



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
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Party, U.S.A.

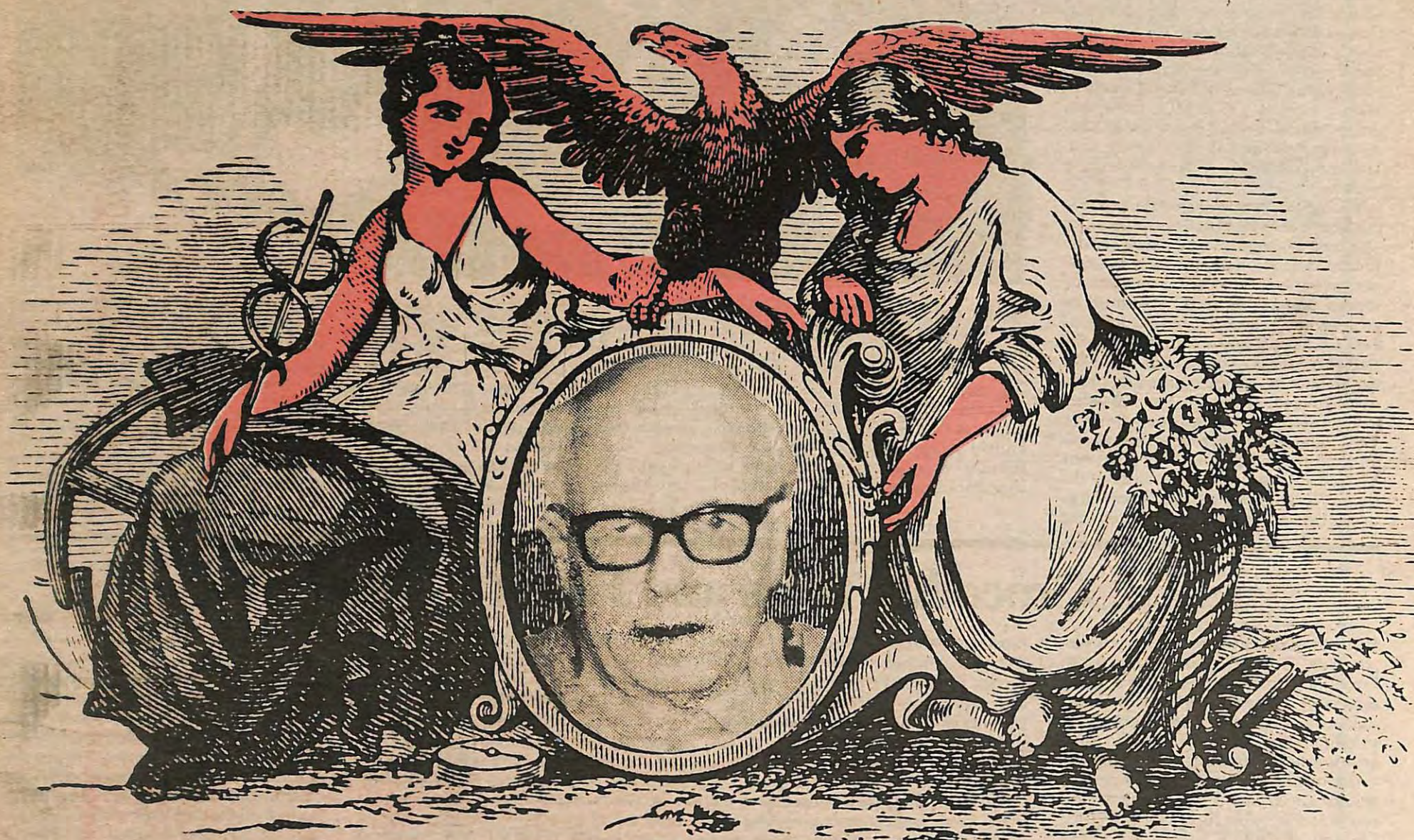
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The Darling of the Western World



Imagine for a moment that a top U.S. nuclear scientist, a "father of the H-bomb"-type like Edward Teller, suddenly came out for the Soviet Union. Suppose that this scientist took to publicly encouraging the Soviets, in order to "correct the strategic balance," to deploy SS-20 missiles all over Eastern Europe and to build a new first-strike-capable ICBM as soon as possible. Imagine that this scientist greets Soviet chief of state Chernenko, praising the economic and military power of the Soviet Union and exhorting the Soviets to "carry with honor the burden that history has placed on her citizens and leaders." Imagine that this scientist became a hero in all the Soviet-bloc countries, with the Soviet government officially warning the U.S. to keep its hands off of him. Then imagine, if you can, the treatment that this scientist would have suffered in this country, assuming of course that he survived.

Reverse this tale, make the scientist a Soviet citizen, father of the Soviet bomb, and a current hero-of-the-West, and you have the true story of the Soviet Union's best-known dissident, physicist Andrei D. Sakharov. If there is anyone in the Soviet Union today who commands the undivided, and cloyingly sympathetic, attention of the West — thus providing a rich propaganda harvest — it is certainly this man.

Consider a brief sampling of the considerable publicity generated in the media on his behalf in just the past few months: Jesse Jackson's plan (apparently now defunct) to visit the Soviet Union and negotiate Sakharov's "release"; a joint appeal on Sakharov from the governments of the ten European Economic Community countries that was sent to the Kremlin; a telegram sent to Chernenko by six presidents of prestigious American universities offering Sakharov professor-

ships and cautioning against "a devastating blow to future cultural and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union" if he was not allowed to come; the subsequent cancellation by the National Academy of Sciences of talks with its Soviet counterpart on new scientific exchanges; a joint, and unanimous, House/Senate resolution demanding the Soviets allow Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, to emigrate; similar statements and demands from the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee and Pope John Paul II; a made-for-TV movie titled *Sakharov*, starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson, originally scheduled for release in September, but then "hurriedly inserted into HBO's June schedule" (according to the *New York Times*) to draw attention to Sakharov's "plight"; the idea of renaming a major street "Sakharov Avenue" floated out in both Washington, D.C. and in Brussels; and, finally, Reagan's remarks last month during Captive Nations Week demanding a full accounting of Sakharov's health and whereabouts and calling support for Sakharov "critical at this time," while linking it to "our efforts to encourage freedom, independence and national self-determination for those countries struggling to free themselves from Communist ideology and totalitarian oppression."

Darling of the West

It hardly needs saying that, more than any other Soviet dissident, Sakharov is the acknowledged darling of the Western bourgeoisie, the often passionate (and definitely reciprocal) love affair having endured for a decade and a half. And the reason Sakharov is once again prominently at the center of Western attention has to do with what time it is and, in particular, with an article he wrote last

year that was smuggled out of the closed city of Gorky (where Sakharov has been exiled) and published in the Summer 1983 issue of the U.S. policy journal, *Foreign Affairs* — an especially interesting one considering Sakharov's reputation as an humanitarian and disillusioned nuclear weapons scientist turned man-of-peace.

The article, titled "The Danger of Thermonuclear War," ostensibly a contribution to the antinuclear/arms control debate and phrased in the jargon of nuclear "deterrence," was addressed as an open letter to Dr. Sidney Drell, a scientist and figure in the U.S. Freeze movement. After spending some pages detailing the horrible effects of nuclear weapons, Sakharov quickly turns to repeating the Reagan administration's claims of Soviet military superiority and stressing the need for parity to stabilize the military imbalance. Agreeing with some of Drell's views, he notes that the U.S. must move quickly to "restore strategic parity in the field of conventional weapons" and calls on the press, public and fellow scientists to "help them (and not hinder them as is frequently now the case)." However, Sakharov soon parts company with Freeze-advocate Drell, exhorting him to "take the next logical step — while nuclear weapons exist it is also necessary to have strategic parity in relation to those variants of limited or regional nuclear warfare which a potential enemy could impose (and just who the "potential enemy" is here seems clear enough—RW)... If the probability of such an outcome (i.e., nuclear war—RW) could be reduced at the cost of another ten or fifteen years of the arms race, then perhaps that price must be paid..."

Truly an inspiring "arms control" theory, if a rather time-worn one.

But it is only a prelude — Sakharov

goes on to decry "Soviet expansionism on a world scale" since 1945; to note that "The West has grounds to worry that the world's sea routes, Arab oil, and the uranium, diamonds and other resources of South Africa are now threatened"; to deride the European antinuke movement for "not advancing any demands on the USSR"; to defend the Euromissiles as necessary for disarmament talks because "the West should have something that it can give up"; and to bewail the fact that "Carter's attempt to take a minimal step toward achieving balance in the area of conventional arms, i.e., to introduce draft legislation, met with stiff resistance," etc. Then, as no less than William Buckley's arch-conservative *National Review* admiringly put it, Sakharov "leaves Drell in the churning tank-dust on the German plain" by proceeding to drop the following bombshell in the *Foreign Affairs* piece:

"... an important problem is that of the powerful silo-based missiles. At present the USSR has a great advantage in this area. Perhaps talks about the limitation and reduction of these most destructive missiles could become easier if the United States were to have MX missiles, albeit only potentially.... While the USSR is the leader in this field there is very little chance of its easily relinquishing that lead. If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation, then perhaps this is what the West must do."

Reagan himself could hardly have put it any better, and one has only to imagine the howls that echoed inside the walls of the Kremlin. Particularly so, since Sakharov's article (as the editors of *Foreign Affairs* astutely noted) was pen-

Continued on page 6

A Fitting Memorial

Paris, France. Thousands of proletarian masses poured into the streets of Paris on Thursday, September 13 to honor revolutionary film maker Yilmaz Güney, who died in a Paris hospital on September 9 after a long bout with stomach cancer. (See *RW* No. 272, p. 3.) By early morning hundreds of people had already crowded in front of the Kurdish Institute, waiting to file past his casket in a small room lined with posters from Güney's films and with flowers and bright red wreaths sent from a wide array of democratic and revolutionary forces, from the Turkish Left including the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML), from progressive artists in Turkey as well as Kurdish organizations linked to Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The RCP, USA also sent some wreaths.

The square around Place de la République began to swell in early afternoon, as well over 2,000 people converged for the funeral march. Hoisting high banner-portraits of Güney, as well as hundreds of smaller posters, the ranks continued to grow as the procession moved towards Père Lachaise Cemetery (famous for the wall of the Paris Communards where the last defenders of the Paris Commune were gunned down by the Versailles troops) stopping traffic along a major Paris boulevard for several kilometers and provoking small groups of bystanders into discussions along the route. The marchers included a very large turnout of proletarian masses from the



Kurdish and Turkish communities, along with hundreds of revolutionaries. In addition, a number of intellectuals, artists and some government figures were present. Some well-known Turkish singers, including Melike Demirag, the leading actress in Güney's film, *The Herd*, well-known revolutionary writer Nihat Behram who wrote a biography of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, and a number of

children who played in Güney's last film, *The Wall*, were also there. Serif Gören, Güney's close associate and collaborator on *Yöl*, stated publicly with some risk in Turkey (and would have been arrested if he had tried to attend the funeral), "His death is extremely painful and a great loss."

At Père Lachaise, with many perched on gravestones surrounding the burial

site, people pressed in to hear a message honoring Güney's contributions to revolutionary art and to the struggle against imperialism and reaction that he had devoted his life to. Suddenly, as people filed by the gravesite to throw in a handful of fresh earth, strains of the *Internationale* broke through the tense silence and fists shot into the air from a revolutionary section of the participants.

Crocodile Tears and Fangs Come Out

Paris, France. The hypocrisy award surrounding Güney's death goes to the French government and its wave of grief, echoed by press obituaries that rivaled solidarity statements. Repeatedly trying to claim Güney as their own, his recent artistic achievements as a product of their "open arms" welcome to France, the land of liberty and political asylum, this was expressed most succinctly by French Minister of Culture, Jack Lang: "The disappearance of Yilmaz Güney overwhelms me. Friend of our country, Yilmaz Güney ranked among the top world filmmakers. A courageous creator, he devoted his life to defending the oppressed; actor, writer, filmmaker, he himself experienced the suffering of imprisonment; in 1981 he gave us the honor of accepting hospitality which I extended to him in the name of the French government." Meanwhile not far away in the prison of Fresnes, eight Basque political

prisoners are approaching death in their 35th day of hunger strikes protesting the French court's threat to break tradition and carry out an unprecedented — openly political — extradition, sending them, if not back to the arms of the Spanish government, to somewhere in Latin America....

The reactionary Turkish press, on the other hand, while clearly unwilling and unable to embarrass Güney in the same sloshy social-democratic manner, has felt compelled to cover Güney's death extensively, while initially holding its forked tongue. The main bourgeois papers all carried banner headlines and big pictures the day after his death, factually stating "Yilmaz Güney the filmmaker, who ran away from jail and won an award at Cannes, is dead." Not really daring to attack him at first when the masses in Turkey learned of the news, they saved their venom for the funeral events, lighting in-

to him as a murderer, a separatist, an anti-Turkish element who used his art to spread propaganda against Turkey abroad. They all avoided the question of his being a revolutionary, and went so far as to mention that the casket in Paris was on display in an "institute," carefully omitting the dangerous word, *Kurdish*. *Tercuman* (Interpreter), a right-wing opposition newspaper to the junta, ran an unambiguous headline, "the friend of our enemies is being buried today," adding in their article "we're sure he didn't believe in God, but we'll say God bless him, anyway. There are lots of Muslim cemeteries in Paris, but he chose to be buried in Père Lachaise, the Communist cemetery." They also featured a picture of Güney together with the Greek minister of culture, Melina Mercouri, intentionally stirring up anti-Greek nationalism, while mentioning the complaints by a Turkish government figure

about Jack Lang's "personally" welcoming Güney to France. *Hurriyet* (Freedom), a critical pro-junta paper, chose a picture of the funeral procession which looks like only 30 people surrounding the casket had attended the event. In recent TV news programs in Turkey the junta, in announcing the capture of some "terrorists," made the revealing comments that these are like "traitors abroad who all gathered recently at Yilmaz Güney's funeral. It is because of these elements that the September 12, 1980 coup was necessary." The Turkish minister of culture, surprised by a question about Güney's death in the midst of a press conference on something else and undoubtedly provoking peals of laughter in Turkey too, apparently grunted: "He was a good artist, but you shouldn't mix art and politics."—!

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We Lost Yilmaz Güney

A resolute fighter for and a well-established virtuoso of revolutionary culture, and a brave revolutionary who has righteously won a cherished place in the hearts of millions of toilers.

On September 9, a painful news has deeply shaken and saddened the oppressed, revolutionaries and the communists all over. The people of Turkey from different nationalities, the oppressed of the whole world have lost a heroic fighter of revolution; revolutionary art has lost a master. Yilmaz Güney has left us at a most productive period, failing to overcome a terminal disease at the age of 47.

Yilmaz Güney, who spent more than ten years of his life in jail, was born as a child of a poor family in Yenice village in Adana. Yilmaz Güney, who worked in a number of jobs during his youth in order to finance his education and look after his family, got involved in the film industry in 1958. From 1970 on, influenced by revolutionary ideas, he made quite a number of films as a revolutionary artist, among them are those that acquired international fame like *Sürü* (The Herd) and *Yöl* (The Way). During these years he upheld the revolutionary culture of the people against the bourgeois degenerate culture implemented by the imperialists and social-imperialists and the feudal fascist culture of the Turkish ruling classes in every sphere and created a lot of revolutionary works. During the same years, not only as a revolutionary artist but also as an unyielding resolute revolutionary, he struggled against imperialism, social-imperialism, the Turkish ruling classes and their oppression and exploitation both in and out of Turkey; and he stood beside the oppressed and the exploited, in the ranks of revolution. Because of all this, he earned the love and appreciation of both the people of Turkey and the oppressed worldwide.

For years, the Turkish ruling classes and their lackey press have been rabidly attacking Yilmaz Güney, and in his person, revolutionary culture, revolutionary artists and all revolutionaries. The Turkish ruling classes have tried everything to silence him and to prevent his struggle. They tried every method, from seeking to bribe him to threatening him, from threats to plots and arrests. After September 12, 1980, like all revolutionaries, he also got his share from the oppression and fascist terror of the fascist junta. Additional suits were filed against him, each requiring years more in jail. None of this succeeded in stopping him from continuing his struggle — he never gave in. In October 1981, he fled Isparta prison and consequently the country and went into exile, in order to play a more beneficial role in the struggle for freedom and democracy. He continued his revolutionary activities abroad, playing a very significant role in exposing the fascist junta.

There are those who will be saddened by and those who will rejoice Yilmaz

Güney's death. Workers, labourers, the oppressed, revolutionaries, communists, artists on the side of the people, and intellectuals will be sad. Imperialists, social-imperialists, Turkish ruling classes and the fascist junta will be happy. Among the reactionaries, while there will be those who will openly rejoice, there will also be those who, in the name of upholding him, will try to smother the revolutionary essence of his struggle and work.

Like yesterday, today too, they will talk about what "a good artist," "a good actor" he was. A lot of forces who have cursed him, and in his person cursed the revolutionary values and revolutionaries in general during his life, will join this chorus. But it is an unreversible truth that throughout his life, he has defended the revolutionary line unyieldingly and resolutely against all such harassment; he never gave in. He did not compromise on questions that constitute the acid test of being a genuine revolutionary, such as the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism and the principle of seizing state power through violent means. Now there is an empty place. Physically he doesn't exist anymore. But all revolutionaries, first and foremost communists, will uphold his revolutionary legacy, and will fill this empty place by struggling against those who will seek to obscure his revolutionary essence.

We communists have always defended and will always defend Yilmaz Güney's revolutionary line against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction;

His resolute struggle against the Turkish ruling classes and their state;

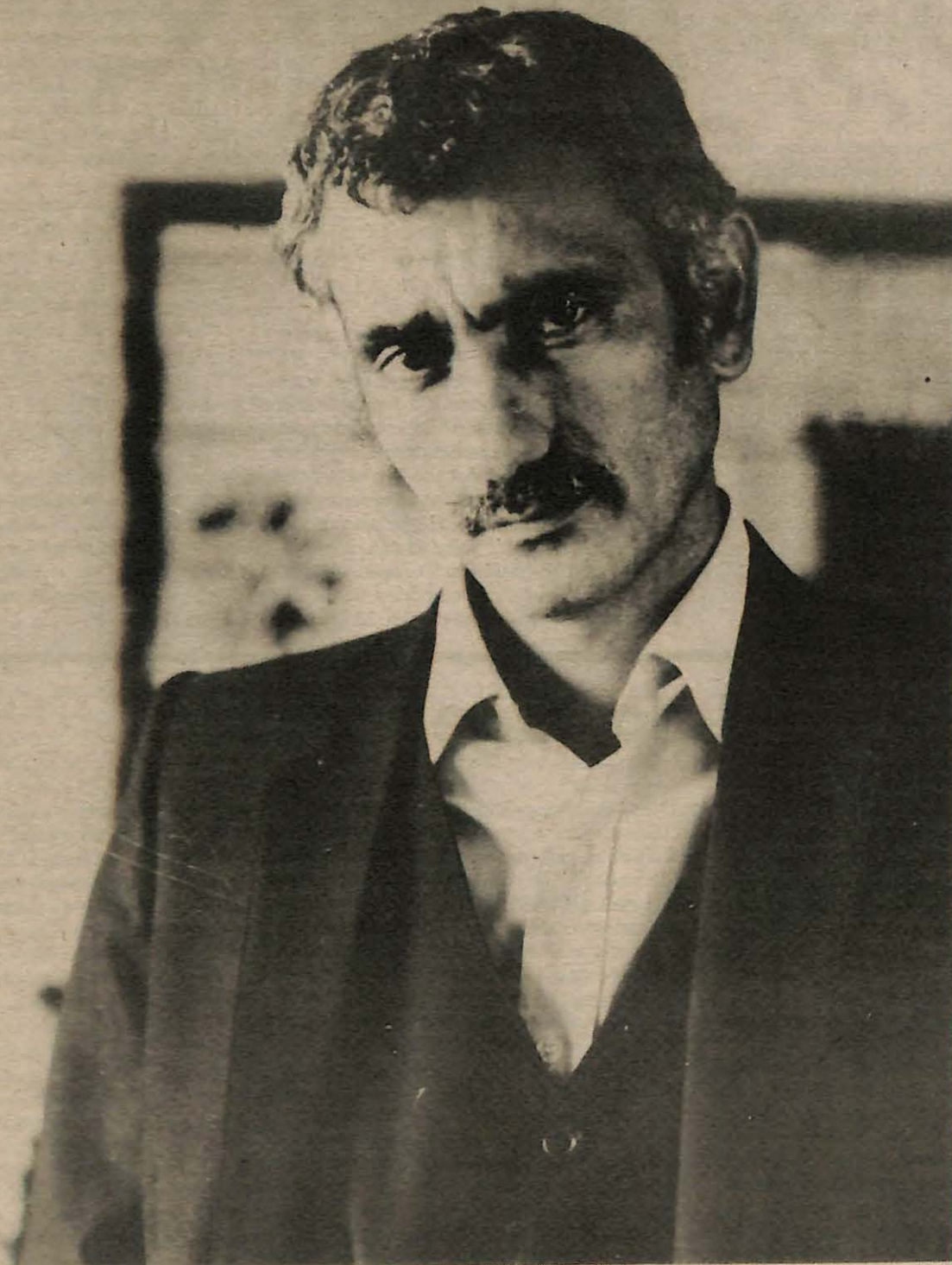
His struggle for a revolutionary culture against all kinds of bourgeois degenerate, fascist feudal culture.

In spite of the significant differences of views between us, we will always remember his comradely and revolutionary stand towards our party, the vanguard organization of the proletariat in Turkey, and the solidarity between us; and we will fight all reactionary attacks directed against him.

He is dead, but his struggle and his revolutionary art will live on, in the struggle of our people led by our party.

We most respectfully salute his revolutionary legacy.

September 10, 1984
TKP/M-L
Foreign Bureau



YILMAZ GÜNEY

SENİ MÜCADELEMİZDE YAŞATACAĞIZ

TKP-ML

The above is the statement issued by the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/M-L), the proletarian vanguard party in Turkey, which worked closely with Yilmaz Güney over the years of his development as a revolutionary. Güney upheld the founder of the TKP/M-L, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, as a communist, including the importance of his legacy and revolutionary line for developing the struggle in Turkey. After the coup d'état in 1971, Yilmaz Güney was imprisoned and wrote an article defending the TKP/M-L and Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, which was used against him at his trial. In addition, he knew and held important discussions with TKP/M-L General Secretary Süleyman Cihan in jail, and after Cihan's death through torture at the hands of the Turkish junta in 1981, Güney made a statement, referring to him as "a head of state who died without a throne." Yilmaz Güney took a firm and consistent stand against modern revisionism and the Soviet Union — a position which was rare in Turkey among revolutionary artists who failed to see it as a crucial dividing line question. He condemned both the TKP (pro-Moscow revisionist party) and the TIKP (Workers, Peasants Party of Turkey, supporters of the Chinese revisionists and the "three worlds theory"). Güney also took a stand against Enver Hoxha's scurrilous attacks against Mao Tsetung.

It is fitting that this great revolutionary artist was buried in Père Lachaise in Paris, requesting in his own words, "I want the blanket of the Communards stretched over me."

— Editor's Note

Yilmaz Güney: "You Shall Live On In Our Struggle" Poster of the TKP/M-L in memory of Yilmaz Güney

Statements Demand... Free Meche!

As readers of the RW know, on September 7, 1984 we published information concerning the arrest of the Peruvian revolutionary known as "Meche," by the government of Peru. Below are a number of statements which had been sent to the Peruvian press and authorities and to the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru; copies were forwarded to the RW for publication:

To the U.S. Puppet Government of Peru:
Take Your Bloody Hands Off Meche!
Dear Butchers:

Much to you and your master's regret, news has spread internationally that your bloody armed forces have seized and imprisoned Laura Zambrano Padilla, also known to the people as "Meche."

To the people of Peru and oppressed around the world Meche is a cherished leader, a frontline fighter in the revolutionary civil war raging down from the Andes, led by the Communist Party of Peru, popularly known as Sendero Luminoso.

With your U.S. manufactured regime in deep crisis and with the revolution advancing, we are not surprised at such stepped-up attacks — But We Are Outraged!

Never do imperialist slanders of the revolution in Peru as "terrorist" ring more hollow as terror, torture, massacres and disappearances increase at the hands of your U.S.-trained official and unofficial death squads.

We who live in the heart of the U.S., history's greatest terrorist empire will not remain silent and allow revolutionary leaders to be ripped away from the people and assassinated.

The Whole World Is Watching!
Free Meche!

Signed by 15 at a backyard reggae party
in Los Angeles

Some of the messages written by the
signatories include:

"For every revolutionary you rip off,
1,000s more will pick up the flag. I will
pick it up."

"Wherever you go in the world,
remember that we the young people will
be their successors. We were born to be
free. Free Meche!"

"Something should be done about these
situations. No one should get away with
it."

To president Belaúnde. Plaza de Armas, Lima.

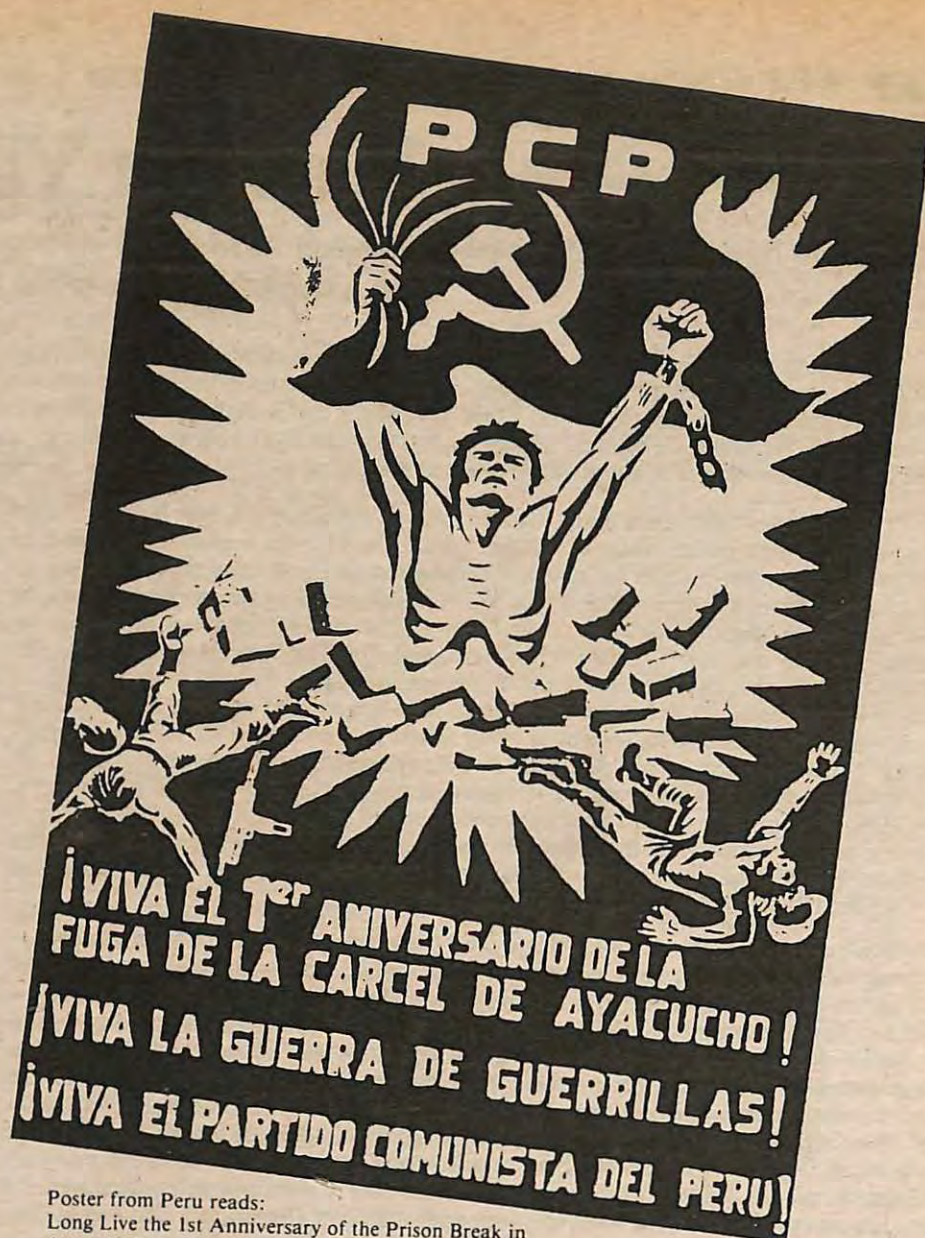
With over 200 people found in mass graves executed by your armed forces, the disgusting treatment of imprisoned revolutionaries, and the 12 women brutally beaten on July 25 in Callao prison we are compelled to send this statement of condemnation. In particular we demand the release of Professor Laura Zambrano Padilla (Meche), and all Peruvian political prisoners. The fact that you are forced to go to these lengths is all the more inspiring for those of us who support the struggles of oppressed peoples internationally. The whole world is watching! FREE MECHE NOW!!

26 rebellious poets, artists, youth, and
internationalists

San Diego, USA

The following statement was written by a South American living in San Francisco. This statement was circulated among his friends and other people in the Bay Area. Ten signed and contributed towards sending it as a cable to Belaúnde. (The statement was translated from Spanish by the RW.) Because of cost and urgency a considerably shorter cable was sent. The full statement has been sent airmail to Belaúnde with copies going to Caretas and Equis.

We Latinos (Peruvians) who for one reason or another find ourselves in the



Poster from Peru reads:
Long Live the 1st Anniversary of the Prison Break in
Ayacucho!
Long Live Guerrilla Warfare!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

USA are aware of the brutalities which your government (regime) is committing against the Peruvian people, that you have recently dedicated yourself by means of your repressive apparatus to pursue and capture those women who according to your faulty understanding form part of whatever revolutionary group. We know you have captured and tortured the professor Laura Zambrano Padilla also known as Meche. Since human rights cannot be abused we demand the immediate release of the above named person as well as the release of all other political prisoners. We want you to know that we are very concerned with the fate of the Peruvian people and that we cannot accept that this continues since we are prepared to support the Peruvian people whatever the consequences.

We want all to know that the Peruvian people are not alone in the struggle against the decrepit system of government they have confronted for more than 150 years and that we support their struggle.

signed by 10 internationalist residents of
the San Francisco area

We have also received a report that leaflets titled "Save Meche" have appeared on the streets of Lima, the Peruvian capital, signed by the Communist Party of Peru (known in the press as Sendero Luminoso).

Worldwide support for Meche's freedom is developing. In Europe, some supporters have begun sending telegrams addressed to Peruvian president Belaúnde (Plaza de Armas, Lima, to the magazine *Caretas* (Jr. Camana 615-308, Lima) the magazine *Equis* (Jr. Soledad 416, 3º piso, Lince, Lima), and other magazines, and to Peruvian embassies in Europe.

In this country, the address of the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru is: 2483 Hearst Ave., No. 225, Berkeley, CA 94709. □

The INS Child Hostage Torture

The story of Ana Margarita, a 30-year-old refugee from El Salvador, is little different in many respects from that of countless thousands of others who have been forced to flee because of the U.S.-imposed terror in their country. Ana Margarita's husband was murdered by a right-wing death squad for reasons she does not know. Fearing for her own life, Ana Margarita — who has not revealed her last name for fear of what might happen to her relatives still in El Salvador — left her son in the care of relatives and came to Los Angeles. It took her a year of working as a domestic to raise the \$500 necessary to have her son smuggled into the U.S.

All of this should be more than enough to show the brutal criminality of U.S. imperialism, its crimes in El Salvador, and its "immigration policy." But it was far from enough to satisfy the bloody appetites of the Immigration & Naturalization Service. Last month, Ana Margarita's four-year-old son, Orlando, was arrested by the Border Patrol, along with twelve other children, while being brought into the country. The INS then held Orlando hostage, demanding that his mother waive her right against self-

incrimination and submit to INS interrogation before they would release her son to her. It turns out that this is no whim of a particularly demented INS employee — it is the official INS policy. It is estimated that some 200 children are being held hostage by the INS in exactly this way: being used as bait by the INS to force their parents to submit to the INS inquisitors. And, once this happens, the INS can begin its deportation proceedings, which in Ana Margarita's case would send her and her son back to El Salvador and the death squads. The policy got a further official stamp of approval when Ana Margarita's lawyers appealed the INS demand that she submit to their questioning before receiving her son. Both an immigration judge in San Diego and, later, the Immigration Board of Appeals in Washington, D.C., refused to order Orlando released. A class-action lawsuit was then filed against the INS in federal court, but even if the suit should ultimately win, everyone knows it would most likely take years to resolve. In Ana Margarita's case, she decided to have a lawyer for El Rescate, a Los Angeles center for Central American refugees, designated as Orlando's legal guardian.

Thus the INS would have to surrender Orlando to his new legal guardian without getting to question Ana Margarita. This — combined with the fact that the INS's kidnapping of Orlando had generated a good deal of publicity — finally won the four-year-old's release on \$500 bond. But this, of course, did not in the least change the mind of the government in terms of their general policy of holding immigrant children who fall into their clutches hostage. The INS knows full well that most immigrants have neither the legal resources nor the means to publicize their plight, and thus they are likely to submit to the INS in return for getting their children released. After all, why should one failure be enough to convince the U.S. government to give up such an effective political weapon as child kidnapping?

In fact, the INS wasted no time in launching a spirited defense of their policies. "We have a very strong interest in protecting the child," a legal officer with the INS San Diego district office was quoted as saying. "We were not going to take the child to San Ysidro and turn him loose on the border." Why of course not! The INS did just that a few months back

with Mario Moreno López, a 14-year-old legal resident who was scooped up on a Santa Ana street corner. But in this case the INS has the oh-so-humane option of delivering the child — and his mother — directly into the waiting arms of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran death squads, so obviously the INS would never dream of just dropping him off at the border. And if this display of cynical hypocrisy wasn't enough, a few days later, no less than the Western regional commissioner for the INS, one Harold Ezell, appeared before the press to announce, "INS has a legal and moral obligation to make sure that these children are not returned to an alien smuggler or placed in any future jeopardy." So speaks an official for the U.S. government, which has forced thousands upon thousands to flee their country in fear of their lives, which declares these same people "illegals" as soon as they set foot across the borders of this country, and which now plots new and ever more vicious and devious ways to deliver Orlando, hundreds of children like him, and their parents to the tender mercies of their murderous, U.S.-backed dictatorship. □

Michael Stewart was a 25-year-old Black man and aspiring artist who wore his hair in short dreads and who was part of the new-wave cultural scene in New York City's East Village. In the early hours of a morning in September 1983, New York City Transit Authority Police (TA) approached Stewart and accused him of writing on a subway wall the word "RAS" (short for Rastafarian). They arrested Stewart at close to three a.m. on the 15th of September. In less than an hour Michael Stewart was dead.

Over the succeeding months a horror story of police brutality and murder has emerged. And as time has gone on, more and more has been exposed of the American system of "justice" meted out to Black people.

TA cops had a story, which at first did not include beating Stewart at all. But eyewitnesses reported it differently. They say they saw Stewart choked, kicked, beaten, and his head smashed into the concrete sidewalk. Stewart was screaming for help and even after his screams could be heard no more the kicking and beating continued. His body was "hog tied" and hurled through the air and into the back of a police van. The TA cops claimed that twice Stewart tried to run away, that he had become violent and had to be restrained.

Michael Stewart was five feet eleven inches and weighed but 140 pounds. His friends describe him as a passive kind of person. Even if Stewart was able to resist the onslaught of club-wielding, head-bashing pigs — who numbered eleven — he was brutally and permanently stopped. The claim that Stewart had become violent was a shoddy and flagrant attempt to hold Stewart responsible for his own murder.

In the year that has passed since Stewart's murder the authorities have concocted unbelievable stories, like that of the city's chief medical examiner initially examining Stewart's swollen, multibruised body and concluding that the cause of death was "cardiac arrest." They have used faked autopsy reports, a grand jury, the district attorney's office in collusion with the transit police all in an attempt to cover up the fact that Stewart was murdered by the pigs. A lawyer for the Stewart family has been arrested while in court on a different case. But the more the bourgeoisie has tried to cover up Stewart's murder, the more the layers of their state apparatus have been stripped away.

False Claims

First there was the claim by the transit police that after Stewart was arrested and had become "violent" he was taken by the cops to a city hospital, Bellevue, for "psychiatric observation." Somewhere along the line, they claim, Stewart lapsed into a coma. He did not die, they say, until 13 days later without regaining consciousness. It was a flat-out lie. Stewart never went into a coma. He was dead by the time he was brought to Bellevue and the only reason he was brought to the hospital was to cover this up.

At Bellevue, it has come out, for two hours the authorities refused to allow a doctor summoned by Stewart's family to examine Stewart. Doctor Robert Wolf, a practicing internist at Mount Sinai Hospital, was forced to go back to his medical office, get his medical license and bring it to Bellevue. By the time he got back to the hospital, Stewart had been hooked up to a life-support system. The coma story was manufactured and to this day his death is officially recorded as having occurred 13 days later.

Then there was the expert opinion supplied by the city's chief medical examiner, Dr. Elliot Gross. After duly inspecting Stewart's swollen and bruised body Gross declared that the cause of death was — cardiac arrest! Unfortunately for Dr. Gross he was not the only person present with eyes or a medical degree. By November Dr. Gross was forced to change the cause of death to "physical injury to the spinal cord and the upper neck," while still insisting that "there are any number of possibilities as to how an injury of this type can occur." Any number of possibilities except that which did occur: an outright and witnessed murder by the police.

In a lawsuit, Stewart's family has charged that in doing the autopsy, Dr. Gross added to the savagery of this crime — cutting up and dismembering Stewart's body, destroying key tissue

Nightmare and Cover-up: The Police Killing of Michael Stewart



samples — for the purpose of covering up that Stewart had been murdered in the first place.

Dr. Wolf, however, was also present for the autopsy and has charged that Gross was "crudely deceptive" in his autopsy report. According to Wolf, injury to Stewart's spinal cord was at best minimal so there were no injuries to bones, ligaments or discs of the spine. But in front of Stewart's neck there was hemorrhaging in the arteries of the windpipe and larynx which corroborated that Stewart had been choked to death. Dr. Wolf found the cause of death to be anoxia, a lack of oxygen, due to choking and not some vague physical injury. None of the injuries to the front of Stewart's neck were contained in Dr. Gross's official autopsy report. Also Wolf found that Gross, without the prior knowledge or permission of the Stewart family, their attorneys, or doctor, had Stewart's eyes removed, allegedly for testing. The test had the effect of blanching out the signs of hemorrhaging in the eyes, a further indication that what caused Stewart's death was choking.

Grand Jury

With all the threadbare appearance of an impartial inquiry, a grand jury was impaneled to investigate Stewart's death. According to a lawyer for Stewart's fami-

ly, the majority of the cops involved — eight to be exact, whose names have never been revealed — were given immunity from prosecution in exchange for their testimony. In other words they were exonerated. Secondly, the grand jury was clearly used to identify eyewitnesses, what they saw, who they could and could not identify and to grill, intimidate and harass these witnesses and Wolf. For example, one important eyewitness turned out to be an auxiliary cop who showed up in uniform to testify before the grand jury. Shortly afterwards the guy was bounced from the force, forced to resign.

More has surfaced exposing the grand jury. After three transit cops were indicted (more on the indictment in a moment) their lawyers charged that the grand jury was "tainted." The lawyers for the cops charged that a juror conducted his own investigation by going to the scene of the murder, taking pictures and showing them to other jurors. Now, the proceedings of a grand jury are run by the assistant district attorney in charge of the case and are supposed to be secret. In this case, the judge voluntarily handed over the transcripts of grand jury testimony to the cops' lawyers, including portions which he had personally circled (portions that would support the charge of a "tainted" grand jury). This was done without a word of protest from the

district attorney's office, an unheard-of omission in such a situation.

Meanwhile, the juror in question has countered by petitioning the court demanding to be allowed to outline how the assistant D.A. in charge of the case "dominated the grand jury and interfered with its independent function." That petition is still pending.

The indictment handed down by the grand jury in June charges three transit cops, officers John Kostick, Anthony Piscola and Henry Boerner with manslaughter in the second degree. The indictment reads: "The defendants were under a legal duty to protect and safeguard Michael J. Stewart's health and life while he was in the defendants' care, custody and control. The defendants recklessly engaged in conduct which caused the death of Michael Stewart and recklessly failed to perform acts of which they were physically capable thereby causing the death of Michael J. Stewart."

This indictment bears out the fact that the police have a mandate to threaten, beat and kill masses of people, particularly from the oppressed nationalities, to "protect and safeguard" the repressive system they exist to serve. In the first place this is not a murder charge, but, again, manslaughter — the cops are charged with carrying out their job "recklessly," so that death was caused but not necessarily at their hands (by a fall, for example). This flies so directly in the face of the story reported by witnesses, that the charges themselves go a long way toward pardoning the cops!

Second, the indictment fails to spell out what "conduct" exactly led to the death of Stewart. This is a major legal omission and could have been grounds for the case being thrown out of court before it ever went to trial (as we shall see, the case might indeed be dismissed, but on other grounds).

Third, the part of the indictment which charges that the cops "failed to perform acts" to save Stewart's life, aside from being an insulting reversal of what really happened (Stewart's murderers did not save him!), is also extremely weak on legal grounds. Apparently the three cops are charged with failing to protect Stewart... from their eight colleagues who are unindicted!

An attorney for Stewart's family explained: "Refraining from doing an act is not a crime. You might be civilly liable for negligence but it's not a crime to refrain from doing something. That's all the indictment says. What it says in effect is that these three officers stood by and permitted eight other officers who received prosecutorial immunity (to) kill Michael Stewart." The "indictment" was so weak that it cried out to be challenged. And no sooner was it handed down than did the attorneys for the transit police file for a dismissal!

Murderous Details

In response to the motion by the cops' lawyers to dismiss, the district attorney's office spelled out some of the details of the murder missing from the indictment itself. Giving the details in this way did not make for a more legally firm indictment. But when the story hit the papers the following day, it sure as hell added to the exposure of what the cops had done. The D.A.'s response read in part: "Transit officers struck Stewart's prone and defenseless body with either billy clubs or night sticks... one witness even saw Stewart being choked with a night stick... as Stewart lay helpless, face down on a sidewalk, with his hands still cuffed behind his back, he was repeatedly kicked by transit officers. As the beating continued, Stewart's screams became less loud and intense, until he fell silent... his ankles were wrapped together and pulled towards his back with an elastic binding that connected his ankle restraints to his handcuffs... his body was seen by some to fly through the air before it landed in the van's storage compartment."

In publicly flaunting and admitting how Stewart was murdered by the pigs the authorities are punctuating the point that the cops are to be protected, if not openly complemented, for thoroughly executing their jobs.

A hearing to rule on the transit police's dismissal motion was held on September 14th. The judge completely passed over the indictment and instead focused attention on the "tainted" grand jury. The judge decided to interview privately in his

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The Darling of the Western World

Continued from page 1

ned just before the Scowcroft Commission Report in which the U.S. rulers publicly announced their official consensus to move ahead with plans for constructing 100 MXs. And such talk of "peace through strength" — for the West — must have seemed particularly heretical coming from the "father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb," i.e., the brilliant young physicist who, when the U.S. was holding its atomic bludgeon over the then socialist Soviet Union after WW2, was most responsible for the first successful experiments in controlled fusion which gave the Soviets the ability to build H-bombs just months ahead of the U.S. (Sakharov, incidentally, remained deeply involved in high-security Soviet military research long after the seizure of state power from the proletariat presided over by Khrushchev in 1956). Sakharov has been awarded the Stalin Prize, the Order of Lenin, and three Hero of Socialist Labor medals. Prior to his definitive break with the Soviet rulers in the late 1960s, he had enjoyed an extraordinary salary of two thousand rubles per month, been provided with every possible privilege in living comforts, special housing, a chauffeured limousine, access to restricted goods, and a twenty-four-hour-a-day personal bodyguard.

Break With the Soviets

As a prominent member of the Soviet scientific intelligentsia, Sakharov has been giving the Soviet rulers fits for quite a while now, ever since he gave up on trying to reform social-imperialism from within, smuggling out and publishing in the West his essay "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" (1968). This essay, which prompted revocation of Sakharov's security clearance at the time, was laced, interestingly enough, with by then standard vitriolics against Stalin (Sakharov thought Khrushchev was a distinct improvement over the dictatorship of the proletariat) and vicious slanders of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution: "The idiocy of the cult of personality has assumed in China monstrous, tragicomic forms, carrying to the point of absurdity many of the traits of Stalinism and Hitlerism [and] making fools of tens of millions of people.... Actually, the crimes of the Maoists against human rights have gone much too far..." — views which, at least superficially, were not inimical to the Soviet rulers' at the time. Sakharov's point, however, in invoking such "fanatical ideologies" was to hit the Soviet rulers for "manifestations of neo-Stalinism," for failing to "democratize" Soviet society and, particularly, for the "denial of intellectual freedom" — all of which supposedly jeopardized an evolving peaceful coexistence with a benign and democratic West that was moving, in Sakharov's view, toward "a program of rapprochement (convergence) with socialism" (sic).

What's more, the essay was strewn throughout with rather direct and profuse apologetics for the West, particularly the U.S. For instance, Sakharov notes of the Black national question: "...we must clearly understand that this problem is not primarily a class problem, but a racial problem... and that the ruling group in the United States is interested in solving this problem.... It seems to me that we in the socialist camp should be interested in letting the ruling group in the United States settle the Negro problem without aggravating the situation in the country." This at a time when a hundred U.S. cities were in flames and the U.S. rulers were being rocked by the surging revolutionary struggle of Black people!

Or take Sakharov's advice to the U.S. proletariat during this tumultuous period of the late sixties: "...the presence of millionaires in the United States is not a serious economic burden in view of their small number.... From this point of view, a revolution which would be likely to halt economic progress for more than five years, does not appear to be an economically advantageous move for the working people.... There are, of course, situations where revolution is the only way out. This applies especially to na-

tional uprisings (although clearly *not* to the Black people's struggle in the U.S.! — RW). But that is not the case in the United States and other developed capitalist countries, as suggested, incidentally, in the programs of the Communist parties of these countries." It's not hard to see why all this was a bit much, even for the Soviet revisionists who, of course, had their own policy of "historic compromise" in the interests of best advancing Soviet global aims. Sakharov's was an out-and-out call for unity behind the Western imperialist rulers.

At any rate, Sakharov's bizarre, and thoroughly Kautskyite, vision of "rapprochement" was hardly what characterized either U.S. or Soviet intentions — or objective world reality — throughout the '70s as he continued to establish his reputation as a liberal democrat (in contrast to, say, the openly reactionary raving of fellow dissident Solzhenitsyn, harking unabashedly back to Tsarism and the Russian Orthodox Church) — one clearly enamored of Western bourgeois-style pluralism as preferable to the more centralized set-up of Soviet state-capitalist rule. Increasingly a cooperative foil for the West's anti-Soviet machinations, Sakharov published numerous books and manifestos, and granted interviews to Western correspondents in which he lambasted Soviet society as hopelessly totalitarian and, in particular, dwelt on the question of the Soviets' "denial of human rights" in a way that paralleled the U.S. rulers' insistence on this theme as a way of hitting at the Soviet-dominated bloc.

It should be noted that throughout the various volumes of Sakharov-thought, there has been nary a word suggesting that the U.S. or its client regimes might be guilty of any such crimes. For example, Sakharov has consistently defended U.S. support for Israel and faulted the Soviets for stirring up trouble in the Middle East with "an irresponsible encouragement of so-called Arab unity." According to him, Israel "waged a defensive war" when it grabbed Palestine in 1948, and the Six-Day annexation blitz in 1967 was "justifiable" in view of "threats of destruction by merciless, numerically vastly superior" Arabs. No human rights problems here!

For such views and activities, including forming the Committee on Human Rights in 1970 and subsequently publicizing the cases of other Soviet dissidents, Sakharov was quickly elevated to Western star status and given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975 because, as the citation put it, his "love of truth and strong belief in the inviolability of the human being, his fight against violence and brutality, his courageous defense of freedom of the spirit, his unselfishness and strong humanitarian convictions have turned him into the spokesman for the conscience of mankind...." But just which "spirit," and whose "conscience," Sakharov is an able spokesman for, and in just which direction he looks to find sustenance and material backing for his themes of "peace, progress and human rights," has not been lost on either the U.S. or the Soviets.

Western Traditions

Take for instance his apologia for the U.S. intervention in Vietnam (in his 1975 book *My Country and the World*). After chastising "irresponsible critics" of the war who "overlooked the fact that atrocities were committed by both sides" and who "did not take into account the tremendous importance, in the matter of preserving good faith throughout the anti-Communist world, of America's living up to its commitments to its allies," he notes that things might have turned out differently if the U.S. "had acted more resolutely and consistently in the military and, especially, the political spheres. Political pressure on the USSR to prevent deliveries of arms to North Vietnam, the prompt dispatch of a large expeditionary force....", etc. In fact Sakharov's summation then foreshadowed today's verdict reversal on Vietnam in U.S. ruling circles: "I want to believe that the terrible lesson of Indochina will not

be lost upon the whole world — and especially not on America.... In place of illusions, a sober understanding of the challenge that history has thrown out to the leaders of the Western world. Not a half-hearted, inconsistent foreign policy never adequately explained to the public, but a carefully weighed choice of key ideas and a maximum resolve in carrying them out.... One should expect as much from the land of Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and George Marshall...."

Sakharov's blatant fawning on such Western "democratic traditions" and those who administer them has seemingly been limitless. Just prior to the 1976 presidential elections he appealed to both Ford and Carter (and not without a definite streak of "unselfish" interest) that, "It is my hope that in the spirit of the freedom-loving and humane tradition of the American people, the commitment to advance human rights throughout the world will occupy an ever greater place in U.S. policy." After Carter won the election, Sakharov telegraphed him, fervently stating: "I welcome your election.... I am sure that the USA — full of courage and determination, strong in its democratic and moral traditions, powerful in its economic and military resources, the first country in the West — will carry with honor the burden history has placed upon her citizens and leaders."

The Soviets were none-too-thrilled to see one of their own more and more vigorously championing the West's "historic burden," especially as things tightened up in the world. At various times they considered putting Sakharov on trial, but then thought better of it. Shortly after Sakharov criticized the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan and called for a Russian troop withdrawal in the Western press, he was finally exiled to Gorky in 1980 "for his own peace of mind," as one Soviet official delicately put it. But, interestingly, and despite Western horror tales about Sakharov's treatment over the years, the Soviets have been forced to basically treat him with kid gloves — i.e., as a respected scientist who "developed serious ideological shortcomings." This is due partly to his tremendous prestige in the Soviet Union and the fact that he was perhaps the most decorated Soviet civilian ever, reportedly having had even more medals bestowed upon him than Brezhnev... before they were stripped away in the '70s.

Of course, Sakharov is also the most decorated Soviet civilian ever in the West, having been plied with endless honors, ranging from the Nobel Prize to *The Humanist* magazine's 1980 "Humanist of the Year" award. Sakharov's rather pointed election in 1969 to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences also reflects the fact that the U.S. has been able for some time now to mobilize considerable support for his case from the domestic scientific community, including many liberals who view him as a humanitarian/antinuke spokesman. Thus the Soviets can be fairly certain that if anything happened to him the West would be presented with a comparatively cheap, and quite juicy, propaganda plum. Recently on a national news show, one Soviet official indignantly protested any implication that Sakharov was being mistreated, noting that as of last year he still retained his chauffeured limousine and special ration card, *nomenclatura* reserved for Soviet elite.

But obviously Sakharov's *Foreign Affairs* article struck an exposed nerve for the Soviet rulers, who must act on the necessity that is driving world events to the point of all-out conflict with their Western rivals. Following the publication of the *Foreign Affairs* piece last year, *Izvestia* featured articles by other prominent Soviet scientists publicly and bitterly attacking Sakharov as a morally degraded and vindictive man "who hates his own country and his own people" and "who in essence is urging war on his own country." *Izvestia* added that, "Sakharov only forgets to say that the Soviet Union is the focus of evil and to call for a crusade against Communism" (to which

Buckley's *National Review* promptly retorted, "Well, we don't think he forgot."). And the Soviets' concern here is not just that recent developments in the Sakharov affair are providing timely grist for the U.S. rulers' saber-rattling rhetoric about "evil empires" and refusing to recognize the division of Europe (or the Soviet system, period, as Reagan has put it), etc. When Sakharov calls for more Western nuclear armaments he has obviously overstepped the bounds of "ideological shortcomings" and is touching on profoundly practical political matters.

Clampdown

Thus it is that the lid has been clamped down and Sakharov not seen or heard from recently. And this has given rise to renewed contention between the Soviets and the U.S. over his case, as reflected in the above-mentioned flurry of Western appeals that he be "accounted for" and allowed to emigrate. In May, reports circulated that Sakharov was on another of his famous hunger strikes, this time demanding that his wife be allowed to seek medical treatment for a heart condition in the West (although the Soviets have insisted that the Sakharovs have free access to the most elite medical clinics in Gorky, and that Bonner was examined and found to be in satisfactory health). Meanwhile the Soviets charged, and the U.S. initially denied, a Western plot to stage the hunger strike and to have Bonner seek asylum in the U.S. embassy in Moscow. The U.S. denial was shot full of holes when a U.S. official finally demurred that an unspecified number of U.S. diplomats had met with Bonner outside her Moscow apartment in April, received letters and documents from her detailing the Sakharovs' plan and then had driven her to the train for Gorky in a U.S. embassy vehicle. Since then reports (yet to be confirmed) have circulated in the West that Bonner had subsequently been put on trial for "slandering the state" and sentenced to five years internal exile. Recently, the Soviets countered with video tapes (dubbed "KGB home movies" by the Western press) purportedly showing the Sakharovs relaxing, gardening, driving to the market in their car, etc., as evidence for their assertions that the couple was fine.

Whatever the case, the recent tug-of-war over Sakharov has thrown up more than a few illustrations of the imperialist nature of this whole controversy. For instance, in June, after a senior U.S. official (perhaps well-apprised by U.S. intelligence) in a briefing for reporters blithely agreed with Soviet assurances that the Sakharovs were "okay" and "not in danger," his remark was labeled a serious "propaganda gaffe" in the media. As the *Washington Post* subsequently reported: "U.S. officials, concerned they were letting Moscow off the propaganda hook, conferred here and came up with a revised position." And the Soviets have shown that they too are not above attempting to capitalize on Sakharov's predicament, reportedly putting out feelers to France this summer that they would allow Sakharov to emigrate to the West if Mitterrand came out and publicly denounced the U.S. Euromissile deployment in no uncertain terms (the response was a firm "no deal").

Then there has been the Western indignation over the Soviets' recent references to Sakharov as being mentally ill. As one Soviet official put it last winter, he is "a talented but sick man.... Only someone who is cuckoo could say such a thing" (i.e., that the West should build the MX). This has triggered a further barrage of U.S. protestations that the Sakharovs were being "treated cruelly," including insinuations that Sakharov had been placed in one of the Soviets' notorious mental hospitals for dissidents (rather unlikely considering the West's leverage in the Sakharov affair and the brickbats the Soviets would have to endure if such a move was ever proven). But such protestations are really the epitome of imperialist cynicism, considering if nothing else

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The Great Debates — A Press Preview —

ON WAR

“Smiling and exuding confidence, the president declared that ‘America must be strong militarily and morally...let the eagle soar.’ He cautioned that ‘A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.’ However, Mr. Reagan added that if such a war was fought, ‘We may be the first generation to see Armageddon.’ To gales of appreciative laughter from the audience, Reagan quipped that a strategic nuclear strike would level the Soviet Union in five or ten minutes.

Mondale, who had arrived a bit late in the studio, wiped away some drops of perspiration as he faced the microphone. Placed on the defensive somewhat by the president’s remarks, he countered that ‘a strong defense takes more than rhetoric.’ He cited Defense Department studies showing a deplorable eight- to ten-month lag in gearing up to war preparedness should a conflict break out, called for a leaner, meaner fighting machine and a stronger NATO.”

ON BEING A MAN’S MAN

“Mr. Reagan displayed the style that has made his presidency the most masculine since Teddy Roosevelt’s years as a rough-riding leader who glorified war and sport. The crowd, composed largely, as fate would have it, of white males over 40, cheered lustily as Reagan showed his picture on the cover of *Parade* magazine where he pumped iron for the camera.

Mr. Mondale winced at the consistent cheers for his opponent, and also at the difficulty he encountered in adjusting his microphone sheath. But he strove to fill the image aides have recently projected of ‘Fightin’ Fritz.’ One campaign staffer later protested, ‘On male issues, defense and economics and things like that, Mondale is solid. Mondale is sort of a man’s man. He likes to do things we associate with, what you call it, macho. He’s a fisherman. He likes to sit around and have a drink in the evening with his shoes off, a cigar in his mouth and some guys over. He’s a hunter. He likes sports.’”

ON STANDING TALL

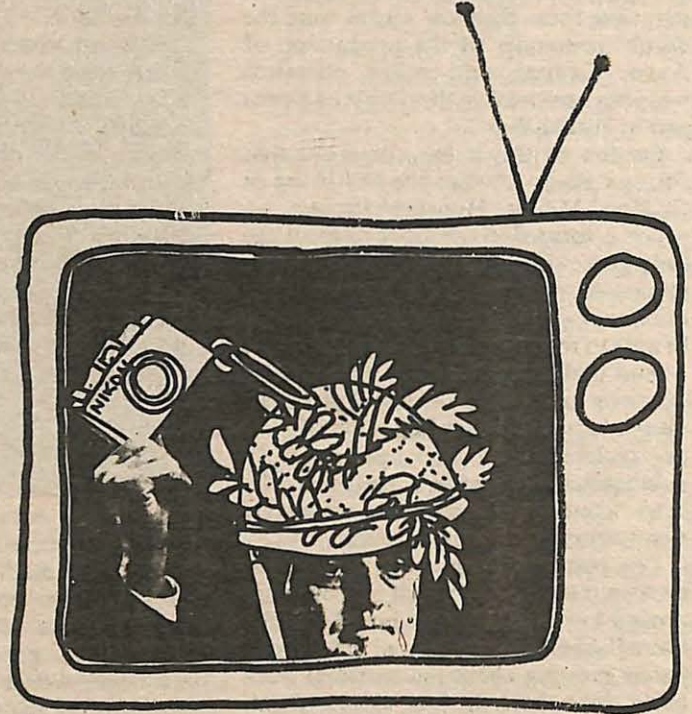
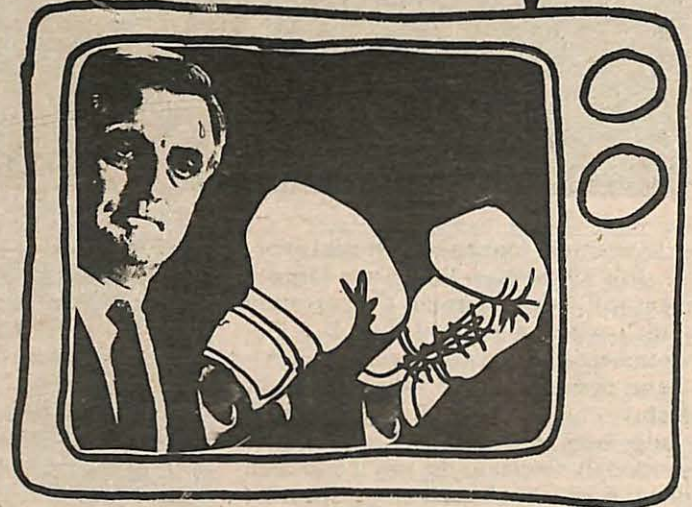
“Mr. Reagan cited the U.S. actions in Grenada as necessary to ‘protect American lives’ and as evidence of the U.S. will and ability to use force in international affairs. In this he found hearty agreement from a group of seventeen grateful former American medical students who joined him on stage, flanked by close to eight-thousand medal-bearing Marines who crowded onto the set and overflowed out into the street. Reagan was also joined and applauded by Olympic gymnastics champion, Mary Lou Retton. On Central America the President hinted at ‘A December surprise.’

Mr. Mondale, sweating rather heavily, said that he ‘would have used military force to save American lives’ in Grenada. He complained that ‘preventing the press from covering the war’ was ‘intolerable.’ Mondale said that if Nicaragua continued to export revolution, that it should be ‘quarantined’ by Central American allies with the help of U.S. ‘intelligence.’”

ON GOD

“The president declared that faith in God was ‘the source of our strength’ and ‘because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man’ (a reference to the Soviet Union). At this, a loud series of firecrackers were set off, followed by the release of hundreds of red, white and blue balloons.

Mondale was prevented from responding for a time as he was besieged by shouting anti-abortion demonstrators. The contender was seen to grimace when one woman demonstrator called out that he ‘murdered embryos.’ Mondale stated that ‘America is the most religious nation on the planet,’ but could barely be heard above the thunderous chanting from nearly a dozen protestors, and the noise of much of the audience filing out of the studio well before he finished his remarks.”





Deadly Plans For Love Canal

Love Canal continues to wreak havoc. On July 19 the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC), with the approval of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), began dumping 450 55-gallon drums of highly concentrated dioxin-saturated sludge back into the Canal in a manner shockingly similar to the way it had been done originally by Hooker Chemical Company and the U.S. Army in 1952. At that time these chemical wastes were the deadly remainder of the production of Agent Orange and other chemical weapons used against the people of Korea and in World War 2.

On top of this it has come out that fifty-six Black families are still living in Griffon Manor Housing Project — which is located in the inner rings of the Emergency Declaration Area, the contaminated residential area surrounding the Canal — lacking the aid necessary to be able to relocate. (See article this page.)

And underlying it all has more clearly than ever emerged the criminal fact that, rather than either cleaning up the poisons or declaring the area permanently uninhabitable, the government aims solely to "contain" the mess and ultimately *move people back into the area.*

The plan to dump the dioxin drums back into the Canal, which had been approved by the EPA since June 14, 1983, was off-handedly announced July 18 at a public meeting about the remedial work being done there. In fact, state officials

only came out with it because someone asked about the hundreds of drums that someone had noticed sitting on wood pallets near the Canal for one year. One Norman Nosenchuck, Director of the DEC Division of Solid and Hazardous Wastes, then nervously said that the next morning the burial of these 450 drums full of dioxin collected in the drainage system was to begin.

People were chilled and outraged by the disclosure. There were parents of children who had died, who had permanent chromosome damage, cancer, birth defects and there were Black people who remained in Griffon Manor Housing Project in the condemned zone. After several people spoke out against even considering on-site burial Nosenchuck declared, "The activities will continue." And the next morning the digging began and was only called to a halt at 4:30 in the afternoon because of all the calls and threats by different leaders of Love Canal organizations to the DEC office in Albany.

'50s and '80s

Between about 1944 and 1952 Hooker and the U.S. Army dumped hundreds of thousands of 55-gallon drums into this abandoned ditch near Buffalo, New York, soon to become a symbol of the terrible crimes of the chemical industry and the U.S. government. In the 1950s new homes were built with backyards immediately on the Canal, two elementary

schools were built in the mid-'50s, one the 99th Street School which had its playground right on the Canal — as a result, drums oozed up through the blacktop of the playground, the ominous beginning of brutalities wreaked on children and others by the chemical dumping. For years, school officials dismissed the dioxin in the drums as harmless substances. They also dismissed any relationship between all the illnesses contracted by the students and the fact that they were playing on the playground.

When the crimes were exposed in August 1978, the federal and state officials never even charged Hooker with negligence in the way they dumped the chemicals. And now, after 30 years and after this dump and the system which produced it was exposed as the murderer and maimer of children and adults, the government is making it legal again to bury dioxin in much the same way as before, with a clear message to the people — we do what is in the interest of our system, you will live with deadly chemicals and that's that.

Actually the sludge in these 55-gallon drums is much more concentrated than in the original drums; its dioxin content measures 180 parts per billion whereas the danger level for humans is 1 part per billion. These drums contain such concentrated poisons that the company contracted to take them away, CESCOS International, refused to touch them.

The burial of the drums, in other

words, is no minor or passing problem, but the only "solution" that has been advanced to the killer contamination of the Love Canal. The drums are the end-product of a drainage system, years in the making, which collects and concentrates leachate (the contaminated sludge), directs it into pipes and a processing system and then into the drums. Since no one will remove the drums, it seems clear they will have to be buried all over again.

Protest

Many people in the area are quite aware of this, and another large crowd packed a meeting room to confront DEC officials again in late July. At first, DEC official Nosenchuck produced a letter from the EPA stating that burial "probably will not be acceptable" under new policies. But residents with long experience in official doubletalk pointed out that "probably" was no guarantee of anything. Sure enough, DEC officials finally admitted that while the drums would not be buried *now*, on-site disposal was still "appropriate." At that, people were on their feet. One angry former resident called out, "Everyone agreed that burying the chemicals 30 years ago was a mistake and now you want to do it the same way all over again. My seven-year-old son played in these creeks where the dioxin is. I don't want to see another child die as mine did..." When more questions and exposures by the people came

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Trapped in the Emergency Zone

At the moment, government officials are running tests in the poisoned Love Canal Emergency Declaration Area to identify "safe" areas for resettlement. The aim of course is to prove "habitability" and sweep terrible crimes under the rug.

Habitability is not in the testing stage for the fifty-six Black families who have been forced by economic necessity to remain in Griffon Manor Housing Project for the past six years.

The entire Griffon project still stands (some of it unoccupied), when all the homes in its distance ring have been condemned, bought-out, and demolished. In fact, homes declared part of the Emergency Declaration Area are as far as one and one-half miles from the Canal whereas there is a family living in the pro-

jects only 200 feet away from the fence. Most families in the project are about 500-800 feet away. And over 100 families were moved to another project, Moniga Ridge, which is on top of yet another dioxin-filled dump of Hooker Chemical called Bloody Run. The homes along that dump have also been bought out, while the Black renters remain.

A Black woman who has been the head of the Love Canal Renter's Association told this *RW* reporter, "If this whole thing had broken out where Black people lived they would have covered it up a long time ago and forgot about it." She pointed out that there was no mention in the movie *Love Canal* about the project which was over 90% Black people. Even now there are no markers on EPA maps of contaminated zones designating the

project as part of the Emergency Declaration Area. And the project never figures into DEC or EPA health statistics.

When asked why the fifty-six Black families are still there officials reply, "We just can't make them move, we can tell them about the situation, and that's all we can do, we can only ask them to move." The fact of the matter is that the renters have been offered only a small amount of money to move and for large families it is next to impossible to find adequate apartments.

The contamination is every bit as severe in the projects as for many of the condemned houses. A Renter Association leader said, "All a lady had to do was go in her basement and do her wash and they would have to haul her out and take her to the hospital. She passed out every

time she went to the basement. Or in 1980 when they were doing some digging in Court Eight (a unit in the projects — *RW*) when a young woman was going to work. She developed a headache during the day and at 10:30 p.m. she was dead."

This Black leader expressed the belief of many former Griffon residents that racism, combined with the government "solution" to the dioxin issue — that of declaring the area fit to live in again — will result in fully renting out the projects once again. She said, "Even if no one goes back to the where the houses were or into the houses that are there, they will put the renters back into the project. They will slap some paint on, not even fix the water lines — all the chemicals lay in there — and the people will have to drink that water." □

Correspondence On:

In the July 13, 1984 issue of the Revolutionary Worker, we published an interview with Joe Strummer by DJ Miller Francis of the "Revolution Rock" show, WRFG, Atlanta. The interview was reprinted in the RW because we believe that given the role of The Clash, important political questions are involved for all revolutionaries and especially revolutionary artists.

In our introduction to this interview, the RW said:

"The Clash represented by far the best in practice of the left upsurge that occurred in Britain and the U.S. among artists during the late seventies to the early eighties. They were, first and foremost, a truly great rock band. They also unleashed an advanced audience as no one else, with the exception of Bob Marley, had done for a decade or more. They had a tremendous impact on the struggle among artists, first and foremost the musicians.

"Perhaps their greatest contribution was that they allied themselves openly with the left and they did so in a truly pathbreaking way. They were revolutionaries, they said.

"Around six months ago, Mick Jones, guitar player and co-writer with Joe Strummer of much of the band's material, was fired from the band. Regular RW readers in the U.S. are no doubt aware of the fact that all this occurred on a not too friendly basis, to say the least.

"Our party wishes Joe Strummer and his 'new' Clash well, and we also wish the same for Mick Jones."

In RW No. 269 (August 24, 1984) and RW No. 271 (September 7, 1984) we published correspondence from readers addressing some of the questions posed by The Clash break-up and the interview. This week, the debate continues. All revolutionaries, and especially revolutionary artists, are encouraged to continue to correspond with the RW concerning their views; and new readers who wish to join the debate can contact your local RW distributor and Revolution Books (see box page 2) for copies of the interview and complete correspondence.

Dear RW,

I'm a jazz and punk musician (mostly not at the same time) who has been trying to unite my music with revolutionary politics for several years — and it's damn hard! In that context I want to comment on the Clash controversy.

White musicians playing jazz, funk, r&b, etc., often feel a sense of what some are calling "cultural imperialism." I know I have, and I don't think it's at all bad that this question comes up. I still think, despite what *Downbeat* magazine (for example) might want to claim, that jazz (etc.) is Black music, not "American music." It's music that comes from the objective existence and experience of an oppressed nation and culture. Naturally, the interested parties on behalf of "American culture" (which by no means includes most non-Black practitioners of Black music/culture) want to just rip it off, whitewash it, and claim it as another great achievement of this great, democratic, pluralistic society. Of course, Black culture is the exact opposite of that — it rose in resistance to America's cultural and social program for the Black nation, and everything Black culture has achieved has been in defiance of that program. It's a typical mark of this most free society that its overseers can hound to death Charlie Parker, Billie Holiday, Albert Ayler, etc. (and in some cases just murder them outright) and then turn right around and say, "See what a free society this is? You don't see anyone be-boppin' in Leningrad, do you?" Super-power, super-hypocrisy.

O.K. — but what if you recognize this kind of thing, and then go on to promote, participate in, and even develop Black culture in that light? There's no way The Clash's attitude toward reggae, funk, rap, etc., can be compared with The Police, Style Council, Squeeze, etc.; these

latter groups see in Black culture a gold mine not far removed from the mines our Black sisters and brothers are being chewed up in every day in South Africa. (Not to carry the analogy too far, but the point is that "cultural imperialism," though perhaps inaccurate as a political-economic description, rests on the basis of real, worldwide imperialist social relations.) There's nothing anywhere in their music that expresses the rebellious spirit of Black culture and the oppression of Black and other oppressed people which gives rise to such a culture.

It's not at all bad that Joe Strummer feels a sense of this "cultural imperialism," in fact it's excellent that he recognizes the real danger of it and that, as a famous and influential rock musician, he will be offered certain enticements (including "negative reinforcements" such as the experience at Bond's) toward cultural imperialism. But there are really two ways to capitulate to those enticements. One would be to convert The Clash (or whatever comes out of the present line-up) into another group that rips-off Black culture without contributing to it in any sense, à la The Police. The other would be to just not deal with these contradictions at all and go back to just playing rock 'n roll (which of course also has its roots in Black culture). The latter is exactly the course which is being encouraged to Strummer through some pretty heavy guilt-tripping, some of it unwitting, but behind that the influence and objective interests of a class that hates seeing artists take up the stand of the oppressed.

Several readers have pointed to the remarks by Strummer on Gary Hart and the British Labour Party. It's weird, isn't it? How does this contradiction arise, where an artist can express something very progressive and even revolutionary in a song, and something very backward in a conversation? How is it that in the cultural arena Strummer's political level seems so much higher than it is in the political arena? It is weird, but it's not atypical: Strummer is a musician, that's what he's concerned his life with developing. And we really see how the fragmenting division of labor characteristic of capital affects this activity, because it's hard enough to develop anything creative in an art form even without trying to give voice to the higher aspirations of the masses. And vice versa, it's hard enough trying to develop a broad and deep political analysis and practical leadership around that without "putting it to music." As someone who's primarily a musician, Strummer is able to express through that medium ideas that he doesn't grasp as clearly in other, explicitly political terms. Despite that, I do think the criticism should be made of Strummer and others in his position that they should have taken up explicitly political questions in their own terms long ago — which is not to argue in any sense that it's too late for this, just even more necessary! Frankly, I get fairly pissed-off when I see someone with Strummer's reputation promoting illusions about Gary Hart, etc., because he's not even

dealing with this question on much other than a casual level — at least that's what comes through in the chatty tone of some of his observations.

As with the "cultural imperialism" contradiction, Strummer recognizes the problem to some extent. But again, he's given two ways out: either "apolitical music" à la Huey Lewis (i.e., music that does a "good" job of translating bourgeois politics into art, as opposed to obvious jingoism) or more straight-up "political music" à la the agit-prop of many punk bands today. It's this second way Strummer is currently interested in, and it's totally opposed to what some of the great Clash songs are about, putting characters who face the typical contradictions of this worldwide shit-society on stage, where people can see the things that characterize their lives concentrated, and where people can see the underlying unity of their feelings. Invariably, whenever an artist attempts to concentrate an "analysis" instead of feelings and aspirations, the "analysis" is off. This happens with artists who are more politically advanced than Strummer, and what it speaks to is the kind of activity art is: it's more of an expression of how people feel, in the deeper sense, concentrated and taken back to them in the form of inspiration. Even in terms of analysis, of course, the last thing the masses want or need is for The Clash to bring their talents to bear on a song about Gary Hart or the things that imperialist dog represents.

Several readers have pointed up the strong element of condescension in the "political music/art" line. When I first started playing out in a punk band one of the most stinging and correct and to the point criticisms I received was when someone in the audience yelled to us one night, "I'm so glad you're here to tell us what to think!" There's just no other way for "political music" to come across, since it cannot take up a political analysis in its own right, it can just repeat some conclusions from some sort of (usually spontaneous, often incorrect) political line. That doesn't involve anyone in politics (it can even undermine that task to an extent), and of course, it isn't the least bit entertaining, either.

The agit-prop punk bands are at a stage The Clash surpassed several years ago; they are mostly made up of youths who were inspired by The Clash and the Sex Pistols to see that you didn't have to be a "genius" to get some instruments, bash out some tunes, cut loose some rude shit, and generally get on the road to unleashing some raucous, rebellious sounds. Now The Clash and Joe Strummer should be leading in showing youths the way to cut loose on a higher level — and in fact The Clash have played the

leading role in taking things to a higher level. Why go backwards now? The way it comes down, though, is that politics in its own right, including the advanced political analysis of art such as that carried out by Mao, needs to become a serious concern of the advanced artists.

The spirit of this struggle, in the form of the Clash discussion, is fine: our "interested parties" are always promoting a bandwagon approach to The Clash and other advanced artists, and unfortunately this has had wide influence (though in general the bandwagon approach to punk has been a rock the bourgeoisie has picked up only to drop it on its own feet). Maybe there's some basis for the current anti-Clash bandwagon, but I don't think so — it looks to me to be out of the same mold as the old bandwagon. That certain contradictions are shaking Strummer & Co. right now is testament to how very real these contradictions are, not to some moral weakness on the part of The Clash. This prewar situation means a heightening of all the contradictions in society — and it also means that political and social questions are thrown up into the air for resolution. That's great! — it's something the system doesn't want to do — it has to do it. That provides us with revolutionary opportunities to contend with the bourgeoisie in all fields, including the cultural arena. Everything around The Clash has been a basis for advance, not setback, and having the contradictions out in the open is a part of this. This question is far from "worked-out," and people should have lots of confidence that, through twists and turns, The Clash (in one form or another) will continue to be an inspiration, because they don't stand alone.

Musician in South Carolina

Revolutionary Worker,

Several years ago I heard a question asked by someone who'd been active in and since the '60s — Who are the "gurus" among the youth today? The question mainly stumped me then and has intrigued me since. When I thought about which people could claim a following among broad numbers of politically rebellious youth, which people these youth looked to in some fashion for guidance as to "how to live and how to die," for what they should do with their lives, I came up mostly with revolutionary musicians like The Clash. This was a complicated question involving many factors not all directly related to the present Clash discussion in your pages. The approach of nuclear World War 3, the lull in the revolutionary movement in

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Clash

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the U.S. and worldwide in the '70s, the un- and anti-theoretical bent of many radical youth, etc. But I thought nevertheless it would be worth throwing this impression into the hopper, as perhaps there has been a feeling on the part of some revolutionary musicians (like Joe S.) that they are expected to "lead the Left" in an overall way, because they have seen themselves as being the most influential people on the left. Among other things, what this indicates to me is both the mistaken notion on Joe Strummer's part that he must take responsibility for raising the political consciousness of his audience, and also some of the social reasons that give rise to this idea — "the nearer the world goes to nuclear war, the less time — you're just aware of the less time you've got," the lack of a large revolutionary political movement today, and because some revolutionary people have paid more serious attention to what groups like The Clash are saying about social and political questions (the draft, Brixton rebellion, world war, cops, Black/white relations, etc.) than to anyone else. This doesn't excuse what is still Joe's wrong way of dealing with this situation, or his trying to negate the particular (and influential) role that must be played by revolutionary artists. I do think it says something about the social context of these mistakes, and the fact that among rebel youth and others who have been Clash fans, etc., there's a tremendous yearning for political direction to be tapped and channeled by the proletariat and its Party.

A Reader
Chicago

September 10, 1984

To the RW:

We'd like to thank the RW and Miller Francis for a most enjoyable and enlightening interview with Joe Strummer and Kosmo Vinyl of The Clash. Although The Clash are not "the only band that matters," the numerous international radio and print interviews with Strummer following the firing of Mick Jones and throughout the subsequent tour of the U.S. with the "new" Clash have made both the split and their change (some might say "reversal") of musical direction a source of major controversy in the music scene. Miller has done a splendid job diving right to the heart of the controversy and the questions posed are crucial ones for all revolutionary-minded people, particularly for revolutionary artists. The most obvious difference in the "new" Clash is the absence of Mick Jones. Yet this absence is the culmination of a whole slew of differences between Jones and Strummer, with profound ramifications not simply reducible to a "battle of personalities." Strummer has used every opportunity to voice his version of the grievances between them, and Jones's absence is most definitely not the only thing that has changed. But Jones has said next to nothing on this subject.

What really led to the split between Jones and Strummer? According to a June 1981 *Musician* magazine interview, they did not appear to have enormous differences over their approach to art. Strummer was really getting into funk and reaching for higher artistic standards (and NOT going back to the style of "White Riot"). They were proud of *Sandinista!* and defended it against hostile critics like the *Village Voice*.

They did have some problems, however, regarding the role of art. Strummer had basic differences with Jones over the relationship between art and the transformation of society. Compare:

Strummer: "... music goes directly to the head and heart of a human being. More directly and in more dimensions than the written word...."

Jones: "People can change through it (music). I did. It doesn't make change. It's a social thing. People change and if they change the culture changes. I'd like to think The Clash has had something to do with it all...."

There is a subtle difference between the two outlooks, but a subtle difference that

grew very large when the band was faced with a certain crisis, not unrelated to the developing objective conditions of the world. One view contends that art, specifically music, can act as a kind of motive force in changing people's consciousness. What is needed, according to this view, is to "wake people up," and music is the vehicle to do just that. The other view tends more to see art as a reflection of human society in change, one that nonetheless has an effect of its own.

We know that The Clash had taken a certain amount of flak from Jamaican musicians as well as the punk scene in general. From one side one might hear cries of "rip-off," while from the other, the call of "sell-out." At the same time Bob Marley was tipping his hat to The Clash and the English punk scene with the song "Punky Reggae Party," others were attempting to guilt-trip them with the age-old line "a white man has no right to play Black music." But does the mere fact of playing this or that style from this or that part of the world constitute a rip-off? Doesn't the content of the work have something to do with determining this? The fact of the matter is, overwhelmingly, in the content of the songs played and popularized by The Clash was a real unity with the sentiments and aspirations of those who have "nothing to lose but their chains."

It was the Bond's concert, which was alluded to as a turning point by Kosmo Vinyl in the interview with Miller, where The Clash had a kind of head-on collision. After the audience (perhaps with help from some strategically placed provocateurs?) hurled racist insults and bottles, at Grandmaster Flash, The Clash must have realized that in spite of both playing reggae and using their music as an agitational "baseball bat," they simply weren't getting through!!

Jones, in another interview over a year after the incident, was still at a loss to explain. The following exchange was taken from the September 1982 issue of *Musician* magazine:

Musician: "Still, aren't there times when you wonder just who your audience really is, and if you're really reaching them?"

Jones: "All the time, all the time. For every example you get of people who you think are really into it, who have really got the message, you also run up against the people who are completely misinformed. We just do the best we can to contain those contradictions and hope enough of our meaning rubs off here and there."

We can only speculate about the time leading up to and immediately following the release of *Combat Rock*. Speculation aside, the album revealed a new level of the band's mastery over the craftsmanship of songs and use of the recording studio. Strummer refers to personal differences taking on an antagonistic character in this period. This may be true, but we think there are more fundamental contradictions at the base of this antagonism. Strummer was more certain that if the world was "... moving closer to war and right wing control" then he had an obligation to his audience to "go back to square one" and "wake them up" (so they could vote for Hart! — Strummer really said this!!)

Now in 1984, not only are we closer to war, but the upsurge of punk in 1977 is no longer felt in the music arena. There has been a definite ebb in the music scene. With this in mind, The Clash were a very important band — they created beautiful songs that not only spoke in a literal sense from and about the experience of the oppressed, but through synthesizing the forms of cultures throughout the world their songs had begun to play a real role in "tearing down the walls." This process continued through their most recently released album, *Combat Rock*, in 1982.

"Going back to square one" after having recorded *Combat Rock* spells a retreat from the internationalism of this work. It is not something that should be celebrated. "Cultural imperialism" is a real phenomenon in the world and a reflection in the cultural sphere of imperialism generally. The reggae music industry being based in England instead of Jamaica is one rather obvious example, and to pretend that it does not exist will simply not do. But how are artists to fight cultural imperialism without playing, popularizing, synthesizing, etc., the music and other artistic works of all

cultures internationally? Pat Boone certainly ripped off, and in the process gutted the essence of the work of Fats Domino, Little Richard, and others. But didn't Buddy Holly enhance the music of Bo Diddley while creating a new sound for the world? The difference here is mainly one of content, not form. Doesn't rock and roll have Black roots? In the end, the line that Strummer advocates can only be helping solidify cultural imperialist trends by consciously narrowing his repertoire and audience to "white punk rock."

M.M. & O.M.
San Francisco

Dear RW,

"And the nearer the world goes to nuclear war, the less time — you're just aware of the less time you've got...."

Joe Strummer

This statement from Joe Strummer of The Clash, in my opinion pulls together all that he was trying to say in the interview with *Revolution Rock*. Joe and The Clash, as they themselves admit, are first and foremost musicians, and also revolutionaries. Strummer's statements that the Labour Party in Britain is somewhat better than the extreme right wing because of its promise to unilaterally disarm all nuclear weapons if it comes to power, or that Gary Hart is somewhat better than Mondale, is coming from an ignorance/knowledge contradiction with regard to the laws of imperialism. It is also coming from believing that the right wing reactionary shit that the bourgeoisie is pouring out is much more prevalent within the masses than it really is. Obviously if you believe this shit and think that the masses are really influenced by it then you become cynical and any "left" move by a section of this same bourgeoisie to you will seem progressive. Anyway I think *Revolution Rock* dealt with this position

Love Canal

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pouring out, Joe Slack, the head engineer for the Love Canal project, snapped "You can't complain about on-site disposals when you threw rocks at trucks that were carrying contaminated soil from the Love Canal."

(In 1979 and 1980, demonstrators exposed that the trucks moving out the poisoned soil were contaminating the air in areas the government had refused to evacuate.)

At one point an official admitted, "We are not charged with cleanup, but containment of the chemicals." Quite so. Anything more would admit and call attention to an enormous crime the bourgeoisie would rather see forgotten. It would set a precedent for dealing with the dioxin problem in a way that would be politically and economically unbearable at this time. So the drums remain in their own fenced-in area inside the Emergency Zone, and the people... why, to listen to officials, they should think about moving back in!

Final "Solution"

Habitability, that is moving people right back in and filling the whole area up, remains a major goal of the government as the final way to "resolve" the issue. On August 3, 1984, the EPA refused to spend \$4 million in a further buy-

straight up.

But as I said before Joe and The Clash are musicians first and then revolutionaries. But it seems to me that understanding the intensity of the objective conditions in this historic conjuncture especially the imperialists' plans for another world war more horrendous than any war before, they want to become more class-conscious revolutionaries and play a vanguard role in the field of music. This orientation in my opinion is correct for The Clash and for anyone no matter what arena they are fighting in. It seems to me that Strummer is saying that he is not satisfied with reaching broadly if he is not going deep enough into his audience. He is not talking about educating the masses in Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse-tung Thought, through the music of The Clash. But he is talking about planting an advanced revolutionary pole in the field of culture to which the masses will be drawn because it speaks to their highest aspirations. I think Joe Strummer understands that to do this The Clash must become good at a high-wire balancing act. Falling to the right, or lagging behind the advanced masses will produce songs like "Rock the Casbah" and "Should I Go..." and trying to overcompensate for this error will produce "Washington Bullets." By balancing between these two ends I think, what Strummer is trying to say is that they want to and can produce songs with a *clearly defined revolutionary line* that will speak to the highest and most noble aspirations of the masses.

In my opinion, I think given the time we live in a revolutionary artist must do this. And The Clash, to whom music is always first, can and will produce good entertaining music as well as achieve Joe Strummer's mission of being more than just musicians in the struggle for the emancipation of all mankind.

Revolutionary Greetings to The Clash.

A proletarian Internationalist

out of homeowners in the Love Canal area and Buffalo Mayor Michael O'Laughlin explained, "A better answer would be for EPA to declare that the area around Love Canal is habitable. Then they wouldn't have to fund it. Then people could start moving back in in some of the outer area homes and once the door is open, more will follow." Currently there is a team of scientists and medical doctors from all over the country who are "studying" the area to determine how to basically justify people's moving back in. At a meeting on August 28, 1984, DEC officials claimed that all the fuss about the burial of the drums had delayed programs to identify "safe" areas within the 10-block area around the Canal where resettlement is being considered. And just to make clear their intention to get people living in the dump again, at the second July public meeting Nosenchuck said that some dioxin monitoring program may be *adjusted* (i.e., cut back) based on recommendations from a panel of scientists now drafting criteria for resettlement.

Love Canal raises for the bourgeoisie the specter of a gigantic exposure — dioxin, its unrestrained use and killer effects, and its use in chemical warfare, including in Vietnam, as a component of Agent Orange. Intent on suppressing further exposure on the issue, the government rushes toward "solutions" that seem sure to compound its crimes even more. □

Darling

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the vicious attacks on America's own atomic "wonder boy," Robert J. Oppenheimer, at the hands of McCarthy and HUAC after he came out in the '50s against building *American* H-bombs.

Ironically, one Western commentator, warning the U.S. to proceed cautiously on Sakharov because of the nuclear issue, noted that "The Soviets may think Sakharov is crazy... for the inventor of the Soviet hydrogen bomb to invite his country's mortal enemy to aim more missiles at it was incredible — beyond holy foolishness, even beyond treason. It was crazy." But of course what is crazy for the heads of one imperialist bloc is courageous and enlightened "humanitarianism" for the other, particularly in matters nuclear. And if anyone missed

the point here, the *New York Times* slyly brought it home in its description of the making of an HBO film on Sakharov, shot in England. It seems while the director was attempting to shoot a key scene in which the Sakharovs complete a long journey to the home of an exiled fellow dissident, "the filming was constantly interrupted by British and American jet fighter-bombers whipping overhead from a nearby air base, splitting the make-believe stillness of Siberian solitude... the soundman on the set signals that he is picking up more F-111s. The cast is told to take a break. The director says the planes flying overhead are designed to carry nuclear arms in a war. The make-believe set in Buckinghamshire carries its own reality." Could anyone fail to get the message about why, especially now, Sakharov is the object of such Western affection? □

The Happy Family Show and Other Obscenities



To the RW:

It seems as if no matter where I look these days some new example jumps into view of how this system cranks out the oppression of women. These next items seem to speak for themselves.

TAIWAN: "THE INFORMATIVE HAPPY FAMILY SHOW"

In a Taiwan magazine, I ran across an article describing a new TV show which promotes ancient Confucian patriarchy by adapting the most up-to-date models: i.e., *The Dating Game* and *Newlywed Game*. The producer of the new show had previously produced a show called, *I Love The Matchmaker*. Musing about the remarkable power electronics has for forging public views on morality and society, this article on the *Happy Family Show* explains:

"Chinese traditional thought has always held that a nation can only be governed if there is stability in the home. And in any home it is the strength of the marriage that determines the success or failure of the family. A corollary of this thought is that a sound society grows out of a happy family. With this tenet in mind, why not use television as a medium to let the public know about successful mar-

riages?"

The core of the show is a segment where such "successful" couples are brought into a contest. Questions are asked. According to the magazine, "Several of the more humorous and thought-provoking ones are: 'How does the husband react to a wife who is not a good cook?', or, 'Where was the first place the couple kissed?'" This official article continues: "In reviewing questions for the program, great care is taken to assure suitable topic material is selected. . . . 'Happy Family' aims at promoting marriage, certainly not to create negative images. Given the show's educational nature, a question such as: 'Is marriage the graveyard for love?' is not appropriate. Rather a question such as 'What is your mate's identification card number?' reveals how 'intimately' the couple knows one another."

Obviously the marriage really being celebrated here is the union of American boob-tube male supremacy with a Confucian twist in the explicit service of the Taiwanese police state!

INDIA: DETECTING WOMEN EARLY

A recent women's newsletter from India exposed a special new application

of the medical technique of amniocentesis. In itself, this procedure is quite an important medical breakthrough; samples of fluid taken from a pregnant woman's womb can now be analysed to determine the chromosomal makeup of the unborn child. It is possible to detect serious abnormalities including such genetic defects as Down's Syndrome, before a child is actually born. It is also possible to detect the sex of the baby.

Ah, but science's application is determined by the social relations dominant in society. Sex-test clinics have become popular among some in India, and we can assume that like other Western medical advances shipped to the Third World amniocentesis is only available to the wealthy. But that is hardly the main point here, because in India the test is used to detect unwanted female babies before birth. Apparently after the oh-so-modern sex-test, a patient can be whisked to an equally modern abortion. Truly another "historic first" thanks to imperialism: the with-it feudal father no longer has to drown his daughters in wells, or leave them out on hillsides to die; unwanted females can be surgically eliminated before birth. As the Indian women write, it is truly "an assault on

women-in-the-womb under the scientific mantle."

There it is: imperialist "modernization," propping up ancient male supremacies, subordinating them to its own needs, distorting and often intensifying traditional ways of degrading women. One European magazine I saw recently reported first that Bangkok had become a brothel/prison where literally hundreds of thousands of women service the sex-package tours of businessmen from "advanced" countries. It then went on to report that the international trade in Thai women as sex slaves has come so far out into the open that it is now conducted in the classified ads of regular mass publications in Europe and North America, and even openly announced in store windows on major European shopping streets. Truly "advanced world levels."

And then the system dares to praise itself because America has spewed up a Ferraro, an Ortega or a Barbara Dole! The truly significant "historic firsts" imperialism whips up on the women question are eloquent testimony to the need for the most profound social revolution all over the world.

A reader

The Police Killing of Michael Stewart

Continued from page 5

chamber each member of the grand jury — except the one who conducted his own investigation. If the judge concludes that the grand jury was indeed "tainted" the indictment of the transit police will be scrapped. This little ploy will accomplish quite a bit: the dropping of the indictment against the transit police will appear to be the fault of some overly zealous citizen; and not the coverup it really is.

Lawyer Attacked

Other attacks have been mounted as well, stamped with the message that the bourgeoisie wants the exposure of Stewart's murder to stop or else. While Alton Maddox, an attorney for the Stewart family, was in court on a separate case, his client was jumped by court officers when he turned the wrong way after being ordered back to a holding cell. The court officers proceeded to beat Maddox's client openly in court. When Maddox demanded that the judge intercede and stop it the judge laughed. Shortly afterwards Maddox was arrested, taken to central booking, fingerprinted and charged with assaulting a court officer. When Maddox filed charges of assault against a court officer on behalf of his client, the authorities, of course, refused to arrest the court officer. At the last hearing concerning Alton Maddox's case, also on September 14, some 80-90 cops/court officers who were out of uniform — but fully armed — showed up

in court. For the first time supporters going into court had their bags searched by court officers. The judge, who had said he would rule on dismissing charges against Maddox, came into court declaring that he was removing himself from the case. When Maddox's lawyers demanded to know what had happened to the decision promised earlier and suggested that perhaps the court officers were an intimidating factor, the judge blew up. The judge shouted at the attorneys that it was "your people" who were attempting to intimidate the court. He ordered the court record stopped and summoned the court officers who began to ring the courtroom.

Not many judges have been eager to handle the Maddox case. The appointment of a new judge will mark the fourth one so far. If and when Maddox is tried, the judge who laughed while Maddox's client was beaten in court will be called to testify. Signatories on letters of support for Maddox have included some prominent Black clergymen in New York City, a member of the Board of Pardon and political figures like Basil Patterson, considered to be the leading Black candidate for mayor in 1985. This is one political hot potato which some judges apparently don't want to get burned on. But more than petty politics is involved here, for Maddox's case is intricately bound up with the foul-smelling attempt to whitewash Michael Stewart's murder.

Michael Stewart's murder, and the related attack on attorney Alton Maddox, has provoked a growing outrage. Courtroom hearings have been packed, their proceedings opening with thunderous applause and threats by the judge to have the courtroom cleared. On one occasion 200 people marched from the courthouse to Governor Cuomo's office at the World Trade Center. When Cuomo refused to meet with the Stewart family's attorney, the family, the lawyers and supporters sat in for two days.

In some ways, of course, all this is disgustingly typical of the treatment of masses of Black youth by the authorities. What is atypical about the murder is the consistent attention it has received. Stewart's murder occurred just at the time when leading Black politicians were, for their own purposes, making a political issue of police brutality and its ardent supporter, New York City Mayor Koch. Several Black congressmen held a hearing on allegations of police brutality in New York City's police department last September — just four days before this hearing, Stewart was cruelly killed. The hearing was in part an exercise of political clout for Black politicians like Congressman John Conyers who chaired the hearing and Jesse Jackson who put in an unannounced appearance. (Indeed the first hearing held in July 1983 was cancelled on the spot when it threatened to get out of hand.) But whatever the in-

tentions of the politicians the issue of police brutality drew forward the anger of people. Some came to the hearing, including some white punk youth, specifically because of Michael Stewart. In this context, almost by accident, Stewart's murder was thrust to the fore. It was under public scrutiny and widely reported in the media.

For the masses of Black people the murder of Michael Stewart has become symbolic of their oppression. Outrage at his murder has cut across a wide spectrum: among the Black masses broadly, among various political forces, and in the new-wave scene concentrated in the East Village. Each attempt to cover up his murder has been challenged, resisted and exposed.

The bourgeoisie would like desperately to be done with the Stewart case, as the indictment and the handling of Stewart's murder so clearly indicates. It has turned out not to be so simple. The more they have put their apparatus to work to cover up Stewart's murder the more exposed they have become. And in trying to whitewash Stewart's murder the blood on the hands of the bourgeoisie has become more thoroughly visible. □

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