



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

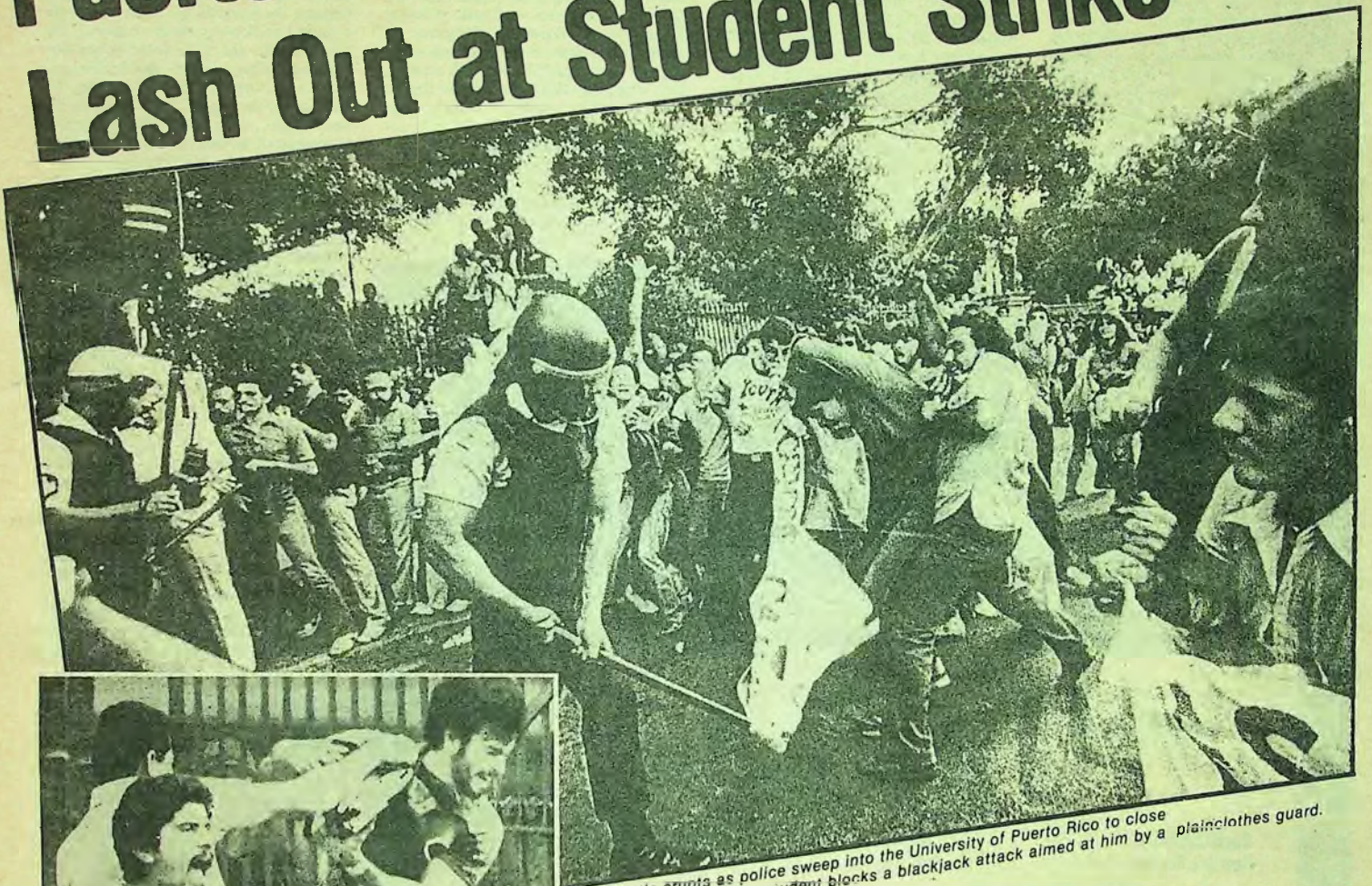
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## Puerto Rico: Nervous Puppets Lash Out at Student Strike



Street battle erupts as police sweep into the University of Puerto Rico to close down the campus. Left, a student blocks a blackjack attack aimed at him by a plainclothes guard.



For nearly three months, the 22,000 student campus of the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras has been effectively shut down by a mass student strike. On November 26th, the confrontation exploded into a full-scale battle between students and Puerto Rico's notorious Fuerza de Choque (Riot Police).

The police attacked a rally of about 5,000 students on the Rio Piedras campus on the pretense that the students'

sound truck was blocking traffic on Ponce de León Avenue. The student leaders were addressing the crowd from the sound truck because the university administration had banned them from setting foot on the campus. When the police moved in to seize the truck, hundreds of students rushed forward to form a human chain blocking the police advance. The police drew their riot clubs and attacked. They were met with a hail of rocks and what Puerto Rican press accounts described as "home-  
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## More Attempts to Block Chairman's Refugee Status

On November 19 in Paris, Bob Avakian's appeal of an earlier rejection of his demand for political refugee status in France was turned in to a commission. To this appeal were appended 30 separate testimonials from people in the U.S. certifying the kind of democracy that is dished out to the oppressed people in this country—at the barrel of a gun—and in particular the kinds of attacks and threats, at the hands of the government, being faced by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and its Chairman Bob Avakian in particular. These 30

testimonials were only the first group of many to be submitted—hundreds of people had sent them in and some are still coming in to the National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tse Tung Defendants in Washington, D.C.

But less than two weeks later, this commission—charged with implementing the Geneva Convention on refugees to which France subscribes—had returned these 30 testimonials, demand-

ing that any such things be submitted only in French. The purpose of this move was obvious—to stem the flow of these testimonials, to remove a powerful political weapon from the hands of all those who support Bob Avakian's demand.

The appeal itself, prepared by a lawyer and written in French, detailed the reasons why Bob Avakian was clearly entitled to refugee status under the

statutes of the Geneva Convention. It brought out how his life and liberty are in danger in the U.S. because of his political beliefs and activities; how the U.S. government obviously cannot be asked to "protect" him since they are the main source of the problem in the first place (the Geneva Convention states that if you can show that the government of your national origin will not protect you then you are entitled to refugee status).

But the Appeals Commission, which is under the jurisdiction of the French  
Continued on page 4

Savimbi Goes to Washington

# High Honors for CIA Work in Angola

On Thursday, December 3, the U.S. State Department rolled out the red carpet for the first open and official welcoming of Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA, the U.S./CIA-supported guerrilla group in Angola, who has long been an "unofficial" yet important frontman for U.S. imperialism in southern Africa. Savimbi's role has been well-exposed as one of collaboration with, and dependence on the U.S. imperialists and South Africa, particularly in relation to the "big stick" wielded by the U.S. in southern Africa and UNITA's open role as an armed gang in attacks on both the Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) and the pro-Soviet MPLA government in Angola. Because of this and the contradictions that this has raised for the U.S. imperialists both with other African nations as well as among the masses of people in the U.S., the relations between the U.S. and Savimbi

since 1976 have been characterized by an "unofficial," backdoor and covert nature. Up until now, that is.

Often Savimbi's forces follow in the wake of, and are temporarily set up in power by, an invading South African army expeditionary force. Apparently this is now enough to be considered "legitimacy" in the open books of the U.S. government.

Shortly after Savimbi's arrival in Washington, the *New York Times* reported his forces had just blown up a major oil refinery in Angola. At the same time, however, the *Chicago Sun-Times* credited a South African squad, operating from a submarine, for the same raid. Given that these forces are just interchangeable parts in the U.S. war machine these days, the confusion is easy to understand.

Savimbi's visit to the U.S. was officially sponsored by the New York-based Freedom House, described as a

"private, non-governmental organization." For days prior to Savimbi's State Department reception, U.S. officials stressed that his visit was totally unconnected with the U.S. government and that it was highly unlikely that Savimbi and U.S. officials would meet. Then, suddenly on December 2, the State Department announced that the very next day Savimbi would be officially meeting with the Acting Secretary of State (when Haig is out of the country), Walter J. Stoessel and also Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. In announcing the meeting, U.S. officials stressed that it would take place despite the expected political criticism from other African nations.

While Savimbi's ties to the U.S. have been well-known for quite some time, his "official" welcoming into the U.S. fold is quite significant and revealing. In relation to Angola, the U.S. im-

perialists have fully implemented a "carrot and stick" policy. On the one hand, numerous U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Haig, have met with high Angolan government officials over the last few months and have often times held out the prospects of "normal relations" with the U.S. in the hopes of prying Angola away from the Soviet camp. For the most part these meetings are focused on a "settlement" of the Namibian struggle and the promise of a subsequent easing up of U.S.-backed South African attacks on Angola. At the same time, however, some of these talks have also resulted in a number of large loans being granted to the MPLA government.

While the U.S. has definitely played up the "carrot" aspect of their Angola policy in recent months, they've also made it quite clear that in the main their policy rests on the "stick." Savimbi's official reception is a significant part of strengthening the stick aspect of U.S. policy. As a State Department official bluntly stated, "It will underscore the Administration's determination not to exclude the Savimbi guerrillas from an eventual settlement in the region." In other words, the U.S. imperialists are determined to counter the Soviet influence in Angola either by getting rid of it altogether or at least by working out some kind of power-sharing scheme, and Savimbi's armed guerrillas are a key element in doing this.

It is certainly no accident that Savimbi's visit has been timed to occur in the context of the continuing moves by the U.S. ruling class to repeal the Clark Amendment (already passed in the Senate and scheduled for a vote in the House)—the 1976 amendment that supposedly barred U.S. covert aid to anti-government forces in Angola. And, even more significantly, it is far from coincidental that Savimbi's visit occurred at the same time as the visit of another long-time U.S. puppet, Mobutu of Zaire.

By officially recognizing the Savimbi forces in southern Angola and paving the way for the open economic and military backing of them and at the same time granting increasing military and economic aid to Mobutu in Zaire, which sits at the northern borders of Angola, the U.S. imperialists have carefully set up a sort of giant pincers designed to overthrow or militarily squeeze the Angolan government away from the Soviets and into submission to U.S. plans for southern Africa as a key part of their overall strategy for world war with the Soviets.

With this "official" visit the U.S. imperialists have openly declared that UNITA and Savimbi are "a legitimate political force in Angola." While this is ironic in light of the U.S. howls over the French imperialists' and Mexico's recent recognition of the FDR in El Salvador as "a legitimate political force," it is no joke to U.S. imperialism. Their recognition of Savimbi together with their admitted willingness to accept the "criticism" by "key African nations" shows their deadly seriousness (and heightening problems) in southern Africa. It is the seriousness of an imperialist power desperate to shore up its position, particularly in preparation for the time their contention with the Soviets turns into open war. □

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# Rugby Coup in the Seychelles Fails

Because it failed, last week's bloody coup attempt in the small Indian Ocean country of the Seychelles was treated most lightly by the U.S. press at first. In initial reports, every attempt was made to pass off the landing and infiltration of up to 100 heavily-armed mercenaries and the ensuing 20-hour gun battle at the main airport as little more than a hairbrained scheme by some aging mercenaries to set themselves up as the rulers of a "tropical vacation in paradise." But then, as the coup attempt fell apart, and as one group of the hired gun thugs was forced to commandeer an Indian airliner and flee back to South Africa from which they came, the U.S. and South Africa began tripping all over each other's stories in a frantic effort to shift the blame and cover up their own responsibility.

Located 1,000 miles off the east coast of Africa, the Seychelles consist of an archipelago of 92 islands lying astride the shipping lane from the Persian Gulf to the Cape of Good Hope, a vital super-tanker pipeline. The Seychelles and the neighboring Comoros thus make up a link in a string of important points progressing from the Persian Gulf, past the Horn of Africa, through the Seychelles and the Comoros, and around South Africa. The Indian Ocean is generally a sharp focus of U.S./Soviet contention.

On November 24, 45 rather large men and two women boarded a special bus in Johannesburg for a trip to neighboring Swaziland, a landlocked black kingdom enveloped by South Africa and noted primarily for the large gambling casino at the Royal Swazi Hotel. Their suitcases filled with sub-machine guns, hand grenades and rocket launchers, they had not the slightest difficulty in crossing the border or climbing onto a Royal Swazi Air scheduled flight for the Seychelles a couple days later. Arriving at the Seychelles' Point Larue International Airport, the raiders identified themselves as members of a visiting South African rugby team—not a bad

story, since visiting South African rugby teams have been in the news.

"The mercenaries," said the *New York Times*, "arrived in the guise of rugby players, attending a drinking fest in the Seychelles called 'Ancient Order of Foam Blowers 1981 Congress.' They carried bags with false bottoms in which Bulgarian made assault rifles of Soviet design, walkie-talkies and other weapons were hidden. On top of the false bottoms, they piled toy cars, toy boats, candy in Christmas wrappers, badminton sets, all adorned with price tags from a toy shop in Johannesburg called Clicks." Ho...Ho...Ho...

Everything went smoothly until a customs inspector happened to pop open the false bottom of a suitcase, find a submachine gun, and set off the alarm. The plan had called for the "rugby team" to link up with other mercenaries already infiltrated as tourists, but now with their cover blown a serious gun battle broke out. Outnumbered and surrounded, the mercenaries quickly decided that discretion was the better part of valour, a part of them hijacking the next airliner to arrive and forcing it to fly to Durban in South Africa.

Severely embarrassed by having the baby laid back at their doorstep, the South African government denied all involvement and feigned outrage over the hijacking of an airplane. Almost at once, the South African press began to print unusually detailed accounts of how the coup was organized, pointing the finger directly at the U.S. The name and identification of an American mercenary was promptly published, while for two days the name of the leader of the coup attempt—"Mad Mike Hoare"—was covered up. Hoare is held up as a racist folk hero in South Africa for his butchery in the Congo 20 years ago. (In the U.S., the film "The Wild Geese," starring Richard Burton, is the story of Hoare's life. The *New York Times* referred in reverential tones to Hoare with the headline: "Pretoria Jailed Famed Soldier after Failed

Seychelles Coup.") The *Johannesburg Star* reported that the mercenaries had been openly recruited in Johannesburg with a promise of \$10,000 each, the money coming from the U.S. *Die Transvaler* reported most of the mercenaries as former members of elite Rhodesian units such as the Selous Scouts, the Rhodesian Light Infantry, the Special Services Battalion, while the *Sunday Tribune* of Durban specifically named the CIA as responsible for the plot, but admitted that a senior South African official had been involved.

Back in Washington, State Dept. spokesman Dean Fischer was emphatic that the U.S. had not financed the bungled coup attempt, but when pressed by reporters, Fischer began to waffle:

Q. Could that have been private as opposed to public money? Are you stating categorically that privately no individuals of the United States had anything to do with it?

A. I'm saying the U.S. was not involved in any way — meaning the U.S. government.

But both the U.S. and South African press were united in their suggestion that had the coup indeed succeeded, it would not have been a bad thing at all. U.S. press accounts consistently spoke of the "leftist government" of the Seychelles and the threat of the Soviet Union acquiring a naval base there, while the South African press went one better. The Johannesburg newspaper *The Citizen* printed an "eyewitness report" by a former Rhodesian army officer (who also just happened to be on the scene in the Seychelles as a "tourist") who claimed that a detachment of North Korean troops arrived at the airport to launch the final assault on the mercenaries!

The mutual recriminations between the U.S. and their South African partners were somewhat smoothed-over only after a 31-year old exiled journalist from the Seychelles, named Paul Chow, surfaced in London to claim that it was actually he who had organized the flopped coup. Presumably he financed it

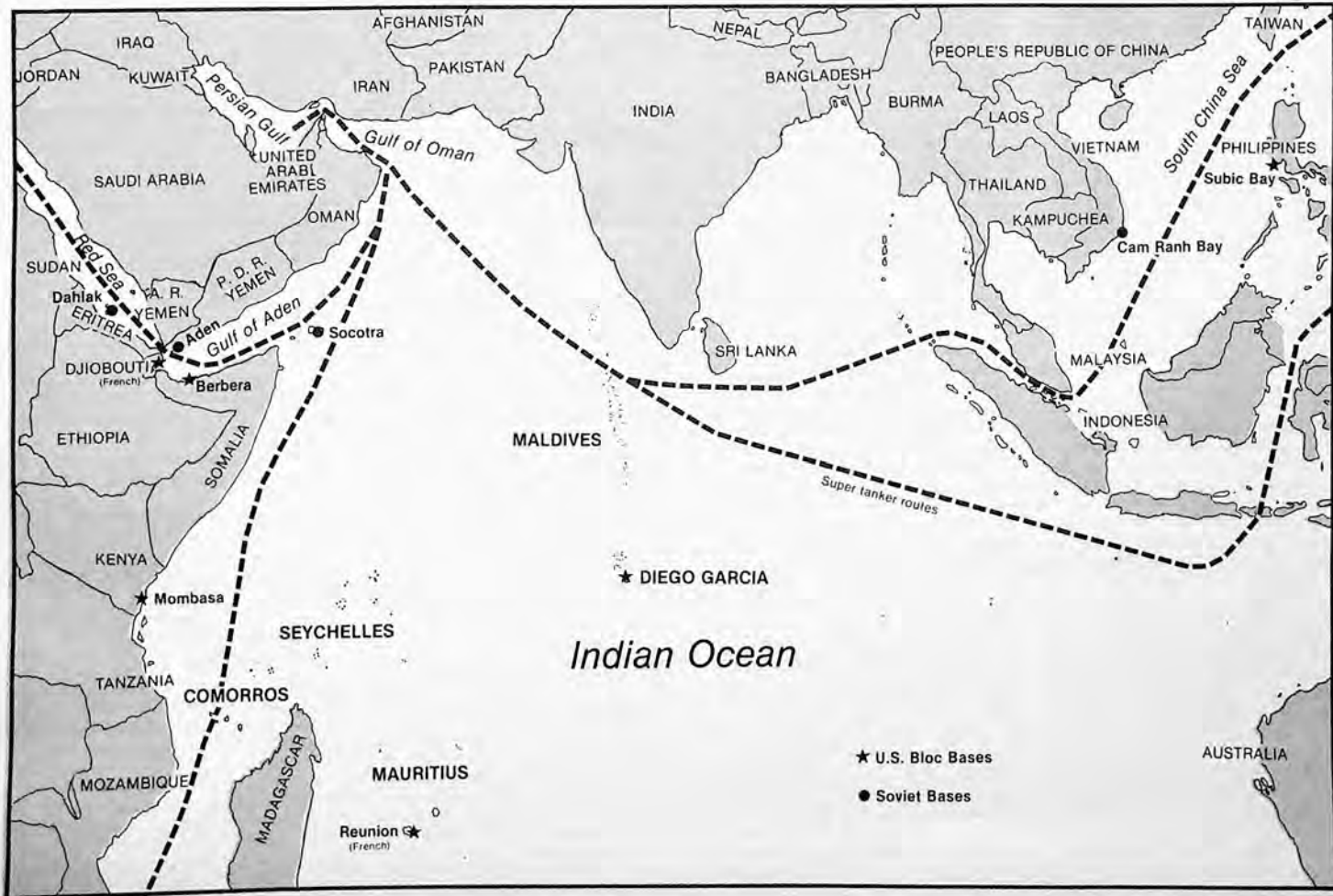
out of his Christmas Club money.

In point of fact, both the U.S. and South Africa were up to their armpits in the coup attempt, the roots of which lie in the U.S.'s attempt to strengthen its position in the Indian Ocean. In the 1960's the British formally gave up attempts to project their military power "east of Aden." Into this vacuum rushed both the U.S. and the Soviet fleets and jockeying has intensified of late. Earlier this year, for example, the U.S. Navy had 32 ships operating in the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Union had 21, while the French maintained 12. The U.S. has established naval bases at Diego Garcia in the middle of the Indian Ocean, at Berbera in Somalia, at Mombasa in Kenya, and at two ports in Oman. U.S. B-52s have begun flights over the Indian Ocean from bases in Guam and in Australia. As the *New York Times* modestly noted last year, "The Indian Ocean, which was a British region for more than 100 years, seems on its way to becoming an American responsibility."

The Soviets, however, were quick to take a share of the "responsibility," establishing naval bases at Perim, Aden and Socotra in South Yemen and on the Dahlak Island off occupied Eritrea, while approaching the Maldives, Madagascar and the Seychelles for possible bases. Suddenly, the small island countries given formal independence by the British and French became strategic pawns in a global conflict, and the U.S. moved rapidly to "tighten up" the regimes in the area.

The so-called leftist government of the Seychelles, headed by President Albert René, had established itself in a 1977 bloodless ousting of the government of James Mancham, described as a "flamboyant right-winger and former disc jockey." Mancham, who had been ensconced by the British, was a wealthy playboy who was particularly close to several officials of the South African information department. But Mancham was dumped by his own prime minister

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# National Security Cover-Up of Surveillance on RCP

On November 30th the prosecution filed a response to a mid-November motion filed in the D.C. Superior Court on behalf of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants who face multiple felonies arising from a police attack on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist Deng Xiaoping. The defendants' motion demanded that the government turn over all "transcriptions, logs, and memoranda of electronic surveillance" directed at Bob Avakian, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Mao Defendants and others involved in the case by December 1st or dismiss the charges. Remaining true to their track record, the government's response was not accompanied by reams of information on this electronic surveillance. Instead, they continued their 2-year-long performance of hemming and hawing, of actually steadfastly refusing to turn over this material.

Attempting to feebly cover up their political maneuvering around this issue, the prosecution's motion makes the truly ludicrous statement that it is "ludicrous" to claim that the government has held back on turning over this material for two years. It really is amazing: over two years ago a court order was issued stating that the material must be turned over, and in the last few months the prosecution itself has continuously promised delivery "within a couple of weeks" or "sometime in November" (to cite just a few examples); and yet, now they show up again in court with a document that tries to deny that the government has been making excuses for holding back the material by listing two more pages of excuses and maneuvering to avoid handing it over.

But this time around the situation is somewhat different, gone are the phony promises of future delivery dates. Instead, now the prosecution is, for the first time, starting to reveal what's really at the heart of their steadfast refusal to turn over this material. More than ever before the issue of "national security" is highlighted by the prosecution. Now, in addition to the Justice Department's "routine screening" of the material for national security purposes, the prosecution has informed the defendants that whole chunks of the material may never be turned over at all, even to the judge, based on the government's invocation of a 1980 law giving it the right to withhold confidential matters relating to national security.

It is a glimmer of admission by the ruling class about what is actually behind not only their refusal to turn over material on electronic surveillance, but also what is actually the basis for this entire attack on the RCP and Bob Avakian. The very fact that national security reasons are being raised as a basis for withholding this material points to the fact that there is much more involved here than the "standard criminal case" the government has been trying to run out since the inception of this particular attack. Releasing this material would undoubtedly serve to blow gigantic holes in the feeble criminal cover they have tried to maintain over the last few years, vividly exposing the tell-tale heart of pure politics that beats just underneath.

Even more, "national security matters" do indeed have everything to do with why the government is refusing to disclose their electronic surveillance, both in a broader, overall sense and in relation to this particular attack. Undoubtedly their refusal is intimately bound up with even broader political moves they have underway, such as legal maneuvers to put a clamp on the information on the vicious activities of the political police which came out in the mid- and late-1970s. (Even these post-Watergate leaks never represented more than a highly-filtered trickle of

the real story.) All this is also clearly bound up with the current efforts to pretty-up the reputations of "Black Bag Jobs" and other COINTELPRO operations' even as the political police carry out more of the same and new attacks against revolutionary nationalists such as the RNA (Republic of New Afrika) and the BLA (Black Liberation Army).

At the same time, the release of this information which would help detail the entire extent and intent of the years' long government attack on the RCP, the Revolutionary Union (RU—the main organization which preceded the RCP) and Bob Avakian is directly and immediately relevant to the battle against the continuing government attacks on the RCP, including in helping bring even more clearly to light the basis for Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. In relation to the Mao Defendants' case in particular, this information is very important to the upcoming January 20th hearing on the motion to dismiss the case.

## Old Documents Revealing

The potential significance of prying this information on electronic surveillance can be seen in some already released government documents which shed a glimmer of light on what they were up to in an earlier period. The defense in the case has recently got its hands on volumes of highly-censored material which was released by the government in an earlier and separate court case. Although only the tip of the iceberg, the picture emerging from between the multiple, blacked-out pages and paragraphs in these documents helps tear apart the time-worn arguments of the ruling class.

As a justification for not disclosing the facts about their years' long assault on the RCP, the ruling class points to the supposed fact that none of this information would really be relevant in this "criminal case." According to the ruling class there has been no ongoing political attacks against the RCP and its leadership. They even go so far as to admit that, yes, they have carried out investigations of the Party, but these were only based on "potential or real" criminal activity, and as an example they point to their claim that they had closed down their investigation of the Party in early 1978 and only reopened it in early 1979 in connection with the "criminal activity" of the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping. They further claim to have closed it again no later than December of 1979.

This argument has certainly been heard before. In 1971 the ruling class, faced with sharp political exposure of and outrage around their COINTELPRO attacks on revolutionary organizations, announced that in fact COINTELPRO had been "officially" closed down. The period of launching massive and vicious attacks on organizations for political reasons was supposedly ended. Yet, as the already obtained government files clearly reveal, in June of 1972 the new acting director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, scrawled a handwritten note across the bottom of an FBI political report on the Revolutionary Union, "This is the kind of extremist I want to go after hard and with innovation." For the next few months memos flew back and forth all stressing the "hard and innovative" approach, adding that laxness in this "would not be tolerated."

A memo from one A. J. Decker to Ed Miller (of Felt/Miller fame) dated June 15, 1972 says that the "department is presently considering prosecutive action against the RU" and later testimony from an active FBI agent revealed that at least part of this was considering the rewriting of the Smith Act in order to prosecute certain leaders. By November of 1972, at least almost two years after

COINTELPRO had "officially" ended, a memo from W.O. Cregar to Ed Miller puts out the call for "Two one-day conferences to be held in San Francisco and Chicago in January of 1973 to coordinate and stimulate our investigation of the Revolutionary Union which has emerged as one of the largest and most militant domestic revolutionary organizations." These conferences, quickly approved by the acting director, were to draw agents from all over the country who were actively involved in operations against the RU. An idea of what one of the main topics of discussion at these conferences was is given by the content of a memo from the director of the FBI to the Chicago field office. "At the FBI conference relating to the Revolutionary Union (RU) and pro-Chinese communist matters, held in San Francisco January 22nd and 23rd, 1973 it was recommended that the study paper 'Summary of Radical Political Thought' be updated, revised as necessary and thereafter be disseminated to all offices involved with this investigation. The paper will be used to indoctrinate special agents in the fundamentals of current Marxism Leninism Maoism". Reflecting apparent dissatisfaction at their efforts at "penetrative action," this political pig programming job was another shot at producing G-men who knew enough rhetoric, they hoped, to slip in unnoticed. The memo then goes on to suggest that the name of the paper be changed, that it be written in a way that it cannot be traced back to the FBI and that a special agent in Chicago, an "ideologically" trained agent, be given the responsibility for rewriting the document.

In addition to this, all kinds of COINTELPRO operations to be directed against the Revolutionary Union were born in these conferences. And, although the reports on these conferences are highly deleted, especially in areas concerning the development of techniques for intensifying their attacks, later documents reveal that these operations ranged from attempting to discredit various RU leaders, to working against some sort of merger of "pro-Chinese" and other revolutionary

groups, to efforts at infiltration and internal sabotage of the Revolutionary Union—all this, remember, well after COINTELPRO had supposedly officially ended. Now, in 1981 we're asked to just accept the FBI's claim that there is no ongoing investigation of the RCP.

In relation to the other aspect of their attacks, in fact the main aspect, the ruling class would have us believe that there isn't now, nor has there ever been, a premeditated political plan to nail Bob Avakian. No, according to the ruling class and their flunkies in the courts and police agencies, Bob Avakian has never been investigated outside of his supposed "involvement in criminal activity" over the years. And his involvement in the Mao Defendants' case is supposedly solely a matter of his "giving the orders" for subsequent "criminal activity." Once again, their own recorded history goes very far in exposing this lie, and shows beyond a doubt that the attacks focused up against Bob Avakian over the years have been thoroughly based on political motivation and have not only not ceased, but have in fact intensified and developed. Even before the founding of the Revolutionary Union, Bob Avakian was already a focal point for FBI "investigations" as evidenced by his being placed on the "key agitators index" for his activity in support of the Black Panther Party. With the founding of the RU and the increasingly-evident leadership role played by Bob Avakian within it, the ruling class launched the first of numerous premeditated efforts to, as they put it, "neutralize" Bob Avakian and remove him from the political struggle.

In April of 1969 San Francisco FBI agents laid out a plan whereby the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) would subpoena Bob Avakian hoping to prod or anger him into making a statement and failing that, would grant him immunity in his testimony thus "making him liable for contempt of Congress proceedings should he fail to testify." By June of 1969 the FBI director himself made it known to a San Francisco agent that he was particularly

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## Refugee Status

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government, obviously found the testimonials from the masses too hot. Here was this commission of this supposedly socialist and democratic French government making a demand which, besides its overt political intent in this case, is obviously far beyond the resources of the many, many immigrants in that country. And what an interesting demand from a commission—on which also sits a member of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees—to insist that materials be submitted in one certain language!

There is a clear pattern here. The first time Bob Avakian filed his demand, last March, another commission under the French government's jurisdiction (OSPRE) tried at first to prevent him from even filing, on the basis that it was impossible for someone from the U.S. (you know, the land of democracy) to demand political refugee status. Then, after finally accepting the first document, this commission rejected the demand within a week. While this first rejection was routine enough, what was interesting was not only the speed, but also the grounds—that Bob Avakian had not proven that his difficulties with the U.S. government were of political origin. It was precisely in response to this that the call for testimony from victims of, and witnesses to, the highly-

advertised democracy of the USA was made. Now, the next time an official document is filed, another commission has rejected these testimonials. It is quite obvious that all this is in preparation for an attempt to say that Bob Avakian's appeal "was not substantiated." In addition to all this, the French officials have stalled and have so far refused to give him residency papers to which he is entitled.

### Send Telegrams

It is high time to protest such moves directly. We call on people to send telegrams demanding:

**Stop Harassment of Bob Avakian. Stop Blocking Demand for Refugee Status.**

**Accept All Testimonials in Language of Origin.**

These telegrams should be sent to the appeals commission for refugee status in France:

Commission de Recours des Refugies  
99 Rue de la Verrerie  
Paris, 4, France.

A copy should also be sent to the Embassy of France in the U.S., 2129 Wyoming Ave., Washington, D.C. or to the French Consulate nearest your city.

Another copy should be sent directly to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—either one of the local committees or to the National Office at 1801 Columbia Road N.W., Washington, D.C., 20009.

Vietnam Vet Sends Testimony to New York Tribunal

# A Flag Raising Episode in Vietnam



Active-duty GIs of the Vietnam era proudly hold "the enemy's" flag, welcoming the impending victory of the National Liberation Front.

The following written testimony from a Vietnam vet was submitted to the culminating session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism in New York the weekend of December 4, 5 and 6. This testimony is a prelude to future coverage in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker of the New York tribunal which is opening as we go to press.

I was drafted into the U.S. Army in the fall of 1969, a time when it seemed like nearly every guy in my peer group who was not relatively rich or well-connected or 4-F was faced with the choice of either going along with the military in some way (join ROTC, the reserves, a "safer" branch of the military like the Navy, get drafted, etc.), or refuse to go along with the military and face the consequences (be a fugitive or face possible prosecution). Me, I chose to go into the Army when called up, rather than go to Canada or face jail. Like a lot of guys, it was basically the threat of the government's "big stick," plus a lot of illusions, that persuaded me to go along with the program when the draft notice came. The Army just seemed the lesser evil of all the lousy choices available. So, at a time when the choice of "being part of the problem or part of the solution" was being sharply posed to a lot of people, I essentially chose to become part of the problem—although that's not how I viewed it in 1969.

Anyway, I went into the Army with a real pragmatic, "realistic" point of view, aiming to take the green machine one day at a time, grit my teeth and get the two years over with, and hope against hope that I wouldn't get sent to 'Nam. After the Army, there was always the G.I. Bill, back to college, etc.... This was basically how I viewed things, real short-term and expedient. And besides, I figured if the Army got too bad, I could always skip out later and then try for Canada.

About six months and several "do I

keep going along with the program or not?" decisions later, I arrived in 'Nam as an infantry rifleman, in time for the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. I had more or less gone along with the program thus far and this is where it led me—straight to the front lines. And for what?

#### Arrival in 'Nam

My initial impression of 'Nam, Spring, 1970, was of the powerful presence of the U.S. military. My planeload of 300 replacements landed at Tan San Nhut airfield, at that time one of the world's four largest and busiest airfields (the others in 1970 being, I believe, Bien Hoa and Da Nang in Vietnam and Chicago's O'Hare). After landing at this huge, American-built up airfield, we were taken by bus up an American-built concrete freeway to Long Binh, the U.S. Army headquarters/replacement center and, in 1970, the world's largest army base (it had been a rice paddy in 1965). Long Binh was also the site of the main military prison in 'Nam, the notorious Long Binh Jail, or LBJ, as it was called by the G.I.'s.

The next morning about 1000 replacements assembled on the parade ground at Long Binh and were issued orders to one of the combat divisions or support units. I got ordered to the First Cavalry Division replacement center at Bien Hoa, along with a couple hundred others. During our in-country orientation at Bien Hoa, a huge army base as well as airfield, we were taken to a small Vietcong-built bunker and tunnel complex. In 1965, U.S. troops had taken a lot of casualties taking this complex; in 1970, it was surrounded on all sides by miles of American-built roads, repair shops, troop quarters, PX's, etc. The Army's purpose in preserving this complex was to show new infantry replacements (a) what they would be facing in the field and (b) how far the war effort had progressed since 1965. The physical contrast between this

scraggly collection of bunkers and tunnels and the vast physical expanse of American technology, equipment and facilities on all sides was indeed startling. My impression was, how could the Vietcong possibly hope to survive, much less think of victory, in the face of all this?

Things are not always what they appear to be on the surface, however. My fourth day in the field was my first firefight—being part of a company-strength probe of a bunker complex just like the one we had seen at Bien Hoa. The NVA waited until our lead platoon, on-line, was about 10 meters in front of the bunker line, which the officers had said was probably empty. Then the NVA opened up. The platoon sergeant called in helicopter gunships to strafe the bunker line. We were too close, however; we got shot up laying on our stomachs on top of the ground. The NVA in bunkers were not hit. In a matter of minutes, the NVA slipped away, and we had taken 23 casualties, mostly from friendly fire. At this point I had about 350 days left in 'Nam and the question was no longer one of "how could the Vietcong survive all this," but rather how was I going to survive this? And just what the hell were we really risking our lives for, anyway?

#### Vietnamese Women Liberation Soldiers

After about 9 months with the First Cav, I was transferred to a unit in the 198th Light Infantry Brigade of the Americal Division. The Americal was given the hopeless military task of "pacifying" the heavily populated coastal lowlands of Quang Ngai province, which I believe was the birthplace of Ho Chi Minh and, in any event, was a hotbed of mass, popular armed resistance to the U.S. forces. The war in Quang Ngai was a war of small unit ambushes and booby traps by the local NLF forces and basically a lot of combat sweeps, reprisals and roundups of villagers by the Americans. My unit

discovered more booby traps in one day on the Batangan Peninsula than I saw in the entire nine months I was in the Cav going up against NVA regulars. G.I.'s referred to the Americal as the "Ameri-kill" or the "AmeriCalley" because of what was going down there. Women were an integral part of the NLF networks and fighting units in this area, as I assume they were elsewhere in 'Nam. But in this area, with the absence of NVA regulars and the emphasis on people's war, the role of women was really apparent. We ran into them in a variety of capacities—as snipers, infantry, on mortar crews, planting booby traps, etc. Vietnamese women prisoners or suspects seemed to be treated more harshly than men. I witnessed a couple of instances involving gang-rapes by up to entire infantry platoons—as many as 22 or 23 G.I.'s going down on a single recalcitrant Vietnamese woman. I also saw an instance of a G.I. urinating in a Schlitz beer can and pouring it down the face and mouth of a woman suspect who spit at him. Gang-raping Vietnamese women was not in the slightest an act of lust or sexual desire; rather, the rapes were an act of impotence and fear and revenge on the part of the G.I.'s, who were incredibly threatened by these women and their refusal to "knuckle under."

While I could still rationalize firing at NVA soldiers as a survival thing, I could never accept, rationalize or condone these brutal rapes and mistreatment of prisoners. But what to do? I found the great God "SKAG" (smack) and mentally checked myself out of the war as much as possible. So did many others.

#### NLF Flag

One night, near the end of my tour, we ambushed an NLF supply platoon with claymore mines and killed 13 NLF soldiers, about half of whom were young women. The whole ambush took only a couple of minutes or less, which

Continued on page 13

# The State's Case Against Jimi Simmons: LIES

November 29, 1981—"People, I've waited until now to put out any type of statement. I should first like to acknowledge all of the people who continue to support and follow this particular struggle, which is tied into all Peoples who are struggling to be free. That the struggle is not easy, but, we must continue on with that which we believe. My beliefs are in the traditions and customs of our People. It is what has enabled our People to endure the continued genocide attacks against our People. That in these times when many eyes are looking upon Indian land and resources we must continue to build a strong and unified resistance, to insure that our children and those yet to come will have the understanding of our People's natural existence within Creation..." So began a statement issued by James Dexter Simmons, a Muckle-shoot/Rouge River Indian, from his prison cell on the eve of the opening of his trial where he faces the charge of first degree murder, a trial in which the state of Washington has been carefully fabricating its case for 2-1/2 years.

The prosecutor described *his* own opening statement as a "road map," we might add a road map fraught with deception, lies and rehearsed testimony, all leading to convicting Jimi of preme-

ditated murder. But from the very beginning this tall tale appeared shabby and full of holes.

June, 1979. Tensions were high among Native American prisoners at Walla Walla. Native Americans had been under intense pressure from the prison administration. One guard, Sgt. William Cross, had himself destroyed and urinated on a Sweat Lodge, an important part of Indian spiritual customs, which had been built by the prisoners. On June 12, an Indian inmate was murdered. On June 15, Indian prisoners went to the Sweat Lodge to hold a memorial ceremony. William Cross came to the Sweat Lodge, once again harassing the inmates. He confiscated the wood they needed for the fire. An argument ensued and Cross left, carrying off pieces of wood.

Much of this picture was painted in the opening argument at the trial by Leonard Weinglass, Jimi's attorney. As a group of Native inmates were leaving the dining hall that night, Officer Jordan pulled the youngest Native prisoner, Cary Webster, aside demanding a shakedown. Cary refused. Jordan demanded it again. Again Cary refused. The prisoners gathered around him and Jordan hustled off, returning with Sgt. Cross who took command of the situa-

tion. He demanded a shakedown of Cary Webster. Jimi Simmons stepped in front of Cross telling him in no uncertain terms that he would not get a shakedown and he better just lay off. Cross demanded Jimi's I.D. card. Jimi turned and walked off but Cross came up behind him and grabbed Jimi by the shoulder. Jimi turned and spit in Cross' face. Cross grabbed him with both hands and they began to fight. Other prisoners joined the fracas. In the midst of the fight, the hated Cross was stabbed 4 times. He died within minutes. While Jimi Simmons had stood his ground, protecting Cary Webster, and had forcefully put Cross in his place, Jimi did not stab Cross at any point.

Jimi was singled out because of the leading role he played in the Native struggle at Walla Walla. The frameup was revealed in the first three days of the prosecution's "case," which contained so many lapses of memory that it appeared that the state had set out to intentionally embarrass itself.

The story of the first snitch to turn state's evidence is so patched and raggedy the state isn't even calling him to the stand. Robert Tant had immediately told the pigs that he had been there and saw the whole thing, that he was standing right next to another Indian prisoner, Earl Yocash, when Yocash lunged forward and stabbed Cross. But the administration had a problem. Earl Yocash turned state's evidence, too. Besides, they were out to nail Jimi. The state had Robert Tant transferred to the Corrections Center at Shelton and put into "Protective Custody"—right alongside Earl Yocash! Suddenly Tant had a compelling reason to change his story. He was brought back to Walla Walla for another interview and, at the urging of two detectives, changed the name of the assailant in his statement.

Another prosecution witness, one Clayton Iron Necklace, testified against George Simmons, Jimi's brother, who was previously tried and convicted in the same murder case and who was coldly and consciously driven to suicide by the Walla Walla officials. Now at Jimi's trial, Iron Necklace's testimony was one lie after another. He proceeded to contradict himself, and contradict testimony he had given at George's trial. Even jurors were visibly shaking their heads in disbelief before Iron Necklace was through. Iron Necklace had his own reason for snitching and saying whatever was required of him. The Parole Board, at his latest hearing, took a keen interest in the fact that he

was testifying for the state. He is looking forward to a shortened sentence. But for reasons which are not clear at this time, Iron Necklace, who was billed by the state as the second most important "eyewitness," managed to tell one bit of truth. When asked by prosecutor Mitchell if he had seen Jimi stab Cross, Iron Necklace replied in a subdued voice, "No."

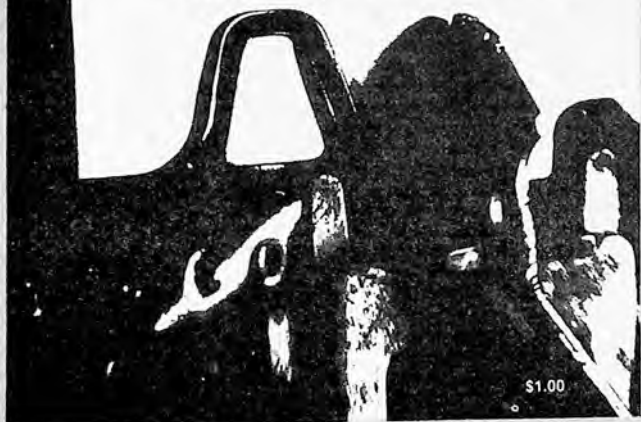
The centerpiece of the prosecution's case is the "eyewitness account" of guard Jordan. He happened to be wrestling with another inmate at the time of the stabbing but, no matter, he "saw it all." Although he was very shaken that night, had been crying according to one detective (over his dead friend Cross), still he knew what he saw. The detective in charge of the investigation "couldn't remember" if Jordan had named a suspect or not on the night of the incident. And this is not too surprising, since it wasn't until *two days after the incident* that Jordan was supplied, by the administration, with the name and photo of Jimi Simmons.

During the trial Native people have come from Canada and Oregon, as well as Washington state, to stand with Jimi. A Spiritual Man had brought a Sacred Pipe at Jimi's request. Jimi wanted it placed on the defense table for the duration of the trial. Judge Reser denied the request brusquely stating that the Pipe, with a wooden stem and a stone bowl, was a "potential weapon." His crass remarks were right in line with the prison administration's brutal oppression of Native traditions. The next day the Spiritual Man got a smaller Sacred Pipe but was met with the same repulsion, as Reser grimaced, "I'm not going to have *that* on the (defense) table!"

As the trial continues, Jimi Simmons will be testifying in his own behalf. Other inmates, including a Black member of the Inmate Advisor Council, a Chicano and Native American are all expected to testify for the defense. In the penitentiary itself, in the face of increasing harassment and repression, including especially the recent murder of Carl Harp, some 200 prisoners of almost every nationality in segregation and general population are wearing red armbands in solidarity with Jimi. It is a sign of the resistance, a proud defiance which, along with exposure of the patchwork of lies presented by the state in the courtroom, is rattling Reser's chambers and jarring the framework of the frameup of Jimi Simmons. □

## Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

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## Clarification on "Grand Jury's Silent and Deadly Dragnet," RW No. 131

We wish to clarify some points and correct some factual errors which were made in our November 20th article, "The Grand Jury's Silent and Deadly Dragnet." The article incorrectly gives the impression that the grand jury was successfully used against the Puerto Rican independence movement in Chicago. In reporting on recent grand jury moves against supporters of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) in New York, we wrote that "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'." This is inaccurate. The individual in question, Alfredo Mendez, did turn state's witness earlier this year, but this was done without the use of the grand jury. Our article also says that "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." The 11 were actually sentenced to long prison terms, not on contempt citations, but on a variety of state criminal counts and later for the highly-political federal charge of "seditious conspiracy."

In fact, during previous grand juries convened in Chicago and elsewhere to investigate the Puerto Rican movement, no one has ever agreed to testify and the bourgeoisie's efforts on this front have been a failure. That the government—well aware of this fact—is now again using the grand jury against this movement, only underscores the political nature of the attack, a point heavily stressed in our article.

The article correctly stated that the grand jury subpoenas were recently delivered to Ricardo Romero, Steven Guerra and Julio and Andres Rosado. It did not mention that a fifth subpoena was also issued, but not delivered, to Maria Cueto. Except for Steven Guerra, all these people have previously been called before a grand jury. And all four have been jailed for refusal to testify. □

# BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN THE RIVER

by A. Pine

In 1925 Lu Hsun, the writer Mao Tsetung called "the commander in chief of China's Cultural Revolution" of the 1930s, wrote a short story called *Regret for the Past*. The story describes the futile struggle of a young couple to break the feudal social relations solely through their own individual rebellious actions. These young intellectual youth begin their relationship so...

"...the shabby room would be filled with the sound of my voice as I held forth on the tyranny of the home, the need to break with tradition, the equality of men and women, Ibsen, Tagore, and Shelley. . . She would nod her head, smiling, her eyes filled with a childlike look of wonder."

They were determined, in feudal China, to have a relationship based on equality between men and women, but the story ends with their dreams and high aspirations and love for one another destroyed by social ostracism and poverty. The girl kills herself after being forced to return to her father's prisonlike and humiliating home, and the boy is completely broken.

The ideas of the "great" philosophers of bourgeois democracy were no solution for China, however historically progressive they may have been in opposition to feudalism in Western Europe, and would only lead to utter defeat and demoralization. The philosophy that would liberate China, that would victoriously unleash the rebellion of its youth, and contribute to the struggle to emancipate all mankind, was being born high in the red base

areas in the ChingKang Mountains by the Marxist-Leninist, Mao Tsetung.

It is the case that throughout his work, Bruce Springsteen has dealt with the valid perception that people can and do tear themselves and others to bits with illusions. In this sense, there is a comparison to be made with Lu Hsun. But Lu Hsun was "a revolutionary who believed in communism" and Bruce Springsteen is a progressive artist who believes in rebellion.

To those who have no sense of advance larger than the parameters of individual action, or rebellion as a self-centered way of life, void of social and historic content, Springsteen becomes a fellow and world-weary cynic, trapped forever in the catacombs of rebellion/submission, dreams/reality. But to those who view his work, and love it, in a larger context, his characterization of the content of many of the social relations between people in this country is scathing, uncompromising and of incredible depth. For those whose highest aspiration it is "to make it with a little dignity", he represents the "great American success story, poor-boy-makes-good, it could only happen in America" syndrome. But to those who know consciously, or even sense not only the impracticality of this line of thinking for the majority of the people (and not only in America but throughout the world) but its obscenely despicable ideological place, he represents unremitting and so far mainly correct struggle to be "tough enough to play the game they play" and beat them at it. That is, to wage what is ob-

jectively, at least, class struggle in the arts, particularly Rock & Roll.

*The River*, the latest of his five albums, and the events occurring during the latest touring, would indicate that Bruce Springsteen's intentions are more consistent with the views of the latter group of his audience than with the former.

## The River

On a superficial level, the album seems to be about that most exhausted and boring of subjects, L O V E with a capital L. But there is an edge, like hard, shiny steel, that compels the listener from the beginning, an edge of reality, of timeliness, and even urgency. The subject matter, at least on one level, is marriage and the family! That institution, although not at all peculiar to this country, or even to the epoch of imperialism for that matter, is a major social question of the times in America. And despite the best efforts of the revolutionaries of the 1960s, including the ones in the field in Vietnam, "Mom and Apple Pie," now also duded-up hippie-style, persists as the solid core of the illusion called the American Dream. All this by way of saying that the subject matter is not narrow, much less boring. The thrust of the album is this; in order to answer and deal with that myriad of questions and problems that relations between men and women (and children and parents, too) create, people have to mainly look outside those relations, and in this context, there are no easy and cheap answers. There is struggle, the struggle to understand and to deal with change and to change for

real the way things are.

This, in itself, is liberating enough in a country where the divorce rate is 50%, where one out of three women will be attacked with intent to rape, and where child abuse and even incest are at staggering world-class levels. But what is even more liberating is the content of those external forces that the album helps people to look at, to question, to tear into. That content, at least and probably in a general sense only perceptually, includes important elements of the basic structure of this imperialist society. There are all the things you're not supposed to talk about, that in fact are staring people full in the face every single day, everywhere they go. Things like factories, and the nature of the work the majority of people are forced to do (as in wage-slave or intellectual prostitute), things like judges and "black and whites" cruising by, watching us "from the corner of their eye," like how you can "look but you better not touch," like the economy, like the force of tradition ("Sherry Darling"), like the lies and illusions that are sold (and bought) at the marketplace... and I could go on.

Viewed in this light, it is almost maddening that Springsteen should have been the object of an almost unilateral attack for rampant male chauvinism on the basis of this album. The consensus is so great that there is unity between social democrats, "independent" Marxists, the regular rock press, the "left" rock press, the punk rock critics and God knows who else.

The entire content of their argument boils down to his use of expressions like "littie girlie," "littie dolly," etc. This is a bogus argument and in the extreme. There are many characters and contradictions spanning this album. One thing that artists do, if they're worth a damn, is create "typical characters". Springsteen himself, when he is on stage, is a "typical character". Or, as Joe Strummer of The Clash said, "Principle one of acting; a physical action denotes an emotion. It's the first rule, and it's true. Once you realize this, everything becomes clear."

Springsteen the artist, the person, put those characters on stage, and in the broadest sense, he is speaking through them. But he is not each one of them, and in fact he might not even like some of them!

In this context, one could hardly call "Ties That Bind" male chauvinist. This song rips into the cynicism, bitterness and despair that is a deeply felt emotion among many women (and in a more universal sense, men, too) and without ever preaching, or denying the very real and perhaps even "just" character of these emotions, insists that they are ultimately not valid and no solution. The feeling of the struggle to change things in the context of dealing with the reality that there are indeed "ties that bind," is captured in the last verse, added since the Darkness Tour when it was first performed, which lives up to Springsteen's usual vision and compassion

You sit and wonder just who's gonna stop the rain  
Who'll ease the sadness, who's gonna quiet the pain  
It's a long, dark highway and a thin white line  
Connecting baby your heart to mine  
We're runnin' now but darlin' we will stand in time  
To face the ties that bind

"Jackson Cage", is far from being the demoralizing or self-pitying dirge that some critics, like Julie Burchill of the *New Musical Express* think it is. Continued on page 14



Artwork from the back of "The River" album cover.

# CONQUER THE WORLD?



# The International Proletariat Must and Will!

by Bob Avakian

"How far can you go within a single socialist country?...Here I want to say that there's been the old charge that we've plead 'not guilty' to and to which now we have to plead 'innocent as charged': that's the old charge that's been hurled in a perverted way of course by the imperialists that socialist countries in particular, as they frame it, have a need themselves to expand and conquer more of the world or else they run up against their limitations. And I think we have to plead innocent as charged to that. For a long time we've been denying it and pleading not guilty and charging slander. And now I think we have to plead innocent as charged and by that, of course, I'm talking about something qualitatively different from the need of the imperialists for spheres of influence to export capital, to exploit more people, to try to transform the world in their image, or better said, to distort it under their domination.

"We shouldn't get metaphysical here either on the other side, that is, be absolutist about the limitations on

how far you can advance in socialist transformation in one country. But, still, there is a basic truth here and I'm not talking about the need, as is actually imperialist slander, of a socialist country as a country to have raw materials and to dominate more territory and to get the resources and people of different countries under its domination. I'm not talking about that—that's just the mirror the imperialists are holding up to themselves.

"In terms of maintaining power and advancing further on the socialist road—and not just from the standpoint of a socialist state but in particular from the standpoint of the international proletariat—the question is much more that there is a limit, as I said, to how far you can go in transforming the base and superstructure within the socialist country without making further advances in winning and transforming more of the world; not in terms of conquering more resources or people as the imperialists do, but in terms of making revolutionary transformations."

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This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- \*Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- \*More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- \*Leninism as the bridge;
- \*Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- \*Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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"Marx wrote in this very summation [of the Paris Commune] that the proletarians 'will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men' and even before that, 20 years earlier in 1851, declared 'we say to workers, you will have to go through 15, 20, 50 years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of political power.'...We've seen it's been more than 15, 20 or 50 years since then and still this process Marx is describing is only in its infancy in a historical sense. So it's not surprising that he did not fully grasp the meaning and implications of what he himself said...

"And in fact, all this is, in an overall sense, actually a confirmation of the Marxist theory of knowledge. Because the primitiveness of many of Marx's particular observations reflect the primitiveness, the early stage of development, of the world historic process of proletarian revolution—which is not to fall into mechanical

materialism and say that whatever was known was all that could be known....[While] there was primitiveness in Marx's observations, there was also a great deal of historical sweep and farsightedness. But in an overall sense, and viewing it in that way dialectically it is a verification and an example of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the relationship between practice and theory and the ultimate dependency of theory on practice, that practice is the ultimate source and point of determination of theory and of truth. And it does reflect the primitiveness, the early stage of development of the world historic process of proletarian revolution toward the long-term goal of communism. This was, after all, the first practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a revolutionary movement of the proletariat still mainly largely confined to Europe and stepping on to the stage of history still wearing much of the costume of the bourgeois republic and bourgeois democracy out of which it was issuing."

"In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up."

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# Puerto Rico

Continued from page 1

made grenades." The pitched battle that followed lasted several hours.

During the fighting, according to a report in the Puerto Rican daily *El Nuevo Día*, the commanders of the police forces, Cols. Gonzalez and Santiago, were trapped by a crowd of students after their driver accidentally drove up a dead-end street. The officials tried to make it to the Rio Piedras police station on foot, but were surrounded by 100 students, wearing masks and "Sandinista-style" scarves, who pelted them with rocks. The police claim that Cols. Gonzalez and Santiago narrowly escaped death when a grenade exploded nearby. They were rescued by police firing automatic weapons to disperse the crowd.

Twenty Shock Force police were reported injured. The police have denied that any students were shot, but there are reports that some students were hit by gunfire. Police also deny that any students have been "detained." But the next day, dozens of relatives of *missing students* had gathered for a demonstration at police headquarters. It was reported to the *RW* that "many" students had been arrested, though it was not possible to obtain exact figures before going to press.

The police attack of November 26th marks the latest and clearest evidence of the deep panic that has seized the U.S. imperialists and their colonial puppet, Governor Romero Barceló, in the face of the student rebellion and a rising tide of unrest throughout Puerto Rico.

The student strike was touched off in the fall when the university suddenly announced a tripling of the tuition fee from \$5 to \$15 per credit. (Tuition at the University of Puerto Rico, a major university, had been at \$5 a credit for many years. The sudden tripling of tuition rates came as a profound shock, without warning. The raise in fees meant that many students who had been planning for years to attend the university would be frozen out.) From the beginning the strike has had very broad support among the students. The Barceló puppet government and the university administration have consciously adopted a policy of crushing the strike by force. On September 29th, a student march was fired upon by University of Puerto Rico guards. The UPR Chancellor, Miró Montilla, the bourgeois Puerto Rican press and the government have repeatedly denounced the strike as instigated by "communists and terrorists" and "elements of the far Left."

Ironically, however, the main leaders of the strike have, in fact, strenuously insisted that the only strike issue is the "right of the students to get an education they can afford." They have worked very hard to oppose raising the issue of Puerto Rican independence from U.S. imperialist domination—even though the key leaders themselves are affiliated with revisionist pro-Soviet "socialist" parties who claim to support Puerto Rican independence and the fight against U.S. imperialism. Their argument is that to raise such "outside issues" as the colonial oppression of the Puerto Rican people would be an obstacle to uniting the broadest possible forces under their leadership.

But the actions of the government of Puerto Rico on behalf of their colonial masters, the U.S. imperialists, have clearly demonstrated that far from being an "outside issue," the need to impress upon the rebellious students that they are colonial subjects, with no political rights is at the heart of the draconian measures used by the state in response to this strike. It is the widespread and bitter dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Puerto Rico and the potential for massive eruptions against the whole colonial set-up which is why the authorities have to send out the Marines in a struggle over \$10 a credit.

For some time before the police attack on the November 26th rally, the most prominent strike leaders, led by the president of the student council,

had been negotiating with university officials for an end to the confrontation. On November 13th, a student committee headed up by the president of the student council met with university officials and actually signed an agreement calling for the return of the students to classes, amnesty for suspended students, revocation of the decree which threw out of school some 4,000 students who had paid no tuition, and assurances that the question of providing aid to needy students and adjusting the tuition schedules would be studied.

The strike leaders then called for a mass rally on campus to ratify the proposed agreement. But the university administration refused, insisting that such political activity on campus was forbidden and the suspensions and bannings would remain in effect until the strike was ended and normal classes were resumed. This hard-line stand is consistent with the strategy of the administration and the authorities all along, which has been to break the resistance of the students and outlaw such mass meetings—another clear sign they recognize the broader implications of such resistance, and the great danger posed by such an atmosphere of political struggle among the students.

The authorities certainly have not forgotten that in the '60s and early '70s the University of Puerto Rico was a hotbed of the Puerto Rican independence movement and a scene of sharp struggle against the Vietnam War and especially against the draft. But, if such memories haunt them, the spectre of the future must surely account for their wild and self-exposing attempts to nip the situation in the bud.

The rally of November 26th was arranged with a sound truck parked on Ponce de León Avenue, technically "off campus," so that the strike leaders could not be charged with violating the ban. The day before, numerous smaller meetings had been held on campus to discuss the proposed agreement.

But Chancellor Montilla cited these meetings as "violations" of the agreement, claiming that since the strike was still in effect, any political meetings represented an attempt at "subversion of the public order." He put the Supt. of Police Raul Gonzalez on notice that the police would be required to "restore order" if new "violations" occurred on the 26th.

At the rally on the 26th, which began at noon, strike leaders on the sound truck were conducting a referendum on ending the strike under the terms of the November 13th tentative agreement. The sentiment of the 5,000-7,000 students gathered, according to reports, ran 4-to-1 in favor of ending the strike. The rally, in fact, was almost over when the police attacked. According to Supt. Gonzalez, the actions of the students "were for the purpose of subversion, causing problems, and defying the public order... The people involved were the same who had aggravated things, who took students out of classrooms, and were responsible for more than 20,000 students losing their right to study."

Clearly it is shameful and disgusting hypocrisy for such officials who were responsible for enforcing the tuition cuts in the first place to pretend to be upset about students "losing their right to study"; but we must say that it is to the credit of the many students who were well-schooled in the treachery of the police that they responded so fiercely, and, indeed, continued causing problems and disrupting the public order which is in sore need of much more fundamental disruption at that.

In the aftermath of the police attack, a huge wave of outrage swept the island. But the strike leaders have confined themselves to charges of "police brutality" and denunciations of the "hard-line" policies of Governor Barceló. On December 2nd, the student council president stated that "The students never wished to close the campus—that is not how we wished to resolve these problems"—in other words, that an "unreasonable" administration was the source of all the conflict. The strike leaders appealed to the U.S. Federal Court for Puerto Rico to issue an injunction allowing them to hold a formal referendum on campus to

ratify the November 13th agreement. This request was granted. As we go to press, a campus referendum is scheduled for December 4th.

The revolutionary nationalist forces, who in Puerto Rico are largely functioning underground, have conducted some agitation on the campus which has targeted "Yankee imperialism," and exposed the notorious role of the University of Puerto Rico as a base area for CIA spying and a training ground for CIA agents. Leaflets have appeared on the campus which have exposed the relationship between the provocative tactics of the government and a new "wave of repression by imperialism" dictated by the imperialists' fear of the potential rise of the anti-imperialist independence struggle in the colony. Some nationalist forces have openly criticized the strike leadership for doing its best to ensure that the campus rebellion did not itself become an incendiary focal point of struggle for the "dangerous" and "irrelevant" social questions which so starkly confront the masses in Puerto Rico.

The full extent and impact of such trends within the strike movement is not clear. At each new stage in the struggle,

the government has screamed louder and louder that the whole strike was run by revolutionaries. After the events of November 26th, the government screeching reached its peak. Police Supt. Gonzalez charged that the rally was "a guerrilla operation from beginning to end." He claimed that "police were being fired on with automatic weapons," that helicopters had to be dispatched to disperse snipers on rooftops. On November 27th, the shooting of two policemen off campus was described as "related to the events at Rio Piedras." Now, it is quite obvious that the government has taken the tack of denouncing the strike as a "terrorist conspiracy" in order to create public opinion for crushing it. On the other hand, where there is so much smoke, some kind of fire must be burning. The authorities have been wailing at the top of their lungs about revolution and subversion because it is precisely the growth of revolutionary and subversive sentiments among the masses that they most fear, and it is this that explains their "unreasonableness": regardless of the protestations of the strike leaders, the rebellious students at Rio Piedras are a harbinger of the impending storm. □

## Surveillance on RCP

Continued from page 4

interested in information regarding Bob Avakian and his connections with the Standard Oil strike in Richmond, California. In a June 10, 1969 memo, the director suggested that all information concerning Bob Avakian and this strike be made available to the House Internal Security Committee "for any present or future interest it may develop into the RU and its leadership" and that FBI personnel prepare a "hard hitting and disruptive article to be disseminated through the seat of government in Sacramento and the Bureau will endeavor to have the article published through a nationally syndicated columnist or a national publication." By September of 1969 the FBI had turned over all material relating to Bob Avakian and the RU to both the House Internal Security Committee and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

### Advance Pig Scout

An even sharper example of what they were aiming at in their attack on Bob Avakian was found in an examination of the work of a photographer and ex-policeman—an informant hired in Chicago by the FBI to spy on the RCP leadership and in particular Bob Avakian beginning sometime around 1974. This pig spent literally dozens of hours a month, as many as 60 hours, maintaining surveillance at the homes of various RCP leaders, copying down the license plates of all cars in the immediate area, giving physical descriptions of visitors and naming those he knew by sight, at times following people thought to be national and local leadership and faithfully turning over all of his information to the Chicago FBI office.

But other examples of this pig's work reveal that his assignment was much more significant than just reporting back on the comings and goings of various people. Included in his portfolio are a number of pictures he had taken of the Workers Center in Chicago, which he called the RCP National Office. The peculiar thing about these particular pictures is the fact that they are taken from every conceivable angle and that in each of these pictures the windows are prominently circled. The significance of his assignment becomes even clearer in connection with his spying on Bob Avakian. This spying was done at all hours of the day and night, presumably to establish some kind of familiarity with Chairman Avakian's daily routine. The reports included large sections on how Bob Avakian disposed of his garbage, what kind of bags it was in and detailed how he waited outside his home until the trucks picked the garbage up before he went inside the house. One particularly significant report detailed a layout of

the outside of the Chairman's home including the various points of access to the inside. His description of everything from the view inside the back of the house, the fence surrounding the backyard and the dogs in the yard, to the security measures regarding the windows and doors leave little doubt as to what his layout was in preparation for. This, in combination with his vivid description of the view inside of the Chairman's house from varying vantage points are reminders of the political police's preparation for the murder of Chicago Panther leader Fred Hampton.

This is significantly strengthened when put in conjunction with a parallel assignment this same pig was carrying out for the FBI—infiltrating the leadership levels of a notorious, police-controlled, once "leftist", and now openly right-wing cult infamous for attacks on leftist groups, particularly the RU and RCP. After years of spying on Chairman Avakian and other RCP leaders and collecting volume after volume of information on their lives and layouts of the Chairman's home, this pig was suddenly given extra duty with the above organization. Who can possibly doubt what was being planned? All this is added to by the statements of one Joe Burton, a self-confessed FBI agent-provocateur, attesting to the use of assassination when all else failed to "neutralize" a specific individual. According to Burton himself and columnist Jack Anderson, Burton had been assigned to assassinate a revolutionary activist in Tampa, Florida a few years earlier.

In both these examples nothing stands out more sharply than the fact that these "investigations" of Bob Avakian, actually premeditated efforts to "neutralize" him, were predicated on highly-political motivations, not "criminal activity." Yet today the ruling class would have us believe that their pursuit of Bob Avakian is a purely "criminal matter."

While these documents do paint a graphic picture of what lies behind the attack on Bob Avakian and the RCP, the information on electronic surveillance currently being battled over will both significantly strengthen this picture and show how it has intensified and developed in every aspect up to the present day. Without a doubt the battle around this information will be a major political battle. The stakes involved for the ruling class are very high, not only as it pertains to the railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, and to Bob Avakian's demand for political exile in France and the overall attacks on the Party, but also to the increasing necessity of the ruling class to carry out and intensify these kinds of attacks on revolutionary elements broadly throughout society. □

# Gov't. Accelerates Railroad Attempt Against Salvadoran Tour Members

In non-stop hearings in Tulsa on Dec. 2nd and 3rd, the government furiously intensified the pace of its attack on the Salvadoran revolutionaries' speaking tour, which began with the arrest of the four tour members in Oklahoma on Oct. 12. The two Salvadorans are currently charged with the federal misdemeanor of "failure to have immigration papers," while the tour facilitator and translator are charged with the felony "transporting illegal aliens." The Salvadorans also face the threat of deportation as "illegal aliens," and have filed for political asylum, which will be determined in separate proceedings in the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) court system.

On the morning of Dec. 2nd, defense attorneys came into the pre-trial court hearing with a battery of motions to counter the government's attack on the tour. The judge promptly ordered his entire calendar cleared for the next day-and-a-half—including postponing a jury trial—cancelled all breaks, including lunch, and then turned to the defense and asked, oozing with venom, now how can we work together to make sure this trial comes off on Dec. 21?

Gears had been set in motion since the week before, when there had been a curiously silent passivity on the part of the government in response to defense motions. Obviously some directive had come down—and with force. Motion after motion was denied in rapid-fire sequence; hearings were scheduled at an almost unheard of pace, three and four a week up to the trial. The prosecutors were panting hungrily: the government is ready to try this case *this afternoon*, one arrogantly proclaimed.

The stakes of this case have certainly not been lost on the judge or the prosecution. Their monitoring of the tour through the travel restrictions imposed on the translator (and in other ways as well) has certainly made it clear that the tour is continuing despite their maneuvers. In the last few weeks, programs have taken place at Tufts and Harvard Universities in Boston, at Howard University in D.C., in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, down in Atlanta and Athens, Georgia, and other places. They have been well-attended, both by people from the U.S. and by the foreign-born, including large numbers of revolutionary students from abroad. There has also been opportunity for smaller groups of people to get more deeply into the burning questions that face those grappling with the tasks and the opportunities that confront revolutionaries today throughout the world. Coming at a time like this, particularly when the swirl of events in Central America is once again boiling up, the bourgeoisie are more intent than ever that the revolutionary internationalism of the tour, and its relentless exposure of the hand of imperialism in El Salvador, be stopped. It is all this that is at the heart of their legal attack on the tour.

In the legal case itself, one of the main ways that this battle is shaping up is over the issue of political asylum. After weeks of trying to pretend the issue doesn't exist, the government has now begun to launch an open attack on bringing the question of political asylum into the case. The judge has labelled it "wholly irrelevant," while the U.S. Attorney refers to the "so-called political refugees" (referring to the Salvadorans). The government argues that the Salvadorans are "simply" two more "illegal aliens" that the tour facilitator and translator were transporting—or "smuggling," as the legal term goes—when they just happened to be caught in a routine bust. That what was really being transported on Oct. 12 was a revolutionary speaking tour disappears from view, because the existence of the tour itself prior to the arrest is now being proclaimed "hearsay" evidence (which will certainly be news to many readers who had seen ads

for the tour weeks prior to the arrests). The government has to prove that the "transporting" was in furtherance of the "illegal status" of the Salvadorans, which is obviously ridiculous since the facilitator had accompanied them to an immigration lawyer on Oct. 9 to begin their political asylum application in order to ensure that they were "legal"—not "illegal." Since this blows a hole right through the prosecution case, presto!, suddenly this too is "hearsay" evidence and therefore not relevant. In short, by forcing the tour and political asylum out of the picture the government is trying to present a picture of an utterly routine case—nothing "political" about it—of "smuggling illegal aliens."

In shunting aside the issue of political asylum, the government is interested in more than just wrapping up a nice, tidy—although utterly distorted—package and nailing the tour members. For the issue of political asylum itself raises the covers on just what the U.S. is up to in El Salvador.

Hundreds of thousands have fled from this repressive U.S.-backed junta, so that today Salvadorans are the second largest group of immigrants entering the U.S.—yet the U.S. has systematically denied political asylum to Salvadorans. More than that, some applicants have been hit with bails of thousands of dollars, and then thrown in jail for months awaiting a deportation hearing—others have been returned to the clutches of the murderous junta, "pending the outcome of their hearing." The message to Salvadoran refugees is clear. The U.S. is determined to avoid the political embarrassment of having to outright *deny* political asylum in a country that proclaims itself "the land of the free," especially to those who've fled its vicious repression in the oppressed nations and are themselves an explosive political force.

Because the issue of political asylum is central to both the cases, one of the motions which the defense had made was for a change of venue of the trial to Los Angeles, where the Salvadorans' claim for political asylum was filed with the INS and where the claim will be heard before an INS court. The immigration attorney (whose existence the government considers "hearsay") is there, character witnesses are there, as well as the INS officials who blocked the filing of the claim for asylum in the first place (giving the government time to file an order to show cause, which narrows the defendants' legal options).

Despite all this, the motion was denied. The judge even went so far as to blame the denial on the defense attorneys, arguing that it was *their* attack on the U.S. Attorney's office (exposing that the U.S. Attorney was singling out the tour for heavy attack) which made it necessary to have the trial in Oklahoma in order to clear up the good name of these "unjustly accused" local prosecutors.

There was, of course, not a word of the government's real reasons for denying the change of venue motion. Because L.A. is where the political asylum issue would be heard, this would create more favorable terrain for making this issue central to the case—and harder for the government to quash it. The U.S. role in Latin America is especially well-known, and hated, there, and the issues of immigration, "illegal aliens" and political asylum are particularly volatile because of the large number of immigrants, especially from Central and Latin America. There is also a significant social movement against INS attacks—people have blocked buses carrying "deportees," and immigrants sought by the INS have been housed in church buildings which they lock up tight.

Besides all this, moving the trial to L.A. would almost certainly have meant a delay—something that the government is extremely wary of. The

tour would be seen by many hundreds more; spreading its exposure of their system. Support would rally, focusing a sharper spotlight on the government's attack. Ben Baker, the Ass't. U.S. Attorney in charge of the case, stated that since the arrests were made there have been an "avalanche" of motions, dozens and dozens of letters and phone calls, that they (presumably those defending the tour—*RW*) have circulated his name personally and gone on radio talk shows to talk about the case, that there have been "daily articles in the communist press" all around the country with information that could only have been supplied by these people. If a continuance is granted, he concluded, then "I'll tell you" what will happen, this "bombardment of propaganda" will continue, there will be more hearings and more "frivolous motions." Such is the stuff that U.S. Attorneys' nightmares are made of.

During the two days of hearings, some of the government's prior maneuverings in the course of this attack have also become clearer. It turns out, for instance, that of 1,002,996 unregistered immigrants arrested in 1979, the INS singled out only *eight* of those arrested for prosecution and conviction on the federal misdemeanor charge which has been brought against the Salvadorans. It appears that the government was not certain at first whether a political asylum claim had been filed or whether they could block it, so, intent on disrupting the tour through whatever means they could, they brought this rarely-used petty charge in order to make sure that the

Salvadorans were held and that the government obtained the most maneuvering room possible.

The two days of hearings have revealed an intensifying, and accelerating, government attack. They are determined to prevent the tour from continuing in the increasingly volatile conditions today. In his latest move, the judge has ordered that the translator be in court on Dec. 11, which is the first of two days the tour is scheduled to appear in Houston, Texas.

But despite these attacks, the tour is forging ahead—and in fact, is growing stronger from the struggle to defeat them and turn them around. This weekend, Dec. 4-6, the tour will take part in the historic New York session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal, followed by programs on Dec. 11 and 12 in Houston. The tour is determined to not only emerge victorious from the trials in late December, but then to proceed to carry forward with the West Coast appearances, as well as Hawaii.

This cannot and will not be done without the efforts of many people, particularly those who long to see the revolutionary internationalism of the tour become a much more powerful force today. Contributions are needed for the expenses of the tour overall, but now particularly for the legal defense, and should be sent to: RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. Statements demanding that the government grant the Salvadorans political asylum and drop all the charges against the tour should be sent to: Ben Baker, 333 West 4th St., Tulsa, OK 74354. □

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# New Gov't. Tactic in Draft Registration

On November 2nd, Rusty Martin, a student at the University of Northern Iowa, received a notice informing him that he had been officially registered for the draft. Martin's draft registration came as a total surprise, especially since he had already refused to register, was active in the anti-draft movement, and was one of the 183 draft resisters who had been warned earlier last summer of possible legal prosecution for their stand. According to Justice Department officials, Martin's registration was the result of a new "experimental registration," allowing the Department of Justice and its U.S. Attorneys to register draft resisters without their knowledge or consent. This latest policy is a blatant and frenzied move against those who have thus far refused to register for the draft. The intended message is, "better not refuse, it won't do any good since we're just going to register you anyway and then your troubles will be just beginning." And this "constructive registration" is an indication of just how serious the government is in pressing ahead with the draft as a crucial part of its preparations for war. This seriousness was sharply underscored by the methods used by the government in gathering together the information necessary to register Martin. For quite some time Martin had carefully worked to keep that information out of the hands of the Selective Service, going so far as to receive mail and messages through an anti-draft

organization rather than at his home. Supposedly the Selective Service and the Justice Department are not permitted to dig into other "protected files" for any information, such as Social Security and other official files. But, in this case the Department of Justice admitted to retrieving Martin's birthdate, Social Security number, and address from another file—a request submitted by Martin under the Freedom of Information Act to the FBI in Omaha, Nebraska. It was another, none-too-subtle, message that they intend to hit back at those who challenge them and their plans to bring back the draft, and a clear attempt to open the door to more extensive use of government files in tracking people down, hounding and harassing them and trying to force them into the military.

While the re-establishment of draft registration nearly two years ago was an initial big step in preparation for bringing back the draft full scale, by itself it was only a beginning. And despite some official "debate," the government has aggressively pursued its plans. From the beginning, draft registration has helped unleash a lot of opposition to war preparations—opposition that has been manifested in a number of ways including the outright "failure" of hundreds of thousands to sign up for the draft. According to government officials, the number of people who have refused to register is conservatively estimated to be 800,000. According to a

number of anti-draft groups, a more realistic estimate puts the number closer to one million, and if all those who have registered illegally (by providing false information on their registration forms) are added to the picture, the numbers may jump to more than 1.5 million. And, although Selective Service officials publicly bluster about the success of draft registration, when pushed on the subject they admit to more than a slight concern with the fact that the percentage of qualified men registering for the draft has steadily declined over the last two years, reaching 77% as of the latest round of registration.

In attempting to deal with this situation, the ruling class has mounted a two-pronged campaign. On one side they are feverishly attempting to whip up public opinion in favor of the draft and war, like running out TV commercials featuring the silly mug of aging DJ Wolfman Jack, howling about the "privileges and duties" involved in living in America. On the other side, they have employed outright threats and intimidation and increasingly emphasis is being placed on these methods. In the last 2 years this has included police attacks on and arrests of anti-draft demonstrators, as well as stationing federal officers and agents at various registration points to report on anyone "disrupting" the registration process. More recently, at the beginning of last summer, the Justice Department sent out letters to 183 people known to have

refused registration informing them that within 10 to 15 days of receipt of the letter, federal indictments could be handed down against them. To date no indictments have been issued, indicating the unwillingness of the ruling class to take on just yet the political exposure and potential opposition that would undoubtedly be involved in any anti-draft trials today.

Rusty Martin, however, was not about to let the government off so easily. When he received his notice of registration, he quickly shot off his own notice to the Selective Service stating, "I do not accept this registration," and publicly denounced it. Following this exposure, the Justice Dept. announced that it was "having second thoughts" about its "constructive registration." Whether they decide to halt this new procedure right now or continue it, and regardless of whatever further measures they adopt to pressgang people into their army, there is no way that they are going to avoid fierce resistance to the draft and all their war plans. They are certainly deadly serious about raising an army and recruiting millions of bodies to litter the battlefields of the world war they are feverishly preparing for. And they are not only afraid of the opposition to the draft that already exists but even more what it portends for the future, especially in the midst of that madness they are intent on unleashing on a world scale. □

# The Murder of Ed Marksman

"Ed stood for change from an imperialist system to one that would meet the needs of the common people. People at the bottom of society. Ed constantly stressed that the struggle for liberation was not a Black struggle, but a struggle for all oppressed people. He wanted everybody in the U.S. to have their consciousness raised and understand what the struggle was all about."

These are the words a friend and colleague used to describe Edwin Marksman, 44, a Black revolutionary nationalist recently murdered on the streets of Chicago. The 500 people who turned out to attend a memorial service held on November 16 are a testimony to the love and respect engendered by Ed's tireless efforts to raise the political understanding of those he worked with during his many years of political activism.

The Chicago Police Department has labelled Ed's murder an open and shut case. Another Black man dead; motive—robbery. But there are some extremely suspicious facts surrounding this case, notably that the "robbers" fled the scene without taking \$225 from Ed's pocket even though there were no witnesses to the attack. The assault occurred on November 12 at 3 a.m. after Ed stepped off the bus in the West Side neighborhood where he lived. People in the vicinity at the time told police they saw two men fleeing the area and carrying baseball bats. The first to spot Ed were two detectives who took him to the hospital where he died while being prepared for surgery. He was stabbed in the back, his left arm was broken and he had been badly beaten on the head and body.

Ed was an associate professor of

social work at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus. He was the faculty sponsor for the Black Student Association at Circle Campus and participated in many other struggles and organizations, including the community organization Tranquility House. Rather than casting people's eyes solely to the day-to-day struggle, he ceaselessly strove to raise their sights to important political questions and world affairs.

A firm supporter of national liberation struggles, the walls of his office were papered with posters from around the world, particularly Southern Africa. The publications of various progressive organizations were stacked all over his chairs. He was always talking with his students or friends about what he had just read.

Ed put great emphasis on the people he worked with in the Black community deepening their own understanding through struggle with different views and lines. Ed's distinctive trademark was the shopping bag he incessantly carried with him filled with literature, flyers and newspapers including the *Revolutionary Worker* and RCP pamphlets. He had xeroxed off a number of copies of the Joint Communique *To The Marxist-Leninists, The Workers And The Oppressed Of All Countries* to hand out to his friends.

A member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade told the *RW*, "The first time I met Ed was when we had put up a table in the Student Center at Circle Campus in January and we were agitating around the trials of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. He came up to purchase an *RW* and a Chiang Ching button saying he had been a great admirer of revolu-

tionary China and Mao. He said that until Chiang had made her defiant stand in the face of the present rulers of China, he himself had been confused as to the road China was taking now, but was inspired to learn that the lessons and understanding of the Cultural Revolution were being defended and propagated.

"He was always open, even very eager, to discuss why revolution was never successful in the '60s in this coun-

try" and how we should sum up the Black Panther Party. In fact, Ed was eager to struggle about any cardinal question affecting the world struggle, particularly if it touched on the question of the consciousness of the masses. He did not want to just 'give people the facts,' but for them to understand the workings of this man-eating imperialist system and for them to transform it through revolution." □



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## Lummi Indian Convictions

# Jailed for Spirit Dancing

On Friday, November 13, in a federal courtroom in Seattle, visiting judge Dildy was giving a lecture to the audience, 13 of whom were being sentenced in what had become known locally as the "Bald Eagle" case. He sermonized that in many ways crimes against harmless birds are worse than crimes against people, who can at least defend themselves, and that he was forced to make an example of these callous criminals to prevent any more senseless killings of the symbols of America. With that, he handed down prison sentences ranging from six months to five years for 8 of the 22 people originally indicted. Most of the 22 are Lummi Indians. Five others had already been sentenced to prison terms. Three were fined. Four others were placed on probation, one was acquitted, and charges against three have been dropped.

Officially, the charges brought down on the Native Americans were for illegally trafficking eagle feathers and parts. But from start to finish, the federal government's intentions were anything but the protection of this species "threatened" in the State of Washington. They were out to terrorize Native Americans, particularly in the Northwest, and deliver a blow to the rejuvenating spiritual customs of the region's Native peoples. Most of the Lummis arrested are traditional dancers, including teenagers as well as

men and women in their 60s and 70s, Natives of every age. Five percent of the Lummi reservation's population was arrested and convicted in this case. Several are tribal elders. Federal and state wildlife agents began to hunt and concoct evidence for such a case in the spring of 1980. They often provided their "suspects" with money for ammunition for the Indians to go hunt eagles. One agent, who had been posing as a friend of the Lummis, convinced a tribal elder to do him a favor and get him certain feathers he needed to complete a bustle (ceremonial object) he was making. She agreed "just this one time," and, months later, found that criminal charges were hanging over her.

The very viciousness with which the arrests were carried out is an indication of the government's true intentions in this case. A total of 65 agents were unleashed, armed to the teeth, breaking into people's homes in the early morning of July 24, 1981. One Lummi witnessed a raid on the home of a 70-year-old woman in a trailer park on the reservation: "They didn't have a warrant. They handcuffed her and kept her handcuffed for three hours.... They kicked the door in and threatened her, 'If you move I'll blow you away.' They came in at 5:30 in the morning and pulled her out of bed. She's too old to be pushed around like that. They shackled her up.... She won't leave her

room since it happened." A person who witnessed another raid on the Lummi reservation the same morning described it to the *RW* this way: "They were like the goddamn Gestapo. They came in here and shackled our people, surrounded their houses, pointed shotguns and automatic weapons at their heads. The whole point was to scare the living hell out of people."

Many ceremonial objects were illegally seized in these raids. One woman told the *RW* that her brother had just finished carving a mask of an eagle out of cedar, using an eagle beak. It was to be used in the dancing. He was arrested and the mask seized as "evidence."

In the aftermath of the arrests, a U.S. Attorney smugly announced that this was "probably the biggest arrest in the history of western Washington for the illegal killing of wild creatures." Evidence of the smokescreen here is seen in the fact that during the trial of the Lummis and others, a white man was arrested for shooting a bald eagle and fined \$500—and that was the end of that. Undoubtedly the only reason this fellow was even fined was exactly because the Lummi trial was in progress. And if one wants to talk about eagles, it should be noted that it is the U.S. Attorney's employers who are guilty of a two-fold offense: killing the creatures wholesale, and worse, embuing the poor bird with reactionary content.

Nearly every defendant in the "Bald Eagle" case was also sentenced to an extended period of probation. This is not unusual in itself, but one stipulation of the probation is particularly revealing. It states that those convicted may not have any contact with anyone who has anything to do with eagles or eagle feathers.

Like the original arrests and every-

thing that has followed, this has nothing to do with "protecting an endangered species," but is a coldly conscious move designed to thwart and repress traditional Native cultural practices, the pursuit of which is viewed by the authorities as a distinct threat. It is part of a general attack on Natives, as can be seen in many prisons where Native culture and spiritualism are constantly under the gun. (We have unconfirmed reports that in other parts of the country, people are being hounded on "eagle charges" like the Lummis and we would appreciate hearing from readers who are aware of this.) In the past few years, many younger Lummis have begun learning some of these practices for the first time, spirit dancing in particular. This has strengthened ties with the elders, and is very much intertwined with resistance to oppression, cultural and otherwise.

The press has had a heyday with the arrests and trials in this case, taking every possible opportunity to paint Indians as responsible for the decimation of the eagle population and as being generally unconcerned with the environment. All of this goes hand in hand with other attempts to whip up a reactionary storm against Native Americans in the Northwest. Shortly after these sentences were handed down, lines on two Lummi fishing boats moored in a Seattle marina were cut. The two fishing boats—used by the tribe for making a living—were worth \$125,000 and \$300,000, and appeared to have been towed out of the marina, where one was left to sink and the other grounded. This followed a whole series of attacks on Native fishermen in the Puget Sound area, including the probable murder of AIM activists Roque Duenas and Kevin Henry in nearby Commencement Bay. □

## Flag Raising

Continued from page 5

was usually also the case when it was us who got ambushed. After daybreak we went down and did the body count and collected the packs, weapons, papers, etc. I found a brand-new NLF flag wrapped in plastic near one of the bodies. Later, G.I.'s in the rear offered hundreds of dollars to buy it as a war souvenir. I refused to sell it but was ambivalent about what to do with it—take it home as a personal souvenir or return it to Vietnamese civilians somewhere. Although I wanted above all else to survive in one piece and go home standing up, the flag concentrated up the fact that this was not my war and that the Vietnamese who died in that ambush were really not my enemy. My feeling toward the NVA/NLF was fear and respect, not hatred, even though my goal was personal survival. But the brass were even more a threat to our

survival, they kept ordering us out, and you couldn't always avoid contact when you were out. The hatred became directed against the brass.

Last evening at Americal division headquarters at Chu Lai before going to Cam Ranh Bay for a flight to the states and discharge. Several of us pass a bong and stay up talking, about going home and what we've been through, and what it all means. Lots of cynicism, anger at the brass, disgust and resentment (the cynical G.I. expressions of "It don't mean nothing" and "There it is" are used a lot); all this combines with relief that for us, "it's all over now."

Not quite. Three of us steal out of the barracks just before daybreak and locate a headquarters building with a flagpole. As dawn cracks over Chu Lai, three clenched-fist salutes greet the flag of the National Liberation Front, flying from a flag pole in the heart of the giant U.S. Army base.

Then we slip away. The Vietnam tour is nearly over, but for us, and for many other Vietnam vets as well, it is *Only The Beginning*. □

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and  
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# The River

Continued from page 7

This song is so real, so typical of the way the question of the necessity to struggle to change things, including in the relationship between this man and this woman, presents itself to people who urgently want change. The alternatives are presented with such reality that the question answers itself. . . there is no real alternative except struggle. The contradictions are not going to go away and you will either struggle or "become the hand that turns the key."

Objectively then, the song goes up against the conventional liberal wisdom that the liberation of women is a matter of struggle *solely* between men and women (Oh yes, and equal pay for equal work, too). While this is incredibly important, if it takes place only on its own terms, it is bound to degenerate into self-centered and mutually antagonistic and destructive garbage called "Who is going to get fucked around here." Perhaps that is why some people who identify with that class which is the beneficiary of this human carnage don't like the song and, if there is to be struggle, would rather see it take the form of men and women beating each other's brains out?

But there is indeed a valid question amidst all the muck that has been raised. It revolves around who it is that Springsteen the artist puts on the stage, who does he think "typical" and of what contradictions. In order to get at real weaknesses in his politics (whether consciously held or not) concerning women, and to raise *helpful* criticism (what's wrong with *that*) you have to look at something else.

Throughout his works, Springsteen has been able to concentrate the everyday phenomenon, and typify the contradictions and struggle within them of a section of the American people who are caught up in the reality of the horrible illusion of the American Dream, but who are beginning to question its truth in very basic, even ideological ways.

The core of his audience, the ones who, at any given time, by word of mouth and without the "aid" of record industry promo-experts, have swelled the ranks of his audience to equal that of any hyped-out band in Rock & Roll, the core of his audience are *recent casualties* from the mainstream.

Springsteen's characters have most often been those who find the actual content of their lives utterly intolerable, but who are shackled even in their rebellion, by illusory, narrow, and even sometimes self-centered roads of escape. If lies are sold, they are also bought.

Perhaps unbeknownst even to Springsteen himself, all this is coming to a head, and with a vengeance, on *The River*.

Springsteen said of this album:

"On this album, I just said, 'I don't understand all these things. I don't see where all these things fit. I don't see how all these things can work together.' It was because I was always focusing on some small thing; when I stepped back, they made a sense of their own. It was just a situation of living with all these contradictions. And that's what happens. There's never any resolution. You have moments of clarity, things become clear to you that you didn't understand before. But there's never any making ends meet or finding any time of long-standing peace of mind about something."

In the broadest sense, there is certainly no way of avoiding contradictions. Material reality, including the human brain, is always changing. That is the way things are and so it's a fine thing. But Springsteen makes a mistake when he sums up that it's a question of living with all these contradictions. These contradictions can be resolved, and new and different ones will emerge. He does not yet really, fully know that.

Springsteen, and his characters, and much of his audience, are up against the fact that, urgently demanding and desirous of some fundamental change, they haven't much of an idea of how to go about it. But there is something that is resolved on this album, and on a fairly high, if ideological and not political, level. There is no way that the struggle

to understand and change things is going to be abandoned.

The album "works" on many levels. The questions introduced concerning marriage and the family (which are themselves more universally significant) are resolved with "Drive All Night". What is posed in this song as fully possible now between men and women under the conditions of being "prisoners all our lives" is love as a temporary retreat, or even love as possible only when the people concerned are conscious of all the dirt that is being heaped on them and others every day.

"The Price You Pay" is so universal in its significance that it *could* (and was not) have been written about for instance Chiang Ching. This is not so far-fetched, however, since the image of Moses conjures up nothing if not someone who led people out of slavery.

According to Springsteen, the album's title song "The River" draws much from a song by Hank Williams, "Long Gone Lonesome Blues".

I'm gonna find me a river  
One that's cold as ice  
I'm gonna find me a river  
And Lord, I'm gonna pay the price  
I'm goin' down in it three times  
But Lord I'm only comin' up  
twice

Hank Williams was committing suicide by the method of heroin addiction when the process was stopped short by an auto accident. Viewed in this light, the question of the content of living and dying, the content of "the price you pay" is surely being posed, and the answer seems to be that the whole state of affairs where living and dying has a price tag should be torn down and thrown away.

A stranger passing by put up a sign  
That counts the men who've fallen  
away  
To the price you pay  
And girl before the end of the day  
I'm gonna tear it down  
And throw it away

With the ante way up, "in these times" it is more than encouraging and something to learn from to know that the same artist who earlier wrote the following lines in "Jungleland" puts a character on the stage who is considering the price he'll pay in the context of tearing the whole set up which demands such things down:

And the poets down here  
Don't write nothing at all  
They just stand back and let it all  
be  
And in the quick of a knife  
They reach for their moment  
And try to make an honest stand  
But they wind up wounded  
And not even dead  
Tonight in Jungleland

But despite all this there is a bothersome, nagging current, and try as you might, you could not call it a counter-current, that runs through the entire album. Springsteen has a love/hate attitude towards the American Dream where previously there was a feeling of total rebellion against it. This is not, however, really so surprising. Events in the world have made the question far less academic, far more urgent, and practical than ever before.

The characters in "Ramrod," "Cadillac Ranch" and the father in "Independence Day" are images, typical characters who are becoming "extinct" like the Cadillac itself. Speaking about "Ramrod", Springsteen said: "All the characters, they're part of the past, they're part of the future and they're part of the present. And I guess in "Ramrod" there was a certain frightening aspect to seeing one that wasn't part of the future"

and  
'Well, it's so anachronistic, you know. The character—it's impossible, what he wants to do. One of the ideas of it, when I wrote it, it was sort of like a partner to "Cadillac Ranch" and a few things, it's got that old big engine sound. That song is a goddamn gas guzzler (laughing). And that was the sound I wanted, that big, rambling, big engine sound. And this guy, he's there, but he's really not there no more. He's the guy in "Wreck on the Highway"—either guy actually. But he's also the guy, in the end who says, 'I'll give you

the word, now, sugar, we'll go ramrod-din' forevermore'. I don't know; that's a real sad line to me sometimes. . . but it's a funny kinda thing. I love it when we play that song on stage. It's just a happy song, a celebration of all that stuff that's gonna be gone—is gone already, almost."

These characters and their fear of change, their feeling of having *something to lose* are presented not only compassionately, but *sympathetically* even though the son in "Independence Day" is overall not himself caught up in these illusions.

There's just different people  
coming down here now  
And they see things in different  
ways  
And soon everything we've known  
Will just be swept away. . .  
And Papa, I never meant to take  
those things away

There were slaves, since and lately called "house niggers," who supported the slave masters in the struggle *against* slavery. Should we have for them compassion, much less sympathy? They had something to lose! And they lost it!

Is it inevitable that Springsteen and The Clash must be compared? Probably so, since they both are part of the same social trend and have, to one degree or another, interpenetrating audiences (and God forbid a world where it's possible to like and be inspired by only one band, one kind of music, etc., etc.). In The Clash's "Something About England," there is no sympathy at all for those who are pained by "the different people coming down here now," who think that "It would be wine and roses if England were for Englishmen again." There are those (and in fact they are millions) for whom England was *never* "wine and roses," who tend to welcome "different people coming down here," who at least sense that this adds strength to the struggle to leave "old England all alone." Now certainly the father in "Independence Day" is no "respected gentleman." And that is just the point. How could a worker sound more like a "respected gentleman" than an oppressed person who welcomes, indeed urgently demands profound change?

It has something to do with why Springsteen and The Clash are constantly being compared. Each represents (among others) the very best, understood in the historic sense, that has currently been brought forward by the working class of the respective countries. And it being the case that half the U.S. working class to this day is paid above the value of its labor power and that this is possible only because of the international plunder by the U.S. bourgeoisie, it stands to reason that there are a number of people within the working class itself who feel they have something to lose "when different people come down here." That is not to imply that there are no such problems in the British working class, but they are not as severe or are different.

The "house nigger/field hand" analogy describes what is in fact a split within the working class itself, and it is every bit as real, and the stakes are even higher, as far as historic change goes, than they were in the Civil War.

There is objectively *that* kind of conflict on this album, which is a concentration or a "universal" of the larger conflict in this country and the world. Bruce Springsteen has one foot planted among the truly advanced and revolutionary-minded people, and one foot planted among the mainstream.

This conflict accounts also for the "feeling" of the music on this album, and especially side 4, which is extremely "moody" and even painful. There is, along with cajun music ("Cadillac Ranch"), a heavy rendering and synthesizing of early '60s "frat rock" (à la "Louie, Louie"). This, too, has a meaning as does the fact there is no punk or reggae on the album.

But it should give some people pause to consider the fact that in the early '60s while the public opinion-makers of the bourgeoisie were applauding this music as representing the idea that "the kids just want to dance," bubbling under the surface of this placid lake was a veritable Mt. St. Helens.

The music of the eruption of the rebellion to come was "Dancing in the Streets" by Martha and the Vandellas.

The image of "dancing" in America is bound up with all *this* and that's a fact Jack!

It is in this light that weaknesses in Springsteen's thinking on "The Woman Question" exist and should be evaluated. Throughout his works, and including this album, there are no strong women characters at all with the exception of "She's the One" (*Born to Run* album). This is perhaps a real phenomenon in the mainstream, but if it's real or "typical" in the proletariat and among other revolutionary and progressive masses, I'll eat my pork pie hat!

Springsteen's thinking is *contradictory*, and to some degree self-consciously so, on this and other questions. He, and the advanced among his audience, seem to be agonizing over what are objectively crucial questions for millions of people. This itself represents an advance, but at the same time requires further leaps. That is why the kind of "criticism" which uses weaknesses to beat down strengths, which jumps at any excuse to attack rather than help and explain, should itself be attacked.

Bruce Springsteen's ideological line has always been his strength. Through all the contradictions posed on *The River*, the killing thing, the thing he refuses to do, is to give up and worse yet call on others or let his actions be used as a call to give up, to let himself become one more who has fallen away to the price you pay, another who in being a casualty is turned into a weapon, the deadly, murdering weapon of cynicism, aimed against those who have not given up dreaming and searching for something better, higher.

\*\*\*\*\*

*Rebels from America and Ireland in a home in Belfast, Falls Road area; exchanging information, ideas, rebel experience, questions, problems. . . and music. One Irish youth sings a song describing the way the Brits come into people's homes in the morning "looking for terrorists" and take people away for internment (prison with no trial). And then he breaks into "Racing in the Streets" by Bruce Springsteen, and he sings it with a passion. They all sing it.*

The great revolutionary artist, A.M. Gorky took a "defencist" (support your own bourgeoisie and fight for the Fatherland) position, and publicly at that, concerning World War I in 1914. V.I. Lenin wrote a public letter to him saying:

"Every class-conscious worker will feel a pang when he sees Gorky's signature alongside that of P. Struve under the chauvinistic-clerical protest against German Barbarity. . . Therefore, the class-conscious workers, who well realise the falsehood and the vulgarity of this hypocritical protest. . . must feel that they have to rebuke the author of *The Song of The Falcon*. They will tell him: 'At this hard and responsible moment through which the proletariat of Russia is going, we expected you to go hand in hand with its leading fighters and not with Mr. Struve and Co.!' " (Lenin and Gorky Letters, Reminiscences and Articles, pp. 220)

Despite whatever problems he might have encountered, that is exactly, with the help of the "leading fighters," what A.M. Gorky thereafter did.

Because Bruce Springsteen has stood so tall, because he has dared to fight, and dared to win, the rebel guttersnipes of the world such as those on Falls Road, expect very much of him indeed. And especially the class-conscious workers should remember that those who are still on top of the world and desperate to stay there will demand that he fall a long way down, for the same reasons. With the help of "the leading fighters" I do not think he will oblige the bloodsuckers.

"And that's what I thought about in the studio. I thought about going out and meeting people I don't know. Going to France and Germany and Japan, and meeting Japanese people and French people and German people, meeting them and seeing what they think, and being able to go over there with something. To go over there with a pocketful of ideas or to go over there with just something, to be able to take something over. And boom! To do it."

# Revolution Books Accused of Squatting at New NY Location

The doors had not even opened on the new location for Revolution Books, New York, when a new attempt was launched to shut them down. In response to the persistent harassment and eviction moves against Revolution Books at its previous location, the store mobilized the support and money needed to open at an even better location right in Greenwich Village. Even as the boxes of revolutionary literature were being unpacked and readied for the store's opening, the latest attack was underway as a gentleman stormed into the new store announcing he was the real owner of this property and intended to have the staff arrested for trespassing! This surprise visit was followed quickly by yet another person claiming to be the genuine landlord, who shouted, "Don't bother to fix it up—just get out!"

A few days later, legal papers were served on the store, declaring Revolution Books to be squatters and ordering a court appearance.

It seems that the man who rented the property to Revolution Books is not the actual owner of the property, but had only been leasing it himself (for more than six years) and was now subletting it to the bookstore. This fact came to light just shortly before the bookstore moved in, but the staff was assured that everything had been checked out and okayed with the property owners and a lease could be arranged "as soon as I get back from vacation." Hmmmm. When the real owners started beating the war drums, this fellow's simple response was just, oh, they must be renegeing on the agreement authorizing me to sublet.

Whether this scam was a set-up from the beginning or the result of a falling-out among business partners, it is now clear that all these thieves have united to do in the store. The whole affair reeks of the meddling of the reactionary

agents of the bourgeoisie, including their various political police and their courts. What, for example, instigated the collapse of their agreement to rent to the store? And why did the man who had rented them the property say when he visited the store one day, "Now I see why they are so upset—do you do this for money or for the cause?" when he'd known all along what type of store he was renting to? Why does the civil court judge refuse to hear the store's allegations of fraud?

As Revolution Books' representatives showed up for the first court appearance on Monday, November 30, with their lawyer (who is experienced in commercial rent law) prepared to ask for a routine postponement to allow time to secure all relevant witnesses, they were met with an unprecedented move by the judge, who denied the postponement and moved the case to trial right on the spot. He then proceeded to listen to the landlord's agents piously explain how they'd been cheated out of their property. Their lawyer was given ample opportunity to run lies about how the store had never even asked for a lease and never had its lawyer get in touch with him. He got so worked up that the landlord's agent had to cool out the lawyer, possibly fearing some straight-up political comments might be blurred out. At the height of his performance he pulled out a letter of support for the store that had been sent to the landlord from a well-known New York University professor. "Evidence," he said, "of threats against the landlord."

During the whole course of this "trial," the store's staff was never even allowed to testify. In response to protests from the store's lawyer about the judge's refusal to listen to the defense, the judge told her "sit down, I will decide when you can speak," and declared that "property owners have

rights in these cases" (by which he meant "property owners are right in these cases" or certainly, the property-owning class is right in this case). The result of this outrageous courtroom scene was that the store was given until December 31 to get out!

But they will find that this new push to shut down Revolution Books will be met head on.

Support for the bookstore has grown through each of the battles it has had to fight in order to stay open—this is the fourth eviction attempt in the last 18 months in New York City alone. In September of 1980, the previous landlord tried to evict the store because it was behind in rent, but the money was raised and he was forced to back off. In December of the same year, he had the store padlocked shut in a set-up—eviction notices and undeposited rent checks arriving at the store on the same day—but this scam was exposed and several thousand dollars raised to reopen the store. Then in July of 1981, he refused to renew the lease but was forced to grant a three-month extension so the store could find another place. It represented a victory, over these attempts to shut down Revolution Books altogether, that the store was able to move to the new and better location.

In fact, the move to this new location was made possible by the participation of hundreds of people, a successful moving sale, donations from store supporters (raising nearly \$2,000 altogether), and the ideas and time of those who helped to plan and fix up the new place and to move shelves and stock. In just one month at the new store, many people have come in to express their support in this battle and their concern for the store's future. This included the publisher of a national weekly political magazine, the head of the political science department of a nearby school who's been fighting

for the store to get the textbook trade for his department's students, several progressive authors (two of whom attended the grand opening of the store to talk about their books), and countless residents from the neighborhood coming in to buy books and to say they were glad that the store had moved into the area. Typical were the remarks of a member of a local dance troupe who said, "Where has this store been, it's great, I've got to come back." She left with a stack of leaflets about the upcoming War Crimes Tribunal and store newsletters for her troupe.

Plans are now being made to take on this insidious new attack through various means, including court appeals, but chiefly and most importantly through mobilizing the interest and support of progressive and revolutionary-minded people throughout the entire area on a broader basis than ever before.

The bourgeoisie has shown that it is deadly serious and systematic in trying to hound, disrupt and close down Revolution Books, not just in New York, but in city after city (having employed the same slinky tactic of enlisting reactionary flunky landlords and judges to evict the stores in Berkeley, Boston and Seattle in just the last year.) They cannot and will not let up in their attempts to prevent the promotion and distribution of the powerful revolutionary literature that these stores carry.

The counter-offensive that's called for must rally people around this understanding and drive home the message to the enemy that the people cannot and will not do without these bookstores or the science of revolution that they exist to provide. These attacks must not just be fought but defeated and revolutionary writings must be spread far and wide. [ ]

## Seychelles

Continued from page 3

René, for reasons probably due more to South African politics than events in the Seychelles. Espousing "socialism appropriate to the Seychelles," René made a show of "even-handed treatment" of the superpowers, installed several pro-Soviet officials, and even purchased small arms from the Soviet Union. Yet he also prudently remained within the British Commonwealth, used Tanzanian troops to "maintain order," refused Soviet requests for naval facilities, accepted U.S. economic assistance and eagerly renewed the lease for a U.S. air force satellite tracking station (the largest single employer on the island).

As Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Lannon Walker, testified before Congress as late as this year, "our ESF (Economic Support Fund) assistance would provide a commodity import program to finance vital agricultural imports for the Seychelles and encourage the pragmatic aspects of the government's development program."

But while flirting with the Soviets could have been tolerated at an earlier period, not so now. Giving pointed warning to René in the Seychelles, both the *NY Times* and *U.S. News and World Report* have run feature stories within the last 8 months on the "Soviet danger" in the Seychelles. *Times* military writer Drew Middleton complained that the Soviets had "begun a campaign of what was described as 'ruthless friendship' toward the government of the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. . . . A Soviet presence in the islands, such as the use of naval anchorage and facilities at one of the seven airfields on the island, would counterbalance the proposed establishment of

American naval and air facilities at Mombasa in Kenya." *U.S. News* pooh-poohed "René's phobia" that the U.S. was planning to use mercenaries to overthrow him, then turned right around and threatened the Seychelles by quoting an unidentified U.S. diplomat as saying, "they claim they know what they are doing in playing the superpowers off against each other. But they are involved in a high-risk game."

As it turned out, René's phobia was right on the money, and the U.S. with its South African allies can be expected to try again.

And things don't stop with the Seychelles. Both the U.S. and South Africa are deeply involved in plots to keep the lid on things in Mauritius, the most populous and most potentially explosive of the Indian Ocean mini-states. Some of this came to light earlier this year after *Newsweek* wrote that a group of senators had complained about CIA plans to organize a coup in Libya. The administration tired to play this down by leaking that the target of the coup plot was not Libya, but actually the West African country of Mauritania. But when the government of Mauritania demanded an official explanation, the *Washington Post* dutifully informed us that there was a mix-up in names and the really real target of the coup was not Mauritania, but Mauritius. Whether all or none of these stories is to be believed, both the U.S. and South Africa are heavily involved in the upcoming elections in Mauritius to preserve the rule of Prime Minister Seewoosagar Ramgoolam. With almost 1 million people crowded onto an island of 790 square miles, Mauritius is almost solely dependent on the growing of sugar cane, the world price of which has declined sharply. Mauritius has run up a staggering debt to the International Monetary Fund and foreign banks, and is a model of "instability."

Yet Mauritius remains a major Indian Ocean port-of-call for the U.S. and French fleets. For example, the commander of the U.S. 6th fleet was the main guest at the Mauritian National Day celebration in April, and both the National Security Agency and the British Government Communication Headquarters maintain intelligence listening posts on Mauritius.

In March, South Africa stepped in with \$187 million loan to Ramgoolam's government, for which South Africa expects "moderation" in Mauritius' policy toward South Africa. South Africa also finances the right-wing Mauritian Social-Democratic Party. Pitted against Ramgoolam in the upcoming elections and likely to win, is the Mouvement Militant Mauricien, which contains in its program demands for the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean — a program with obvious implications for the U.S. and company.

For the U.S., the only really stable base in the Indian Ocean is the island of Diego Garcia. With its lagoon dredged out to accommodate an entire carrier task force, and its runway lengthened to 12,000 feet to take fully-loaded B52's, Diego Garcia is in fact a model base — its chief asset being that the entire population of the island was forcibly removed by the British to Mauritius before it was turned over to the U.S.

The "foam blowers" coup plot has given a glimpse of yet another aspect of South Africa's regional role, and the back-and-forth between South Africa and the U.S. had only shed more light on this. As for the "foam blowers" themselves — at least those who are not currently detained in the Seychelles — they have all been released in South Africa. 39 were freed unconditionally with no charges. The *Washington Post* observed that the identity of these mercenaries remained carefully guarded "because most are believed to be

## AND MAO MAKES 5



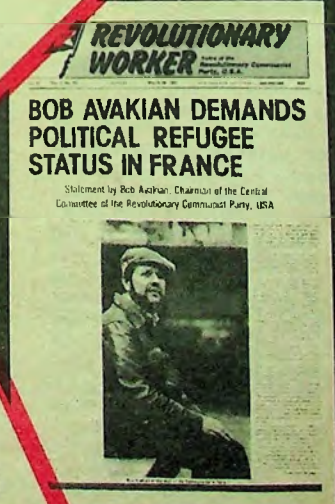
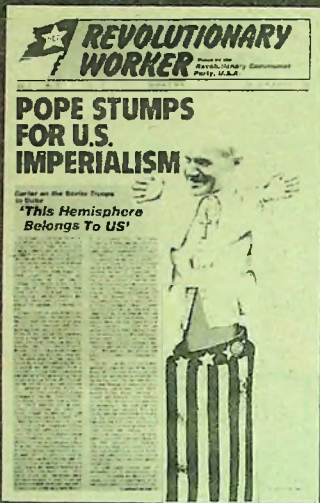
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recently discharged from...South African units that are often used in cross border operations and some of the mercenaries may still be listed as active members of those units." Five others — including Hoare — are now out on bail after being charged with kidnapping. This charge was brought after Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman publicly stated that the mercenaries would be "sternly punished" under South Africa's hijacking law. (South Africa is, after all, well known for its generally stern opposition to "international terrorism"! But alas, a hijacking charge draws a mandatory 5-30 year jail term, while kidnapping charges have no such determined sentence. So, in the event they come to trial at all, the government is able to free the five with some obligatory "punishment" and send them back to work, or on vacation, though presumably not in the Seychelles. [ ]

Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Sadat's assassination; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but that do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said, in creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

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