On Wednesday, September 9, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission Appeals Board ruled that Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor in California was indeed secure. Anytime in the next ten days, a final decision will be made to start low-power operations in the reactor. Backed up by large-scale armed force and media-trumpeted threats, the authorities had made their move. At the Diablo Blockade Office neither the announcement, nor its timing had come as a surprise. Not only had press leaks been dropping for days, but the massive mobilization of police and military force had made it virtually impossible for the government to conceal its move. Activists received the word with a kind of eagerness—glad that the time to join the long-awaited battle had come. The call immediately went out from the Diablo Blockade Office for anti-nuke blockaders to go to the plant as quickly as possible. A decision would then be made exactly when to fully mount a land and sea blockade aimed at halting the opening.

Reports came into the Blockade Office from various national guardsmen that their units, which have been training for the blockade, have been ordered to report for duty. As of Wednesday, some guard units were in place with reports of 40 trucks practiced to haul demonstrators away. At least some California Highway Patrolmen were ordered to be ready for Diablo action by September 10th. That this step towards operation of this reactor built on an earthquake fault should be taken less than a week after a fairly major earthquake hit southern California (an earthquake which, if it had been concentrated in the fault running by the reactor, would have severely tested the rigged up "earthquake proofing" in the reactor) is quite symbolic of all the government's preparations for starting Diablo. For all the ferocity of the bourgeois preparations for starting Diablo, their arrogant

Prisoner
Walla Walla

"I don't care to die in here, but if dying for what is mine and all of humanity by birth is my fate, it's all right with me because I will have died on my feet never lived on my knees." Carl Harp from Love and Ruin, Entries in a Prison Diary.

On the evening of Saturday, September 5, Carl Harp was murdered in his prison cell at "the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. Carl, a revolutionary political activist, was both hated and feared by the prison administration, and their plots to kill him had already been widely exposed among the prisoners. His body was found hanging from a TV cable tied to a clothes hook with his wrists slashed. (According to one unconfirmed report received by the RW, Carl's throat and groin were slashed as well, and if this is true it is a strong indication that Carl was brutally tortured before his death.)

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A pipe bomb thrown out of the darkness brutally ended the life of Robert Guy, a Black revolutionary, on August 31st in Battle Creek, Michigan. There is little doubt that this terrorist murder was carried out with the full knowledge, and quite likely the active participation, of the Battle Creek police and with the blessing of even higher authorities. Robert Guy was a member of the Republic of New Africa, the Black United Front and president of the Battle Creek Coalition to End Police Brutality. For several years, he had helped lead struggles against Black people’s oppression, particularly the increasing beatings and harassment carried out by the police. As Robert, along with his older brother Larry and other members of his family, increasingly gave expression to the anger and the growing resistance of Black people in Battle Creek, the Guys were singled out for special attacks.

The last couple of years have been a period of intensifying national oppression in Battle Creek, well known as a manufacturing center for the two largest cereal companies in the country—C. W. Post and Kellogg. It also houses the U.S. Army’s Defense Logistics Center. In June 1979, Robert, Larry, and their cousin Willie were stopped by police. Claiming Larry had a handgun, the police proceeded to beat him unconscious and then arrested him on a concealed weapon charge. Soon after that, one of the same police officers who had participated in that attack was caught in the act of placing a car filled with explosives outside Larry’s house. Though they were forced to resign, no criminal charges were ever brought against them and one is now a cop in nearby Grand Rapids.

After protests against and other similar outrages, city authorities and the local news media embarked on a stream of ridicule against charges of what was routinely labeled as “alleged” police brutality. In response to this, a number of Black people, including the Guys, who were determined not to be intimidated founded a Black newspaper, appropriately naming it the Black Alleged News (BAN). BAN soon became a powerful voice in the Black community, exposing the attacks by the pigs, unveiling the close links (and, often, interchangeable membership) between the cops and the KKK, and lambasting various reformists who kowtowed to the authorities and advised people to stay calm. Most importantly, BAN began to link up the fights against police repression in Battle Creek with the struggles against national oppression, all of which is experiencing a resurgence across the U.S., rekindling articles on Klan activity and struggles like the Poinsett Brothers’ case.

As stories of cops stopping Black youth, putting on Klan hoods, beating the youths, and then letting them go continued to surface, hundreds of Black people came out in early 1980 to denounce police brutality at a city council meeting. The police chief defended his boys’ actions while a central committee of all the community groups present in the background blantly ignored him. A few more actions were made, such as giving a 30-day suspension to the cop who pointed the loaded shotgun at Robert Guy. A more serious effort was made when a white-washed-up building was blown up in several places in Battle Creek. All this was channeled towards getting some of the local preachers and head of the local Ku Klux Klan to sign an “8-point agreement” with the police, which was supposed to result in “better relations between the police and the Black community.”

Some young people thought that this would actually improve things, and even Robert Guy was invited to sign such an agreement. However, the essence of this “better relations” scheme was quite vicious and publicly exposed for all to see as Robert, while on his way to the ceremony to sign the agreement, was arrested for a “traffic violation” and brought to the meeting in handcuffs.

Then in August 1980, Larry Guy was convicted of the trumped-up concealed weapons charge by an all-white jury, and sent to Jackson State Prison. Less than a month later, the pig who had received a 30-day suspension for threatening Robert won his appeal and had it reduced to 5 days, winning back pay. Both of these events were occasions for the Coalition to End Police Brutality, the Black United Front, and the BAN to call demonstrations and agitate broadly among Blacks and other concerned people in Battle Creek. Despite the refusal of the police, with a vengeance, in March of 1981 a hearing was held charging him under Michigan’s “habitual criminal” clause, which gives the state the opportunity to double a prisoner’s sentence if he has convictions. They dragged him out of his cell and into a courtroom just to tell him that his 5-year sentence was now 10-to-20. At this hearing, 150 people walking from the state of Michigan, came out to demonstrate in support of Larry. This despite the fact that the attempt to intimidate such protests in Battle Creek had been made 4 days before the hearing. In the early hours of the night, a shotgun was fired through the window of a house where a Guy family member and another member of the Coalition lived. A witness said that he heard a shot and three men seen standing near the cross was “standing next to a police car.” More recently, Robert and the Black United Front had led a demonstration outside Jackson Prison, demanding that the lockdown of prisoners still in effect since the powerful rebellions that broke out there last year be ended.

One had to be quite foolish to suspect that the murder of Robert Guy was planned and executed by the same uniformed henchmen who had been instrumental in the job before.

The police have moved quickly to try to cover themselves, spreading through a willing news media the lie that “Guy may have been carrying a bomb that exploded prematurely.” (Detroit Free Press) Two days after Robert was killed, police raided his parents’ house and the house of the woman he was with at the time of the bombing claiming they were looking for “bomb parts” and threatening to charge everyone with conspiracy to make bombs. (This woman is an eyewitness to the murder, and a woman who had just gotten out of her car and was walking towards a bar when the pipe bomb was thrown at him. She came out clearly own as a warning to anyone else who dares speak against the police.) Further proof of a murder plot came the day after the killing when a phone call was received by a well-known figure in the Black community who said, “We got Robert, how’s Mary?” This was a threat on the life of Khaid Shavers, president of the Battle Creek Black United Front. As of this writing, the Black community in Battle Creek is on the alert, as the lives of any Black activists are in constant danger.

At Robert’s funeral, on September 6th, 1981, it was clear, however, that his murder had quite the opposite effect than the authorities intended. 300 people were there and signs of resistance was characterized by messages that were read from Atlanta, Chicago, New York City and from inside Jackson Prison. One man’s rage to Robert movingly detailed the history of Black people’s uprisings against oppression and how they have been punished. As his casket was carried out of the church, draped in a red, black and green flag, the community stepped out in militant tribute to this determined fighter against oppression.

While the murderers of Robert Guy walk the streets with the arrogant swagger typical of the job once more, there are many more taking up the challenge presented by his life and death.

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France/Mexico Joint Declaration

“Pink” Panther Hunts in El Salvador

The U.S.’s continued inability to stabilize Central America is leading to some fascinating realms of the imagination. France has focused its attention on the present turmoil in El Salvador. On August 28, the government of imperial France, Mexico, already involved in the Salvadoran conflict, responded to the Salvadoran revolutionary coalition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and its guerrilla arm, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) as a “representative political force.”

Bemoaning the “potential threat to the stability and peace of the entire region,” the statement called for negotiations between the FDR/FMLN and the U.S.’s puppet junta. It also urged other countries (implicitly referring to others in the U.S.-led bloc) to join in bringing about a “global solution” to the Salvadoran conflict, where there would be “a new international order” and the U.S. armed forces would be restructured and the necessary conditions would be created for respect for the popular expression through authentically free elections and other mechanisms proper to a democratic system.

None of the leopards involved have changed their spots, of course. It is completely consistent for France to orchestrate the invasion of Gambia one week, overthrow the government of the Central African Republic the next, and then turn around and give official recognition to the guerrilla forces in El Salvador—completely consistent with French imperialist interests. What stands out in France’s move around El Salvador is the complex interrelationship of two aspects of France’s imperialist interest: first, the defeat of the Soviet bloc, which is the principal consideration for the guerrilla movements in El Salvador and what brings them to its backyards; and second, France’s contention with the U.S. for what is, after all, the object of all this blocking in the first place—spheres of influence and markets for the profitable export of capital.

While the U.S. and its fascist junta have been bruteforced out of El Salvador, the imperialist bloc and the Soviet-led bloc, much of the political negotiation has been side-stepped and negotiations between the FDR/FMLN—as presently constituted—have been held in El Salvador, the U.S. because whatever will result from these efforts, the French government will contain the amount of play in the U.S.-French contradictions because they underestimate how much all this is conditioned by the far more decisive contradiction between the whole U.S.-bloc and the Soviet-led bloc, which both limits what the U.S. can tolerate in what it considers its “backyard,” and the degree to which French imperialism.

Haig on El Salvador—“We’ve witnessed the guerrilla movement resort to straight terrorism.”

Continued on page 17
How Sadat Toadied Himself into Trouble

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, in whose name and interests the Medesian coup crackdown of his 11 years in power, last week was himself put under arrest. At least six newspapers, banned or suppressed several political organizations, and hundreds of thousands of government supervision of 40,000 mosques. The announcement purpose of this wave of repression was to stifle the "sectarian violence" between Muslims and Coptic Christians in Egypt, but this was only the thinnest of pretexts, and most news accounts noted that Sadat's security forces performed a deluge of statues, and Sadat had little to do with religious activity.

The repression was the response of an exposed comprador, an open book of U.S. imperialism, fearful that his days as a useful lackey might be numbered. Ever since the Camp David accord, the agreement between Israel and Egypt worked out under the U.S. aegis three years ago, Sadat has trod and more shamelessly exposed himself as a local errand-boy for the U.S. in the Middle East and has, moreover, sucked his personal political career on the ability to deliver the goods which this comprador Sadat needs concession from Israel, but blunted and more blatant with every passing day. In recent months, for example, Sadat had hardly finished meeting with Begin, another round of summity along the road of the "peace process" to which Sadat proclaims his commitment, when Israel launched its strike against the Iranian revolution and the government of Israel had run down various opposition forces and figures, as well as increased speculation among the international bourgeoisie that Sadat's days are numbered. In an article written before last week's repression, the magazine 4 Days, after run- ning down various opposition forces and figures, all but openly predicted a coup against Sadat. These groups range from the Socialists' Labor Party, the chief comprador opposition party, which has recently withdrawn its qualified support for the Camp David Agreement, to the "leftist" National Alliance Progressive Party, which rejected Camp David from the beginning, and which has been calling for the formation of a broad Jordanian to take power from Sadat. This last group, in addition, associates itself with Islam and often holds its political meetings in mosques. Both of these groups were targets of last week's crackdown, with many of their leaders arrested, their newspapers suppressed, and their headquarters closed down.

In a somewhat different category is another of Sadat's main targets, the Muslim Brotherhood. This was founded in Egypt in 1928, spreading to other Middle East Islamic countries in the 1930s, and espoused anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist ideas from the Koran. Although undergoing different permutations, it has continued to exist and has continued to be regarded as subversive by established regimes up to the present day. It received an impetus from the Iranian revolution, with which its ideas have obvious similarities. It had not only opposed Sadat, but was also apparently responsible for recent agitation against Zionist Christians in Egypt. The Coptic church has existed for centuries in Egypt, and remains a major force in that country. As the society in the Middle East, it is a major force in the region. Sadat's arrest of many of their leaders arrested, their newspapers suppressed, and their headquarters closed down.

What is the U.S. role in all this? At a press conference Sadat, in response to a question along these lines, defensively replied that no one tells Egypt what to do. (He also described Egypt, in an ill-fated phrase left over from "the Shah's Iran", as an "island of stability in the Middle East.") Despite the obvious falsity of both these statements, it's probably true that the U.S. didn't order this crackdown. Sadat has plenty of internal motivation—he's fighting for his comprador life. As for the U.S. imperialists, they're no doubt noting around the situation very gingerly, smelling out whether Sadat may not have outlived his usefulness to them and whether there might be a less, if exposed, servant ready to take the job. On the other hand, the Soviet imperialists as well are sniffing around, and doubtless have lined up and are lining up their own comprador forces. So what with this and the possibility of a real move- ment of the masses being unleashed, the risks involved in Sadat's going down are quite high for the U.S. and probably continue to back him heavily.

SUMMING UP

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

...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 ideological and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hanging people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology of the Black Panther Party, which unfortunately 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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George Jackson: 10 Years Since His Murder

No Patience For Rearguard "Leadership"

"We have been made the floor mat of the world, but the world has yet to see what can be done by men of our nature, by men who have walked the path of disparity, of repression, of arrest, of trial, of execution. There will be a special page in the book of life for the men who have crawled back from the grave. This page will tell of utter defeat, ruin, passivity, and subjugation in one breath, and in the next, overwhelming victory and fulfillment."—George Jackson, Soledad Brother.

Last month, August 21, marked 10 years since the assassination of George Jackson. That he was shot in the head at close range as he lay wounded in the San Quentin prison yard is common knowledge. The deaths of several guards at the time is also well known, as is the state's failure to get a single conviction in either this case or the original "Soledad Brothers" charge that Jackson (along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette) was about to be tried for when he was killed. But George Jackson's death and life should not be stamped with the phrase "another victim," and filed away with a shrug and a shake of the head. Nor should it be comfortably pigeon-holed—as a number of books and articles published by the bourgeois and the Communist Party, USA try to— with a hypocritical fear for his death and an yet come out whole.

George Jackson burned with revolutionary impatience. He struck out against the imperialist enemy and against those who defend this enemy, especially those who seek and still seek to bury revolutionary elements; those who seek not to spread but to smother revolutionary aspirations under the wet blanket of "wait until the majority is ready!"

For many, the faded spray-paint saying "George Jackson Lives" still holds true, but true in what way? As a reminder of what might have been? Or as the voice of a social force that has yet to play its really historic role? It's more what he revealed about the future than the past that makes it important to still uphold and learn from George Jackson.

This article, then, is not a trip down Memory Lane, but a time to look again, 10 years later, at George Jackson's thinking and development in order to prepare to lead that which he lived and died for—the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism.****

"These prisons have always borne a certain resemblance to Dachau and Buchenwald, places for the bad niggers, Mexicans and poor whites. But the last ten years have brought an increase in the percentage of Blacks for crimes that can clearly be traced to political-economic causes. There are still some blacks here who consider themselves criminals—but not many. Believe me, my friend, with the time and incentive that these brothers have to read, study and think, you will find no class or category more aware, more embittered, desperate, or dedicated to the ultimate remedy—revolution. They live like there was no tomorrow. And for most of them there isn't."

"Men who read Lenin, Fanon and Che don't riot, they 'mass,' they 'rage,' they dig graves."

"The Majority"

It is wrong to see Jackson narrowly, as just a spokesman for the prison movement. The "bad niggers, Mexicans and poor whites" he refers to are part of an entire section of the proletariat, many of whom are in and out of prisons, garment shops, foundries, grape fields and gas stations. More than a few have read "Lenin, Taizou, Che" and/or Mao—and lean toward a revolutionary solution of this madness. Jackson articulated the experiences, passions, questions of especially the prison-bound section of these people, but it is a view, a condition, that spreads well beyond those walls.

One critical question focuses on the conditions and mood in the more oppressed sections of the proletariat in retaliation to those of the more bourgeois-identified sections. How is the contradiction resolved? By those who are more politically advanced waiting to undertake anything really revolutionary until the more politically backward are somehow moved to catch up? Jackson was both an advanced product and spokesman of his time, and while his view of the revolutionary process was naturally limited by the objective and subjective conditions which characterized the '60s (even the revolutionary sectors which fought revisionism), what Jackson has to say on this question is a sharp thrust against the mainstream smother.

"The argument that centers on the ideal that all workers must be politically educated before the revolution can support an explosive thrust veers on the absurd." Jackson wrote in his second and last book, Blood In My Eye. "Today nearly 6-1/2 million of them can't find work. And those who are working seem to be convinced that foreign wars and armaments spending are more desirable than unemployment. Of course, they should be made conscious of their exploitation, and they must be moved to act in their behalf."

"Later in the same work: "In fact, the working class of USA 1971 can be realistically divided into two mutually exclusive and conflicting sections, one right-oriented and conservative, the other left to neutral. One explanation for this phenomenon is the loss over the years (to fascist nationalist propaganda and state-controlled unions) of a clear class-consciousness."

"Blood In My Eye largely seems to be the pivot of our tactics. He called on communists to dig down "lower and deeper" to the more oppressed sections of the proletariat. The point was to make conscious, unleashed and lead the force that could perhaps take decisive action in the revolutionary situations then beginning to develop.

Lenin, writing during World War I, had said that recognition of the split in the working class must be "the pivot of our tactics."

Continued on page 16"
The tour of the Springboks rugby team from racist South Africa is continuing to stagger through New Zealand, battered by protests and demonstrations of unprecedented size and militancy. With the last match scheduled for September 12, the team is soon to leave the inhospitable political climate in New Zealand and fly to the U.S. for a three-game tour starting September 19 in Chicago, and going from there to Albany and Rochester, New York on the 22nd and 26th.

In this country of only 3 million people, more than 100,000 people have taken part in demonstrations over the past two months against the Springboks tour and South African apartheid. For many in New Zealand, this has been their first active political involvement, and there have been 1,300 arrests to date as demonstrators have come face to face with baton-wielding riot police, barbed wire, attack dogs and other elements of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus. All of this was much in evidence on August 15 in Christchurch. For the first time, the Springboks were to play a match between the New Zealand national team and the Springboks. The Springboks were to play a game in the city on a special flight, and because local hotel staff had refused to serve them, they had to be put up at the local Rugby Club. It required a mobilization of 3,000 police for nearly half the total New Zealand police force to both guard the South African team and prevent a demonstration of more than 5,000 people from invading Lancaster Park. However, a group of nearly 60 protestors succeeded in breaking through police lines and barbed wire barricades to occupy the pitch and delay the start of the game. Such was the importance attached by the government to maintaining the tour that soldiers were kept in reserve inside the stadium and police were on hand with baton-wielding riot police, barbed wire, attack dogs and other elements of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus.

The Springboks' next destination was the capital city of Wellington. On Saturday August 29th, army engineers, mounted their biggest operation to date as nearly 10,000 demonstrators took to the streets in 7 columns, which approached the stadium from different directions. While some blocks intercepted in order to jam traffic, others attempted to break through police lines to reach the stadium. The riot police were issued orders to dispense with arrests and concentrate on beating and injuring protestors with their newly-issued long batons (the Monadnock PR-24, manufactured in the U.S.). The cops were especially vicious in attacking a group of 150 protestors who attempted to break through police lines on their newly-issued long batons and in attacks on vehicles, rubber bullets and teargas canisters.

Increasingly alarmed at the widespread and sustained character of the protests, the New Zealand ruling class has been using other methods to attack the anti-Springboks movement as well. At the end of August, the New Zealand Special Intelligence Service (equivalent to the FBI here in the U.S.) released a report claiming that "subversives" had "infiltrated" the movement, and that "urban Maoists" had "entered" the protest, and that "urban Maoists" had "entered" the protest. The cops were especially vicious in attacking a group of 150 protestors who attempted to break through police lines on their newly-issued long batons and in attacks on vehicles, rubber bullets and teargas canisters.

The Springboks' activity in Auckland and other cities kept the authorities off balance. A massive demonstration of 34,000 people convened on the Auckland Gateway Lodge, where the Springboks were scheduled to stay for their next matches. At the same time, 50 people stormed the Waitemata TV transmission station near Auckland and barricaded themselves in the control room, cutting off video coverage of the rugby match to the Auckland area. While the commentary from the match in Wellington continued, both dancing and fire-eating from the Donnie and Marie Osmond show was, quite appropriately switched over from another channel.

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which is unequal to anything that I have witnessed in the U.S. except on the
Native American reservations in Kan
t┳m. The first night that I was in the 11th
Brigade camp, my company lost a man killed in action by incoming mortar
which had a psychological effect on
me. I wasn't very cooperative
about pulling AR guard duty and
building an officer's bunker. I refused
to build this officer's bunker because
I was too lazy to build it himself. I
was placed on an indefinite KP for refusing
to build the bunker.
We were transferred to another LZ
which had a ton of ammo. I was
reassigned to the mess hall because my
attitude hadn't changed from prior
disobedience of orders, I guess. A lot
of people in my unit were getting killed
around that time because it was
January 68, at that time. People were
going for the Tet offensive. And
they said that if I volunteered to go to
the field they said I could get the CIB,
The Combat Infantry Badge. I didn't
volunteer but they sent me anyway. In
February 1968, during the Tet offen
te I was at LZ LIt which was the com-
pany headquarters at that time in Viet
nam. I really was scared during the Tet
offensive because I knew the Viet-
namese were bringing a lot of hell on
the American troops there, especially
the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. Most
people were fighting their ass off just trying
to stay alive because we knew we were
trepassing in Vietnam. We knew we
weren't supposed to be there. We knew
that the Vietnamese people were throw-
ing a skyrocketing blow to the U.S. Military
agressor in Vietnam. I remember the
body count of the suspected Viet Cong
went up right after the Tet offensive. A
lot more people were getting murdered
by the U.S. forces over there.
I remember one time we were on
patrol near Songmy village which had
something to do with the My Lai massacre. I think My Lai was a hamlet in
Songmy village. We were ordered
through a mine field. So we were
walking through this mine field and
people were passing the word back,
when they would see a mine they would
pass the word back to the other person
so that they wouldn't step on the mine.
I witnessed this guy who was one of the
lieutenant didn't pass the word
back. All of his OCS and ROD training
didn't stop him (the lieutenant) from
stepping on that mine. He was killed
before the dust settled on his gold bars.

U.S. Gov't Moves to Extradite Irish Political Prisoner

On August 13, inside a federal courtroom in New York City, U.S. authorities faced a dilemma: what to do about a man charged with the murder of an undercover Special Air Services (SAS) agent in Northern Ireland. The case against Dessie Mackin, who has been held in the Metropolitan Correctional Center since October 1980, is a political one—a conflict of interest for governments and the courts alike.

Mackin is a former British soldier who was a member of the SAS, and his extradition to Northern Ireland was ordered after he was accused of killing a British soldier. However, Mackin claimed that he was simply a political prisoner and refused to be extradited, as the court's decision could have implications for other IRA members.

In the end, the court ruled that Mackin could be extradited to Northern Ireland. The decision was met with mixed reactions, as some saw it as a victory for the British government, while others criticized it as an infringement on human rights.

The case of Dessie Mackin is just one example of the ongoing conflict between the U.S. and Northern Ireland, and the challenges faced by political prisoners in the region.
I'd like to enter the debate on "the cutting edge question of whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism instead of the official policy of the Communist United Front (CUF) class or to adopt some form of alliance with the imperialist war machine (either "aggressors" or America) and involve绷" against "main base"..."

The Sooner or Later booklet, judged by the previous page of this Discussion, is the key point the analysis that there's a "greater" evil, U.S. imperialism, hard- line strategy in the sense of the Communist United Front (CUF) program, which conjured up for me by limiting my political line to that of "our own" bourgeoisie, which will again spontaneously, wrench the working class away from the imperialist class or to alter revolutionary motion. This is a completely mistaken view of the crucial question of revolutionary defeatism, but it isn't simply a problem of lesser evils; it is the real and present danger to the movement in the objective situation to sponsor the "own" imperialist rulers, in the same way one forms an alliance with one or another of the "aggressors." It is the "main enemy." This question involves both analysis of the present world situation, including the positive and negative experience of the international Communist Movement during this whole period. The following pages are in reply to our call. We welcome these comments and your input to show that they certainly do not stand alone and we encourage further correspondence of any sort.

...the working class has to be trained away from the "ideological confusion" of the CUN, that means that not only are its leadership, but also its activists, confused about imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the imperialist system unless it is, it will never be able to act in a class conscious way. The CUN, like those concentrated in the New Pro- gramme of the Communist Unity Organization, is the subject of much struggle within the International Communist Movement, including the genuine Socialists ("realist") like those concentrated in the New Pro-gramme of the Communist Unity Organization. And second, the CUN completely writes off the working class has to be trained away from the "ideological confusion" of the CUN, which means that not only are its leadership, but also its activists, confused about imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the imperialist system unless it is, it will never be able to act in a class conscious way.

Lenin emphasized the enormous tasks confronting the parties of the 2nd Interna- tional in rejecting the defense of the fatherland slogan: "It's great or it's going to happen" (or more likely, "wait for it to happen")—Lenin was right. The depth of the imperialist crisis, how it's throwing people into political motion, how it will develop, the scru- nous activity within that movement—and thus understanding our job in relation to striving to raise and unleash that conscious activi- ty. The so-called "Programme for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement..."

It is absolutely necessary for the actual defeats to "develop" because in a sense we're already carrying out the embryonicoluton, p. 15)"

"...the working class has to be trained away from the "ideological confusion" of the CUN, that means that not only are its leadership, but also its activists, confused about imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the imperialist system unless it is, it will never be able to act in a class conscious way. The CUN, like those concentrated in the New Pro-gramme of the Communist Unity Organization, is the subject of much struggle within the International Communist Movement, including the genuine Socialists ("realist") like those concentrated in the New Pro-gramme of the Communist Unity Organization. And second, the CUN completely writes off the working class has to be trained away from the "ideological confusion" of the CUN, which means that not only are its leadership, but also its activists, confused about imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the imperialist system unless it is, it will never be able to act in a class conscious way.

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The following is Part 2 of a series of articles analyzing U.S.-Soviet confrontation in the Horn of Africa and the anti-imperialist democratic movements which have developed in that region.

Part 1 appeared in last week's RW.

In spite of 8 years of bloody, repressive dictatorship, the character of the Dergue (the military junta ruling Ethiopia) and its leader Lt. Col. Mengistu remained for those who have not wiped the Soviet social-imperialist slumber from their eyes "an embarrassment." Nowhere in history has such a petty tyrant as Mengistu been so brazenly handed a world revolutionary leader in a propaganda campaign designed solely from the need of the Soviet Union to cover up its own foul hand in its imperialist aggression in the Horn of Africa. An "authentic revolutionary," proclaimed Fidel Castro, who awarded Mengistu Cuba's highest decoration, the Order of Playa Girón (Bay of Pigs). An honored guest at the 26th Congress of the Soviet party this spring. And "an outstanding revolutionary talent...soliditst Ethiopia's bravest leader and builder of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" according to James Jackson of the reissue of CPSUA.

Quite an accomplishment for a U.S.-trained officer of Haile Selassie's army who didn't learn himself that he was a "Great Marxist-Leninist" until 1976! Not to mention the fact that the "Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" listed above doesn't even exist, not even on paper. How then did the Dergue come to power, and what was the character of the revolutionary upsurge which brought down the dynasty of Haile Selassie?

In 1974 a wide spectrum of Ethiopian society rose in a mighty storm to sweep the revolutionary upsurge which the slogan "Land to the Tiller" and openly demanded a "people's government." The outpouring of resistance by the educated elite of Ethiopia were in the people of Eritrea had launched their massive famine in Tigray and Wolde in which over one million perished. From then the educated elite of Ethiopia were infuriated when the emperor not only failed completely to provide emergency assistance, but even tried to keep the existence of the famine a secret from the rest of the country and from international relief agencies. Only on the eve of his official removal and arrest did the Ethiopian people finally see film of the famine on national television—interspersed with film clips of the emperor feeding meat to his pet dogs from silver platters.

The mainstay of imperial rule was, of course, the army. Armed and trained by the United States, the imperial army had been the recipient of $500 million in military assistance and over 300 U.S. military personnel were stationed in Ethiopia as a Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG). In addition, the U.S. operated a massive communications facility in Asmara, the capital of Ethiopia, with 3,000 military and civilian employees, and the U.S. Navy used the port of Massawa. Israel was given the use of the offshore islands of Haleb and Fatma to refuel its Red Sea patrol boats, and its returned trained special Ethiopian commando units at Decama- te offshore island.

Yet it was precisely the breakdown of this neo-colonial military establishment which brought down the Ethiopian dynasty. On January 12, 1974, a small group of the capital area in eastern Ethiopia revolted, captured a Lt. General and forced him to eat and drink the same foul food and water that were provided to the common soldier. Within a matter of weeks uprisings spread to a series of military bases throughout the country. The most significant was that conducted by the enlisted men and NCOs of the 2nd Division occupying Enteeta. Mistreated and demoralized by defeat in a revolutionary war, they took over the city of Asmara and began broadcasting their demands over the radio station to the whole country.

Although these first mutinies were curtailed, for the time being by pay raises and other concessions, the genie had been let out of the bottle. Within a few weeks the students at Haile Selassie University were on strike, the national teachers' organization went on strike, and the capital city was virtually shut down by taxi drivers striking against a 50% increase in gasoline prices. By the end of February, the Emperor, in an unprecedented sign of weakness, accepted the resignation of his Prime Minister of 16 years, and promised a new coordinating committee, a "coordinating committee" of reliable military officers which occupied the capital with troops and "balanced" the repression of strikes and demonstrations with the token arrests of a score of ministers from the previous cabinet. Elite airborne troops were sent to suppress the rebellion in military uniform.

It was at this point that the first Dergue (Dergue means "committee" in the Amharic language) was formed. Its origins remain wrapped in mystery and are certainly not discussed by the Mengistu regime today. In May, however, a new coordinating committee seems to have been put together by deering representatives from the various military and police units around the country. To lead the new committee, Mengistu was named chairman, and the names of the original 120 or so members have never been published. The initial program of the Dergue was to carry through a very limited national bourgeois revolution. Thus while a de facto truce went into effect in the Eritrea, the basis for the paper was to break loose in the countryside with peasants killing landlords and seizing the land, the new Dergue proclaimed its "unwitting ally," the emperor, and put forward as its principal slogan "Ethiopia Tikselem" (Ethiopia first). It was not until September that the Dergue dispensed with the formality of the old government, deposing the emperor and proclaiming themselves a Provisional Military Administrative Committee to rule the country. Yet even at this point the Dergue still called on the emperor's son to return to Ethiopia and serve as constitutional monarch.

The Dergue now appointed Brigadier General Amha Michael Andom ("hero" of the 1964 border war with Somalia, which was Sovied-backed at that time) as chairman of the Dergue, with newly promoted Major Mengistu and Lt. Col. Mengistu as his subordinates. This initiated a new phase which was to last until early 1977.

Two paths lay open before the imperial revolution. One path was that of new democracy revolution, a path through uprooting feudal relations and driving out imperialism and its retainers, and the other that of a transition to socialism. Such a revolutionary path would deal with Ethiopia's turn...
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Mengistu, Castro and the Soviet Imperialists:

A Nasty Love Affair in the Horn of Africa

...ing national question by upholding the right of self-determination up to and including the right of secession, and it would unleash the initiative of the masses in seizing the land and suppressing the feudal, and bring forth their leadership in transforming all of society.

Just the opposite path was taken, however, as the new Dergue proclaimed its support of "national unity" and followed in the footsteps of the emperor Meckel on the national question. It declared spontaneous land seizures illegal until an official land reform program could be developed. It appealed to the U.S. for increased military aid to continue the war in Eritrea. And when the students and the labor federation called for a Provisional People's Government, the Dergue closed down the university and arrested the leaders of the CELU.

The next two years were characterized by increasingly violent repression of all civilian opposition coupled with increasingly demagogic programs by the Dergue designed to transfer all sectors of the economy to state-capitalist ownership—all in the name of socialism. And through it all, Mengistu, now a Lieutenant Colonel, shot his way to the top of the Dergue in one bloody purge after another—literally reducing its membership from around 120 to less than 40!

It is not necessary here to follow every twist and turn of this process, nor is it possible here to evaluate each of the various political forces outside the Dergue who played various roles of collaboration or opposition. Yet two aspects of Dergue policy do merit attention and aptly illustrate its character: its policy toward Eritrea, and its land reform program.

One of the first acts of the Dergue was to order 5,000 more troops to Eritrea. When General Aman, the Dergue chairman, tried to resign in protest, he was shot and killed. During this period, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) had advanced all the way to the outskirts of Asmara. The Dergue responded by sending jet fighters to bomb villages held by the EPLF. Then issuing its public position, the Dergue offered only regional autonomy and referred to the EPLF in its documents as "bandits." At the same time, with the help of Israeli advisors, the Dergue was creating the new elite unit called the "Flame Brigade," and in the best tradition of demagogic parody, it proposed to wage "people's war" by assembling a vast peasant militia which was to march on Eritrea and overwhelm the "bandits." The great "peasant march" never made it to Eritrea, however, being routed by guerrillas in Tigray.

As for land reform, perhaps the most...
food and "housing"—24 people to a hut. Soldiers patrol the perimeter of the state farms, and numerous occasions those who protested were shot.

**Enter Social-Imperialism**

Already by the end of 1976 the prospects for the Dergue remained bleak. Power looked very bleak. All of the opposition movements were still in the doldrums, with the EPLF again knocking at the gates of Asmara. The Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) was also occupying the Ogaden. A major section of the Eritrean heartland and the hands of a reactionary army of deportee feudalists who were being armed by the Soviets was lost. And in the Ogaden the Dergue was increasingly politically isolated as it began organizing the petty bourgeoisie and the trade unions demanded an end to military rule and a national democratic revolution leading to socialism—a program which even the Dergue was now forced to falsely echo.

Without massive outside support, the Dergue could not survive. It was at this point that the "natural ally of oppressed and colonialized peoples" made a decision to revive something akin to honest foreign policy that the Dergue took the opportunity of seizing a U.S. client state when the situation presented itself, even though it meant breaking with the fascist client party by shutting down its standing support of the Eritrean and Ogaden liberation struggle. But here it is important to understand that the Soviet move was neither sudden nor unprovoked. The pressures were of course, but a integral part of the Soviet imperialist strategy in Africa.

The overthrow of the colonialists' rule in the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, the 1962-63 clashes with the pro-imperialist rebels in the Congo (with the correlation of the establishment of the Congo People's Republic), and the 1967 Soviet-South Yemen federation are all part of the Soviet strategy of building a new socialist empire in Africa and the Horn.

Continued on page 13

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A Nasty Love Affair

Continued from page 12

thousands of Cuban troops in Ethiopia, and in December they were shocked to discover that the former chief of the 4,000 Soviet advisors in Somalia had been recalled to Moscow—only to be replaced by Addis Ababa, carrying complete knowledge of the Soviet military apparatus. In January 1978, the Soviet-led assault with 15,000 Cuban troops was launched. The Somalis were wiped out as their Soviet-bomber airlifted tanks behind their positions while waves of Ethiopian peasant militia were thrown at their front to use up the Somalis' ammunition.

Following the defeat of the Somalis, the Soviet-Cuban war machine next turned its attention to Ethiopia. For years Fidel Castro, in an attempt to build a militant and internationalist image in the service of his Soviet masters, had hailed the Eritrean struggle and trained Ethiopian fighters. In a return gesture, the EPLF even returned the Alsi Hills in Eritrea the Sierra Maestra in honor of the Cuban revolution. The Eritrean struggle was in fact a part of an historic cleavage in the Middle East with the Arab masses in general against the imperialists, turned viciously on the Eritrean people. In a return gesture, Fidel Castro, in an attempt to build a militant and internationalist image in the service of his Soviet masters, had hailed the Eritrean struggle and trained Ethiopian fighters. In a return gesture, the EPLF even returned the Alsi Hills in Eritrea the Sierra Maestra in honor of the Cuban revolution.

In April 1978 Mengistu made a triumphant state visit to Cuba. Forged to make a strategic retreat, the RPLF had to abandon many towns that had been liberated for years. It was only in the historic battle of Nafia in December 1979 that the Soviet-Cuban Afrika Korps was given the crushing defeat at the hands of the masses that it so richly deserved.

U.S. Imperialist Strategy

U.S. imperialism, of course, did not lie idle while all this was taking place. Badly wounded by its stunning defeat in Vietnam, there were both political and military limits on the ability of U.S. imperialism to respond militarily in Ethiopia. Still, imperialist contention raged furiously in the area with U.S. hegemony being restored in Egypt, Sudan and Somalia. More importantly, U.S. strategy in Ethiopia was and remains based on the assessment that Mengistu, or some other officer (quicker on the trigger), might just as easily slip back into the U.S. camp with the proper inducement. Stad Barre was to learn this the hard way when he kicked out his Soviet advisors and threw himself on the tender mercies of the U.S. imperialists. Barre was convinced that the U.S. would never allow a Soviet-Cuban military victory against him. Yet when the Soviet-Cuban offensive struck, the U.S. pondered and publicly abstained from military assistance to Barre, channeling what little aid was sent west through West Germany, Italy and China. For the U.S. imperialists, like their Soviet rivals, Ethiopia—no Somalia—is the real prize. Carter even sent an assistant national security advisor to Addis Ababa to work out the details of the Somali demise—where the Soviet advisors would withdraw entirely from Somalia in return for Soviet assurances that the Eritreans would stop at the Somali border.

Perhaps the most disgusting aspect of the continuing U.S. policy of seeking to woo the Dergue away from the Soviet camp is its policy toward the more than 6 million refugees who have been created by the inter-imperialist struggle in the Horn. For example, when Catholic Relief Services (one of the largest "private" relief agencies in the world, actually funded almost exclusively by the U.S. Agency for International Development) established its refugee program in Sudan, its field workers were ordered to deny aid to Eritrean refugees because it was "State Department policy." For the U.S. imperialists, like their Soviet rivals, Ethiopia is completely dispensable. Similarly, all economic aid from the U.S. which is channeled through the "regional" and its European allies sent to Ethiopia is distributed only in those areas controlled by the Dergue as part of a continuing program to starve out the genuine revolutionary forces in the liberated areas.

Within the last two years, the Dergue has once again reorganized itself as the Committee for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE). This reshuffling of the Ethiopian leadership was described by The Economist under the heading "Out With Marxists and Onions." While the Dergue originally had a pro-Soviet orientation (promoted by the Dergue itself) as a body dominated by Oromos, and thus a force against national oppression in Ethiopia, the Dergue today demonstrates admirably the line of Ambas supremacy among these sons of Menilik. As of July 1979, 15 out of 16 members of the State Council and 9 of the remaining 11 members of the Central Committee are Amharas. Also 31 out of 37 ministers and permanent secretaries as well as 13 out of 14 regional administrators and all 14 of their deputies are Amharas.

Thus in the end, the "Ethiopian revolution" has changed nothing but imperialists, despite fantastic claims to the contrary, any marginal benefits to one section of the Ethiopian society have been offset by the overall decline in production, the intensification of exploitation and national oppression, and the creation of the largest concentration of refugees in the world. Far from attaining national independence, the struggle of imperialism upon Ethiopia has been tightened.

Recently, an academic writing on the problem of economic development in Ethiopia remarked: "It is interesting to note that although the donors (of foreign aid) have changed, the sectors invested in have not." Precisely. But more significant, and in fact the crux of the matter, is that contending imperialist blocs have never seen Ethiopia as a choice area for capitalist investment but rather have used it as a base to spread their influence. The oppression and exploitation of the Ethiopian masses is, like the colonial and even the inter-imperialist oppression, a function of the strategic location of the country to the imperialists. Part III will deal with the revolutionary movements advancing today in the liberated areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

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Minor Alterations in Distribution Relations

3:26 p.m. on September 10th, New York City's 34th Street Macy's Department Store was doing a brisk business with its post-Labor Day clearance sale. But business picked up even more dramatically at 3:27, when an explosion at Con Edison's 14th Street power substation triggered a power failure that plunged large sections of Manhattan—including Macy's—into darkness.

At the cosmetics counter, a Macy's employee reported, you could hardly see anything, but he could hear the unmistakable rattle and clatter of cosmetics being shuffled off the counters and stuffed into handbags. The scene was similar in other departments; many counters were surrounded and denuded by bargain-hunting New Yorkers while Macy's hard-pressed security personnel tried unsuccessfully, for several hours to affect an evacuation of the building. Both distraught Macy's officials and disappointed customers described the scene inside as a chaotic.

In the first hours of the blackout, which paralysed the financial district in lower Manhattan, knocked out our subway service, and left many people trapped in elevators, city officials feared that the blackout might spread to the whole city and lead to a repetition of the widespread expectation of the 1967 blackout, which the bourgeois portrayed as "savage looting" by "uncontrollable" masses of black, Hispanic, and other minorities crowded into the city's vast slum and ghetto districts. Immediately it was announced that the city's special "crime emergency task force" had been called into action, threatening special anti-looting patrols and warning that "they won't get away with it this time!

As it turned out, the power blackout remained confined to lower Manhattan and power was fully restored by 10 p.m. Wednesday night. The expected wave of "lawless" behavior was directed at such narrow targets of opportunity as the cosmetics counter at Macy's—where the solidity middle class households, who comprise the bulge of the weekday shopping crowd, apparently cooled themselves upholding the old cliché about New Yorkers: "They know how to cope in a crisis."
One has to agree with the general summation of the Revolutionary Worker when it identified the position of "Sooner or Later" with that of Lenin's "Present orLater." When reading the article, the first thing that struck the reader was how eerily similar this argument appeared to be, in this position. What appeared, in fact, was a position that I should say, was, is, and will, for the foreseeable future, be the position of the entire socialist movement, including the Chinese, the Korean, the Cuban, and the Vietnamese, and so forth. The position of this argument is that there is no revolution when armed with a correct line. Revolutionary defeatism, the belief that all of the revolutions that have been broadly held by progressives, for example, in the United States, for example, is the position that they use their counter-revolutionary defeatism, and so have come to the conclusion of the people of the world. It is against the masses of people all over the world. This is the position of our future. The position then is that the "progressive" nature of the Soviet Union, saying, "If there is a revolution when armed with a correct line. Revolutionary defeatism," the belief that there is no revolution when armed with a correct line. Revolutionary defeatism, the belief that all of the revolutions that have been broadly held by progressives, for example, in the United States, for example, is the position that they use their counter-revolutionary defeatism, and so have come to the conclusion of the people of the world. It is against the masses of people all over the world. This is the position of our future. The position then is that the "progressive" nature of the Soviet Union, saying, "If there is a revolution when armed with a correct line. Revolutionary defeatism," the belief that there is no revolution when armed with a correct line. 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Correspondence

Spies in School

To the Revolutionary Worker,

Dear People,

I just got my weekly copy of your very fine newspaper and feel compelled to "correspond" with you after many months.

For many years I was employed by the board of higher education of one of our larger cities. I heard and read many things in these years that initially shocked and dismayed me. Later I came to realize that this was the way things were. Now, of course, I read the Revolutionary Worker, and though it is not the only radical or revolutionary newspaper and feel compelled to

...and I hope that this letter is read by many

I'm with you.

M.R.

P.S. Let's stop the railroad of Bob Avakian!

Lost and Found

A Co-conspirator

September 11, 1981—Revolutionary Worker—Page 15
No Patience

of all of those who live it.) The point is that Jackson was grappling with the relationship between the advan-
danced and the reformist sections of the proletariat and the broader forces. He was trying to see in a revolutionary movement then and still does today.

And he stated that: if the advice of those like the CP is taken, “We’ll be asked to be ‘patient’ for another 100 to 150 years.”

The problem, of course, is that the theoretical explanations on con-
sciousness, and the broader forces. He was tying to

the extent to which the proletariat becomes aware of its own class nature. This is a point that misses the point. They represent what the masses are attempting to do, the sooner begun the better.

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El Salvador

Continued from page 3

can oppose the U.S.

With Mexico, the case is different and there is a discernible change in their perception of the imperialist threat. The Mexican comprador bourgeoisie has traditionally been subservient to U.S. domination for its own rule. While the U.S. undoubtedly doesn't like to see its political advantages reduced, the Mexican bourgeoisie is no less hesitant than the Mexican ruling class about the effects of an Indian uprising. U.S. revolution in Central America on "the stability and peace" of Mexico. The Mexican government has given the widespread hatred of U.S. imperialism to the mass of people, of which the U.S. is the most critical for the government's efforts to prevent the revolution from developing. The Indian uprising that flares up throughout Latin America will not pass unnoticed in Mexico itself.

But this new action is not merely propaganda. Mexico has been forthrightly working to bring about some type of "compromise" in El Salvador, especially as the U.S. efforts there have had a very predictable result. In El Salvador, there has been some speculation in the U.S. press that Mexico wanted to officially withdraw its troops from El Salvador. In fact, Mexico was forced to tone down the official declaration by France. For the U.S. ruling class the internal situation in Mexico is only one worry among many; but for the Mexican ruling class it is definitely the main one. Further illustrating the complexity of the situation is the fact that the Mexican foreign policy has been widely praised by every political journal in the world. It fits in with the kind of "compromise" the Soviets have been seeking in Vietnam, and El Salvador and the rest of Central America (see RWP No. 118, p. 5). Further illustrating this aspect of "compromise" is the opportunity for the U.S. bourgeoisie, within Western Europe as it steps up its efforts to drive a wedge between social-democrat and social-revolutionary forces, to use this very crucial part of its own preparations for world war.

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In sorting out this rich interplay of contradictions the role of French au
What Will Rise Up?

Continued from page 1,

ranging about "nothing to chance" and "bringing the anti-nuclear movement into line," they are entering dangerous political territory. For all their military mobilization, politically the situation is already pretty

out of hand, and shows very prom-
ing signs of getting much more so.

They are compelled to outrun dangerous

waters by the intensification of world events, and their necessity to wage

world war. Their drive to open Diablo has to be seen in the same light, as part of a general offensive to make concessions to the masses as their announcement of their plans to assemble the neutron bomb, or that billions of nuclear weapons are stored in Japan—and carry-

with is the potential for some of the

same explosive political shocks.

It is exactly the profound and ac-

celerating changes in the international

situation that have led to the striking

contrasts between Diablo Canyon in 1981, and Diablo Canyon in the late

1970s. The construction of the rolling
dam and the road has already made

cessions to the masses of people,

especially around questions like this, it should be remembered, that Min-

nesota Governor Jerry Brown, who spoke to a rally of several thousand in

1979, and who in 1980 campaigned

for President as an anti-nuclear can-
didate...around the figure of 10,000, police

and National Guards to enforce the "peace"
at the beginning and who announced officially that only legal "opposition" to Diablo Canyon would be tolerated.

Even the tactical maneuvering around the bourgeois' preparations is block-

ing whole sections of the people from

the political life. The word spread in the area that there would be no legal

blockade public highways to try to keep the

blockaders from ever coming near the reactor property, and in an effort to
to do this, they have sent lists to the Assembly to try to

the vicinity of the reactor saying that they may not be able to go to the

connection.

While not at the same level as the an-

nouncement that the neutron bomb, part of the U.S. offensives, is ready to go

down the throat of the world's people,

and the opposition to it, is now concen-

trated at Diablo. The bourgeoisie here is clearly throwing down the gauntlet to the anti-nuclear movement, and to that to the politically-aware people.

The recent development is just an acci-
dent in that regard. A reactor on an

earthquake fault? "We think it's just
dummy," the source from the state of

Sao Luis Obiapo County to the federal government.

"Just the kind of thing we're looking to jam down your throats—and great preparations for our next trick.

But through their arrogance, they do

underestimate something of the horne's next they've got up to a very breath-taking

society, and they are trying to prepare for it. Part of this can be seen in the way they've dealt with the press with the widely known non-

violence tactics of the anti-nuclear movement. As the Wall Street Journal put it, "The government has rung much of the press, "But Sheriff George Whiting of San Luis Obiapo County has said he does not believe others will be able to control the 5,000 to 10,000 anticipated demonstrators. There are people out there who talk to a dif-

ferent drummer," Whiting Shilling. "I expect violence." "This is clearly an

tempt to split apart the very broad and diverse class forces that are coming into motion to stop the blockade. It's also a blatant attempt to justify in ad

vance discriminate attacks on all blockaders.

There are several reasons why all this this is happening at this time. The oil

question is clearly a political kind of

the fact that Pacific Gas & Elec-

tric (PG&E) has sunk $2 billion in in-

vestment for the plant, calls for the plant to come yet not get a penny in return, has had PG&E board of directors pruning their teeth for years, and it is obviously a consid-

eration, though far from the main one at this time. The whole nuclear

plant power plants are being re-in force in helping to relieve the U.S. and even more, the U.S. in the case of Mideast oil is also part of the ques-

tion. As Carter put it, the "oil tankers" running from the Middle East to the U.S. bloc is a real regular vein of the enemy and use of oil is now vastly more expensive and vulnerable in war
time. But more to the heart of the
talks is the new possibilities the links between nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons, and what this has given rise to among the masses, par-

ticularly in the last year or so.

The connection between nuclear reac-
tors and nuclear weapons, advance from the very beginning. After World

War 2, the U.S. government funded the

extremely expensive development of reactor technology, both because it was a good cover for the development of weapons, and also because the development and refinement of nuclear technology for reactors was part of the

necessary technological foundation for not just nuclear bombs, but also things like nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers. Because of this, which has been exposed by the anti-nuclear

movement, and even more because of the rapid internalization of the prepara-

tions for nuclear war, the anti-nuke movement has more and more taken an anti-nuclear weapons, anti-nuclear war character and, increasingly among cer-

tain sections at least, a consciously in-

ternationalist character. For a number of months, It's About Times, the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, the organization that is organizing the Diablo blockade, had a debate in its le-

ters column over what to do after Diablo Canyon, and almost all the le-

ters pointed to nuclear weapons as the main target. The August issue of It's

About Times came out with a big

centerfold section called "The Ground

Zero Gazette, frontline reports from the

war on war," which debated various viewpoints on how to take this

What is most significant about the ar-

ticles in the "Ground Zero Gazette" is the fact that, starting from the perspective of the anti-nuclear move-

ment, the questions now being debated in these circles have much to do with the most decisive questions now facing the world revolutionary movement. Specifi-

cally, these articles talk up such ques-
tions as can the movement against nuclear weapons advance without being based on a preparation of the social causes of war? without openly breaking with

nationalism and patriotism and arguments of "legitimate national security"? There is often debate over romanticism, the "lowest common denominator" approach and "respecta-

bility." This debate within the Abalone Alliance is just part of what is going on among the masses more broadly around these questions, driven and stimulated by world events.

In the battle over Diablo, the im-

pactors are taking on head on one of the broadest and most active fronts of opposition to war; opening this plant is yet another signal of their intent to get the show on the road for war. They have chosen in this case to send out a message loud and clear that this is the way this system works and they are not about to alter it.

First, this is an ultimatum they have delivered here, here and interna-

tionally. When they did so in the 1960s

in this country, the results shook the

e very. As they have done so interna-

tionally, their "islands of stability" have shaken all the more. Already many involved in this movement are comparing the level of things in this
country to the level of the struggle inter-

c nationally and searching for ways to catch up.

At this point, Diablo Canyon might better be called Fort Diablo. But the precarious position of the imperialists around this is not something that even can solve with any arsenal. What is be-

ing shown is ultimately at stake here is far more than a battle over Diablo Can-

yon has the temporary ability to open a 

nake, but fundamentally the question of the political power of imperialism in society in a whole. Go ahead, bour-

geoisie, and you see what you underneath.

No Patience

Continued from page 16,

struggle all along the way with na-
tions for freedom, the international

united front under proletarian leader-

ship requires the deepening and

broadening of a scientific, interna-

tionalist outlook today. Especially in an increasingly complex world situation, with a world war being prepared which would involve massive destruction on U.S. soil as well as other countries, such an outlook is increasingly urgent and ne-

cessary. If the world was at peace, we won't be enough for a Vanguard.

Ironically, it was precisely nationalism which led to the defeat of the French

from Marxism-Leonidov and advocate a worldwide: united from apostatic

tarian powers, to these power, to criticize this line requires the starting point of the centers of the proletarian

But George Jackson, with an un-

understood nationalism born of the times, broke a lot of ground in this
talk—"You can't get ahead of the people, it's meaningless," wrote Jackson. "From what anti-Diablo are one day (and few)

the rear. Rearguard leadership? A.

typical Yankee interventionism... In all the space of the same logic—wars and colonial

wars of liberation, the vanguard

elements did get ahead and pulled..." Such an outlook can be learned from by

all revolutionaries and poses challenges to Party: to meet the advanced

ideological, political and organizational

demands of a crucial section of the masses. It is not a question to adhere to the line of going down "lower and deeper" to the proletariat and to dig at the roots of revisionism in all an-all way.

Should a revolutionary situation develop in the world outside already—and the possibility is not a remote one—un-

ready will be marked by different armies in the field (not only a pro-

letarian army under the red flag but also armies of the opposition, nationali-

ties and others) in a revolutionary na-

tionalist program and flag and by the interconnection of events of which will

be first only a minority of the working
class. With the development of Party's line and organization has taken

root and flowered in its main potential

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tors and nuclear weapons, advance from the very beginning. After World

War 2, the U.S. government funded the
used to cut him was removed from his cell before the guard officially "discov- ered" Carl's body at 6:35 p.m. Not long after Carl's body was "discovered," the Walla Walla police are claim- ing no exploration, no explanation. They have found two razor blades which are sup- posed to be what was used to cut Carl's wrists. The guards are certainly in an excellent position to have "found" their razor blades, since in the case Carl Harp was murdered, the prison was on lockdown making it certain that either they or someone with their blatant connivance did the deed.

One who had recent contact with Carl, his wife, fellow prisoners, numerous attorneys to the California Human Rights Board, prison staff members, even the prison officials themselves, report that the conditions of the prisoners is that they are all depressed or suicidal. In fact, Carl was vigorously pursuing the political and legal battles before his death, ex- posing the prison administration's at- tempts to have him killed and appealing the original frameups on murder and other charges which sent him to prison. All of this incidentally makes it clear to those who would dislike his murder is not only incred- ible, but that it is intended to be seen through exactly so the threat would be clear to any who dared to dream of any kind of solution. This must not- ed his life to.

Nevertheless, the formalities of an "investigation," aimed at putting the official stamp of approval on this murder, went on already well under way. On the very night of the murder the FBI came officially into the scene. These are the people who "investigated" the beating and antilatoo rape of Carl Harp at the Walla Walla penitentiary.

The conclusion, of course, was that no "criminal" had been responsible. Those who were interviewed by the Coroner and the prosecu- tor both announced that there was no reason to suspect that there was actually anything but a suicide two days after the murder. The coroner added that the "investigation" was already complete, not to be ready for two weeks when they hoped, wisely, that the outrage over this murder will have died down.

Before his murder, Carl had already announced his intentions of collaborating with authorities to kill him. Since Carl re- ceived no help from his cellmates, months ago the prison administration had spread a series of rumors among the prisoners about the escape of a real- ly dangerous enemy of the class. The prisoners telephoned the other prisoners and so forth, in vain, to no avail, the hope of the prisoners to kill him. Other prisoners reported that two guards were sent to inform Carl of the availability for return for taking Carl's life. Even a sympathetic guard told Carl of this plan. Yet, Carl, who had received a permit for publication in a prison newsletter which exposed how and why the au- thorities were trying to have him killed, had nothing to say about this. Similar letters were sent to supporters on the outside. The prison officials— without giving variation, talked to only Carl and were only looking for the means to keep Carl from the outside help which would have to act before the situation got any more out of their contr- 

The selective murder of prisoners who are looked to for leadership by their fellow prisoners must become a key tactic in the current plans of the state's repressive apparatus. Four days before Carl's murder a plan to have a Black prison leader killed who was active in the Junior Writers' Workshop was worked out by the prison administration. A Black prison murder this prisoner was put out by the authorities the night before his murder in the prison. On Tuesday a fight was started in the prison cafeteria where several prisoners were hospital- ized. This fight was set up by the prison administration to make the prisoners hold jobs. This fight was intended to serve as a diversion to the three separate occasions where white prisoners went up to a fellow Black prisoner who was demanding to know where this prisoner was. The Black pri- soner, who was the intended victim, however, had gotten wind of this plot and stayed in his cell instead of going to the cafeteria that night. The active participa- tion of the prison authorities in all this is shown by the fact that two key mem- bers of the Aryan Brotherhood were transferred into the prison from other prisons under an arrangement personally worked out by Walla Walla Assoc- iate Superintendent Larry Kinchloe. Further, the PW reported a receipt that three white prisoners whose role in the fight on Tuesday had been transferred to Walla Walla from the State Reformatory in Monroe on the previous Friday and were immediately sent into the general prisoner population.

Walla Walla History

The machinations of the Walla Walla prison administration are a vivid illus- tration of the desperate situation in which they are caught. The ruling class of the state is finding it necessary to strengthen its whole repressive appa- ratus, of which prisons are a corner- stone, in the face of the greater sub- stantial and ever more blatant preparations for war that mark the closing months of this year and this decade. All of this is more impe- rative at Walla Walla where the prison administration finds itself facing a prison population where revolutions- ary sentiments are widespread and revolutionary organizations are becoming a dan- ger and seriously studied by a large section of prisoners, where the atmos- phere remains charged with polariza- tion and the threat of new outbreaks of revolution could come at any moment. All of this has had dramatic repercussions outside the prison walls, fueling outrages at the savage attacks on the prisoners and leading to ever more widespread exposure of the state. Walla Walla gained a national reputation both for its rebelliousness and for its revolution- ary fighters. It is in this context that the desperate murder of Carl Harp cannot be seen.

But the depraved minds which plan- ned this murder plan not only possibly mis- interpreted what motivated Carl to remain defiant despite their repeated efforts to pressure him to change, but fail to see just what his example represents to tens of thousands of oppressed and haunted young men in search of change. In murdering Carl Harp they have picked up yet another rock that will land on their feet. When Carl arrived in Walla Walla in 1973, the prison was a hotbed of revolutionary sentiment. The state of the upsurge of the '60s was still strongly felt inside the prison, and active revolutionary action- nalities were actively taking up ro- mantic ideals. The network of prison activities in Walla Walla, where Carl was a white working-class family, who had been in the prison before he was a Vietnam veteran and had traveled around the world—including direct experience with the anti-imperialist revolution of the Vietnamese people—Walla Walla became a kind of center of inspiration. As one of his friends described him later, "I don't exactly know what happened but something stopped me in my tracks, and in 1974 I publicly declared myself a political prisoner. Since that declara- tion I have not had the same thun- dant and often intense struggle with the forces of evil evolved into a revolution- ary mood and feeling of solidarity with the workers of the world in the United States."

In testimony submitted in support of Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France (see RW No. 107), Carl de- scribed his role in political activism in prison and the persecution he faced as a result: "I was a prisoner of the state, a political prisoner, and am now confined in the California State Penitentiary at Soledad, California. I have been imprisoned illegally and against my will for political beliefs and activity in prison. This in- justice here illegally and against my will. The state of California has been convinced in the California State Supreme Court and am now confined in the California State Penitentiary at Soledad, California. I have been imprisoned illegally and against my will for political beliefs and activity in prison. This injustice here illegally and against my will."

On May 4, 1979, Carl and two fellow prisoners seized the Counseling and Pa- tient Education building in the Walla Walla prison compound which, as Carl later put it, "exposed to the world the gross in- justice in a letter he wrote to the Revolu- tionary Worker after May 1st, 1980. "I was surprised by the workers' willing- ness internationally to confront the police and prison forces in the streets May Day, and this willingness was a message to the ruling class that their days are numbered. I personal- ly started up discussions about May Day on May Day to see if prisoners un- derstood why workers were in the streets worldwide. They knew and sup- ported the workers of the world which many prisoners are themselves. Every- one noticed May Day 1980 was more militant than any May Day to our knowledge, and that in nearly every country in the world at least some workers were in the streets. All this signs of Revolution/Change...

In 1979 the RW was able to locate Carl by phone when he was briefly returned to Walla Walla and get a statement from him in support of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defenders. And after once again being held in a boxcar in the Walla Walla Segregation Cell, Carl said: "They've got all this beautiful logic of why you should be in jail. Fuck it man. I've got firsthand experience doing everything in prisons in all the bourgeois forms. I got soars all over my body and which like the Phoenix springs ever new from the flames of resistance, and which are the ashes of the old and dying order.

Carl Harp

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The military junta model has been found to be a good one, and the U.S. has helped it flourish and spread. Torture, death squads and freedom of investment are related parts of the approved model... It turns out that if we cut through the propaganda barrage, Washington has become the torture and political murder capital of the world.

The Political Economy of Human Rights
Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman

Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant. In the past, they were held in restraint... Our initiative and creativity of the laboring people explode...

Miscellany of Mao Tsetung Thought

"The elimination of these cancer-causing substances might, at first sight, appear a simple and rational way to reduce the incidence of cancer. It may be rational but it is certainly not simple... It should hardly shock anyone that industry will use a wide variety of tactics to protect its investments. What is more surprising is the degree to which leaders of the cancer field have also helped to obscure the need for prevention..."

The Cancer Syndrome, Ralph Moss

"It is impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg... A chicken just doesn't have it within its system to produce a duck egg... It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system... to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country. And if ever a chicken did produce a duck egg, I'm quite sure you would say it was certainly a revolutionary chicken..."

Malcolm X Speaks

"Do not be intimidated by famous people and scholars. We must be courageous in thinking, speaking, and doing. The initiative and creativity of the laboring people have always been abundant..."

Interview with History, Oriana Fallaci

"What people mean... when they say that it will never work, is they can't turn on a machine called 'revolution' and have it work perfectly for them. Yes, it is true that it is a difficult work... we have to struggle with them and lead them to grasp that they have to emancipate themselves..."

Bob Avakian

The Tuskegee Study (1932-1972) had nothing to do with treatment... It was a nontreatment experiment, aimed at compiling data on the effects of the spontaneous evolution of syphilis on black males... the men did not understand (and were not told) what the experiment was about or the dangers to which it exposed them..."

Bad Blood, James H. Jones

"The elimination of these cancer-causing substances might, at first sight, appear a simple and rational way to reduce the incidence of cancer. It may be rational but it is certainly not simple... It should hardly shock anyone that industry will use a wide variety of tactics to protect its investments. What is more surprising is the degree to which leaders of the cancer field have also helped to obscure the need for prevention..."

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