

Scott-Heron

continued from page 11

We'll settle all this at the conference table.
You leave everything to me."
... I believe these smiles
in three piece suits
with gracious liberal demeanor
took our movement off the streets
and took us to the cleaners.

You've got to catch Gil Scott-Heron live to really get a feeling of his poetry and music. He's a very warm performer exemplified by the songs he does which are aimed at attacking the ideological bondage which chains the people. Without coming off condescending, he criticizes the escapist bag that people get into, like in "Getting Out of the Ghetto Blues," which hits the false hopes and illusions of escape from "making it" to shooting dope. Musically, he draws on the rich and varied legacy of jazz and blues to enhance his political content. The band he has assembled and now tours with is an excellent group of musicians which includes Edward Brady, guitar; Carl Cornwell, piano, flute and saxophone; Robert Gordon, bass; Tony Green, drums.

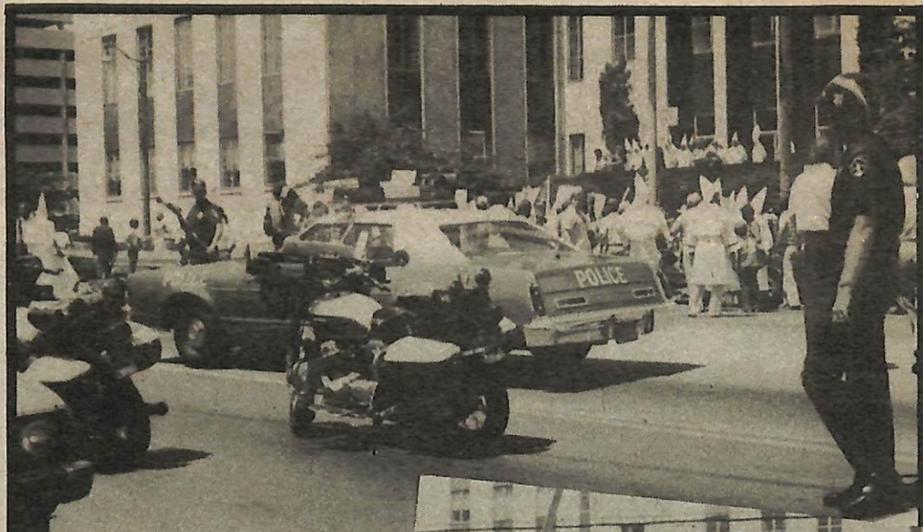
Judging from the fact that "The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron" has sold over 60,000 copies since its release last month (which is excellent, especially for a recording exclusively of poetry), there is a growing audience and growing hunger among people for art which crystallizes their experience and exposes their enemy. Why? Because the contradictions of this system are sharpening and the man is coming down harder everywhere, in every way. Gil Scott-Heron seems to recognize this motion and recognize a sharpening responsibility on his own part to hit back. As he says in "A Poem for Jose Campos Torres," the best poem on the new album, which is dedicated to the young Chicano brutally and blatantly murdered by the Houston police:

I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more words down
about people kickin' us when we're down
about racist dogs that attack us and
drag us down, drive us down and beat us down—
But the dogs are in the street!

I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
But the battle field has oozed away from the stilted debates of
semantics, beyond the questionable flexibility of primal screaming.
The reality of our city/jungle streets and their gestapos has
become an attack on home/life/family/philosophy/total...
The MOTHER FUCKING DOGS are in the street!...

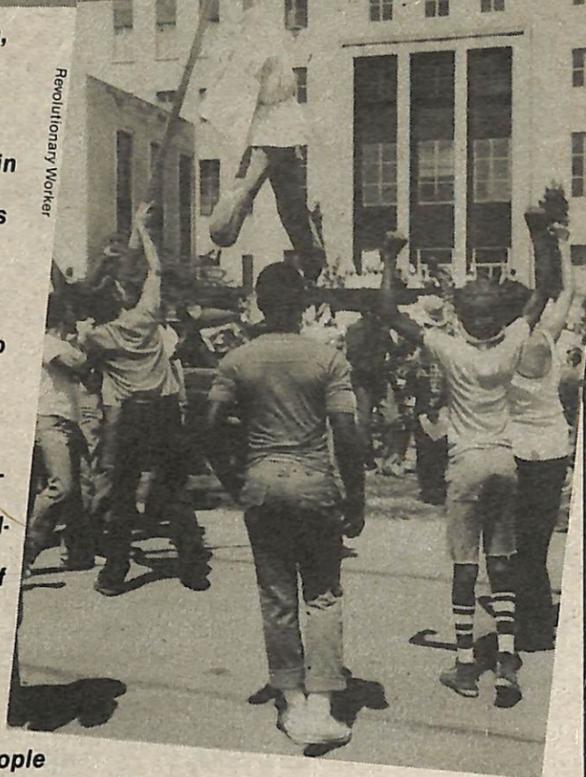
In Houston maybe someone said Mexicans were the new niggers.
In L.A. maybe someone said Chicanos were the new niggers.
In Frisco maybe someone said that Asians were the new niggers.
Maybe in Philadelphia and North Carolina they decided they
didn't need no new niggers...

Brother Torres is dead.
The Wilmington Ten are still incarcerated.
Ed Davis, Ronald Reagan and James Hunt and Frank Rizzo are still alive.
And the dogs are in the MOTHERFUCKIN' street.
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
I made a mistake.



For weeks, Birmingham, Alabama, has been the scene of intense struggle over the murder of Bonita Carter, a Black woman who was shot four times in the back by city cops. On Saturday, July 28, the pigs had a different task—protecting a "march" of the KKK through downtown Birmingham from being torn to shreds by the people.

Thirty of the sheeted rats were joined by 70 "supporters" in a demonstration "in remembrance of the victims of violent crime." They avoided the main downtown streets where hundreds of Black people were doing their Saturday shopping. Even so, the Klan had to run to keep ahead of the increasingly large numbers of people that followed. Some of the people carried banners reading "Avenge the death of Bonita Carter!" Chants went up of "Down with Vann, Sands and the Klan." Vann is the mayor and Sands the cop who shot Bonita Carter. A life size effigy of a Klansman was hung and torched. Even more people massed at the Klan's rally site and began to arm themselves with rocks and bottles. The police then advised their brethren to cut short the rally and the Klan unfortunately escaped without injury.



China Card

Continued from page 5

achieve the stability on their borders and the political climate in which to carry out their modernization—and save their skins.

Indications of Pro-Soviet Drift

What evidence is there of Chinese willingness to seek out accommodation with the Soviets? There is, most prominently, the growing interest expressed by the Chinese leadership in normalization talks with the Soviet Union, even as they have announced that the Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union will be allowed to lapse. Significantly, the Chinese did not lash out at the Soviets in making this announcement and Chinese Foreign Minister Hung Hua was quick to call for talks to improve relations.

The Chinese have also toned down their demands for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the contested and sensitive border areas. During the recent conflict in Vietnam, Chinese and Soviet negotiators continued to discuss river navigation problems. In this connection, it was in the fall of 1977 that for the first time since the start of the Cultural Revolution, agreements were reached on these navigation disputes. Huang Hua attended a reception in the Soviet Embassy in Peking that November—again a first since 1966.

Right along with these developments has been the rehabilitation of several leaders with a long and rich association with Soviet-style revisionism. The most outstanding case in point is that of Peng Te-huai, the former Minister of Defense, who had openly challenged Mao in 1959 and secretly met with

Khrushchev and the Soviets in Albania.

On top of all this, and most important, there are no longer any ideological obstacles, any conflicts of Marxist principle, standing in the way of overcoming their differences. A bourgeois nationalist dispute—even a bitter one—can often be patched up. The Chinese press no longer publishes analysis and criticism of the revisionist line of the Soviets on their phony "socialism," for to do so would be like holding up a mirror to their own revisionism.

Mao, the most implacable foe of Soviet revisionism, is now being criticized in China. So is the Cultural Revolution—which was aimed exactly at preventing Soviet-style reversion there. All this lays a most solid foundation for caving in to the Soviets. When Mao was alive the Soviets' aggressive designs on China were held at bay by the fact that the Soviets knew the revolutionary forces would not give ground to their demands and would mobilize an all-out counter-assault to any Soviet thrust.

How far to push the criticism of Mao and whether to fully clear the name of Liu Shao-chi, the President of the Peoples' Republic—a pro-Soviet element—who was the main target of the Cultural Revolution, hangs in the balance of the inner party struggle over the degree to which the Chinese must bow before the Soviets. As in its dealings with the West during the last two years, such a reconciliation with the Soviets will hardly be one of equals.

It is useful to examine the "Munich analogy" which has been so often invoked by the Chinese revisionists. They have drawn parallels with the pre-World War II situation in which certain circles in the West tried to appease Hitler in order to drive him eastward to attack the Soviet Union. This approach was most represented by the Munich Agreement. But the concessions did not check Hitler's ambitions and he turned on Western Europe.

Now on one level the analogy is designed to influence public opinion in the West to adopt a tougher stance toward the Soviets and relieve some of the pressure on China.

But on another level, the Munich analogy, in its obsession with Soviet strength and aggressiveness and its pointed references to Western weakness and indecision, stands as an argument that the West is an unreliable ally, that the die has been cast, the Soviets are the stronger of the two superpowers, and that one must face up to reality and come to terms with it. In other words, Soviet strength, Chinese weakness, and Western indecision combine to foist on the Chinese leaders the "difficult but necessary" decision to reach an accommodation with the Soviets.

Now, of course, it is silly to rate imperialist superpowers according to some reliability index. Both pursue their own interests and are driven by their global rivalries to take gambles and risks and even to throw friends to the wolves. It is not that the Soviets have awed the West into inaction with their supposed superiority; in fact, war is the certain outcome of Soviet-U.S. world rivalry, unless it is stopped by revolution.

But the Soviets, poised on China's border, do have more freedom of military action in relation to China, than does the West. This is the meaning of the notion that the West can't be counted on in the crunch.

There are elements in the Chinese revisionist clique, then, who see more danger in relying on the U.S. for support against the Soviets than in coming directly to terms with the Soviets. And, by the same token, there are those who see the move toward the West as a means for gaining leverage with the Soviets, for obtaining the best deal from them (as the commercial puts it, with Master Charge you have clout). So, paradoxically, the louder the anti-Sovietism, the more intimate the relationship with the West becomes, the

stronger the bargaining position of the Chinese in making a deal with the Soviets.

But how far and for how long this can be pushed is a matter of struggle and calculation. Clearly, there are those—including many in the military—who would try to send feelers out to the Soviets—perhaps in the form of some de-escalation in the border areas—to right now start negotiating seriously; others would want to carry this "toughing-it-out" posture further. But the tactical differences do not alter the fact that the Chinese leadership is irreversibly wedded to coming to terms with the Soviets—that is, unless world war breaks out first and short-circuits the deal.

For the time being the major constraint on immediate reconciliation is the legacy of Mao. Criticism must still proceed gingerly. One rather subtle indication of how this is unfolding can be gleaned from an article on economic readjustment in *Peking Review*, June 29, 1977. This article says that what it calls China's present re-adjustment in economic priorities is being carried out under more favorable conditions than before: "... in the early 1960s, in addition to the difficulties caused by the Soviet Union, the imperialists were blockading us economically. Now the international situation is highly favorable to our modernization." (emphasis added) A rather strange utterance in the shadow of world war. The point is, however, that when the Soviets tried to cripple China economically in the early 1960s and issued veiled military threats, it was Mao who would not compromise, while others (many of whom now hold power) whined that China was helpless and ought not to unduly antagonize the Soviets.

Soviet Strategy

The Soviets would gain immeasurably from normalization with

Ohio CPUSA Joins Chorus— “Kill the Commies”

Cleveland. “Maoist thugs went on a rampage here last week assaulting auto workers.”

“In an effort to launch a repeat of a disruption they provoked in the coalfields... a gang of 30 Maoists, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, blocked parking lot exits.”

The above is just some of the highlights from an article in the press “reporting” on the July 18 incident at the giant Ford Brook Park plant near Cleveland. According to this fairytale, sellers of the *Revolutionary Worker* launched a vicious and unprovoked attack against “workers.” So what else is new? After all, hysterical anti-communism and complete fabrications are to be expected from the press.

Well, this particular article came from the *Daily World*, none other than the newspaper of the “Communist” Party, USA, from whom the unfamiliar reader might not expect this kind of absurd anti-communism.

The facts of the incident, of course, have nothing in common with the slanders. What actually happened was that for some time Ford Motor Co., the Brook Park police and the officials of the UAW local have been frantically trying to stop the growing readership of the *Revolutionary Worker* at the Brook Park plant. After a series of arrests and harassment by the local cops failed to deter the Revolutionary Communist Party from selling at the plant, the reactionaries thought they had found a way to stop sales of the paper. On July 18 the cops were surprisingly absent as about 20 were vigorously selling the *Revolutionary Worker*. All of a sudden two jeep loads of union officials and committeemen appeared expecting an easy mopping up operation as they came at the revolutionaries with pipes, knives, brass knuckles and rocks. Instead these goons found out, as a spokesman for the RCP in Cleveland put it, “the Revolutionary Communist Party, when attacked, defends itself.”

These cowards went to the press whining about how they had been “attacked” by communists. And the so-called “Communist” Party has outdone the Cleveland daily paper in printing every lie and slander of the union hacks. These traitors even quote from a leaflet put out by local union president Thurmond Payne that called communists “dirty scum” and called on backward workers to stop communists and “use every means at your disposal to do exactly that.”

But the CP in this country is shameless in its parroting of the line of the capitalists. Long ago they openly gave up the goal of revolution and have busied themselves since trying to prove to the bourgeoisie that they are loyal, and that they will try to keep the workers bogged down in fighting for petty reforms. So it is not surprising that the CP parrots the same charges as the capitalists against the RCP.

The capitalists have long tried to portray genuine communists as terrorists and as “saboteurs,” people who have no link to the workers and simply want to cause disruption for its own sake. For example, during the many struggles of the coal miners they have gotten particularly hysterical, slandering the RCP and the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike for the role they have played in leading the struggle in the mines. In their ridiculous article on the Brook Park incident, the *Daily World* repeats this charge too, blaming the “Maoists” for the loss of free medical coverage in the latest contract! In the coalfields the CP, which has no influence on the rank and file, busies itself promoting Arnold Miller, who they try to present as a progressive. They claim that the RCP is trying to sabotage the upcoming auto contract by “attacking” the union officials at Brook Park!

CP Joins in Attack on Communists

After the incident at the gates, the officials at the plant used everything they

could to try to whip up the most backward and reactionary workers to attack communists. Again, they found support from the CP. Carl Edelman is known for two things by the workers at Brook Park, 1) being the biggest suck-ass in the factory (see letter from Brook Park worker), and 2) being associated with the “Communist” Party. Right after the incident came down, and the union hacks were trying to whip up an orgy of anti-communist frenzy,

Edelman put a giant sign reading “UNION” over his work area and helped the officials distribute their openly anti-communist leaflet. He went around the plant spreading ridiculous stories (also printed in the *Daily World*) that communists had been running off a leaflet on a company mimeo machine, and that when they were “discovered” they beat up a worker.

But despite all their whimpering, the CP is not really upset by violence. They think it's fine to promote Thurmond Payne who was accused by underlings of kidnapping a man at gun point for objecting to a salary kickback scheme. Payne was cleared on these charges by the UAW International, but workers at

Continued on page 16

Letter from Brook Park Worker: CP Member “Biggest Suck-ass in Plant”

Letter from Brook Park worker to RW

I think that the *Revolutionary Worker* is an inspirational paper for the working man. To find out the truth about the government and how the capitalists are dominating the workers, driving them down into the ground and forcing them to exchange their ability to work for a paycheck.

I think that the incident at Engine Plant 2 was totally an outrage because 1) Ford told communists they could sell the paper outside the gates. Then Ford got the union flunkies to attack them with clubs, pipes and knives. I think it was totally wrong for them to do that but they got what they deserved. The fact of the matter is that they got whipped and aren't willing to admit it. Our so-called president of the union had the gall to write a death threat to keep the members behind the union by trying to get the union members angry and to try to drive the communists out of the plant. But everyone knows that Thurmond Payne is nothing but a thief, a kidnapper, and is out for no one but himself. Well, his plan failed and no one has driven them out. I guess people are beginning to realize that our union is not what it is cracked up to be. The bad part is that we have to pay for the union. It just isn't right. But, the thing that upsets me the most is that they will resort to anything to cover their asses. Example: Carl Edelman, a so-called communist, that is the biggest suck ass in the plant. He's been telling people that real communists were in the foundry and broke in and used their mimeograph machine to write their leaflet, which is bullshit cause they have their own machines. He's nothing but a punk bullshitter, that's trying to make a name for himself in the union and make brownie points with Thurmond Payne. Right on, Keep on publishing the paper! I think you should keep the paper in the plant. It really helps workers to get to know about revolution and how to get rid of these capitalists!

Fraternally yours,
a Ford worker

China. It would represent an alliance of impressive dimensions in East Asia, and all of Asia for that matter. The pressure on Japan would be almost unbearable. The cementing of such an alliance might very well—with the undermining of U.S. strategic positions that it implies—trigger World War III as it would greatly upset the international balance of power, in the same way that the entry of China into the U.S. war bloc has heightened superpower rivalries.

The confrontation with China absorbs major military resources of the Soviet Union and any adjustment between China and Russia, even the most limited and tactical, would almost certainly unsettle the military balance in Europe—where the Soviets could redeploy forces.

The Soviets have been using a carrot and stick to bring the Chinese to heel. In the months following Mao's death, they refrained from their customary criticism of the Chinese and they have been periodically holding out an olive branch and testing out the waters for negotiation. This past June yet another moratorium on criticism took effect.

On the other hand, they have continued their build up of bases and airfields, roads, depots, and a strategically vital rail link in the areas adjacent to the border. They have continued to provoke border incidents (though in 1978 they issued an unprecedented public apology to the Chinese for crossing the border on May 9, which fits right in with things).

They have continued to weld together their Asian Collective Security system (the new Indian government has vowed to snatch back border lands from China and work for Tibet's separation from China). The Soviets have projected their power more forcefully through Vietnam and they have tried to intimidate partners and would-be partners of the Chinese, such as Japan. (The Soviets have built military installa-

tions on two islands contested with Japan and indicated that the Backfire bomber will be deployed in the Far East as well as in Europe). The Chinese are being told that they will have to pay a very high price for their opening to the West.

The Soviets have a vested stake, therefore, in showing up Chinese weakness and the dangers and uncertainties of their relationship with the West, while offering them a diplomatic way out. In one sense they tested the Chinese when they incited the Vietnamese to invade Cambodia. The Chinese were faced with the prospect of either standing by and seeing their defense perimeter weaken, with now three Indo-Chinese countries in the Soviet orbit, or intervening and courting the risk of Soviet retaliation.

China would not have acted without U.S. consent and backing and this action principally served the U.S. aim of throwing Soviet forces off-balance, but there is no way the Chinese would have moved into Vietnam had they anticipated a major Soviet counter-offensive. Instead the Soviets dispatched warships to the South China Sea and Tonkin Gulf.

But the effect of the Chinese “punitive action” against Vietnam has been in some ways to bring into sharper relief the limitations of Chinese military power and to strengthen the case for detente with the Soviet Union. Who knows, maybe some in Chinese leadership even cynically set up the Chinese army to fail in Vietnam in order to build up their case for capitulation. China did not score a decisive victory in the fashion of her 1962 action against India and this action did not noticeably relieve pressure on Cambodia.

Moreover, the Soviets did *not* have to intervene to back up Vietnam. The ability of the Chinese, then, to fight a two-front war—on its southern flank with Vietnam and in the north with the better equipped Soviet armies—has

been called into question. On top of this, the costly commitment of this war caused further complications for the already financially strapped modernization boondoggle.

What might bring about this eventual reunion will probably be some variation of the carrot and stick, maybe involving the seizure of Chinese territory in Sinkiang (even with the tacit encouragement of certain elements in China) following a string of border incidents which presents the Chinese with a *fait accompli* and no choice but to conciliate to a more powerful Soviet Union.

Perhaps the Soviets will continue to force China's hand in Indo-China and increase the incentives for a broader accommodation. The Soviets might even throw in a “good will package”—lifting blockades, returning some territory etc. as a sweetener. Such “good will” offers made by the Soviets in 1973-74 were properly rejected by the Chinese as blackmail. Whatever the possibilities, the fact remains that the higher the costs—political, financial and military—of confronting the Soviet Union, the more desirable and necessary does reconciliation become.

But it would be wrong to suppose that such an easing of tensions would be a replay of the relationship that existed in the '50s or take the form of a “patching up of differences.” It is not likely to be a full embrace, but rather a tentative and perhaps frankly conceded tactical adjustment in “the mutual interests of both powers.” Public criticism will cease and cooperation may chiefly mean a planned disengagement from the border areas. No doubt the revisionist ideologues of both countries will go through their contortions and rationalizations, but the real humiliation will be on the Chinese side. This will mark the greatest defeat they have suffered yet.

Still, it isn't hard to guess their argument: “We tried to convince the West

to stand firm, but they wouldn't listen and even tried to use us! They're only concerned about their own self preservation, while our own military confrontation with Russia is draining badly needed resources for modernization.”

Capitulation and War

What all this shows is the increasingly volatile nature of the international situation as the two superpowers prepare for war. They must forge their blocs, but as they are tightened up and as the war pressures mount there will be defections and realignments as well—all as part of the maneuvering that precedes the outbreak of world war. Any successful initiative on one superpower's part could embolden it to launch this war or precipitate a pre-emptive strike by the other.

China is not by its nature a helpless giant, caught in the cross-fire of the great powers—nor must it be a pawn in their intrigues. But given its semi-colonial legacy, defeatism and capitulationism exert a powerful pull.

As Mao emphasized, those who practice revisionism internationally are bound to practice capitulationism externally. It is capitalists—not real communists—who will push giving up to the Soviet Union. These forces would much prefer to strike a bargain with a powerful aggressor than to endure the hardships and suffering of war.

More than this, since it is only mass mobilization—waging a peoples' war guided by revolution—that can defeat a better equipped and armed adversary, these revisionists must capitulate (and maybe earn the chance of becoming a regional gendarme for someone else).

The alternative—mobilizing the Chinese people in revolutionary struggle to defeat all enemies—is pure poison to China's new capitalist rulers. For such a revolutionary storm would sweep them away as well. ■