



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Party, U.S.A.

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Out To Lunch With Henry K.

... And Five Hundred

Uninvited Guests

Henry Kissinger jetted into San Francisco on Monday to address the San Francisco Commonwealth Club. While the Commonwealth clubbers dined on San Francisco chicken Kiev and applauded Henry's pearls of imperialist wisdom on East/West relations and Central America, the police lost control of a diverse crowd of demonstrators in the streets surrounding the Hilton.

For over an hour, hundreds of anti-nukers, punk rockers, activists in support of Nicaragua and El Salvador, feminists, anarchists, and some proletarian youth took over the streets, clashing with police on horseback and in riot gear. The police eventually amassed enough force, over 100 pigs, to execute the mass bust of 191 demonstrators, along with some shoppers scooped up in the police net. But for most of the time, the atmosphere of a sort of festival of pent-up political fury and exuberance dominated the area.

The action has become big news in the Bay Area, with the police, the mayor, and the media hashing over the demonstration in front-page stories, a variety of radio talk shows, and other avenues as well. The demonstration has come amidst the security preparations for the Democratic Party Convention in San Francisco this summer, and the media coverage has been quite slanderous from this and other angles as we shall see. But from other quarters, like some sections of the social movements, the reaction has been more in the realm of "it's about time there was a demonstration like this." And among some sections of the people, there seems to be developing a trend toward a lot more people than could possibly have been there saying "I was there."

Mines and Nukes

The stage for the demonstration was set especially by the U.S. provocations in Central America and in particular the outrageous flaunting of the CIA mining of the Nicaraguan harbors. Bringing Kissinger to San Francisco in the middle of all this was calculated to rub both the overall moves toward war and the Central American situation right in people's faces. Kissinger, after all, headed Reagan's Central America commission.

Kissinger no doubt relished being shoved in the face of the masses, and he certainly pulled no punches in his speech. He made a big pitch for ruling class unity around Central American policy, terming the congressional debate over the mining of Nicaraguan harbors a "disaster." He said: "The problem in Nicaragua is that more arms are going into Nicaragua than all the rest of Central America combined, by a very wide margin. There are 8,000 Cubans in Nicaragua, and 1,000 Bulgarians, East Germans, Soviets, Libyans, PLO, and other intelligence specialists. That creates a weight, and a pressure on the surrounding countries that sooner or later will undermine them. I can sympathize with an administration that is attempting to stop that influx of arms. Whether at some point it should be overt rather than covert, that is an arguable proposition. But we shouldn't get the objectives and the means confused." The only question for Kissinger was whether the U.S. should *openly* go to war against Nicaragua!

Kissinger also had some provocative

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Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles 1984
The Dinosaur Follies

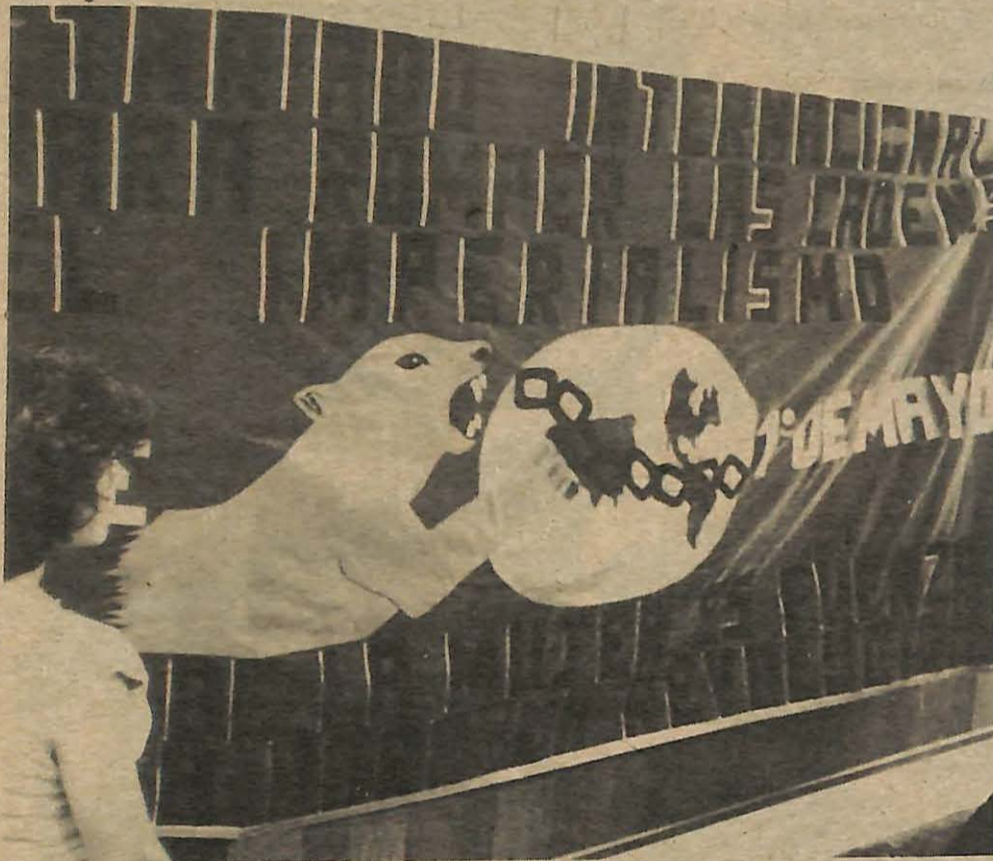
See centerfold

May 1st Internationalist Exchanges



Houston

Los Angeles



The RW has received word of the following banners being sent as internationalist exchanges for May 1st 1984:

From New York to Haiti

The Proletarians Have Nothing to Lose But Their Chains. They Have A World To Win.

From Students at Wingate High School and residents of the Haitian community in Brooklyn, New York

From Houston, Texas to Haitian International Revolutionary Group

An Internationalist Greeting from the lower barrios and ghettos of Houston, Texas to the Haitian International Revolutionary Group. The fight that frees the Haitian people, the struggle against the invasion of the Marines and the mistreatment of Haitian immigrants in the U.S.A., and the struggle against Yankee imperialism together with Duvalier's assassins, these are our struggles also. From here, shoulder to shoulder with you, advancing to reach the final goal — World Revolution!

Banner prepared by a circle of proletarians from El Salvador and signed by 57 youth and proletarians in Houston's 5th ward housing project and the Moody Park area.

From Los Angeles to Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao

To Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and the proletarian revolutionaries of China.

Comrades, on this Red First of May we salute you holding aloft the Red banner of Proletarian Revolution and communism in face of bitter defeat. We hold dear the many valuable and important lessons taught to us by that heroic struggle you waged under the leadership of Mao Tsetung, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution when millions of Chinese masses dared to storm the heavens and opened a brilliant new page of history in mankind's tortuous march towards communism.

We have also drawn great strength and inspiration from the heroic stand that you, Comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, have taken in the court and continue to take under threat of death. We are confident that the reversal in China is only temporary and together with our comrades in China we will forge a new International that will not only raise the Red Flag back over China, but over a new Red World!

Signed by dozens of youth at a Los Angeles punk concert

From Damián García Park to Ceylon

Para la Gente de Ceilán: ¡Viva el Primero de Mayo, día del proletariado mundial! ¡Movimiento que facilita nuestra revolución! ¡Estamos siempre contra el imperialismo! (For the People of Ceylon: Long live the First of May, day of the proletariat worldwide! A Movement to facilitate our revolution! We are always against imperialism!)

Written by a proletarian youth in Damián García Park and currently circulating for signatures

From New York to Turkey

Los Proletarios no Tienen Nada Perder Más Que Sus Cadenas. Tienen, en Cambio, un Mundo Que Ganar. (The Proletarians Have Nothing To Lose But Their Chains. They Have A World To Win.)

Signed by 123 students and proletarians in New York City from Iran, Turkey, Latin America, Haiti, Philippines, Hungary and the U.S.

From Los Angeles to India

Proletariado internacional unido para romper las cadenas del imperialismo. Adelante al Primero de Mayo. La furia de la mujer es fuerza poderosa para la revolución.

(International proletariat united to break the chains of imperialism. Forward to the First of May. The fury of women is a mighty force for revolution.)

Created by immigrant proletarians and artists, this banner was displayed at a garment factory and pieces of cloth are circulating in the garment district to be sewn to the banner and sent to India

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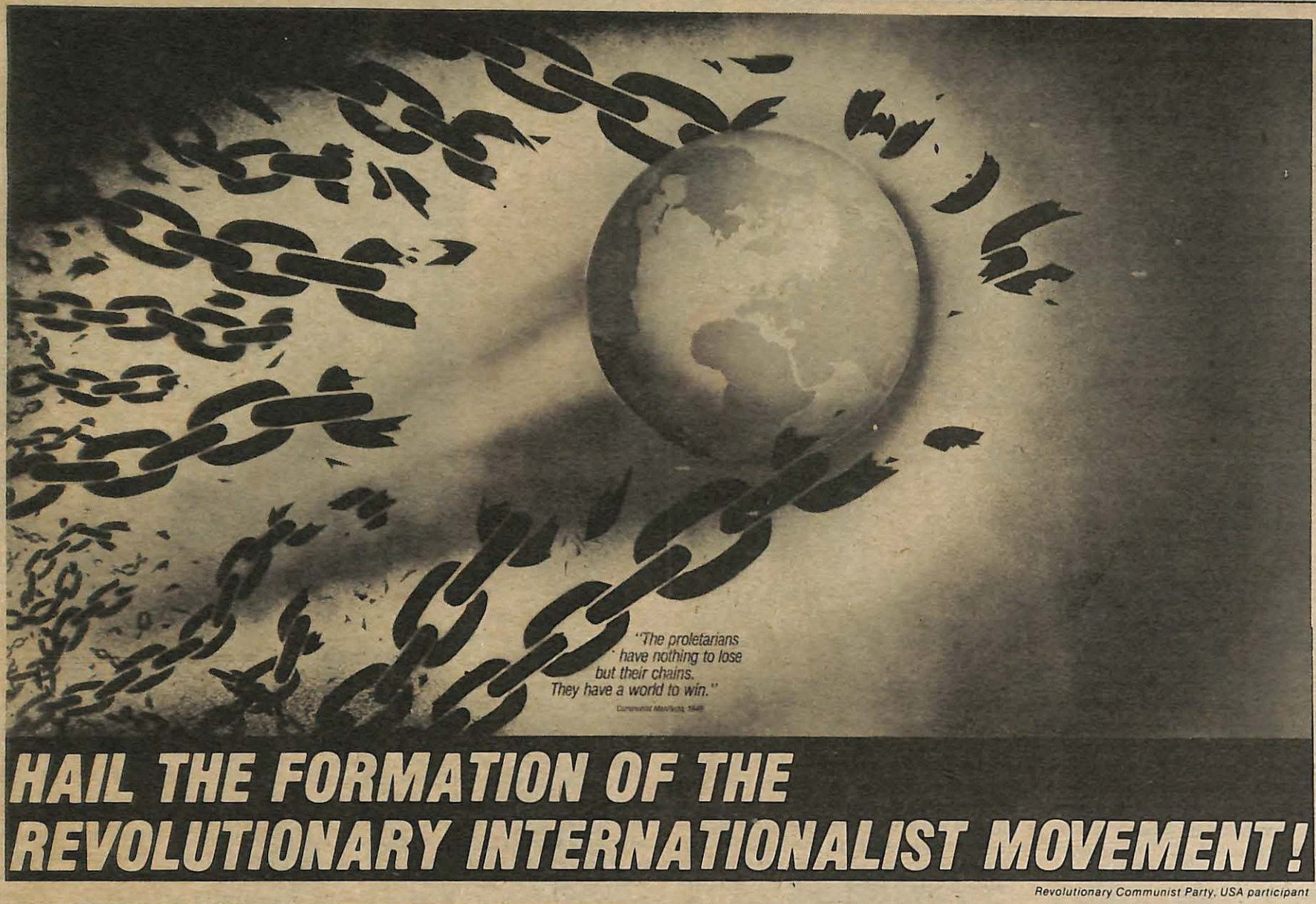
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This poster of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is being printed in many countries and languages around the world. Now appearing on walls across the U.S.

Reprinted from Mass Line

An Important Victory For The Working Class

This statement on the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is reprinted from the March 1984 issue of Mass Line newspaper, India.

The successful convening and completion of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations marks yet another advance in the process of unification of genuine Marxist-Leninists worldwide. The Conference witnessed a principled and keenly waged struggle over differences, at the end of which, 14 organisations resolved to constitute themselves as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Mass Line hails this event as an important victory of the international proletariat. By firmly upholding the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought including the great lessons of the Cultural Revolution, what the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has really achieved is a decisive and far-reaching victory over *all* foes of the working class. To the declared and open enemies out to crush communism for ever, it is a proper answer; to the so-called friends of the proletariat—who too are in reality out to extinguish, albeit via sugar coated bullets, the spirit and raging flames of communism—a slap in the face; and to those who, pointing at the real failure of revolution in all erstwhile socialist countries, are busy formulating the specious thesis that it is Marxism itself that has failed—a challenge to reckon with.

The RIM has not contented itself with a *passive* defence of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought against the multi-pronged attack. The distinctive feature about it, is the bold recognition of and energetic responsiveness to the social reality obtaining in the present-day world. New phenomena, new problems and new contradictions that have come into being, especially after World War II, are not evaded, nor are they brushed aside. An intense and intensive search to comprehend and identify the new things and to work out practical means to tackle them pervades the RIM like a breath of fresh air.

Alongside this welcome retrieval of the critical spirit of Marxism ("Criticism that fears neither its own results nor the conflict with the powers that be"), goes the critical evaluation of the history of the international communist movement. Against the backdrop of repeated restorations of capitalism which has in truth brought the Marxist-Leninists face to face with a very real, grave crisis, such an assessment (actually, a *self-critical* reassessment) of the Comintern's role since its founding, through the '30s and in the course of WW II, experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and China, etc, has assumed the utmost relevance. Because, a thorough grasp of the lessons (both positive and negative) accruing from this rich experience has become pivotal today in laying out a correct orientation. What inspires hope is that precisely this is the perspective *guiding* the RIM. Not just adopted "in principle", but based on this perspective, considerable work has already gone ahead.

Certainly, such strivings to evaluate the past are quite far from completion. The task is a serious and difficult one. But at the Conference, the evaluations made—all tentative in nature—by the constituent organisations were put forward and incisively debated, the object being of course to arrive at a common evaluation. In the upcoming period the effort is bound to be stepped up, and provided the healthy line-struggle seen at the meet is persisted in, significant results are sure to follow.

Even a brief look at the three year period between the first and second conferences testifies to such hopes. The first conference (Autumn 1980) was convened on the basis of previously set conditions, so that the participants had general agreement beforehand on certain formulations considered to be fundamental points of departure in order to

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Message from the Revolutionary Communist Union, Dominican Republic

Comrades of the Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

On the occasion of the celebration of May Day, 1984, the Revolutionary Communist Union (UCR) — organized detachment of the Dominican Marxist-Leninists and a political expression of our working class — sends you warm proletarian internationalist greetings, and hopes that the RCP, USA will continue to develop the preparatory work needed for a proletarian revolution in the very belly of the beast, as we are also developing our revolutionary tasks here.

The conditions are rapidly ripening for revolution. And imperialism and all reactionaries know perfectly well what is in store for them. That is why their preparations for a third imperialist world war are increasingly urgent for them, because they hope to get the exploited and oppressed of the world to save their rotten system. But now, the situation will be more difficult for worldwide capitalism, because now we, authentic Marxist-Leninists, have formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which is a necessary step to building a communist international that can lead the struggle of the world proletariat towards the overthrow of Yankee imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all the other reactionaries, and on to the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrades:

This coming May Day finds us much more determined and encouraged to go forward towards the overthrow of imperialism and to forge a stronger international unity. We consider ourselves part of the international army of the proletariat, and thus, through the *Revolutionary Worker*, we send our greetings to the proletariat of the United States as well

as to the proletariat of all the other countries in the world.

Nothing will be able to stop us. We will defeat the loathsome opportunists and revisionists; and we will march forward on the revolutionary path. We greet, then, the RCP, USA for the correct and uncompromising politics that it is developing in order to make revolution in the U.S., and for the role it is playing in order to build an authentic International Communist Movement.

Before the international working class, before the world's Marxist-Leninists, before all the exploited and oppressed of the Earth, the Revolutionary Communist Union raises high the red flag of the proletariat and reaffirms its determination to fight through until the triumph of the democratic, national and anti-imperialist revolution in the Dominican Republic and all other dependent countries, as well as for the triumph of the proletarian socialist revolution in the whole world.

The Revolutionary Communist Union of the Dominican Republic upholds that the most suitable path — for the worldwide working class to seize the capitalist state machine and seize it for its own ends — is mass revolutionary war, revolutionary armed struggle, determined and militant struggle, through which accounts will be settled with the international bourgeoisie, with the landowners, with Yankee imperialism, with Soviet social-imperialism, and all the other reactionary runts.

Uncompromising in the face of different tendencies, trends and varieties of opportunism and revisionism, and determined to shed the last drop of blood in the fight of the international proletariat against imperialism and its lackeys, the Revolutionary Communist Union con-

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Message From A Reader On May 1st



Dear Comrades,

I was profoundly moved and exhilarated to hear the news of the constitution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The formation of this movement is indeed a leap forward in the "fighting capacity of the proletariat, both at the international level and within the different countries of the world." In this letter, I want to focus on the resolution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement directed to imprisoned revolutionaries around the world.

The situation in the world today is posing the danger of another world war and the possibility for revolutionary advance on a world scale and in this country. Mao's assessment still has much relevance and urgency: "Either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will give rise to revolution." Now more than ever it is imperative that imprisoned revolutionaries the world over respond to the call of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to "rally around the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian revolution." This is a call to those who, based on their position in society and their life experience, have seen the ugly face of imperialism and are well-acquainted with its hideous features. It is a call which recognizes that those who are buried in the hell-holes throughout the world have to some extent been steeled and tempered but must now be

steeled and tempered in the most fundamental sense — by grasping firmly and learning to wield ever more powerfully the *living* and *liberating* revolutionary science: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought! Moreover, it would be a tremendous inspiration if, in prisons right here inside this "land of the free and home of the brave," the bright red flag, emblazoned with the May Day slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, is held aloft on the First of May and if the ways and means are found to celebrate the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the appearance of its *Declaration*. Such a development would represent an important step forward, and it would not be entirely without precedent. In the 1960s thousands throughout this country were inspired by the struggles of prisoners, especially when those prisoners went beyond just striking out against the conditions that they faced and linked their struggle with the overall revolutionary struggle throughout the world and in this country. The international situation in the 1980s, however, makes such a step forward all the more urgent and necessary.

A few years ago I saw a movie called *Midnight Express*, which is, I think, based on a true story of an American fellow who got busted for possession of narcotics in Turkey and was thrown into one

of the prisons there for a number of years. This movie depicted the judicial and prison systems in Turkey as the monstrosities that they are; however, the film conveyed, by implication, that the courts and prisons in this country are somehow different, after all this is the "land of freedom and justice for all." Having served nearly a decade in prison during the upsurge of the 1960s, I know first-hand the monstrous conditions to which thousands upon thousands of prisoners are subjected, and I am also well aware that the most brutal and murderous blows are reserved for the revolutionary-minded prisoners. This was very graphically demonstrated, for example, at San Quentin in 1971 when George Jackson was assassinated. And again a few weeks later at Attica when more than 30 prisoners were executed by the state in the wake of a rebellion there. Strip-cells, segregation, starvation diets, goon squads, drug therapy, behavior modification, mental and physical torture and outright murder is "what time it is" inside most jails and prisons in this country. The reality is that the courts, pigs, and prisons are part of the bourgeois state (and the bourgeois dictatorship), which, as Lenin has pointed out, is an instrument for the suppression of one class by another. Prisons, in particular, are used to terrorize the masses broadly and to degrade, dehumanize,

mangle and crush anyone who steps out of line, especially anyone who would dare to fight for revolution.

At present such a vicious attempt to break the back of firm opposition from behind prison walls is being carried out by the Turkish regime. I want to express solidarity with the heroic struggle that the revolutionary fighters in Turkey's dungeons have waged over the past several months in the face of barbarous repression. The truth of the words of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement resolution are being underscored in Diyarbakir and Mamak: "The road of revolution is not straight, and wherever there is struggle there are also defeats and losses. The enemy will attack ferociously and wildly, hoping to destroy us or break our will to resist. But these very frantic and vicious attacks of the enemy are also proof that they fear the revolutionaries as their mortal enemies." I am reminded of Lenin's comment that crises steel and temper some and crush and break others and that overall the former category is by far the largest. Diyarbakir and Mamak are an emphatic affirmation of Lenin's point of view. Those revolutionary fighters must now be actively defended in their struggles; and the Turkish regime along with its Western imperialist backers, must be exposed.

A comrade

Planning an Internationalist Wall?

May 1st Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

- ★ **Long Live Red 1st of May, Symbol of the World Proletarian Revolution!**
- ★ **Build the Unity of the International Revolution!**
- ★ **Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**
- ★ **Prevent World War!**
- ★ **Step Up the Struggle for Revolution Throughout the World!**
- ★ Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations As a Mighty Force for Revolution!
- ★ Support the Peoples War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!
- ★ Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!
- ★ Break the Chains, Smash the Fery of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Being held in many countries this May 1st.

¡Que Viva El 1º De Mayo Rojo, Símbolo De La Revolución Proletaria Mundial!

- ★ **¡Construir La Unidad Del Proletariado Internacional!**
- ★ **¡Viva La Formación Del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista!**
- ★ **¡Impidamos La Guerra Mundial!**
- ★ **¡Redoblemos La Lucha Por La Revolución En Todo El Mundo!**
- ★ ¡Desarrollar la Lucha de las Masas contra los Preparativos Bélicos de los Imperialistas como una Fuerza Poderosa para la Revolución!
- ★ ¡Apoyar la Guerra Popular en el Perú y Todas las Luchas Revolucionarias de los Pueblos Oprimidos contra el Imperialismo y la Reacción!
- ★ ¡Solidaridad con todos los Luchadores de la Revolución Proletaria! ¡Luchar por su Liberación!
- ★ ¡Romper los Cadenas, Resucitar la Furia de la Mujer como una Fuerza Poderosa para la Revolución!

¡Lanzado en muchos países este 1º de Mayo.

Now Available — Posters of the May 1st slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in French, English, Spanish, Lingala, Russian, Arabic, Farsi and Chinese.

Contact a Revolution Books store in your area (see Page 16) or write to: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486 Chicago, IL 60654

May 1st Youth of Petrograd



The following article is reprinted from the May 1, 1983 issue of the RW.

From the Petrograd Bureau of the Okhrana to the Director of the Department of Police
May 1, 1915
No. 9537

I have the great honor to convey to your eminence that today, the traditional "proletarian holiday of May First," everything was almost completely calm and orderly in all the factories and plants.

The revolutionary section of the workers, who wanted to mark this day with strikes, were able only to leave work early and disperse peacefully to their homes These numbered no more than 800.

We are searching for those who led in this activity, and we will take appropriate measures against them.

In the high schools too the day went peacefully, and there were no kinds of demonstrations observed.

For the Okhrana Bureau,
Volkov

So gloated the arrogant chiefs of the Okhrana, the Tsarist secret police, on May First 1915. And it is true that with the outbreak of the First World War much had changed from the prewar upsurge in Russia, which had witnessed significant political strikes on previous May Days, involving thousands of workers. The declaration of war in August 1914 brought a repressive patriotic atmosphere and severe attacks against revolutionary organizations. On the eve of the very May First the report speaks of, the Okhrana itself had carried out a wave of arrests, rounding up over 100 revolutionary leaders and activists. Beneath the surface calm that so comforted the political police chief, there was much stirring. And work was carried out which was essential preparation for the event shortly to come that would puncture the smug self-assurances of the Okhrana — the Russian Revolution.

The following is taken from the me-

moirs of a revolutionary youth, Zhigaryev, in Petrograd, who lived and fought through those times. It provides a glimpse of what happened on that crucial May First 1915, which cried out for internationalist activity and was met in part by the daring work he describes. The memoir was printed in *Krasnaia Letopis'*, a periodic journal compiling material from the Russian Communist Party in the 1920s and 1930s. The translation is by the RW, as is that of the Bolshevik leaflet which follows.

In August 1914, Zhigaryev was a teen-aged youth, a proletarian, and appears to have been a member of the Bolshevik Party. In his words:

Everything began with the war — and, really, I began with it too. The war found me working at the Simons-Schukert factory on Vasilevsky Island (in Petersburg). I worked there as a laborer. At the beginning of the imperialist war all the organizations were smashed. Our previously existing organization on Vasilevsky Island was smashed as well. One section of the militant workers was arrested, the other exiled We remained, a group of young workers Since we had no intellectuals among us, we had to rely on our own forces

After months of effort, and not a few losses to the political police, Zhigaryev and his small handful of proletarian youth — none of them was over 22, which they seem to have taken as both a point of pride and a weakness — had managed to make contact with revolutionaries in other neighborhoods, as well as with the Petrograd Committee itself, which, with the Central Committee not functioning inside Russia, had become the leading practical center and one of Lenin's main connections with the party. Zhigaryev assumed responsibility for distributing some of the literature to the underground Bolshevik organizations.

On the eve of May First 1915, we held

meetings to prepare: at ours there were a lot of Mensheviks And then right on the eve of May First, just after the May Day call of the Petrograd Committee had gone out, its members were arrested. We had to go ahead with the May First meetings. The decision had been that they would be after dinner, that people would not return to work. Our secret rendezvous point was on Geslerovskiy Street. The comrades would gather there, because it was worse from the point of view of spies. I worked at the Duflon plant till lunch, then went to the meeting spot. I remember now how I was reading a newspaper, and I noticed two faces off to the side curiously observing me. A feeling came over me that these were *shpiki**. But at the same time, the question forced itself on me, how *shpiki* would be here, where no other of my comrades had come yet, since I was the only one there. It was an uneasy situation. However, I waited. Anyhow, I had jumped over a gate and concealed myself already. The *shpiki* too were cautious. I saw Afanasyev coming. "Strange," he said, "I didn't see anybody on the way." "Well," I said, "maybe we're about to be nabbed." It was very strange that still no one had come. Something was wrong. We waited a little longer, until a woman from the Semyonov factory came. We grabbed her and then set off for another meeting place we knew about in Lesnaya. A few other comrades were there, and Bogdanov was waiting. He had brought the May Day leaflets. As we arrived, we saw one of the *shpiki*. "Well," I remarked to Bogdanov, "this is becoming a regular thing. Where are the rest of the comrades?" "What the hell do you mean, 'rest of,'" he replied, "we've got to run for it. We'll head for Kamyenny Island." While we were discussing this, one *shpik* walked by, and another positioned himself in a nearby doorway. Though a number of years have passed since then, that face is burned into my memory — I can see it even now, hanging over that grey overcoat As Afanasyev and I lit out for a streetcar stop, I told him how I felt about that swine. I felt instinctively that the *shpik* was not far behind us; however, glancing around, there was nothing. But sure enough, as we jumped onto the last wagon of the street car, there was the *shpik*, leaping on from wherever he'd been hidden, probably having overheard what I'd said about him. He was in the next car, and we realized things were looking bad. Somehow we had to save not only ourselves, but the leaflets too. "We've got to jump for it," I said, even though it was a long way to the next rendezvous point. We would leap out on Kamyenny Island bridge. No one would be around. Perhaps the *shpik* might get nervous and begin to wonder whether we had guns — in fact, we didn't even have a knife. So we jumped out at the bridge — no one followed. We raced for Lesnaya, where several comrades were waiting for us. They had lookouts posted at the door. We had just arrived and begun to relax when suddenly a woman raced in and told us that the *shpiki* were coming: "Well, little ones," she said, "save yourselves if you can." We hurriedly distributed some of the leaflets. I flew out the doorway and through a gate, and ran right under the nose of one of the *shpiki*"

Below are excerpts from the May First leaflet the youth guarded with his life:

Proclamation of the Petersburg Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party**

Workers of the World, Unite!

Before us lies the First of May, the proletarian holiday. Everywhere around the

* The Russian word used here, *shpiki*, means both police agent and "salted pork fat" (see Smirnitsky's *Russian-English Dictionary*), revealing that the term "pig" goes back quite a long way indeed.

**With Russia's declaration of war against Germany in 1914, the name of the Russian capital, St. Petersburg, was expunged of its Germanic "—burg" and changed to the Slavic "Petrograd." The Bolsheviks seem to have frequently used "Petersburg," perhaps as a sort of in-your-face to the guardians of Russian linguistic purity.

globe on this day the factories and plants fall silent, red flags fly, proletarian slogans resound, giving witness to the rising forces of the proletariat. Like sprouts of a twisting plant, they entwine the globe, penetrating everywhere, to any place where factory smoke spews and, laden with heavy labor, the wounded heart of the proletariat languishes. Through the dense forest of survivals of the old world it is up to the proletariat to open a path for socialism. On this First of May, every conscious proletarian profoundly grasps the guarantee of proletarian victory — the fierce international solidarity and unshakable truth of the proletarian slogans. The old moribund world is straining with all its might to tear apart the rising movement of the proletariat and with diabolical cunning is inoculating it with twisted national chauvinist hatred and is strengthening a thousand-fold the insufferable yoke of militarism. And now the hour has struck, when the irreconcilable enemies — one with insatiable lust for plunder, hatred and cannon, the other with red banners and cries for a new world, united — must enter into single combat. In fire and smoke the international unity of the proletariat is being tried. All the strength of the proletarian leaders and masses is required to defend the bright ideals of the International. But the first shots have already rung out, and the international unity of the workers wavered and stumbled. The work of the bourgeoisie was not for nothing: the poisonous seed of chauvinism found fertile soil in the Second International. First German, then Austrian Social-Democracy, with the majority of their leadership at the head, fell prey to this nationalist hatred and gave their blessings to the proletariat to fight this brother-killing-brother war. And as the final step on this infamous path, they have turned aside from the celebration of May Day. Having rejected countering the nationalism of the bourgeoisie with the internationalism of the proletariat, having rejected the necessity for sharp class struggle at precisely this historic moment, they have now also forgotten that shining symbol of proletarian unity, the day of May First. The banner of the proletariat, that so proudly flew on May First, they have soiled in the dirt of chauvinism and handed to their own enemies

In this crucial historic moment, a heavy but honorable mission has fallen onto the shoulders of the still young, but already sorely tested Russian Social-Democracy. If West European Social-Democracy, having grown accustomed to a long period of peaceful development, passing now to the full blossoming of opportunism, has dropped from its own hand the fighting banner of the proletariat and turned away from revolutionary struggle, then the path of Russian Social-Democracy, every step of which is marked in blood, must be to hold high this banner, to carry it unsullied through the passions of patriotism. The young proletariat of Russia will indeed carry through this mission to victory. Life has already shown that the proletarians of Russia are not alone in this battle Liebknecht,* whose name the world proletariat will never forget, and several of his comrades, have remained true to the proletarian cause Today, with full belief in victory, and with the full strength of the proletariat in Russia, let us celebrate the First of May.

Down with the war!
Down with the autocracy!
Long live the First of May!
Long live the 8-hour working day and confiscation of the landlords' land!
Long live the second Russian Revolution!

The Petersburg Committee of the RSDLP

* In contrast to the chauvinist capitulation of the great majority of leaders and parliamentary representatives of the large German Social-Democratic Party, Karl Liebknecht refused to vote for war credits for the German government and was imprisoned for his revolutionary opposition to the war.

Henry K. from page 1

things to say about nuclear war, in response to a question about his attitude toward NATO adopting a policy of no first-use of nuclear weapons: "If we announce that we will use nuclear weapons only if they are used against us, then we are saying we would rather be defeated with conventional weapons than to use nuclear weapons. . . . At the end of the day, we still may be forced to use nuclear weapons rather than let Europe, uh, go under. . . ."

Outside, people gathered for the demonstration, which was called by the Central American Non-Intervention Coalition (CANIC), a coalition of various Central American support groups in the Bay Area. They put out a leaflet and called on people to bring pots and pans to bang together. At the same time, Kissinger's visit and the call for the demonstration coincided with a "Tax Day" action called by the Livermore Action Group in protest of taxes going to the military budget. LAG's plan for Tax Day was to have a series of decentralized protests in a variety of places around the Bay Area on Monday, and then a larger action at the Livermore National Laboratory, where nuclear bombs are developed, on Tuesday.

One of the major focuses of Monday's decentralized actions was the San Francisco financial district, a major center of finance capital in the western U.S., and chock-full of companies that are major investors in nuclear weapons production and nuclear power. When the Kissinger demonstration was announced, many of the affinity groups already planning to be staging actions in downtown San Francisco shifted their plans so that they could have their actions and make it to the demonstration.

So, throughout the morning police were kept busy, chasing the antinuclear activists spread out all over the downtown area. Anti-nukers and punks staged actions in San Francisco, and sort of building up a head of political steam, then converged at the Kissinger demonstration.

One such group, of mainly punk rockers, staged a series of hit-and-run "die-ins" inside the lobbies of companies like Bechtel, major manufacturer of nuclear power plants (among other crimes), and PG&E, which just got its license to start low-power testing of the hated Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor. The group would go into the lobbies of these corporate headquarters, and "die" all over the floor, many with faces painted in white-face with bloody wounds, passing out leaflets to stunned office workers "from the grave," so to speak. Before they could get busted, they would get up and go on to the next tower of high finance.

Into The Street

The police had set up a "designated demonstration area" across the street from the Hilton. Setting up such "designated demonstration areas," where stale and peaceful demonstrations are allowed, is one of the key police tactics for containing protests at the Democratic Convention; the city has used this tactic successfully already at recent demonstrations, for example, the recent visit of Ariel Sharon to San Francisco. This time, however, things didn't work out for the authorities. The demonstration started at another side of the hotel, in an area supposedly off-limits. And not only that, everybody almost immediately poured off the sidewalks into the streets.

At that point in the demonstration, perhaps partly because police forces all over the city were still scrambling after Tax Day, the police were not able to force what were now hundreds of demonstrators back onto the sidewalks. They did try, charging into the crowd with six or eight mounted pigs, and groups of TAC Squad with batons drawn making repeated swinging forays into the crowd. But while there were some voices on bullhorns throughout the demonstration urging people to go home and get off the streets, these were generally unheeded. Police horses were surrounded by demonstrators. A fine scene unfolded, with chants (like "Henry Kissinger, You Can't Hide, We Charge You With Genocide" and "No Vietnam in Central

America"), various banners flying, red flags defiantly brandished, banging of pots and pans, whistles blowing, and paper missiles and eggs flying through the air. About 40 small red flags had been distributed earlier and they could be seen throughout the crowd, some of them with black balloons attached by anarchist-leaning youth.

After awhile, partly in protest of police viciousness, a group of people staged another die-in in the nearest intersection, further clogging up traffic and drawing further attacks from the police, who started to spray one protestor with mace. The battle continued to rage, with the demonstrators going around one side of the building and finally to a third side, where the Hilton's American flag was pulled from the pole and ripped into pieces. Some tatters of this flag were waved as banners later on. Containers of blood were dumped on a number of police cars.

The whole scene in the streets lasted about one and a half hours; it finally ended when the police were able to surround about 191 people in the street, brutally beating some people in the process. Spirits held high even as people were corralled and taken to paddy wagons — chanting continued. Some people started to learn the *Internationale* for the first time. The police charged most of those rounded up with misdemeanor failure to disperse, and charged three people with felony assault.

Convention

The demonstration came at a very uncomfortable time, smack in the midst of intensive preparations for the Democratic Convention. The authorities, with the help of some forces in the social movements, have been trying very hard to create both the image and the reality of "the volatile political forces are under control" going into the Democratic Convention.

The media gave extensive coverage to the demonstration, with these preparations obviously very much in mind. It was the front-page story in both the *Oakland Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* and was repeatedly and extensively covered on the TV and radio, and was reported nationally. Overall, the media coverage has tried on the one hand to portray the demonstration as much more violent — in terms of rocks and bottles being thrown at police — than it actually was; on the other hand, and even more, the media has tried to portray the police as basically in control the whole time, and to even give some play to their brutality, to create a broad atmosphere of "if you try to fight city hall, you get smashed." The media, in other words, has been loudly making a case in order to justify a heavy political clampdown during the convention.

One revealing exchange along these lines occurred on a local talk show where San Francisco police chief, Con Murphy, was the guest:

Host: "Let's project towards that Democratic Convention in July. There's no question that there are going to be demonstrations and there's no question that people remember Chicago in 1968. And there's probably no question that that film of what occurred yesterday has been disseminated through the United States so people are aware of it. Do you think that based on what occurred yesterday you guys are going in for a, perhaps a rougher time in July?"

Con Murphy: "No. Absolutely not. What we said from the beginning, when we first met with the Democratic people, when we first talked with the media about how we were going to police the convention, we said that we were going to police the convention with an iron fist in a velvet glove. And that's exactly what we're going to do and that's what we did yesterday. The velvet glove aspect is we're going to sit down with you and give you the guidelines, but if you don't live within the guidelines, then it's going to be the iron fist." Thank you, gentlemen, for the little lesson on bourgeois democracy, and how it applies to the very democratic Democratic Convention.

Some of the finer points of modern democracy, and their breakdown in the streets on Monday, have also been addressed by the police. The spokesman for the San Francisco TAC Squad complained on the radio that the demonstration got out of hand because there was no "internal policing" and because the police

could not "communicate" with the demonstrators.

RCP

The name of the RCP has come up rather prominently in the bourgeois rehash of the demonstration, although maybe not in the most coherent fashion. The *San Francisco Examiner* claimed that the RCP was one of the groups that organized the demonstration; the chief of the police TAC Squad, on the other hand, said that there was present "a sprinkling of people from the Revolutionary Communist Party and they weren't supposed to be there." But these knowledgeable gentlemen apparently did agree that any influence of the RCP needed to be attacked.

There certainly is a serious purpose to the singling out of the RCP in accounts of the action. It is part of a pattern of attempts by the authorities in this area to brand the party as "violent" in order to set it up for future attacks and counter its influence. This often intensifies around May Day, and in the immediate sense, the fuss about the party is no doubt aimed at this year's May Day. The RCP and a local May Day Committee have publicly called for a May Day convergence at 24th and Mission Streets in San Francisco. (As we go to press on Friday, April 20, still another front-page article appeared, targeting the party in the context of the anti-Kissinger action and the Democratic Convention protests. The article cited statements directed against the RCP both by police spokesmen and certain revisionist-influenced opportunists.)

Debate

Within the movement, the demonstration has been sharply debated. Especially those who are determined to pursue the path of electoral politics, and to win the anti-nuke movement to this path, have raised a hue and cry about the action. These issued, for example, from two of the large coalitions which have been formed to organize demonstrations at the time of the convention — the Peoples' Convention, the core groups which sup-

port Jesse Jackson, and the Peace and Environmental Coalition. As usual, these expressed their politics as a matter of tactics — theirs would be realistic and responsible, "in stark contrast," as they put it, to the Kissinger protest. The coalitions promised "trained monitors for every ten to thirty convention demonstrators."

One of the leaders of the People's Convention, wearing the mantle of a veteran of the 1968 Democratic Convention demonstrations said: "In '68, we were so furious at the Democratic Party because of the Vietnam war we didn't give a damn whether a Democrat or a Republican was elected. Now, we feel it's crucial to defeat Reagan. We don't want to mess up the convention or give the city a black-eye by having a riot in the streets, but we want to say firmly, 'we demand you listen to us.'"

Well, excuse us, but . . . wasn't that Henry Kissinger out there lurching with the Commonwealth Club? You know, Henry Kissinger, Reagan's right-hand man on Central American warfare? Somehow, to us, the politics of "defeating Reagan" doesn't seem a particularly solid argument for condemning an action against Reagan's ally Kissinger!

It is indeed at times like these that electoral politics is at its most ludicrous. But there is method to the madness. For what is fundamentally at issue, we now hear, is not just a question of tactics — direct action versus "responsible protest" or some such — but a whole political-line which aims to enlist the antiwar movement in the grand effort to "demand you" — the bourgeoisie — "listen to us." And the bourgeoisie, so this story goes, will never "listen" to those scruffy crowds outside the Hilton. Thus, even the appearance of a sick war criminal like Henry Kissinger cannot be allowed to provoke anything that will tarnish the respectable image.

Of course, even among those forces that are not so eager to try and talk the imperialists out of war, there is continuing debate over what happened. Among some of the punks, for example, there is some struggle over the heat that comes from being pointed out for being in the forefront of the action. One person commented afterward, "Well, we might have been out there first, but a lot of people sure followed us."

He was quite right — what was tapped for a couple of hours this week was a widespread sentiment of going straight up against the war preparations. No wonder the authorities so bitterly condemn the action! □



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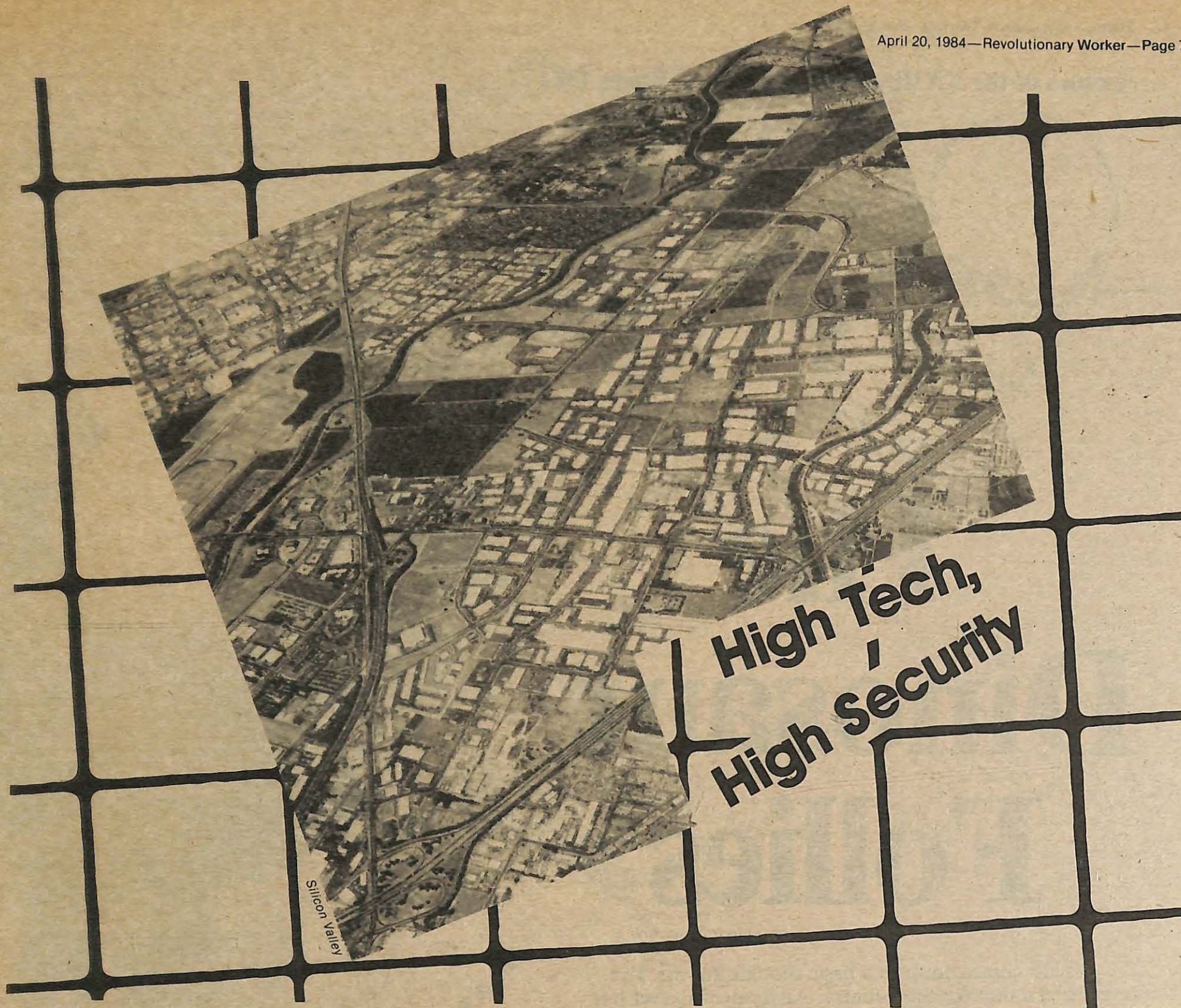
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Silicon Valley, the much-heralded, all-American high-tech success story, center of the U.S. electronics industry and one of the key centers of production and development of the technical breakthroughs crucial to the battlefields of World War 3, has recently become the scene of another, closely-related form of all-American activity — handcuffs, interrogation rooms, and deportations of "aliens."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) kicked off the new phase in labor relations in Silicon Valley on March 7th, when 30 Migra police stormed into three buildings of General Technologies, one of the largest printed circuit firms in the Valley. The silence of the production process was shattered as workers were chased down, shackled and herded off. Thirty-two workers "agreed" to immediate repatriation and were put on a bus for El Centro. Another 14 were sent to an Alameda County detention center for further processing. The usual effects of such operations prevailed: families torn apart, children left in the care of babysitters, and some, like the 35% of deported Salvadorans who are either killed or imprisoned upon return to El Salvador, may lose their lives.

While such raids are hardly new to California and the Southwest — the INS reports that over one million people were seized at the Mexican border in 1983 and 200,000 in raids like the one at General Technologies — there have been very few raids in Silicon Valley until recent months. The General Technologies raid was the largest in the south San Francisco Bay area in at least two and a half years, and a signal of the beginning of a dramatic change in INS policy toward Silicon Valley. The day after the raid, Harold Ezell, the Western Regional INS Commissioner, came up from his base in L.A. to hold a press conference and to announce the opening of a new INS office in San Jose, to be the staging area for twice-monthly raids in the electronics industry in Silicon Valley.

On April 16th, Ezell made another trip up to Silicon Valley and held another

press conference. This was the official opening day of the San Jose office, and two separate raids on different electronics plants were held. Ezell announced not only the raids, but said that, "Probably 25% of the working population in this area is here illegally, particularly in the Silicon Valley area." He announced that the San Jose office would conduct a minimum of "two raids a week" in the Santa Clara Valley, concentrating on the electronics industry.

Ridiculous?

Almost everyone with anything to do with the workforce in Silicon Valley was agog. Social service agency workers called Ezell's statements "ridiculous," and "ludicrous," while an employer — doubtless with his own profit-oriented interests in mind — called the planned raids "a witchhunt."

Comment from sources such as these was not, of course, much concerned with the nauseating chauvinism with which these raids were, as usual, justified: "more jobs for Americans," and so forth. Nor has the issue been the brutality with which the raids, also as usual, were carried out. Instead it is Ezell's direct implication that fully a quarter of the Silicon Valley workforce are without legal papers that has drawn the public fire. Challenged on his figures, Ezell only repeated them the next day, saying that, if anything, they were understated.

This is, indeed, an astounding position. Overwhelmingly, workers without papers in electronics are from Mexico and Central America, but according to one reliable set of figures, "Hispanics" as a whole in the industry — with and without papers — total about 28% of the workforce. According to Ezell, then, nearly *all* of these would have to be "illegal"! This is a blatant lie, the true situation being exactly the other way around. From the observations of workers and others in the industry, only a small percentage of "Hispanics" are without papers.

So, has the Migra set up a brand new office to attack nonexistent "illegals"?

Not hardly. There is a real and ominous purpose for the new office and fresh campaign of raids.

San Jose Census

The electronics plants of the San Francisco area sit in the middle of a region which has received a gathering stream of workers especially from Mexico; many of these have poured into the area right around San Jose. According to census figures, San Jose has the fourth largest percentage of Mexicans and Chicanos of all major cities in the U.S. — roughly twenty-two percent in 1980 and growing at a rate of twenty-one percent per year, leading to an estimated population of 250,000 Hispanics in Santa Clara by the end of this year. Generally, census figures underestimate "illegals," who are coming into the area in large numbers, according to agencies that offer services to immigrants. In general, the number of "illegals" working in the general San Jose area is much larger than the number in the electronics industry.

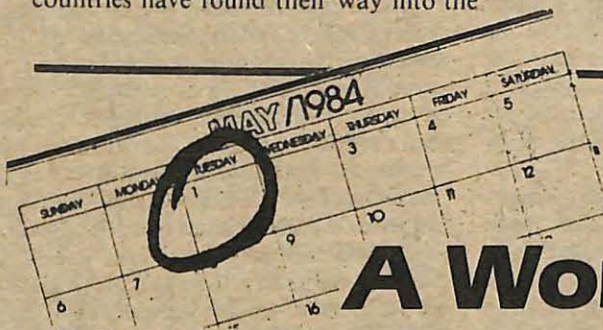
But some of these workers without papers, along with a much larger group of "legal" immigrant workers from Mexico, the Philippines and other Asian countries have found their way into the

electronics industry. This has been inevitable given the drive in these plants to draw from and exploit a pool of cheap labor — the work force as a whole is about 68% women and at least half minorities and immigrants. Wages range from \$3.75 an hour to \$5, and experienced workers pull in \$5 to \$7.

The "illegal" workers in electronics have been concentrated and rather strictly quarantined in *certain* corners of the industry. While wages are uniformly low in the plants, there are sharp differences in the character of the various jobs and various plants, such as in the stability of the work, the physical conditions of the plants, and even something of a wage differential. These are differences which are highly political in motivation. Some plants, which do more sensitive and open military work, hire almost no one but native-born workers — intent to be more stable, and "pleasant" — and pay somewhat higher wages in return for what they see as better security.

At the other end of the spectrum there are the plants that tend to hire almost entirely immigrants, and in some cases, almost entirely workers without papers. These plants are an integral part of the

Continued on page 10



A World Without Imperialism — Not an Imperialist World War!

Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad Los Angeles 1984



The Dinosaur Follies

“It just comes down to a basic thought for me. I’ve never fired a shot for this country. Anybody who ever has aided in the firing of a shot to defend this country has done a hell of a lot more than I can ever do coaching the Olympic team. But that’s something that is available to me that I can do. And it’s something that I would like very much to do, simply as an American citizen.”

— Bobby Knight, coach of 1984 Olympic basketball team USA

But Mr. Knight is being entirely too modest. His contributions to the defense of everything that America stands for are already legendary the world over. As coach of the 1979 U.S. team at the Pan American Games in Puerto Rico, Knight called the Brazilian women’s basketball team “a bunch of dirty whores” when they were using a practice gym that he wanted. Knight is also noted for having called a Puerto Rican cop a “dirty nigger,” and for publicly bragging that as his plane was flying home he “mooned” the U.S.’s foremost Caribbean colonial possession. And then there are the statements like, “I don’t like women at all,” and testimony that women “are good for having kids and frying bacon” — both of which reflect America’s long-held commitment to *brotherhood*. And all this is over and above Knight’s informal title as the “General Patton of basketball,” a richly deserved moniker earned for his authoritarian style as a coach and the brand of basketball his programmed foot soldiers are required to play.

So it’s no wonder that Bobby Knight was selected to lead what has been described by one basketball magazine as a major Olympic crusade: getting back at the Russians for the 1972 Olympics, when the U.S., the preeminent basketball power, was handed its only defeat since the game was introduced in 1936. The U.S. was so crushed that it refused to even accept the lowly silver medal. But now, for the first time since that dark day, the U.S. and Soviet teams are expected to clash for the gold in Los Angeles this summer. And Bobby Knight has been chosen to lead the charge — un-

doubtedly with good wishes from his golfing buddies, former U.S. President Gerald Ford and former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, his trusted confidant, House Speaker Tip O’Neill, his fellow directors at Radio Free Europe, etc. While Knight may yet have an opportunity to live out his fantasies in a *military* assignment, for the moment he is the perfect choice to fulfill his country’s assignment in *sport* — a “political-minded patriot who can coach,” in the words of the *Los Angeles Times*. Move over, Sam the Eagle. There can be no more fitting mascot than Bobby the Dinosaur for the 1984 Summer Olympics.

That this pinnacle of international sport will occasion mountains of the crudest chauvinist propaganda, and is already doing so, goes without saying. Even a high-caliber *national* sports event can provide such opportunities, as evidenced by Ronald Reagan’s public phone call to the coach of the winning Super Bowl team earlier this year. Before over 100 million viewers on live TV, Reagan quipped, “I think you’re giving us problems. Moscow just called and they think Marcus Allen is our secret weapon and they insist we dismantle him. If you turn him over to us, we’ll put him in our silos and we wouldn’t have to build and deploy MX missiles.” The celebrated — and then, somewhat deflating — experience of the Winter Games in Sarajevo, and its coverage by ABC-TV and other media, has already put Reagan’s Super Bowl performance to shame. And the up-



coming circus in Los Angeles promises to be in another league altogether.

There is a view in some circles that the ugly national chauvinism — as in the rallying of patriotic support for the “home team” and the promotion of a frenzy of burning desire to defeat all challengers (especially when they come from a certain rival superpower and its bloc) — is an unsavory if unavoidable adjunct to this contest between athletes from various countries. But consider the professorial exposition of a political analyst for the CIA, one David B. Kanin. In his book, *A Political History of the Olympic Games*, based on background research done for the 1980 U.S. Olympic boycott effort, the author gets down to the real nuts and bolts of the “science” of Olympic sports manipulation and propaganda.

Professor Kanin begins with a glossary of terms. After refining the differences between athlete and sportsman, contest and competition, he continues on:

“*Sportsmanship*: Sportsmanship involves a process of inculcating the individual with societal values through the medium of sport participation. Since the ‘rights’ and ‘wrongs’ of sport are more clearly perceived than the intricacies of legal jargon and political maneuver, principles of sportsmanship are effective weapons in the state’s struggle to integrate its people and its doctrines.

“*Spectator*: A spectator is an indirect or vicarious participant in a sporting

event. Followers of sport are even more important targets of propaganda for national integration than the athletes themselves. A *fan* is a spectator who feels partisan emotion toward at least one of the contestants in a sporting event. Fan is a diminutive of fanatic.”

Kanin goes on to distill the inner workings of the world of sports competition between nations, explaining as he goes the qualities that make sports in the hands of the Great Powers so valuable:

“International sport is a form of cross-cultural activity which attracts the interest of, and is understood by, a mass public. Most of those involved in sport transactions are indirect participants who have their contact with athletes and fans from other states second hand, via the mass media. Modern communication technology makes matches of national interest immediately available to anyone who wants to watch or listen. It enables this mass public, which tends to identify with the athletes, to take notice of contests against teams or individuals from friendly or hostile states. Governments can use this identification when sporting events are staged to demonstrate the temper of relations between the states represented by the athletes.

“...Sport is safe...because it is peripheral to the international system....



rules which are common to most of the world.

"The use of sport to convey a diplomatic message or to promote the identification of the citizen with the state and its policies is now a regularized and systematic phenomenon. It is so because the political and technological revolutions of the last two centuries have called for active participation of political 'spectators' in most political systems."

A defeat in a match will not normally be avenged by the use of force by the state whose athletic representatives have lost. . . . (E)ven without the direct involvement of state power, the public can be made aware of moods and policies toward other countries. . . .

"... If the staging of a sporting event can be a sign of cooperation, the activity itself is a direct comparison of the physical and mental abilities of the societies' human resources. States may try to use sport to represent international goodwill, but the mechanism of sport makes it a potential forum for inter-state confrontation as well.

"Paradoxically, sport is also important in international relations because, as an activity, it has no intrinsic political value. It can be used by any state to demonstrate the physical prowess of the human resources of any ideology or value system. Sport activity has no political content in itself, therefore the sporting process can be given any political interpretation imaginable. The Gentleman Sportsman, All-American Boy, and New Soviet Man can all play the same sport controlled by the same federation. Sport provides an arena for the direct comparison of athletes representing different societies by spectators who understand

Thank you, Mr. Kanin, for the imperialist-eye view: The sports arena can be and is utilized in the identification of the citizen with the state, the demonstration of the temper between states, the integration of the state's people with its doctrines.

Sport isn't the same as politics per se. Sport is, well, sport! — a part, and an important part, of life. But sport is *led* by politics, good or bad, in every society. (Though, contrary to Kanin, sport activity *does* have political content "in itself.") And *these days* the politics in command involve something very specific indeed: the preparation of today's "sportsmen" and "spectators" for participation in the kind of activity that gives Bobby Knight his wet dreams.

If chauvinist reaction, circa 1984, seems to be a "corruption of the Olympic ideal," as some seem to think, then one can only ask: what is this Olympic ideal? And one can only answer that the state of things Olympian in 1984 is perhaps the foremost *embodiment* of the Olympic ideal yet.

One of the favorite ploys of the Olympic high priests is to harken back to the

mythological days of ancient Greece, when the warring slavocracies would supposedly interrupt the bloodletting for some athletic competition. In the Modern Olympics, it is the athletic competitions that are interrupted in the event of world war. The question of which is closer to the Olympic ideal can be left to the next Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) cocktail party. But in the real world, they do have something in common. In both cases, the Games have played an important role in rallying the minions for the maulings.

Indeed, the initial inspiration for the Modern Olympics was a war, the Franco-Prussian War to be exact. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, credited with being the prime mover behind the rebirth of the Games, became interested in sports after the French bourgeoisie suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Prussians. The French Nation was shocked, and all the more so after the historic insurrection of the Paris Commune, itself brought on by the war. A precursor of times to come.

Coubertin was sent abroad to study the sports movements and educational systems which had arisen in Europe and America and were playing a significant role in reinforcing and promoting the national identity of those powers. Coubertin figured that such a movement was just what the demoralized French needed.

It was hardly coincidental that the leap to international sports contests (that is, involving Europe and the U.S. at that time) occurred with the emergence of imperialism and the imperialist world order at the end of the nineteenth century. In arguing for the Modern Olympics, Coubertin declared: "Let us export our oarsmen, our runners, our fencers, into other lands. That is the true free trade of the future; and the day it is introduced into Europe the cause of peace will have received a new and strong ally."

Ah yes, the "cause of peace" — demagoguery reflective of imperialism's peaceful periods of truce between wars (even as war against oppressed nations was and is unrelenting). This persists today: LAOOC President Peter Ueberroth,

for instance, will wax lyrical about how the Games are for the athletes, the brotherhood of sport, and even peace. But one Olympic tradition belies the essence of the matter: the very first Olympics in 1896 saw the raising of the national flag and the playing of the national anthem for the victorious athletes.

Thus, the cause of peace was short-lived, even for the noble Baron. In 1912, on the eve of the First World War, Coubertin delivered an essay entitled "Sport and War." In it, he said, "Sports have enhanced all the qualities that are useful for war: fearlessness, good humor, readiness for the unexpected, awareness of how to make an effort that does not waste needless energy. Today's young sportsman clearly feels himself better prepared than his elders to march off to the front." 1912 was also the year that Coubertin introduced the Modern Pentathlon into the Olympic Games, an event designed to simulate the five greatest tests of a cavalry officer under battle conditions.

Even before these first prewar Olympics, the Games were the scene of fierce political jockeying between competing nations. At the London Games of 1908, for example, the British organizers failed to display the Swedish, Finnish and American flags in the opening ceremonies. They claimed it was an oversight. The Swedes went home in protest, but the U.S. decided to turn the incident to its own symbolic advantage. As the U.S. athletes passed the reviewing stand, the bearer of the stars and stripes leading the team broke with established custom and refused to "dip the flag" before King Edward VII. Since that time, the U.S. has been the only power to decline to participate in this gesture to the home team's nationalism.

The 1908 Games also featured the disqualification of the American winner of the finals of the 400-meter race. He was disqualified for having interfered with a British runner, although the U.S. claimed that it was the other way around; the officials were, of course, British. When the finals were repeated, the other U.S. runners in that event withdrew in protest. In the 1908 marathon, the first runner into the stadium after the 26 miles was an Italian named Dorando Pietri. He collapsed short of the finish line and was helped across by the British officials. He ultimately had to be disqualified, thereby enabling the victory to go to a runner from the U.S. What made matters even worse, for the British, was that the victor was of Irish descent. Therefore, the British ran up the Italian flag on the victory stand and the British royal family presented a special gold cup to the Italian runner. It has been reported that while photos of the event showed Pietri being helped across the line, the painting commissioned to immortalize the race makes it look as if he crossed the line on his own! To cap off the 1908 exercise in sports brotherhood, the Americans kidnapped the British team mascot, a lion, and paraded the animal in chains through the streets of New York, touching off a flurry of British diplomatic protests.

1936 Pre-War Games

The 1936 Olympic Games saw war blocs solidified and preparations for the coming conflagration moving full-speed ahead. By that year, total armament expenditures of 62 nations had reached nearly \$11 billion — more than two and a half times the expenditures of six years before — and the larger powers were appropriating as much as 70% of their national budgets to pay off past war debts and to underwrite their arsenals.* And their respective plans for the Olympics in Berlin not only reflected this situation, but had an important role to play in the

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* Cited in Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon, *America in Decline* (Chicago: Banner Press, 1984) p. 205.

High Tech

Continued from page 7

production process in electronics; they generally carry out part of the production that is extremely labor intensive, and not so critical technologically.

Here to Stay

There has been a certain trend toward moving major production facilities of this nature abroad, to countries in Asia. Indeed this global extraction of profits has always been an important aspect of the industry and a critical part of its dynamism. But while some industry commentators have talked of a trend toward every aspect of production going overseas because of the cheap labor and other economic factors — with Silicon Valley itself becoming a center for research and development in the corporate headquarters — such a move is highly unlikely. For one thing, the tremendous rate of technological change in the industry makes it very advantageous to have critical parts of the production process centered in this same place with the engineers and scientists so that they can closely monitor start-up production for new products. Even more important are the security considerations, especially in time of world war (or revolutionary upheaval in key countries in Asia). The U.S. hardly wants to be totally dependent at such times on facilities thousands of miles away for such things as control panels for new jet fighters, or the brains for "smart bombs."

So, large sections of the lowest-paying, most labor-intensive industry seems certain to remain in the Valley, while the area around it fairly explodes with an immigrant population. Until now, the industry has confronted the resulting influx of "illegal" workers by limiting it as much as possible, and isolating them, as we have said. It is impossible to say whether the influx of workers without papers in electronics has grown... it is safe to assume that the bourgeoisie is concerned.

Climate Gets Hot

Yet, in normal times this status quo might have been tolerable, or might have been dealt with less drastically. However these are, of course, not normal times and one factor — security, especially military-related security — looms above all others.

There have been numerous signs lately that the climate around security in Silicon Valley is hot and getting hotter. Just this week, one Silicon Valley entrepreneur pleaded guilty to selling ICBM missile secrets and other military secrets to the Soviets. This was after months of wrangling in the courts over whether he should get the *death penalty* for espionage. One judge argued that he should be at least up for the death penalty, if convicted, because his actions "could cause grave harm to millions of Americans." When a Court of Appeals finally decided that the death penalty could not apply in this case, he pleaded guilty and agreed to turn state's evidence against his reported partners. Beyond this, in San Francisco over the last period there has been a whole series of "exposures" in the local press of the Soviet embassy, which has all kinds of funny antennas on the roof and is reported to focus most of its attention (and its antennas) on Silicon Valley. A long list of federal and local police agencies have announced that they are setting up various task forces to defeat spying in Silicon Valley.

One example of how all this comes

down in the workforce is concentrated in the story told to the *RW* by an anti-nuke activist who had dropped out of school and was working in the electronics industry in Silicon Valley. He had been working in one of the "better" plants in the area — relatively high wages and good conditions — and had discovered that he was building parts for Trident Delta missiles. When he started to tell the people he was working with, they were shocked and it started to cause a stir inside the plant. (Almost all of the workers in the industry are kept quite ignorant of how the electronics parts they are working on fit into a final product and what that product is.) Two days after the activist started telling people about what they were doing, he was called into the office, told he was being fired and ushered out of the plant without even being allowed to return to his work area to pick up his coat.

A vicious INS campaign in Silicon Valley has to be seen in this light and as an important part of these measures. Officials of the companies that have hired lots of undocumented labor have launched a big public cry about how they don't mean to hire "illegals," but have been fooled by "Social Security cards bought on the street in L.A. for \$10 or \$15." While this is a ridiculous idea from those who have consciously built their entire plants around the vicious exploitation of cheap, undocumented labor, from the point of view of the government in tightening up the entire industry for war, there's an element of real alarm in this — the government does not want numbers of people working in the heart of the critical electronics industry when no one in authority even knows their real name!

From the most recent public pronouncements, it may very well be that the INS aim is to drive the workers without papers out of the industry entirely, and to erect a security "screen" around it henceforth. This attack is nothing less than a plan to forcefully "rearrange" the workforce in the Valley, in order to prepare for war.

The "Legals"

Alongside of and intertwined with the security clampdown aspect of the raids is something else. A large proportion, as we have said, of the Silicon Valley "legal" workforce are themselves immigrants, many from places like the Philippines and other politically explosive neocolonies of the U.S. This is a potential political problem in its own right, but when it's combined with the increasing flow of immigrants from Mexico, and a smaller number from Central America, it adds up to what must be seen as a witch's brew of potential political trouble. At this point, the "illegals" are among the more volatile and politically conscious workers in the valley — with the potential to exert profound influence on other immigrants as well as on the native-born. The INS raids, and the increasingly shrill chauvinist pitch for "jobs for Americans," or at least those who are here "legally," is a crucial political attack, an attempt to intimidate the other workers and to erect a pole of "America First" in society generally while unleashing a massive suppression and purge against the workers without documents.

CORRECTION

In the article "Deserters Tour U.S." in *RW* No. 251, p. 13, column 3, the name of the group sponsoring the public forum in the Chicago area should have read Disarm Now Action Group (DNA).

Message

Continued from page 3

siders it necessary, today more than ever, to strengthen our work in preparation for a proletarian revolution, and to understand that we revolutionary communists — as ardent upholders of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought — are called upon to be the vanguard of the workers and mass movement and lead it

in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and build a revolutionary communist world.

LONG LIVE THE
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
MOVEMENT!
REVOLUTIONARY MAY DAY!
PREVENT IMPERIALIST
WORLD WAR WITH
REVOLUTION!

March 30, 1984. Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Union (UCR)
(Translated from Spanish by the RW)

An Important Victory

Continued from page 3

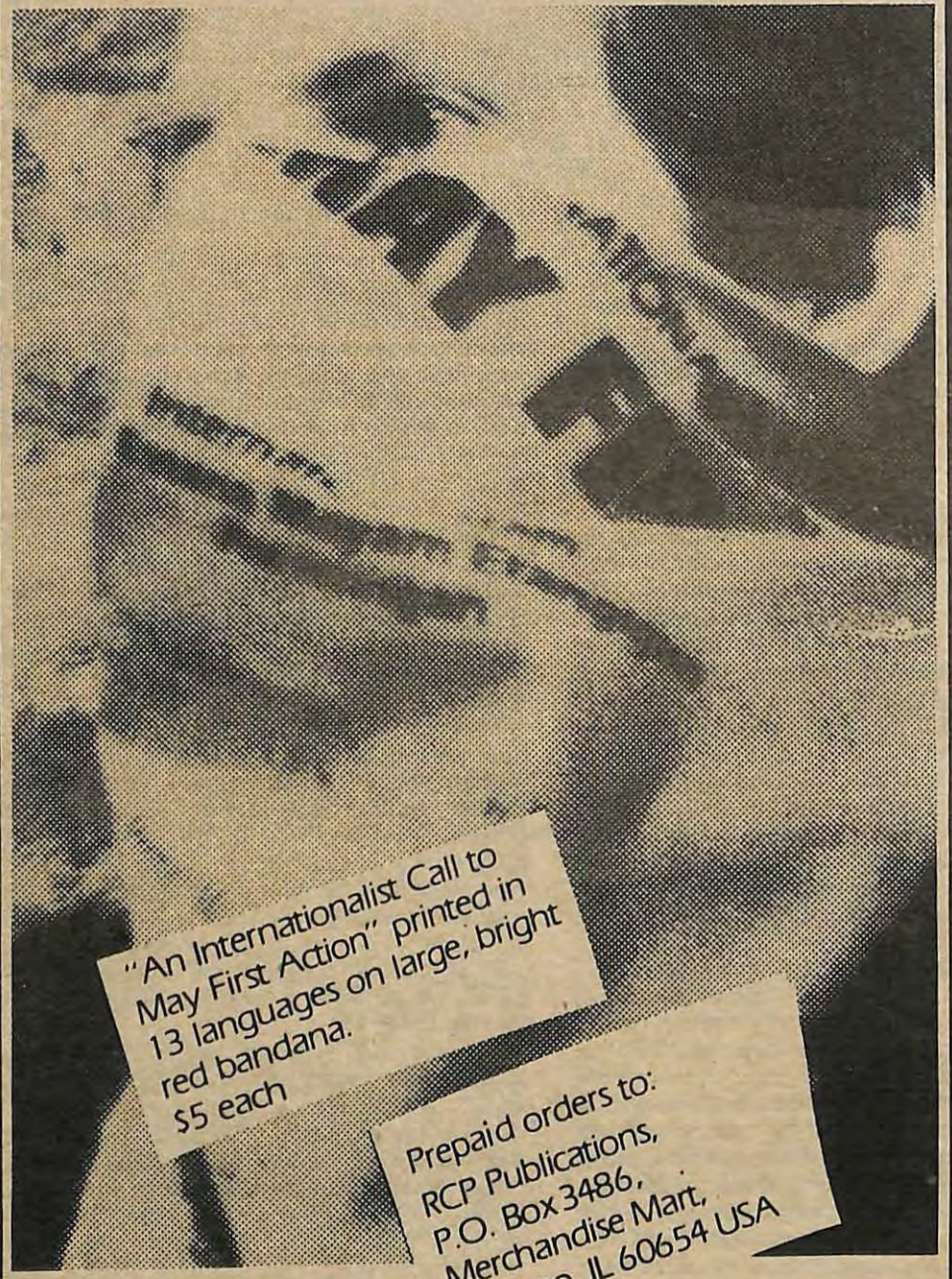
advance towards a deeper unity. At the same time it also revealed the existence of disagreements and a remarkable unevenness among the different organisations on many questions. During '80-'83 the debate intensified. And the second conference took up all such questions, among which the current trends towards war and revolution were the subject of a long and drawn out battle of ideas. Even though, in terms of the end result this debate was inconclusive—in the sense that a common, united view and perspective on them has eluded the meet—deeper insights could be developed through this part of the debate, which was specially rich in the wealth of ideas. "A good fight", it was demonstrated once again, was definitely "better than a bad peace".

The fact that differences on vital issues were present at the meet is in itself a positive thing. That they could be aired so freely and openly in a comradesly atmosphere has rich, far-reaching ramifications. This is a tradition that was cherished and nurtured by all the great proletarian leaders and organisations from the time of Marx and Engels, and the First International in the last century (although "forgotten" or eschewed over the decades of intervals also). And today, when the question of unity amongst genuine Marxist-Leninists across the world has been taken up for real—and not just *ideological* but *political* and *organisational* unity itself—it is an extremely good thing that in the prelude to it, efforts at re-establishing this great norm are being witnessed.

While trying to give an organisational shape conforming to the level of unity achieved, it is very significant that the point has been made regarding the over-centralization that had sat as a fetter on the Comintern preventing it from functioning properly; at the same time critical note has been taken of the overreaction to this deviation (in particular the Chinese Party's overreaction) which precluded the building of an international organisation when the possibility presented itself before the world communists.

The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, then, is an event for celebration for the world proletariat. As its contingent in India, let us work to consolidate the unity already attained, persist in principled struggle over existing differences and strengthen the revolutionary movement in our own country. As the month of May is approaching, let this be our outlook in the coming weeks and months.

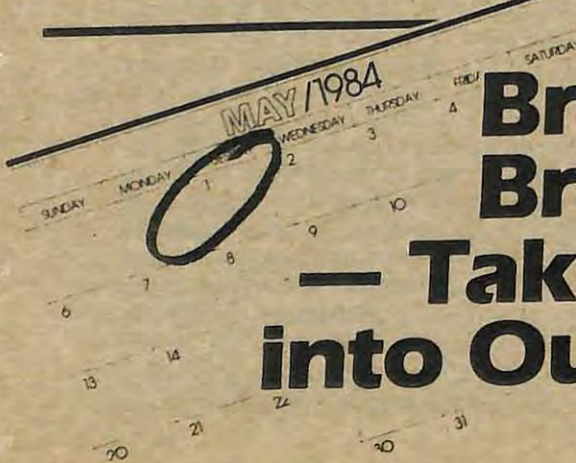
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Call To Oppose The Pre-War Games

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is calling on people to expose and protest the 1984 Olympic Games to be held in Los Angeles, as a hideous part of intensifying preparations for waging a world war.

There is a great discrepancy between the stated purpose of these Olympics — “the true ideal, in the realm of sports, of the brotherhood of man” (1st U.S. Olympic representative) — and the Games planned for 1984. The staging of the Olympics in 1984 in Los Angeles can't help but bring forward the analogy to another Olympiad from the world's past. An Olympics where the imperialist nations in the name of “brotherhood” went all out, not only for the gold, but the propaganda, to boost their “civilized” images and to whip up their respective nation's patriotic fervor. This of course was the 1936 Berlin Olympics. “Games” which were nothing but an ominous precursor and even an essential part of the barbarous collision course these nations were already set on — World War 2. The monstrous crimes committed from Dachau to Hiroshima in that imperialist bloodfeast actually pale in comparison to the magnitude of those concretely being prepared for in Washington, D.C. and Moscow today.

Around these 1984 Olympics there will be an attempt to unleash an orgy of patriotism for “our team.” Athletes will be transformed into the quintessence of nations, the events and the Olympics themselves into very concrete symbols of the jockeying for global dominance and the preparation for global confrontation going on today. The selection of Ugly-American Bobby Knight to coach the U.S. basketball team is a perfect example. Just as the MX missile has been dubbed the “peacekeeper,” Knight is a fitting example of what the imperialists do mean by “brotherhood.” And as Don Miller, head of the U.S. Olympic Committee, so bluntly put it, “It would be tragic if the Eastern bloc countries were highly successful on our soil and dominated the Games.” Already the deluge has begun about how the '84 Games are an important opportunity to demonstrate to the rest of the world the superiority of the American Way and the invincibility of the free enterprise system.

Widespread publicity has been given to the FBI and the local police's bolstering of security for the Games. \$50 million has been allocated by the Pentagon for the possible deployment of troops and procurement of the latest technological advances in surveillance and intimidation.

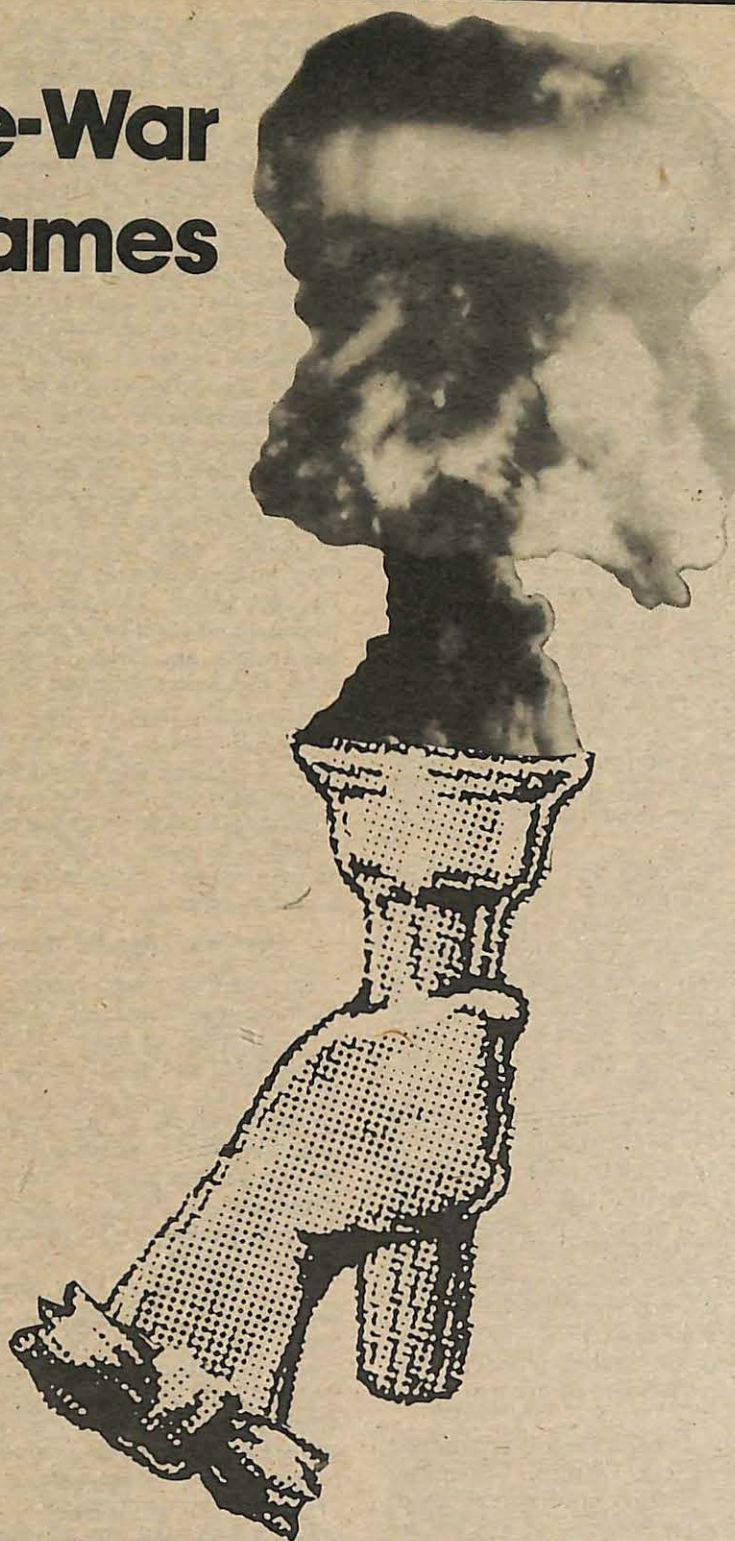
This is nothing less than a blatant attempt to chill and suppress political protest by those who dare to oppose what the Games represent. It is also aimed at terrorizing and suppressing the people of the barrios and ghettos of Los Angeles, especially the youth whose mood and conditions belie the myth of America as the land of freedom and opportunity. To pull off this spectacle the imperialist image-makers must project a picture of America 100% behind its home team and so great pains must be taken to ensure that the undesirable local population doesn't spoil the show.

While we are sure that the LAPD, et al., will act in their normal professional manner, we will not, nor will others, be cowed by this beefed-up state apparatus. It is just one more indication of what is at stake in the pre-World War 3 Olympiad.

To be perfectly clear to the terrorist-baiters of the police and the media, the target of these protests is not the Olympic athletes or any individuals linked with the Games. This is a call to politically oppose what the 1984 Games represent.

This is a call:

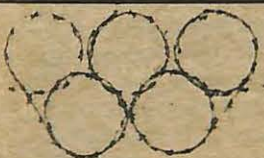
To the athletes who will be competing in L.A., especially from the so-called great powers: We urge you to find the ways to reject being unwitting pawns for imperialist propaganda purposes and to use the opportunity of the Games to genuinely break down national and language barriers and especially seek out and fraternize with those who are supposed to embody your own country's enemies.



To the journalists, disc jockeys, educators, and public opinion creators of all kinds: we urge you to use your medium to expose the imperialists' utilization of the Olympics as ideological preparation for war and to open the airwaves, classrooms, the printed page and L.A.'s endless surfaces to the views of the opposition and those censored by ABC.

To the youth who have been systematically removed from L.A.'s showcases and terrorized in the neighborhoods and who have some disparaging words of their own, to be expressed in their own style, for this imperialist extravaganza.

And to all those sickened by jingoist appeals and all those opposed to imperialist plunder and the monstrous preparations taking place on every level for World War . . . The RCP is calling on you to find the ways and to utilize them, to politically challenge the 1984 Olympic farce and to create through talented, diverse, and many-faceted opposition a festive counter-spirit of fraternization and internationalism.



1908—Dorando Pietri assisted by British officials, crosses the finish line.



Games to Berlin had originally been made before the Nazi Party came to power; and at first it was thought that the new regime would demand that they be moved. Nazi youth considered it an insult to compete against “non-Aryans” and there were chapters on 18 German campuses of the “Fighting Organization Against the Olympic Games.” But propaganda minister Goebbels had a more far-sighted appreciation of the value of hosting such an international event and of equating the Olympic ideal with twentieth-century German national chauvinism.

Excavation teams were sent to Greece to poke among the ancient ruins. Art exhibitions featuring works from Ancient Greece side by side with photos of modern German athletes were promoted. The Olympic Torch Run was invented, carrying a flame from its historic home in Olympia through the countryside of Eastern Europe and around Germany to the opening of the games; together with diesel-truck caravans that fanned out throughout the German heartland, the Torch Run was instrumental in spreading Olympic fever — 1936 version — all over Germany, especially to the youth. Closed-circuit TV was introduced for the first time to extend the spectacle beyond those who could be packed into the stadium. There was a now-famous documentary film of the event, made by Leni Riefenstahl, which was distributed in several languages. To top off the puffed-up pomp, the signal to begin the

Games was stuck on a ten-foot high bell, cast with 16.5 tons of molten steel, embossed with an outstretched eagle, and inscribed with the Olympic motto, *Citius, Altius, Fortius* (Swifter, Higher, Stronger) and the words, “I summon the youth of the world” in German.

But for the German bourgeoisie, the *pièce de résistance* was the final score. While the Germans had developed their own scoring mechanism to give their team a better shot, even by the American scoring method the Germans got 628-3/4 points to the U.S.'s 451-1/3 — an upset of major proportions. It was a result far beyond the most optimistic expectations of the loyal burghers. The leading German propaganda sheet declared, “We can scarcely contain ourselves, for it is truly difficult to endure so much joy. . . every German may be said to have reeled with happiness!”

All this nasty Nazi stuff caused this year's *Official Olympic Guide to Los Angeles* to write: “If anything was ‘won’ in 1936, it was the confirmation that Olympic idealism could survive myopic nationalism.” Of course, there was no myopic nationalism in the use of Jesse Owens' and the other Black track and field athletes' victories to demonstrate that Aryan supremacy was superseded by American supremacy — oh no! The creation of a thousand myths of Owens “facing down” Hitler, and forcing “der führer to retreat” and “striking a blow

Continued on page 12

Continued from page 9 preparations as well.

For Germany, the '36 Olympics was a gold-medal opportunity to foster its pres-

tige in the international arena and, at the same time, to hammer together the national unity that would be so needed in the coming years. The award of the 1936



Continued from page 11

for freedom" — all this is broadminded humanism. And the fact that such tales played a significant role in jacking up millions for a world war fought to determine which imperialists would reign supreme — this is just fine. For the Germans may have won the Olympics, but the Americans won the war. Among other things, the military victory determined which cause would equal "Olympic idealism" and which would be chastised for "myopic nationalism" in the subsequent official summations.

For the U.S., while there had been earlier sentiment in the ranks of the rulers for a boycott of the Berlin Games, overall the view that the expected victory of Owens and the other track stars could be used to great advantage ultimately carried the day. The boycott sentiment came wrapped in "concern for the Jews," but the theme that won out took second place to none when it came to ragged hypocrisy — the so-called separation of sports and politics.

Avery Brundage and the American Olympic Committee led the way. Responding to a question about the oppression of Jews in Germany, Brundage said: "Frankly, I don't think we have any business to meddle in this question. We are a sports group pledged to promote clean competition and sportsmanship. When we let politics, racial questions, religious or social disputes creep into our actions, we're in for trouble." Then, the apolitical American Olympic Committee put out a brochure arguing that "The persecution of minority peoples is as old as history." Another member of Brundage's committee put it somewhat more explicitly. General Sherrill said: "It does not concern me one bit the way the Jews in Germany are treated, anymore than lynchings in the South of our own country."

In reality, General Sherrill and the rest of the American Olympic Committee were not *completely* unconcerned about lynchings in the South — of which there had been a reported 18 in 1935 and 8 in 1936. Lynchings were such a problem that the trials for Team USA, while located in various sites around the country, had to be situated outside the South. The nearest they came was Baltimore, and there, only trials were held for sports in which Black athletes were not expected to be a factor. At any rate, while America's Olympic officials may not have been too concerned about lynchings and other "old as history" phenomena, they were determined that nothing would stand in the way of fielding the team that could bring the most medals, glory, and America No. 1 propaganda back home to the Land of the Free.

The heavy hitting began before the Games did. An article in the popular national magazine, *Literary Digest*, was headlined "Forth To War" and it opened with a bang, so to speak: "With the huzzahs of loyal non-combatants and the grudging admonitions of conscientious objectors ringing in their ears, a crack battalion of American troopers will embark from New York City next Wednesday for the most formidable athletic wars of their careers..." Now, all that was needed was a stirring tale of victory.

The Jesse vs. Hitler myths proved to be the key factor here, and they gained even greater exposure during and after the war than they had before. As the story went (and it is still repeated in the U.S. press), the German Chancellor was shaking the hands of all the victors in the Games until Owens won the 100-meter dash. At that point, Hitler supposedly left the stadium so that he wouldn't have to shake the hand of a Black man — surely a SNUB of epic proportions, and one which demonstrated quite clearly that America, where the ruling bourgeoisie shook hands with Black people all the time, was far more democratic than fascist Germany (and, ultimately, worth going to war to defend). In fact, Hitler had previously been warned by the president of the International Olympic Committee that he was merely a guest at the Games, and that if he was going to shake the hands of some victors (as he had begun to do on the first day of competition) he would have to do the same for all. By the time Owens ran the 100 meters, Hitler had long since

given up congratulating *any* winners in public — so at best, Owens was simply one among many medalists of various nationalities to be so "snubbed." And then, there was the story of how Jesse Owens, in winning the 200-meter race, had forced Hitler to "retreat" — a rather convenient metaphor, indeed, for a day when a huge downpour had led to Hitler and other German officials abandoning the stadium prior to the close of competition. Ah, but where would the Olympic Games be without its myths, especially ones that are so useful for getting the war juices flowing among the "spectators"?

One might be tempted to ask the question: who the hell would want to shake Hitler's hand anyway? Apparently, Mr. Owens (referred to as "My Boy Jesse" by his college coach in a *Saturday Evening Post* article following the Games) was one such person. He later said, "When I passed the Chancellor he arose, waved his hand at me, and I waved back at him. I think the writers showed bad taste in criticizing the man of the hour in Germany." But then, the man of the hour in the U.S. always had a somewhat slavish worshipping for authority — as evidenced by his strenuous work during the 1968 Olympics in trying to convince the Black athletes that they shouldn't engage in any unseemly protest.

Post-War Olympic Movement

In accordance with modern Olympic tradition, the Games of 1940 and 1944 were cancelled in honor of the violent recasting of the world order — World War 2. At the war's end, the U.S. would declare the arrival of the "American century." While this would prove the shortest hundred years ever, there were clear advantages to the U.S.'s position. And this was bound to be reflected in the Olympic Games.

In a recent *New York Times* article discussing the history of the U.S. skating team, Donald Laws, Scott Hamilton's coach, described the situation this way: "After World War II, we were ready to develop and the rest of the world was devastated. We had the facilities and the people to do it. So we were on top from 1948 on." This describes the situation not only for U.S. skating, but for international sports events as a whole in the immediate postwar period. Confident of its ability to excel in the competition itself, and thus to ideologically dominate the Olympic arena, the U.S. took Avery Brundage's "sports above politics" theme and ran with it, in a determined effort to insure that only *imperialist* politics would be competing in international sport. Brundage, who had been elected to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in Germany in 1936, was made its head in 1952, and for the next twenty years he fought for "pure sport" — as only the world powers play it.

But there was no way that the Olympics could escape the contradictions of the world arena. And the principal one of these, in the immediate postwar period, was that between the imperialist camp headed by the U.S. and the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The world's first socialist state had been excluded from the Olympics movement in the years following the Bolshevik Revolution, but by the early '50s, for a number of reasons, it had become impossible to keep the Soviets out.

Thus, the 1952 Helsinki Games became the first Olympic confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And it brought a great change to the U.S.'s Olympic effort. Bob Mathias, 1952 Decathlon winner, former U.S. Congressman, and current director of the USOC's Colorado Springs Training Camp operation, described the change this way: "There were many more pressures on American athletes because of the Russians than in 1948. They were in a sense the real enemy. You just had to beat 'em. It wasn't like beating some group from a friendly country like Australia (the next Olympic host). This feeling was strong down through the entire team, even in sports where the Russians didn't excel."

This "feeling," in fact, was a reflection in sports that the U.S. was preparing for war with the socialist camp. Yet by the 1960 Olympics, the U.S. and Soviet basketball teams would exchange gifts. The impending conflict had not come to pass due to momentous changes in the international situation: a new capitalist class seized power in the Soviet Union in

1956. The Soviets would become an obstacle of a qualitatively different nature, maneuvering for position throughout the '60s and emerging as a top imperialist contender by the mid-'70s. In the meantime, other international contradictions would make their mark on the Olympics and other storms battering America's omnipotence would be felt in the realm of international sports.

Until World War 2, many athletes from the colonized world had participated under the banner of the respective colonizer; any victories they gained, such as the Algerian El Ouabi's marathon gold medal in 1928 credited to France, were used to "prove" how good colonialism was for its subjects. Things were different after the war. For one thing, the *form* of imperialist domination was largely altered, bringing forward a number of politically independent countries (which in fact were entangled in the imperialist web as at no time in the past). The U.S., in particular, became the master neocolonialist, edging out its rivals in the process. This was bound to affect the Olympic movement. Avery Brundage recognized the problem — and the solution: "If we accept 25 new African countries, the countries with a strong Olympic tradition will risk being out-voted. It would be prudent perhaps to give certain countries with a large sporting population more votes than a country only recently affiliated." While the Olympic system has subsequently developed a complex interplay between international sporting federations, National Committees and the IOC, the world's powers have maintained their overall control through a weighting of membership in the IOC in favor of those with a strong *imperialist* tradition. (Typical of the way that the imperialist powers have utilized the IOC was the stubbornness and arrogance of the IOC in refusing the demand of revolutionary China to expel the rump pro-imperialist state of Taiwan from the IOC. The PRC withdrew officially from the Olympics in protest in 1958 and was then blasted for "injecting" politics into a purely sporting matter — a dispute which reared its head every year until 1976.)

Of course, in the Olympics, there are other ways in which the position of the oppressed nations is obvious. For example, the budget of the Mission Viejo Swim Club in southern California undoubtedly surpasses the budget for the entire Olympic team of some countries. And when it comes to high-protein diets, the latest equipment and the advanced techniques to put it to work, the lopsidedness in the world has a marked effect. Running, in particular distance running, is the one area where the oppressed nations have managed to repeatedly upset those with a "strong Olympic tradition," but overall, the Third World has been brought into the Olympic movement at a certain level — and kept there. Somehow, the subject of this unfair advantage doesn't get brought up amidst the inter-imperialist jockeying over "unfair advantage" for

Committee was suspended from the IOC for refusing to allow athletes from Taiwan and Israel visas to enter the 1962 IOC-sponsored Asian Games. (Somehow, when both the U.S. and France had earlier refused visas to accredited athletes from East Germany, this was not deemed worthy of IOC sanction.) The People's Republic of China, then a revolutionary state, supported the GANEFO effort. The formation of GANEFO reflected the revolutions and revolutionary upheavals in the Third World which were America's main problem throughout the period. At the same time, GANEFO was a hodgepodge of conflicting forces, including not only nationalists like Sukarno, but also France, Holland, and the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the IOC was clearly shaken by the GANEFO, and used every form of pressure, especially threats of suspension or expulsion from Olympic participation and from international sports federations for athletes or nations which participated. Indonesia was expelled from the IOC, and many athletes were later punished for their involvement (which is why the Soviet Union, et al., sent less than their top-flight athletes to the GANEFO), but 50 countries sent representatives and the Games went on for 12 days. The IOC was fearful that this movement would spread, with perhaps the African Games as well falling away from IOC hegemony. In a letter from that period, Brundage worried: "If we want to hold the Olympic world together we must not let these 37 African countries be led into the GANEFO camp... Africa is today a battleground for conflicting political creeds, they know little about Olympic principles and they are supersensitive anyway."

Although GANEFO, for a variety of reasons, was short-lived, problems with the Third World popped out in other ways. In particular, the movement against the inclusion of South Africa and Rhodesia gained momentum and posed a protracted and serious challenge to the IOC. International sports exchanges have been one of the few avenues open to the imperialists for legitimizing their thoroughly bankrupt relics of colonialism on the African continent. And Avery Brundage led the fight to keep these bastions of reaction in the Games all the way through, using the old "no politics" argument, of course. However, the sentiment among the masses in Africa and the world against the settler states was so overwhelming that even the most lackey-like neocolonialists on the African continent (beset with their own contradictions with these relics) felt obliged to push the boycott movement.

The 1968 Outbreak

The oppressor vs. oppressed contest came to a head most sharply and powerfully in Mexico City in 1968 — and it is clear that Team Imperialism did not emerge with a victory. The Olympics award to Mexico, the first time the event would be held in a Third World country, was a calculated move to placate and defuse the turmoil brewing within the international sports arena. But it was also seen as an opportunity to promote a "responsible" counterforce to revolutionary national liberation movements.

In February, the IOC readmitted South Africa to the Olympic Games after it agreed to select a racially mixed team for Mexico City (while retaining a thoroughly segregated sports system within the country!). This immediately provoked a call for an African boycott of the Games, and made almost certain a boycott of Black athletes (and possibly some whites as well) from the U.S. — already being organized by the Olympic Project for Human Rights. In March, Avery Brundage declared, "The Mexico Olympic Games will take place, even if I have to be there alone with 5 South Africans." The following month, the IOC was forced to reverse itself and exclude South Africa for fear that the Games would have to be cancelled due to lack of participation and/or real protests over the issue in various parts of the globe. The Olympics had become a mirror of the revolutionary storms engulfing the planet.

Meanwhile, students in Mexico City were sparking broad demonstrations and struggle against political repression, demanding the release of political prisoners from Mexico's jails and threatening to cause a major political em-

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"After World War II, we were ready to develop and the rest of the world was devastated. We had the facilities and the people to do it. So we were on top from 1948 on."

Donald Laws
Olympic Skating Coach

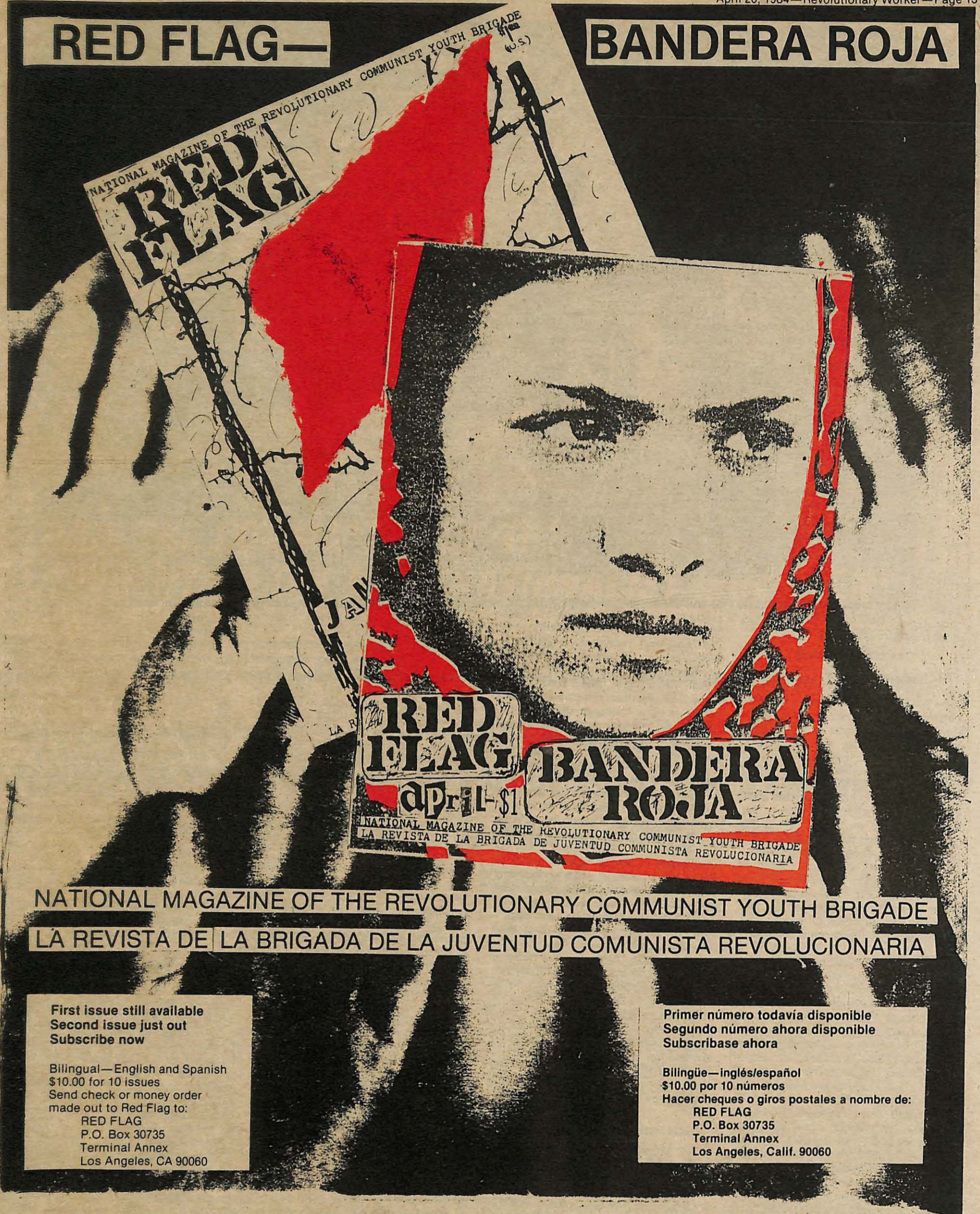
one nation's professionals against the "amateurs" of another, judging controversies, and so forth.

Still, the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor nations in the Olympics has managed to cause the powers-that-be a great deal of anguish, and even gotten out of their control on occasion — as the *wrong* kind of politics have thrust into the Olympic arena.

In 1963, the first Games of the Newly Emerging Forces (GANEFO) were held in Indonesia. Sukarno had initiated GANEFO after the Indonesian Olympic

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barrassment to the image of a "progressive, developing Mexico" which the Games had been intended to enhance. Days before the opening ceremonies, the Mexican military opened fire on a demonstration of 2500 students, killing over 350. One observer reported that corpses were picked up in fish nets and flown out over the ocean for fear that further protests would be sparked off by the funerals. Luis Echeverría, the man in charge of the massacre, was rewarded with the Presidency of Mexico shortly afterward.

Against this international backdrop the actions of two Black athletes from the U.S. — Tommie Smith and John Carlos — electrified the world. Having just finished first and third, respectively, in the 200-meter run, they stood on the victory platform and, while the Star-Spangled Banner was playing and the stars and stripes were being hoisted, raised their

black-gloved fists in the Black Power salute while casting their eyes downward — a powerful demonstration of support for the struggle of Black people in the U.S. and, given the tenor of the times, for the struggles of the oppressed everywhere.

Within 30 hours they were suspended and sent home, but the impact was impossible to erase. Support from other U.S. athletes had been strong. Of twenty U.S. team members polled, white and Black, 13 had been in support, five opposed, one undecided, and one with no opinion. Meetings of the athletes, Black and white, were held to discuss how to support Smith and Carlos and how to register further protest at the Games. (It was at one such meeting that Jesse Owens offered his second tour of Olympic service, arguing for accomodation to the USOC's demands that all athletes "respect the Olympic tradition.") Tremendous pressure was brought to

bear on the athletes to get them to go along with the program: two team members on leave from the army were called by their commanding officers; a number of others got the word from ROTC units, athletic departments and employers; worst of all, the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF), which governs international track and field competition, threatened to bar athletes from all future competition. Still, several other Black athletes found ways of demonstrating on the victory stand, athletes from Australia and West Germany also joined in, and a number of white athletes from the U.S. expressed their solidarity and said they would have been willing to walk out of the Games to protest the suspension of Smith and Carlos if such a protest had been organized.

Smith and Carlos were banned from Olympic-sanctioned sports competition

for life, and they both found it extremely difficult to get hired anywhere in the U.S. (Much of the vituperation directed at Smith and Carlos took the form of mock shock that a participating athlete would engage in a political demonstration at the Olympics. Somehow, George Foreman's action after winning boxing's heavyweight gold medal — parading around the ring waving a mini-American flag — was not considered in this category; in fact, Foreman was a real American hero of the Games and was praised for *opposing* the "introduction" of politics into the Olympics.) But the more the powers came down on them, the more it reflected the weight of the blow that had been dealt the imperialist world. One very telling measure of that blow is that the U.S. has never been able to gloat about the overwhelming medal sweeps "its" athletes registered in the 1968

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Smith and Carlos—
Mexico 1968

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Games. Indeed, the U.S. rulers have made it plain they would like to forget about the entire experience.

The Soviet Challenge

The 1968 Games seem to have presaged a turning point in Soviet Olympic efforts. Something other than a hero's welcome awaited the Soviet team, returning home after a poor performance. The Soviet publication *Izvestia* wailed: "Never before have we experienced such dissatisfaction. Awaiting us is the job not only of investigating today's failures, but also of deciding on how to proceed in the future, how to restore what has been lost, how to achieve something new." The Soviet trade-union paper *Trud* described the basketball team as "passionless," declared that "the players' sense of responsibility began to be blunted" and that the "easy life" had stopped them from persevering through fatigue. Brezhnev was quite blunt: "International standards for our sports must be improved."

After all, what was at stake was the same demonstration of ideological superiority and will to win that all the other imperialist powers needed so badly. This became clear in 1972, when the Soviet marching orders from four years before resulted in a resounding victory for Team USSR. The Soviet minister of sport gloated that his charges had beaten everybody in 10 sports and were ahead of the Americans in 15 others. *Pravda* also emphasized East Germany's third-place showing and noted that Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland had outscored Britain, France, Sweden and Canada; such efforts, *Pravda* wrote, "show to the entire world the triumph of the personality liberated by socialism."

Such personality liberation didn't help the '72 Olympic basketball champions when they were defeated by an America team at the World Student Games in Moscow the following year and then lost the European championships. Suddenly, yesterday's heroes became today's criminals. A number of the athletes were charged with customs violations when they returned to the Soviet Union for the common practice of bringing in certain restricted Western consumer goods — a "privilege" that is routinely permitted to victorious Soviet athletes. The violations were widely publicized as a clear warning to other Soviet athletes that they had better win in international competition.

And it seems that "sportsmanship" has the same meaning in the land of personality liberation as it does for the CIA. In 1976, when the Soviet water polo team and the 8-oared rowing crew both failed to qualify for the finals at Montreal, they withdrew from any further competition in the events. They reappeared only after being threatened with suspension from

future international competitions. Apparently, the late U.S. football coach Vince Lombardi, who reportedly said, "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing," has his ideological counterparts among the coaches in the Soviet Union.

Not surprisingly, the Soviets have made their own observations on the value of sports as a "weapon in the state's struggle to integrate its people and its doctrines." In their widely distributed pamphlet preparing the uninitiated for the 1980 Moscow Olympic experience — *The Soviet Contribution to the Olympics* — we are told: "Sport has another valuable quality affecting both contestant and spectator. Scientists studying topline sport have concluded that it offers a model of frequently occurring phenomena of life, namely, the relations between a man up in front and another who is catching up with him, between the collective and an individual, the result of over-confidence and of the underestimation of a rival. Do these psychological clashes occur only in sports competitions? Scientists believe that the spectator watching a competition finds himself, as it were, in a familiar psychological situation. This gives rise to a heightened sense of shared emotion." Maybe our friend Kanin learned a thing or two from his Soviet counterpart theoreticians, or maybe they from him. In any event, Soviet efforts were effective, and their performance through the '70s greatly alarmed assorted "free world" sportsmen.

From Park Ave. to a NORAD Base

At Munich in 1972, the athletic representatives of 11 Soviet-bloc countries got 100 gold medals compared with 93 for the other 112 countries. At Montreal in 1976, the Soviet team won 125 medals by itself (up from 99 four years before) and East Germany, a country of only 17 million people, actually beat out the U.S. for second place. To the U.S., the wrong "temper of relations" between states was being demonstrated here, and this was clearly a matter that would become even more important in the period ahead. As Gerald Ford put it, "There are few things more important to a country's growth and well-being than competitive athletics. It has been said, too, that we are losing our competitive spirit, the thing that made us great, the guts of the free enterprise system. I don't agree with that; the competitive urge is deep-rooted in the American character." That is, it had better be — and soon.

Developments in this arena were summed up quite nicely in a *New York Times Magazine* article last July. "If symbolism plays a role in sports — and who can doubt that it does? — the 1978 decision of the United States Olympic Committee to move its headquarters from the Park

Avenue townhouse where J.P. Morgan kept his mistress to an abandoned NORAD base in Colorado Springs represented more than a change in scenery." This was the culmination of several years of serious re-examination of the state of the U.S. Olympic effort. A blue-ribbon Presidential Commission on Olympic Sports had been appointed which, in the name of examining the state of amateur sports in the U.S., actually focused on a very specific task: "determining what factors impede or tend to impede the U.S. from fielding its best teams in international competition."

Their report, issued in 1977, painted a sober and "alarming" picture of a potential juggernaut stumbling over its own lack of a serious national effort to regain world domination in sports. "The U.S. does not nearly approach achieving its full potential in sports. We lost international contests that we were capable of winning; we have not even fielded teams in some sports in which we have great talent and resources. Some cry 'Foul,' or that it is 'our' amateurs against 'their' pros. . . . The fact is that we are competing less well and other nations competing more successfully because other nations have established excellence in international athletics as a national priority." Of course, America's sorry showing was not the result of any shortage of the right stuff, as the report made clear. "In spite of the handicaps we choose to impose upon ourselves, our national characteristics of individualism, perseverance, and esprit de corps have resulted in outstanding athletic performances by U.S. athletes. It is also apparent, however, that we will not be able to compete effectively for long and have broad-based participation if the organizational conflicts and fragmentation which plague American amateur athletics today are not resolved."

The Commission's report put down the view — at that time being trumpeted quite a bit by the Soviets — that Olympic success was in any way related to ideological superiority. Quite a change from, say, 1936 — and directly related to the fact that the U.S. was suffering from a serious dearth of that success. Rather, its preoccupation with regaining the top-dog sports position was equated with allowing the athletes to "reach the limits of their potential" — a not terribly subtle pitch for support from the athletes for the national effort. But there was no mistaking who the "enemy" was. An initial report from the Commission had dissected the sports system in the Soviet bloc, pointing out all the areas where they were ahead of the U.S. in youth-development programs, training, funding and overall organization. The final report included a sport-by-sport discussion of the status of Olympic events in the U.S., and each of the summaries generally included some reference to the U.S.'s



"If symbolism plays a role in sports — and who can doubt that it does — the 1978 decision of the United States Olympic Committee to move its headquarters from the Park Avenue townhouse where J.P. Morgan kept his mistress to an abandoned NORAD base in Colorado Springs represented more than a change in scenery."

New York Times Magazine

declining fortunes compared to the success of the Soviet and East German efforts.

The Commission's 613-page report resulted in the passage of the Amateur Athletic Act of 1978 — to usher in a "new era" in the U.S.'s Olympic performance. The crucial change mandated in the act resolved the "organizational conflicts and fragmentation" — represented by the constant feuding between the Amateur Athletic Union and the National Collegiate Athletic Association — through integrating the entire amateur sports apparatus under the direction of the United States Olympic Committee. To head it up (become America's Olympic sports czar, so to speak), someone with a firm grasp of the global political

situation and the stakes wrapped up in Olympic victory — or, god forbid, Olympic defeat — was required. In 1981, the perfect choice was found: William Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury under Nixon, investment banker with Salomon Brothers, president of the John M. Olin Foundation — whose mission is "to keep the world safe for free enterprise" — a man who is equally at home in the boardrooms of Wall Street and the backrooms of the nation's capital. And his number-two man, the one responsible for USOC's day-to-day operations, was equally appropriate: Col. F. Don Miller, who moved over from his position as director of education and morale for the U.S. Army.

This state-directed reorganization has enabled America to put its Olympic effort on a (pre-) war footing. With the USOC taking charge, Olympic sports programs have been developed and expanded, covering everything from the early detection and development of potential American heroes to research and development of the most advanced equipment to the expansion of facilities at the year-round Olympic Training Center to delving into the latest scientific techniques (such as new methods of psyching-up the athletes, or experimenting with electroshock treatments as a means of muscle strengthening — a vast improvement over steroids). But one of the key aspects of the shift set in motion by the Amateur Athletic Act is the elimination of amateurs — and their replacement by athletes who are "eligible." No more (or at least, not as much) whining about the "unfair advantage" of state-supported athletes; the recommendations of the President's Commission have been accepted. All pretense of serving amateur athletes and amateur sports has been dropped to serve the national interest of recapturing the gold.

Olympic eligibility is now determined by the national and international sports federations, subject to the approval of the IOC, and thus has become one of the key arenas for political jockeying among all the Olympic powers. The rules vary greatly from one sport to another, and often take on a rather bizarre cast given the intense maneuvering involved. For example, at the 1984 Winter Games, hockey players from one professional league were ruled ineligible, unless they hadn't competed in too many games in that league, while those from other pro leagues were allowed to perform in the Olympics. Soccer promises to offer similar labyrinthine solutions in L.A. In track and field, the rules say that monies earned by the athletes must be put in trust funds laundered through The Athletics Congress (the U.S.'s national federation for Olympic track and field), and can only be tapped for "essential living costs and training expenses." But what this has amounted to in reality is a method for keeping Olympic stars like top marathon runner Alberto Salazar and Carl Lewis on high, unofficial, salaries.

William Simon and the USOC have been leading the charge in the international sport arena to open up eligibility "so every athlete will have his chance at Olympic glory." (Of course, this didn't stop them from challenging the eligibility of some Canadian hockey players last winter in a futile attempt to give the feeble U.S. hockey team an edge.) Simon has already helped to ram through some of the changes described above, and apparently his service in government and the world of high finance has trained him well for the hardball played in Olympic circles. As Anita de Frantz, former U.S. Olympic women's eight-rower and now on the executive board of the USOC, put it, "For the first time since Avery Brundage, the USOC is saying to the IOC, 'Don't mess with us. We run sports in this country, and we intend to be part of the Olympic movement, but on our own terms.'"

The Moscow Boycott

In 1980, those terms centered around active nonparticipation in the Moscow Games. The U.S. move was said to be retaliation for the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But talk of a U.S.-led boycott had actually been bandied about by U.S. political and sport officials as early as 1978. The U.S. was the leader of the Western Alliance, and thus, was required to play pointman in confronting the rival imperialist bloc. Along with cutting off grain and high technology sales to

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Letter on the "Seneca Debate"

Life And Other Styles

RW.

As a contribution to the "Seneca Debate," I'm sending an editorial from the *Trenton Times* that was reprinted in the *National Catholic Reporter* (a Catholic magazine that supports the peace movement).

Starting with complaints about how the "lifestyle" of "topless" women and lesbians was wrecking the peace movement, the editorial goes on, as you can see, to draw some general implications from this, using Seneca as an example. His point confirms the analysis in your article that what is at stake is whether the protests against war preparations will remain within the safely unthreatening political corridors of respectability, or "ruin everything." And the writer raises some unsettling experiences with such things in the sixties, when things got dangerously out of hand.

The other point that I think his attack confirms, is that this "lifestyle" question is more or less a cover for imposing a rigid ideological and political strait-jacket on how far protest goes. I thought it was interesting that the ideas of Blacks and whites sleeping together during civil rights protests so offended him. Talk about a classic liberal ("just

so my daughter doesn't marry one").

In a long-term sense, I got a sense from the editorial of days when what he calls "liberals," but maybe more correctly should be viewed as the mainstream of the anti-war protests, could "go along" with some really drastic programme. And he's attempting to create public opinion to keep that from happening.

The only other thing that struck me about this hypocrite was the really pervasive tone throughout his piece that preventing world war was about as urgent and sincere a task as picking his toe nails. The classic "free speech" test of "can you yell fire in a crowded theater" that he poses, evades entirely whether the theater is on fire!!

A reader

Editors' note: The following are excerpts from the column cited by "A Reader." It should be noted that the National Catholic Reporter is, as the reader states, supportive of the peace movement; further, this reprint does not necessarily typify its editorial views as a whole. It is, however, indicative of the ongoing debate on Seneca, including in religious circles where, for example, a

second periodical, Christianity and Crisis, recently featured an exchange of letters discussing Seneca.

These passages are excerpted from a column entitled "Liberals won't succeed by alienating majority from peace movement," by Tom Blackburn:

... "It seems that, at a recent women's 'peace camp' at the Seneca (N.Y.) Army Depot, some of the women 'got into' going topless, and the lesbians in their midst decided to make a public 'statement' through their actions.

"This, complained a local peace activist, made it hard to keep the neighbors' minds on Pershing missiles, on which the camp was trying to focus attention....

"(But) the majority of Americans still don't buy the sexual revolution, even if they are part of it. They will avert their eyes or call the cops.

"Those are reactions you don't want them to have if you are trying to get them to save themselves from nuclear holocaust. People who are coming to grips with their womanhood in public have the same effect on a peace rally as people who shout 'Fire!' in a crowded theater.

"If liberals can't muster enough gumption to tell them to find another soapbox on another corner, they ought to get out of the peace business and leave it to people who know how to accomplish things...."

The column also states:

"(Liberals) seem unable to say, as President Reagan was able to say in New Hampshire, 'I'm paying for this microphone and I'll decide who can use it.' They can't even say, 'Please, not now; we have other fish to fry.'..."

"During the James Meredith march through Mississippi, one couple of marchers chose to integrate in a sleeping bag midway between the men's and women's tents. When morning cast its bleary eyes on the scene, a little, old (liberal) lady in tennis shoes gently woke up the integrators so the TV camera crew, which arose shortly after the dawn, wouldn't find them.

"No one suggested that it wasn't the time or the place. Who could be so repressive on a freedom march?"

Continued from page 14

the Soviet Union, the U.S.-sponsored Olympic boycott stands out as a key measure in this effort — the opening shot in a series of moves that has led to the Hot Autumn missile deployment of 1983... so far.

Time magazine perhaps best captured the essence of the reveille that the U.S. was trumpeting: Spectators "make an illogical leap from the virtues of the athlete to the virtue of the setting, the framework of the games: hop, skip, jump. (Apparently, this is a lapse of rationality that the U.S. is counting on this summer — RW). What those in the Moscow boycott are doing by taking themselves out of that process is to prevent the symbolic, irrational connections from being made on their behalf. Conversely, they are insisting by their absence that the participating countries acknowledge frankly their implicit approval of the Soviets. To put it harshly, the countries participating in the Moscow Olympics are symbolically abetting the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan."

Gone were the laments of yore over the "use of the Games for political purposes," which comments had always graced the pages of *Time* in particular. Just four years earlier, when a number of African nations had walked out of the Olympics over New Zealand's rugby exchanges with South Africa, *Time* had failed to suggest that anyone might be "symbolically abetting" apartheid. Instead, then it was "the magnitude of the African boycott has placed the games at the mercy of political blackmailers," and quotes from a State Department official warning, "One thing is certain, if politics is not removed — and quickly — the Olympic games have no future." However, there is little doubt that *Time's* little hop, skip, jump is considered a model of bourgeois logic.

Certainly, the learned professor David Kanin thinks so. He criticizes the handling of the U.S. boycott by those who got tripped-up somewhat on previous propaganda: "(D)espite the mythology of Olympic publicists, the Olympic Games were founded with expressly political goals in mind and have thrived on ties to global affairs.... Therefore, calls for the separation of sport and politics are futile because they are irrelevant. One of the primary errors of those seeking support for the 1980 Olympic boycott was to give lip service to those calls rather than repudiate them." Undoubtedly, such a viewpoint was responsible for the CIA declassifying this vivid piece of bourgeois self-exposure.

Today, it has become the custom for those in charge of readying Team USA for Los Angeles to be quite outspoken in

their criticism of the Moscow boycott — including people like William Simon who supported it at the time. In part, this has to do with the tactics of diplomacy in getting fully accepted back into the Olympic fold, at the highest reaches of course. It seems that American favor within the IOC, never what it had been during Brundage's reign, slipped considerably as a result of the boycott. This was helped along, no doubt, by the strongarm tactics the U.S. employed, which greatly offended the aristocratic sensibilities of the IOC; the U.S. initially demanded a postponement or relocation of the Olympics, and a White House deputy counsel told IOC members that, if necessary, the U.S. would wreck the Olympic movement. At any rate, the boycott and subsequent absence of U.S. Olympic officials from IOC and sports federation meetings that took place in Moscow during the Games has resulted in a noticeable shortage of U.S. representatives in the ranks of administrators, judges and so forth for the Olympics and its various sports.

This could have a dire effect on the home team's chances. For example, it was decided in Moscow that the entry list for swimmers would be dropped from a maximum of three athletes per country to two — a change which could cut significantly into U.S. medal output in the pool. And the U.S.'s shortage of top positions in the sports federations will not help in the maneuvering around eligibility and other policy decisions during the Summer Olympics. So the effort to engage in some diplomatic boycott criticism is not simply a matter of protocol — but is directly related to the U.S.'s go for the gold in 1984.

The Road to Los Angeles

Victory in Los Angeles is, after all, the essential ingredient here. Without it, it is somewhat difficult to demonstrate the main message that must be gotten across to the two billion spectators around the world and one's "own" future missilefodder as well. The superiority of the American way, the ability and determination to roll over every obstacle in the "path of greatness," the willingness to go all-out to keep "our nation" number one, THE WILL TO WIN — none of this is terribly inspiring without athletes saluting the flag and the national anthem from the victory stand. Indeed, one of the great worries of the rulers from both imperial sides is that such ideological returns on the sport investment will accrue to their rival and have the opposite effect on their own effort — a matter which could seriously damage the national psychology at this crucial moment. The difficulties the U.S. ran into at the Winter Games — which, if not for the

alpine skiing medals, might have become known as the "Fear of Failure" Games, or coined a new mental illness called the Sarajevo Syndrome — would be magnified a thousandfold if similar developments occur on the U.S.'s home turf in the much more critical Summer Games.

But assuming that there are at least some victories for Team U.S.A. (which is virtually assured), there are already ample clues as to how the symbol selection and role model playing will go down. Sarajevo showed that one indispensable element is the success of some mindlessly arrogant Bill Johnson types to crow over the defeated competition, a crudely simple version of the American Spirit guaranteed to get top billing in the "fiercely independent" media and set off heart palpitations among the yahoos from sea to shinging sea. Coach Knight has already set some high marks to which all jingoists can aspire — "When I want a screen set, Charles Barkley (6-6, 270-pound Auburn center) is the type of guy I want setting it. When those Russians come over here, I want them to know they've been hit." — but the competition is bound to heat up even more as the Games progress. And lest we forget, platoons of flag-waving cavemen chanting U-S-A will never be far from the contestants — or the TV cameras.

As for the athletes themselves, they are not all conscious America First-ers competing for the glory of the red, white and blue, nor are they counted on for this. Most will be expected by those in charge to compete "for myself." After all, America's "dream begins with freedom" — in direct contrast to the brainwashed robots of totalitarianism, of course — and as long as the athletes go along with the program, AND WIN, this is quite useful. For it is the competitions themselves, regardless of the level of patriotism of the competitor, that provides the source for drawing the necessary conclusions. *Sports Illustrated*, in its "Sportswoman of the Year" article on Mary Decker (the U.S.'s top woman runner in the middle distances), demonstrated how this process works. While Decker was explaining that she wanted to prove to people that she was noteworthy because of her performance, and not simply for being young, the magazine knew where to run with it from there: "Or beautiful, or sexy, or our only hope against an Eastern European juggernaut, which were, and are, some of the succeeding reasons she later won affectionate regard from her countrymen."

One point made clear to the athletes off Sarajevo is that if you think the Olympics are about anything other than winning, don't bother coming. The *Los Angeles*

Times sports pages had a representative sample of this theme at the time: "Not all of America's Olympic athletes came here to win.... For several skiers, the chic thing to say is that they're not really trying to win medals, just do their best. Listen to Bill Koch (cross-country skier)... 'the important thing is not winning medals but striving for excellence.' Koch finished 21st in the 30k and, later, 27th in the 15k...." After going on to single out several other athletes for attack, the author returns to the message: "As for Koch, his philosophy is admirable — for weekend athletes on the recreational level. And it could even be said that he embodies the original true Olympic notion that the important thing is not winning, but taking part. For a great number of Americans, however, despite having had to swallow Korea and Vietnam and Beirut — there is still no substitute for victory."

Once again, the tired old Jesse Owens mythology is being regurgitated to bring forth the same gung-ho spirit. And added to Owens' modern-day reincarnation, is Carl Lewis, as a particular inspiration to the youth, especially of the oppressed nationalities, to get behind Team USA. A similar appeal is being made to women. And all to serve the ideological preparations for yet another violent redivision of the world, this time certainly more horrible than before.

In such a context, the athletes are being warned in no uncertain terms that there had better not be any fraternizing with "the enemy." Actually, such conduct has never been accepted; in 1976, for example, U.S. discus gold medalist Mac Wilkins was raked over the coals by much of the press for hugging his East German counterpart when the latter came up with an excellent throw on his final turn to edge out an American for the silver medal. In 1984, such conduct will be likely treated as treason.

What madness! This is truly the Dinosaur Follies. Two billion "spectators" being *integrated* into the doctrines of the various empires — a sporting prelude to being hurled against each other as cannonfodder in unprecedented bloodletting. Athletes come together from all over the world and are then not permitted to befriend each other in any serious way — a political statement which would fly in the face of the proper *temper of relations between states*. Athletic achievements twisted to mean that "swifter, higher, stronger" — especially STRONGER — describes somehow a state and a system on the brink of its greatest crisis ever. The pinnacle of international sports — the 1984 Olympics. As insane and obsolete as the imperialist system that created it. □

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