HAITI: Who Threw the Palace Coup?

"A military coup" is what the U.S. government and media called the recent game of musical chairs at the Haitian National Palace. By the early morning hours of June 20 President M'Niangat was out and General Henri Namphy, who headed the KNG for two years after Duvalier, was back in. But while there was plenty of last-minute scrambling, there was no fundamental change in who's ruling Haiti. The same Duvalierists and Macoutes are in power but with an even more shaky grip.

For the past two years the U.S. has been pushing for elections as a way to move towards a more stable, dependable pro-U.S. government with a unified army more directly under U.S. control. In February a military-run sham election brought M'Niangat to power. But on Sunday, after several rounds of shots, Namphy took control of the National Palace and M'Niangat's brief four-month hold on power was abruptly ended. One thing that has been made even clearer through these recent events is that the U.S. and Haiti rulers continue to face very big problems in Haiti and their hold on power is anything but secure.

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Interfaeh at Six Months

Some Straight Talk on the Persecution of Tawana Brawley

Jesse and the Drug Squad

Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

Downward Mobility in Late Imperial America

By Raymond Lotha
Three Main Points
by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is reported in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1) The whole system we now live under is based on exploitation — here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and do to bring about a completely new and better world. Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

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IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:
Intifadah at Six Months

Israeli Major Gen. Amiran Mitnaka visited Washington, D.C. the first week in June. Mitnaka, the top military commander in the West Bank, was reporting to the main backers of the Israeli settler state. He tried to argue that the uprising of Palestinians had peaked in mid-March and would now gradually calm down. The majority of the local population are "exhausted" and the rebel street fighters are less willing to confront the troops directly, he said.

But at the same time, back in Palestine a heroic people showed how false Mitnaka's words were. A new general strike raged throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip on the day marking six full months of the intifadah (as the Palestinians call their uprising).

To the outside world, Israel pretends there has been a return to "normalcy" in the lands they have seized with the gun. Like the South African regime, Israel prevents journalists from entering areas where the oppressed wage resistance. They have convinced themselves that making the struggle invisible also makes it impotent.

But there is no "light at the end of the tunnel" for Israel. The intifadah continues to shake this parasitic settler state deeply.

Notes from the Seventh Month

This is the seventh month of the uprising. Events of the past few weeks reveal its continuing power.

The recent general strike was called for by leaflets signed by the underground leaders of the intifadah. For days there were street battles in villages and cities under Israeli rule as rebel youth fought to rid their streets of Israeli troops and patrols of armed Zionist settlers. Graffiti on walls read, "Honor the strike, or else!"

On June 9 the strike was solid. Palestinian flags flew from power lines and buildings. Streets remained shuttered; commuter buses stood idle. Those breaking the strike were punished by the organized masses, often their own neighbors and relatives. Youth manned strike barricades across countless streets and fought the troops who came to disperse them.

As a "preventive measure," the authorities shut down 1,200 Arab schools to stop the more than 400,000 students from gathering there for street battles. These schools had been open for only a short while; for five months until the end of May they had been closed by order of the Israeli government. Much international publicity surrounded the school reopening. The Christian Science Monitor in the U.S., for example, headlined: "Reopening of classrooms shows Israel is confident calm will prevail."

It took only three weeks of such pretended "calm" to be broken by a new school shutdown.

On the day of the strike a 16-year-old Palestinian was shot in the head and killed by a soldier with an M-16 in a West Bank village near Nabulus. The army claimed the youth had thrown a stone. In the Gaza Strip, troops ordered a Palestinian out of his house after accusing him of trying to burn down a local government office. Then they bulldozed his brick home to the ground and arrested him. There was no evidence, no hearing, no trial — simply punishment. Such Nazi-style "collective punishment" is routinely carried out against the families, and often against whole villages, of Palestinians accused of "crimes" by the Israelis.

"Nonlethal" Means of Killing

International audiences are told that Israeli soldiers receive extensive training to avoid "unnecessary" killing. Israeli arms manufacturers recently announced four new weapons: a special aluminum bullet for riot use which is supposedly not deadly at beyond 100 yards; a round rubber "jumping" tear gas grenade that is hard to catch and throw back at troops, a new riot vehicle that sprays gravel at demonstrators, and half-track personnel carriers that shoot marbles.

The talk about training and "nonlethal" weapons is just a cover. The Israeli occupiers are convinced that terror and murder are their best weapons against a population in revolt. About 250 Palestinians have been killed by Israelis during this last half year.

Arrests of Palestinians have also climbed sky-high. On June 14 Israeli Army spokesmen claimed they have 2,700 Arabs under detention. They admit they hold 500 more this month than last month. Even the U.S. media, however, estimate that the number of detainees is closer to 5,000. They are at nearly a dozen facilities scattered across Israel and the occupied territories, and they can be imprisoned for up to six months without being charged with anything.

Who Is Really Destroying Trees and Who?

In the last few weeks the Israelis seem to be reaching for even more desperate means to discredit and crush the resistance. They cranked out hysterical reports blaming Palestinian "arsonists" for an unusual wave of fires sweeping the Israeli countryside. Ten Palestinians have been arrested for arson. And the clearly forced "confessions" of two of them (one only ten years old!) are being offered as "proof" of such an arson campaign.

The aim of the Israeli government was obvious: to gather international support for new suppressive measures, especially among American Jews who have largely financed the forestation of areas within Israel once occupied by Palestinian villages.

There apparently have been an unusually large number of grass fires on grazing land in Israel. But even the pro-Zionist New York Times felt it had to report that "Fire officials attribute half of the fires to arson, with others caused by Israeli settlers."

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Dear RW,
On Sunday, June 12, thirty-five people demonstrated at the Immigration and Naturalization Service detention center in Broadview, Illinois near Chicago. The demonstration was sponsored by the Metropolitan Sanctuary Alliance, a Chicago area sanctuary group. The group has called the detention center an "efficient machine for the implementation of an immoral law," and they met to "tie up the gates at the center. In solidarity with our 'hermanas y hermanos' (sisters and brothers), the gates were tied closed with the bandanas that everyone was using to cover their faces. Earlier the fence had been covered with banners that said "Broadview, Shut It Down!" and "No Person is Illegal," along with a drawing of the Statue of Liberty shining a flashlight on a family trying to climb under a barbed wire fence.

This was the second demonstration that this group of sanctuary activists has called for at the detention center, and they are planning another in the fall. This is part of an increase in focus and attention at the detention center.

Chicago area church communities have held prayer vigils and witnessed shackled "illegal" being brought into the center in nonsensical fan vans. And a huge graffiti appeared on a train treatment over a busy expressway near the detention center calling it by its rightful name - concentration camp - and pointing toward Broadview.

The high point of this demonstration was when everyone was asked to make a statement remembering someone affected by the Simpson-Rodino law and then take the bandanas that they were wearing and tie the gates closed for the "missing person."

The statements were very powerful and vividly described the lives of people affected by this law. Many remembered particular Central American friends who have been deported, or the many Mexicans who are forced to flee here because of economic repression, and talked about the role of the U.S. government in creating such conditions. Another remembered a Guatemalan who was required to remove asbestos, which causes cancer, from a basement without any protective breathing gear or lose his job. A La Resistencia member called on people to remember the Cuban detainees who are still wasting away in U.S. jails despite assurances by the INS that they would be receiving timely hearings. An RW seller remembered and celebrated the Poles and other people involved in struggles around the world and hung a kaftan with the bandanas around the gate.

The mood was highly charged after the ceremony of tying up the gates. People stayed and watched as La Migra agents came out and cut down the bandanas. This prompted quite a bit of discussion. Where are things headed? What if there had been protests at Nazi Germany concentration camps as they opened? And what more is needed?

This feeling of urgency was sharpened by the news of new INS raids in Chicago since May 5, the deadline for immigrants to sign up for "amnesty" under Simpson-Rodino. Also, two days before this protest a Chicago temporary-help company accused of employing undocumented workers was fined $308,000 by the INS. What is this all about? James Buck, an INS regional commissioner, said that Simpson-Rodino law was passed to "help us regain control of our borders," not to penalize employers. "This is a significant fine, but our objective is not to collect money or deter anyone out of business," he said. "If there is an illegal alien working here in the city, the message would be, find a way to go home."

While all agreed that the protest was a very powerful event, several participants expressed impatience with the current level of resistance, especially given what they had learned about the INS's increased repression. On the spot, activists discussed plans to expose the new outrages. One activist with the Pledge of Resistance Against Intervention in Central America, a Simpson-Rodino protest for the first time, recalled a year ago last summer where people climbed the fences at a Chicago Army Reserve base.

There have been no developments in resistance to Simpson-Rodino. For example, a Chicago-based international conference of the United Church of Christ recently declared noncompliance with the 1986 portion of the law which states that employers must demand identity documents from all employees. And more people are coming forward everyday outraged at this law.

What time is it for our 'undocumented' brothers and sisters? If you were in Nazi Germany, what would you have done? What will you do now?

An RCP supporter

--

Fiesta de Resistencia

We received this report from a correspondent in San Diego.

San Diego, California. Saturday morning, June 18, Balboa Park was sleepy and quiet. But by noon a section of the park was being dramatically transformed. A large truck pulled in with a 38-foot-long stage. Sound equipment was brought in and booked up. Artwork was put up, and a large banner was hung as a backdrop for some fifty artists who would take the stage that day. It was the Fiesta de Resistencia!

The Fiesta de Resistencia was called under the theme "Down with the Simpson-Rodino Act! We Are All Illegal! Here We Are; Here We'll Stay; We Will Not Go!" It was initiated by the San Diego Chapter of La Resistencia and sponsored by Trade Roots Reggae Shop, Blue Door Bookstore, and Accende Gallery. Musicians, poets, dancers, artists, and DJs came from Los Angeles and Tijuana, Mexico as well as San Diego to participate.

The invitation letter which was distributed by the organizers to participating artists read in part: "We have chosen this theme to show our emphatic support for the millions of immigrants, forced into this country for various reasons, who to day confront a mean-spirited campaign of governmental terror and violence. The Simpson-Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Act is both a leap and a focal point in this repression. "La Migra" raids have been planned and directed like military offensives charging through neighborhoods, factories and day labor corners as often as three times a day. Ten-year jail terms are being thrown at undocumented workers for the 'crime' of falsifying work records to get a job to feed their families. Families are ripped apart forever by 'choices' imposed by the law. We denounce these attacks, and those of us taking part in this event seek to contribute, through our art and in many other ways, to an atmosphere of resistance to these attacks.

'In the spirit of breaking down borders, we welcome the participation of musicians, poets, dancers, performance artists and others of the most diverse artistic styles. As one artist has put it, 'The geographic wall would look like a barrier cannot stop the cultural undercurrents.'"

Allegretto about 3:30 people attended

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Spotlight on
La Migra Concentration Camp

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This is Amerikkka, 1988. It is possible that a young Black woman in New York State, getting off a bus at night, could be kidnapped and sexually abused by a gang of whites for days. Is it possible that such an act could involve cops and other officials? Is it possible that a massive coverup could be carried out by authorities if something like this happened? You bet it’s possible, and more than likely. Such a case arose in the case of Black people in Amerikkka in 1988. In fact, if this whole thing were not so tragic we would be hard to imagine a Black woman in this country who couldn’t check her back real quick on encountering a band of half-drunk, or even sober, white yahoos in some isolated spot, especially if the band included cops.

The full facts in this case of Tawana Brawley have yet to emerge. But the whole racist history and current reality of conditions for Black people, and Black women in particular, in this country is reason enough to give her, at the very least, the benefit of any doubt, and basic support. Yet the newspapers and TV have been on a campaign to crucify and discredit her story and put them in front of lawyers, or her family in an attempt to discredit her story, and basic support. Yet the newspapers and TV have been on a campaign to crucify and discredit her story and put them in front of lawyers, or her family in an attempt to discredit her story and put them in the same category of Black people as “_filenames”.

The case of Tawana Brawley has been a potentially explosive one from the very beginning, and the controversy, the attacks, and the stakes involved have risen dramatically in the recent period. The Brawley family and their attorneys, Alton Maddox and C. Vernon Mason, charge that Tawana was abducted and raped by a gang of white crooks.

What happened to Tawana Brawley? The full facts have yet to emerge. But it’s certainly possible that Tawana Brawley is a Black woman to be violently attacked by racists and cops. Further, there are more than enough questions that merit suspicions that the authorities are conducting some kind of coverup. For instance, questions about the Dutchess County prosecutor, William Grady, who was brought in to probe the case. He refused to investigate and prosecute the case, citing an unspecified “conflict of interest.” Then a local judge sealed the court record on why Grady dropped the Brawley case, making Grady’s departure seem even more suspicious. A local attorney was then appointed the prosecutor, but he too resigned within twenty-four hours of his appointment. After this, Governor Mario Cuomo appointed New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams to the new special prosecutor.

To date the only person Abrams is trying to arrest in connection with Tawana’s mother, Glenda Brawley, has refused to comply with a grand jury subpoena. The Brawley family and their attorneys contend that Glenda Brawley’s attorneys are conducting some kind of coverup. For instance, questions about William Grady’s refusal to investigate and prosecute the case, citing an unspecified “conflict of interest.” Then a local judge sealed the court record on why Grady dropped the Brawley case, making Grady’s departure seem even more suspicious. A local attorney was then appointed the prosecutor, but he too resigned within twenty-four hours of his appointment. After this, Governor Mario Cuomo appointed New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams to the new special prosecutor.

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Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AI)
To Hell with Rambo

We received the following letter:

Dear R.W.,

I'm writing to spread the word about how Rambo III mania is getting exposed for the deadly myth it is. Responding to a call in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) newsletter Storm Warning, vets in Seattle, Portland, and Berkeley protested the opening of Stallion's Rambo III, the opening last week downtown Seattle five fatigue-clad vets and two supporters marched up to the theater and shocked people lined up for tickets. We dropped onto the sidewalk a dummy wrapped in an army issue body bag, blood dripping from its mouth and pennies glued to its eyes. Two vets sat up a large poster board with the message, "If you are just dying to: (1) kick ass, (2) be a man, (3) kill comrades, (4) make America No. 1, we suggest you go see Rambo get a body bag from a veteran here today; join the U.S. armed forces, hum a heroic tune as you march to the glory you deserve, because... the people of the world will give you a lesson about the wonders of fighting for the empire!!"

The vets called out moviegoers and passersby to get the "To Hell With Rambo Statement," which is being circulated nationwide, while those going into the movie were encouraged to get their body bags and tee-tags while they lasted. The response from the street was very interesting. Groups of clean-cut bodybags and middle-class couples, and other veterans stopped to listen and discuss, and every available VVAW(Al) member was surrounded. Opposition to the movie and antiwar sentiment in general was expressed from many angles and from extremely varied kinds of people. Youth passing by grabbed up the Rambo statement, some taking extras to use as ammunition in taking on the Rambo mentality. One middle-class guy told us, "I think this screen violence is flying to glorify something that is not glorious at all." The action also had an effect on some homeless people and other vets, drawing out their hatred over the glorification of war, but also over how this shit directly tries to fill the youth with bloodlust to prepare them for actual crimes to be carried out. Some vets signed the statement on the spot. One pointed to the tee tag and bitterly remarked, "I put enough of those on people." A GIsa5 with a secret who had worked in the theater ran out to thank the vets for being there. An older woman told us how she had torn up a certificate the Marine Corps had given her as a civilian worker for "aiding the war effort" during Vietnam and told us, "I'm a rebel."

There is broad debate among the youth over whether Rambo is "just a movie" or serves as war preparation that needs to be taken on. The VVAW(Al) vets pointed to the similarities of John Wayne of the '50s to John Rambo of the '80s. Their statement says, "The master of war hopes that you will join Rambo and faithfully march along killing up the radioactive dust, shedding for and slaughtering the survivors in the name of freedom and democracy. They hope that you will glibly perform your duty even after you realize that they have left you knee deep in radioactive snow outside the bomb shelters they hide in. They will gladly arm you with 'America the Beautiful' speeches and shoot orders not to abandon your post until properly relieved."

Debate among a whole group of engineering students was typical of what went on. One said, "It's good you're here, but isn't this kind of out of line?" while his friend, a student from Mexico, responded, "They're washing your head, and... Next they'll send them [Rambo, et al.] to Nicaragua, right?" Finally this whole group decided not to see the movie. While VVAW(Al)'s point was not to somehow launch a "Rambo filly boycott," many people were challenged by the vets' action to question going to the movie. Hopefully those actions will be only the first of many aimed at Rambo bullshit and all the antiwar mentality and plans it's meant to further.

A correspondent in Seattle

Some Straight Talk on the Persecution of Tawana Brawley

Continued from page 5. revolution in the U.S. as part of the world proletarian revolution." (From Bullets: from the Writings, Speeches and Interviews of Based on Memorial Day, 1980, of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.)

Political battles like the one that must be waged around Tawana Brawley help prepare the ground for revolution. From these battles today, people can learn more clearly the source of the problem and the solution. They can help the proletariat to learn to distinguish between the different class interests represented by different programs and tactics. And they can begin to forge alliances that will lead to winning a revolution. Through these battles, we can gain experience in fighting the enemy and can change the terrain from which a revolutionary attempt might spring. From this standpoint, it's absolutely necessary that people not only stand firm in the face of the racist counteroffensive in the Brawley case but rebuild their resistance to the overall racist offensive going down.

Above all, and no matter what the turnout, the Brawley case proves the frenzy with which the ruling class wants to suppress the movement against the oppression of Black people. So, shouldn't this inspire people who want to see an end to all the injustice to osteinate and intensify the resistance, and more, to seriously check out, support and join the Revolutionary Communist Party, the only party that is preparing in a real way to put an end to that oppression by the only means possible: socialist revolution.
Jesse Jackson has made a big political impact. And now in late 1980s America we have a strange coincidence: a Black presidential contender has been put onto the political stage in an unprecedented way, and the oppression against the masses of Black people, particularly the youth in the inner city ghettos, has gotten worse.

Jesse Jackson says: "The hands that picked cotton now pick the president." But powerful sections of the American ruling class have picked him and allowed the Jesse Jackson campaign to flourish. The political authorities supported and treated his candidacy in a very different way than in 1984. They needed a political figure who could be put forward to the Black people as their leader on a national level and showcased to the whole society as someone with a popular mandate to speak for and act on behalf of - that is, put the clamps on - Black people and more particularly the oppressed of all nationalities. Burt Lance, a white southern Democrat, treated his candidacy in a very different way than in 1984. They needed a political vehicle for repression. Through Jackson they hope to enlist the oppressed people in this country in their own repression and enlist the support of the oppressed people here for more "repression and brutality against the oppressed in the name of the "war on drugs ... on crime", and so on. This is not to say that there won't be any conces­ sionary measures in the period ahead, but the main attraction the American political establishment sees in Jesse Jackson is to use him as a "war horse" for repression. Through Jackson they hope to enlist the oppressed people in this country in their own repression and enlist the support of the oppressed people here for all sorts of imperialist crimes against the people of the world in the name of the "war on drugs."

Jackson's program has had two basic themes: doing something about the economic violence perpetrated by wealthy corporations and wealth-oriented government policy and combating drugs. In a nutshell, Jackson insists "there is something wrong with the nation," but he also insists that there is nothing fundamentally wrong. His solu­tion is (1) the war on drugs, (2) expanded social spending, and (3) expanded reliance on foreign aid to shore up American "influence" in the world. Of these three, only the "war on drugs" has really taken off as an election issue; it has been embraced by all the political forces of the Establishment. That alone is a sign that sinister steps are afoot. **

Jackson attacks the Reagan administration for being lax on drugs: "The Reagan administration says no to drugs. The Jackson Budget says yes. to action by increasing funding for law enforcement, drug treatment and education by 70 percent." (New York Times, May 24)

Jackson proposes spending $15 billion on this "war on drugs." This figure is rarely broken down or explained, but clearly huge parts of it are intended for urban police and the border patrols.

Jackson calls for dealing with the "demand problem." This is a political code word for heightening the social and legal discipline within the United States, especially on youth.

Jackson supports "using all means" to pressure "governments involved in drug exportation. In practice, such politics provide the U.S. government with easy pretexts for bullying any country in this hemisphere. Panama, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Haiti, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Nicaragua have already been cired.

He calls for expansion of the Coast Guard and for major use of the U.S. military in the border regions.

Over and over again Jackson points to his own candidacy as a sign that the "American Dream" (the myth that "anyone can make it in America if they try") lives for Black people. Jackson: "I am taking the lid off of dreams."

But in reality he is pushing the dope of false hope. Shocking as it may seem, when it gets right down to it, the Jackson position is that the oppression of Black people has largely been legislated out of existence and the remaining national oppression is not worth focusing on. This was especially clear in New York, where police brutality and racist mob murder has ignited political struggle.

Jackson said on the eve of the New York primary: "And though it happens that now and then we have a Howard Beach in New York and a Forsyth County in Georgia, the law is swift to apprehend it, because we marched and we achieved racial justice under the law." He careful­ ly kept his distance over Howard Beach. His theme was consolidation. "Let's not confront each other as Howard Beach or as Forsyth County." He openly stated he would "challenge those who say racial violence is the dominant issue in New York City." (New York Times, Jan. 26)

He points to another battlefront. Jackson: "With slavery we were degraded by other human beings and now with drugs we degrade ourselves." (New York Times, April 16)

Arriving in New York, Jackson proclaimed: "We've lost more by dope than by the rope." (The rope he is talking about is the lyncher's noose.)

Jackson: "They don't wear hoods, they are hoods, and they live in your neighborhood."

While Jackson downplays the reality that it is a system of national oppression which confronts Black people, the enemy

Continued on page 14
Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

Downward Mobility in Late Imperial America

By Raymond Lotta

This article examines the latest unemployment statistics and reaches some startling conclusions about what kinds of jobs are being created, why people are being hired, and what is happening to the labor force overall in the United States. In developing its perspective, the article looks at certain changes taking place in the U.S. economy and at certain elements of capitalist economic strategy. The analysis brings into sharper focus the serious problems of unemployment and underemployment hidden by date faked as proof of America’s success on the jobs front. In getting into the article, the reader might be aided by looking first at the box “In Short,” which concentrates some of the main points made.

This article can be read as a continuation of two previous analyses published by the Revolutionary Worker: “A Perverse Recovery in Strategic Perspective” (RW No. 287) and “The Crash of ’87 and the Crisis of the ’80s” (RW No. 428). The reader who wants to learn more about the political economy of the current situation, particularly the international backdrop, is encouraged to study these other articles as well. In addition, the RCP pamphlet “Charting the Uncharted Course” provides an important reference point for questions of class analysis and revolutionary strategy.

The unemployment rate in the United States fell to 5.4 percent in April. This was the lowest level of unemployment in over fourteen years. In May unemployment reached 5.6 percent, but this still represents a deep decline from the 10.8 percent jobless rate (the highest since the end of World War 2) reached during the 1982 recession. And the proportion of the total civilian population holding jobs has hit a record peak.

Now on the face of it these numbers seem problematical, if not misleading. Certainly there is no warm and reassuring glow of economic prosperity and stability in America. New productive investment is weak, key sectors of the economy, like auto, haltingly and wretchedly grope towards adjustment, and the stock and financial markets remain quite volatile, while the weakened dollar requires constant central bank vigilance. And for the human beings whose lives are reduced to an uptick or a downturn in the employment data, these numbers are hardly good tidings. The truth of the matter is that the new jobs being generated are neither easing the desperate struggle for survival among the most oppressed sections of the masses nor bringing any new-found sense of job and material security to many of the traditionally better-off sections of the working class.

Yet and still, the unemployment figures cannot be dismissed as mere statistical manipulation. They reflect something very real about what is going on in the U.S. economy at the same time that they conceal some other, though quite related, social phenomena of late imperial America. Certainly the fact that more people work for McDonald’s than are employed within the entire steel industry should tell us something. This article will try to make sense of these developments. To do so, we will have to get a better understanding of the official meaning of the category of unemployment. We will have to get a fix on both the state of the economy and on recent labor market trends. We will have to identify some key short-term and structural features of the U.S. economy. And having done that, we will indicate some of the potential political significance of the patterns of employment and unemployment as the decade draws to a close.

Point One: Temporary Avoidance of Recession

The stock market collapse of October 1987 carried with it the real possibility of plunging the economy into a deep recession. This did not happen — mainly because the Federal Reserve Bank injected an enormous amount of liquidity into the system. Nevertheless, the continuing build-up of this credit, and, more importantly, the aggravation of all the contradictions giving rise to it could very well trigger a financial disaster or a sharp economic contraction, or both.

What, then, accounts for the continuing, if stuttering, growth of the U.S. economy? First, there has been a surge in exports during the first half of 1988. U.S. industry is struggling to compete on a new basis of quality and facing stiffer international competition. It has had to cut costs. But the boost to American competitiveness and export growth has come from a lower-valued dollar (which makes U.S. goods cheaper overseas). This improved trade performance has been especially beneficial to the ailing manufacturing sector and has resulted in increased industrial employment. Second, foreign capital has not fled the economy in the wake of the stock market crash. Japanese and European investments have provided a major underpinning of the militarization and expansion of the U.S. economy since 1981. Foreign investment has financed much of the U.S. government’s deficit over the past five years and funded

In Short

1. Economic growth in the current period rests on some very thin reeds. A sharp economic contraction is by no means ruled out.

2. Millions of people classified as employed are really underemployed.

3. Many people, like full-time temporary workers, are working at jobs that are particularly vulnerable in a recession or a serious slowdown. As a result, in the event of a major slowdown, the unemployment rate could shoot up very quickly and easily surpass the 1982 levels.

4. Many of the institutional arrangements, rooted in the international position of U.S. imperialism, that provided for a certain measure of job stability and, with it, a stable work force, are coming undone and being transformed.

5. The trend of the last decade is that an increase in jobs has brought with it both an increase in job insecurity and a growing spread in wages and earnings. Polarization, downward mobility, and uncertainty, and frustrated expectations are very much the order of the day in the labor market.

6. Black unemployment and underemployment have remained high and far above the levels found among white people.

7. For a significant section of the masses, particularly among the oppressed nationalities, families headed by poor women, and immigrants, conditions of work and survival are growing more desperate.

8. With more severe austerity on the ruling-class agenda, the potential combustibility of the situation is greatly increased.
about three-quarters of the net capital formation in the United States in 1986 and 1987. Right now overseas investors are worried about growing protectionism in the U.S. and are eager to put a lock on their American markets; the cheaper dollar also happens to make it somewhat of a bargain to buy in the United States. The upshot is that foreign capital is now providing the main lift to productive investment in the U.S. At the same time, foreign investors are gingerly holding on to U.S. government debt and financial investments—consolidated by a breathing spell of foreign exchange stability, lured by relatively higher interest rates, and, at the same time, crying out to let off a panic with a major sell-off. Third, consumer spending (and a lot of this is luxury consumption by the upper-middle classes), driven by an unprecedented accumulation of debt, continues to provide some stimulus to expansion.

These factors have enabled the U.S. to stave off recession in the short run, and, to that extent, to avoid massive unemployment. But there are very precarious props of economic growth in a strained and sluggish world economy.

Point Two: The Uneven and Unequal Distribution of Unemployment

An average can be a useful measure, but it only tells part of a story. Averages take one aggregate (total income or jobs, for instance) and divide it by another aggregate (like total population or the civilian labor force). But the number derived doesn't tell us about distribution; accordingly we get the notorious statistic of fabulously high per capita income in an oil-rich Persian Gulf state, the problem being that we know nothing about how that wealth is spread out.

Now one of the distinct features of unemployment in the United States in the 1980s is that, except for recessionary periods, it has not been uniformly dispersed throughout the country. So, while the civilian unemployment rate (an average) hovers around 5.5 percent, there are also highly distressed, and statistically significant, regions and segments of the economy. In particular, unemployment is quite high in parts of the South and South-west, especially Texas, the farm states, and the inner cities—where both long-term and others have been entering the labor force, and they are prone to higher unemployment. This theory doesn't hold up. In point of fact, the teenage share of the labor force peaked in 1975, and has been declining since. True, more women have been entering the labor force, but two things must be said about this. First, it is economic necessity that has for the most part propelled women to seek jobs; second, most women have been entering the rapidly expanding and less cyclically sensitive service sector, with the result that the margin between male and female joblessness has actually diminished over the last decades. But there is a more fundamental issue.

Issued by the Joint Economic Committee at the end of 1987 calculated that the percentage of the Black population with jobs actually peaked in 1956, while hitting a record low in 1982. And as Figure 1 shows, over the last twenty years the Black unemployment rate has consistently been two to two-and-a-half times higher than that of white people. Some economists use the term "pockets of unemployment" to describe the situation. Many government economists pretty much dismiss the problem by arguing that anything less than 6 percent national unemployment is full employment.

Over the last fifteen years, what is referred to as the "natural rate of unemployment" has been redefined upward—from 4 percent to 6 percent. (According to the conventional wisdom, if unemployment dips too far below a certain, "natural" level, wages will rise and let off inflationary pressures.) Thus much of the cheering about the economy's performance is conveniently aided by a redefinition of full employment that allows for a 50 percent increase in the "natural" level of unemployment with no reason to get riled up if millions are out of work. Now leaving aside the erroneous notion that high wages cause inflation, and the fascinating lesson in the rewriting of economic theory, the important question is this: why has the economy over this period had more difficulty absorbing new job seekers? After all, unemployment in the late 1960s averaged 3.6 percent.

The explanation usually offered is a demographic one. A rapidly growing labor force is causing adjustment problems. Specifically, more young people and women have been entering the labor force, and they are prone to higher unemployment. This theory doesn't hold up. In point of fact, the teenage share of the labor force peaked in 1975, and has been declining since. True, more women have been entering the labor force, but two things must be said about this. First, it is economic necessity that has for the most part propelled women to seek jobs; second, most women have been entering the rapidly expanding and less cyclically sensitive service sector, with the result that the margin between adult male and female joblessness has actually diminished over the last decades. But there is a more fundamental issue.

Figure 1
Black and White Unemployment
Unemployment rate for those 16 years and older

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Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

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The composition of the labor force is always changing - why should there be a "naturally" higher rate of unemployment among any demographic group? Of course, the argument is that these groups are less skilled, less stable, in a word, less jobworthy. This is not an explanation but an affront and a rationalization of a crumbling educational system, discrimination, and reduced job opportunities in the inner cities. People want to work. This system does not open to all the opportunity to do so, nor does it allow for meaningful work. Meanwhile people are told that what they lack are "job search skills," i.e., you don't know how to sell yourself and kiss ass. Demographics are not at the root of growth and employment trends; it is the overall conditions and requirements of accumulation that are determinate, although in relation to the general anarchy of capitalism and the racial and sexual stratification of labor markets, demographics certainly become relevant.

A scientific explanation of the rising levels of "acceptable" unemployment in the past period would emphasize two interrelated factors. The first is the onset of a world economic crisis in the mid-1970s, a crisis which has continued to deepen, despite partial recoveries and rebounds, and which has profoundly affected growth and employment prospects. Simply put, there is much more speculative in vest­

Point Four: The Dual Economy Revisited

One of the defining characteristics of the economy (and labor market) in the postwar period has been its division into a core sector and periphery sector. This has been called the "dual economy." Core workers typically worked in large-scale, capital-intensive, highly unionized industry, received moderately high wages and enjoyed various fringe benefits, and could count on job tenure. Periphery workers worked in smaller-scale, typically labor-intensive industry, received fairly low wages, had few insurance and pension benefits, faced more sweatshop-like conditions, and could seldom count on a steady job. Oppressed nationality workers have been crowded into this segment of the labor market. This division, of course, a simplification — segmentation is more complex — but it does capture a certain reality. There were the auto and steel industries, where workers had skills and benefits with them, where many of their children could move from an entry-level job up the job ladder, and there were the apparel and plastic industries, or the small forge or stamping plant: low-wage, high-turnover, dead-end jobs.

This duality still exists, but it has evolved, especially in relation to the manufacturing sector. The world economic crisis and intensifying competition have ac­

Figure 2
Declining Availability of Unemployment Benefits
Ratio of insured unemployed workers per job loser

Source: Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

Worker in Silicon Valley makes computer circuit boards at home.
be easily laid off and rehired; these companies that once performed such work before can cancel it quickly when business weakens.

Reorganization and downgrading in manufacturing help explain some important trends in wage polarization and in job creation. The old entry-level jobs are declining, and the spread in median full-time earnings for men twenty-five to forty-four years old with only a high school education and those who are college graduates has more than doubled in the last ten years. From 1980 through 1987, the Fortune 500 (the country’s largest industrial firms) effectively eliminated about 3 million jobs. But in the same period, smaller firms generated some 17 million jobs. On the surface, it may look like the large firm is breaking up. Many are not only trimming employment but also selling off various product divisions (developments related both to the overall industrial restructuring taking place and to the jockeying in merger and takeover battles). New entrepreneurial capitalists constantly enter the field. But we are still dealing with a constellation of interrelated economic activities under the dominance of finance capital. And what is involved are profound linkages that affect the overall profitability of monopoly capital. For instance, the auto industry in southern California was able to ease the burden of restructuring and modernization and make it through a difficult transition process, in part by subcontracting to surrounding, low-wage parts suppliers—which rely heavily on low-wage, undocumented workers.

The incorporation of superexploitable immigrant labor into the work force is actually quite pivotal to America’s attempt at industrial rebirth.

What is being described also helps explain the ground lost by unions. Membership of unions has fallen from 23 percent of the workforce in 1980 to 17 percent today. Most of the new jobs being created are nonunion, both in the service sector and in manufacturing. (The steel industry, for example, has lost one-third of its capacity over the last decade, and much of its renewal has been based on nonunion minimills.) At the same time, employers have put out the argument that wage restraint is the only guarantee that the company will survive and domestic competition: “you have the chance to save your jobs, sacrifice now for gains later—rather than losing it all.” This has gotten over to a large degree: annual wage increases in union contracts have been less than 2.5 percent a year, compared with 8 percent annual increases signed in 1980. Rollbacks and assorted takeaways (give-backs) are increasingly the norm in the manufacturing sector. Thus the pressure to reduce costs has led companies to grant fewer concessions to union demands and to hire more nonunion workers (the deregulation of numerous industries in the 1980s has played an important role here). For a certain section of the U.S. working class, job security was one of the privileges of Pax Americana, and for quite a few it is now in doubt.

American capital also continues to invest overseas hand-over-foot: in 1987 spending was at a record level. This is impelled by international competition and the drive for higher profits, but it is facilitated by the growth of educated and skilled labor forces throughout the world, particularly in the Third World. The dual economy in the U.S. has to be seen in light of an international division of labor. And recent pressures on and modifications in the structure of employment in the U.S. also have to be seen in this light. General Electric is a good example of what’s going on. It has set up motor plants in Mexico and Singapore in recent years and has two joint ventures in South Korea. In its two Mexican plants, GE pays $1 an hour for the same work that costs $11 an hour in the U.S. GE has also extracted major concessions from its (shrinking) domestic work force under the banner of international competitiveness.

Point Five: Safety Net or Noose?
The level and availability of various forms of social assistance—and here we’re talking about things like cash and medical assistance, food stamps, and unemployment benefits—have a significant effect on employment patterns. A decline in such benefits, particularly jobless benefits, will put more pressure on the unemployed to seek out and accept jobs more quickly. And this in fact is what has happened in the United States since 1982.

During the same period that the jobless rate fell, the availability of unemployment benefits has sharply declined. By the end of 1982, only fourteen states were offering extended benefits beyond the regular 26-week benefit period (prior to 1981, extended benefits were granted in a state when the nationwide insured unemployment rate reached 4.5 percent), while federal supplemental programs, which provided benefits of varying duration up to twenty-six weeks, were severely curtailed after the 1982 recession. And there has also been a decline in the availability of regular benefits, due both to a higher rejection rate of new claims (which also discourages people from applying for benefits) and the closing of unemployment offices (which makes it harder to file claims). Figure 2 tracks the availability of unemployment benefits. It measures the ratio of people getting regular benefits to the people losing jobs in a given year. In 1967 most people falling within the official category of unemployed (recent job losers who are actively seeking work) were covered by unemployment compensation. In 1987 only about two-thirds of job losers were receiving benefits. As can also be seen, the number of people covered by unemployment insurance has declined by about 25 percent since 1980. The replacement of unionized by nonunion workers and the changing mix and location of production jobs have been im...
Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

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important sources of wage flexibility in the United States. The level of jobless benefits operates as an additional wage-depressing factor. With benefits lower, it becomes harder for workers to bargain for higher wages.

In May 1988 the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities issued a report showing that in twenty-six states, fewer than one of every three unemployed people receives unemployment insurance. The same report found that in thirty-two states, the maximum cash benefit under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program for a family of three without any other source of income is below 50 percent of the poverty line. Alaska is the only state in which the combined cash and food stamp benefits for a family of three were enough to lift a family without any other income to the poverty line. Average monthly AFDC benefits are actually lower today (adjusted for inflation) than they were in 1970.

What is happening, on the one hand, is that people are being recycled downward and back into the work force. Clearly, this is the fate of many of the workers who lost jobs during the first half of this decade as a result of plant shutdowns or relocations in the smokestack industries. On the other hand, many of the poorest, especially, but not only, in the cities, are left to fend for themselves or starve (in New York City, low-end estimates put the number of homeless, many of whom are mothers with young children, at 50,000). From many different directions, people are being pushed into low-wage work. It is interesting that both liberals and conservatives agree on the basic outlines of welfare reform: in return for benefits received while they "get their lives together," those on welfare are required to work. In New York in the 1980s the wage-earning poor have increased in numbers faster than have the welfare poor. Which brings us back to the question of the kinds of jobs being created... and into which people are being driven.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK

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Severe Economic Crisis

First of all there is the worsening economic crisis. The CEG's imperialist domination has resulted in Haiti being the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere. It is the situation is such that a major factor keeping Haiti's economy from completely collapsing under U.S. aid. Last November 29, though, when elections were violently aborted in the military, the U.S. cut off $60 million of direct economic aid to the Haitian government. Money from the U.S. was already in the pipeline so the full effect of these cuts has not yet been felt but it is certain they will completely run out. This would mean an even more drastic situation for the Haitian people. As a result of the point of view of the U.S. and the Haitian ruling class, and this has resulted in an untenable situation among the masses.

During his brief rule Manigat attempted to assure the Haitian people that things would improve and fiscal changes to try and get the U.S. to ease up. For instance, he made token moves against military- and Macoute-controlled contraband goods which are the major source of the U.S. trade surplus. But there was still no indication that a new flow of U.S. money would start.

U.S. aid to Haiti has long been used as a weapon to keep Haiti's economy dependent on U.S. interests are served. For instance, when the KWG was in power the U.S. made it clear that aid would only be forthcoming if the government carried out what the U.S. wished and kept the rest of the world out of Haiti. Now it may be the case that the U.S. would now make military aid contingent in part in the U.S.'s "war on drugs."

In the beginning of June Manigat's brief control was overturned and the Haitian army was sent to Washington, D.C. and met with U.S. authorities. According to several Haitian newspapers, it was made clear to Lortet that the military would have to be in charge of the country and when Col. Jean-Claude Paul was offered a position as foreign minister, a power struggle developed. The Haitian military is not a force in the Haitian sense, but Col. Jean-Claude Paul who has the U.S. close ear to his right and is traffic cocaine into the United States.

In March, shortly after Manigat took power in Haiti, the military began moving units of the French police and U.S. military into Haiti. The Tontons Macoute were moved into power to see if they would accept as well as undermining the clout of Paul's government. In part in the U.S.'s "war on drugs."

A second problem the U.S. confronts in Haiti is the situation in the Haitian military. Under the rule of "Papa Doc" Duvalier, in order to counterbalance the army and prevent a coup, the Duvalier regime utilized at least one other force known as the "Lopards." This force was formed and trained on the model of the "Leopards." The Lopards were created in Haiti, it was purported to be autonomous and answer only to the military. The legacy of this kind of development -- a military divided into a number of separate segments with no clear line of authority to answer to -- remains to this day. While the Haitian armed forces (total only about 7,000 troops), there are many commanders who function almost as autonomous warlords with the U.S. military as their patron.

From the U.S. point of view this is a big problem. Constantly erupting conflicts and rivalries within the military makes for a very unstable as well as a very uncontrollable force. "Lopards" are sometimes liable to do whatever they want regardless of U.S. desires. With the disbanding of Macoute in the army after Duvalier fled only made this situation more extreme, especially as the government had to try and publicly distance itself from the most extreme and purely cosmetic in this sense. The U.S. faces a situation where Haiti's military cannot be relied on a hundred percent to carry out the U.S.'s wishes. As such, the U.S. military made its move to maintain some kind of control over Haiti by implementing a new command structure. But this has also brought to the surface some explosive contradictions within Haiti's ruling class.

The details and significance of the events leading up to Manigat's ouster are not entirely clear. It appears there was some kind of move against Col. Jean-Claude Paul in the days before his removal. And this underscored this messy state of affairs in the military. Jean-Claude Paul has been well-known as the commander of 800 soldiers in what is called the Tactical Battalion -- a unit that is stationed at the air force base in Port au Prince and controlled by the military. The drug trafficking of Jean-Claude Paul at least went into the Haitian interior. Paul's relationship with the military was not a secret. And his removal was yet another example of the U.S. using them as a weapon to, ensure U.S. involvement in Haiti.

Within hours Namphy appointed a new military chief of staff, General Namphy. Namphy had been designated as President General Paul's successor. He was assigned Jean-Claude Paul and then later replaced the man. Paul had his way with the military, a period of several weeks before by the Manigat government. In a June 21 editorial the New York Times was blunt: "The choice quite literally is not between soldiers and democrats, but between soldiers and soldiers who deal drugs... It is just as possible that the much-abused cause of Haitian democracy might benefit from the coup." This was written before it was clear that Col. Paul, is in fact part of the newly made-up ruling group. This editorial reflects U.S. concern that drug money is creating unrelenting lobbies as well as undermining the clout of the U.S. aid weapon. This is the time to say, "Ode of General Namphy." Namphy was in fact just about to leave Washington to resume his job cut off after the electoral victory. The coup. The loss of the U.S. funds has hurt the economy and pressured public payroll, including the military. The drug trafficking of which Colonel Paul is accused represents a potential alternative source of funds.

The de facto leader of the military, General Namphy, has been put under house arrest, two U.S. military officers and a Frenchman are in the bay of Port au Prince.

Meanwhile Washington has registered little protest over the demise of that "democratically elected" Manigat. The U.S. has failed to act. To begin with, Manigat's so-called "civic government" represented no real change at all -- he was put into power by an army-run "election." And his tenure continued to rest on the Macoutes and the military. No less than that of the KNG and Duvalier, Manigat's rule overaw the targeting of political activists and scores of nighttime death-squad murders. And even now to date has no action. It is a statement of just how tenuous things are that at this point Namphy, as unreliable as he is, may be the U.S.'s best bet for any kind of control.

The Dechouke Factor

The week of the coup the "McNeel Lehrer News Hour" interview-ed ex-U.S. ambassador to Haiti Williams Jones. And in response to a question about whether or not the ordinary people in Haiti are more or less aware at this point, Jones said, "At the present time they are probably more aware, as a result, that we will not participate and that there will be bloodshed, which is a very large difference.

One can only hope there won't be bloodshed. One can also feel mail says, "The people feel defeated, they have no plans, they are lost.

But such hopes of passivity from the people have already been dashed. Not long ago Manigat's flight, 300 workers at the state-owned flour mill went on strike to protest the reinstatement of a Macoute chief executive of the factory and his two aides who had been replaced several weeks before by the Manigat government. In retaliation, on June 22 army officers fired the plant's union leaders and eighty other workers, but as we go to press the strike is still continuing. In at least one other state-owned factory there have been strikes to protest the reinstatement of Namphy. And in the past, claim of "democracy" has not been reinforced by breaks in resistance in different parts of the country.

For all their machinations, for all their threats and doubletalk, it looks as if the U.S. has had yet another Haiti scenario on their hands. And things remain quite unpredictable and very unstable for the U.S. and those in the National Palace.
Jesse and the Drug Squad

Continued from page 7
he preaches is within: within the Black communities and within people's own minds. This has everything to do with his campaign to make drugs "Issue Number One."

Even while he gets overwhelming sup­
port from Black voters, his message notes deep divisions within Black com­
unities — effectively rallying a conser­
vative section to the side of the govern­
ment and police. One key aspect of the "war on drugs" is the aggressive repression in a war aimed at a certain section of the op­
pressed communities, especially the youthful youth. Jackson calls on the more established, more upwardly striving sec­
ton of Blacks to join that war and aban­
don a focus on racist violence and oppres­
sion. That is the meaning of his remark that the enemy doesn't "wear hoods" (i.e., the white racist Klan) but now "are

Jesse Jackson: The "Right Stuff"
For U.S. Imperialism

This pamphlet contains three articles, two of which address the role that Jesse Jackson plays of "leading Black people back into the fold" of a U.S. imperialism readying its troops for World War III. The third article, "Jesse Jackson in the Real Way Out of this Nightmare," is a critique of the reformist August 1983 March on Washington and a discussion of the class polarization that has grown between the majority of Black people and the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, sections of whom are helping to peddle the "American Dream" for U.S. imperialism.

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people in the area, especially from the middle classes, there is a tendency not to recognize the linkage in the nationwide effor­
t by the government to surround, con­
trol, deliberately dehumanize, and wall off from the rest of society millions of im­
migrants who have come to this country over the past decades. A common senti­ment among them is that "Yes, it's really bad, but you can't make comparisons to the Nazi in Germany and how they round up the Jews." At the fiesta a man from Yugoslavia strongly countered this, saying that he hated what la Migra was doing and that "We should learn from Hitler, we can't be good Ger­
homent; and pressure throughout Latin America and the Caribbean Basin;

• an aggressive war on youth, including mass arrests in Los Angeles and evictions against anyone suspected and charged with drug activity in New York;

• a general tightening of fascist social discipline with a climate of snooping, snitching, conformity, and surprise po­
lice raids.

• an expanded militarization of the en­
tire border region — where the war on drugs also serves as a generalized clamp­
don on Latin American immigrants.

Jackson supports them all and proudly takes credits for the offensive now unfold­
ing: "I'm happy to have some lieutenants, but I'm the general in this war." (New York Times, April 16)

Can Jesse Jackson, the self-anounced "general" in such a war, be allowed to masquerade as a "progressive" force? And can the masses of people allow themselves to be the people's own anti­
nonfodder for a war against the oppressed?
Intifada at Six Months

Continued from page 3 by negligence or accidents by Israeli soldiers. Further details could point to no specific physical evidence substantiating their claims that Palestinians are setting fires as a new tactic in the uprising.

The Apology involved in Israel's mysterious finger pointing is absolutely stunning. After all, it is the Israelis who have been burning and uprooting orchards around many West Bank villages—which are an important source of livelihood for many Palestinians—as "punishment" and as a way of preparing the ground to drive Palestinians out of their farmland. In Kibbutz Kafit, for example, Zionist settlers burned twenty-five acres of olive and almond groves and then returned the next day to torch wheat fields.

The story of Beit village is perhaps the most startling example. In a confrontation in April between villagers and Zionist settlers, an Israeli girl died from a bullet wound in the head, and it was revealed that she had been shot by the fanatical right-wing Zionist who had killed the Palestinian who had beaten him, and against whom he had been shot by Israeli soldiers. The Israeli military has said the Palestinian had been shot while fleeing his home, but at the site of the killing, villagers found the body of an Israeli soldier lying on the ground with a bullet wound in the head. The incident has cast doubt on the Israeli military's version of events.

Palestinians that the plan of settlers like him is to drive Palestinians from their homes and to establish an enclavement within these homes. The latest leaflet from the settlement of Ramot Givat Shaul states that "the Palestinians will be driven from their homes and the land will be given to the Jewish settlers."

The need for a new approach to the conflict is urgent. The current strategies, which rely on military force and sanctions, have failed to achieve any significant progress towards peace. The Palestinian leadership has been inconsistent and lacks a clear vision for the future. The Israeli government has also beenikki
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