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Reagan's Address

With his November 18 "peace offensive" speech and proposal for "preserving peace in Europe," Ronald Reagan has fired off the latest shot in an increasingly heated superpower duel over Western Europe that has seen a number of offensives and counteroffensives by the U.S. and the Soviet Union since its start. In the course of this diplomatic warfare, what is standing out in sharper and sharper relief is that some very high stakes maneuvering is going on here, and it has everything to do with the fighting of world war itself. In actuality neither the U.S. nor the Soviet Union is making all that much of an effort to hide this fact. Almost as soon as Reagan had finished his proposal to "substantially reduce the dread threat of nuclear war," the press was purposefully pointing out that the U.S., of course, knew that there was no chance that the Soviets would accept its offer not to deploy 572 U.S. Pershing 2 and Cruise missile warheads in Europe in exchange for their scrapping about 1,100 SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 warheads, and was complimenting Reagan for his "brilliant stroke of diplomacy" in taking the wind out of the sails of Soviet "peace initiatives" in Europe. The *New York Times* put it this way: "At long last, President Reagan has made a sound and shrewd foreign policy speech. Its primary purpose, of course, was not the catchy proposal to clear Europe of nuclear weapons but rather to brace the West's faith in nuclear deterrence . . . Mr. Reagan recognized the need to show himself the custodian of frightening power . . . And with due regard for rising fears in Europe — and also in America — he effectively argued the case for arms and alliance."

The Soviet response was swift and predictable, denouncing the speech as a "propaganda ploy" and a means of achieving U.S. military superiority "through the back door." Clearly expecting Reagan's proposals, Leonid Brezhnev had already attempted to parry them when he said in a recent in-

terview in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, "Those in the United States who are advancing these sorts of proposals apparently themselves do not expect for a second that the Soviet Union might agree to them . . . Most probably the authors of such proposals really have no wish for talks, even less so successful talks. What they want is to dis-

rupt the talks as sort of a justification for the continuation of the planned arms race." Brezhnev also made his own baldly gangsterist offer not to use nukes against countries that don't have nukes on their territory, in a superpower version of the good old protection racket. His intentions were obvious — to further put the lean on the junior im-

perialists in the U.S. bloc to resist U.S. plans to station more of its nukes in Europe and, beyond this, to pry at cracks in the Western war bloc.

This type of diplomatic "peace" jockeying is bound to be a distinctive feature as things heat up toward war. In fact, it can be expected to increase as a

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Pre—War Diplomacy in the European Theatre

The Grand Jury's Silent and Deadly Dragnet

Under cover of a near total press blackout, two separate federal grand juries have, over the last several weeks, begun issuing subpoenas to activists in the revolutionary nationalist movements in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Those subpoenaed are threatened with immediate and lengthy jail terms if they refuse to collaborate with the grand juries.

A special grand jury has been convened to investigate the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and its supporters on the pretext of determining whether the RNA or any of its members or supporters are in violation of the Racketeers Influence and Corrupt Organization statute (RICO). According to lawyers active in the case, this is the first time that the government has ever attempted to mount an investigation of a revolutionary organization under the RICO law, which was ostensibly aimed at Mafia-type crime syndicates.

This special grand jury, based in New York, was formed in the aftermath of the Brinks armored car holdup in Nyack, New York, but the scope of the grand jury's investigation is not at all

limited to the events at Nyack. As a matter of fact, all but the barest pretenses of being concerned solely with "possible illegal acts" is being dropped by the government, which is clearly using the grand jury weapon directly as a club of political suppression.

The only RNA activist who is publicly known to have received a subpoena so far is Sulani Sunni Ali, the chairperson of the People's Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika. It was Sulani who was arrested in a pre-dawn raid in Mississippi and charged with "conspiracy" in the Nyack holdup. Federal prosecutors charged that Sulani was "seen cleaning out a safe-house in Mt. Vernon, New York" at or around the time of the holdup. She was held on \$500,000 bail and denied legal representation by her chosen attorney, Chokwe Lumumba, because of Lumumba's political affiliation with the RNA.

But finally, the federal prosecutors were forced to admit that there was no foundation whatsoever for their "legal" charges: Sulani was in New Orleans at the time federal agents claimed she was in Mt. Vernon. Sulani was released in early November—and was

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A "Hidden Chapter" from WW2

An article titled "A Hidden Chapter in History" appears in the October issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist*. Authored by John W. Powell, the article is a telling exposure of particular spoils reaped by the U.S. upon the defeat of Japan in the Second World War. Japan had been deeply involved with a germ warfare program during the war, and later the U.S. government put the results of this program—and its leading figures also—to use in the U.S. germ warfare program based at Ft. Detrick, Maryland.

Located at Harbin in Manchuria in northeast China, a big Japanese biological warfare (BW) installation, known as Unit 731, went into operation in the early '30s as part of Japan's invasion of China. By the height of World War 2, it had expanded to a staff of 3,000, complete with germ and insect breeding facilities, its own bomb-making factory and airfield, a prison for Chinese and American prisoners upon whom experiments were performed, and a crematorium for cleaning up the evidence of human victims. Chinese cities were repeatedly hit with showers of fleas infected with bubonic plague and fragmentation bombs with Anthrax microbes. Disguised as a water purification unit, Unit 731 boasted a bacteria production capacity of 8 tons per month.

When the Soviet army entered Manchuria at the very end of the war, the facilities of Unit 731 were quickly dynamited by the Japanese, the prisoners all killed, and the key personnel fled back to Japan. But 20 low-ranking Japanese from the unit were captured and interrogated by the Russians. The story of the Japanese BW program was first made known to the world through a Russian war crimes trial of these 20 held in Khabarovsk in late 1949. The U.S. publicly branded the trial as nothing but "propaganda."

The U.S. had sober reasons for working to hide the story. The U.S. not only knew about the Japanese BW program, but knew a great deal more about it than the Russians did, because the key Japanese scientists had already been incorporated into America's BW program. The commandant of Unit 731, Lt. Gen. Ishii Shirlo, had been flown to the U.S. as kind of a Werner von Braun of Anthrax. While the first Western exposure of Unit 731 came five years ago in a Japanese television documentary never aired in the U.S., John Powell has now rounded out the story using documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act.

For example, a "top secret" cable from Tokyo to Washington dated May 6, 1947 reads in part: "Statements obtained from Japanese here confirm statements of USSR prisoners... Experiments on humans were... described

by 3 Japanese and confirmed tacitly by Ishii; field trials against Chinese took place... Ishii states that if guaranteed immunity from 'war crimes' in documentary form for himself, superiors and subordinates (in other words the whole Japanese program—RW), he can describe the program in detail. Ishii claims to have extensive theoretical high-level knowledge including strategic and tactical use of BW on defense and offense, backed by some research on best agents to employ by geographical areas of Far East and the use of BW in cold climates." Immunity from a war crimes prosecution? No problem there, especially when the particular crime in question could be put to use later, as was the case with the use of BW only a few years later by the U.S. in Korea. Above and beyond that, any talk by the U.S. of war crimes as regards Japan is, to say the least, hideous in light of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which were not a crime, according to U.S. imperialism, but an occasion of celebration.

Even more revealing is a 1947 report by Dr. Edwin V. Hill, Chief, Basic Sciences, Camp Detrick, Maryland, head of the U.S. BW program. Hill interviewed all the Japanese experts and

then pointed out what a financial bargain their research was! "It represents data which have been obtained by Japanese scientists at the expenditure of many millions of dollars and years of work... These data were secured with a total outlay of 250,000 yen to date (by the U.S.—RW), a mere pittance by comparison with the actual cost of the study." Just think how expensive it would be if we had to do all that research ourselves, infecting prisoners, dropping germs on civilians, and so on. Hill then goes on, "It is hoped that individuals who voluntarily contributed this information will be spared embarrassment. Because of that every effort will be taken to prevent this information from falling into other hands."

The documents go on to show that the chief concern of the U.S. around the whole affair was that the Russians might bring it up at the Tokyo war crimes trials, particularly the "embarrassment" that the data were obtained in part by experiments on U.S. prisoners. U.S. knowledge of such experiments was confirmed in an FBI document from 1956, which states in part: "Mr. James J. Kelleher, Jr., Office of Strategic Services, DOD (Dept. of De-

fense) has volunteered further comment to the effect that American Military Forces after occupying Japan, determined that the Japanese actually did experiments with 'BW' agents in Manchuria during 1943-44 using American prisoners as test victims... Kelleher added that... information of the type in question is closely controlled and guarded as highly sensitive."

A significant postscript omitted by the *Bulletin* piece is the story of the political prosecution of author John Powell by the U.S. government for his repeated exposure of U.S. germ warfare. Powell was born in China, and from 1945 to 1953 he edited the English-language *China Weekly Review* in Shanghai, which had been published by his father for 25 years. During the Korean War, Powell, through the *China Weekly Review*, courageously exposed the use of germ warfare by the U.S. in Korea—in retrospect, a project significantly boosted by Gen. Ishii's expertise in the "geographical areas of Far East and the use of BW in cold climates."

When Powell returned to the U.S. in 1953, he was called before the Senate Internal Security Committee and then indicted along with his wife and then-associate on 13 counts of the Espionage Act (later changed to a treason charge)—for "aiding the enemy." Rejecting the advice of lawyers to stand on his "right of free speech," Powell conducted his defense by setting out to prove that the U.S. had indeed conducted germ warfare in Korea. He demanded a valid passport for his lawyer to travel to China to collect depositions from the victims of BW attacks, and he subpoenaed the officers at Ft. Detrick. After seven years of legal wrangling, the government finally dropped the prosecution rather than have its true hand exposed in open court. □



Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will.

In past weeks, we have run short excerpts from a recent major talk by Bob Avakian in which he explores both historical perspectives on the experience of the world proletarian revolution and also the approaching conjuncture and the tasks it poses. The complete text of this important document is now in the final stages of preparation for publishing as a special issue of **Revolution** magazine.

Costs of production of this issue of **Revolution** will be \$5000 total for English and Spanish editions. Special donations may now be given to assist us in seizing the opportunity very soon to have this important theoretical work printed and distributed in the U.S. and internationally. Watch the **RW** for the publication date.

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Haitian Refugee's Story— Making Trouble from Port-au-Prince to Krome

The following are excerpts from an interview with a Haitian refugee being held at the Federal Correction Institute in Otisville, New York. The refugee is one of 120 who were dragged out of Krome Avenue camp in Florida at 4 a.m. the morning after the rebellion that spread throughout the whole camp, erupted in a rebellion and was stopped only by the government bringing in cops, Border Patrol and 500 National Guard troops. None of these 120 have been convicted or even accused of a crime, but they all have "troublemaker" written in their records. Otisville Prison, built in 1980, 120 miles outside New York City, sits on top of a mountain two miles above a couple of small villages in the countryside. Several of these refugees have been continually singled out and put in solitary confinement because they are seen as leaders. As one said "They think Haitians should keep their heads down when they are talking to 'officers'." Most of the refugees can't read or write and don't speak English. Many still don't know where they are. None know what is going to happen to them. Some are feeling so destitute they have asked to go back to Haiti—where they will face torture or death. This Haitian clearly sees this as a U.S. government ploy—give the refugees a hard time, send them back and then use this to discourage others from fleeing Haiti. But this interview clearly shows that many of these refugees have learned much about imperialism through this

Bloodied but unbowed, two of the Haitian rebels are dragged from the compound. (Below) An aerial view of the rebellion at the Krome Ave. detention center just before federal riot cops attacked.

experience and have a burning desire to expose it. The full interview will also be presented as testimony at the New York War Crimes Tribunal along with other testimony from Otisville.

Q: Can you talk about yourself?

A: Personally I could say that I am a young man, who is very interested in politics. I would like to see what type of contribution I could give to the young generation tomorrow.

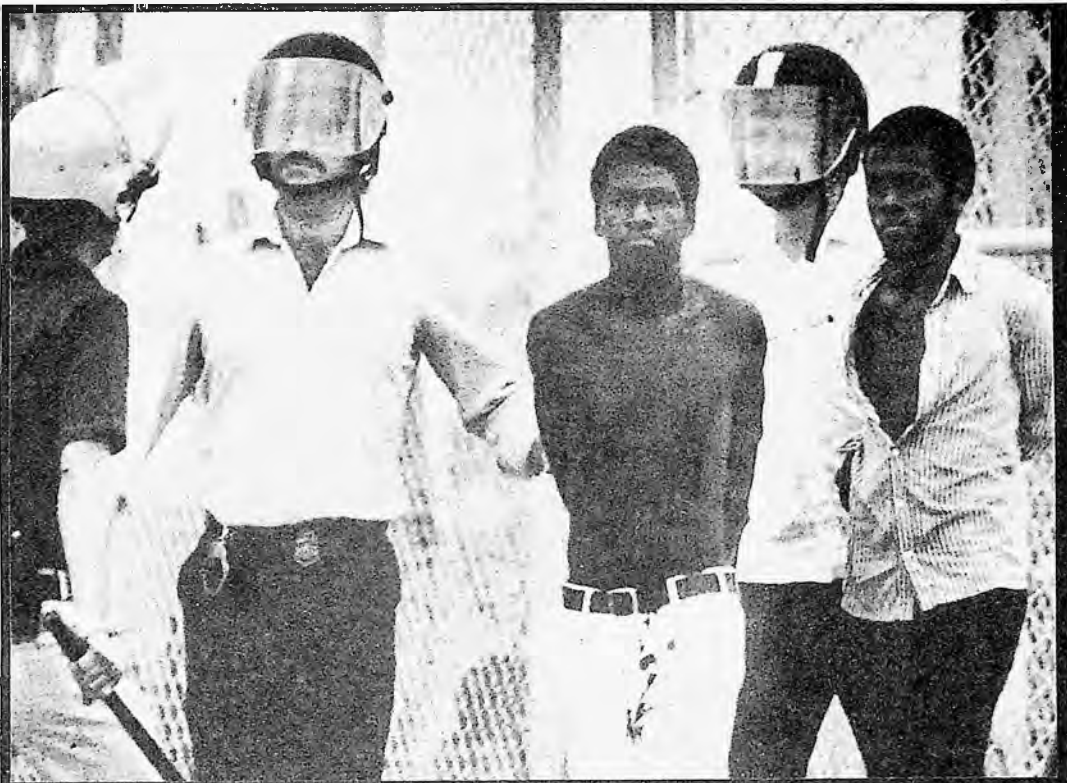
I grew up in a bourgeois family. Both my father's and my mother's family were bourgeois. I started having pro-

blems when I was very young. It was almost 20 years ago when Duvalier killed my mother. After he killed my mother I went into hiding. Life was very hard for me because a kid who is in hiding is afraid of everyone and everything. I had to struggle very hard to go to school because I wanted to be somebody my mother would want me to be, but still I had a lot of anger inside me. But I always fought to help my mother. I also knew to help my brother and sister I'd have to help all Haitian brothers wherever they may be. I always thought if we had solidarity

amongst ourselves we could do something for Haiti. Because if I lost my mother in that condition I know there are a lot of other families that went through the same suffering that I went through. I remember I was always mad. I was afraid of everyone. Every time somebody talked to me I cursed them. But I cursed them because I was mad, I wanted them to change, I wanted them to leave behind all their complexes and get together, get rid of everything bad in our midst.

Q: Why did Duvalier kill your mother?

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Revolutionary Organ Solidarity Banned by South African Regime

Solidarity, the official organ of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM), has been banned by the apartheid regime of South Africa. According to an announcement in issue No. 6 (Second Quarter of 1981) of *Solidarity*, the South African Directorate of Publication had declared that all issues of the pamphlet from No. 5 on are "undesirable." While single issues of *Solidarity* have been banned in the past, this is the first time that all issues, including those not even written yet, have been blanketly declared illegal reading material inside Azania.

In a recent interview a spokesman for the BCM pointed to the reasons behind the banning order. According to the BCM, while *Solidarity* was never totally legal, the development and maturation of its line since the first issue and the

sharpening situation confronting the South African ruling class have forced them to lash out. "In the beginning we were forced to compromise terminology in *Solidarity*, for instance we could not openly talk about socialism or Karl Marx without risking immediate banning. However, in 1977 the BCM as an organization was banned and since that time our understanding has developed. Today we cannot compromise in *Solidarity*; we raise the Azanian people's understanding that it is not just apartheid we must fight but it's the imperialists behind it; we condemn U.S. imperialism as well as the regime. In addition, *Solidarity* exposes to the Azanian people all of the schemes for compromise and capitulation. We also see the need for *Solidarity* to educate the Azanian people about the struggles against

imperialism all over the world, not just in Azania."

In discussing the banning of *Solidarity*, the BCM spokesman emphasized that far from being a sign of strength, the banning order only reveals the weakness of the South African regime. The banning order came down in the context of an upsurge of the Azanian people last May focused against the regime's celebration of Republic Day. In addition to banning *Solidarity*, the regime also carried out a series of raids against Azanian revolutionaries, arresting hundreds, including the entire Executive Committee of the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO—one of the Black Consciousness organizations inside Azania). "All these moves are attempts to intimidate the Azanian people to submission, including the banning

order. Now if someone is caught with an issue of *Solidarity* they are not only arrested for possessing the document but are additionally held responsible for the production and distribution of the banned document."

At the same time, the BCM also recognizes that the banning order is a sharp attack. "The publication and distribution inside Azania of *Solidarity* is a very important part of the Azanian struggle," stated the BCM spokesman. However, in discussing the necessity to render the banning order ineffective the BCM spokesman stressed that this can only depend on the development of the struggle in Azania and international support for that struggle, not on any compromise of political line of *Solidarity*. □

Update on Kiko Martinez Trial

On November 10, just a little over one year after being framed up and arrested on bogus charges of attempting to mail bombs to three different reactionaries (including a Denver cop) in 1973, Chicano activist Francisco "Kiko" Martinez entered still another courtroom as the government attempted to shore up its heavily battered and much exposed attack on him. The U.S. Attorney's Office sent in one of its "heavyweight" prizefighters from Chicago to argue their case. A special three-judge panel from the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals had been set up to hear it. The case had been moved from Kiko's main base of support around Denver to Kansas City, Kansas. Still, 75 people picketed outside the federal courthouse.

The case had been moved to Kansas City because the entire 10th Circuit

Court of Appeals (which covers the Denver area), including its chief judge, Oliver Seth, had been caught red-handed conspiring with everyone from the local prosecutors and judges, cops, witnesses, the U.S. Attorney's Office, and on up to high levels of the U.S. Justice Dept. to get Kiko Martinez. It was exposure of this that forced the government to bring in a new set of judges and move the federal hearing to Kansas City, hoping to give an image of objectivity to their attack. The defense reluctantly agreed to the move, only for this one hearing.

The original charges against Kiko, filed in 1973, were a part of the government's general repression directed against the Chicano movement, its attempts to crush the upsurge of Chicanos that had been especially sharp in the '60s. Many sharp battles took place in

the Denver area, including struggle against the police murders of several Chicano activists. Kiko was a noted activist in the struggle, and as a lawyer, defended many people arrested through it. But for the next seven years the authorities were unable to locate him, arresting him only in September 1980, at which point the government attack went into high gear.

The charges against Kiko (seven federal charges involving three separate alleged mail bombs, all duplicated by state "attempted murder" charges) were based solely on the lying testimony in 1973 of one cop who claimed Kiko's fingerprints had been found on all the bombs. This has proved to be a complete lie. No such fingerprints ever existed. In January 1980, Kiko was put on trial for the first of the several federal charges, and the police produced not a fingerprint, but rather a report claiming that there was a fingerprint on only one of the bombs, and that only on the envelope, not the bomb itself. Conveniently, that bomb, and the supposed fingerprint, as well as significant portions of the other two bombs, had been "accidentally" destroyed by the police. Saying this was a matter of "negligence" and not "bad faith," the courts refused to dismiss the charges.


The January trial ended in a mistrial, with the police, press, prosecutor and judge claiming Kiko's supporters had intimidated the jury by doing such things as wearing "Free Kiko" T-shirts into the courtroom. Only later did it become apparent that the prosecution asked for an expected defense motion for dismissal based on the many examples of blatant racism and other prejudicial remarks and actions by the judge and prosecutor, and hoping to cover up their extensive, blatant backroom maneuvering.

At a hearing on June 30 and July 1 in Denver, it came to light that while presiding over Kiko's first trial, Judge Winner had called together a meeting on January 28 in his motel room with the two prosecutors, the court clerk, three U.S. Marshalls, and two key prosecution witnesses, to discuss the case and plan strategies for the trial. Winner told the prosecutor he "could have a mistrial any time he wanted it," but suggested they wait until the defense started putting on its case "to find out what the defense strategy may be." The next day the prosecution asked for and got their mistrial. This was all revealed in an anonymous letter sent to a Denver reporter, apparently by a court clerk, which included a letter sent by Winner to the FBI telling them that their plan to install a secret camera in court to film Kiko's supporters had fallen through. The film was to be used as evidence to put supporters on trial for "obstruction of justice." Based on this information, another federal judge dismissed the charges from that trial, but refused to dismiss the remaining four charges for

the two other alleged bombing attempts. The government appealed this decision, as did the defense, who argued that all charges should have been dropped. The case was on its way to a federal appellate court.

After this, and over the objections of the U.S. Attorney's Office, the state court ordered the U.S. Attorney to turn over to the defense its files on the case. The ins and outs of this apparent rift are not entirely clear. In any case, what was revealed in these files exposed the government so badly that the state has since dismissed all the state charges against Kiko. The feds, however, are still actively pursuing the case. Contrary to the testimony of Judge Winner and earlier testimony of top U.S. Attorney Susan Roberts, it turns out that there were at least two other meetings just like the one on January 28. Beyond that, the files included a 5-page letter from Colorado U.S. Attorney Dolan to Chief Judge Seth of the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals (which was scheduled to hear appeals in the case), telling all about these and other meetings, and then a letter back from Seth, thanking him for the information. Still another letter, dated July 7, 1981, from Dolan to the prosecutor in the case, referring to the fact that they had not told the defense about the meetings and discussions taking place, said, "Dear John (Barksdale): Before you engage in a lot of introspection about 'we should have said this, or we should have told the defense that' just remember the long list of people who told us we didn't have to tell the defendant this." He goes on to list two district court judges, Chief Judge Seth, numerous Justice Dept. officials, "etc., etc., etc.". In several letters between Dolan and Assistant U.S. Attorney-General John Keeney again detailing all these backroom maneuvers, Keeney tells Dolan to do everything he can to keep the defense from finding out about it, and tells him, "There is nothing to suggest Judge Winner's conduct is reprehensible.... Your staff has conducted itself properly." That all this is "proper conduct" is no surprise. One of Kiko's attorneys put it, "We always knew they did this stuff, this time we caught them with their fingers in the cookie jar."

This information resulted in the entire 10th Circuit being taken off the case, and the special 3-judge panel being appointed. At the November 10 hearing in Kansas City, the U.S. Attorney called it all "harmless error," and argued for reinstating the three federal charges dismissed, and against the defense motion to dismiss the remaining four federal charges. Perhaps the wave of harassment of Kiko's supporters, which includes searches, arrests, and even firebombings of houses, is also "harmless error." The decision of the special appeals court panel is expected by December 10, when they could rule either to reinstate all the federal charges, or to dismiss all or some of them.



A WORLD TO WIN
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The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have...

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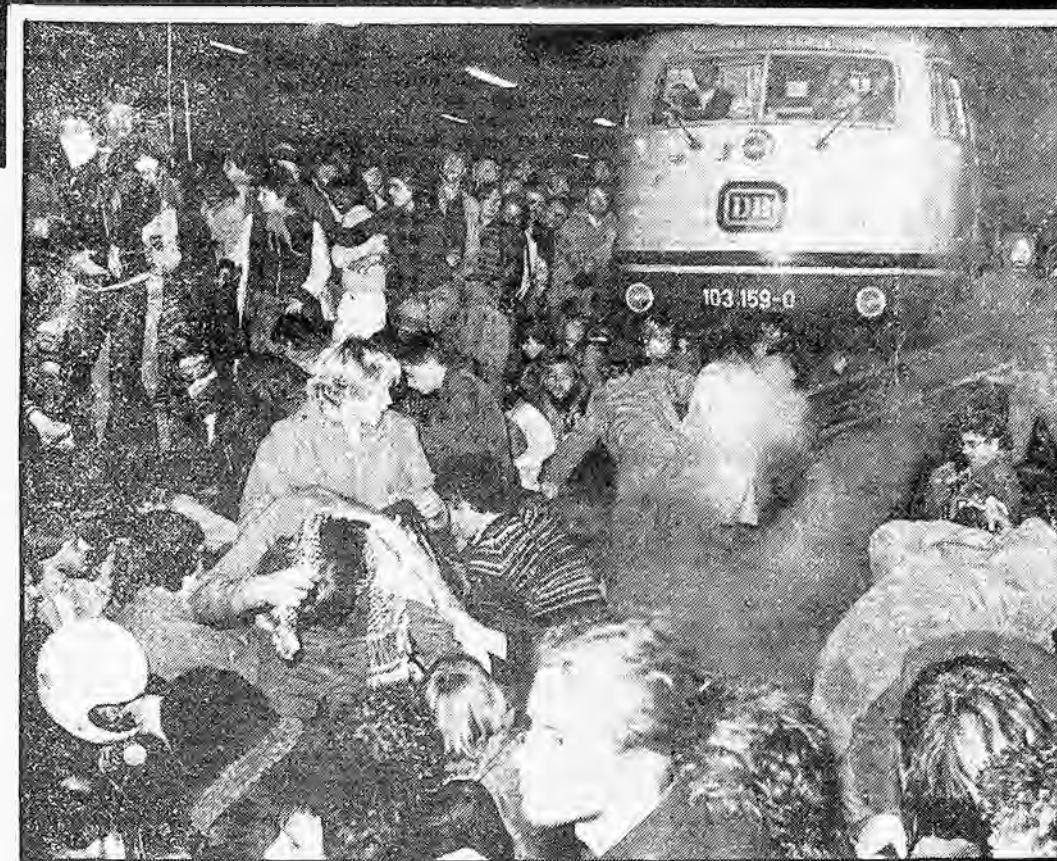
—From the joint communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

Frankfort Demo Hits Bloc War Plans

Battle at the "Gateway to Europe"

On November 14, 150,000 people marched in Wiesbaden, West Germany (the capital of the German state of Hessen where Frankfurt is located) against the building of a new runway at Frankfurt International Airport. The next day over 5,000 demonstrators attempted to occupy the airport building in Frankfurt itself and battled police all afternoon, stopping all traffic in and out of the airport and occupying and shutting down the subway station under the terminal. In addition, the major north-south Autobahn which passes by the airport was blocked for 7 hours, with traffic backed up 150 kms. in each direction. This was the latest and largest battle in the fight against the building of the runway (called the Startbahn West) that has been going on for over 12 years since it was first proposed.

It so happens that the Frankfurt International Airport (the third largest airport in Europe) is also Rhein Main Air Force Base and, as the sign over the base entrance declares, it is the U.S. Air Force's "gateway to Europe." Looking south from the sprawling commercial air terminal at Frankfurt across the twin east-west runways, one sees another sprawling terminal complex head-quartering the Military Airlift Command of the U.S. Air Force, obviously a very key part of the U.S. bloc troop deployment and supply apparatus and a vital component in the U.S. bloc strategy for world war. While West German authorities still maintain the shabby claim that the purpose for building the new Startbahn West is to accommodate more commercial air traffic, the real deal is that the new 2.5-mile long runway is being built for the purpose of handling the massive airlifts required for war, and everybody knows it. In fact, commercial air traffic has even declined recently. It is this awareness among the huge and growing anti-war



West German demonstrators blocked railroad traffic near the airport for hours.

movement in West Germany and the long and determined struggle of environmental and local citizens' groups in Frankfurt against the Startbahn West that has catapulted this once local struggle into one of national prominence—an important part of the battle against U.S. war preparations in West Germany and a symbol of resistance to the imperialists' plans.

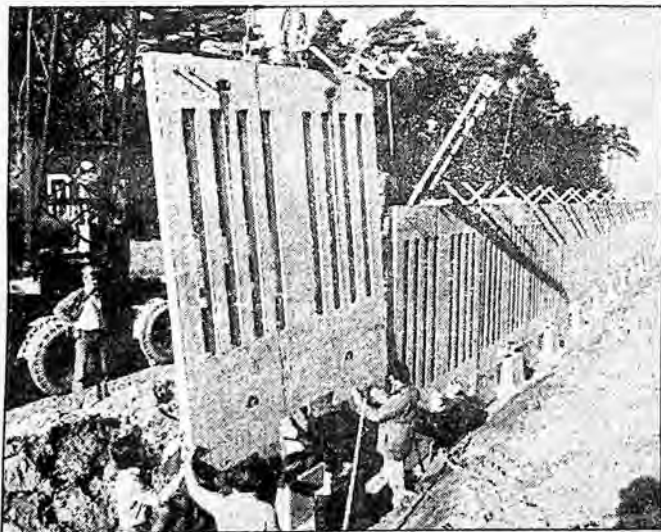
Over the past few years there have been numerous rallies and demonstrations of hundreds and at times a few

thousand against the Startbahn West. These have included acts of civil disobedience in the woods, where demonstrators climb into trees and refuse to come down in an effort to prevent them from being cut. Many of the leaders and other forces involved tried to keep things hemmed in and as acceptable to the authorities as possible, and followed one legal avenue after another to halt construction. As every legal appeal was exhausted and more of the proposed sites fenced off and begun to be cleared,

environmentalists and others in the anti-Startbahn West movement built and occupied a village in the middle of the remaining area. Naturally the courts declared this occupation of the site to be illegal and ruled that the state could move to evict the occupiers.

Early on the morning of Nov. 2nd they moved in in force. Catching the people in the village by surprise, riot police, later aided by Bundesgrenzschutz (Border Guards—similar in role to the

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(Right) Tower built in the path of the new runway several months ago. Meanwhile (left) a wall is erected around areas already cleared by riot police and soldiers. Demonstrators have nicknamed this concrete and barbed wire fortification the "Wall of Shame" (a phrase which commonly refers to the Berlin Wall).



Slime in the New York Times

We want to call attention to a short article which ran in the November 16 (Monday) edition of the *New York Times* headlined "Russian's L.I. Home Struck By 12 Shots." The article states: "Twelve shots were fired through window panes of the Long Island mansion of the Soviet delegate to the United Nations Saturday evening, according to police." It goes on to say that the Soviet official, Oleg A. Troyanovsky, wasn't home at the time, having been "delayed at a dinner." The article concludes with the following three paragraphs:

"None of the neighbors of the Soviet delegate heard shots Saturday evening, said Detective Henry Grynewicz of the

Nassau police. He said that suggested that whoever fired the shots might have used a silencer, though he noted that unusually high winds that night might have covered the sound.

"Eighteen months ago, shortly before a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, two men poured red paint on Mr. Troyanovsky and William J. vanden Heuvel, then the deputy United States representative at the United Nations. The two assailants in that incident—who described themselves as Marxist-Leninists opposed to the policies of the Soviet Union and the United States—were convicted and sentenced to one year jail terms.

"A joint investigation into the incident on Saturday night was begun by the F.B.I. and the Nassau County and Glen Cove Police Departments."

It should be noted that the story here rests entirely on alleged facts presented solely by local police, who are now launching a "joint investigation into the incident" along with the political police, the FBI, who in turn could well be directly responsible for the publication of this article in the first place; and if not the FBI, then the CIA; and if not the CIA, then some other branch of the repressive apparatus, whose conduits into newspapers like the *New York Times*

are not only well established but also well maintained.

Here, in the midst of sharp attacks on different revolutionary nationalist groups and individuals, and *only two weeks after the UN 2 were released from jail*, this little pig article appears and attempts—if somewhat feebly and clumsily—to implicate the UN 2 (and, by connection, the RCP) in an incident which, if it ever even occurred, is probably the work of the police themselves.

Who are these people trying to fool? And more to the point, in light of the "joint investigation into the incident," just what are these people up to? □



2000 Women Besiege Pentagon

Sunday, November 15. As Ronald Reagan winged his way back to Washington D.C. on the 747 flying command post known as the Doomsday plane, hundreds of women were gathered at a conference called by the Women's Pentagon Action, and hundreds more were arriving for the march to the Pentagon on Monday, almost one year to the day after the Pentagon Action last year. By Monday, their numbers swelled to more than 2000, as women from all over the country, including the West Coast, converged on Washington. (One busload of 25 from Bennington, Vermont were apologetic that that's all they could bring!) This year there were hundreds of new activists, mostly young women, propelled into political life by the daily oppression and degradation brought down on women, the intensifying national oppression, the blatant preparations for nuclear war, and a fundamental disgust with all the relations spawned by the capitalist system in general. There were a number of red flags waving, brought by women from several different cities, some as a direct result of the influence of the *Revolutionary Worker*. One group of readers from New Hampshire arrived and immediately asked for an empty room where they could begin to make red flags with the materials they had brought. In the march, they took responsibility to keep the red flags up front.

As in last year's action, the demonstration at the Pentagon began with a silent march through Arlington Cemetery and a symbolic mourning for the victims of imperialism at the Pentagon itself. But this year, so many of the

women just weren't into mourning. "I don't want to mourn. I'm angry!" said one woman. And another said, "This white middle class respectability makes me sick," referring to suggestions that they should be quiet in the cemetery.

The statement of unity had read, "We have come to mourn and rage and defy the Pentagon because it is the workplace of the imperial power which threatens us all." Overwhelmingly the women liked the "rage" part better, and the entire demonstration sprang to life as they left the cemetery for the Pentagon. Significantly, last year's chant of "We Won't Take It" was changed to "We Will Stop You!", and as the police guarding the entrance to the Pentagon were transfixed by the sight of 2000 women converging on the place, containers of blood were suddenly thrown against the Pentagon columns by activists who had infiltrated through police lines. The women completely encircled the Pentagon building and began to besiege the entrances. Women sat blocking the steps, forcing the bloated brass to climb over them, while others began to weave vast webs of yarn, ensnaring the steps and hand rails leading to the doorways.

Still stung by last year's militant action and the furor and exposure that resulted from 143 arrests and the shipping off of the arrested women to a West Virginia prison, the Pentagon security forces tried to *appear* more low-profile this year. Local television even ran out that Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger had personally inspected the "defenses" at noon and ordered a reduction in forces. But they hit hard, picking people off one by one and dragging them into the Pentagon. One hundred and two women were arrested, and several days later there were still 43 women in jail, with 14 refusing to identify themselves other than as "Jane Doe."

Throughout the events, most hotly debated were the questions of pacifism, revolution and internationalism. While the unity statement had said that "There can be no peace while one race dominates another, one people, one nation, one sex despises another," there was a strong political current that the "real power of women is the power of peace." This, for many newly awakened to political life, ran smack up against the reality of class society, and there was a tremendous interest in revolutionary literature and a great hunger for revolutionary exposure of imperialism.

On Tuesday, after the smoke had cleared, Ronald Reagan made an appearance at the Pentagon, where he spoke to all the major U.S. military commands around the world. Perhaps this was just a routine visit, like the papers said, or maybe he needed reassurance. In any case, the unruly and unrepentant women who were now headed for other parts were quite determined to make such routines a thing of the past. □



The Canadian organization IN STRUGGLE! (IS), in the midst of debates leading up to its Fourth Congress in April, has erupted into a crisis in which the whole course and orientation and even the desirability of the existence of this organization has been thrown on the table. Some of this has been reflected in the In Struggle newspaper and Proletarian Unity magazine, especially in the last two months. These periodicals are available at Revolution Books.

As internal crisis rocks the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!, the stand and actions taken by the revolutionary comrades in its ranks will have a lot to do with the future of revolution in Canada and elsewhere.

It seems that the organization has broken into three more or less distinct trends: an arrogant open right, raising the banner of "mass party" under a rainbow of reformist hues, from the most common Canadian social democracy to the latest absorption in "the personal"; a center, whose mutterings about a "vanguard party" are in the service of the most rearguard theory and politics, which is trying to hold things together both by appeasing the open right and by roping in more revolutionary forces; and those revolutionary elements themselves, who have so far been somewhat in the background, at least in print. While the open right is on the offensive, it is centrism—agnosticism in regard to principles and eclectic attempts to reconcile Marxism with revisionism in order to preserve "unity"—that has made the present explosion inevitable and which even now represents the greatest danger to the emergence of revolutionary politics.

It seems that for many people the crisis in the international communist movement which broke out after the death of Mao Tsetung and the subsequent attacks on his line from all directions has become an excuse for abandoning themselves to an orgy of doubts in which even the possibility of distinguishing between correct and incorrect is thrown into question. In the face of a crisis leading towards an unprecedented global conflagration, which increasingly outs all political forces to the test, it is inevitable that some will decide that they are no longer "young political activists for whom revolution was the only thing worthy of consideration," as IS General Secretary Charles Gagnon has now expressed it. But unlike some other organizations which represented a backward trend even before the political and ideological questions involved in the debate around Mao came to a head, organizations whose current wave of collapse can only be applauded, In Struggle was for a long time a part of the international revolutionary current.

It is stark indeed to compare In Struggle today to where it was at only a year and a half ago when our two organizations and others were involved in polemics over what stand to take towards Mao Tsetung (see the article "The International Unity of the Proletariat and How to Fight for It," *Revolution*, July 1980). At that time In Struggle denied that Mao's contributions represented a line of demarcation within the international communist movement, and argued that those rabidly attacking Mao's line (like Albania's Enver Hoxha, whose voice echoed many themes in the chorus begun by the Soviets) and those who rejected China's new revisionist rulers but continued to uphold Mao, should all stick together and try to formulate some kind of common programme while "agreeing to disagree" on what have clearly proved to be basic questions of principle. It's ironic that In Struggle's very denial of the life and death importance of the questions involved in the debate around Mao—its attempts to conciliate with revisionism on these questions and its own increasingly wrong line on them—is what brought it to its present sorry state. Of course it's also been proven that one can "uphold" Mao while pitting his line and contributions against Leninism (and ultimately distorting Mao as well) in a way that also leads to the same bog that In Struggle has found itself in. But

An Open Letter to the Revolutionary Comrades of IN STRUGGLE!

the question here is not the many roads to the swamp but the particular road In Struggle has taken. It was with its wrong stand around Mao that In Struggle took a decisive turn in the wrong direction.

What makes Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism—particularly the line and experience of continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship embodied in the Cultural Revolution—represent a real dividing line is the fact that they represent the decisive confrontation between Marxism and revisionism of our time and its further development. As such, whether or not to stand with Mao's contributions has concentrated the question of going further forward still in criticizing and breaking with, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the errors which had increasingly infected the international communist movement, or of going backward. The developments within In Struggle in the last few years have shown once again that no one can stand still while the world is changing; that as the lurchings and workings of the imperialist system toward world war also increasingly "nurture the seeds of revolution on every continent," as said in the *Basic Principles* draft document written by leaders of the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA, the revolutionary forces can either fight to rise to the occasion or concoct elaborate theories to justify refusing to do so. As we pointed out at the time of our polemic with IS, the attacks on the key advances of Marxism formulated by Mao have represented a theoretical expression of this capitulation in the face of a sharpening world situation. We know this problem quite well: as we've summed up in our own history, the split in our Party in late 1977, which focused on whether to uphold China's new revisionist rulers or the revolutionaries they overthrew, was ultimately, in the context of a world conjuncture leading toward war, a split over whether or not to capitulate to imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism.

In fact it was exactly on the basis of upholding Mao's emphasis on the conscious activism of the masses, especially around cardinal political questions, and

consciousness" and that the whole notion that "political line is decisive" is really idealist.

In this "new" theory (really a rediscovery of the oldest revisionism) and in the most abysmal practice, In Struggle has repudiated the more advanced stand it once held on economism, not so much in abandoning everything to the worship of the official trade union movement (although clearly that is the church some In Struggle people would like to attend), but even more in trailing promiscuously behind nearly every spontaneous struggle and movement, acting in complete disregard for the proletarian vanguard's role in bringing forward the overall and long term interests of the international working class in the midst of every movement and in relation to every question. This economism, with its narrow stress on "our own oppression" and its pandering to the spontaneous and average (or slightly above average) understanding of the masses in non-revolutionary times in an imperialist country can only feed and encourage social chauvinism, especially as things sharpen toward world war. This is exaggerated all the more since this economism involves tailing social democracy which is a powerful and popular trend these days among the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie.

In Struggle once proudly distinguished itself by refusing to uphold the national banner of Canada at a time when pro-imperialist "second worldism" was running rampant everywhere and "Canadian independence" was the battle cry of nearly every other group in Canada. But where once you could always count on its newspaper to expose the very real international rapaciousness the Canadian bourgeoisie lives on, today at best it seems forgotten that In Struggle is operating within an imperialist country and at times under the cover of tirades against President "Ray-gun" there is an obscuring of the role and interests of Canadian imperialism that is both nationalist and warmed over drivel from the fairly extensive pro-Soviet revisionist circles in Canada. As we've said before, Mao Tsetung is not the *only* dividing line but a wrong stand on this question of Mao inevitably leads to finding yourself on the wrong side of the dividing line on other questions as well.

If the kind of questions raised here are not at the top of the agenda in the debates raging through In Struggle today—if to some people such questions seem completely irrelevant—that only shows just how deep into the swamp a wrong line has dragged some people. What is particularly disgusting and dangerous is that the same centrist line that has enshrined "unity" as the highest goal over and above the revolutionary interests of the masses in Canada and the rest of the world, the very line that has shaped the crisis within In Struggle in the first place, is now attempting to give the debates a "Marxist" focus on "what kind of organization to carry out our *present* tasks" or "a tactic for achieving socialism under *present* conditions" (our italics). Could there be a better recipe than this for lowering the sights of a revolutionary organization to debating the "best" form of economism, nationalism and petty affairs generally? Staying within this framework the more revolutionary elements within In Struggle have had a hard time breaking through—a narrowness and pettiness has infected even the terms of the debate itself.

What the debate needs is a clear revolutionary pole that insists on confronting basic questions of principle and in this way rallies the revolutionary comrades of In Struggle, rejecting the pull of "freedom of criticism" and democratic demogogy through which centrism seeks to grip the left and squeeze the life out of it.

If through this debate there emerges some clarity on cardinal questions of principle—and some comrades, no matter how many, can unite on *this* basis—then the crisis within In Struggle can be turned into a very good thing, into a real advance for proletarian revolution and the revolutionary communist and proletarian international trend that has already begun to emerge and unite on a world scale. □

on the decisive importance of the superstructure and political struggle in general, as embodied in the theory and practice of the Cultural Revolution, that we were able to break with the economism that had threatened to smother us as a revolutionary party. In this sense, Mao brought us to Lenin, for it was through studying and grasping the issues involved in the Cultural Revolution and the attacks on it that we were led to rediscover that much forgotten, attacked and distorted book *What Is To Be Done?* with its stress on consciousness and the vanguard role of the party. Without this, hewing to a revolutionary path in an imperialist country in the face of sharpening developments toward war is impossible. And further, it was only on the basis of upholding and applying Mao's contributions, including especially his advances in Marxist materialist dialectics and his digging at the roots of revisionism that arose in the international movement long before the revisionist seizure of power under Khrushchev, that we have been able to correctly criticize some of Mao's secondary errors, greatly increasing our own understanding of proletarian revolution as a world process in opposition to some of the intertwining of Marxism and nationalism that Mao himself did not completely break with.

It has never been a question of upholding "infallible personalities" as some people still dishonestly claim, banking on the ignorance they've tried to keep people in.

During the time that our Party and the international trend we are a part of was going forward in this way, it seems as if In Struggle was marching step by step precisely in the opposite direction. There has been a line that has gone from conciliating with revisionist attacks on Mao's contributions, to more and more openly opposing Marxism. The "study of the criticism of revisionism" conducted in the pages of In Struggle's publications has concluded that not only do Mao's contributions not represent a significant question, but even that under Mao's evil influence the international communist movement and especially Mao himself "overestimated the importance of con-

“Sooner or Later” Debate

WAR, REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

In RW No. 115, we reprinted excerpts from the booklet “Sooner or Later” by the Communist Unity Organization and called upon our readers to respond to it. This call was made to encourage readers to correspond on the most decisive political questions of our time, in particular how to respond to a situation in which very real preparations are being made for a world war between rival blocs of imperialists led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The cutting edge question is whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one’s “own” imperialist rulers, or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a “lesser evil” against a “main enemy.” This question involves both analysis of the present world situation and of history, including the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement during this whole century. The following is a letter in reply to our call.

The following are some questions provoked by and intended for the debate concerning the *Sooner or Later* publication and related questions of nationalism and internationalism.

(1) Regarding revolutionary defeatism, why is so much emphasis placed on fraternization among the troops? Lenin says that “fraternization is the revolutionary initiative of the masses”—isn’t that getting a little carried away? I assume that fraternization is something more than chit-chat and exchanging cigarettes and liquor, but if so I would like to know exactly what. Exchange of literature? Political discussion and debate?

I feel that one writer who strongly emphasized fraternization exhibited some tendencies toward pragmatism and chauvinism when he wrote, “Every example of proletarian internationalism by soldiers and masses... especially among the ‘enemy’... must be popularized broadly to give the masses... the confidence that there is an active movement building for such a future...” (RW No. 121, p. 14) Did he mean to add, “... because if the ‘enemy’ proves to be very united and there is no basis for such confidence, then such a future is illusory and we might as well throw proletarian internationalism out the window”? Is proletarian internationalism a “favor” “extended to” or “exchanged with” other peoples, like “if you don’t fight us then we won’t fight you”? I feel that “sooner or later” such a line will amount to saying “if you stop fighting our bourgeoisie then we’ll stop fighting yours”, which is a long way from proletarian internationalism.

Either proletarian internationalism is seen as a correct reflection of the interests of the international proletariat under all (even unfavorable) circumstances, or else its heart is gutted out and we pander to chauvinism. I feel the “confidence” line does the latter.

(2) The Party has analyzed that “World War II was, at its outset and for its duration, an inter-imperialist war, in its main aspect.” But I’m not yet clear on what this implies for how communists in the U.S.—to take an important example—should have related to the war effort.

We know that in world war, as in all times, the chief responsibility of communists is to utilize these events to work for—to prepare for and if possible to carry through—the overthrow of “one’s own” bourgeoisie. Therefore a

key task of communists in the U.S., given the nature of the war, was to agitate against the U.S. war effort, both before and after its official entry into the war. But does this imply also that genuine communists would not have called on people in the U.S. to join the U.S. army (“to fight fascism”) as did the CPUSA? And does it further imply that it would have been incorrect to field actual armed forces, say in Europe, fighting against the fascists and other powers but under the banner of the international proletariat, especially before the official U.S. entry into the war? This had happened in a beginning and distorted way before the war began, namely in Spain.

I am pointing to the contradiction between the strength and stability of some of the belligerents, in this case the U.S., and the vulnerability and instability of some others, like Italy, France, and Germany. In countries like the U.S. where the possibility of turning the inter-imperialist war into a civil war was fairly remote, does it follow that in addition to carrying out the work of exposure of U.S. imperialism it would also have been correct to “go to Europe” and try to take advantage of the instability there in the service of the international proletariat and under its independent banner? Would that amount to a policy that implements the understanding that our main, but not only, responsibility is to overthrow U.S. imperialism, or would it amount to a disguised form of letting U.S. imperialism off the hook and wittingly or unwittingly fighting its war?

In Bernardo Bertolucci’s brilliant film “1900” he depicts the peasants in Italy, led by the red flag although not highly organized, liberating part of the Italian countryside from the fascists in the last days of the war there. In one of the final scenes, a ragged army of regulars under the U.S. flag enters the square to “liberate” the people. Because the radical peasants have not been adequately prepared or organized, they capitulate to this, and they end up lowering their red flag.

In France, De Gaulle and the rest of the patriotic bourgeoisie first focused people’s attention on German fascism and then, after the war, focused people’s attention on U.S. bullying. In each phase, the common element was (French) chauvinism. The PCF supported this.

How could the tendencies among the people during World War II toward chauvinism and capitulation to imperialism have been combated instead of left intact? It seems to me that a key distinction that concentrates much of this is the distinction between the “United Front Against Fascism”, seen in essence as a front of countries or nations, and the United Front Against Imperialism, seen as a front of classes.

What would have been wrong with a proletarian internationalist army in Europe? A Red Army involving not only proletarians from the Soviet Union but from all of the belligerent countries, including the U.S. and Germany, and consisting of both fresh volunteers as well as defectors from the imperialist armies. Seeing its task not “to fight against fascism” but overall “to fight against imperialism” and to take maximum advantage of the instability in Europe to liberate territory from both blocs as a base area for world revolution.

It might be argued that a communist

in the U.S. advocating this in World War II would be failing to target U.S. imperialism—to expose it and work for its overthrow. In other words, that this is just a sicked-up version of the CPUSA’s chauvinism and “American exceptionalism”. But isn’t the point that while the revolutionary communists always expose “their own” bourgeoisie and work for its overthrow, that at the same time they make a materialist analysis of where the leaps toward revolution are ripening most rapidly, and that they do their utmost, as part of the world proletariat, to bring these possibilities to fruition?

(I should add that clearly the U.S. will be in a far more vulnerable and less stable position should World War III occur, in which it will be “on the front lines” in a way that it simply was not in the last war. Thus, the U.S. would not be a country to which the above analysis would apply in WWII. The Australian group referred to by Chairman Avakian in his speech excerpt “Leninism as the Bridge” (RW No. 127) argues, under the signboard of “internationalism”, that the Soviet Union is the main danger—but I feel that their whole orientation is different from that above.)

As for the U.S. imperialists, they were very much assisted by the “respectable and chauvinist” anti-fascist united front in Europe and the lack of a clear internationalist trend there. Can we say that with something like a proletarian internationalist army in Europe there would have been the same tendency on the part of the Italian peasants to “liberate” Italy only to hand it over to the Yankee imperialists, or on the part of the French resistance fighters to “liberate” France only to hand it over to the French imperialists? Mightn’t a counter-trend have posed in a bigger way the possibility of the proletarian liberation of territory out of the hands of one or more of the shaken or shattered powers of Western Europe, like Italy, Germany, and France? And wouldn’t that have been an opportunity to deny this region to U.S. imperialism and hence to deny it victory, or at least to sour its victory by preventing or retarding its ensuing development as a major imperialist superpower?

(3) In the lead article on the Salvadors’ tour in RW No. 126, it was stated that a major point of their presentation is that “it is impossible to get free of one imperialism by relying on another.” The Salvadors themselves likened such an attempt to “trying to fight fire with fire.”

Isn’t there an abundance of examples of people successfully liberating themselves from one imperialism exactly by relying on another? It seems to me that the point to be made is that “it is impossible to get free of imperialism altogether by relying on any form of it.”

Two examples of successful liberation from one imperialism through reliance on another are: the reliance of the French people on the French bourgeoisie for liberation from the German bourgeoisie; and the reliance of the Angolan people on the Soviet bourgeoisie for liberation from the Portuguese bourgeoisie. In each case the people were subjugated by the bourgeoisie whom they relied on for liberation.

Some have argued that the Allende years in Chile illustrate the impossibility of such an occurrence. But it seems to me that the inability or reluctance of the Soviet Union and its parties in Chile to

lead the people in struggling against U.S. imperialism was mainly a reflection of the “historic compromise” strategy, a strategy employed by these groups in traditionally strong U.S. spheres where they do not wish (yet) to directly challenge U.S. imperialism.

On the other hand, in Asia and Africa the U.S.S.R. has and will deliver people from U.S. imperialism, again for its own interests. Thus the example of Chile can be seen to have arisen also out of the particularity that at that time and place, the contradiction between the two superpowers was not in open antagonism. But isn’t the more fundamental lesson from Chile in this regard exactly the one stated above: that it is impossible to get free of imperialism altogether by relying on any form of it?

As for El Salvador, what this means is that there is not only the danger of another Chile but of another Angola. In other words, that the Salvadors will deliver themselves from U.S. imperialism only to be delivered into the hands of Soviet social-imperialism.

The flip side of this mechanical thinking on the subject of reliance on imperialism is represented by the line that as far as El Salvador goes, “the U.S. is in a sinkhole from which it cannot escape.” Since when is a Chile-type scenario out of the question in El Salvador, just because armed struggle is going on there? If neither Chile nor Angola can recur, from now until world war or revolution, would someone please tell me why the Salvadors would bother at all to speak on this question?

(4) Why does the Joint Communique not explicitly propagate the slogan about turning an inter-imperialist war into a civil war? (The Basic Principles document does.) Is this because the signatories were unable to unite on the concept of revolutionary defeatism? Or on the need (despite the risks) of propagating it right now?

(5) What did Chairman Avakian mean in his speech excerpt “Conquer the World?” (RW No. 125) when he stated, as an aside, that “That’s another mechanical law of revolution that needs to be declared illegal, namely that any revolution against imperialism in those [i.e. oppressed] countries can only be led by the proletariat.” As recently as in the article “On the Question of So-Called National Nihilism”, in pointing out why nationalism and patriotism cannot be an ideology of communists even in the new-democratic revolution, the Party had stated, as Mao had stressed, that “the bourgeoisie could not lead any stage of this struggle [i.e., two-stage revolution in the oppressed countries].” Clearly it is possible for the national and petit bourgeoisie for a period of time to lead the first stage of such a struggle, viz. a bourgeois revolution for national independence. Iran is an example. But, in the era of imperialism, is it possible for that strata to complete the stage of independence?

—R.S.

Editor’s note:

The point raised by the author here, referring to the excerpt “Conquer the World?”, is important to discuss. But the reference here to the point from the article “On the Question of So-Called National Nihilism” is not quite accurate. In this section, that article reads as follows:

“Even in the countries oppressed by imperialism, where the stage of the struggle to be fought is national liberation, the goal of the struggle is not to try to repeat the process of the bourgeois-democratic revolution that went on in Europe, but to develop the struggle for national liberation as a step in the continuous process of a revolution whose goal is the proletarian dictatorship. In China, Mao stressed during the years of the war for liberation that China’s revolution was new-democratic, not bourgeois democratic, that it could only be a transition to socialist revolution, and that the bourgeoisie could not lead any stage of this struggle. To accomplish this, and to develop the struggle in these countries as part of the world proletarian revolution, requires uniting with patriotic sentiments, to be sure, but most of all it requires that the ideology of the leading class be internationalism and not nationalism.” (Revolution, June 1981) □

Revolution and Reaction on Oklahoma Airwaves

A recent talk show in Tulsa has raised some dust in Oklahoma and, in the course of this, has revealed yet more of the bourgeoisie's foul maneuverings in their attack on the tour of the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The talk show on radio station KRMG's "Nightline" program featured the tour facilitator and another member of the legal/political defense team. It began at 8 o'clock and, spurred by furious controversy, lasted till the early hours of the morning, although the two revolutionary internationalists had to leave earlier. At their departure, one listener asked the host, Neil Thruston, who by his own admission had been trying to set up the two revolutionaries throughout the show, to summarize what had been said. Thruston responded: "They wanted to talk about El Salvador more, and the listeners wanted to talk about communism in general. And it sort of upset our listeners that they were, especially that they advocated the overthrow of the government." Listener: "OK, well you know what the legal implications of that are." Host: "Uh-huh." Listener: "They're liable, man... And I did some checking with some friends of mine that are close to the Attorney General's Office, and they're checking into these people... I hope they get them for that, because the overthrow of the government, man, that's treason." The talk show host followed up on this point a little later, "I assure you that the program was not unheard by law enforcement officials at local, state, county, and federal levels. So if laws were violated, probably repercussions will follow." One especially civic-minded listener called in and read the article from the Constitution on treason. And, a little later, the host again said, "Well, as I told you before, I'll guarantee you that if they are

(violating the treason law—RW), the repercussions will follow, because I happen to know for a flat-out fact that there were lots of law enforcement agencies listening at all levels."

That these were the words of one of Oklahoma's slimier, more deadly species of rattlesnakes became even more apparent early the next afternoon, when one of the tour's attorneys called up Thruston and asked to make a copy of a tape of the show. There wasn't one. Why? Because the station's only copy had *already* been safely delivered into the claws of U.S. Attorney Ben Baker, who is in charge of prosecuting the Salvador tour cases (proving that, contrary to popular belief, snakes can crawl fast, especially when there's some powerful vultures hovering overhead).

But the talk show itself gave a glimpse of some other forces that were being stirred into motion besides Thruston's reactionary social base which he sought to mobilize in support of the government's repression of the tour. A number of listeners denounced the reactionary callers as "narrow-minded." One person from Vernon, Texas, called up to say, "I applaud these young ladies. I admire their honesty and bravery. I am a veteran, a senior citizen... I feel very sorry for these other terribly misinformed people... They are the same people who lived in the block next to the crematoriums in Germany and never knew what was going on. They haven't even learned what went on in Vietnam, we can't expect them to know what's going on in El Salvador."

One Black lackey, perhaps moved by Eldridge Cleaver's local revival preaching, called in to ask, "Why do they (the revolutionaries—RW) always bring Blacks into this?" and argued

Prisoner Correspondence "We Are On the Right Side of History"

Greeting of Solidarity:

Your paper (R.W.) of Oct. 16, 1981 reached me sort of late; nevertheless, it was RIGHT-ON-TIME!

I commend you on the very inspiring and explosive article "The Rebels of Belfast." I cannot describe the inspiration and contribution this article is to the Forces of Resistance here behind the prison walls. Many Comrades, upon reading it, were deeply affected in a most progressive way.

This timely and most needed inside look at the real struggle of the Irish people not only blasts through the distorted propaganda delivered to the people of this country via bourgeois media, but it also serves as an exemplary example to all those who harbor any doubts and who would dare to question the ever unfolding victory of our just cause. The emphasis on the

Irish Youth; their audacious display of courage and undying commitment has caused many among me here to reaffirm their commitment to the liberation of the oppressed masses and to strengthen their solidarity with the Irish struggle and the struggle of all who are righteous around the world.

Let it be known to the Comrades of "IRALAND" our strength lies in the hearts of the people and our future lies with the Youth. You are not alone in the battle, we are on the right side of history and the righteous of the world will surely triumph!!

Long live the Spirit of George Jackson!
All Power to the People!

From the Infamous dungeon of San Quentin Prison.
Comrade S.

EL SALVADOR!

National Speaking Tour

THE PEOPLE

What are the tasks confronting the masses of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation?

IMPERIALISM

What is the U.S. doing there and why? The Soviets (and the Cubans)?

WAR AND REVOLUTION

How does all this relate to what's shaping up worldwide?

Nationally sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade
For more information write RCYB, Box A3836, Chicago, Illinois 60690

that the Black people are treated better in America than in other countries. Several racist dogs got on then to testify about how inspired they were to hear their "boy" say this. This so outraged one listener that he called in to run down how the whole history of Black people has been a lifetime of slavery, how the kind of repression coming down on the tour is from the same forces who murdered Black radicals in the '60s, including the Panthers. He then told how Blacks, whites, Indians and others had been protesting the South African Springboks rugby team tour, and how the U.S. couldn't even announce where they were going to play because there was so much opposition. A woman called for the government to give the Salvadorans political asylum, because when a country like the U.S. is oppressing another country like El Salvador, then the people in the U.S. need to hear what the people there have to say about it.

At this point, one man who said he had come from New York called in to say that he couldn't believe it, that we have these "nuts" in New York and you hear them all the time on the radio, but he couldn't believe that this was happening in Tulsa where he had thought *everyone* was patriotic. Then someone from California added that it was true, that they were all over the West Coast, too, and that he couldn't believe it was going on in Tulsa either.

Well, it certainly was going on in Tulsa, and as some of the more advanced forces drew the line and spoke out, some of the dust that had been sitting for too long was shaken up, and broader numbers got a sharper sight of the forces shaping up in the world today. Whatever foul plots the government may have in mind, this will certainly be a force that they will have to contend with.

The success that the tour has had thus far is bound to be further irritation to those who have tried so hard to suppress it. The tour concluded its stay in Boston, speaking to crowds of almost 100 at Tufts University, almost 200 at

Harvard, and 50 people at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst). This brings the total for the Midwest and New England to over 1300, including a large number of youth who are newer to the kind of revolutionary internationalist analysis of the tour and who are eagerly checking out such works as the Red Book by Mao Tsetung and "Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement" by the RCP of Chile and the RCP, USA. A number of smaller meetings have been held with immigrants, including students from other countries, people from El Salvador support work, and other revolutionary students who were interested in going more deeply into the questions the tour has thrown up, and checking out the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB).

The government has repeatedly demonstrated its intent to throw every obstacle in the path of this kind of activity, and as the most critical part of this, it is rapidly speeding along its railroad in the legal case in Oklahoma. Trials for both the Salvadorans on the federal misdemeanor of failure to possess immigration papers, and for the facilitator and translator on felony charges of transporting illegal aliens (carrying a penalty of up to five years in prison), are now both scheduled for Dec. 21. On November 23 and 24, the tour will be in Washington, D.C., and on November 28 it will be in Greensboro, North Carolina, followed the next week by Atlanta, Georgia. For more information call the numbers listed on p. 2. Those who would see this tour carry through in the face of the government's attacks should send statements demanding the charges be dropped and hands off the tour to Ben Baker, U.S. Attorney, 333 West 4th St., Tulsa, OK 74354. Contributions for the expenses of the legal defense, or for the tour itself, should be clearly marked and sent to the RCYB, P.O. Box A 3836, Chicago, IL 60690. □

Call of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. Imperialism to All Proletarian Sisters and Brothers of the World:

To you who in one form or another have been witnesses to the war crimes of U.S. imperialism around the world, this tribunal is yours.

To you who have had to work the mines so that the raw materials can be taken to the U.S., processed into arms and used against your brothers, this tribunal is yours.

To you who work the land, with your only hope that the following day you may be able to work it again, and see that the products of your work do not remain in the hands of your people, this tribunal is yours.

To you soldiers who have fought in one unjust war or another and then again another, where you have felt betrayed, where you have had to kill and then ask yourself, "Why?", the tribunal is yours.

To all those who have abandoned their country in search of a job, of wages, who are here in this country, which extracts the natural riches of the territories occupied by them, and leaves only misery, exploitation, illiteracy and hunger, to you, the exploited of the world, goes this call.

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. Imperialism makes a call to the whole exploited class of the world to testify about their experiences against U.S. imperialism around the world. This tribunal, after having been in various cities of the country like Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Atlanta and now in New York City from the 4th to the 6th of December, is of great historic importance, since in that great city live those exploited by U.S. imperialism from all parts of the planet, who have come to this city looking for a better way of life and here too have found tremendous discrimination; and from what better place than from inside the monster where we know its guts, to judge U.S. imperialism.

We exhort you to give your testimony, from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe. No matter from what region of the planet you come, the empire is in every part and we need your testimony, so that together with those of many others it can make understood, make public internationally, the war crimes that U.S. imperialism commits on the face of the earth and those it is planning to commit.

(written by a Cuban revolutionary who testified in Atlanta, Georgia)

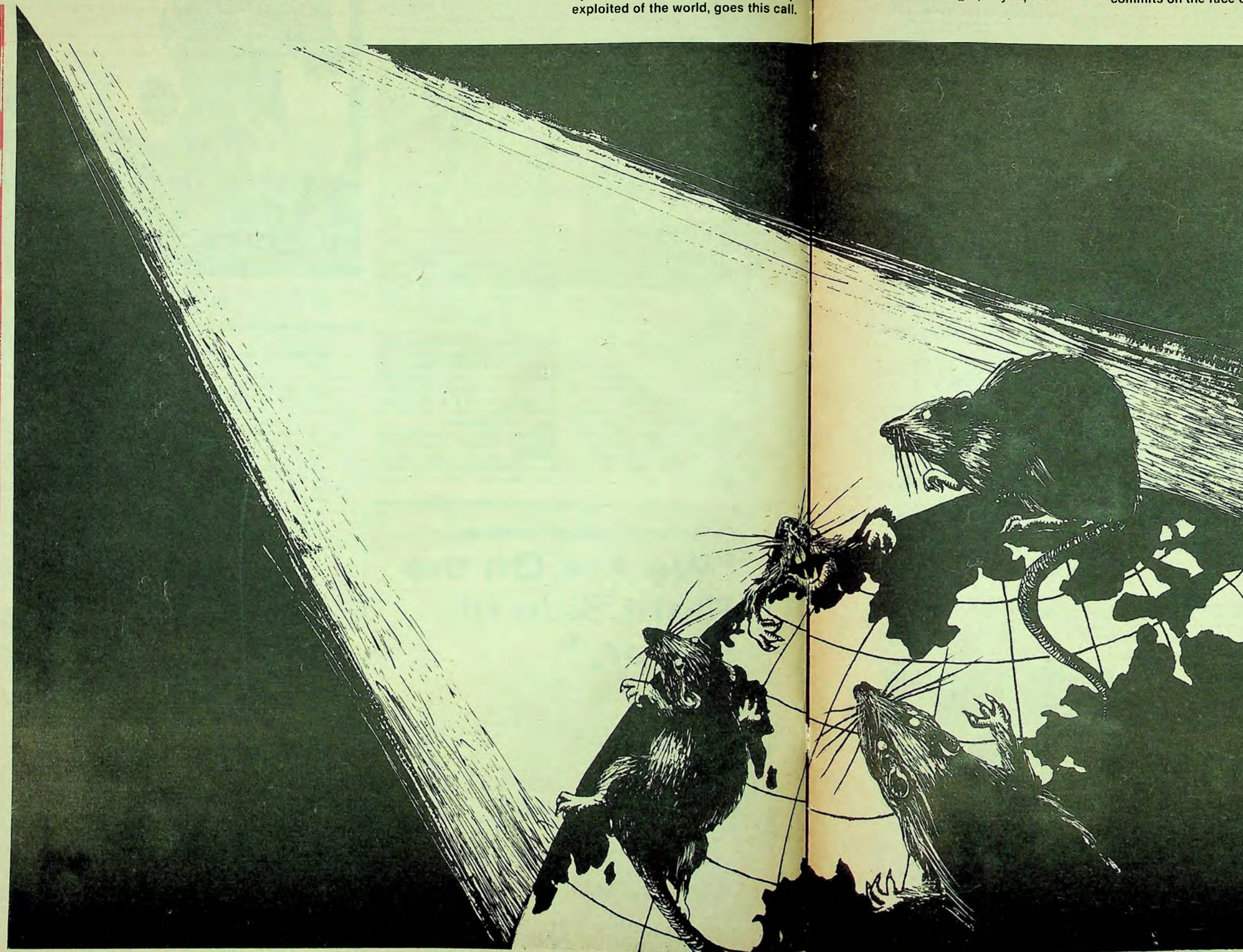
Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism

New York City December 4, 5, 6

Washington Irving High School
40 Irving Place (1 block E. of Union Square)
Manhattan

For further information contact the national office
at: 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York.
Telephone—212-674-7820

Work is needed in the following areas:
Testimony—soliciting and collecting testimony;
Publicity—press and speaking engagements; Money and
Volunteers—in New York or to come to New York to: poster,
leaflet, type and transcribe testimony.



Excerpts from Tribunal Testimony On Record Against Imperialism

"They play a new game with our area. They call it autonomy. Kissinger from the United States started to deal in this way. But Begin said the whole time: we want land from the Nile river to the Euphrates without people; we want land without people. And the United States wants people without money; the United States wants workers. Also Reagan said that after 5 years, after full autonomy, it must be at least 60% Jewish on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. And after that if we are going to ask people, do you want Jordan, Egypt or Israel they are going to say, we want Israel. In this kind of situation the 'high democracy' deals with our area. Palestine is one problem in the whole third world living under imperialist control. . . .

"If you want to know exactly about the Palestinian revolution and any revolution around the world, there are a lot of parts inside this revolution. There are internationalist groups; there are people asking for their nationalities; there are rightist groups and there are left groups; there is the bourgeoisie and there is the proletariat. And all of us know that the proletariat class, they lose everything, they are not going to live in castles, they are not going to live in villas to have a swimming pool because they are losing everything. In any revolution you can find people who want 'peace'; people who want to be the leader; people who want to be the king; people who want to have a good life; these kinds of people want autonomy if they are going to be the leaders. . . .

"The Soviet Union deals with the Palestinian revolution like any imperialist country deals with the government. They accept the leader of the PLO and they accept any group who wants the Soviet Union's way, who want 'proficient' or 'intelligent' people to control the revolution; to liberate Palestine for the Soviet Union. That is why the Soviet Union didn't deal directly with the international groups in the Palestinian revolution. It didn't deal directly with the people. It started dealing with government leaders and that is it. And it is not only in Palestine, it's in the whole world."

—A Palestinian who lived on the Gaza Strip



Palestinian fighters.

"At the age of about 8 or 9 years old, in the year 1937, a few members of the community who were struggling for the independence of Puerto Rico went to a nearby city named Ponce to demonstrate, to manifest their ideological and political reasons for the independence of Puerto Rico. At that particular time Puerto Rico was governed by an American governor who was assigned by the President of the United States. During this demonstration—the demonstrations were going on for several years before, but growing continuously—these people that were manifesting their reasons for independence on that particular day, on Palm Sunday in the year 1937, they were massacred by the police under the direction and leadership of the American superintendent a chief of police. Four of the people who were killed on that miserable day were from my community. I don't exactly remember their names at this moment but it became part of me."

—A Puerto Rican independence fighter

"I speak to you. You don't know me. I don't know you either. But there is a close relationship between you and me, a close relationship because you are working in the factories, you are working in the streets, you are working everywhere, even though you are the poorest; because what you do is not for you but is for other people who never in their life work like you. For this reason I want to make a comparison used by a late comrade, who passed away in Haiti who said: Our people is like a pot on the fire. You cook the rice and beans but when the meal is ready they say to you—don't come to the table because you are too dirty. For this reason, all proletarians, American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, all revolutionary people must stand up and declare, people everywhere, that Marxism-Leninism is the only way, is the last way for all the people in the world to be free, really free. Not for a part but for all people. All people means all working people. . . .

"Sometimes some people go to President Reagan and say, 'Oh Reagan, give me freedom. Free Haiti, please, because I don't like the communists taking over in this country.' They pray. They cry. Sometimes they go somewhere, Venezuela, Mexico, they ask them—they don't only ask them, they beg them like a man in the streets who has nothing in his hands, nothing in his stomach. But now we, the proletariat who study everything, Mao Tsetung Thought, we want to go, not to Reagan, not to the big man. We are going to the people in the streets to try to explain to them, to make them understand U.S. imperialism is your enemy."

—Testimony from a Haitian living in Miami

"The political attack on the people includes in the past year declaring 4 million people in South Africa to be foreigners in a land of their birth. They have ceased to be citizens. They have no citizen rights. They are required to obtain new passports in what are called bantustans, the satellite enclaves that are set up by the apartheid government to serve them as reservoirs for labor to come into the factories, into the plants, whether it's Ford or GM, Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola, American Motors, Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich, all the U.S. corporations, the 300 or more operating in South Africa. . . .

"The first nuclear technology given to South Africa was the first nuclear reactor built in South Africa which was built by the United States and was built by Alis Chalmers at a place called Pelindaba which in African means 'the place you don't talk much about.' Since then a much bigger and much more sophisticated reactor has been built by a consortium which includes Westinghouse, who also built that nuclear monster in Zion; and Westinghouse together with a French consortium called Framatome built a second and much bigger reactor at a place called Vellndaba—and that means 'a place you don't talk about at all.'"

—From Dennis Brutus, a Black poet and professor at Northwestern University who is in exile from South Africa and currently facing deportation attacks.

"During 'Mr. Human Rights' presidency the Iranian people suffered probably the most. Today there are hundreds of maimed little children whose arms, fingers or legs have been cut before the eyes of their parents by SAVAK in order to force the parents to talk or to recant their revolutionary activities. Unfortunately I didn't bring some of these pictures, but I'm sure if you have been following the news, especially a couple of months after the February revolution in Iran, there were a tremendous number of pictures of children who didn't have hands or legs because they had been tortured by the reactionary regime. Hundreds of adults were being toasted barbarically by the U.S. trained SAVAK. These are all documented facts and U.S. imperialism should be put on the Mass Proletarian Tribunal for its war crimes."

—From Mohammed, an Iranian who testified in Chicago

"Within ten minutes after *Bravo* exploded, its giant nuclear cloud reached more than 21.6 miles into the atmosphere. Four hours later, a white, snow-like ash began to fall on the astonished people living on Rongelap Atoll, 100 miles east of Bikini. The ash 'soon formed a layer one and one-half inches thick on the ground and fell into the drinking water tower. Children played in the radioactive powder.' (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) Twenty-two hours after the blast, the people of Utrik Atoll, two hundred and seventy-five miles east of Bikini, got a similar dose of radioactive fallout."

"The people of Rongelap and Utrik Atolls were never warned of any precautionary measures they might take in the event of radiation exposure. Furthermore, they were not evacuated from their islands for more than two days after the test, well after some Americans in the affected area were evacuated."

—Testimony from a former Peace Corps member stationed in the Marshall Islands

"It's very easy to portray all of the gross and horrible things that result from the use of an atomic weapon. The ones that create the most sensation among us, whether we agree with the establishment or not (on) the use of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, are the damage they produced that you immediately can see. My worry as a scientist and as a geneticist, as bad as those crimes are and as much damage is produced that you can't see, is the genetic damage to the population, not just the human population but the whole population of organisms on the planet, from a genetic point of view. In the aftermath of a nuclear war we will have all of these medical problems to deal with as we witness. Thus (for) the rest of the future history of human beings and all other forms of life we will be dealing with the genetic effects that were produced by the nuclear war. . . .

"For example, the sociobiology that I mentioned earlier, perpetuates this kind of thinking and has resulted in among other things the concept of nationalism of the biological imperative. This is one of the many themes of the sociobiologist, that the reason we are nationalistic is the same reason that prairie dogs are territorial; i.e., it is in our genes. We can do nothing about it and therefore we just simply have to learn to live with it. This is nothing more than a reflection of the way ruling-class people think and perpetuating this philosophy is simply a way of maintaining class structure and a way of maintaining control over the thinking of the entire population."

—Dow Woodward, a geneticist at Stanford University

"I will not forget—I will not forget two young Vietnamese girls who had the flesh blown off their bones in a war of imperialist plunder. And I will not forget the slimy imperialist bastards who are responsible."

—A Vietnam veteran

"Ray Ravenhold, director of AID's former Office of Population has made public statements that one of his agency's goals is to sterilize 1/4 of the world's women. Although other officials disclaim this goal, they continue to push sterilization programs. AID is only one part of a large network of private organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Pathfinder Fund and the Population Council, international organizations such as the United Nations and other government bureaus whose goal is to limit the numbers of people born in non-white countries rich in natural resources."

—Testimony from the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center

"Here at this table, on the same platform, we have representatives of the first people dispossessed of their land. . . and the very same people, some of us, who very recently had to rip off land, have had to try to rip off cultures of the people of the world. And here, for once, at the same table we've come together to denounce the same enemy."

—Hayden Fischer, Vietnam veteran

"You guys have been in Vietnam. You have been trained. It is up to you to use that training that you have learned to help the oppressed people of the world. . . you are looking at a man who has been trained by the Special Forces. . . in Germany. It just so happened I resigned because I had orders to go to Laos in 1968. This is the first chance that I have had to give my opinion of what the U.S. government and the biggest corporations have done to poor white people, Blacks, Chicanos and the Indian people, to use them as the instruments of war. . . .

"You are now going through some of the things we have been going through for the last 75-100 years; my people were massacred at Wounded Knee (referring to the massacre in 1890—RW), my people, there were many of us who were massacred there. While my people were being massacred, a Catholic priest ran around with his cross trying to baptize as many as he could before they died of their suffering. 19 Congressional medals of honor were given to those soldiers."

—Archie Fire Lame Deer

"While my wife was about a block away I asked another compañero to please take her because she was cornered in a house. I began to organize our retreat which meant going back into the houses to camouflage ourselves, to change our clothes and hide the guns. There was another comrade who had a uniform like I had. He was part of higher leadership from the eastern part and he had come with the reinforcements. He was about my same

Continued on page 13



Soweto, S. Africa, 1976.

On Trial Before the People of the World

On the weekend of December 4th, 5th and 6th, the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism will be holding its fifth and final hearings in New York City. Speaking many languages and from all parts of the world—from Haiti, Puerto Rico, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and the U.S.—proletarians and oppressed people, together with progressive people from many walks of life, will put U.S. imperialism on public trial, before the whole world, for its crimes against humanity. Today as the overlords of U.S. imperialism crank up their military apparatus and prepare for war, they have orchestrated a campaign of ugly chauvinism and from the highest echelons are attempting to reverse correct verdicts on their crimes—verdicts delivered in the city streets, the deserts and jungles by the people of the world. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people. The stunning exposure which will be concentrated in this upcoming tribunal, calling out the crimes of U.S. imperialism past and present, will not only serve to expose the nature of this vicious beast today—it is a weapon for the future. There is no question that

these imperialists are preparing even more foul deeds in the days ahead as they strike out to make the world safe for U.S. imperialism, and as their red, white and blue chorus grows louder, like the death rattle of a pack of dinosaurs, the political impact of such internationalist exposure, the common understanding of the nature of this enemy of the world's people, and the example of people right in the imperialist heartland declaring that their interest lies with the people of the world, will have historic significance. The New York tribunal is a real opportunity and an urgent necessity to make the past and present serve the future.

Already the tribunal has heard penetrating testimony on just what people are being called upon to defend—the nuclear rape of the Marshall Islands, apartheid in South Africa, the washed ashore bodies of Haitians on the beaches of Miami, the firebombing of 300,000 people in Dresden, Germany, the enforced backwardness throughout the world. The tribunal through its testimony has further grappled with some of the crucial questions confronting the people of the world. From various viewpoints people

from different countries, organizations, classes and strata have wrangled over what kind of war the U.S. is preparing for and what is the role and nature of the Soviet Union; the complexities of driving the imperialists out of the oppressed nations without inviting another imperialist power back in; what is the nature of World War II, in which it has been broadly accepted that the U.S. were the "liberators." Opening these questions, too, for discussion and debate is another contribution of the tribunal.

The tribunal has launched a big offensive to make the hearings in New York City an electrifying political event heard around the world. They have called on people from all parts to come to New York to testify and attend and are

calling on the youth especially to flood New York City as front-line troops for the tribunal's efforts. People in other cities who cannot come have been asked to build it among their friends and contacts in New York. They have called on U.S. government figures to defend their actions and policies. For all those who have seen and felt the actions of U.S. imperialism, the New York hearings are the time and the place to stand united with the people of the world against a common enemy and turn their hatred and experience into exposure on a grand scale of all the hideous features of U.S. imperialism.

Let the imperialists dare to defend themselves and let the people everywhere take heart and prepare for battle. □

Planned Judges, Witnesses and Testimony for New York Tribunal

A number of people have been contacted by the Tribunal to be on the panel of judges. The following have firmly committed as of press time:

Carl Dix, National panel moderator, a Black Vietnam veteran, one of the Fort Lewis 6 who refused in 1970 to go to Vietnam and who was sentenced to two years at Fort Leavenworth.

Archie Fire Lane Deer, Mnicojou Lakota spiritual advisor for the Native peoples including for Leonard Peltier, testified on behalf of the Native people at the Bertrand Russell tribunal on Native people in Rotterdam last year, served as a witness and panel member for the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in Los Angeles last May. Lane Deer will be in New York City on Dec. 1st to help build for the Tribunal.

Leo Gomez, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party; the RCP initiated the call for the Tribunal last February. Leo has served as a national panelist in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago. He was a founding member of the Chicano Moratorium Organizing Committee in 1970 which saw thousands of Chicanos come into protest against the Vietnam war.

Florynce Kennedy, attorney and outspoken political activist on behalf of minorities, women and consumers, a delegate to the International Women's Conference in Copenhagen and a member of A Black Women United for Political Action.

Virginia Wohl, a contributor to the *Revolutionary Worker* and free lance journalist whose questions disrupted the press conference with the embassy hostages at West Point.

Conrad Lynn, a civil rights attorney and political activist, among some of the cases Mr. Lynn has been involved in include the legal challenge which led to the desegregation of the armed forces, the defense of the "Harlem 6", the defense of Puerto Rican nationalists, including Pedro Albizu Campos and Lolita Lebron. He also served as a member of a Bertrand Russell War Crimes Commission in Indochina and is the author of a book "There is a Fountain."

Many witnesses are being called for by the Tribunal. Wanted still is testimony from oppressed people in the U.S. as to what they have witnessed and where their true interests lie; testimony from immigrants, foreign students, scientists, veterans, women... Also wanted to debate: those who will defend U.S. policies. Planned witnesses and testimony against U.S. war crimes so far include:

- Testimony on the U.S.' plans to build a military base in Haiti to replace Guantanamo.
- Testimony from Kobit Libete a mass organization of Haitians in Miami.
- A participant in the Soweto uprising.
- Archie Fire Lane Deer.
- Ruth Reynolds, long time activist in the Puerto Rican independence movement who was imprisoned along with Pedro Albizu Campos in the 1950s.
- Philip Wheaton, director of EPICA and on the national advisory board of CISPES. Mr. Wheaton will testify on the use of the international monetary fund to destabilize countries such as Jamaica.
- Testimony will be submitted from Dr. Richard Levins, professor at the Harvard School of Public Health. Dr. Levins, in 1974, refused admission into the National Academy of Sciences because of its military uses.
- Testimony from a South African who was imprisoned in Robben Island in Azania from 1976 to 1981.
- Two youth from El Salvador currently on a national speaking tour. Roberto—a peasant youth from the Dept. of Chalatenango, where some of the most concentrated guerrilla activity in El Salvador has taken place including the liberation of large areas. Ernesto, a revolutionary student from San Salvador in the early stages of the revolutionary upsurges in the mid-1970s.
- A woman from El Salvador forced to leave the country several years ago who since her short stay in the U.S. has had two attempts on her life.
- Testimony from Ken Campbell, Vietnam veteran who took part in the Winter Soldier investigation, Detroit, 1971.
- Testimony from Todd Ensign from Citizen Soldier, a veterans' organization.
- Yuri Kochiyama, a Japanese American activist who was interned in the concentration camps during World War 2.
- Alexandra Grumoff, Unangax (Aleut) a survivor of the U.S. concentration camps of the Aleutian people.
- Karen Lindsey, a feminist author.
- Testimony on the role of the United Nations and the suppression of liberation struggles throughout the world.

Once again: many more witnesses from all walks of life are still asked to step forward. □



G.I.'s in Vietnam refuse to go into the field

On Record

Continued from page 12

size and my same weight. He was fighting and he fell. He was mutilated. A cousin of mine was carrying a pistol. He thought it was I who fell. His name was José, 12 years old. He came out to the struggle. He dropped a Guard and he was killed. My wife came out also, shooting and shouting 'Our land shall be free or death' as she fell. She managed to get 3 of the National Guard.'

—From an FSLN liberation fighter, Nicaragua

"I wish the government of this country would come to know the truth I am speaking. I am a mother and I can't lie. I'm not a political woman, I'm a woman who has suffered. Don't continue to send these arms that cause such horror and—on the streets of the capital, and in all parts of my country. I think it costs the American people something to believe this, to believe these tales of atrocities. I've seen them decapitate a person in the streets, take little boys of 12 to 14 years out of the classrooms and kill them... This killing that is going on and is supported and directed by the developed countries like this one will pass into history as a shame of the 20th century."

—A woman from El Salvador

"I was squad leader, and we moved toward the village, it was on fire, parts of it was on fire, most of it was still smoldering and there was nothing standing except a few civilians who had somehow miraculously survived and there were bodies of children, old men and women and young men. Vietnamese bodies lying all around the village, and we moved through this carnage single file, and a Vietnamese woman holding what was left of her baby came up to me and screamed in my face, 'Why? Why?' And I didn't have any answer for her."

—A Vietnam veteran

"My testimony is directed against a system of destruction both in fact and deed which uses terrorism and violence in an unscrupulous and unlimited manner. Now this system of destruction by unscrupulous and unlimited terror had a field day on that February, 1945, happened to be a Tuesday night. And the next day, Wednesday, February 14th when about 300,000 civilians were burnt to a crisp in my home town... I have to give my public testimony here because no other public tribunal has ever asked me for it and to the best of my knowledge there has never been any tribunal which was heard the case of Dresden."

—Rev. Manfred Bahmann, on the firebombing of Dresden, Germany

The Record is Far from Complete . . .

Krome

Continued from page 3

A: Duvalier killed my mother because my uncle X, X and X were active in the electoral campaign of Duvalier. But my uncle went into exile in 1959, his son X was at the Haitian embassy and the Haitian government accused my uncle of being a participant and contributor to the 1958 invasion of Haiti. Because of that they killed the two sons of my uncle. They also killed my mother because my mother was the secretary of my uncle. They came and arrested my mother one night and the next day they killed her. When they came to get my mother they also killed my baby nephew. They threw the baby up and caught him with a bayonet and they also shot my two cousins.

Q: How come they didn't kill you?

A: They didn't kill me because my uncle from my father's side, X, came to save me. Because this uncle was an engineer who had studied in the U.S. and was in the U.S. army Duvalier let him do whatever he wanted. He had a free pass. As a result he gives his knowledge to the government. The day after they busted my mother the Macoutes (police—RW) came back to get the rest of us. They came back at 9 o'clock. There were five of them, the most feared and hated Macoutes. When they came to my house to get us at the same time, my uncle got there, too. He pulled his machine gun and told the five to leave and they left. After that my uncle took us to my aunt's house. He changed our name and our school and he sent each of us to a different school. But I was afraid all the time, I was afraid because I didn't want anybody to know that I was X's son. Because of that I had to be careful all the time.

Q: How many years did you live like that underground?

A: I lived like that for 15 years.

Q: In those years you were in hiding was there any time when your life was more in danger?

A: It was in 1975 I went into hiding again. I and some of my friends were ready to overthrow Jean-Claude Duvalier. Everybody else was arrested. Me and my brother, we were trying to reach these guys. When we reached their house it was surrounded by armed men. When we saw that we went into hiding. I returned to my house in 1976. I found some Macoutes guarding my house. When I saw that, I hid in the sewer. After that I went to see a relative. She told me to go back to the town where I was hiding. She gave me some money and I went back there. In June, 1976 I came back to Port-au-Prince. One day while I was talking to someone, a Macoute came and almost shot me. I ran and he ran after me and started shooting. One of the bullets almost got me. It didn't get me only because I fell down and the bullet hit a tree. I got up and I ran. Then I hid. He kept looking for me. When he didn't see me he left. When I reported that incident to my family they told me that I have to leave the country. Because it was impossible to leave Haiti then I went over to a friend's house and stayed with him for a period of 2 years. I never went out. After that I tried to change my name. I took my father's last name. But my father who was a part of the Duvalier government had some problems with Duvalier and because of that my problem was doubled. If I used my mother's last name I'd be shot. If I used my father's I will be in trouble. In 1979 I became sick. One of my connections in two days got me a passport. He put me on a plane and sent me to Jamaica where my uncle is living. Since that time I was living in Jamaica. A bit later I decided to go back to Haiti. When I returned they arrested me and they sent me to jail in Fort Dimanche.

Q: What was the charge against you?

A: The charge was, they arrested me for politics. They told me I was a camoquin (term used by Duvalier for any rebel—RW).

Escape to U.S.

Q: How did they treat you in that jail?

A: First they wake you up at 4 a.m. They make some noise with the key and the cell bars. Usually there are more than 20 prisoners in the same cell. They only leave you in the shower for a minute and sometimes less. After that they lock you up again. The cells are very dark. While I was in jail I didn't eat at all. And only drank coffee twice. Anyway, I don't even know if you could call that coffee. I didn't touch their food at all. Prisoners are not supposed to receive any food from outside. Nevertheless my family sent me food twice. Once it was my cousin bringing the food, but they didn't accept it. The second, my cousin who was more influential brought the food for me. That time they gave it to me. My family collected some money and they paid someone to get me out and one night someone took me out of the cell and hid me in a corner. After half an hour, he took me and he went in the bush with me. We went through a marsh. The marsh was very stinky and it had a lot of mosquitos. Then we crossed a field and he put me in his car and drove away. That same day I got some help and went to the airport and gave some money to a customs officer. He okayed the passport. At 2 p.m. I took the airplane to Jamaica.

I went back to Jamaica, I wasn't safe at all, since I know that Jamaica and Port-au-Prince (Haiti) have very close relations. Because of that I decided I'd have to leave Jamaica. My uncle told me he was going to send me to France so I could continue my studies. When I thought about it I told my uncle I didn't like that idea because I had a child to take care of, and secondly in France once my visa expired I could be sent back to Haiti. It was then that I decided that the U.S. was my only chance. I went to the U.S. Consulate in Jamaica. I went there with all my papers. I even went there with a paper from my uncle and cousin to notify that they are industrialists living in Jamaica. The paper was also proof that I will return to Jamaica, that I would not stay in the U.S. In spite of that, the U.S. Consul told me that it was not possible to get their visa; then I was mad and I cursed the woman. I told her why did she think I was going to stay in her country. I was doing all that, telling her all those things, because I know according to law when I reached the U.S. I was going to be given political asylum. When I saw I wasn't going to find the visa to the U.S. at this consulate, I called one of my friends in Canada and I told him the only hope I had is to go to the U.S. because I'm not secure in Jamaica. While I was waiting to go, all that time I was spending a lot of money to get the things I wanted together. I spent 3-4,000 Jamaican dollars which is the equivalent of \$2,000 American. When I had all my papers ready I decided I was going to leave during "Sun Flash" a carnival in Jamaica. I waited for Sun Flash; one, because I like it, and two because at Sun Flash there is a lot of tourists who go to Jamaica to participate in it. I thought since there is a lot of foreigners in Jamaica I would have more of a chance to make it. I think at this time I had a chance to pass as a foreigner. Sun Flash finished on Saturday and on Sunday I took Eastern Airlines to Florida. When I arrived in Florida a woman took my passport and told me it was no good and she told me the passport wasn't mine. She me gave a paper and told me to sign it. I took my address book out and I told the lady that these were all addresses of lawyers I know in the U.S. Therefore I would not sign any paper if my lawyer was not present. Then she took me and she sent me to the concentration camp at Krome.

Q: What did you think about the U.S. before you came here? Did you think you were going to have all these problems?

A: Before I came here I didn't think I was going to have all these problems because I had my political record with me. If I had any problems it would show I was fleeing for my life. There's nobody who's going to tell you that you have no right to use your brains to save your life.

Q: When you came here they put you in jail, what did you feel, what did you think?

A: When I saw they put me in jail, since I'm not stupid, since I know my human rights, I said I can't accept this type of life. I did not think they were going to treat me like that in the prison. I was fleeing my country for political reasons; I wasn't fleeing for economic reasons. When I saw I was living like an animal I said this condition I was living in was not good for me. I had to find a way out.

Life in Krome

Q: How was life in Krome?

A: In Krome the food they serve is not the type of food Haitians could eat. I'm sure the food had some type of product in it. Even though I can't tell you the name of that product personally I would never forget the smell of that chemical, whenever I would smell it I would know.

Q: How did the smell of the product affect the food?

A: When you finish eating the food you feel like throwing up and people have diarrhea all the time. The water is very stinky and dirty and it had a reddish color and this is that water they gave us to drink. Because of that dirty water they locked me up in solitary confinement for 8 days. You see my 2-year-old son was sick. He had diarrhea and the doctor told us to give him sterilized water to drink. My cousin who was taking care of my son went to the officer to ask him for some water and milk for the baby. The immigration officer told her there's no water and no milk for the baby. They told her to feed the baby the same food they served everybody—the same food that made him sick. Four days before this incident I had been in the office. An American who was at this office was going to drink the water at the faucet. The immigration officer who was on duty that day told him, "Do not drink this water, it's no good. Go in the back and you'll find some good water." Since I don't like to drink water anyway since the first time I smelled and drank the water it gave me bad breath, since that time I never touched that water and since that time I told my cousin do not drink or give that water to my son. I was taking a shower when my cousin came to tell me the immigration officer did not want to give her water for my son. I ran to the officer and told him when he's doing bad things to Haitians he'd better watch out who he is doing these things to. I told him I didn't ask him to take care of my son for me. I told him you took me and locked me in jail despite the fact that I'm here for political not economic reasons. You still lock me up. I told him even though I'm illegal in your country I still know my rights. You say I use fraud to come here. I say I came here to save human lives, my life, my son and cousin. And there is nobody and no law who is going to tell me I cannot do that. I have ample reason to do that since the earth is not your property. It's god's property.

I told him, you used to give water and milk to my son and now you say you're not going to give him anymore and I asked the officer did he ever drink this stinking water. This time the top immigration officer called me and asked me if I told the Haitians the water was stinky, and I told him yeah, they're all my brothers and sisters. I told him if I know the water is stinky I'm not going to drink it and neither will my son. Then he ordered them to lock me up in solitary confinement.

Q: How long did you stay there? How did you cope with it?

A: I was locked in there for 8 days. Sometimes they bring the food in the morning, sometimes in the middle of the day and some other times at night. Sometimes they don't bring it at all. The cell they locked me up in was all dark with no light at all and it's very small and it only had one bed and a toilet bowl... That hit me the most was the fact that I know my country there is a dictatorship. But here in America they are supposed to have freedom or human rights. Here they always talk about human rights but there aren't any human rights. Human rights is far away from the Americans. The American can

never get in this context. America doesn't have human rights in their country. How could they ask others to have it in theirs.

Q: Could you give some example of how the American government violates your human rights?

A: They violate my human rights because one, I didn't have any freedom to speak, two, I didn't have any individual or personal freedom, I didn't have any freedom to react or act. I was under restraint. Three, they violate my human rights because you cannot talk about human rights and at the same time you're beating people up and mistreating them, because if we are the same, we have the same right, why should you mistreat me. We just don't have the same rights. Four: I condemn the American government because of their very prejudice against my brothers. This is where the problem is. When you are talking to them they tell you go to sleep, black dog, you have no rights because you're illegal here. They would not tell other nations who came here that. But it is us they're going to say that to.

Strike Begins

Q: Could you give me some more examples of your experience in solitary confinement? How was it?

A: (Here several more incidents of brutality and harassment were recounted leading up to the action—RW)...

When I saw how I was being treated I decided I was going to stop eating. I stopped eating on the 23rd of August. When they saw I didn't eat at all they released me and I still continued to ignore their food. I continued doing that for two reasons, one because I didn't want to have diarrhea, two, because they didn't have any respect for me as a person. When they released me, I found 15 of my friends on strike. They didn't eat either. Because I was in jail in the morning when I was released only 15 persons were on strike but by the afternoon the group was already 90 persons. By the next day we were already 128 persons. The 128 of us did not eat anything at all for a whole week. By that time immigration officers gave our plate to other refugees who were not on strike. They gave them two plates of food so nobody will know that we didn't eat. But by the eighth day one of the refugees who was not on the strike told the other ones the only reason the immigration gave some of us two plates of food is to isolate those 128 who are on strike. He told them the immigration officers are smart. They gave us more food because the 128 who are striking give them lots of problems. He told the rest of the refugees to strike too. He did that the second of September and all the men in the camp went on strike.

When the food truck came nobody ate and the truck went into the women's quarters. The women who knew all the men were on strike decided not to eat also. One of the women warned the others when she told them if any ate their food, she was going to stick her finger in their eyes. The women were separated from the men and their living conditions were much worse than that of the men since the women were sleeping under tents. All they had for beds were stretchers and when it rained at night they got all wet and the floor water ran down like a river. You have more than 400 women crowded in one room. Four days before everybody in the camp went on strike the officer had lots of beds that were in a room which nobody was using. It was me and my friend who asked the officer to put the beds up for the women. And in one night we put up 125 beds for the women. That day all of us were on strike, we were working with no food in our stomach and no sleep. I told the other refugees to endure the pain and help our sisters since they couldn't rely on the immigration officers who were mistreating them. Therefore we were their only support. When the immigration officers saw there was a general strike, they panicked.

Around 10 o'clock we took a bed-sheet and a Colombian who was in the camp with us, he wrote on the bedsheet, "All We Need Is Our Freedom" and "It Is Either Freedom Or Death." In

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Reader Writes on Trip to Soviet Union

The following letter was sent to the RW from someone who recently visited the Soviet Union:

Upon landing in one of Moscow's international (military) airports I could not help but be a bit moved by the fact that I found myself in the country of the "October Revolution." Armed with my knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, my experience in Europe, particularly my many encounters with revisionists and a quick reading of *Red Papers 7* enabled me to have a somewhat other than naive attitude as to the real nature of the contemporary Soviet Union. I would like to share with you some of my discoveries, impressions and exchanges during the month that I was there. I should add that speaking a minimum of Russian helped in some of the contacts I was able to make.

Cows grazing in open range next to the airport runways gave an impression of common property as I inched through the many customs controls and military personnel of the airport who were only interested in the printed matter I had brought with me; obviously they were not interested in my *Herald Tribune* as I was permitted to keep it. The French group I had come with was young with many Communist Party of France members which in itself means little as membership cards are given out in France like balloons at a political rally in the United States.

After having settled in my room at an economics institute on the outskirts of Moscow I was invited into a room occupied by Italians. There was a Soviet woman student present; Two hours in the USSR and my first exchange—"Oh, you're from America, I don't like niggers either!" These are the notes I wrote on what she had to say: "I'm a nationalist, I think Russia (N.B. not the USSR) is the best place in the world and these people (i.e. Black Africans) come here and take us all for prostitutes. But I'm not nationalist like in the pre-Baltic Republics. There they don't even like tourists, neither Russian nor foreign."

This racism as I was soon to learn is wide-spread. On many occasions I would be with Soviets in a café or a restaurant and when a Black entered the Soviets would say loud enough to be heard—"What's that Nigger doing in here!" It appears the people serving would jack the prices up for them, but as I soon learned, this was not a practice reserved only for Blacks.

In Park Culture I saw a fight because two Russians had verbally mistreated a Russian woman for being with two men from one of the Asian republics. The paradox is, although there is a lot of animosity between the people of different regions, everybody wants to live in Moscow. The only way to do this is to marry a Moscovite and as one man told me out of the blue on a street corner—"The only solution is 'white marriage' and people are willing to pay a lot for it." The same goes for marrying foreigners in order to leave the Soviet Union.

What happened to that Leninist principle of reducing the inequalities between town and country?

I was sitting in the restaurant in Moscow with a friend when a "fisherman from Siberia" sat down next to us and ordered something to eat. I bought a bottle and offered him a drink to which he bought two bottles and offered me a liberal portion. "I can't drink all that, I've got to go back to the institute," I said. His answer is typical of the attitude towards women that I found constant throughout my travels in the Soviet Union. "She's there," he said pointing to my female friend, "that's her job to take you home. A man

works and drinks and a woman takes care of the house and carries her man home. It's normal, that's the Soviet way!" He did not mention that women in the Soviet Union work but as another Soviet man explained to me; "Women don't need liberation here, they were liberated with the revolution. They can all work if they want to." For these people working and bringing home a bit of bacon is the state of being liberated. Yes, it is true, women do work in the Soviet Union. And what is more is they even have specific jobs reserved "for women only". These are the services; such as restaurant waitresses (except in posh ones of course), sales people in stores, watching the escalators in the metro; they also make very good "cleaning ladies", both domestic and janitorial; of course many repetitive machine jobs as well as a particular liking for the textile industry. Needless to say there are very good Soviet style excuses for paying them less than if it were a "man's job" they were doing. What is more is that we all agree that someOne has to look after the children and a woman is made for that! (sic)

What happened to that Leninist principle of reducing the inequalities between men and woman?

Never-the-less Serge found this "socialist approach" to the services a complete failure and thinks "the services are bad and it would be much better if some things were private such as hotels, bars, stores. . . ." My suggestion that maybe they had neither a collective nor individual interest in working harder had no echo. Was that Polish vodka he has been drinking? It must be said that the services are in fact very bad in the Soviet Union. Slow-queing is the way of life and this is not due to some sort of lack as the cities are privileged (Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev at any rate) and have enough of what the Soviet consumer industry has to offer.

And what about world revolution? Everybody I spoke with supported the idea that in the United States as in most western imperialist countries there would be no revolution as everybody was rich enough to overcome class contradictions. After all if class contradictions are not antagonistic, my Ukrainian Russian teacher said after having admitted a class nature to the USSR, then following this logic it seemed normal to me that in the West they could also be of a non-antagonistic nature. And with all these non-antagonistic contradictions swimming around it is only normal to add one more: the peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries. To use Reaganomic vocabulary the USSR is not going to fight capitalism but transcend it. By now those of you Americans reading this paper should be happy to know that you will never make revolution as you have everything you need as the system you have is the best for you and that their system is the best way for them. It boils down to getting more consumer goods on the market for everybody! "We are going to have the same things you Americans have—car, dishwasher, washing machine, color T.V. . . ." These sorts of philistine attitudes were so current that one unpoliticized American with us said, "Who are they trying to fool with all this communist bullshit? There is no difference between these people and the people in my neighborhood back in the suburbs of Chicago!" My God! Consumer society! Is there a Marxist in the house?

And what about world war? Well of course as there are no contradictions worth fighting over there is very little chance that someone would be crazy enough to start one and anyway the

Soviet Union is doing everything in its power towards peace. (sic) Is it possible that I misunderstood as the word in Russian for peace and world is the same? We want . . . "World war? Are you crazy? Nobody has any interest in world war and you know the USSR is doing everything for . . ." There is no necessity for war unless China starts something, but there do seem to be some changes going on there." I did get one engineer to admit at least hypothetically that war was a possibility. He wanted to go to the west. He also wanted me to marry his sister. His attitude was that as he had neither a collective nor an individual interest in working and as he got paid just the same at the end of each month then why should he work?

"I promise you that I will never come and kill soviet workers for U.S. imperialism. Can you promise me you will never go and kill american workers?" I asked.

"Of course I can't promise you that! You can in America but here I would be shot!" he answered.

Then there is the little subject of blackmarket. The state bank gave us approximately thirteen rubles for one hundred francs while outside the institute people were offering me forty rubles for the same amount. Jeans and tennis shoes from the west were selling at three and four times their price in spite of being used. This is so wide spread that out of a group of two hundred we were two not to deal on the blackmarket and what is even more bizarre is that nobody got busted although there were militia everywhere. This economic sabotage—if we can still speak in these terms—coupled with incidents of graffiti at the institute prompted me to give a lesson in Marxism-Leninism to this group who only know the names. One of the guides and a member of the CPF told me afterwards that my exposé was not bad at all for an American. I wonder what she thought I meant by "Cultural Revolution"? One Soviet did take an interest:

"Why are you a Maoist?" he asked me.

"Difficult question, especially in Russian. To begin with I believe when

you make revolution, capitalism is not dead and the danger of going back is right there, amplified in the party and you have to struggle with the people to avoid going back down the capitalist road. That was the Cultural Revolution." At this point he interrupted me.

"We had our Cultural Revolution too when we put out Trotsky. But China never was socialist. They have always been anti-Soviet."

The logic is obvious; if you are socialist you cannot be anti-Soviet and if you are for peace you can not be anti-Soviet either and anybody they aid is just out of pure selflessness and for the betterment of humanity. And because this aid is so good and pure nobody but imperialism and its feudal lackeys oppose it and that is why it goes without saying that there are few Soviet troops in Afghanistan, there is not even a war. Only a few terrorists here and there, the rest is Sino-Western propaganda. One Soviet summed it up as follows:

"Anyway what do we have to gain from Afghanistan? It is just costing us a lot of money to build their industry. . . ."

All the arguments were like a replay of what I heard in the States concerning the United States' selfless aid to Vietnam, in the mid-sixties, just interject imperialism in the place of communism.

It would not do to dribble on and on. I could teach you in five short lessons how to depoliticize Lenin or tell you about my nice baby Lenin button. A blond angel's head on a red star—Lenin as a child. I could tell you about this terrible disco bull shit Soviet artists are paid to produce in order to show people that in the USSR they have everything the West has but only cheaper. And I would need pages to go over all the work Marxist-Leninists have to do there (wherever they are hiding). I do think the following anecdote gives a good idea on just how much Socialism one can catch on to after a month in the USSR.

On the bus to the airport at Kiev I said in a very mocking manner; "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work in order to attain from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs." A French student said, "Oh, that's good. Did you just make that up?" □

IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V.I. Lenin



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Pre-War

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showdown becomes more imminent. This much is certain. But this recent round bears deeper examination, and there are many important lessons contained in it. At first it may appear that Reagan's latest speech represented somewhat of a turnaround from the previous months of cowboy posturing by Reagan, Alexander Haig, and Defense Secretary Weinberger. Perhaps they were swayed by the reaction in Europe to their nuclear blustering about dropping a bomb "for demonstrative purposes" and talking about waging a nuclear war limited to Europe? Perhaps they had been convinced that this stuff is just too far out? This is not the case. It now has actually become much clearer what the purpose of those statements was, and that they were only one part of a bigger and more systematic plan to attempt to head off some of the advances that the Soviets have been making in Western Europe — and to force greater unity within the U.S.' own bloc. Both Reagan's recent speech and those earlier remarks are in fact two sides of the same strategy, each with a specific intent.

First of all, it must be recognized that the Soviets and the U.S. are approaching the situation in Western Europe from different sides, so to speak, and with different strengths and weaknesses. The countries in Western Europe are part of the U.S. bloc which is, of course, part of the strength of U.S. imperialism in the world. But at the same time this presents it with real troubles, since the Western European imperialists are just that — imperialists — and have their own very real contradictions with the holder of their nuclear umbrella. Unity is sorely needed in the U.S. bloc in the face of the Soviet challenge, and any splits and confidations take on magnified importance and could have disastrous ramifications. The Soviets are more in the position of trying to deepen these splits and drive wedges to the greatest possible degree, and in a certain way have less to lose in the short run (though they could suffer a severe setback in Western Europe if they moved now into Poland). This is why the Soviets actually can afford to cynically talk more about peace and disarmament in Western Europe (of course, in other parts of the world it's a different story altogether) and work to encourage the anti-war movement there (within certain limits). The U.S. is actually much more nervous about "spreading neutralism" and "unilateralism." There were frequent admonitions in Reagan's latest speech to those who "propose unilateral disarmament," and a big emphasis on "arms and alliance." It also seems that the U.S. is more leery right now of holding SALT or START talks (as Reagan dubbed them) than the Soviets; as Reagan said in regard to these talks, "substance is more important than timing." This bears some looking into. But the point here is that the U.S. finds itself right now in the position of more

trying to stave off "neutralism" (the term used by the U.S. to refer to the trend among some parts of the Western European bourgeoisies to seek a greater degree of freedom within the U.S. bloc and to attempt to hold open some options vis à vis the Soviets) of sections of the Western European ruling classes and the growing anti-war movement, whereas the Soviets wish more to encourage it. So what the U.S. has been trying to do these past months is to undercut these developments and take the wind out of the Soviets' attempts to use them to their own advantage.

With the open and public threats of a nuclear war limited to Europe and so forth, the purpose of the U.S. was to throw fear into the hearts of those among the European bourgeoisies, especially in West Germany, who want some freedom to dicker with the Soviets, and to whip them into line. Reagan is cast perfectly for this part, cowboy image and all. The U.S. bourgeoisie knew very well that this would cause a stir when they did it. But they also knew that other more "reasonable" tactics would have to be employed, too. Presto! Reagan comes out in a slightly different role with a slightly modified script: that of the "sober custodian" of the "arsenal of democracy." Here the purpose was to head off the Soviets at the pass in light of the fact that they were preparing to offer some "peace initiatives" of their own, particularly during Brezhnev's upcoming meetings with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in West Germany and at the U.S.-Soviet talks on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, scheduled for November 30 in Geneva. The timing of Reagan's speech was clearly geared to this end. In addition, the U.S. is trying to give some much-sought-after ammunition to its staunch supporters among the West European bourgeoisies in their efforts to back off more "neutralist" elements among their colleagues, and blunt the spread of anti-war sentiments among some sections of the masses (the more vacillating elements) to the degree possible.

Among staunch pro-U.S. leaders in Europe like Helmut Schmidt and Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Reagan's proposal was greeted with great relief. Schmidt in particular is fighting for his political life right now and had been begging the U.S. to throw him some kind of rope for some time, and he gratefully declared: "The President shows a specific consideration for the political, strategic and even psychological needs of Europe. Everything in my eyes is a statement of what we Germans had to ask for or would have wished." Just how far this latest ploy will get Mr. Schmidt and the U.S. remains to be seen, but the intent behind all these maneuverings is clear. Certainly it will have little significant effect in halting the anti-war movement among the masses, but the U.S. had no hope of accomplishing this. It is more a question of slowing its spread among certain more middle sections of the population, and helping to put a damper on the efforts of the Soviets to take advantage of the political ferment that exists in Western Europe. It should also be pointed out that the Soviets don't exactly have

all the freedom in the world to do this. They have their own problems of this sort within their own bloc, and certainly fear the spread of the turmoil in Western Europe. For example, West Berlin, the major hot bed of the anti-war movement in West Germany, sits right in the middle of East Germany.

Trouble Under the Nuclear Umbrella

There is a deeper level to these maneuvers. How these superpower thrusts and parries turn out has everything to do with how the war shapes up, for they are concerned with the strength and unity of the U.S. bloc, and particularly of West Germany's role and stability within this bloc. It is not at this point a question of West Germany, for example, leaving the bloc. Like the other members of the alliance, it shares that common enemy, the Soviet bloc, which is its reason for being in the U.S. bloc in the first place. And, even more so than other members, West Germany is dependent on the U.S. nuclear "umbrella." But within the context of a military war bloc, there are many possible degrees of unity, and many possible relationships among its members, which have important ramifications, especially for the superpowers.

To take a not-so-hypothetical example: In pursuit of its own imperialist interests, West Germany may balk at a certain policy pushed by the U.S. What difference would it make, for instance, if West Germany refused to take the U.S. missiles which are now the subject of controversy, or more likely, if there were increasing foot-dragging and dissonance over their installation?

The U.S. badly needs to deploy the Pershing and Cruise missiles, not just to give itself added missile power, but in order to gain the military flexibility it needs to fight the war it plans to fight. The U.S. plans, insofar as possible, to fight the Soviets in Europe; to be avoided above all (if it can be helped) is an intercontinental exchange of missiles with the Soviets across the north pole. Right now, U.S. missiles in Europe are almost exclusively short-range "theatre nuclear weapons" for use on the battlefield. These are well stocked; West German Chancellor Schmidt pointed out this week that there are as many nuclear warheads in West Germany alone as there are in the U.S. But the U.S. needs the added flexibility of the Pershing II missiles, which can reach into the USSR itself in a very short time, thus giving the U.S. the ability to launch a surprise attack. The war which the imperialists are planning for will not be a matter of "pushing the button," followed by an hour's apocalypse. It will develop in stages, as the superpower-headed blocs test each other out, probe for weaknesses, get an early advantage and push it to the limit, exacerbate the other's weaknesses, etc. For this they need the greatest possible flexibility and range of military options and responses.

Besides the military necessities involved, however, there are also extremely important political aspects. While the U.S. has every intention of deploying the missiles, there are questions such as under what political conditions they may be able to do so. An

official at a U.S. think tank, commenting on Reagan's speech and the recent developments, stated that if West Germany were to refuse to accept the missiles, it would prove that country to be a "questionable ally." This is essentially a threat aimed at the West German ruling class, especially the "neutralist" elements in it. The U.S. is threatening to hold the alliance together by any means necessary, and within this, announcing its intention to deploy its missiles come what may. However, "together" is a relative term. If the U.S. can deploy the missiles only at the cost of vastly increased popular opposition, more serious splits within the bourgeoisie, etc., then this will mean a greater disunity in the bloc and an added weakness for the U.S., and will have some effect on the waging and outcome of the war.

Ostpolitik, Foot-Dragging, and Dreams of a Greater Germany

Contradictions within the U.S. bloc — even though the basic contradiction is with the Soviets — are real and have serious consequences, especially for the U.S. But what is the substance of such contradictions?

Most obviously, West Germany does not want to be a "nuclear sponge," soaking up Soviet missiles. This is the focus of much of the furor in the country currently. Of course the West German bourgeoisie does not want to see the devastation of the country they rule. But it is not just a matter of wanting to hold on to a particular piece of real estate, so to speak. More essentially, the point is that such devastation would mean the impossibility of West Germany's realizing its imperialist ambitions.

All of the imperialists need a new division of the world, a redivision which can only be brought about by war. But they don't all want the same redivision. The long-term interests of West German imperialism, for instance, the direction in which it is driven by its own inner contradictions, lie in a reunification with East Germany and gaining a powerful hegemonic position within Europe. This is never explicitly admitted, of course, but this drive underlies much of the debate and struggle within the West German ruling class, serving as a common framework for disparate positions. A perceptive article on "The German Malaise" in the *New York Times Magazine* (11/15/81) makes the point in the following terms: "No rightist admits that he is working toward making Germany into a reunified nation of nearly 80 million, the dominant force between the United States and the Soviet Union. No leftist stands up and dares to raise the ultimate question involved in his vision of a reunited 'socialist' Germany — whether it would become a new China on the Soviet Union's western front. And no critic of Germany's current role in NATO tells the Danes, the Belgians and the Dutch that his neutralism really means moving the line of NATO defense against the Soviet Union westward to their borders." Of course, "greater Germany" is not a realizable goal in the immediate future and may very well not be realizable for the West German imperialists through war, but it is this dynamic that underlies what they are able to do, and it is the imperialist aims of West Germany which drive it into contradiction with the superpowers and with the other European imperialists. And the point is that whether or not West German imperialist aims can be realized in the best of cases, they will almost certainly be unrealizable if West Germany absorbs the first main blows of a nuclear war.

The forces among the West German rulers try to balk, to drag their feet in the face of U.S. pressure to tighten up the alliance — and this is a matter of life and death for them. Of course they cannot accomplish their aims by foot-dragging; the point is they balk in order to keep their options as open as they can. Relatedly, this also serves their more immediate interests as well. Through the 1970s, these interests have been closely tied to *detente*, and to West Germany's own *ostpolitik* ("politics of the east" — a general name for the country's *detente* with the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, launched in 1969). Although the U.S. encouraged this policy at the time, it was also a means for West Germany to assert greater inde-

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CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT "HISTORIC COMPROMISE"

The Real Story of the Allende Years

by Jorge Palacios

The first book to tell the real story behind the U.S. engineered military coup in 1973. Palacios, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, poses the crucial question of why—in a country with such a powerful mass movement—the reactionaries were able to deal the people such a swift and stunning defeat. His hard-hitting account nails the treachery of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, with its efforts to form a coalition government with the U.S.-backed Christian Democrats—the so-called "historic compromise," a strategy devised in Moscow and followed by the French and Italian CP's as well. An incisive analysis of the revolutionary and anti-junta forces in Chile today. A book of far-reaching significance.

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Richard Bangert, Alan Kandel

Revolutionaries Jailed for Flag Burning

St. Louis—On October 19, two revolutionaries who were convicted last year on misdemeanor charges of theft and destruction of government property reported to U.S. Marshalls to begin serving sentences of eighteen months and one year. The charges stemmed from a series of events that unfolded in St. Louis on Nov. 27, 1979 in the midst of a nationwide wave of chauvinism—flag fever—after the seizure of the CIA embassy spy-den in Tehran. That morning, in the swirl of debate surrounding the “hostage crisis,” a contingent of Vietnam veterans lowered the U.S. flag from the Federal Building and raised in its place a banner reading, “U.S. Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!” Later the same day at a demonstration at Washington University upholding the embassy seizure, Richard

Bangert and Alan Kandel burned a huge 18-foot American flag in solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people—a powerful internationalist statement which had an electrifying impact far and wide.

What followed was a frantic attempt by the authorities to smother the message of this action by indicting Bangert and Kandel on criminal charges instead of the political charge of flag-burning. But throughout the kangaroo trial, the subsequent harassment of the defendants and the denial of their appeals, all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court, this thinly concealed ploy has been sharply exposed for what it is—precisely a blatant railroad under the guise of prosecution for what one local FBI agent hovering about the trial cynically termed “a simple case of theft and de-

struction of government property.” Nevertheless, while the defendants openly admitted burning an American flag, the government never was able to actually prove its “simple case” that the charged remains were in fact federal property. Government witnesses who claimed they saw “a bearded, white male” steal the flag from the Federal Building miraculously picked Bangert out of several lineups that included no other persons with beards, etc., etc. The state’s machinations while the case was on appeal included, among other things, Kandel’s unsupervised bond being changed to \$15,000 cash bail because the judge screeched that he had heard “third or fourth hand” that Kandel had plans to “escape the country.”

The political essence of this case was made abundantly clear when the judge,

in leveling the outrageous sentences, declared, “I find no remorse in these men.” Indeed, in the nearly two years since the trial the two revolutionaries have made clear that they are not in the least apologetic for standing firmly with the international proletariat and the oppressed people of the world. They continued to make this position known even as the press followed them into the Marshall’s Office when they surrendered to the authorities. Alan Kandel is now serving time at the Leavenworth prison camp, and Rich Bangert is being held for two weeks in the maximum security lockup at Leavenworth prison, though he has been classified as a minimum-security prisoner. □

Pre-War

Continued from page 16

pendence during a time of relative U.S. retrenchment and weakness. A recent article in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1981), an important U.S. imperialist sounding board, summed up:

“Among all European countries, West Germany is certainly the one which is — given its partition and its location on the borders of the Soviet empire — the most committed to detente. It is also the one which has benefited most from what have been called the ‘dividends’ of detente. Ostpolitik ... turned the Federal Republic into the center of gravity of East-West relations in Europe. In the process, the United States (and, to a lesser degree, France) in many respects lost the initiative in dealings with the East. The Soviets in turn won a precious ‘advocate’ within NATO as well as a means to push forward their policy of decoupling ‘European detente’ from U.S.-Soviet relations. For the Germans, the ‘divi-

dends’ of detente were clearly translated into ... economic benefits (the Federal Republic alone represents about 45 to 50 percent of Western trade with the East). Detente has also allowed Germany to enjoy more freedom of maneuver diplomatically and to assert its own independence and interests against the United States.”

However, another cornerstone of West German policy has been its dependence on the U.S. nuclear umbrella for defense. The West German bourgeoisie has wanted this “umbrella” — and in fact, only two years ago, they seemed united on seeking the deployment of the Pershing and Cruise missiles there. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, their worry was that the U.S. would not risk a nuclear war in order to defend them from the Soviets, and these missiles were supposed to be a guarantee that the U.S. would defend them, even at such a risk. Now, however, the question for these imperialists is not whether the U.S. will take on the Soviets, but how West German interests can best be served in the context of such a war. At any rate, their dependence on this umbrella gives the U.S. a good deal of leverage as

it moves to tighten up its military bloc. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, as the price of a continuation of the “dividends of detente,” pressures West Germany to resist this leverage.

In this situation, sections of the West German bourgeoisie have actively worked within the movement against U.S. missiles — both to put pressure on the U.S. in the matter of war preparations and to create public opinion for German patriotism and defense of the fatherland. (See *RW* 10/30/81, p. 4.) Some have promoted discussion of “an alternative security policy” for West Germany—an alternative, that is, to being tied so closely to the U.S. Other sections have opposed this and pushed for more cooperation with the U.S., feeling that their best path is to more firmly pursue their interests through the U.S. military alliance.

It is in the face of these kinds of contradictions that the recent superpower “peace” offensives and counteroffensives are of vital importance to their war preparations. Victories or defeats on this front could make a real difference for each when it comes down to the real deal, and the stakes are indeed

high. Each superpower is trying to affect the political situation in Western Europe in its favor to the greatest possible degree, and the U.S. in particular is desperately trying to get a grip on the sharpening contradictions within its bloc. In their attempts to do this they are forced to employ the kind of alternate posturing and leaning exemplified by the threats of nuclear demonstration blasts, etc., and the more “reasonable” tactics like Reagan’s so-called arms reduction address. Such “peace” initiatives can only be seen as an integral part of the imperialists’ war maneuvering. In fact, at some point in the future the threats of nuclear demonstration blasts may indeed turn into the real thing, in which case the threat would most likely not only be aimed at the USSR but just as much at the foot-draggers among the U.S. allies. In fact, this recent superpower talk of disarmament parleys and the like springs from the accelerated pace of events leading to world war, for they are necessitated by deepening inter-imperialist contradictions, both between and within the East and West war blocs — contradictions that can only be resolved through going to war. □

Gateway

Continued from page 5

U.S. National Guard) cleared the villagers out and began tearing down the buildings and constructing a 15-foot-high concrete wall topped by barbed wire to supplement the concertina wire barricade they had already set up around the runway site. In the next few hours a struggle erupted far beyond anything that had been seen in connection with the Startbahn to that point.

Within hours, 10,000 people had gathered in the woods. The various local hack politicians and misleaders were blasted aside (at least for the time being), and the righteous anger of the masses burst forth. The cops were showered with rocks, bottles, sticks, stones and anything else that could be found. They struck back with water cannons, tear gas and baton charges into the crowd. The fighting in the woods raged into the night.

But the action in the woods was only half of their problem—at the same time, 4,000 people stormed the main train station in downtown Frankfurt (the busiest in West Germany) and occupied it for two hours, halting all train traffic until the cops could force them out with more water cannons with CS gas mixed into the water. The gloves were off all the way around and the fighting in the city went on through the night as well, with the cops being as vicious as possible in an effort to teach people a lesson for disrupting the established property relations.

Dawn the next day saw a very intense calm over Frankfurt. Both sides regrouped. A police cordon was placed around the main train station, and only those with tickets were allowed in. At the village site, demolition continued. By evening large crowds again gathered, and four to five thousand tried to storm the station once again. Police were able to keep them out of the station, but in the area around the station and the city’s high fashion shopping and banking district, fighting raged into the night. Seven miles west of downtown, over a thousand demonstrators battled police at the runway site for a second night. Support demonstrations were held in at least seven other cities from Hamburg in the north to Tuebingen in the south. The following Saturday a demonstration was held in Frankfurt against the Startbahn that drew 30,000 people from all over West Germany. The demonstration marched to the main radio station for the area around Frankfurt (all radio and TV in West Germany is directly run by the government) and surrounded the building to protest the coverage being given the anti-Startbahn West struggle. All this set the stage for the latest outbreak of struggle in Wiesbaden and Frankfurt.

In the course of this battle, especially the most recent mass demonstrations, the West German government has stood increasingly exposed, both in its determination to build this important link in the U.S. bloc war plans and in the viciousness with which it has come down on those who oppose it. Willy Brandt himself, the head of the ruling Social-Democratic Party in West Germany,

was dispatched to attend an emergency meeting of the Hessen state cabinet to insure that they would hold firm in the decision to build the Startbahn West. And opposition to the project is broadening and more and more being linked up with the broad anti-war movement in West Germany which, despite fever-

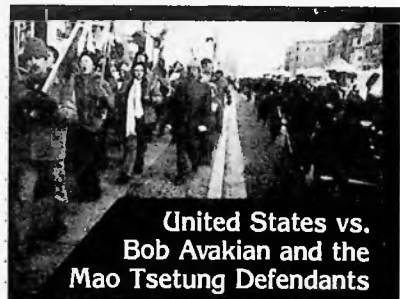
ish efforts of the bourgeoisie to scramble to the head of it and use it for their own political ends vis à vis their imperialist rivals, continues to be the cause of tremendous and increasing political problems for the West German imperialists—problems that go very very deep. □

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United States vs. Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

The picture of crime on the cover of this new brochure is not the picture of a courtroom trial. It is the picture of a group of people in a courtroom setting, some of whom are the defendants in the case. The picture is a black and white photograph of a group of people in a courtroom setting. Some of the people are wearing suits and ties, while others are wearing more casual clothing. They are standing in a line, and some are looking towards the camera. The background is a plain wall with a window.

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Krome

Continued from page 14

the camp there are Colombians, Jamaicans and Cubans. These other nationalities were our friends. They said to us, Haitians and themselves have the same problem and if we were in something they will be in it too. When we put up the bedsheet, the immigration officers started throwing teargas to chase us. The refugees started running and some of them jumped the fence and fled, others got hurt, etc. When we saw that, me and my friends called the news media, we called Channel 2 and 7. When the media came we started to demonstrate to show them how we are being treated. Now the immigration officers got furious around 2 p.m. They came with their clubs and handcuffs and they started to beat us up indiscriminately. After that beating they handcuffed us and sent us to FCI Federal Correctional Institute in Miami. They took the three of us who speak English and they told us we were the ones who were disturbing the peace.

Q: I heard there was a fight with the guards. Can you explain what actually happened?

A: We didn't start any fight with the guards. On the contrary, it was the guards who came in where we were and started breaking chairs on us. There was a young refugee. The guard hit him with a chair on his head and blood just pumped out and they do that every night. One day a woman was sick. She had a stomach ache. She was sitting at the corner. The guard called her and she told him she couldn't get up because she had a stomach ache. He came and grabbed the woman by her chest. The woman pushed him. Then he kicked the woman under her belly very hard and she vomited blood. They had to rush her to the hospital. We protested against that act and they promised that they were going to get rid of that guard. But every night at 12 o'clock he is working in the camp. There is another guard who beat one of our friends, X, he beat X so bad he broke his lips, knocked him down on the floor and kicked him in his chest. We protested again and they promised us that they would fire the guard, but like the first guard every night this guard works in the camp. This guard beat up X for nothing. He beat him up because he was talking on the phone. He came and pulled the phone from X, slapped him in the face.

Q: Is there any difference between the immigration and the Ton Ton Macoutes?

A: Yes there is. The immigration officers are worse than the Ton Ton Macoutes. Because on September 3rd after the protest, they took us, beat us up and sent us to FCI. When we got to FCI they told us we were the ones who were disturbing the peace. They took me to translate for the other refugees. After that they came and took X first, then they took me. They handcuffed all three of us. And they took me to a room. When I got in the room a man held me in the back and the others started to punch me in my head. After the first blow I yelled, but he continued to hit me. I think I received more than 12 blows on my head. They were hitting even though I still had the handcuffs on my wrists and the other one was holding my back. After he finished with my head, he hit me with a series of punches in the chest. After that I fell and while I was on the floor he kicked me three times. Then he took my friend X and started beating him. He gave him a hard kick. The kick was so hard that X fell on the floor. While he was on the floor these guys were kicking him all over his face. And as a consequence his face was all broken. After that they took X to another room and beat him up unmercifully. When they finished with us blood was all over our bodies. The next day they took us back to Krome at 1 a.m. When we got back to Krome an officer told me he was going to send us someplace where you will never see Miami, Florida again. I'm going to send you someplace and you're going to be there eternally.

When we got back to Krome the place was calm. Nobody said nothing because there's a proverb that says "When the beard of your comrade catches fire, you'd better watch out for yours." Immigration knew what they were doing. They took all of us who were active and sent us here. Out of 120 of us in Otisville there are 8 of us that they make life very hard for. They blame us for everything. When I got to Otisville, they released my son and X. When I asked them to release me so I could be with my son they told me that they've "learned" that the kid is not my son. They told me that I have to show them the birth certificate of my son, the death certificate of my wife and the marriage license in order for them to release me. When they first told me that I told them the government doesn't have any right to ask me that since they don't ask the other refugees who have children to give them any proof. Why are they asking me that? I'm going to wait for the judge when he asks me that again and I'm going to tell him that, if he knows whether his children are his. If they're his or not his. Mine are mine.

Q: How are the conditions where you're at now?

A: I can't even describe the conditions here. It's worse for me. They lock me up in solitary confinement for nothing. A couple of days ago, they locked me up for 10 days. I did not even do anything. I'd been in there for only 2 months but they've already locked me up twice. The first time they put me in solitary confinement was the first day I got in Otisville. The second time I was in there for 10 days, I protested again—I didn't eat at all. I protested because I didn't do anything at all. All I did was to separate two guys who were fighting. I told them to stop. They didn't want to. I called an officer and asked him to separate them. But instead of separating the guys he went to get the other officer and told them I was the one instigating the fight and they took me and X. They put us into solitary confinement. We stayed in there for 10 days. While they only take one of the two guys who are fighting and he only stayed in there for 6 days. Because I did not eat at all for the 10 days I was in there, when I got out I was very weak. I was so weak that I tried to read the newspaper and I could not hold it in my hand. I was all shaking. My friend had to hold it for me to read it. Since I got in Otisville they put me under surveillance for 24 hours each day. If I went to the bathroom they sent somebody after me. Everything I'm doing somebody is watching me. Even when I'm sleeping somebody is looking after me. I can't even talk to anybody. Whenever I'm talking to someone the officer warned me whatever that person does I'm going to be responsible.

Sometimes all we get are potatoes and boiled carrots. Even though the menu says that we are going to, they are going to serve chickens, all we get is leftovers, since the American prisoners ate before us.

U.S. Responsible for Haitian Dictatorship

Q: Who is responsible for the problems you and the other refugees have?

A: The Americans are responsible since they are the ones who hold Jean-Claude Duvalier in power. Now let's go into history to prove what I'm saying. In 1915 the Americans occupied Haiti. The first symbol of their occupation was Hasco (Haitian American Sugar Company—RH). The Americans occupied us so that they could exploit the wealth of the country. It was with their occupation that the price of our sugar started to decrease. Now the American government is treating me like a dog. He's putting me in jail. But at the same time Hasco is exploiting my land.

Q: What do you mean your land?

A: I mean my family's land. Land that my grandfather left for my family. Hasco is exploiting that land but they never paid us one penny. They, Hasco and the Haitian government confiscated our land and we can't even say anything. Now I left my country and I come to the U.S. who stole my land and they put me in jail telling me I'm an economic refugee. Now if I'm an

economic refugee the American government is responsible for that. In 1915 when they came they didn't only steal our land they also stole our bauxite and other minerals. The Americans stayed in our country for 19 years terrorizing our citizens. In 1934 they moved the army but the occupation did not stop. They continued occupying mentally our country in 1946. In 1946 Estime became president. He established a popular democracy in the country. Reynolds Mining, the American company who was exploiting our bauxite, wanted to buy the bauxite for \$1.62 for a barrel. But Estime didn't want to sell it to them. He told them he was going to sell it for that price only if they refined it in Haiti. In 1950, Magloire signed the contract. But it was a contract that was in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

After the Cuban revolution in 1959, the Americans didn't want any more revolution in the area. They sent their troops to the Haitian-Dominican border to stop any revolution. At this time, Papa Doc Duvalier was not a dictator yet, but the Americans provided him with all the help and surveillance necessary. Then in 1964, Duvalier proclaimed himself president for life. Who came to inaugurate Duvalier president for life? It was the American ambassador. (Later Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier followed in his father's footsteps and declared himself president for life.—RH) And it's for that reason the American government has no right to speak bad about Jean-Claude because it was Ambassador Knox who put Jean-Claude where he is now as president for life. It was the same Knox who forced Col. Cayard to flee in 1970. In this case if we said Duvalier is responsible for the misery of the Haitian people the American government who is supporting Duvalier have double responsibility in our misery as a people.

The American government is against all revolution in the Caribbean. They're against all revolution in Haiti. As a proof last year they sent General Schweitzer to Haiti and the Dominican Republic to sign an accord between Jean-Claude and Guzman. The purpose of this accord is to stop all revolution in Haiti. Now it's the Dominican army who are training the Haitian army. Now we all know that the Haitian army is very weak and they can't even fight a 10 minute war with even the Dominican army. Now I would like to know who the Haitian army is going to fight against? We all know they can't fight anyone but the Haitian people so the Duvalier dictatorship can continue.

Now we can take El Salvador as an example. We saw clearly how the American government is behaving, how they want to stop all revolution. This is why I say the American government is

responsible for our misery since they told us they don't want us to make revolution and they don't want us to flee tyranny and since I feel that the American government is the one that is supporting the dictator in my country they are the ones who owe us political asylum.

Now the government is yelling about 2,000 Haitians. They should not even complain because by this time there should be 3 million Haitians in Florida. After all these experiences I have now all I want to do is first help my son. Then help my brothers so they can see clearer, so they wouldn't be scared of the big white dogs or the American government. I would like for them to know it's true we are small dogs but we would not be afraid of that big white dog. If that big white dog interferes in our affairs we should bite him. I think the conditions of the Haitian people could change if we get rid of Duvalier. But we have to be careful, because we could get rid of Duvalier and get another Duvalier with a different name. In order for us not to get another Duvalier, we have to abolish the concept of president in our constitution and make it more democratic—that is, replaced by a house and a senate, then a cabinet. We have to get rid of all those ministers because a poor country like Haiti should not have all those ministers. If you have all those ministers, you're going to have a bunch of thieves. We have to abolish collecting taxes or instead of collecting taxes to buy arms from the U.S., build free schools with that money and build some industries. We also have to develop our agriculture and make the country profit from it.

In fact I would like my country to be independent of the Americans and everybody else because right now all we produce we lose it. We lost our coffee, our bauxite and everything. Now all the country is eroded, most of the land is arid. Still I think we can make it fertile, because if they could make the desert of Arabia grow food why can't we do that in Haiti? I think Haiti is not going to change overnight. It's going to take a long time before Haiti can stand on its two feet.

I would like to tell the American people that even though we are Haitians we have a culture, we are human. But all of us whatever color we are we are all brothers. Now while the Haitians are in a process of being exterminated, I'm going to ask the American people to support our struggle. I would ask them to take the Haitian cause like it was their own so they could defend us against the abuses of the American government. Now we have no power in front of the government but with their support we could be strong. □



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and French.

A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement."

Grand Jury's

Continued from page 1

almost immediately served with the grand jury subpoena and ordered to appear and answer questions on November 16th. At a judicial hearing on the 16th, Sulani's attorneys filed motions appealing the order to testify, and the grand jury proceedings were postponed to November 30. For refusal to cooperate with the grand jury, Sulani faces an indefinite jail term stretching "for the life of the grand jury"—which normally runs as long as 18 months.

Sulani's husband, Bilal, a musician, formerly with Gil Scott-Heron's band, is still the subject of a manhunt on the same phony "conspiracy" charges the government has already been forced to drop in Sulani's case.

Other subpoenas are expected from the grand jury. Lawyers working on the case told the *Revolutionary Worker* that it appears evident that the main, if not the sole purpose of organizing this type of grand jury "investigation," is to make use of the law which provides for incarceration of anyone who refuses to "cooperate." The aim of the government is to either break the witnesses or lock them up—without having to go to the bother of proving them guilty of any crime, without the formality of a trial, and without the political exposure that such trials threaten to bring to light.

A Telling History

The recent intensification of what amounts to a government war against revolutionary organizations is clearly focusing in right now on the revolutionary nationalist trend.

The chief targets of the new grand jury assault have in fact been subjected to sharp and often violent attacks throughout their history.

The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was founded in 1968. In 1969, Detroit police fired over 800 rounds of ammunition into a church where hundreds of men, women and children were gathered for an RNA conference. Several people were wounded by gunfire, others were beaten and all were arrested.

In 1971, FBI agents and Jackson, Mississippi police attacked the RNA Provisional Government headquarters with a force of over 60 men armed with shotguns, revolvers, teargas rockets and other weapons. Eleven RNA officers were arrested and sentenced to long jail terms after an armed assault by the FBI and police against the headquarters. The head of the Jackson Red Squad died of gunshot wounds during the incident.

The RNA was a key target of the FBI COINTELPRO operations of the '60s and '70s. Through Freedom of Information Act requests, the RNA has discovered that 70,000 pages of FBI surveillance files exist on RNA members and activities, and "evidence of attempted bribery, illegal surveillance, sabotage, mail tampering, incitement, entrapment, provocateuring, frame-ups and intimidation were and still are parts of the United States arsenal," according to a recent article by Chokwe Lumumba in the *Black Scholar*. The FALN and other Puerto Rican nationalist organizations have also come under sharp and unremitting attacks. The FBI stated in 1976 that "Puerto Rican nationalist groups are at this time among the highest priorities" of the agency. The FALN has been the chief target of the joint FBI-NYPD terrorist Task Force since its formation several years ago.

In an officially "separate" but politically quite closely connected proceeding, a standing grand jury in Brooklyn, New York has already issued four subpoenas to revolutionary Puerto Rican and Chicano activists as part of a so-called "investigation of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement."

The four are supporters of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), an organization which includes both Puerto Rican nationalists and Chicano militants in its membership. On Octo-

ber 8th, Andres Rosado received a subpoena and was ordered to appear on November 18th before a federal grand jury to answer questions. His brother, Julio, was subpoenaed the next week. On October 22nd, Ricardo Romero, a Chicano activist who lives in Alamosa, Colorado was also subpoenaed. Most recently, Steven Guerra was served with a subpoena. The subpoenas include demands for "physical evidence"—special detailed fingerprints, hair samples, etc.—as well as testimony.

The grand jury in this case claims to be investigating the circumstances of an explosion that took place in Queens County, New York, in 1978, and the whereabouts of escaped prisoner William Morales. But all four of the subpoenaed witnesses have already been hauled before a previous grand jury investigating exactly the same thing, and have already served long terms in jail for refusing to collaborate.

Numerous other Puerto Rican and Chicano militants have also been thrown in jail over the past several years for refusal to testify at grand juries in Chicago and Puerto Rico. At an open judicial hearing on November 18th, Defense Attorney Michael Deutsch moved that the prosecution be directed to order an inter-agency search to determine if the government had illegally employed wiretaps in building its case for presentation to the grand jury. The government attorney jumped up and raged, "Your honor, this man makes this motion in every courtroom he's in"—thus broadly implying that Deutsch was guilty of the same sort of "political theatrics" which were cited in the court order barring RNA attorney Chokwe Lumumba from defending his clients. Deutsch flung back, "I have been forced to make this motion on many occasions because experience shows that the government has systematically resorted to illegal wiretapping against political targets." Deutsch charged that the "sole purpose" of the grand jury was that of "political harassment and suppression." The prosecution bragged that the grand jury system "had proven its value" recently in Chicago, when one person subpoenaed, after having been incarcerated for a lengthy period, "finally decided to cooperate and tell the grand jury what it wished to know." Deutsch brought out into open court the fact that "the coercive effect of the grand jury system does not apparently stop with simple imprisonment... but continues in prison with the use of behavior modification and even possible torture in an attempt to force prisoners to abandon their fundamental principles... the fact that the government may have been successful in the one instance cited by the prosecution, however, means nothing in the present case.... These men have already once been incarcerated for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury, and they have firmly indicated that their principles stand unchanged.... The government can hope to gain nothing from these proceedings except to try to suppress political activity."

The judge, in responding to Deutsch's remarks about the possibility of "behavior modification and torture" applied in the Chicago case, smiled and said, "I don't know anything about all that, Mr. Deutsch. Maybe he just didn't want to stay in jail." This disgusting attempt by the court to use the example of someone who turned state's witness to both intimidate and entice others to capitulate is a very old trick indeed. And it should be pointed out that while the authorities certainly do use torture to try to wring confessions out of people, there are many examples in the prisons here and around the world where people have died rather than capitulate; and furthermore, those who do capitulate only serve to underline the resistance and determination of people who refuse to recant their political principles.

Pending "disposition" of the defense motion, the grand jury hearings have been postponed until December 16th. The subpoenaed "witnesses," who have already stated categorically that they will not cooperate, face up to ten months in jail for refusal.

Strategy of Silence

While the press accorded heavy publicity to the handing down of murder and armed robbery indictments against

the defendants in the Nyack case November 19, a heavy blanket of press secrecy has surrounded the grand jury hearings. That Sulani Sunni Ali, whose arrest was the subject of glaring press publicity, should be subpoenaed by a grand jury within days of her release, has not been deemed worthy of notice by the media. Her court appearance on November 16 went unreported. In the case of both grand juries, the government is seeking to imprison these revolutionary nationalists without even going through the motions of convicting them of a crime—other than "contempt of court"—or giving them a trial. In grand jury proceedings, so-called "witnesses" have no rights; their attorneys are not even allowed to be present unless special reasons can be proved.

While on the one hand, the government attempts to rationalize its overt and covert assaults with charges of "racketeering," or claims that it is after only a "tiny band of terrorists," it is quite evident that the bourgeoisie is deeply afraid of the revolutionary currents among the oppressed nationalities within this country. The grand jury investigation now underway clearly reveals the political aims of the government, for the terms of the "grand jury game" are deadly serious and political to the bone: either capitulate to your masters and renounce your political allegiances by informing on your organization, or go to jail—with what can happen to resisters once they are locked up left, of course, "unspeakable" and "unknown" to the judge who signs the incarceration order. In 1981, a federal grand jury in Evanston, Illinois, cited 11 Puerto Rican nationalists for contempt and sentenced them all to jail; but no indictments or findings of "criminal activity" by the grand jury were ever handed down.

This technique for conducting what amounts to a political roundup is, of course, rather blatant; and those who are courageously resisting the government's vicious efforts at coercion and repression can become dangerous political symbols of resistance and rebellion in the eyes of broad sections of the masses. This is one reason that the bourgeoisie has thus far done its utmost to bury the fact that these proceedings are taking place, and will in all likelihood be expanded in the near future.

The ruling class is also continuing to take measures to suppress and "scare off" sympathetic lawyers who are willing to defend those subjected to the government's counter-revolutionary attacks. An attorney active in Sulani Sunni Ali's case told the *Revolutionary Worker* that the court order banning Chokwe Lumumba from appearing in court to represent RNA defendants because of his political beliefs is the first such order ever known to have been handed down. It may well be followed by others, but already the government has put out the word: the right of lawyers to pursue their profession can hinge quite explicitly on their political conduct in the courtroom. As we noted above, the government lawyer at the open hearing on the grand jury investigation of the Puerto Rican nationalist groups made a special point of attacking defense attorney Michael Deutsch's "frivolous" attempts to gain information on illegal wiretaps, which he "always" makes "whenever he shows up in court." But that open hearing itself provided an example of why the government is interested in cracking down on political lawyers while they rig up these grand juries in a shroud of silence, as Deutsch repeatedly sought to expose the political aims of the government and move the terrain of battle beyond the charade of legal objectivity which the judge and prosecutor were striving to keep intact.

But the broadening and intensifying attacks by the bourgeoisie at this juncture reveal not one, but two sides of the picture. On the one hand, yes, they do hold state power, and they do have armies of police and troops and agents and a whole system of courts and prisons to enforce their will, and they are continuing to provide ample material to learn about the nature and methods of the enemy. On the other hand, as they plunge headlong into their gravest crisis and into a global imperialist war, they are obviously quite concerned about their ability to hold onto that state power in the future. We pointed out in our Oc-

tober 30 article "On the Political Aims of the Political Police" that revolutionary nationalism is a powerful ally of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend. The increasing frenzy with which the ruling class is now lashing out at revolutionary organizations confirms nothing so much as their fear of the revolutionary currents already gathering momentum in this imperialist citadel, and there is much to be learned from this as well. □

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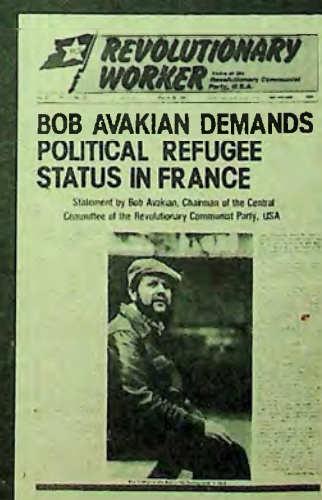
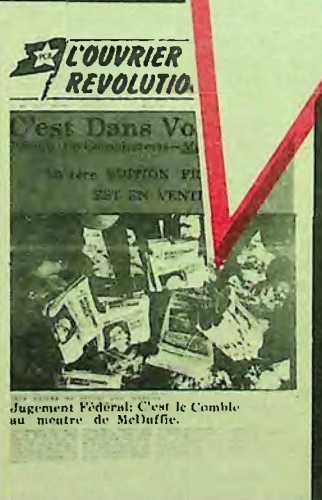
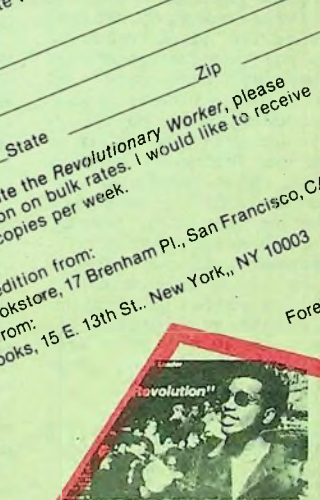
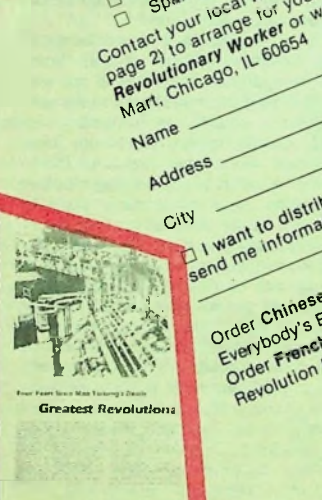
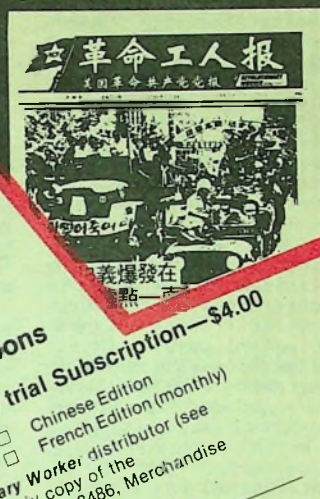
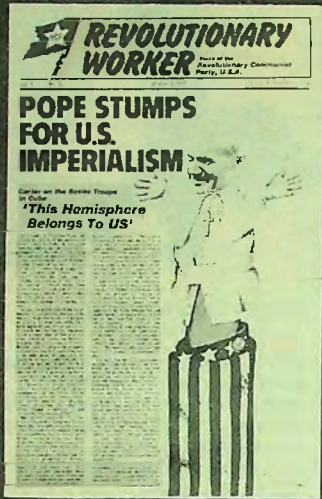
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