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HAITI:

Who Threw the Palace Coup?



Namphy



Manigat

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

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

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Three Main Points

by **Bob Avakian**
Chairman of
the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

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



Revolutionary prisoners in El Frontón prison, 1986.

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Intefadeh at Six Months

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

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

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

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

Notes from the Seventh Month

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

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

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

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

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

On the day of the strike a 16-year-old Palestinian was shot in the head and killed by a soldier with an M-16 in a West

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

"Nonlethal" Means of Killing

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

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

Arrests of Palestinians have also climbed sky-high. On June 14 Israeli Army spokesmen claimed they have

2,500 Arabs under detention. They admit they hold 500 more this month than last month. Even the U.S. media, however, estimate that the number of detainees is closer to 5,000. They are at nearly a dozen facilities scattered across Israel and the occupied territories, and they can be imprisoned for up to six months without being charged with anything.

Who Is Really Destroying Trees and Why?

In the last few weeks the Israelis seem to be reaching for even more desperate means to discredit and crush the resistance. They cranked out hysterical reports blaming Palestinian "arsonists" for an unusual wave of fires sweeping the Israeli countryside. Ten Palestinians have been arrested for arson. And the clearly forced "confessions" of three of them (one only ten years old!) are being offered as "proof" of such an arson campaign. The aim of the Israeli government was obvious: to gather international support for new suppressive measures, especially among American Jews who have largely financed the forestation of areas within Israel once occupied by Palestinian villages.

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

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Spotlight on La Migra Concentration Camp

Dear RW,

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

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

Chicago area church communities have held prayer vigils and witnessed shackled "illegals" being brought into the center in nondescript tan vans. And a huge graffiti appeared on a train trestle over a busy expressway near the detention center calling it by its rightful name — concentration camp — and pointing toward Broadview!

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

The statements were very powerful and vividly described the lives of people affected by this law. Many remembered particular Central American friends who have been deported, or the many Mexicans who are forced to flee here because of economic repression, and talked about the role of the U.S. government in creating such conditions. Another remembered a Guatemalan who was required to remove asbestos, which causes cancer, from a basement without any protective breathing gear or

lose his job. A La Resistencia member called on people to remember the Cuban detainees who are still wasting away in U.S. jails despite assurances by the INS that they would be receiving timely hearings. An RW seller remembered and celebrated the Palestinians and other people involved in struggles around the world and hung a kaffiyeh with the bandanas around the gate.

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

This feeling of urgency was sharpened by the news of new INS raids in Chicago since May 5, the deadline for immigrants to sign up for "amnesty" under Simpson-Rodino. Also, two days before this protest a Chicago temporary-help company accused of employing undocumented workers was fined \$308,000 by the INS. What is this

all about? James Buck, an INS regional commissioner, said that the Simpson-Rodino law was passed to "help us regain control of our borders," not to penalize employers. "This is a significant fine, but our objective is not to collect money or put anyone out of business," he said. "If there is an illegal alien working here in the city, the message would be, find a way to go home."

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

There have been new developments in resistance to Simpson-Rodino. For example, a Chicago metropolitan area conference of the United Church of Christ recently declared noncompliance with the I-9 portion of the law which states that employers must demand identity documents from all employees. And more people are coming forward everyday outraged at this law.

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

An RCP supporter



Fiesta de Resistencia

We received this report from a correspondent in San Diego:

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

The *Fiesta de Resistencia* was called

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

The invitation letter which was distributed by the cosponsors to participating artists read in part: "We have chosen this theme to show our emphatic support for

the millions of immigrants, forced into this country for various reasons, who today confront a mean-spirited campaign of governmental terror and violence. The Simpson-Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Act is both a leap and a focal point in this repression.

"La Migra raids have been planned and directed like military offensives charging through neighborhoods, factories and day-labor corners as often as three times a day. Ten-year jail terms are being thrown at undocumented workers for the 'crime' of falsifying work records to get a job to feed their families. Families

are ripped apart forever by 'choices' imposed by the law. We denounce these attacks, and those of us taking part in this event seek to contribute, through our art and in many other ways, to an atmosphere of resistance to these attacks.

"In the spirit of breaking down borders, we welcome the participation of musicians, poets, dancers, performance artists and others of the most diverse artistic styles. As one artist has put it, 'The geopolitical wound called the border cannot stop the cultural undercurrents.'"

Altogether about 500 people attended

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Some Straight Talk on the Persecution of Tawana Brawley



Demonstration demands "Justice for Tawana Brawley," February 1988, Poughkeepsie, New York.

In late November 1987, 15-year-old Tawana Brawley was on her way home in Wappingers Falls, upstate New York. It was nightfall when Tawana left a Short Line bus and began to walk home. She was not seen again until four days later.

Tawana was found in the courtyard of an apartment complex her family had recently moved from. She was in a plastic garbage bag. She was not wearing the clothes she had left home in. The blouse she had on was full of burn holes, and the crotch of her pants had been burned away. She had no undergarments on. And there were sick racist epithets written above and below her breasts: "KKK" and "nigger." Dog feces had been smeared all over her. Patches of her hair had been yanked out and chopped off.

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

What happened to Tawana Brawley? The full facts have yet to emerge. But it's certainly possible, especially in this country, for a Black woman to be violently attacked by racists and cops. Further, there are more than enough questions that merit suspicions that the authorities are conducting some kind of coverup. For instance, questions arose when William Grady, the Dutchess County prosecutor, refused to investigate and prosecute the case, citing an unspecified "conflict of

interest." Then a local judge sealed the court record on why Grady dropped the Brawley case, making Grady's departure seem even more suspicious. A local attorney was then appointed the prosecutor, but he too resigned within twenty-four hours of his appointment. After this, Governor Mario Cuomo appointed New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams the new special prosecutor.

To date the only person Abrams is trying to arrest in this case is Tawana's mother, Glenda Brawley, who has refused to comply with a grand jury subpoena. The Brawley family and their attorneys contend that the authorities are whitewashing the case, and in defiance of a 30-day jail sentence, Glenda Brawley has taken refuge inside a Black church in Brooklyn.

Most recently the authorities have raised the level of their attacks to new and nastier levels. The media has featured Perry McKinnon and Samuel McCleave — two, at the very least, suspicious characters — who claim that the Brawley case is a deliberate hoax being perpetrated by the legal team and the family.

Whatever happened to Tawana Brawley, and whatever the ultimate outcome, the oppressors have shown that they do not give a damn about her. They are not about seeking the truth or getting justice. They are instead lashing out now with all the fervor of rulers who know just how vulnerable they are to the stirrings of resistance among Black people and the potential for far more.

The following leaflet on this case was put out by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, New York Branch:

This is Amerikkka, 1988. Is it possible that a young Black woman in New York State, getting off a bus at night, *could* be kidnapped and sexually abused by a gang of whites for days? Is it possible that such an act *could* involve cops and other officials? Is it possible that a massive coverup *could* be carried out by authorities if something like this happened? You bet it's possible, and more than possible! These things *happen* to Black people in Amerikkka in 1988. In fact, given how things are these days, it would be hard to imagine a Black woman in this country who wouldn't check her back real quick on encountering a band of half-drunk, or even sober, white yahoos in some isolated spot, especially if the band included cops.

The full facts in this case of Tawana Brawley have yet to emerge. But the whole racist history and current reality of conditions for Black people, and Black women in particular, in this country is reason enough to give her, at the very least, the benefit of any doubt, and basic support. Yet the newspapers and TV have been on a campaign to crucify and slander Tawana Brawley and her family as though *she* is the one accused of rape and torture. They dredge up anyone who has anything bad to say about her, her attorneys, or her family in an attempt to discredit her story and put them in front of a TV camera or in the newspapers with no regard to motives or credibility.

Why are they doing this? Because the abuses against Black and other oppressed people have piled up. The hardships, suffering, and vicious slander are sending things to the breaking point, and the rulers of this country are worried. They are especially worried by the first stirrings of resistance in New York over the last two years by Black people. Even when protests have been directed at pressuring the system, the desperate situation of the masses of Black people lends these protests an explosive character that threatens to break "respectable" boundaries. Black people occupy a strategic position in the USA. They live in the inner cities,

and being that they are overwhelmingly members of the basic proletariat (the exploited who own nothing and must sell their ability to work for a wage). This means that such an explosion could possibly set off a *revolutionary* chain reaction in society as a whole.

People like Cuomo and his kind look at South Africa, and despite their liberal talk, the sight of Black people in rebellion over there makes them even more nervous about keeping the lid on the Black people they oppress here. So these fearful and vicious rulers, and their hired hitmen in the press, will seize on and create any opportunity to confuse and suppress the intensifying outrage among the oppressed and their allies. Their aim is to portray the growing movement against racism and national oppression as invalid and trivial. This aim must be firmly exposed and opposed by the broad masses of people of all nationalities.

People to Cuomo: Shut the Hell Up!

Now, in the middle of this, Governor Mario Cuomo and Attorney General Robert Abrams present themselves as the great seekers of "justice" for Black people. What right do they have to speak? Under their ugly administration, we have seen the police murderers of Michael Stewart walk free. We have seen the police murderers of grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs walk free and get promoted. *No one* has been brought to "justice" in the cases of Yvonne Smallwood, Nicholas Bartlett, Juan Rodriguez, Ken Roy Burke, Edmond Perry — the list goes on and on and on. Only *one* of the Howard Beach lynch-mob murderers of Michael Griffith is currently in jail. Why the hell should *anyone* listen to the likes of Cuomo and Abrams when it comes to justice for Black people? They should be the ones on trial when you get down to it. But that will never happen — unless and until there is a revolution in the USA!

Their whole job is to enforce a system that was built and thrives on the oppression of Black people. That is what these

guys exist for — they are the enforcers of injustice. From the days of slavery to the days of Black mayors and police commissioners, brutal oppression of Black people has been, and is, a cornerstone of Amerikkka. The courts, the grand juries, the officials are all part of enforcing this system. When these officials talk of the "justice" they want for Tawana Brawley, they are calling for the same "justice" they wanted and got for Michael Stewart and Eleanor Bumpurs and Michael Griffith.

Now, these officials accuse the Brawley family and their attorneys of trying to use this case to build a movement. From their point of view, the point of view of the ruling class, this is a crime. From the point of view of our class, the proletariat, we must ask — what is wrong with that? Doesn't there need to be a movement, made up of people of all nationalities, to go up against this severe offensive of racism and brutality that has been let loose by the ruling class? Doesn't everything in the experience of Black people and other oppressed people in this country, including over the last few years, prove that without such a movement there will only be more racist violence? More Eleanor Bumpurs? More Howard Beaches? More Tawana Brawleys? *This* is what relying on the government will bring. That has been proved in blood.

Today, these "just" officials threaten Glenda Brawley with jail for this crime. They threaten her lawyers with disbarment and other legal action. What outrage! What hypocrisy! These attempts must be opposed and stopped!

We Need Revolution

On the question of a movement, the only valid question is what kind of movement do we need. (And there's no way the enforcers of this system can contribute to *that*!) We cannot rely on the system, its laws or its courts or wheeling and dealing with them. That's a home court advantage for the oppressors and a death sentence for the oppressed.

Pressure tactics, no matter how militant, aimed at getting a square deal from their system amounts, ultimately, to the same thing. Such tactics represent the outlook of those classes, even among the oppressed, whose interests lie in reform of the system, while the interests of the proletariat lie in overthrowing the system and in the revolutionary transformation of all society. And, the twists and turns of this case also show that anyone with connections to the police agencies of the enemy cannot be relied on or trusted. The fact is, the brutal oppression of Black people cannot be ended without putting an end to the system that thrives on it. It will take revolution — nothing less — led by the proletariat, those who have no stake in anything short of getting rid of this whole sick thing. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, has said:

"Those who tell Black people and other oppressed peoples in the U.S. that they can win equality and emancipation within this system are telling them a lie that is contradicted by hundreds of years of history and by present-day reality. The subjugation of whole peoples is an integral part of the development of capitalism and imperialism; it is a part of the very foundation and the entire edifice of U.S. society. To abolish this requires that U.S. imperialism be overthrown and this whole oppressive society radically transformed — nothing less. And this provides a powerful basis of unity between the struggle against such national subjugation and the movement of the class-conscious proletariat, of all nationalities, to overturn and uproot the imperialist system and the very basis for all oppression and exploitation not only in the U.S. but throughout the world. It is this unity which is the most crucial element in building the revolutionary movement in the U.S. It is the solid core of the broader united front that is the strategic orientation and the strategic weapon for carrying out socialist

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

We received the following letter:

Dear RW:

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

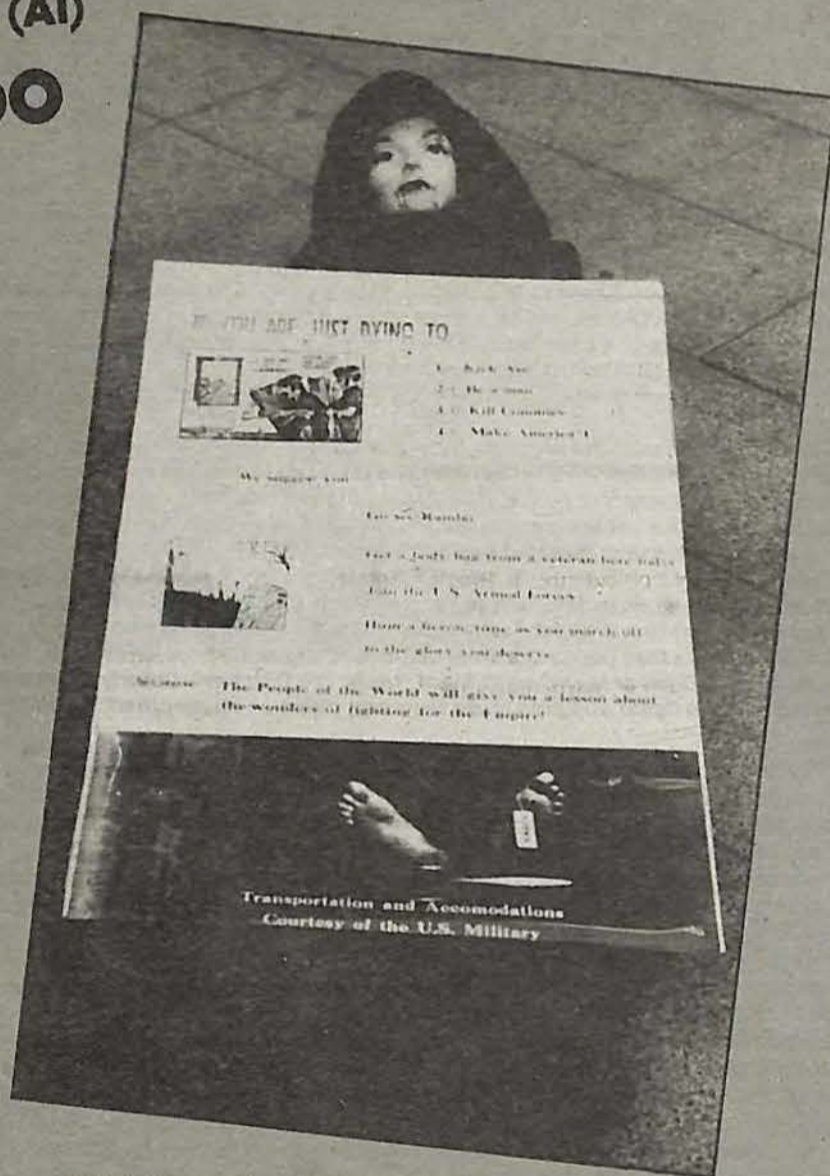
The vets called out to moviegoers and passersby to get the "To Hell With Rambo Statement" which is being circulated nationwide, while those going into the movie were encouraged to get their bodybags and toe-tags while they lasted.

The response from the street was very interesting. Groups of clean-cut youth looking like prime military material, Black proletarians, middle-class couples, and other veterans stopped to listen and discuss, and every available VVAW(AI) member was surrounded. Opposition to the movie and broad antiwar sentiment in general was expressed from many angles and from extremely varied kinds of people. Youth passing by grabbed up the Rambo

statement, some taking extras to use as ammunition in taking on the Rambo mentality. One middle-class guy told me, "I think this screen violence is trying to glorify something that is not glorious at all." The action also had an effect on some homeless people and other vets, drawing out their hatred over the glorification of war, but also over how this shit directly tries to fill the youth with bloodlust to prepare them for actual crimes to be carried out. Some vets signed the statement on the spot. One pointed to the toe tag and bitterly remarked, "I put enough of those on people." A Grenada vet who had worked in the theater ran out to thank the vets for being there. An older woman told of how she had torn up a certificate the Marine Corps had given her as a civilian worker for "aiding the war effort" during Vietnam and told us, "I'm a rebel."

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

Debate among a whole group of teenage engineering students was typical of what went on. One said, "It's good you're here, but isn't this kind of out of line?", while his friend, a student from Mexico, responded, "They're washing your head," and "Next they'll send them [Rambo, et al.] to Nicaragua,



right?" Finally this whole group decided not to see the movie. While VVAW(AI)'s point was not to somehow launch a "Rambo III boycott," many people were challenged by the vets' action to question going to the movie. Hopefully these actions will be only the first of many aimed at Rambo bullshit and all the prewar mentality and plans it's meant to further.

A correspondent in Seattle

Some Straight Talk on the Persecution of Tawana Brawley

Continued from page 5
 revolution in the U.S. as part of the world proletarian revolution." (From *Bullets: from the Writings, Speeches and Interviews of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*)

Political battles like the one that must be waged around Tawana Brawley help prepare the ground for revolution. From these battles today, people can learn more clearly the source of the problem and the solution. They can help the proletariat to learn to distinguish between the different

class interests represented by different programs and tactics. And they can begin to forge alliances that will be crucial for winning a revolution. Through these battles, we can gain experience in fighting the enemy and can change the terrain from which a revolutionary attempt might spring. From this standpoint, it's absolutely necessary that people not only stand firm in the face of the racist counteroffensive in the Brawley case but redouble their resistance to the overall racist offensive going down.

Above all, and no matter what the

turnout, the Brawley case proves the frenzy with which the ruling class wants to suppress the movement against the oppression of Black people. So, shouldn't this inspire people who want to see an end to all the injustice to continue and intensify the resistance, and more, to seriously check out, support and join the Revolutionary Communist Party, the only party that is preparing in a real way to put an end to that oppression by the only means possible: socialist revolution.

STOP THE RACIST COUNTEROFFENSIVE AGAINST TAWANA BRAWLEY AND HER FAMILY AND SUPPORTERS! DOWN WITH THE OPPRESSION OF BLACK PEOPLE! REVOLUTION IN THE '80s—GO FOR IT!

Revolutionary Communist Party, New York Branch

Jesse Jackson
Quotes
and
Comments

Jesse



and the Drug Squad

Jesse Jackson has made a big political impact. And now in late 1980s America we have a strange coincidence: a Black presidential contender has been put onto the political stage in an unprecedented way, and the oppression against the masses of Black people, particularly the youth in the inner city ghettos, has gotten worse.

Jesse Jackson says: "The hands that picked cotton now pick the president." But powerful sections of the American ruling class have picked him and allowed the Jesse Jackson campaign to flourish. The political authorities supported and treated his candidacy in a very different way than in 1984. They needed a political figure who could be put forward to the Black people as their leader on a national level and showcased to the whole society as someone with a popular mandate to speak for and act on behalf of — that is, put the clamps on — Black people and more generally the oppressed of all nationalities. Burt Lance, a white southern Democratic kingmaker and current Jackson advisor, said: "I think what the country is looking for is someone who speaks to the people who are hurting, and there are lots of them, white and black." This candidacy has found support among different sections of the people who — not believing right now in the possibility or desirability of revolution — see the JJ Express as a chance to influence affairs of state in a positive direction, even if they don't like everything about Jesse Jackson, especially as he becomes more of a mainstream politician. But it is a situation where, as Lenin pointed out, people will always be the victims of deception and self-deception until they learn to recognize the interests of various classes behind world events. Nowhere is this clearer than in Jackson's program for a war on drugs.

As events wind down to the Democratic Convention in Atlanta and the election itself, it is important to examine more deeply the Jackson candidacy and his all-



around program. But it must be said up front: The *only* part of Jesse Jackson's program that will really be carried out, and to the hilt, is the part that calls for more repression and brutality against the oppressed in the name of the "war on drugs... on crime" ... and so on. This is not to say that there won't be *any* concessionary measures in the period ahead, but the main attraction the American political establishment sees in Jesse Jackson is to use him as a "war horse" for repression. Through Jackson they hope to enlist the oppressed people in this country in their own repression and enlist the support of the oppressed people here for all sorts of imperialist crimes against the people of the world in the name of the "war on drugs."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But in reality he is pushing the dope of false hope. Shocking as it may seem, when it gets right down to it, the Jackson position is that the oppression of Black



people has largely been legislated out of existence and the remaining national oppression is not worth focusing on. This was especially clear in New York, where police brutality and racist mob murder has ignited political struggle.

Jackson said on the eve of the New York primary: "And though it happens that now and then we have a Howard Beach in New York and a Forsyth County in Georgia, the law is swift to apprehend it, because we marched and we achieved racial justice under the law." He careful-



ly kept his distance over Howard Beach. His theme was conciliation. "Let's not confront each other at Howard Beach or in Forsyth County." He openly stated he would "challenge those who say racial violence is the dominant issue in New York City." (*New York Times*, Jan. 26) He points to another battlefield.

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 14

Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

Downward Mobility in Late Imperial America

By Raymond Lotta

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

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



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

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

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

Point One: Temporary Avoidance of Recession

The stock market collapse of October 1987 carried with it the real possibility of plunging the economy into a

deep recession. This did not happen — mainly because the Federal Reserve Bank injected an enormous amount of liquidity into the system. Nevertheless, the continuing fallout from that crash and, more importantly, the aggravation of all the contradictions giving rise to it could very well trigger a financial disaster or a sharp economic contraction, or both.

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

In Short

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. With more severe austerity on the ruling-class agenda, the potential combustibility of the situation is greatly increased.



New York army converted to a 900-bed shelter for homeless people.

about three-quarters of the net capital formation in the United States in 1986 and 1987. Right now overseas investors are worried about growing protectionism in the U.S. and are eager to put a lock on their American markets; the cheaper dollar also happens to make it somewhat of a bargain to buy in the United States. The upshot is that foreign capital is now providing the main lift to productive investment in the U.S. At the same time, foreign investors are gingerly holding on to U.S. government debt and financial investments — consoled by a breathing spell of foreign exchange stability, lured by relatively higher interest rates, and, at the same time, trying not to set off a panic with a major sell-off. Third, consumer spending (and a lot of this is luxury consumption by the upper-middle classes), driven by an unprecedented accumulation of debt, continues to provide some stimulus to expansion.

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

**Point Two:
The Uneven and Unequal
Distribution of Unemployment**

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

Now one of the distinct features of unemployment in the United States in the 1980s is that, except for recessionary periods, it has not been uniformly dispersed throughout the country. So, while the civilian unemployment rate (an average) hovers around 5.5 percent, there are also highly distressed, and statistically significant, regions and segments of the economy. In particular, unemployment is quite high in parts of the South and Southwest, especially Texas, the farm states, and the inner cities — with various and different factors, some short-term and others long-term, accounting for economic distress. In the case of Black people, a study

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

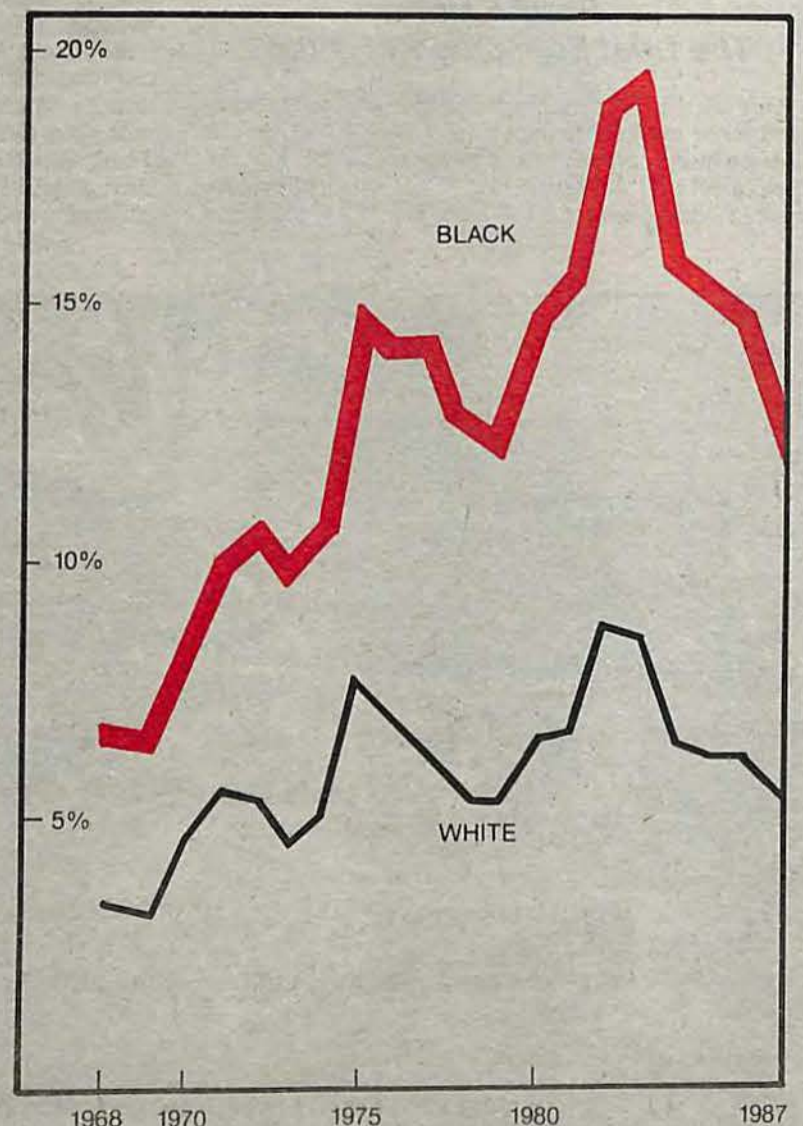
**Point Three:
Redefining Full Employment**

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

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

Continued on page 10

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



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

Continued from page 9

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

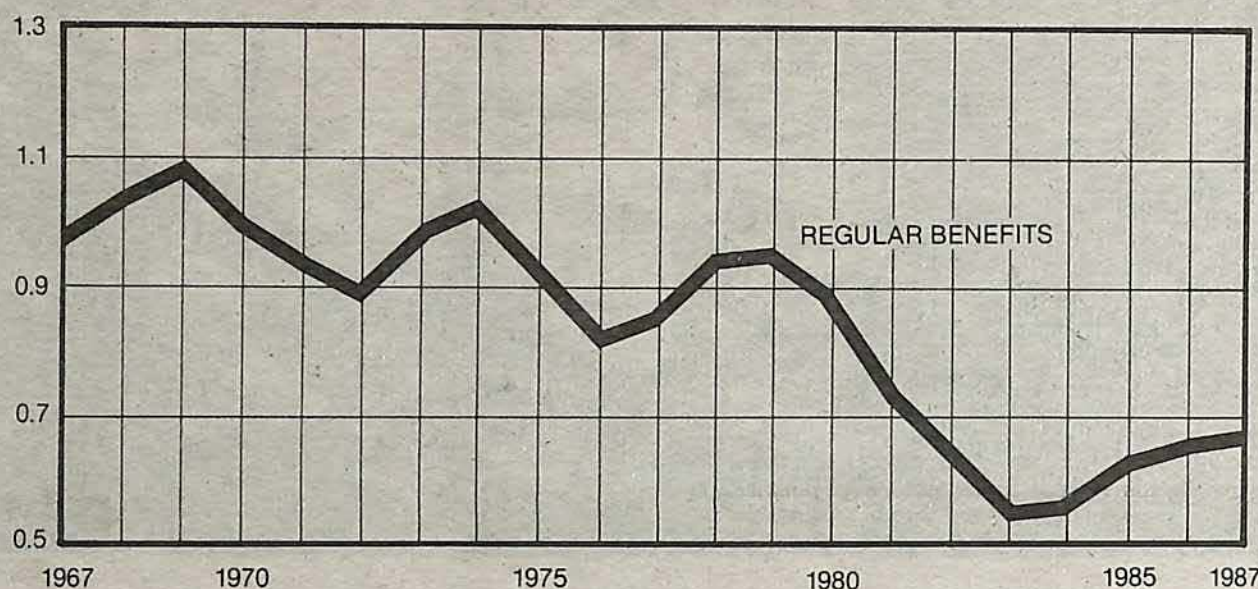
A scientific explanation of the rising levels of “acceptable” unemployment in the past period would emphasize two interrelated factors. The first is the onset of a world economic crisis in the mid-1970s, a crisis which has continued to deepen, despite partial recoveries and rebounds, and which has profoundly affected growth and employment prospects. Simply put, there is not the same expansiveness in the world economy (and in Western Europe this shows up directly in extremely and persistently high levels of unemployment). Second, this crisis and international competition have accelerated and forced certain shifts in the productive structures of the U.S. economy. There is much more speculative investment, which is not as job-creating, trade-sensitive sectors have been pinched by international competition, manufacturing is being downgraded and further polarized as it becomes more internationalized, and the service and manufacturing economy of the financially strapped cities is changing. As a result, there is more competition for different kinds of jobs. In this light, we can take a closer look at the labor market.

Point Four: The Dual Economy Revisited

One of the defining characteristics of the economy (and labor market) in the postwar period has been its division into a core sector and periphery sector. This has been called the “dual economy.” Core workers typically worked in large-scale, capital-intensive, highly unionized



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



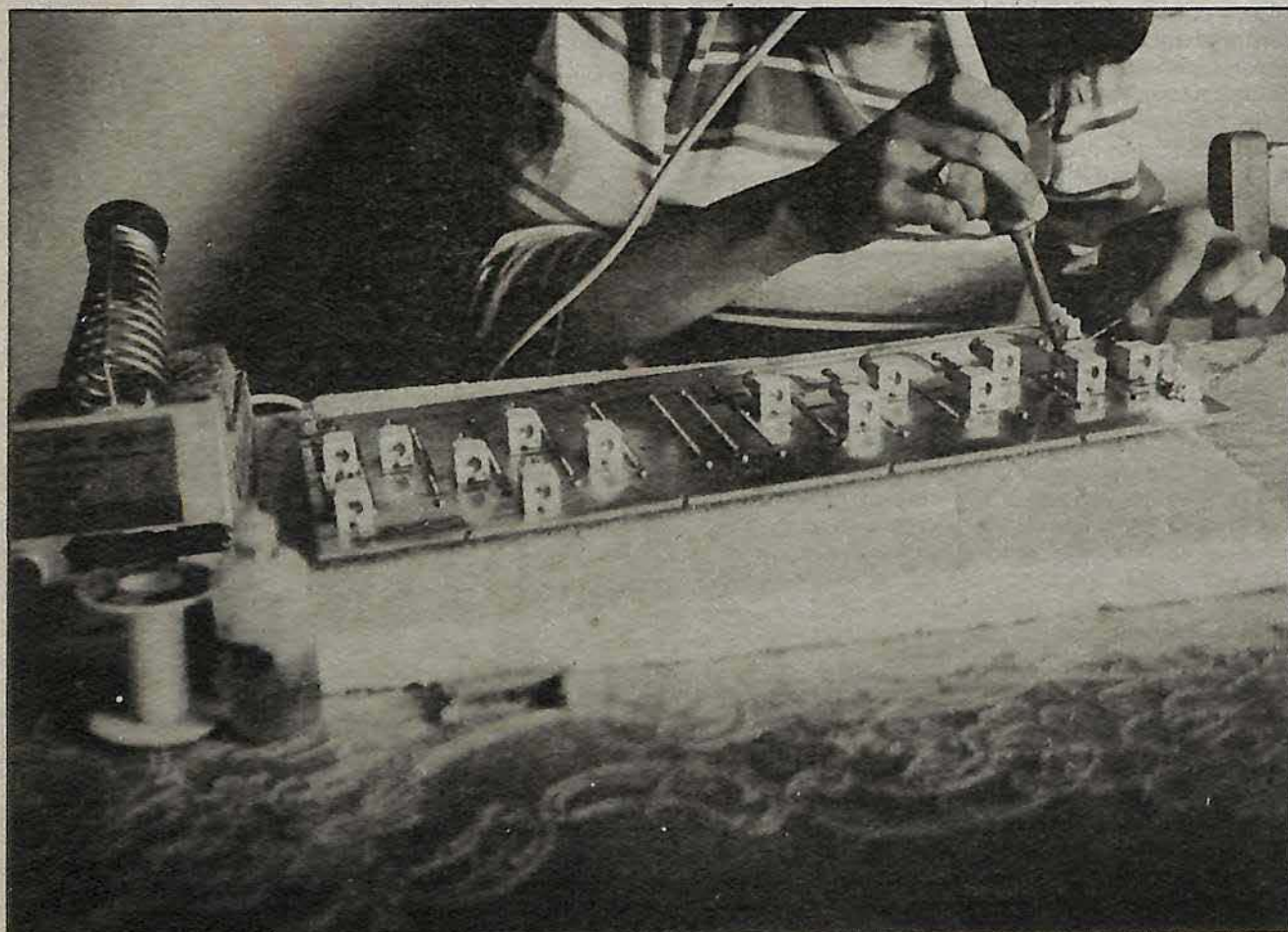
Source: Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco

industry, received moderately high wages and enjoyed various fringe benefits, and could count on job tenure. Periphery workers worked in smaller-scale, typically labor-intensive industry, received fairly low wages, had few insurance and pension benefits, faced more sweatshop-like conditions, and could seldom count on a steady job. Oppressed nationality workers have been crowded into this segment of the labor market. This division is, of course, a simplification — segmentation is more complex — but it does capture a certain reality. There were the auto and steel industries, where workers carried skills and benefits with them, where many of their children could move from an entry-level job up the job

ladder; and there were the apparel and plastic industries, or the small forge or stamping plant: low-wage, high-turnover, dead-end jobs.

This duality still exists, but it has evolved, especially in relation to the manufacturing sector. The world economic crisis and intensifying competition have accelerated and shaped a process of relocation and job-displacing rationalization and technological transformation in the traditional manufacturing complexes. In all segments of industry, flexibility becomes a key ingredient of profitability. Indeed, the current buzzword is flexible manufacturing systems. This refers to an organizational strategy in which production is geared to responding more quickly to market demand (and very often customized demand) and in which inventories are kept to a minimum — these are two key components of what is called just-in-time production — in which there is more off-line, small group production, in which management is made leaner, in which factory production and control are increasingly computer-integrated. It is about technological change and the logic of cost minimization; it is about the dilemma of gaining sufficient return on increasingly expensive capital investments. Pioneered by the Japanese, and more widely practiced in high-tech industries, flexible manufacturing is emerging as a competitive instrument of survival in the conditions of crisis.

This strategy requires workers who are quick in setting up, thereby speeding up production flow, a minimum of work rules and new flexibilities in using the work force, a streamlined assembly line, and a concept of “team work.” In many respects, flexible manufacturing comes into conflict with the old trade union structure of helper, journeyman, master, of strict gradations of skill and reward, and attachment to specialized job skill. How does technology influence the structure of jobs in this framework? We can consider three classes of jobs. The very highly skilled and technical jobs are difficult to automate. But many jobs in the middle — semiskilled jobs — can and do get automated out of existence. On the other hand, moving down to the next level, it is both difficult and highly uncost-effective to automate the most unskilled jobs. As a general trend, those operations that can be routinized and performed by low-wage labor are sourced out to low-cost suppliers and smaller firms, or given over to temporary workers. The dominant, large firms make no commitments to these workers, who can



Worker in Silicon Valley makes computer circuit boards at home.



Atlanta eviction

be easily laid off and rehired; these companies that once performed such work before can cancel it quickly when business weakens.

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

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

American capital also continues to invest overseas hand-over-foot: in 1987 spending was at a record level.



New York

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

Point Five: Safety Net or Noose?

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

since 1982.

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

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Understanding the Latest Unemployment Figures

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

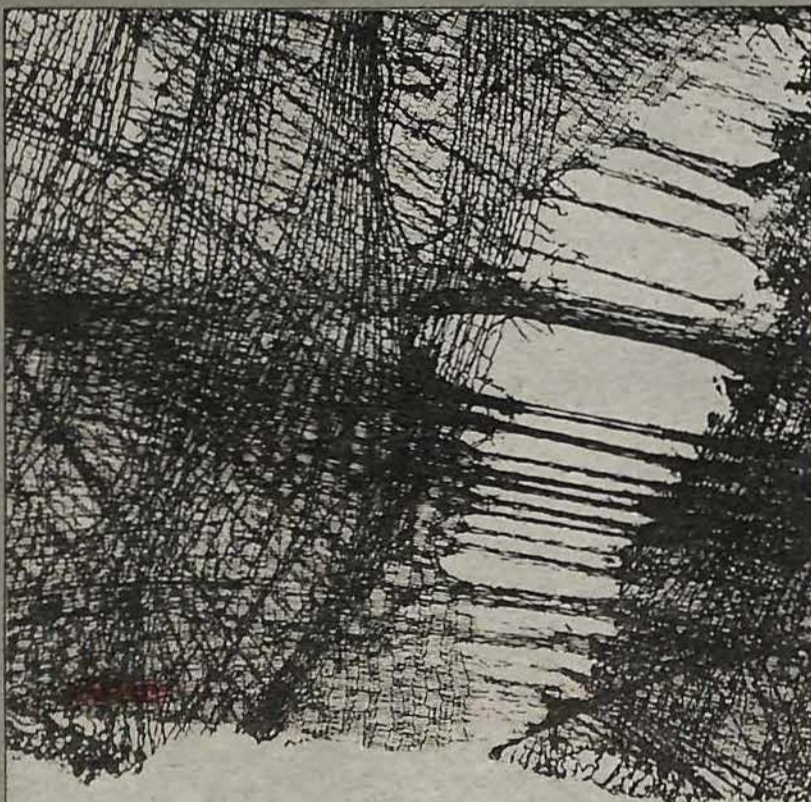
In May 1988 the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities issued a report showing that in twenty-six states, fewer than one of every three unemployed people receives unemployment insurance. The same report found that in thirty-two states, the maximum cash benefit under the Aid to Families with Dependent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

What is happening, on the one hand, is that people are being recycled downward and back into the work force. Clearly, this is the fate of many of the workers who lost jobs during the first half of this decade as a result of plant shutdowns or relocations in the smokestack industries. On the other hand, many of the poorest, especially, but not only, in the cities, are left to fend for themselves or starve (in New York City, low-end estimates put the number of homeless, many of whom are mothers with young children, at 30,000). From many different directions, people are being pushed into low-wage work. It is interesting that both liberals and conservatives agree on the basic outlines of welfare reform: in return for benefits received while they "get their lives together," those on welfare are required to work. In New York in the 1980s the wage-earning poor have increased in numbers faster than have the welfare poor. Which brings us back to the question of the kinds of jobs being created... and into which people are being driven.

TO BE CONTINUED NEXT WEEK



Vietnamese immigrants in San Francisco.



America in Decline

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Haiti

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Severe Economic Crisis

First of all there is the worsening economic crisis in Haiti. Imperialist domination has resulted in Haiti being the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere, and the situation is such that a major factor keeping Haiti's economy from completely going under has been U.S. aid. Last November 29, though, when elections were violently aborted by hard-line Duvalierists and the military, the U.S. cut off \$60 million in direct aid to the Haitian government. Money from the U.S. was already in the pipeline so the full effect of these cuts has not yet been felt, but by July money will completely run out. This would mean an even more drastic situation for the Haitian people — and from the point of view of the U.S. and the Haitian ruling class, an even more dangerously volatile situation among the masses.

During his brief rule Manigat attempted some purely cosmetic administrative and fiscal changes to try and get the U.S. to resume aid. For instance, he made token moves against military- and Macoute-controlled contraband goods which have been flooding provincial ports. But there was still no indication that a new flow of U.S. money would start.

U.S. aid to Haiti has long been used as a political weapon to ensure U.S. interests are served. For instance, when the KNG was in power the U.S. made it clear that aid would only be forthcoming if the government carried out what the U.S. wanted — an electoral process aimed at countering the *dechouke* (uproot) movement among the masses and the installation of a more credible pro-U.S. government. Now it may be the case that the U.S. aid weapon is being utilized at least in part in the U.S.'s "war on drugs."

In the beginning of June Manigat's Foreign Minister, Gérard Latortue, went to Washington, D.C. and met with U.S. congressmen to try and get back U.S. aid. According to several Haitian newspapers, it was made clear to Latortue that the U.S. would only send money again if and when Col. Jean-Claude Paul was ousted from his position as a powerful commander in the military. This is the Col. Jean-Claude Paul who the U.S. claims has been trafficking cocaine into the United States.

In March, shortly after Manigat took power, Paul was indicted for drug smuggling by a federal grand jury in Miami. But the U.S. has not been able to get Paul extradited. And now, with the Noriega mess in Panama, the U.S. figures getting their hands on Paul would be an important political victory. It may also be the case that Col. Paul — who represents old feudal Macoute/military forces — is proving to be an obstacle to changes the U.S. would like to see in Haiti's military. And if this is true, the U.S. could "kill two birds with one stone" by getting rid of Paul through drug charges.

Military Mess

A second problem the U.S. confronts in Haiti is the situation in the Haitian military. Under the rule of "Papa Doc" Duvalier, in order to counterbalance the army and prevent a coup d'état, the Tontons Macoute were created as Duvalier's own personal militia. Then under "Baby Doc" Duvalier the counterinsurgency force known as the "Leopards" was formed and trained by the United States. The legacy of this kind of development — a military divided into a number of separate units with their own allegiances — remains to this day. While the Haitian armed forces total only about 7,000 troops, there are many commanders who function almost as autonomous warlords with small private squadrons.

From the U.S.'s point of view this is a big problem. Constantly erupting contradictions among various factions in the military makes for a very unstable as well as ineffectual force. And independent "warlords" are sometimes liable to do whatever they want regardless of U.S. demands. The integration of the Tontons Macoute in the army after Duvalier fled only made this situation more extreme, especially as the government had to try and publicly distance itself from the most exposed Macoute forces. So in this sense the U.S. faces a situation where Haiti's

military cannot be relied on a hundred percent to carry out the U.S.'s wishes. As part of trying to deal with this problem the U.S. has put pressure on the Haitian government to make the military more "professionalized" with a more centralized command structure. But this has also brought to the surface some explosive contradictions within Haiti's ruling class.

The details and significance of the events leading up to Manigat's ouster are not entirely clear at this point. But it does appear there was some kind of move against Col. Jean-Claude Paul in the days before the coup. And this underscores this messy state of affairs in the military. Jean-Claude Paul has been well-known as the commander of 800 soldiers in what is called the Tactical Battalion — strategically stationed at the Casernes Dessalines army barracks located just behind the presidential palace. He is an American-made strongman who finished his military preparation with a period of "intensive" training in the United States. And the U.S. worked with him for years, providing training and equipment for his troops. (Ironically he is now proving to be a "bad child.")

On Tuesday, June 14 Col. Jean-Claude Paul was reassigned, reportedly by General Namphy, to a desk job at the army command. But Paul refused to leave his command at the barracks, and according to news reports, Manigat then moved against Namphy, firing him and placing him under house arrest. Manigat also started to make a number of rearrangements in the military, and it was after this that Namphy showed up at the National Palace waving his Uzi.

Another scenario reported in the *Washington Post*, if true, reveals just how sharp and unpredictable these intra-ruling-class contradictions are. In an interview with the *Post*, Joe Namphy, General Namphy's brother, claimed that Manigat "double-crossed" Namphy — that Manigat first ordered Namphy to reassign Jean-Claude Paul and then later claimed Namphy had acted on his own. The *New York Times* reported that according to Joe Namphy, General Namphy was not even aware of the plans to oust Manigat until army envoys sent by Paul showed up at his door, told him to put on a uniform, and said, "We're going to put you in the palace."

The fact that there was no battle for control indicates that getting rid of Manigat was agreed on by a number of the military factions. On June 20 Col. Paul appeared on the state television station with Namphy amid other officers supporting him. The new president, helmeted and machine gun in hand, reassured the people that the army and the people are "as one" and that "the army loves the people and the country."

Within hours Namphy appointed a "new" cabinet, and in some cases this involved nothing more than a quick change of clothes. The powerful military/Macoute General Williams Régala, who had been part of the original junta and then served as Defense Minister under Manigat, put his military uniform back on and reported to the palace as Minister of the Interior and National Defense.

As ex-president Manigat was being



Slum in Port-au-Prince.



deposited in the Dominican Republic his collaborators were arrested and locked up in Fort Dimanche. By Friday, June 24 Manigat had made his way to Miami, Florida.

U.S. In and Out of Control

The fact of the matter is, from the day Duvalier fled Haiti, the U.S. has faced an uphill battle to maintain some kind of pro-U.S. government that can keep the economic and political situation in Haiti from exploding. It is a well-recognized fact among the masses that power has remained in the hands of Duvalierists and Macoutes; the people continue to demand the "dechouke" movement go even further; and there is growing anti-U.S. sentiment. But every attempt by the U.S. to achieve even a semblance of stability in Haiti has miserably failed.

In a June 21 editorial the *New York Times* was blunt: "The choice quite literally is not between soldiers and democrats, but between soldiers and soldiers who deal drugs. . . . It is just possible that the much-abused cause of Haitian democracy might benefit from the coup." This was written before it became clear that Col. Paul is most likely part of the newly arranged ruling group. But this editorial reflects U.S. concern that drug money is creating unreliable lackeys as well as undermining the clout of the U.S. aid weapon. This piece goes on to say, "One of General Namphy's grievances against Mr. Manigat was his failure to get Washington to resume aid cut off after the electoral violence. The loss of U.S. funds has hurt the economy and pressured public payrolls, including the military. The drug trafficking of which Colonel Paul is accused represents a potential alternative source of funds."

At the end of May Senator Alfonse D'Amato, at a special Senate hearing on drugs, compared Haiti to Panama as a drug menace and noted that the military of the two nations had close connections. "Birds of a feather flock together," he said. And now, as Col. Paul seems to have come out ahead in this latest skirmish, the U.S. continues to make similar comparisons. Walter E. Fauntroy, the Democratic congressman from Washington, D.C. and chairman of the Congressional Task Force on Haiti, said in response to the coup, ". . . if the path of Noriega is to be duplicated in Haiti. . . the American people and others will never acquiesce to 'business as usual' with a regime defined by 'Noriega-ism.'"

This point was also actively made by the U.S. in the midst of the recent shakeup. According to the Haitian publication *Le Petit Samedi Soir* as well as other sources, shortly before Namphy

was put under house arrest, two U.S. warships appeared and remained in the bay of Port-au-Prince.

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

The Dechouke Factor

The week of the coup the "McNeil/Lehrer News Hour" interviewed ex-U.S. ambassador to Haiti Williams Jones. And in response to a question about whether or not the ordinary people in Haiti are mere observers at this point, Jones said, "At the present time they are probably observers. If they do participate there will be bloodshed, I'm sure. . . . One can only hope there won't be bloodshed." (A truly cynical and hypocritical remark from someone who presided over the U.S. training and equipping of Haiti's repressive forces.) A Caribbean expert quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* made a similar point saying, "The people feel defeated, they have no plans, they are lost."

But such hopes of passivity from the people have already been smashed. Not long after Manigat's flight, 500 workers at the state-owned flour mill went on strike to protest the reinstatement of a Macoute chief executive of the factory and his two aides who had been replaced several weeks before by the Manigat government. In retaliation, on June 22 army officers fired the plant's union leaders and eighty other workers, but as we go to press the strike is still continuing. In at least one other state-owned factory there have been strikes to protest the reinstatement of Namphy. And in the past months there have been other outbreaks of resistance in different parts of the country.

For all their machinations, for all its efforts and doubletalk, it looks as if the U.S. has had yet another Haiti scenario backfire on them. And things remain quite unpredictable and very unstable for the U.S. and those in the National Palace. □



Jesse and the Drug Squad

Continued from page 7

he preaches is *within*: within the Black communities and within people's own minds. This has everything to do with his campaign to make drugs "Issue Number 1."

Even while he gets overwhelming support from Black voters, his *message* promotes deep divisions within Black communities — effectively rallying a conservative section to the side of the government and police. One key aspect of the "war on drugs" as it unfolds in practice is a war aimed at a *certain section of the oppressed communities, especially the jobless youth*. Jackson calls on the more established, more upwardly striving section of Blacks to join that war and *abandon* a focus on racist violence and oppression. That is the meaning of his remark that the enemy doesn't "wear hoods" (i.e., the white racist Klan) but now "are

hoods" (i.e., the Black street youth).

Jesse's drug war program flirts with rhetoric about the terrible conditions of life in the ghetto, but he turns reality on its head. He does not deal with the real forces behind the fact that in the ghetto drugs have less to do with getting high and more to do with getting by.

What is the reality? In America in 1988 the workings of this system have created a situation where the underground economy is a substantial part of what passes for "economic opportunity" in the ghetto. In America 1988 all that this system has to offer thousands of Black youth is a



cheap hustle and a golden chain. Isn't this a great indictment of this system and the fact that discrimination and national oppression are alive and well in America in 1988?

But Jesse points the finger at the people. Jesse calls for a war on drugs, not a war against the system. His program has struck a chord with a certain strata of Black people who see the dire situation and the polarization confronting the Black masses and think that by joining in the call of the ruling class for a war on

drugs they can call attention to the situation and get over with some of their economic reforms. But anyone who thinks that anything good can come out of this war on drugs for the masses of Black people doesn't know anything about U.S. imperialism. Just because the ruling class has the need for this so-called war on drugs doesn't mean the masses of people have to be chumps. *The fascist crackdown is worse than crack.*

Jackson's stand, his rhetoric and his "leadership" on the drug issue, has been

heightened U.S. military activity and pressure throughout Latin America and the Caribbean Basin;

- an aggressive war on ghetto youth, including massive roundups in Los Angeles and evictions against anyone *suspected and charged* with drug activity in New York;

- a general tightening of fascist social discipline within a climate of snooping, snitching, conformity, and surprise police raids.

- an expanded militarization of the entire border region — where the war on drugs also serves as a generalized clamp-down on Latin American immigrants.

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

Can Jesse Jackson, the self-announced "general" in such a war, be allowed to masquerade as a "progressive" force? And can the masses of people allow themselves to be recruits and cannonfodder for a war against the oppressed? □



Fiesta de Resistencia

Continued from page 4

the fiesta. It was a fantastic mix of people. Central American immigrants and Black people joined with high school and college students, anti-nuke activists, Rastas, Native American residents of Big Mountain (as well as people from their support committee), and anarchists. There were people from the Horn of Africa, Iran, the Philippines, and elsewhere. A number of people came after seeing the "Fiesta de Resistencia" poster on ghetto or barrio walls, others came after hearing about it through word of mouth. Many of the participating artists helped build for the event, giving flyers to their friends or announcing it to audiences earlier in the week. Some homeless people who were at another area of the park heard the music and came to check out the scene. A couple of lawyers came to the fiesta from a national symposium of the American Immigration Lawyers Association which was taking place in San Diego that week.

Ricardo Sanchez, a poet and member of the National Response Committee of La Resistencia, flew in from San Antonio, Texas to emcee the event. He read several of his poems and called on people to oppose the Simpson-Rodino Act, join the movement of La Resistencia, and sign the "Pledge of la Resistencia."

Other poets read from their work in English and Spanish. Terry Hertzler, editor of a monthly publication called *No Streets Poets Voice*, read his new poem about the border. He is putting together an anthology of poetry on the border question. Steve Kowitz opened his reading with a statement supporting the slogan "We're All Illegals!" Maggie Jaffe read a poem which ridiculed a *New York Times* article on the activities of the reactionary Civilian Military Assistance along the border. Jesús Papoleto Meléndez, a Puerto Rican poet, read his poem "Suisocietality," which appeared in *RW* No. 456. John Peterson read a poem which upholds the spirit and action of the Watts Rebellion. Ruben Guevara, a poet-singer-songwriter from East L.A., jumped from the stage into the crowd to give a rap on the history of oppression of indigenous and Latino people as the Xipetotec Azteca Dancers played their drums and conch shells. Frank, a Black performance artist from Los Angeles, did

a skit based on his own life.

A wide variety of musical styles were represented on the stage. T. Irie Dread played a mean reggae beat that got the crowd in the groove. Colours, a jazz-rock fusion band, and Jalapeño, a salsa dance band, performed. Storm, a Latin-jazz band, was joined on stage by Gene "Negro" Perry, a Puerto Rican percussionist who specializes in the Cuban Afro-rumba style. DJs called the Beerwolves Party Crew spun their tunes, and players from the L.A. bands Rebel Rockers and Talkback came to participate. A two-tone rap band, Black & White, brought the crowd to its feet when they rapped about eradicating racism.

An artist who manages a restaurant took the stage at one point and denounced the employer sanctions provision of the Simpson-Rodino Act. He read from a form recently sent by the INS to his restaurant and said, "They want all employers in this country to become arms and agents of the INS. We will not go along with this."

A high point came toward the end of the fiesta when the Xipetotec Azteca Dancers performed. Dressed in beautiful traditional Aztec costumes, they danced incredibly and then spoke to the audience, calling together all who are fighting to save the earth. They spoke of the Mexican people's right to dance as part of their heritage and led a big circle dance, drawing in dozens from the crowd while the sun began to set behind the trees.

A number of Southern California artists contributed to the event. Mario Torero, a San Diego artist, designed the poster for Fiesta de Resistencia. Robbie Conal sent autographed copies of his new poster, "Contra Cocaine," to the fiesta. Leo Limon sent a beautiful original print to the fiesta. And a mounted copy of the poster "Welcome to America's Finest Tourist Plantation" (which was widely displayed on the back of San Diego buses in January when the Super Bowl was held here) was hung from the skirt of the stage.

There was debate and discussion among people at the fiesta over what this law and the intensified attacks on immigrants represent. Immigrants in the San Diego area have been under vicious and widespread attacks by the Border Patrol for a long time. Among some peo-

ple in the area, especially from the middle classes, there is a tendency not to recognize the leaps in the nationwide effort by the government to surround, control, deliberately dehumanize, and wall off from the rest of society millions of immigrants who have come to this country over the past decades. A common sentiment among them is that "Yes, it's really bad, but you can't make comparisons to the Nazis in Germany and how they rounded up the Jews." At the fiesta a man from Yugoslavia strongly countered this, saying that he hated what la Migra was doing and that "We should learn from history, we can't be 'good Ger-

mans.'"

Many people in the crowd carefully read the Pledge of la Resistencia and signed it, and some asked how they could hook up with the movement. Several people, including a number of artists who had been reluctant to get very involved before the fiesta, declared that they were now good and ready. One immigrant challenged the artists: "Don't wait too long to have another event!" And there was talk backstage that the next Fiesta de Resistencia should be a national event, drawing together artists from every corner of the country to join the opposition against attacks on immigrants. □

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



by Carl Dix

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

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Intefadeh at Six Months

Continued from page 3

by negligence or accidents by Israeli soldiers and civilians. . . . Fire officials could point to no specific physical evidence substantiating their case that Palestinians are setting fires as a new tactic in the uprising."

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

The story of Beita village is perhaps the most stunning example. In a confrontation in April between villagers and Zionist settlers, an Israeli girl died from a gunshot wound. Investigation quickly revealed that she had been shot by the fanatical right-wing adult Zionist who had led the group of young settlers into the provocation of villagers. But the Israeli army carried out sweeping punishment against the village: all males over fifteen years old were arrested, and some are still in camps; six people were deported to Lebanon; one was shot by troops; the village was sealed off for weeks; fourteen houses were blown up; and groves of trees were uprooted in the surrounding hills. Recently a group of "pro-peace" Israelis traveled to Beita to symbolically replant some young olive trees and to help rebuild the destroyed housing. The saplings they planted were immediately destroyed by waiting Israeli soldiers.

After this and many other atrocities, the Israelis dare accuse the Palestinians of a special "inhumanity" because of unproven accusations about wildfires!

Lies with a Purpose

But the hysteria over "Palestinian arsonists" had a very definite purpose: it was immediately used to justify new Israeli brutality. On June 12 Yitzak Rabin, the Labor Party leader serving as Israel's Defense Minister, authorized Zionist settlers to "shoot to kill" any Palestinians who they saw holding fire-bombs.

These rabid settlers have been waging an increasingly brutal campaign of semi-official terror against their Palestinian neighbors. They rampage through Arab villages like night-riders and shoot Palestinian youths manning barricades. The new "shoot to kill" ruling could unleash these paramilitary "civilians" to carry out a whole new level of terror and murder.

A leader of one Zionist settlement, Ron Nachman of Ariel, recently demanded more collective punishment against Palestinian villages and said, "If we had shot them at the beginning and deported them en masse, the uprising would never have reached this stage." In talking about massive deportations, Nachman reveals that the plan of settlers like him is to drive Palestinians wholesale out of their remaining enclaves within Palestine like the West Bank, the Gaza, and Galilee. Nachman threatened: "If the army doesn't put down the uprising, the settlers will do it. . . . I can tell you I will not be able to hold my people back from going to an Arab village to carry out a massacre unless the army gets tougher." Such talk from the settlers also serves as justification for more "official" acts of terror by the regular military.



Israeli settlers attempt to extinguish brush fire.

Creating New Conditions Through Struggle

The fact that the Israelis have had to step up their repressive measures shatters their claim that their crackdown has defeated the uprising. Resistance has become highly organized, and the *intefadeh* is now something of a way of life for those living under occupation.

Through their struggle the Palestinians have changed the relationship with their oppressors in many ways, deepening the lines of demarcation with the enemy. One particular victory has been the shattering of the once-pervasive networks of informers and collaborators that Israel had set up within the Palestinian communities. The latest leaflet from the underground leadership calls for "the immediate resignations" of Palestinians working for "municipal councils, police, tax, customs, city planning, housing, ID card offices and census offices" in the occupied territories. Such orders have been widely obeyed by Palestinians who once worked for the Israeli authorities. Recently one Israeli-appointed collaborator, a mayor of a West Bank town who refused to resign, was stabbed through the heart by an unknown attacker.

The sharp lines drawn between the masses on the one hand and the occupation authorities and their collaborators on the other have made it much more difficult for Israel to rule over the Palestinians.

The *intefadeh* is shaking Israel in other important ways. Strikes have disrupted the many sectors of the crisis-ridden Israeli economy that rely on exploitation of Palestinian labor. Boycotts of Israeli goods have cut their markets. Tourism to Israel has dropped by 40 percent. The high cost of military occupation is taking its toll; even General Mitzna does not pretend that troop strength in the West Bank and Gaza can be cut for the next year. Meanwhile, a widely observed Palestinian boycott of taxes seriously hinders Israeli attempts to finance their occupation through plunder of the occupied. The Israelis have responded with measures such as confiscating goods of Palestinian businessmen or denying travel permits to anyone who cannot show tax receipts.

Lip Service and Counterinsurgency at the Arab Summit

When the *intefadeh* first burst onto the world scene last December, one of the factors involved was the anger of the Palestinian people toward the Arab governments. Meeting at an Arab League summit that fall, the Arab heads of state had totally ignored the Palestinian struggle.

This month nineteen Arab heads of state met again and declared that the *intefadeh* was the main topic. But as it quickly became clear, the only thing they had in mind was lip service and cooptation.

The Arab League promised financial

aid for the *intefadeh*. But they refused to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization or any Palestinians to control the distribution of the money. They made resolutions acknowledging the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people. But in practice they insisted that Jordan, Syria, and extremely conservative "Arab financial institutions" be given a major hand in controlling aid flowing into the Palestinian camps.

The Arab powers want to use this so-called "aid" as a means of control and counterinsurgency: to give selective financing to some Palestinian institutions and groups in order to tie them to the politics and ideology of reactionary Arab states.

The sinister hand of the United States was present behind the scenes of this Arab League summit. This became clear when the Arab League refused to condemn the so-called "Shultz Peace Plan." This is the proposal put forward by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz which calls for a peace conference without the PLO and which is aimed ultimately at recruiting the pro-West government of Jordan as the next policeman for Palestinians in the Gaza and the West Bank.

Since November 1987, seventeen Arab states have restored ties with Egypt, which had previously been treated as an outcast for signing a separate peace with Israel in 1979 after U.S.-sponsored negotiations. Several states, led by Saudi Arabia, have pressed for Egypt's readmission to the Arab League.

The Arab League summit emphasized once again that the reactionaries who now rule the Arab states are not reliable allies of the Palestinian liberation struggle. Nothing but betrayal can be expected from this counterrevolutionary combination of empty rhetoric and intrigue. And this underscores the need for the Palestinian people to rely on themselves, on their own struggle, and on their proletarian and oppressed allies internationally.

The Need (and the Opportunity) for People's War

Some Palestinians have been heard to say that the *intefadeh* "is not just an uprising but a war." Unfortunately, this remains an exaggeration. The most visible and organized trends leading the *intefadeh* are attempting to use the power of the uprising to force world powers toward an international conference, in the hope that the Israeli occupation can come to a negotiated end. But when Western imperialists and some forces in Israel talk about a "negotiated settlement," what they mean is to install some other form of reactionary armed control over Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza: either Jordan serving as the new policeman or some Palestinian collaborators ruling a ministate bantustan on Israel's behalf.

At this point, the ruling forces in Israel have shut the door on even puppet-style

"autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza. Defense Minister Rabin insists, "If anyone talks about elections for municipalities, my answer is a clear-cut no." As if to underscore that stance, the Israeli government recently expelled Mubarak Awad from Jerusalem in handcuffs. Awad, a Palestinian with American citizenship, is the kind of non-violent "moderate" who the U.S. considers a candidate for an "acceptable" local rule by Palestinians. The fact that the Israeli authorities consider even Awad's activities too much of a threat to their "security and order" shows that the mildest opposition to occupation is denied legal political existence.

But even if the schemes for pressuring the big powers into an international conference and a "negotiated settlement" do somehow manage to succeed, the result would not be liberation!

The Only Realistic Road

Those who are awed by the Israelis argue that armed struggle based among Palestinian masses is unrealistic or even suicidal. But if the goal is genuine liberation, rather than accommodation, then the road of people's war and new-democratic revolution is very realistic compared to strategies that rely on great-power negotiations and Israeli compromise.

The *intefadeh* has proven dramatically — month after long month — that a popular basis exists for such a revolutionary war. Millions within Palestine and the areas that border on it have shown they are capable of unbelievable feats of organization, perseverance, and sacrifice in the struggle against an oppressor who possesses huge amounts of modern weapons and is backed by powerful imperialists. What is lacking is not the raw material for such a war but a leading core — a vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which is able to formulate and carry through a strategy for revolutionary people's war in the context of the complex conditions of Palestine today.

Two months ago Henry Kissinger, one of the top U.S. imperialist spokesmen, told a private gathering of influential American Zionists: "The insurrection must be quelled immediately. . . . brutally and rapidly." He added, "The first step should be to throw out television, à la South Africa." Since then, Israel has followed that advice and applied a mix of media blackout and military brutality.

Now, in June, that same Henry Kissinger teamed up with Cyrus Vance, another top ruling class figure, to write an article summing up the state of the world and tasks facing the U.S. They wrote: "The militancy of the Arab population [under Israeli rule] will increase; the militancy of the Arab population outside the territories will grow." A pessimistic and fearful conclusion from Israel's American godfathers! □

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