rob Gibson on radio station WRFG in Atlanta. This interview was done in June 1982, but for various reasons was not aired until Nov. 19. This series of excerpts comes from the first part of that interview; more may air in the future. They have been transcribed from a tape and Bob Avakian's comments have been edited.

Bob Avakian on Radio WRFG

RG: Referring back to the *Programme* of his party, I asked Mr. Avakian about the chapter on the seizing of power by the proletariat and the transformation of the society thereafter. In particular I asked about culture and specifically about art: what role does art have to play in revolution, and referring to a quote that said, "And so long as the bourgeoisie rules society and therefore has domination over the media and the means of producing and disseminating culture, the dominant culture and the outlook and values promoted by it will play such a powerful role in serving the reactionary interests of that class and its system. . . . For all these reasons, the proletariat, as it seizes power, must immediately seize control of the mass media and move decisively to establish its domination over culture as a whole."

BA: Well, the role of art — by that we mean, literature, music, drama, sculpture and many other forms of art — is a tremendously important one. It would take more time than we have to go into a whole discussion of aesthetics and I'm not sure I'm prepared to do it, but I think people recognize, or should recognize, that art does have a political character to it; it's either going to serve one kind of politics or another. In other words, I don't think there's such a thing as art for art's sake, art that's pure and above politics and doesn't represent the point of view ultimately of one class or another and one way or another of viewing how society is and how it ought to be. Even the most subtle things, for example things that may influence politics indirectly and express a viewpoint indirectly, do so nonetheless, and sometimes the more subtly they do so the more powerfully they do so exactly because it's not overt.

Now that's on the one hand. On the other hand, art is different than politics *per se*, and it's good that it is. People need politics — politics is the lifeblood of society, if viewed in the correct way that politics is the struggle over what direction society and the institutions and people in it should take and how they should be shaped, in relation to the world around them. But nevertheless, art is a distinct sphere that's different than politics *per se*. Even though ultimately it can't be independent of or escape the realm of politics, still it is not the same thing as politics *per se* and when it is it is not good art, in general. It has its own laws, that's why there is aesthetics, it does speak to those laws and the specific character of art.

But in the final analysis art plays a role for one class or another (in-class society); it always plays a social role. In the present system the dominant art plays a role for the bourgeoisie and the imperialists in reinforcing the present order, in getting people not to see what the foundation of that order is and what the possibilities for changing it are, and in general getting people to accept — if



Art and Politics

not enthusiastically, still to accept — the idea that this is the only possible order and to accept and be swept up in the dominant values and ideas that the people ruling society want them to in order to preserve this set-up. That may be done as I said subtly or overtly, it may be done well or crudely in terms of artistic, technical and aesthetic standards, but that's what the dominant art does. I'm not saying this is true of every movie produced, to take one area, because there are people who to varying degrees and in varying ways put up struggle against this. There is great contradiction also even within the sphere of the more professional artists. There are people struggling to oppose the dominant art and its value, and they do succeed here and there in wringing a concession out of the ruling class or breaking through here and there or even slipping something by the censors, using "censors" in the broadest political sense. But taking things overall, what people see in the media and through the media of various kinds and the art that's promoted and projected is that one that serves imperialism and the imperialist ruling class and the imperialist system.

The arena of art is tremendously important in terms of influencing people one way or another — for revolution or against revolution, for the status quo or against the status quo speaking more generally — or sometimes taking contradictory expressions, to some degree against the status quo and to some degree accepting it and so on. Art not only influences politics tremendously but there is also a sharp struggle in the realm of art over what will be produced, what will be supported, and there are many different ways, I think we have to understand, that the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, has of controlling art. In fact, in the U.S. at this time, they prefer to do it without having to show a heavy hand to the degree that this is possible. They prefer to do it by pretending to have pluralism just as they pretend to have it in the political sphere — that there is no political character, no class character to our art, just different viewpoints expressing people's different ways of looking at the world. But it's like a *Newsweek* magazine article. *Newsweek* specializes in the eclectic style, they say almost everything, apparently, but by the time they're through they've gotten the point they want across and they've told you what the acceptable conditions and framework of the argument are; if you want to have any real influence on things you argue within this particular framework and not another or else you're irrelevant or worse. And particularly in the U.S. I think, but also more generally in the so-called Western democracies (that is the imperialist plunderers of the West), the ruling classes still prefer to do it that way to the degree that they can.

But they have other ways of controlling people, they will use the iron hand and they will use murder if people don't get in line, among artists as well as others. And that's something we've seen in the past. But at the same time, they prefer to get people with the weapon of cynicism, to get people with the weapon of demoralization, particularly people who are trying to do something with their art that is different than talking about all these rotten themes that leave people feeling demoralized or worse. With people who are trying to make a political statement or are trying to stand up and, even without knowing clearly where to go, say this whole order stinks and there's got to be something better

out there, they try to convince these people that they are all alone, that nobody supports them, that people don't want to hear that, that you can't sell records or you can't sell tickets at the movie theater, or you can't keep a TV rating up if you do that kind of art. No, "you've got to be realistic and recognize that people just don't want to hear that and you're up against overwhelming odds in trying to do it. Not because we, the imperialists (or the democratically elected leaders of the country, as they call themselves) don't want you to do this or will prevent you from doing it or forcibly suppress you when you try to do it, but because the people out there are too uninterested, apathetic and so on and don't want to hear it." So I think these are the problems that progressive and revolutionary artists come up against; as well as outright suppression, they have to deal with all the more subtle influence that is directed at them by the ruling class.

The ruling class recognizes the powerful role that art can play, and so must we. Revolutionary art plays a tremendously important role in building the revolutionary movement at the same time as the struggle in the realm of art is a tremendously important arena of struggle. It is not as important as politics itself overall — and it definitely should not be treated as the same as politics *per se* — but it certainly can and does exert a powerful influence, as art, on politics. But, again, when I say revolutionary art I don't only mean art that overtly and directly popularizes the need for revolution. I think art that does that and does it well, that is really art, is very important. But revolutionary art is certainly not limited to that. There are other forms of art that criticize the system, which dissect and expose certain of its more outrageous features and crimes, which call people to question the established order — all these kinds of things, on many different levels and in different forms, can certainly make an important contribution to building a revolutionary movement. Certainly the consciously revolutionary artists are something that the proletariat, the Revolutionary Communist Party and revolutionary communists generally cherish, but even they should not confine their work to art that directly points to the need for revolution, nor certainly should any of their work, whatever its theme, fall into being mere propaganda or attempt to be, or replace, politics *per se*. And we must recognize the important role and contributions of many people who are not communists, who don't agree with us completely, perhaps are not themselves convinced of the need for revolution or are not very clear what that means, but who do in fact challenge the established order and who do call on people to question and rebel in various different ways against it, often very indirectly as well as sometimes more directly through their art.

* * *

RG: It seems quite interesting that a man who speaks so profoundly about the current world situation would also have to fear for his life on a daily basis. Obviously the United States does not like to hear the kind of words that Mr. Avakian speaks, and they go out of their way, not to mention spending millions of dollars, to keep this sort of rebellion down. □

The Malcolm X Cultural Center:

"A Symbol of Organization and Protest" Under Siege

The following article is an excerpt from a new broadsheet published by the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, P.O. Box 206, Inkster, Michigan 48141. Copies of this broadsheet are available at \$2.00 per 100 copies.

In the 1960s the Black liberation struggle sent shockwaves through U.S. society and exploded the lie that Black people would forever endure national oppression. For a significant number of people it also destroyed the myth that within the established order of society lay any hope for an end to this oppression. The Detroit area had become a storm center of this upheaval. The rebellion of July, 1967 was described as "the bloodiest uprising in a half century and the costliest in terms of property damage in U.S. history," (*Time* magazine). In the spring of 1968 the first of a series of political strikes by Black auto workers against racism and the intensified oppression of Black people shook the city. All this had no small effect on what was going on in Inkster, Michigan, a suburb containing a historic ghetto that had been financed, cultivated (and at earlier times directly controlled) by Henry Ford I to keep "his" Black workers out of the neighboring lily-white Dearborn. What happened there in 1968 was a microcosm of what was taking place in society and the world.

In a recent radio interview, Darnell Summers described the political atmosphere when he, as a young, Black GI who was firmly opposed to the war, came home on leave in June, 1968 with orders to report (as he put it) "for shipment to hell" (Vietnam): "There was a lot of political discussion going on and a lot of people were reading a lot of revolutionary literature. Mao Tsetung, people were reading Malcolm X, other people were reading some other things and it just so happened that some things were going down in the community that had a lot of people uptight about what we could do about it." Among other things, the city was forced to turn over a closed down recreation center for a community cultural center. Darnell describes what happened then, "After we got the building we decided we'll change the name from the Harrison Recreation Center to some other name and the consensus was that we should change the name to the Malcolm X Cultural Center, because I believe that a lot of people were accepting that particular analysis that Malcolm had at that time, in terms of like not prostrating oneself or supplicating oneself or just getting on your knees and begging the bourgeoisie, the ruling class, the government for anything and being more militant.... Of course when the people who had given us the building, or from whom we had taken the building rather, got wind of that, they were very angry and said, 'Why did you name it after Malcolm? How come you didn't name it after this guy or why didn't you name it after this person?' And then, in the final analysis, it was, 'Either you change the name of that building or there's going to be a problem.' So people just took up the struggle of fighting against the name change, against people coming into the Malcolm X Cultural Center and co-opting it and making people sell out. Things happened off of that."

A constant surveillance of the MXCC and everyone who came through it was established by a joint team of Inkster cops and the Intelligence Units (known as "Red Squads") of the Detroit Police and the Michigan State Police. These were

described as "experts in the field of militant groups and the art of surveillance," (letter of Inkster Police Chief James Fyke to Wayne County Chief Prosecutor Wm. Cahalan, November 14, 1968).

As Darnell would later write from his prison cell in Mainz, West Germany in 1982, "We became 'criminals.' Strange things began to happen. As we would leave our homes for the MXCC, we realized we were being followed by unidentified persons. We received threatening telephone calls. On several occasions when we were leaving the MXCC late at night after having administered a full day of educational programs, we came under gunfire. The police of course were never able to find out who was doing the shooting. The MXCC became a symbol of organization and protest."

It was becoming clear that the authorities were moving to totally shut down the MXCC and trying to stifle the invigorating political life that had blossomed there and which had been created by the people themselves. At an Inkster City Council meeting on August 5, attended by numbers of MXCC leaders and supporters, the Mayor flaunted the city's cutoff of utilities to the Center and

refused to accept signed petitions which formally requested that the name of the city building be changed to the "Malcolm X Cultural Center." The intensified siege of the MXCC and its supporters sparked defiance and outrage among even broader numbers of people in the Inkster Black community. Instead of succeeding in intimidating people, expanded police patrols found themselves confronted by rock-throwing youths, and more, in what the press euphemistically referred to as "four days of racial unrest."

On the evening of August 7th, the authorities moved decidedly to erase the MXCC from their midst. A letter from the Mayor of Inkster was hand delivered to Darnell at his home by Inkster policemen. It concerned the sign bearing the name of Malcolm X that had just been placed on the Center: "You are hereby directed to remove such sign from the Harrison Recreation Building within twenty-four hours."

That day, in addition to the ongoing surveillance on the MXCC, police from at least seven surrounding departments, including the county sheriff department and the State Police were called up for duty in Inkster according to a previously agreed upon "mutual aid pact" designed to quell "civil disturbances."

In the course of the rebellion, police made a number of arrests and beatings, shot and wounded one Black man and gunned down in cold-blood a 14-year-old youth, Jimmy Matthews (see box). The execution of Matthews was in retaliation for the shooting death of Robert Gonser, a Michigan State Police Red Squad officer, who was killed while he was in Inkster on a surveillance mission during the rebellion.

Later in the morning of August 8, squads of police and state troopers raided the MXCC, destroying documents and books and tearing posters and pictures off the walls (all of these were later described in police documents as "hate literature"). Truly, the MXCC was a symbol of everything they feared. And yet, this onslaught did not deter Black people in Inkster. An interesting excerpt

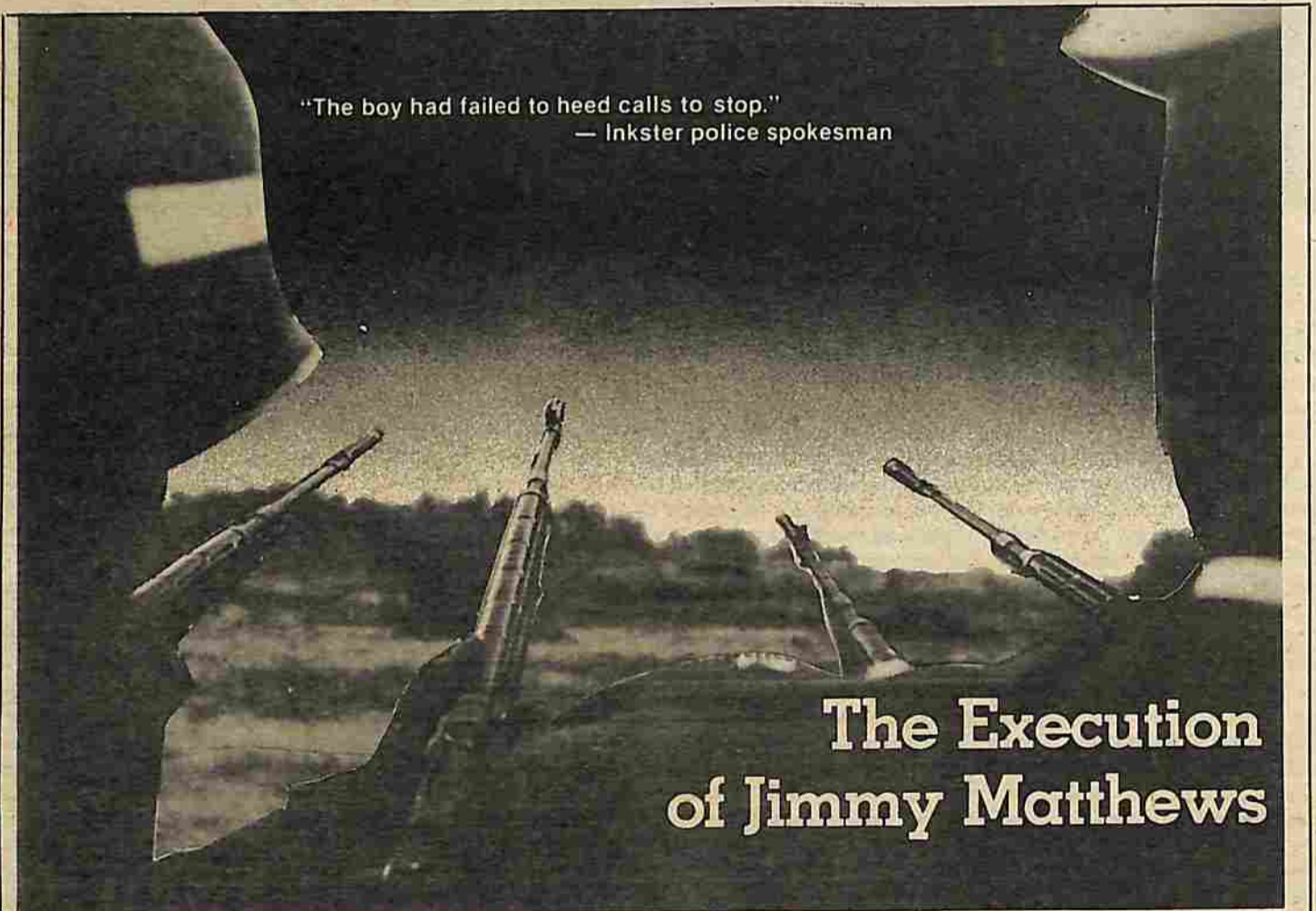
from the *Detroit News* (August 9, 1968) described what happened the very next day after the MXCC was sealed shut:

"About 100 angry Negroes demanded that the council remove a padlock from the center, which a Negro group insisted be named for the late black nationalist leader, Malcolm X. The council yielded during the stormy meeting."

"Despite denials by city officials, the center appeared to be the source of racial discord which erupted in three nights of scattered incidents before yesterday's fatal shootings."

But this was by no means the end of matters in Inkster. Just as the overall Black struggle had made itself felt in Inkster, so did the response of the state apparatus. Challenged from many corners of the globe, especially Vietnam, the rulers of the U.S. met the domestic challenge to their authority by launching a nationwide conspiracy at the highest levels aimed at smashing the Black liberation movement. In 1967, the FBI had unleashed its infamous COINTELPRO operations against the Black movement, which were designed "...to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black Nationalists, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder...." This resulted in the arrest, beating, jailing and outright assassination of numerous Black activists and Black revolutionaries across the country, all under the cover of trials or investigations on "criminal charges." (Much of this was documented in the 1975-76 Hearings of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, headed by Senator Frank Church, Book III of the *Final Report* — known as the Church Report, Book III.)

The original "investigations," "trials" and "criminal charges" which followed in the wake of the struggle in Inkster over the MXCC certainly bear all the marks of such "neutralization" tactics. □



Fifteen minutes after the shooting of Gonser, two cops came upon a number of Black youths who scattered when they saw the police. Most escaped to nearby houses but two ran across a field. The cops gave chase and called for reinforcements. One youth fell and was captured. The other, his 14-year-old cousin, Jimmy Matthews, continued running. In what one press account called "The massive response of several police departments to Inkster's troubles...." more than a dozen cops lined the field, flushed Jimmy out and gunned him down with numerous shotgun blasts when he started to run again. Minutes later, Jimmy was dead on arrival at a local hospital from "multiple gunshot wounds of the back,

chest and extremities." The next day a police spokesman explained Jimmy had been shot because "the boy had failed to heed calls to stop." Wayne County Prosecutor Cahalan later said "he was shot when he tried to run away" from police, one of whom was quoted as saying "My impression was we had the man who had shot the trooper (Gonser) cornered in a field."

A massive outpouring of outrage and anger from Black people in Inkster and the Detroit area forced officials to stage a brief investigation. After a week, Cahalan came out with the predictable conclusion: no evidence of any police wrongdoing could be found in the killing of Jimmy Matthews. He was young,

Black and running from the police. Case closed. Jimmy Matthews was shot down in cold-blooded retribution for the demise of Gonser and the authorities wanted everyone to know just that.

Thus the prosecutor's office could find no evidence of "criminality" in a cold-blooded murder in which everyone knew who the triggermen were. Yet for trooper Gonser's death, in which no credible evidence pointing to the murderer has been uncovered, the same prosecutor has twice tried to frame up Darnell Summers. They "thought they had their man" when they leveled their shotguns at Jimmy Matthews in 1968, and today as they aim their legal guns at Darnell, they "think" they have "their man" again. □

Support Builds for Darnell Summers in West Germany

A Surprise Visit

West Germany — The month of December saw a big leap forward in that part of the international campaign that is going on in W. Germany to stop the railroad of Darnell Summers. Not the least of the numerous significant happenings was the arrival of Darnell himself at Frankfurt International Airport on Dec. 24. The very fact that Darnell was able to walk through the passport control and be greeted by a crowd that included members of his family, fellow musicians, friends and revolutionaries from Germany, Turkey and other countries — while he is still facing a trumped-up murder charge — was itself a powerful exposure of the imperialist conspiracy that carried out his "legal kidnapping" last June and of the railroad that the authorities are desperately trying to keep on track. In addition, the fact that the state, which had portrayed him as a "fugitive," found it necessary to make such a concession as granting him the right to travel to Europe while still facing the murder charges speaks to the amount of exposure they have suffered so far and very importantly to the international character of this exposure and support that Darnell has received, especially in W. Germany.

Just 2 weeks before his arrival, a concert was held in the Heidelberg (W. Germany) area to raise funds for the defense campaign. The concert was dynamite from an entertainment point of view, featuring RIF, a very popular rock band from the area, and Darnell's band Afrodisia and including a surprise appearance by Ozan Seruskar, a revolutionary folk singer from Turkey. Numerous people representing a wide spectrum of political trends and social movements came forward to put it on and the West German youth active at the Youth Center in Neckargemund (near Heidelberg) where the concert was held put up hundreds of posters. It was definitely an SRO affair as between 500 and 600 people jammed into the youth center. Hundreds of people took and read pamphlets about the case and signed petitions demanding the charges be dropped. There were two surprise highlights that served to especially drive home the question of proletarian internationalism. The first was the appearance of Ozan Seruskar and the reception he got from the crowd; the fact that he came down to play to express his solidarity with Darnell had a big impact on the 100's of German youth present who demanded two encores. The other surprise that electrified the crowd was a direct phone call to Darnell in Detroit from the stage.

Darnell's arrival on Dec. 24 upped the ante. True to form the objective press, which has blacked out the case from the start, refused to attend a news conference called at the airport. Could anyone seriously deny at this point that the arrest and extradition of a long-time resident of and activist in W. Germany for the murder of a policeman in Detroit in 1968 — and now his return to Germany while still facing the same charges — was not a "newsworthy" event? Furthermore, the non-coverage by the press stands in rather stark contradiction to the "anti-missile — criticize the U.S." position of some very influential publications like *Stern* (the equivalent of *LIFE*) and *Der Spiegel* (which is like *Time* and *Newsweek* combined). Maybe the clear-cut collusion of the W. German government in Darnell's frame-up and extradition was not a subject the W. German press thought of as "news fit to print." As a representative of *Stern* said to Darnell a few days later in a meeting he had with them, "Mr. Summers, we think the court acted correctly in ordering your extradition." Several anarchist and other left papers were, however, anxious to conduct interviews and exposure in the case.

Because the Detroit police had "lost" his passport it wasn't known for sure that Darnell would be coming until 3 days before his arrival. In the time available, rapid preparations were made to take full advantage of his visit to further develop the campaign here to stop the railroad.



A meeting in support of Darnell Summers at the ATIF headquarters in West Berlin



Signing a banner: "Freedom for Darnell"

Plans were set into motion to set up speaking engagements in Heidelberg and in Berlin, and three concerts were scheduled featuring Darnell and Afrodisia. The ruling class also set out to make its presence felt. The day after Darnell's return a carload of people leaving a welcome home party at his house were stopped by the police at gunpoint for supposedly *running a red light!* The message was none too subtle.

Other efforts were made by the forces of democracy to hold things back, some of which were so ridiculous that they only served to further expose the hand of the W. German ruling class in the political persecution of Darnell Summers. There were incidents like the arrest and threatened fining of people for putting up concert posters "without a permit"; and the cops did show up at the Jugenezentrum in Neckargemund and try to end the concert there because they claimed the neighbors were complaining about the noise. (It should be pointed out that there are no houses around the center and that all the doors and windows were closed — also it should be said that after the cops showed up the audience demanded and got a second encore from Afrodisia.) The award for creative harassment technique however went to the local authorities in Worms who called the owner of the club where the concert was to be played and demanded that he comply with an almost never used law that a 25% tax be paid on

all tickets to an entertainment event. They ordered him to come to city hall and pick up officially registered tickets so that they would be sure to get their pound of flesh. In response to this the club owner told the concert organizers that he would pay the tax out of his own pocket. (An interesting side-note to this is that this law says that concerts where "serious" music is played are *not* to be taxed — to which one Afrodisian replied, "They don't think this music is serious?, man this right here is serious as a heart-attack.")

This type of harassment was not however able to keep the three concerts from playing to packed houses. At the concert in Worms a GI who had come just to check out the music wrote and signed the following statement and gave it to Darnell when he heard about the case: "I believe in the innocence of Darnell Summers and will testify to that fact." A car-load of revolutionary-minded German youth who are active in the anti-war movement made the hour and a half drive from the Stuttgart area where they live when they heard just one day before that Darnell would be speaking in Heidelberg. In Berlin, where the meeting was announced only 2 days in advance, 140 people — 1/3 of them revolutionary proletarians from Turkey with the other 2/3 punks, squatters and other dangerous elements from the political scene in Berlin — crowded into the ATIF (Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany)

center to hear Darnell. Translated into 3 languages (English, German and Turkish), the program went on for 3 hours with discussion going far beyond just the case itself and getting deep into the questions of the source of war, the revolutionary possibilities in the '80s, especially in the advanced countries like Germany, the nature of imperialism and the meaning of internationalism.

This internationalist spirit has been evident especially in the efforts of ATIF, not only in widely publicizing the case among their ranks and the masses of people from Turkey, but also in their assistance throughout the tour. Darnell spoke to this on New Year's Eve in Köln (Cologne) where he was invited by the ATIF chapter there to their New Year's celebration:

"It is very fitting that on this New Year's Eve I find myself among my comrades from Turkey who have not only played a vanguard role in Germany in building the campaign in my defense, but who are also a leading force in building the revolutionary movement here in general. This vanguard role is one that needs to be further built upon and strengthened. As we enter the new year, one that is sure to be filled with even more struggle, including desperate attacks like the one upon myself and comrade Hüseyin Balkir, the internationalist spirit and actions that you have consistently displayed are an example and an inspiration to revolutionaries everywhere." □

A Spy Story

Continued from page 1

twitching of his neck muscles to belie his frigid exterior. When it came time for his response the chief commended the commission for the "proper, responsible" manner in which it had dealt with the problem — after all, they had all agreed to keep going after, and even step up their efforts against "terrorists" and "violence-prone groups and individuals" — and acknowledged that he "would not disagree" with the commission's decision. However, there was more to say on the subject — and while the chief's quiet, controlled tones never wavered, one side of his neck did become a spasm of perpetual motion. "Intelligence is a very, very complex, difficult task," said Chief Gates. "It cannot and never will be as pristine and pure as some would like it. . . . There is absolutely no way that we can not, on occasion, trample on some people's privacy and on their freedom. There just isn't any way to do it."

Of course, the commissioners, politicians and newspaper editors who have been airing the PDID problems over the past few months are well aware of the impossibility of pristine purity amid the sewers of political police operations; for example, the *LA Times* subsequently editorialized that Gates had a "valid point" here. And the chief has been pressing the point in numerous TV interviews, where every other word is "t-e-r-r-o-r-i-s-t"; and there is a more carefully worded response for the more sophisticated: "We have violence-prone groups that would like to overthrow this government through an armed effort. We know that. And we think that we have an obligation to invade their privacy and find out about it and prevent those things from happening." Gates has been delivering a number of these little reminders filled with all the standard code words to justify the government's measures against revolutionaries such as the ongoing operations against the RCP, including the pre-planned execution of Damián García. This is, of course, an important principle of unity in the ranks of all the rulers and their agents.

The world is a complicated place, and it is not so simple for those who are historically obsolete. Contradictions abound, and stratagems must continually be hatched to try and deal with them. So it is with the spiders that inhabit the catcombs of the bourgeoisie's political police as they spin their web of intrigue. And also with those who must figure out how to best use these spiders.

The latest round of this intrigue began in November when an associate superintendent of the LA unified school district, Jerry Halverson, was called into his boss' office for what he thought would be a private meeting. According to sworn testimony he has given in a lawsuit filed by the ACLU-sponsored Citizen's Commission on Police Repression, Halverson was shocked to find the editor of the *LA Times* Metro section, Noel Greenwood, leading the meeting and police commissioner Reva Tooley also present and hanging on every word. Greenwood revealed that his sources in the police department spilled some heavy beans, saying that PDID was keeping files on "very important people" and that some of these files were among those that the police commission had ordered destroyed way back in 1975. According to his informants, those files had instead been offered to the school district. Since Halverson has a long history of close cooperation with the LAPD and its "Red Squad," Greenwood wanted to know just what Halverson knew about all of this.

Halverson was put on the spot. He admitted that files had been offered to him by "sergeant-level personnel" for storage in one of the school district's secret vaults, or perhaps one of the city's underground tunnels, he couldn't remember. But it didn't matter, since both he and his security underling had refused to take the files, he said. However, Halverson thought that someone in military intelligence might have taken them, although he wasn't sure who that might have been. Greenwood said he would investigate further and told all the meeting's participants that they should keep their mouths shut about everything

that had occurred. Imagine Halverson's surprise when shortly thereafter, an article appeared in the *Times* revealing the main points of Halverson's comments, as if he had called a press conference to blow the whistle on PDID. He immediately contacted his good friend, Chief Gates, to let him know that nothing could be further from the truth.

So now it must have dawned on the chief. His enemies were conspiring against him, trying to knock him down a peg or two. He was being besieged on all sides by those who just didn't understand.

An article in the *Times* a few months earlier had revealed many of the contradictions, even while it brought out the missionary zeal with which the chief promotes the LAPD's role. For example, the article took note of one of the chief's favorite public speeches, the "Jeremiah speech":

"Sometimes I feel like Jeremiah from the Bible," Gates begins, typically droll. "God chose Jeremiah. He said, 'Look, Jerry, we got a problem. . . . My children, they're not doing right, Jerry. I've given them a whole bunch of rules, and they're not paying any attention at all.'"

"So I've decided, Jerry, that I need you to spend all your time telling them," Gates continues, comically mimicking God as his audience chuckles.

Then, pausing for effect, hushing his already hushed voice, "Now, Jerry, they're going to throw rocks at you. They're going to ridicule you. They're going to persecute you, Jerry!"

Another soft pause.

"You tell them, Jerry, that I love them — that I do indeed love them. . . ."

Then, jarringly, alarmingly, Gates' voice rises, his forefinger slashes the air, "But you tell them too, Jerry, that they're going to have to change! And if they don't," Gates thunders, "then you tell them, Jerry — they are going to die!"

This is fine for the professional guardian of public morals. On the other hand, there are other figures and other forces — and they are not all that comfortable with Chief Gates' efforts to play God. Much of this has taken the form of bitter disputes with Mayor Tom Bradley and other city politicians, but it is obvious that there are bigger forces at play here. For example, during the so-called hostage crisis, Gates volunteered that if President Carter couldn't get the American spies out, he would send in the LAPD's SWAT team — and that would do the trick. Apparently, Gates later got a call from the State Department telling him to shut up. He has also managed to make racist statements offending virtually every nationality, and this too has been a little too blatant and politically uncomfortable for some.

At the same time, it is clear that there are many who are also concerned about the "declining morale" of the LAPD. While the Chief has been most vociferous in his defense of every police murder of Black people and others, he has also stressed the discipline and professionalism required by a vanguard police operation. For example, when Jack Webb, the creator of the TV show *Dragnet*, died recently, all the flags on LAPD facilities flew at half mast; and it is no secret that the show was produced in order to enhance and promote the LAPD's image. But some feel that this goes too far. After all, many of his hogs want to rake in the rewards of official thuggery, and there is a great desire within the LAPD for a relaxation of some of Gates' zeal so that they can score some of the perks that go with their front-line position. There are a growing number of scandals involving LAPD officers, and there is some feeling that Gates' fire-and-brimstone approach toward the grunts is bad for morale. And there are those within the LAPD who are not afraid to openly head up Gates' opposition, such as Tom Bradley's "good friend," Deputy Chief Jesse Brewer, the highest ranking Black pig. To Brewer, *Dragnet* is a little old-fashioned. He is the technical advisor on the more "realistic" *Hillstreet Blues*.

For reasons which we will go more into in a moment, the forces who are uncomfortable with Gates' role of God have been coalescing around the current PDID controversy. When last we left him, Chief Gates was contemplating how to deal with all those who were conspiring against him.

Out of the blue, he comes up with a

brilliant plan. He asks the District Attorney to investigate the Police Commission! Perhaps they violated the law, he suggests, by illegally ordering the destruction of public documents way back in 1975 when they issued their famous directive to get rid of those "outdated" files. Alas, it seems that the DA won't bite; even if this were true, says the DA, the Statute of Limitations has expired and no criminal proceedings against commission members could take place.

Instead, the DA focuses on the investigation into PDID and the possible removal of files from the division and announces the empaneling of a grand jury to force testimony out of those who are perhaps unwilling to be forthcoming. The question of just who might ultimately be called to testify before the grand jury remains to be seen. But for the moment, keep in mind Jerry Halverson, with his tales of "sergeant-level personnel" approaching him with files and his implicating military intelligence, and any number of PDID officers. Who knows which heads will roll if any of these thugs spill their guts? This seems a most propitious time for a PDID "audit," conducted by some of Chief Gates' most trusted underlings. Not surprisingly, "nothing earth-shaking" is the official description of the results.

Shortly thereafter, the *Times* finally releases its previously written, highly-charged exposure of the undercover operations directed against the RCP, focusing especially on the activities of a former PDID officer named Fabian Lizarraga — the pig who was standing five feet from Damián García when he was murdered in an East L.A. housing project on April 22, 1980. While there have been many previous exposures of spy activities and so forth on the part of PDID, this is the first time that a hint of the possible extent and nature of PDID activity has come to light in the *Times*. The heat on Gates and PDID is turned up to new levels. Meanwhile, Gates' counterattacks are reaching new levels of desperation. He lashes out at the *Times* for "outrageous reporting" and dredges up a previously fabricated and subsequently retracted *LA Times* quote, falsely attributed to RCP Chairman Bob Avakian, as a justification for previous and future attacks on the RCP and as a reminder to the *Times* that they are all in this together.

Meanwhile, FBI director William Webster grants the *Times* an exclusive interview. He announces that the FBI will take a "lead role" in dealing with any "terrorism" at the Olympics and reveals his plans to call in the "Blue Light" commandos, also known as "Charlie's Angels," who distinguished themselves in the aborted attempt to rescue the American spies being held hostage in Iran, in the event of any such incident. He also expresses worry over the potential operations of spies from virtually every foreign country, painting a picture of international intrigue blanketing all of Southern California. The timing of these revelations is hardly accidental. Chief Gates has made it known that he wanted to be in charge of the Olympics, but Webster is sticking it to him in a most forthright manner. The LAPD, advanced as it is, will have to take a backseat to the big boys.

Olympic Leap

Ah yes, the 1984 Olympics. Not only is it an important event in and of itself, but the very international implications of everything involved in the Olympics says much about what the U.S. imperialists and their political police must prepare for in the future. Webster took note of these concerns, and Gates himself has also made clear that he well understands the scope of his responsibilities as head of a vanguard police department, including the international ramifications. In a speech at the beginning of last year, Gates noted, "One of the major areas of concern in relation to terrorism is the large and diverse ethnic population of our community. The LAPD must be aware of the events that occur anywhere in the world as it could trigger a response from the concerned ethnic bloc within the city arising from nationalistic, political, religious, or revolutionary sympathies."

In other words, the nature of the world and times requires a big leap in political police activity. It all must be beefed up, made more efficient, technological, analytical and so forth. Not only is it very important to the U.S. imperialists that the

1984 Olympics go smoothly, but it is also a testing ground, an event to facilitate this leap in activity and preparation, and to put the whole apparatus to the test. This is international sports at its finest! (If anybody gives a clenched fist salute at this event . . .)

In this light, the question of why the PDID "deactivation" has occurred right now can be better appreciated. For the past five years and more, PDID activities have been the subject of so much exposure and controversy that significant sections of the population are protesting its operations. Can this controversy be allowed to continue, and possibly get in the way of the necessary expansion of political police activity that is required? Not on the bourgeoisie's life. And at the same time, there are questions of who will be in overall command of this vastly more potent apparatus. (After all, if political assassinations in the manner of the Kennedys have long been an important way the U.S. imperialists settle their inner-bourgeois disputes — and they have — can the matter of who has the upper hand in the official spy and assassination apparatus be left to chance?) The FBI, and related federal agencies, are in the best position to make the determinations that are most in line with the overall interests of Washington, D.C.

However, within this framework, the LAPD will once again be required to play a vanguard role. Its highly trained and specialized operatives and superior equipment — all a product of a previous leap in training, funds, etc., funneled through the now officially defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration — will take another leap in development and be brought fully into play. And its vast international connections and operations — set up and maintained through extensive communications networks like its own creation, the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, as well as the undercover operations known to be carried out all over the world — will undoubtedly be taken to new and higher levels than ever before.

With all this at stake, and so many deeds crying out to be done, Chief Gates' "difficulties" with city hall, Mayor Bradley, *LA Times*, et al. — the backdrop and seeming motor for the PDID "deactivation" — can be recognized for what they are. These are hardly local issues, nor local forces at play here. They are nationally known and nationally worried about, in the highest reaches of the U.S. bourgeoisie. And just one sign of this is the fact that *Newsweek* magazine broke the story of PDID's "demise" days before it actually occurred and the *NY Times* also ran a story on PDID, just one day before the police commission announcement.

But we digress. Let's get back to our story and the startling new revelations that suddenly appeared at the beginning of January.

Files, Files Everywhere

Then, at the beginning of January, a startling new revelation appears. Shortly after Halverson and unnamed others appear before the Grand Jury, a plethora of secret files turn up in the mobile home and garage of one "sergeant-level," Sgt. Jay S. Paul of PDID. Paul's story is that in the face of the DA and Grand Jury investigations, his superiors asked all personnel to turn in any materials that were supposed to be previously destroyed. Paul came in with a box of files pertaining to school desegregation activity, expecting that his bosses would simply push it through the paper shredder. But lo and behold, the loyal sergeant is suddenly put under "house arrest," and held at police department headquarters until a search warrant can be gotten to go after all other files in his possession. Within a few days it is reported that over 90 cartons of secret files have been recovered from locations rented by Paul.

There are more questions pertaining to the "discovery" of these files than can possibly be enumerated, let alone answered at this time. But a new act of even greater desperation on the part of the LAPD has raised some specific ones. A few days after the discovery, the LAPD suddenly moved to seal the records of any mention of Paul's trailer park and/or garage address in the search warrant and other public documents pertaining to this case. To justify this strange action, the LAPD told a judge that Paul and his wife had received a "bomb threat" from

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Murder by Chokehold in King County Jail

On Wednesday, January 19, Riley Frost, a Black prisoner in the King County Jail in Seattle, was choked to death by prison guards. No sooner had the murder occurred than authorities quickly clamped a lid on the case in the hope of preventing details of the murder from getting out. But their actions make plain that the killing has their support and approval. Officials have even refused to reveal the number of guards involved in the murder. The county prosecutor had announced that the King County Executive would hold a press conference to reveal what he called the "essential facts" of the murder; instead one of the executive's underlings showed up to read a brief statement. He refused to answer any questions. The King County police, who supposedly are investigating the murder, described the killing in their official report in one brief sentence: "The victim started to resist, a struggle took place and the victim passed out." The Medical Examiner would only say that Frost died of "asphyxia by compression of the neck." The official game plan is already starkly evident in all this — stonewalling all questions concerning the circumstances of the murder until after an inquest, scheduled in late March, at which time the killing will no doubt be officially whitewashed.

Meanwhile, however, a number of reports have surfaced which make it perfectly obvious that Frost's death was

premeditated murder. Frost had been ordered by a court to be fingerprinted, despite his and his attorney's objections, in connection with the robbery he had been charged with. The authorities knew Frost objected to being fingerprinted, and admit they had discussions on how to get Frost to submit to fingerprinting. According to an eyewitness report printed in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, guards tried to force Frost to be fingerprinted, and when he refused, a gang of 4 to 6 guards jumped him. One of those guards, Geoffrey Lau, put a choke hold on Frost. Frost then passed out and, according to the report, a jail nurse was brought in to look at him. Then, while Frost lay there dying, the guards proceeded to handcuff him and take his fingerprints! Only after he had been fingerprinted and checked again by the nurse did the jail call for a Fire Department Aid car. This version, mind you, comes from a source sympathetic to the guards (most likely from a guard) who, according to the *Post-Intelligencer*, thought "everything Lau did was justifiable and that Lau committed no wrong in putting Frost under the neckhold." The same source claimed that the delay in calling for help was caused because they thought Frost was "faking" his unconsciousness.

Like countless other dungeons across the country, King County Jail is crammed with prisoners who are often forced

to sleep on the floor, sometimes without any blankets or other bedding. Prisoners have been served food that is rotting or infested with bugs, medical care is virtually non-existent — especially for the victims of beatings by guards or by the police who arrest them. Added to this list of abuse and torture the "carotid submission hold" — as the authorities like to term their technique for murdering prisoners — is just the ultimate form of "control" for prisoners who for one reason or another incur the displeasure of the state and its jailers.

The murder of Riley Frost triggered a new wave of outrage among Black people in Seattle and among many others. "This system up there is choking brothers. We're getting mad and tired of it!" This is how one former prisoner described his reasons for joining over 50 others in a hastily called picket line protesting the murder on the following Monday. "I've been up there, I know the brutality they bring down on people. They want to knock us off — they're in a position to knock us off."

The murder of Frost comes barely two years after another Black prisoner, Shelly Johnson, was choked to death by King County Jail guards. In Johnson's case, 3 guards moving him from one cell to another knocked him down in the hallway, jumped on him and began to beat and choke him. Soon 8 guards had joined

in the attack, and a guard continued to choke Johnson even after he had been handcuffed and was being carried to the other cell. When they got to the new cell the guards beat Johnson some more and then left him on the cell bunk dying or already dead.

The media, meanwhile, is working overtime to deflect all the outrage the killing of Frost has generated. While not completely blacking out the Monday picket and the other protests, much of the press has gone out of their way to minimize such actions. (One radio station, for example, reported the picket line as a mere handful, while the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* buried a short report on the picket on — of all places — the obituary page.) The press has cooked up their own "controversy" over the county jail's "policy on methods to restrain inmates." The *Seattle Times*, apparently believing that its readership is composed of total fools, wrote, "Suspensions that something might be wrong in jailers' use of neckholds was raised" with the murder of Shelly Johnson two years ago. This same article bemoans the fact that the jail has "no written policy about neckholds." The newspaper would have no quarrel if the authorities would just reduce this policy to writing! □

A Spy Story

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someone who "claimed to be a member of the RCP." For a while, it even appeared that the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* would run a story on this obviously stupid fabrication; apparently, the newspaper backed off when it became clear that this would only cast further suspicions back on the police. In fact, this new police move raises to a matter of greater importance just why it is that the LAPD was so anxious to seal the address record. For one thing, doesn't it seem just a little bit strange that an LAPD sergeant, a veteran of 15 years on the highly paid force, would live in a trailer park? Could it be that this address — and that of the storage garage where the remainder of the files were located — were only recently rented? Perhaps in order to fill a demand from someone in "military intelligence," who didn't want to get caught with the goods? One can only speculate at this time.

At any rate, over the next two weeks the *LA Times* begins running one after another exposure of the content of the files seized from Paul's house. Suddenly it comes out that PDID files had been kept on former police commission president Reva Tooley, current police commission president Steven Yslas, and a whole host of other prominent politicians; a city councilman revealed that he had been told by a former keeper of PDID records that there was a file on him; two judges, including one who presided over a lawsuit involving PDID, also had their life stories locked up in the files; and the *Times* revealed that Sgt. Paul had been considered a "mainstay" of PDID, the kind of reliable guy that would take trips to the east coast on his own time in order to develop contacts for the division. Through it all, it becomes apparent that the *Times* had access to the files: its sources within the police department were quite willing to embarrass PDID, and by implication Chief Gates. It wasn't long before the official decision to "deactivate" PDID and replace it with a new structure was finalized. And the man who was put in charge of making the recommendations for the new version of PDID is none other than Gates' old nemesis, Deputy Chief Jessie Brewer.

It should be noted that some of the exposures that have appeared in the *Times* have a definite double edge to them. For example, an article on the file kept on superior court judge Jerry Pacht, the judge who once presided over a case involving PDID, raises certain questions

about possible connections between the judge and the pro-Soviet revisionist Communist Party. And given the "historic compromise" strategy pursued by the CP, it is obvious that the political police are going to continue to keep tabs on all manner of bourgeois forces that the CP may be courting. Indeed, while nearly every interviewer has seen fit to challenge Chief Gates on the propriety of keeping a file on a superior court judge, not one has challenged his answer: "I've known the judge for a long time. I know his background. I don't need a dossier. I know everything there is to know about him."

In case there are any lingering doubts, it should be crystal clear where the *Times* lines up in all this — and why they have

played such an active role in the controversy. For one thing, the *Times* has taken every opportunity — indeed, even created some seemingly out of left field — to drop in a hint about the upcoming Olympics. And in addition to the previously mentioned "valid point" that the paper credited Chief Gates with discovering, the *Times* which broke the story on the dismantling, has also editorialized in favor of a cautious approach to the dismantling of the PDID. In arguing against the wholesale transference of PDID's activities and personnel to other divisions, the *Times* fears that this "would divide authority where unified authority is necessary, and would create more problems than it would resolve." This argument for increased centraliza-

tion was made right in the midst of the *Time's* exposures of PDID files on judges, commissioners and so forth.

All of which only goes to prove that the intrigue and web-weaving of the various parties in this matter is far from over. Chief Gates may have suffered a certain setback, but he is anything but down and out. The *Times*, Bradley, and whoever else they are standing in for may have scored a few points, but the game is still going on. Webster and his boys are getting ready for the "Olympics." Both sides of *this* game are bastions of reaction, but while they're at each other's throats, the opportunities for further exposure by the revolutionary masses must not be frittered away. □

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Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Jan. 17, 1982

Dear Comrades,

I write this letter in red for it is symbolic to the blood that is shed everyday by my fellow revolutionaries here in the modern day concentration camps. So it is because of this fact that I send this letter in support of political refugee status for Comrade/Chairman Bob Avakian.

Though in this hell hole the fire is not as hot as it could be but even in its calmness it is pure hell: political prisoners are given coffee in the morning laced with mellaril and practically all the food is laced with thiazine. For refusing to eat a meal you are locked in a cell for an undetermined amount of time without anything to eat. The younger inmates who are hostile towards the system have been repeatedly raped by the guards, I mean literally raped and beat almost half to death when suspected of telling. Older inmates are walking around with missing fingers and the constant fear of being a victim of the whims of sadistic guards.

Comrades I implore to you the imminent danger that lies ahead if our beloved Comrade Bob Avakian is forced to be subdued by these sadistic pigs; and all should be done within all of our powers to keep this from happening. Prisoners and revolutionaries all over unite together for the common cause of giving life to our beloved comrade, because if these fascist pigs get their diseased paws on him death will be all they will be seeking.

I also received the "Questions of Revolutionary Strategy for the 1980s" and the comrades here as well as myself are very grateful. Also I would like to be kept abreast of the plight of our brother Bob Avakian and I only wish that there was more that I could do. If there is you just say the word and it will be done.

I hope that this letter will be of some assistance.

In strength & struggle
A dedicated soldier for our revolution

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund,

Enclosed \$5.00 to help shine the light of revolution behind prison walls, to honor the Sing Sing and other prison rebellions and to stimulate future agitation on this hypocritical and degenerate capitalist system.

T.C.

January 21, 1983

Dear Comrades:

Received your letter acknowledging receipt of my statement in our battle to win political refugee status for Chairman Avakian. Since I am presently (again) in solitary confinement I have not been allowed to receive the *RW*. Please send me a copy of Comrade Avakian's "There's Nothing More Revolutionary than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought!" pursuant to the Prisoner's Literature Fund.

Huntsville

Comrades,

As a prisoner of the XX Correctional Institution and a militant who frequently battles the racist and sadistic pigs here, and who is hungry for

some revolutionary material, I feel the urge to inquire about the possibility of receiving your paper *Revolutionary Worker* and some literature on Chairman Mao Tsetung, Lenin, Marx and Engels. I am penniless and I can't say that I will send you a donation sometime in the near future, because I do not have anyone on the outside. But if I should ever obtain a friend or someone who would care enough to send me a little money, I will gladly send you part of it.

Florida

Greetings

This letter is to advise your office that I should be released from incarceration and would like my donated subscription cancelled.

Thank you for your assistance and kindness. In the near future I shall order a paid subscription.

Thank you for everything!

Dear RW,

I extend my appreciation to you for letting me receive your paper. I am about to be released, so I would like you to not send me any more papers. Upon my release I will be able to buy a subscription. Thank you for your understanding in letting me receive your paper and other material when I was in need of it.

Yours in Struggle
Power to the People

RW,

Am currently doing time in county jail for MD '80 activities. I thought for sure I'd see the hole when they took stock of the reading materials I brought in: ranging from Marx to Mao and a whole slew of books by Bob Avakian and the RCP.

But my blood boiled when they confiscated the Jan. 7 issue of the *RW*. As decisive as it's been to my political understanding, I take it for granted as access to it on the outside is easy. Most especially with the death of Comrade Kaiser — I was looking forward to reading the new issue.

Shortly after I was booked in — and they'd confiscated my books — the "soul savers" were allowed thru handing out FREE bibles. A vivid illustration of — "the hangman and the priest."

"But — we have a full library" — they said. I don't know how they do it — but absolutely every book has as its conclusion — various themes where people turn to God. Everything from books on Nazi Germany to books on women!

I've always loved and been deeply touched by letters from prisoners in the pages of the *RW*. But, my experience drives home the importance and decisiveness of revolutionary literature getting in the jails. Conditions promote numbness and passivity — tho a tremendous grappling goes on.

I cannot contribute financially to the fund — though my very life and every hour is in the service of the international proletariat thru carrying out the Party's work of preparing minds and organizing forces.

I do want to call upon all those on the outside to contribute both to the Prisoners Fund and the RCP fund drive.

Many forces behind bars desire revolutionary literature — this vast army of forces must have their political needs met.

We derive great strength from these letters and have a duty to enable these growing forces to continue.

Nakasone

Continued from page 3

by the U.S. to extend the "voluntary" quotas on the export of Japanese cars to the U.S. which expire this March — was not even brought up in the talks, supposedly because of a "technicality." On the contrary, the U.S. dropped hints that Japan might at last be granted access to Alaskan oil and natural gas that so far have been limited by law to U.S. domestic sales. Instead of the usual complaints about Japan's ceiling on defense spending at 1% of the GNP, Nakasone's "boldness in the military area" was the

center of attention. He was also praised for pushing through a 6.5% increase in defense spending within an otherwise austere budget as well as putting an end to a ban on the export of military-related technology that had been in effect since 1967. One Democratic congressman's assessment was that, "We think he is trying to do more than anyone before." Although Reagan gently taunted Nakasone to prove Japan's "good intentions" by making "tangible progress" in trade issues, he also put the strains in the relationship in their proper perspective: "It's like a happy marriage. Sometimes you argue, but the marriage is still happy." Again, the same marriage imagery as was evoked around the European pipeline conflict to describe the nature of these disputes.

Nakasone, for his part, while not mak-

ing any further concrete concessions on trade matters, said that it was time for Japan to place political limits on its economic expansion abroad. In defense matters, of course, he was very concrete. One of Nakasone's first acts upon return to Japan was the setting in motion of a joint U.S.-Japanese study on the eventual transfer from the U.S. to Japan of responsibility for military security of a fan-shaped body of strategic water extending 1,000 miles south of Japan. The study will reportedly go into the details of how the actual transfer can be worked out. Not confining his remarks strictly to U.S.-Japan relations but ranging to the U.S. bloc as a whole, Nakasone also declared that, "Japan supports President Reagan's Zero Option proposal and would like negotiations with the Soviets to proceed along this line."

U.S. officials and the bourgeois press were quite taken with Nakasone. He was pictured as "a man we can work with." Gee, he can even speak decent English and trade baseball metaphors with Reagan! One *New York Times* article entitled "Nakasone, A U.S. Friend" described him as "an effective orator" and "flamboyant by Japanese standards... his barrel chest and 5'7-1/2" frame make him larger than many of his Japanese contemporaries, and he is known as an avid sportsman who enjoys skiing and golfing." Sort of a Japanese Reagan, you might say. In fact, Nakasone let out that he had studied Reagan's smiles and photos and sought to emulate his style on the speaker's platform.

But the parallels don't end at personal

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Correspondence on R.C.P. Fund Drive

Dear RW,

As an attorney who has represented RCP supporters in criminal actions, I am contributing what amounts to four days' salary to the fund drive.

While I once viewed RCP accusations against various police departments with a critical eye, I have now witnessed, directly and indirectly, unsubstantiated charges against RCP supporters, illegal arrests, police beatings, coverups and tampering of evidence by police departments, deliberate non-compliance by district attorneys' offices to court-ordered discovery motions, as well as a long list of other maneuvers used by the government to attack individuals involved in legal activities (i.e., distributing newspapers, or participating in legal demonstrations).

While I am still unsure of, and question, certain aspects of the Revolutionary Communist Party (such as just what type of government would develop if the RCP in fact took power) one fact has become crystal clear.

No other newspaper or magazine (and I subscribe to or read dozens from around the world) offers the deep and accurate political analysis of world

events as does the *REVOLUTIONARY WORKER*.

The *RW* has exposed and defined imperialism in a way that no other paper has the perception or guts to expose, from the social imperialism of the revisionist Soviet Union to the capitalist imperialism of the United States. And no other paper defines how and why the imperialist powers are taking us directly into the nuclear fire of World War 3.

Of course the reason other publications do not directly address these questions is hardly one of ignorance or "objectivity," but one of an obvious motive.

The internationalist perspective of the *RW* has demonstrated that for every person who has been brutally beaten or murdered by government agents in New York or Los Angeles, there is another person in Afghanistan, Northern Ireland, South America or the Middle East who faces the same oppression from the same or a similar imperialist force, although under a different flag.

Thus my purpose in contributing money to the RCP Fund Drive goes beyond anger at an unconstitutional arrest of an RCP supporter. It goes beyond the

numerous injustices imposed on the supporters of the RCP engaged in legal activities.

It goes directly to supporting a newspaper that exposes, with an internationalist perspective, the events which affect us all, as well as the generations to follow us. Such a paper is crucial in keeping us informed, and I strongly urge others, particularly other progressive lawyers, to contribute to the RCP Fund Drive.

An Attorney

Dear RW,

When I arrived in this imperialist country I never thought that I would be able to find a revolutionary communist party, and especially since in Chile I had taken part in the revisionist movements fighting against Pinochet's military dictatorship. But my internationalist thinking was narrow because I didn't want to fight here in the United States. I thought that I had to return to Latin America in order to fight and participate in the revolutionary movement and that this

country was not my place to fight, because the situation is calmer here and I only came to work or study. But things changed when I met the newspaper sellers and we began to discuss what proletarian internationalism actually means and how as immigrants we are another force of the international proletariat for destroying imperialism from inside. To fight in this country is to fight to liberate our countries. The *RW* newspaper was a guide for my training as a true internationalist. To contribute to the newspaper is to contribute to the worldwide proletarian revolution.

To RCP Publications,

For *Introduction to Science of Revolution*: Enclosed is a money order for \$50.00. This book will be of great value to the masses of people, especially the advanced, seeking revolutionary theory. Thank you —

A Revolutionary Worker distributor,
Cleveland, Ohio

Nakasone

Continued from page 14

style. Just as "cowboy" Reagan's election marked an acceleration in the U.S. ruling class' war preparations, dumping the detente framework in favor of a "get tough" policy of more open confrontation with the Soviets, Nakasone's election marks a similar leap by the Japanese rulers in accelerating war preparations, shedding the mask of "peaceful development," and more openly declaring Japan's imperialist interests and its place in the U.S. bloc. Like Reagan, Nakasone is a fitting face to represent an imperialist predator power compelled to expand its lair. He and the rest of his class in Japan have big plans for expanding their empire and are by no means reluctant to play their role, particularly in Asia, where they are a major oppressor in their own right.

Ever since he entered politics soon after the end of World War 2, Nakasone has been known as a "hawk" and a strident "right-winger." He advocated that the constitution, including the "no war" clause, be revised as soon as the U.S. occupation forces withdrew. In 1954, at a time when Hiroshima and Nagasaki loomed over Japan, he led the push for developing civilian use of nuclear energy. When he headed the Self-Defense Agency in the late '60s, he presided over the steady increases in military spending and reportedly favored turning Japan into a nuclear power. Although Nakasone later publicly denied favoring nuclear arms for Japan, he is still an ardent advocate of revising the constitution, a favorite topic of the "ultra-right" in Japan. The so-called "peace" constitution has not stopped Japan from building the world's eighth largest armed force that is highly trained and equipped to the teeth with modern weaponry, but the present constitution might stand in the way of acquiring more blatantly "offensive" capabilities, like nukes. In an interview with

the *Washington Post*, Nakasone stated, "It has been a taboo to talk of a revision of the constitution or to criticize the constitution. My belief is that in a democratic society, there should be no such taboo."

While Nakasone does represent a certain leap, it is by no means the case that Japan is only now embarking on a rapid re-arms program. Japan's armed forces, built up largely through the 7-8% annual growth rate in defense spending in the '70s, a rate that far outstripped any of the others in the U.S. bloc, even surpass those of the U.S. in some respects. Japan has 400 tactical jet fighters, more than the combined force of the South Korean Air Force and the U.S. Air Force in East Asia. Its 50 destroyer-type ships total more than twice the number that the U.S. 7th Fleet possesses. It has almost as many anti-submarine aircraft as all the U.S. Eastern and Western commands.

This array of hardware is impressive enough, but there is much more to come. In 1978, there was a change in defense contract payments and accounting procedures that would have significant effects in the coming years in spurring more expansion. Instead of defense contractors being advanced 50% of the total value of a contract, the pre-payment ratio was cut to 20%, allowing the Japan Defense Agency to initiate more than twice the number of contracts on the same initial budget. Thus the 6.5% increase in defense spending in the new Japanese budget does not truly reflect the speed with which arms procurement is taking place. Already in July of last year, Japan announced a 5-year, \$17.7 billion arms buildup plan. The average annual rate of arms procurement under this plan will be 50% higher than that for 1982, the bulk of it going to the new F-15 fighters and P-3C anti-submarine aircraft, both of which are manufactured in Japan under license from U.S. firms.

Furthermore, as the *Washington Post* pointed out about Nakasone's stated "defense objectives": "In order to monitor and stop overflights by the Backfire, Japan would require a much greater

radar capability as well as greatly expanding interception capacity according to U.S. experts. The Japanese will soon acquire a limited number of F-15 war planes (talking about the 5-year plan — *RW*), but the number on order is considered insufficient for this task. To blockade a Soviet fleet in the Sea of Japan would require a much larger number of mines and much more advanced mine-laying gear and seacraft than Japan now possesses."

Although Japan's arms industry is still backward compared to that of the U.S. or even Europe (most of Japan's weaponry is manufactured under license agreements with the U.S.), this accelerating arms buildup and the existing advanced industrial base and production technology in Japan could change things very quickly. Japan "may soon become an arms exporter in competition with the U.S., West Germany, France and Britain," as the British magazine *The Economist* points out. *The Economist*, usually highly critical of Japanese penetration into the European market, even encourages France and Britain to join forces with Japan in producing the replacement for the jointly developed Jaguar Fighter. This way, the magazine explains, the Europeans could cut costs while the Japanese "could thereby get the experience of design that would otherwise take a decade to acquire." Apparently *this* kind of competition they don't mind.

An area in which Japan can contribute enormously and is already contributing to the military preparations of the bloc as a whole is the so-called dual use technology and production processes in the high-tech and basic metals industries. For example, Japan has developed the world's most sophisticated techniques and has captured half the world's markets for fiber optics, needed in protecting military communications from enemy bugging or jamming. Japan supplies half of the West's production of titanium — used in jet engines and aircraft parts. TDK, a manufacturer of magnetic recording tapes, produces experimental ferrite paint, which has the convenient property of absorbing radar waves.

Until Nakasone canceled the ban on exporting military-related technology before he came to the U.S., such materials and know-how could not be sold abroad for military applications. But in effect, this rule was being skirted anyway. Last year, for example, TDK was permitted by the Japanese government to sell ferrite paint to the Pentagon for experimental use with the "stealth" bomber. Although the intended use was obviously military, Japan justified this by saying the paint could be used to coat buildings to prevent reflection of TV waves as well, and that the actual use of the paint by the Pentagon was not Japan's business anyway. Nakasone's action, however, paves the way for a more expanded integration of

Japan's military technology into the bloc as a whole (of course, this is a two-way street) and for the eventual export of military hardware, now still restrained by law.

Before coming to the U.S., Nakasone made a highly significant visit to South Korea. Because of the brutal history of Japanese colonialism in the peninsula, Japan-South Korea relations are an extremely sensitive issue in both countries. Although in effect there is a trilateral U.S.-Japan-South Korea alliance (forces from the three countries have participated in joint military exercises, for example), and Japan has important economic and military interests in South Korea, there is no formal defense pact linking Japan and South Korea. Nakasone's trip was hailed by an aide to Chun Doo Hwan as the first major political visit by a Japanese premier and a mark of "better and friendlier relations."

Nakasone also officially sealed a 5-year, \$4 billion aid package to the Chun regime. South Korea had requested the aid, which is roughly equal to the total Japanese government and private loans to that country from 1965 to 1981, in order to lessen the heavy defense burden amounting to about 40% of its national budget. Since South Korea is a strategic area for Japan militarily, the aid package is in effect part of the Japanese defense budget, although nominally it is earmarked for "economic aid."

Expansion of such "foreign aid" is one of the ways that the U.S. expects Japan to take up more of the responsibility for the U.S. bloc in East and Southeast Asia. Of course, as an imperialist power with interests of its own and a major hold in the region, Japan has been doing quite a lot of such "aiding" already. During the 1970s, Japan was the primary source of aid for the Association of South East Asian Nations, with a total of \$2.7 billion as compared to \$2 billion from the U.S.

Reagan's description of the U.S.-Japan relationship as a "happy marriage with argument," as we said, quite aptly puts the friction between the two imperialist powers in the proper perspective. There are real economic and political contradictions involved between the U.S. and its various allies, sometimes flaring up into loud verbal bouts and even some painful arm-twisting. But the emphasis still is on "marriage." But perhaps words like "marriage" and "family quarrel" alone do not give enough sense of the kind of horror and monstrosity these imperialists are up to. Each member of the U.S. "family" and the Soviet "family" is armed with enough firepower to kill hundreds of millions of people. The scale of the "family feud" they are being driven toward is revealed by how freely they talk of turning a whole country into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" or of sinking such a craft with a hail of nukes. □

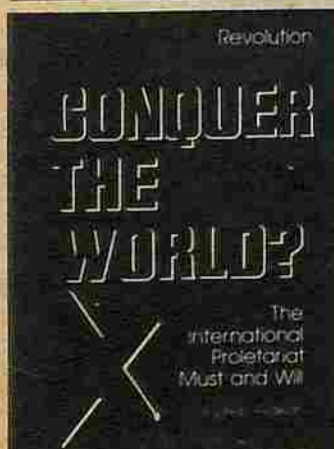
This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

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

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