

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

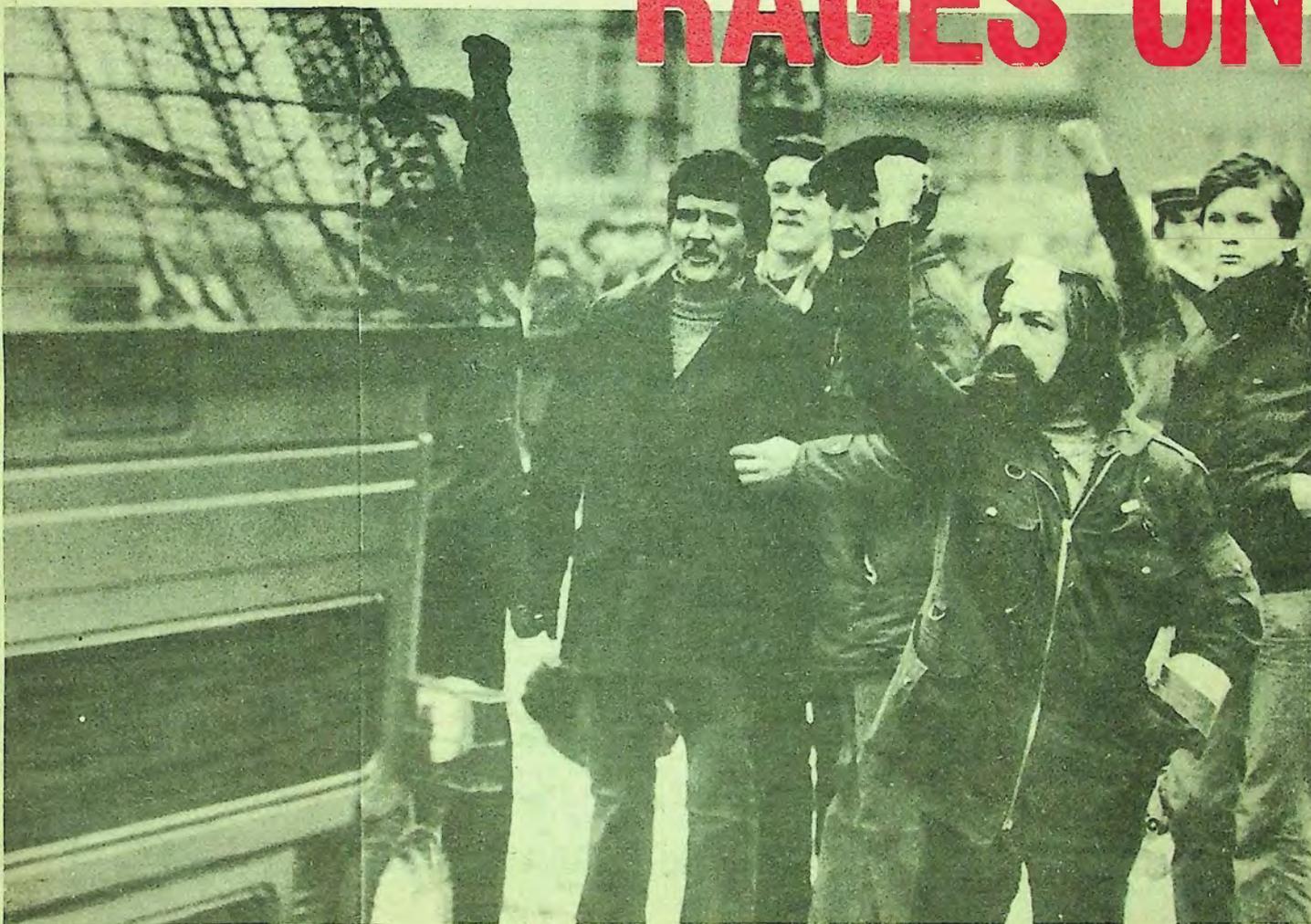
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POLAND: THE TEMPEST RAGES ON



Greeting passing armored police vans in the streets of martial law-ruled Poland.

A severe crisis for imperialism is unfolding in Poland. The country has entered its fourth week of martial law, and a government which wears the mantle of "People's Democracy" has bared its fangs, revealed its true nature, and resorted to the desperate actions of a reactionary ruling class trying to drown the struggle of the workers and the masses of people in blood. Behind Jaruzelski stands the other "fraternal socialist countries," above all the Soviet Union. And arrayed against this social-imperialism of the East stands the U.S. and its imperialist alliance in the West. Poland has become a crossroads of international political conflicts, a focus of compelling forces beyond its national boundaries, a sign of the shape of things to come.

As such—while there can be some

temporary suppression—there can be no "return to normal." This is not the 1960s or early '70s. All this, and the news itself, makes the official Polish government proclamations about gradual victory in their war against "anarchy" and a return of "stability and order" sound hollow indeed—certainly from any long-term point of view.

This has been borne out most visibly by the continuing heroic, valiant and defiant resistance and struggle of the people in Poland, though this appears to have ebbed somewhat from the pitch immediately following the implementa-

tion of the martial law decree. While the news—from both East and West—is chopped and distorted, some of the material is reliable, and between it and open admissions in the Polish press (and that of other revisionist countries), a picture can be drawn which indicates anything but a calm and orderly return to stability.

Continuing Resistance

In the past two weeks, the Polish masses have continued to defy the martial law declaration and the Jaruzelski government, though the resistance has

been increasingly surrounded and isolated by the forces of the state. Thousands in the streets of Gdansk stubbornly refused to melt before the government's repeated onslaughts, dodging tanks and sprays of chemical gas, with scores known to be seriously injured and possibly some killed. After troops cleared the Lenin Shipyard, it was defiantly re-occupied and had to be cleared again. Thousands of coal miners barricaded deep in the Ziemowit and Piast mines near Katowice held out past Christmas, rejecting honey-coated ap-

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Why We Are "What Is To Be Done"—ists
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U.S. Moves to Clot "Massive Hemorrhaging of Classified Documents"

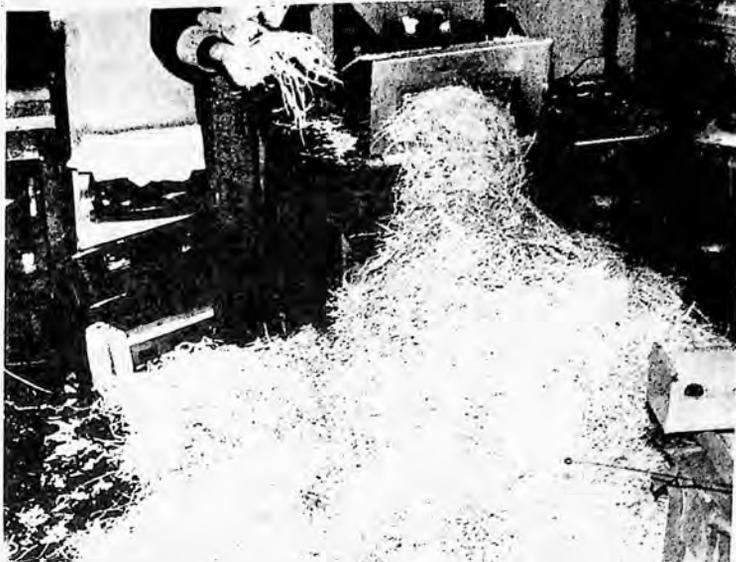
Returning to the so-called "free world" has always been a fairly risky business for journalists who refuse to place their pens at the service of U.S. imperialism. The current case in point is that of the noted Black journalist William Worthy, who returned in early December from an 8-week filming tour of Iran. Mr. Worthy and his film crew shipped their luggage ahead on their return, but their bags were promptly seized by the political police when they arrived at Boston's Logan International Airport. From December 3 until December 8 Lufthansa Airlines steadfastly maintained that the baggage had never arrived. Then the missing bags suddenly "appeared," and Lufthansa admitted that they had been instructed by the FBI to lie about the whereabouts of the bags.

Missing from Mr. Worthy's bags were 11 volumes of published documents from the U.S. embassy in Tehran which have recently gone on sale in Iran. Purchased by Worthy from street news vendors, the volumes contain hundreds of documents previously unavailable, copiously documenting the involvement of the U.S. embassy in the internal life of Iran. One whole volume of the documents, for instance, deals exclusively with the operation of Israeli intelligence in Iran, while other volumes detail the relations between U.S. agents and the Shah's secret police, the SAVAK. One reason for the delay in publishing these documents was obvious from their photographic reproduction. They had been painstakingly reassembled from tens of thousands of slivers of paper found in the embassy paper shredder!

The FBI has admitted that the books are in their custody and are "presently being looked at as part of a pending FBI investigation." Other agents told a member of Mr. Worthy's crew who picked up the baggage that the books were taken under the "theft of government property statutes." And the State Dept. in Washington told the *RW* that they had no part in the matter, but that the documents had been taken as the result of a routine customs examination because the documents were marked "classified." None of the parties involved has explained how books printed in Iran and on sale to the public with Farsi translations are conceivably U.S. government property. While the contents of the documents are now available in Iran, the U.S. government is obviously anxious to suppress any publication of them in the United States.

But with the cat out of the bag and

other sets of the documents doubtlessly flowing out of Iran, it fell to *Newsweek* magazine to issue the new "revised" damage estimate. After two years of the ruling class steadfastly maintaining that nothing of value has been lost in the embassy seizure, *Newsweek's* December 28 issue now gravely informs us that documents lost at the embassy had had "a far graver impact than heretofore grasped — a backlog of sensitive material that continues to compromise U.S. intelligence sources and methods." According to *Newsweek*, while CIA Chief of Station Thomas Ahern was able to shovel his most incriminating documents through the shredder, nine safes full of documents in the military attaché's office fell untouched into the Iranians' hands along with the safes of Charge d'Affaires Bruce Laingen and the embassy's political, economic, consular and security sections. In addition to the compromising documents, the Iranians also netted hundreds of blank U.S. passports and a machine for affixing U.S. visas to Iranian passports (a loss related to the Carter administration's frantic de-



Paper shredder at the U.S. Embassy—the spaghetti from which classified U.S. documents were painstakingly reassembled.

mands that all Iranians in the U.S. come in and re-register).

Moaning even louder, *Newsweek* goes on to reveal that among the documents "compromised" was a complete computer print-out of the true identities of all U.S. agents and sources in Iran, including members of the Iranian armed forces and even members of other embassies in Tehran. The list matched up the two names with 6-digit code numbers used to identify these agents in working documents. Also lost were all intelligence reports from the Defense Attaché's office for 1978 and '79, a month of intelligence reports from the U.S. Pacific and European commands giving details of U.S. surveillance of Soviet military movement, and Defense Intelligence Agency documents that listed the key intelligence targets around the world. "There was a really massive hemorrhaging of classified documents,"

Newsweek quotes one official as crying, "I don't think that's containable. You can't simply change your *modus operandi* worldwide." Well, don't worry, Messrs. Imperialists, your bloodthirsty worldwide *modus operandi* is only too well known to the peoples of the world.

In rushing into print with a few selected military items, *Newsweek's modus operandi* is also well known. By coming out now with a few exposures — and using these to call for even greater military and intelligence preparedness — *Newsweek* hopes to soften the blow of the political exposure and blatant crimes sure to be revealed in the documents by dismissing later exposures as "old news." In reality, *Newsweek's* sudden discovery of the "massive hemorrhage" would not have occurred had it not been for the publication of documents in Iran and William Worthy's timely attempts to bring them back to the U.S.

Mr. Worthy described his extensive tour of Iran to the *RW*. He had visited the war front, including the embattled city of Abadan, prisoner-of-war camps, and symbols of the decadence of the Shah's regime such as lavish palaces. In his long career as a foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, William Worthy has frequently found himself at odds with the U.S. government over the right of progressive journalists to travel and report. In 1956, Worthy traveled to the People's Republic of China in defiance of a travel ban. In retaliation his passport was not renewed by the State Dept. Then in 1961, Worthy, minus a passport, traveled to Cuba in defiance of yet another travel ban by the U.S. government. Upon his return, Worthy was indicted under the 1950 McCarran Act. Worthy's conviction in federal district court was later overturned on appeal. Worthy did not regain a U.S. passport until 1968, but in November of 1964 he was off again, the first American to travel from the U.S. to North Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

In this latest reactionary move of seizing the evidence of its own bloody crimes in Iran, the U.S. government now finds itself, like Shakespeare's Macbeth, trying vainly to wash the spots of blood from its own hands. □

The Stuff That Embassy Hostages Are Made of

For Lawrence and Judy Watson the night of March 27 was a night of terror. It was recently disclosed, in light of the Watsons' \$209,000 lawsuit, that on this night last year, eleven thugs—Balch Springs police—broke into their home. As their children watched in horror Lawrence was slammed up against the wall, a pistol jammed into his stomach. Another cop proceeded to break his toes. Judy Watson was forced to stand naked in front of the pigs. The cops also shot the family dog. It was as if the Marines had landed in Balch Springs, Texas. In fact, one had.

Accompanying these good ol' boys on their night of rampage was former U.S. Embassy guard and ex-hostage Johnny McKeel. Readers may remember McKeel as the ex-hostage who, at their first press conference at West Point, wittily told reporters that all he wanted was some wine and some women. Readers may remember better still that this quip earned him the position of Bacchus, the god of wine, at the Mardi Gras

celebrations. Judging from the night of March 27, McKeel has the heart and soul of a U.S. Marine Corps reveler.

It seems that in addition to having his mug plastered on every telephone pole and in every window of Balch Springs (Lawrence Watson immediately shouted: "Well, look who's here, it's Johnny McKeel."), Johnny had also been appointed to a position as a reserve cop on the local police force. It is obviously a job he relishes for, as one police spokesman explained, McKeel frequently goes marauding...uh, patrolling with Balch Springs cops.

Johnny McKeel is still in the Corps and is currently undergoing aircraft training at the El Toro Marine Base in Santa Ana, California. No doubt Johnny's looking forward to his next leave back to Balch Springs. Maybe they'll let him carry a pistol next time out. It certainly seems that some of the ex-hostage/spies are adjusting just fine to life back in the good ol' U.S. of A. □

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Why We Are 'What is To Be Done?'-ists

More Thoughts on Party Building

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of the questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) will be published in serial form over the coming weeks in the RW.

Q: There were a number of points you raised about the party in your recent talk that I want to get into. The first one was the concept of "Leninism as the bridge," in particular in regards to the party—and how "Marxists" (so-called) and "Maoists" (so-called) see the party. The second was to get more into the point you made that in regard to preparing minds and organizing forces, the party was the key aspect of organizing forces. The final thing was the point raised about the relation of qualitative and quantitative aspects of party building in the last part of that talk. I had always looked at the question of building up the party quantitatively and had not seen the qualitative aspect being key in that. These three things struck me in going over "Conquer the World? ..." as things I'd like to see developed more.

BA: Do you want to start at the first point—the section on "Leninism as the bridge"? I've read over a few books from people who are like this guy Djilas, who was part of the Tito apparatus in Yugoslavia (then he had a falling out with Tito, but basically has a Titoist, social-democratic, bourgeois-democratic outlook on things). Djilas wrote a book, *Conversations With Stalin*, where, from a bourgeois, revisionist, social-democratic point of view, he does some criticism and also exposure of some things that Stalin said. I haven't actually read *Conversations With Stalin* (which I should read), but I've seen significant quotations from it, references and also there's this other book out now by a Soviet defector; the book is called *Nomenclatura*, which is the name for the apparatus and the privileges associated with the apparatus in the Soviet party and the Soviet state. And there's this other book I read, *From Comintern to Cominform*, by this guy who was a revisionist "critic," you know, and defector from the revisionist Spanish Communist Party.

All of these are from the bourgeois-democratic, social-democratic point of view and all of them are attempting to sum up from their point of view what went wrong with the Soviet Union and how the revolution there was corrupted, perverted, betrayed from within—however they look at it—and they all have the common view that it ended up being a dictatorship of the party, and the interesting thing there is that *all* of them—I think this is extremely significant—all of them go back to *What Is To Be Done?* When they want to find the kernel of where everything went wrong, the kernel of this development of the revolution into its opposite, into a dictatorship of the party over the masses, all of them go back to *What Is To Be Done?* and in particular the whole thrust there, not just on the organizational question of the party. They really sort of get the point with a little bit of profundity anyway, that is, of Lenin's whole struggle against spontaneity and how that's linked with the organizational question of the kind of party, not just a party in general but the *kind* of party, a democratic centralist party, that Lenin fights for. They all recognize those two things are very closely tied together: the whole political, ideological and philosophical question of bowing to spontaneity and tailing behind the masses versus a vanguard role, and the organizational expression of that being the principles of the party, the Leninist party, a democratic centralist party. So it's kind of striking that all of them say that this was the embryo of the future party dictatorship, then you look to the whole idea of professional revolutionaries, of an organization whose backbone is professional revolutionaries—that is the basis for a future elite.

Of course several things strike you there. One is the idealism of these people in the sense that rather than looking at what the contradictions in society are that make a vanguard necessary, it's sort of treated like a willful thing on Lenin's part, or even if they give Lenin a certain amount of credit, then he just made a voluntarist error of wanting to try to make revolution by

pulling the masses along into it. They do this instead of looking at what are the material conditions in society that make a vanguard necessary: the division of labor in society, the fact that people live under a bourgeois dictatorship and so on that means that people are not, in their masses and certainly not all at once, going to become politically conscious, revolutionary-minded internationalists and just rise up to make revolution. There are objective contradictions that make a vanguard necessary which itself also becomes in a certain way a concentration of some of those contradictions, that is, the contradiction between the vanguard and the masses becomes a concentrated expression of the contradictions that make the vanguard necessary in the first place.

You know, a lot of people who are honest, especially a lot of petty-bourgeois people but not only them, also people who are also somewhat more politically aware among the basic proletarian masses—it's not like they're blind to history. There is something that's being seized on here, that obviously the state in socialist societies like in Russia and China, for example, got turned into its opposite, into a bourgeois dictatorship and obviously the role of the party is pretty central in that. This makes people spontaneously gravitate toward the line consciously promoted by the bourgeoisie to discourage people from making revolution, which is, "What's the use, you make revolution, the masses will make revolution but it will be an intellectual elite or a party elite who will reap the fruits, come to power, and once they come to power then they'll want to conserve their power just like every previous ruling class and so really there's no difference, maybe the ideals proclaimed are different in their particulars, but the process and the result will end up being the same." This is something some people genuinely agonize over and some people have become cynical as a result of their perception of this, but not in their rational understanding of what is involved. And even some people who are genuinely revolutionary-minded, who hate the present society in a pretty deep way, become a bit cynical. This also reinforces reformist tendencies in them because they become convinced that revolution won't work out anyway, so if you can make life a little better through some form or other, then that's the best you can hope for.

What Are We Supposed To Do?

This is something that I've been thinking about because if you try to be more scientific about it, this is the same problem Lenin ran up against. Lenin was not blind to the fact that in previous revolutions this process had gone on nor was he completely unaware of the dangers of a party turning into its opposite, even though the first socialist revolution was the one he was involved in so obviously he hadn't had the experience of it to sum up previously, and the Paris Commune was destroyed from the outside, so to speak, not because of the internal contradictions within the Commune itself leading to its degeneration. (Although, obviously, internal contradictions inside the Commune made it more vulnerable to the attack by reaction.) In any case, Lenin was not totally unaware of this and the question is, put it this way: what are we supposed to do? Are we supposed to say OK, because we can see this danger, then we won't have a vanguard party and, OK, then we won't even have revolution, then we can be sure of avoiding this problem!

But the problem is that there's an objective need for revolution and it's subjectively felt or at least the need for drastic change in the society is felt by the great majority of the world's people, even if it's not felt, at least in normal times, by the majority of people in the imperialist countries where they have a relatively privileged existence because of the nature of imperialism and the relations in the world today. But what are we supposed to do? Are we supposed to say well, OK, therefore in order to avoid the possible degeneration of the revolution, in order to avoid the contradictions that do arise when you have a vanguard party, we just won't have a vanguard party, and in fact we won't even have a revolution and therefore we can avoid those problems.

Well, you see, that's the kind of point of view that I find unacceptable, not just morally, but because I think that this is an idealist point of view that doesn't actually look at what are the material contradictions that underlie this problem and therefore seeks to go to the

roots and solve them that way. It's not that I believe that just because you want to solve a problem there's bound to be a solution (though I do think there's something to the Marxist law that a problem doesn't pose itself in a direct and immediate way, if you take that in a historical sense, on the agenda of history unless there is a solution at hand or a solution maturing within the womb of the present conditions), but I think the correct, revolutionary, scientific Marxist-Leninist way to approach this problem is to look more deeply at the underlying contradictions and figure out and struggle to grasp more deeply how to resolve these contradictions in the process of moving forward.

Eurocentric Go-Slow Chauvinism

What strikes you when you study this sort of Titoite, social-democratic, bourgeois-democratic line is, for one thing, its tailism and its open promotion of bowing to spontaneity and, another thing, its Eurocentric chauvinism. Now Yugoslavia is not exactly an *advanced* capitalist country but neither is it an oppressed nation in Africa, Latin America or Asia. The same thing is true of Spain; Spain is not one of the top imperialist powers in the world, but it is certainly capitalist and I would even tend to say an imperialist society, even though it has some backward features within it which make for particularities in the revolution there. But, it's not accidental that this is the kind of line that arises from people who are pro-Western imperialism, let's put it that way, because that's what all these people are: Djilas, this guy who wrote this *Nomenclatura* (even though he sometimes wraps himself in a Marxist guise) is pro-Western imperialism and so objectively is Claudin who wrote the book *From Comintern to Cominform*. Basically what they are saying is that until the masses themselves are ready for socialism you can't force them to have it, so you just have to sort of carry on with the business of ingratiating yourselves with the masses where they're at, and then—in comes the theory of the productive forces along with the bourgeois democracy—eventually the development of society and the productive forces and the masses' own organizations, like trade unions and democratic organizations, will eventually lead to socialism like you have in many parts of Europe—that is, *imperialism* ruling under a very tattered pink banner of socialism. So this is one feature.

The other reason I say that it's not only very tailist and bowing to spontaneity but also very Eurocentric chauvinist is because it's fine, if you're going to take the point of view of pro-Western imperialism, to talk about just waiting and waiting and waiting. I'm being sarcastic when I say it's fine, but maybe you can find some basis among more privileged workers and more privileged sections of the masses, petty bourgeoisie and so on in these imperialist countries who are sort of gradualists: "let's go slow or let's not try to hurry things ... what's the big hurry, things will come anyway, as the masses gain experience in democratic organizations and society develops," while meanwhile all this is based on plunder internationally as well as the exploitation of significant sections within these imperialist countries themselves. It's based on international plunder of those countries where the desire of the people for revolution, even if they don't consciously understand everything about what that means, but still their desire to drastically change their conditions is very acute.

So here you get this lopsidedness of the world. If you were an internationalist, if you were looking at the world as a whole you'd say there's tremendous urgency, we have to figure out everything we can to actually accelerate this process, yes, by making revolution by relying on the masses, but to look at the world as a whole is all the more reason not to be tailing. If you end up tailing consciously and promoting this kind of line in a European imperialist country or in a Western imperialist country, then you're consciously promoting chauvinism.

This is something that is more particular to our situation than Lenin's, because Lenin was in a country that overall was part of the British-led imperialist bloc that the U.S. became a part of also, and was an imperialist country but was also backward in many ways. The conditions there were sort of midway between East and West in a certain way. Even though overall it belonged

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ESCAPE FROM KROME

On Christmas eve, over 600 Haitian refugees, the entire male population at the Krome Detention Center in Miami, refused to eat their Christmas dinner. The men announced they were on a hunger strike until all the Haitians are released from Krome. Immigration officials immediately closed the camp, refusing to allow any visitors in to see the hunger strikers.

On Sunday a support demonstration of several hundred friends, relatives and political supporters of the prisoners gathered outside the detention center. One group moved beyond the INS blockade of the road to the camp's entrance, reaching the fence before the INS guards figured out what was going on. When the guards opened the gate to let one of their own cars inside, the demonstrators charged inside themselves.

Glimpses of the fight could be caught on national news as the infamous INS border guards teargassed and beat the demonstrators back out of the camp, all the while taking a beating of their own. Haitian youth, women and children armed themselves with rocks and sticks. And from 10 to 20 of the prisoners seized the opportunity to run to freedom out the front gate. Meanwhile, another 100 broke through the fence at the back

and escaped into the swamp surrounding the camp.

Several of the demonstrators were randomly arrested and charged with "unlawful assembly" and "criminal mischief." One Haitian was singled out and charged with second-degree arson, and has been held in jail since Sunday.

This breakout so stunned INS officials that they first reported only 10 to 20 had escaped, but within 24 hours had to admit that as many as 150 may have gotten out.

For months now, Krome has been the center of sharp resistance of Haitian refugees in this country. Over the past seven months, two other breakouts have freed another 100 refugees. Several powerful demonstrations and rallies in support of the imprisoned refugees have sent shockwaves through the city and the country. The recent hunger strike and breakout are a significant development in that struggle.

During the hunger strike the refugees put forward their demand very clearly: to be released from Krome immediately. Yet for days INS officials cynically claimed they "had no idea" what the hunger strikers were demanding. Meanwhile a joint hunger strike of Haitians was being held in the Federal Correctional Institute in Lexington, Kentucky.

Since the Sunday rebellion, INS has brought in 77 extra border patrol guards trained in Texas to literally surround the camp. A lawyer for the Haitian Refugee Center told the *RW* that the back border of the camp, usually watched over by two guard towers, had groups of guards standing a few feet apart around the entire fence — approximately the length of a football field.

In the wake of these developments the Miami news media has launched a campaign of rumors screaming that Haitian



Camp guards attempt to block the gate at Krome as demonstrators wrestle to break into the camp. A short while later people successfully got inside.

refugees plan to disrupt the Orange Bowl parade on New Year's Day. At the same time an interesting twist has been added to the usual diatribes against the refugees. Greater Miami United, a group set up by the local authorities after the May 1980 Miami rebellion whose purpose is to "mend the community," met this week on the Haitian refugee situation. Several members called for the release of the Haitians, citing fear of further and more intense rebellion.

Back at Krome, the hunger strike has apparently ended, although it is not

known at this time what the terms of this development are. But the struggle in Miami has not ended. On Tuesday, December 29, 1000 people, mostly from Liberty City and the neighboring Little Haiti, jammed into a meeting hall demanding the release of the refugees. Haitian Refugee Center leaders have called for this release by January 1 — the National Independence Day in Haiti (celebrating the freedom from French colonialism). While no exact plans have been announced, there is a deepening tension in the city as the day approaches. □

Another Justifiable Homicide for Smoking on the Train

The trial of three Chicago cops who viciously beat Richard Ramey, a 51-year-old Black man, to death for smoking a cigarette on an elevated train ended on December 23rd in the court of hack judge Arthur Cieslik. Two of the pigs, Louis Klisz and Fred Earullo, were acquitted of first-degree murder charges for this depraved act. Instead they were given a slap on the wrist, convicted on minor charges of involuntary manslaughter while their partner, Fred Christiano, was completely exonerated a week earlier on December 16. Though sentencing is not due to take place until January 20, it can safely be said that these murdering thugs will get little more than a rap on the knuckles and on top of that the conviction has already been appealed to a court with a long history of letting cops off.

The trial itself in this case, which has been followed closely by millions of people burning with anger in Chicago and nationwide, was as much of an outrage and a flaunting of unbridled reaction as the murder of Richard Ramey was. Even the fact that this case came to trial at all is due to the widespread anger over the murder in Chicago, particularly among Black people, and that it occurred in the immediate wake of the Miami rebellion. Given that quite a number of people had witnessed the police killing and that so many were following the case, which was so clearly and blatantly a deliberate and cold-blooded murder for the crime of smoking a cigarette, it was deemed necessary to actually take the rare step of going through the motions of prosecuting the pigs involved. It was a tightly staged and orchestrated affair from beginning to end, prosecuted by the Cook County State's Attorney's office and presided over by Judge Cieslik, who heard the trial and gave the verdict. No need to have to take any chances with a jury since the defendants had conveniently waived their right of a jury trial, confident that their friend the judge would be most fair in his deliberations.

Cieslik extended them the full benefits of his impartiality, remaining aloof

from mountains of indisputable evidence, including the testimony of eight eyewitnesses who testified that they saw the pigs kick, beat and stomp on Richard Ramey after they had handcuffed him, and even the lackey Cook County Medical Examiner, who found the cause of death to be "blunt trauma" due to massive internal and external injuries. In absolving the cops of first-degree murder charges Cieslik declared, "This court feels the necessary criminal element of *intent* to murder was not proved beyond a reasonable doubt." According to the testimony, the three plainclothes cops descended on Ramey like a pack of dogs when he failed to extinguish his cigarette on the elevated train. Ramey, whose only resistance was to crouch in a corner and shout, was thrown to the ground and his hands cuffed behind his back. He was removed at the 35 Street train station where Earullo and Klisz continued to beat him unmercifully. The job of Christiano, the "innocent" cop, was to scurry up and down the station concourse, shooing away the train passengers who might otherwise have come to Ramey's aid. Thanks to Christiano, Klisz and Earullo had no bothersome interruptions in the beating.

One witness told of seeing the two cops punch, kick and stomp Ramey as he lay on the ground hollering, "Help me, they're trying to kill me!" Christiano instructed passersby to "ignore him, keep walking, this is police business." When Ramey continued to yell for help, one of the police told him "You shut up" and grabbed Ramey's head and smashed it five times against the cement floor. Witness Brenda Caldwell testified that as she and her husband stopped aghast, Christiano assured them, "It's all right, we're police." Five hours later, Richard Ramey was pronounced dead. The Cook County Medical Examiner, Robert Stein, documented the anatomy of the deadly beating in detail. His testimony showed that Ramey suffered fractures of nine ribs, the breast bone, a neck bone, and both legs; massive hemorrhaging internally and in the scalp; and extensive bruises all over his body.

After this evidence, which was damning enough, was admitted in the early stages of the trial, the prosecutors and the judge went through a charade where the State's Attorney's office would enter evidence largely from police reports and the judge would promptly rule that it be stricken from the record because of "unusual sloppiness" in police procedures in gathering the evidence. The judge repeatedly put on his act of chiding the pig department for its shoddy methods which were unfair to the accused. Cieslik's sudden mock abhorrence at the same kind of procedures (though in this case obviously intentionally even more shoddy than usual) that have been used to frame and convict thousands of people in his courtroom, where he gladly threw the book at them, was indeed touching; but neither he nor the rest of the bourgeoisie expected or wanted anyone to believe this act. More to the point, they were running out this very obvious sick little joke as a clear message to the masses of people that they intended to run this farce of a trial however the hell they wanted to and rub people's noses in all the ways they railroad people into prison everyday to boot. This was borne out by the fact that Cieslik's statements were plastered all over the press as soon as he made them. The judge spoke of inconsistent and late police reports and even refused to allow samples of Ramey's blood from the train station and the police paddy wagon to be admitted into evidence because police technicians had conveniently delayed for days before collecting the samples.

The arguments for the defense put the icing on the cake. The heart of the cops' defense was that Richard Ramey beat himself up and died of a heart attack in the process! Yes, we are not kidding and neither were they. Defense attorney Samuel Banks painted Ramey as a "sometimes violent" mental case who managed to inflict most of the blows upon himself while the cops used only "necessary force" to "subdue" him. In Banks' opening statement, he claimed that the evidence would show "who is

really the aggressor." This statement was backed up with one cop's claim that he was "stabbed" with a ballpoint pen and that Ramey shouted obscenities.

When the medical examiner was on the stand, the defense made it a point to ask at each point whether the particular injury being described could have in itself been the cause of death, in a disgusting attempt to somehow lend credence to their contention that Ramey had died of a heart attack while beating himself up. Undaunted by the obvious brutality and extent of Ramey's injuries, Banks had an explanation for how every single one was self-inflicted: Ramey smashed his own head through a train window; later he repeatedly slammed his own head against cement floors and iron walls; his legs were broken as he struggled against leather restraints in the hospital where the cops took him; and his breast bone and some ribs were fractured during a doctor's attempt at cardiopulmonary resuscitation. All of these lies culminated in the conclusion that Richard Ramey's death had nothing to do with a beating by the pigs and that he had killed himself for smoking on a train.

After all these courtroom outrages Judge Cieslik dutifully delivered the final outrage — his verdict based on "reasonable doubt." The verdict sent ripples of rage throughout Chicago, especially among Black people, and this was carefully watched by the authorities. Amazingly, Police Superintendent Brzezczek tried to portray this verdict as evidence that the city was getting tough with pigs — that this was proof that "police misconduct" would not be tolerated. This only added insult to injury, as it no doubt was intended to do. Indeed, all of this has demonstrated once again beyond any reasonable doubt that the ruling class and its armed enforcers will stoop to the most obscene depths in their oppression of Black people and other oppressed nationalities along with all their crimes against the masses of people in this country and throughout the world. □

Polish Crisis and the Storms to Come

FORGING FUTURE WEAPONS

In summing up the attempted 1905 Revolution in Russia, Lenin wrote, "Every 'minor' crisis... discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis." The events in Poland clearly are not minor. But major as they are in their own right, they foretell even far greater storms and tumultuous days ahead in the world as a whole.

Iran, Central America, Poland... the oppressed rise and seek in their risings solutions to world-historic problems. That world contradictions have found a focal point in a country like Poland is of real significance. It is more evidence that in the coming period revolution may break out in the home citadels of imperialism—Europe, even the Soviet Union and the U.S.—thus shaking the world system of imperialism in unprecedented ways. Under such circumstances any class-conscious proletarian who fails not only to support, but particularly to draw every possible lesson from the experience being gained in Poland is either someone who has been baffled by the Soviet revisionists or is captive to the most narrow nationalism, reformism and philistinism. Such luxury we cannot afford if we are to make the coming dangerous times into dangerous ones for the imperialists and reactionaries of every country.

There is plenty of opportunity to learn. It is not every day that the press of the Western imperialist countries is filled with detailed exposure of martial law measures taken by authorities; there is speculation on the loyalty of a reactionary army; there are accounts of mass resistance and occasionally even calls for more. All this is great material for exposure and education about imperialism and its tactics, both East and West. But more than that, such behavior is remarkable testimony to the seriousness of the rivalry between contending reactionary imperialist camps, and the degree to which it is shaping world events.

During World War I, while writing on the Irish uprising of 1916, Lenin made a relevant observation: "The general staffs in the current war are doing their utmost to utilise any national and revolutionary movement in the enemy camp; the Germans utilise the Irish rebellion, the French—the Czech movement, etc. They are acting quite correctly from their own point of view. A serious war would not be treated seriously if advantage were not taken of the enemy's slightest weakness and if every opportunity that presented itself was not seized upon, the more so since it is impossible to know beforehand at what moment, where, and with what force some powder magazine will 'explode'. We should be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis." ("The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up"). And, in particular, they must be utilized to intensify and extend the work of the revolutionary vanguard forces worldwide, so as to be in the best position possible.

The careful imperialist attention to Poland underlines another point. To those who see in the sharpening imperialist rivalry and looming war *only* madness, horror and destruction: take heed. It is precisely this that is also nurturing the seeds of revolution—and on an unprecedented scale worldwide. Today each imperialist bloc's greatest concern is the strength and maneuvers of the other; this is the pivot on which their actions hinge on a world scale today. But as the crisis deepens and as they act, they unleash forces they cannot ultimately control. The world—even the imperialist citadels—is pregnant with revolution, even where the surface seems calm. Their heightening preparations for war heighten the possibilities for revolutionary explosions—and thus the only possibility to prevent the war they are preparing. And if the war does break out, if it accelerates the end of imperial-



Photo from a German newspaper, Tageszeitung. The caption reads: "While the social democrats and trade unions were reserved, the Berlin House-occupiers (squatters—RW) reacted Sunday with emotional rebellious solidarity spilling spontaneously over the Ku-Damm, breaking the windows of the Soviet airline offices 'Aeroflott,' the Polish 'LOT' offices as well as Pan Am and British Airways with the slogan 'Drive Out the Russians Smash NATO.' The banner reads: 'Russians and Americans—Hands Off Poland.'"

ism, so much the better. There is no other way forward—no haven of peaceful times to idly fantasize.

It is essential to grasp what Stalin summed up about the first world war and apply it to the present situation: "The significance of the imperialist war which broke out 10 years ago lies, among other things, in the fact that it gathered all these contradictions (of the imperialist era) into a single knot and threw them on the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat." ("The Foundations of Leninism").

The forces conjured up in Poland are but one example of this. In times such as these, in their rush to shore up and preserve their "sacred" state power, the ruling classes leave little else sacred and untouched. Through the destruction of war (or, in this case, the imposition of a new regime of martial law) permanent institutions of bourgeois society are broken down overnight. The objective basis grows for breaking down on a massive scale the superstitious awe for states and statecraft which in normal times drugs the oppressed with the feeling that the present order is everlasting. Then in a day—poof, another everlasting institution is gone. The central issue—state power—is placed on the agenda. All this provides excellent revolutionary opportunities—excellent, that is, so long as the advanced revolutionary forces are not themselves hypnotized by a mere choice between the array of alternatives presented by the bourgeoisie, one "better" and one "worse".

In circumstances like those in Poland, one can see at least the outline of the components of a revolutionary situation. Important as it is, more is involved than the increased misery of the masses. There are also the splits in the enemy camp—with each at the other's throats. While this has clearly been an element of the situation *within* Poland (witness the arrests of hundreds of former leading party officials by the junta), even more what has been shown here is that this is an *international* phenomenon as well. Of course there is the basic contest between the Soviet- and U.S.-led imperialist blocs. But even *within* the blocs the conflicts are fierce—and again, each side prys at the other's weak points—knowing that in war the issue may be decided by splits and defections in the enemy camp. All this is being "rehearsed" today.

Lenin pointed out that the objective conditions for such a revolutionary situation are created when the masses are

drawn "both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical activity". ("Collapse of the Second International") (his emphasis). This, too, is a characteristic of the situation in Poland and of the coming world conjuncture. It is one that the revolutionary forces everywhere must prepare for. As they thrash, fight and maneuver in increasing desperation, the enemy forces forge the objective material—even in the revolutionary class itself—for a revolutionary assault. For one thing, that means that such a situation will not come assembled "pure and perfect" for the revolutionary forces. Leaders offering false paths will emerge, and will even hold sway; if they are to be defeated in a battle for political influence over the broad masses, it will only be through a combination of the objective course of events and the persistent work of the revolutionary forces. And who could dream that the masses themselves will come pure and revolutionary into the fray instead of encrusted with the trappings of the old society even as they shed them? Of course there will be an advanced section (particularly if the revolutionary forces prepare correctly); and that is the decisive thing. But there will be many others as well in the field. In Poland, here is an outbreak in which a sizeable section of the masses has entered the struggle thinking they are rebelling against Marxism-Leninism, with many even wearing the vestments of the Catholic Church (whose robes, in turn, thinly cover the interests of Western imperialism).

But all this is part of the objective, raw material out of which the highly complex and political character of a revolutionary situation is made. So too, in such times, appear mass organizations, like Solidarity, born of all these contradictions and created basically by the masses themselves in the heat and fire of the crisis. Is it necessary to state that all this requires the revolutionary forces to lead?

Here we must ask a question of political scoundrels and doubters alike: Are the revolutionary forces ahead or behind?

Are we ahead, for example, to insist on the need for a clear understanding of the nature of the Soviet Union as an imperialist, that is capitalist, power?

Are we ahead to insist on the need to constantly bring to the fore the questions of state power and revolution in the course of today's events?

Are we ahead to clarify broadly the nature of this period in the world as one of war and revolution—and to base our

work today, even in this country in this relative "calm" before the storm, on precisely this analysis?

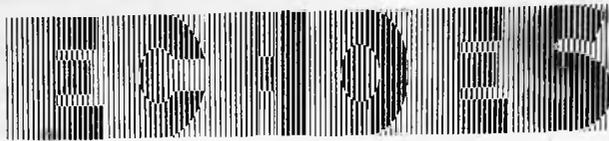
Such questions require the attention of all revolutionary-minded people today. And more than that they require active efforts at preparation for events which continue to accelerate internationally and from which no country is immune. Developments in Poland, including martial law, do not at all demonstrate that hopes of revolution are illusory; instead they illustrate how the crisis that breeds revolutionary situations is deepening and developing in Poland and most fundamentally internationally. And these developments show the need for revolutionary parties and forces everywhere to step up all-around preparation—preparation not for "peaceful times," but all-around preparation that maximizes the opportunities of every sort that present themselves today, while preparing for rapid changes and leaps in the situation.

In summing up the 1905 Revolution, Lenin told his listeners to be prepared for leaps and transformations, for sudden changes in the mood of the masses which bring whole populations into revolutionary struggle. In today's world situation it would be folly indeed to base our work on anything else. Fear, disbelief and lack of preparation for such sharp turns and leaps are hallmarks of opportunism. A mere 18 months ago the world had not heard of Solidarity and Poland was in relative stability; certainly there was no mass movement challenging the regime. Now, with equal suddenness, a counter-attack; and again the terrain has changed.

There is rich tactical experience from both sides to be studied in Poland: the measures of the clampdown; the way in which to conduct a struggle, a fight, for the troops, and much more. All this has relevance everywhere, and special importance in the imperialist countries, where the basic conditions of society are similar and similar revolutionary strategy must prevail. In these circumstances especially, the revolutionary forces must be prepared to wage an all around struggle—one in which the tools and weapons used may rapidly change in tempo with conditions, even while the goal remains constant.

Revolutionary forces everywhere should carefully sum up events in Poland with this in mind. If this is the character of preparation that is undertaken, then despite whatever setbacks, the storms being brewed by the approaching conjuncture will bring forth great revolutionary advances. □

Bourgeois Voices East and West



The ruling classes of the Soviet and U.S. blocs each have their distinguishing marks. In their rhetoric, one calls their brand of imperialism "socialism" while the other mainly sticks to the label "democracy." There are other differences, too, which may tend to confuse people as to their basic common imperialist identity. For one thing, they are preparing to war on each other. But when each faces a rebellion of those they oppress—the basic underlying bourgeois outlook shared by these two feuding sets of exploiters comes shining through. Take for example the following Polish government radio report about the striking miners in Poland—and see if a few echoes of the time-worn tones of U.S. official spokesmen don't come ringing through:

"A group of irresponsible persons, some of whom are not employed at the (Wujek) mine, organized a strike... At the Ziemowit colliery... around 1,000 miners are being detained below by a group of vigilantes numbering over 100 who are applying psychological terror...". This theme was echoed by TASS with cries of "provocateurs resorting to threats, blackmail, fraud and terror to keep the men underground. All this at the Ziemowit mine is directed by an unidentified person who does not work at the pit..." TASS also soothingly reassured that there was "a further stabilization in the country despite sporadic sallies by counter-revolutionaries".

Yes, the old handful of "outside agitators" routine—often used by the U.S. imperialists. Remember their attempts not too long ago to explain why they massively unleashed their forces of law and order during the Civil Rights Movement and Black liberation struggles and then on the anti-war protests in the '60s? In fact, the language of Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law to deal with what he called the "prophets of confrontation" could well have been lifted straight from LBJ's famous "apostles of violence" speech in '68 after the Black rebellions set a dozen U.S. cities aflame.

Poland's rulers have also adopted one of Richard Nixon's favorite rhetorical devices for use in a Polish context. On CBS's *60 Minutes* show, a "senior aide" to General Jaruzelski solemnly intoned that there is a "silent majority" in every country, in Poland just like the U.S. (Yes, he really did say "like in the U.S.!") Along with this, the Polish Press Agency's frequent assurances that "the overwhelming majority of society reacted positively" to Jaruzelski's martial law appeal as well as Jaruzelski's characteri-

zation of any resistance as the result of "the manipulations and terror of irresponsible politicians"... shades of, among other things, the U.S. State Department's characterization of anti-war demonstrators in 1965 as "an infinitesimal faction of the American people, the vast majority of whom have indicated their strong support of President Johnson's policy in Vietnam." It harkens back to such gems as Spiro Agnew's cry that the massive upsurges in the streets of the U.S. were the actions of "nattering nabobs of negativism" and that "Americans would choose the policeman's nightstick over the anarchists' bomb".

The Soviets have also made frequent use of late of the cynical ploy used so often by the U.S. of labeling every peep of protest—let alone any serious revolutionary outbreak—as a "Soviet plot", etc. Now the Soviets accuse that "the crisis in Poland is part of a U.S. plot to undermine the socialist statehood."

And in a remarkable example of the virtual interchangeability of all the imperialist justifications for their reactionary undertakings the Soviets even went so far as to straight-facedly invoke no less than the U.S. Constitution itself as a

historical precedent for martial law in Poland! Accusing the U.S. of being "a hypocrite and demagogue exploiting the Polish drama," the official Soviet news agency *Novosti* whined that "Using President Reagan's logic—especially as contained in his Christmas message—George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and many other authors of the U.S. Constitution could be accused of trying to suppress liberty and democracy in the land." As proof of this, the *Novosti* commentator went on to point out that Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law was based on a clause of the Polish constitution similar to one in Article I of the U.S. document providing for "calling forth the militia to... suppress insurrection." Yes indeed, birds of a feather right down to the bottom line and thank you very much Brezhnev & Co. for making it so clear.

We would be remiss here if we didn't include the results of a U.S. media-conducted poll amongst "average Soviet citizens" about their attitudes toward the situation in Poland. It seems that the majority responded that they thought the Polish people were lazy trouble-

makers who were showing little gratitude for all the aid the Soviet Union had given them. Sounds like any poll ever taken of "average U.S. citizens" about anyplace in the world where the people were giving old Uncle Sam some trouble.

And what does this prove? Not much—except two things. One is that the bourgeois polls serve the bourgeoisie wherever they are conducted. Second is an indication (though exaggerated) of the fact that in normal, non-revolutionary times in the imperialist countries, the majority of the "average citizens" will think whatever they are supposed to think according to the "wise" ruling authorities.

Besides providing yet another warning to revolutionaries of the disaster that awaits those who base their actions on the spontaneous sentiments of the "average citizen"—even average worker—the results of this poll graphically demonstrate once again that, while the surfaces may look different, the rotting cores of these two imperialist superpowers smell the same to all who venture to take a whiff. □

Portrait of a Revisionist

"Sure enough, new bourgeois elements have been engendered batch after batch, and it is precisely the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique that is their representative. These people generally have a good class background; almost all of them were brought up under the red flag; they have joined the Communist Party organizationally, received college training and become so-called red experts. However, they are new poisonous weeds engendered by the old soil of capitalism."

The above words, penned by one of Mao's revolutionary comrades of the "Gang of Four," Chang Chun-chiao, could serve as a biography for defecting Polish diplomat Zdzislaw Rurarz. True, Chang's words were written while China was still a revolutionary, socialist country—while Poland is a revisionist sink hole. And Mr. Rurarz's "comrades" who he left behind and are ruling Poland today fit exactly into the same mold as he. But Chang's words still do fine.

Mr. Rurarz, readers may recall, is the former ambassador to Japan who on his plane trip to Seattle wrote the following

"communist" inscription: "somewhere over the Pacific, on the way to a free America."

A glowing *New York Times* biography of the man on December 25 contained the following instructive gems:

"Zdzislaw Rurarz was born 51 years ago to a working-class family... According to an American official who knows him, Mr. Rurarz's academic pursuits helped seal his dedication to Communism, for in later years, after he had won a Ph.D. in economics and had become a professor, he often mused that sons of Polish workers seldom had the opportunity to pursue their education before the introduction of Communist rule.

"The system had worked for him," the official said. "He believed that under the old regime he would have had no chance for higher education, and certainly none for the kind of advancement he had."

Mr. Rurarz is yet another negative example of why the aim of proletarian revolution is not ultimately to "improve the position of some poor workers," but

to revolutionize and ultimately abolish class distinctions, the old production and social relations and the old ideas all over the world.

But the interesting information—and comedy—of Mr. Rurarz's biography does not stop there: The *Times* continues:

"He was, an American diplomat said, 'a very able economist!...'

"No details on the shape that Mr. Rurarz's future might take have emerged. But an American official said: 'I haven't a doubt that he will be able to find himself a position in this country. He is highly trained and competent.'"

It must say something about the "communist" economics of Poland (and the Soviet bloc generally) that their economists are such easily interchangeable parts with regular old U.S. bourgeois economists. And clearly Mr. Rurarz knew where his professional "experience" would be valuable; after years in the crisis-wracked Polish economy the U.S.A. should feel just like home. □

Appeals Court Overturns Silkwood Decision

On December 12, a three-judge appeals panel in Oklahoma City overturned a lower court order which had awarded a record \$10.5 million to the heirs of Karen Silkwood. Silkwood was murdered in 1974. Her car was rammed and run off the road as she was on her way to meet a *New York Times* reporter with evidence of nuclear safety violations at a plutonium processing plant of the huge Kerr-McGee Corporation. Her death became the focus of national attention in the anti-nuke movement and more broadly. A civil suit was filed, and in May of 1979 — in the wake of events at Three Mile Island — a federal court jury quickly awarded the Silkwood estate \$500,000 in personal damages and \$10 million in punitive damages against Kerr-McGee. This was an unusually large award which was allowed to stand at the time by the trial judge.

Karen Silkwood was murdered because of her damaging exposure. She had carefully collected evidence she found that the workers at the Kerr-McGee Cimarron plant were breathing in deadly cancer-causing plutonium dust. She found that Navajo Indians working in the uranium mines supplying the plant suffered from a 40% incidence of a rare form of lung cancer. She found that 40 pounds of bomb-grade plutonium had disappeared from the plant's

accounting (which today is widely understood to have been shipped to Israel for the construction of nuclear weapons). And she exposed defects in construction and waste disposal which threatened far wider nuclear contamination. Not too surprisingly, the file of evidence which she was carrying the night of her "accident" disappeared completely from the crash scene.

But this was only the beginning of the outrages. An autopsy on Silkwood's body revealed that it contained between 25 and 50% of the permissible plutonium contamination allowed in a lifetime. Then an examination of her house found that it too had been salted with plutonium, on the floors, in the furniture, even in the food in the refrigerator! Yet in spite of the obvious motive, the ability, the evidence from the crash scene, and the irrefutable proof of attempted plutonium poisoning, no criminal charges were ever brought. To the authorities, it was just "unsubstantiated charges," while behind the scenes the physical evidence was systematically destroyed by repaving the accident site and the government seizure of all of Silkwood's personal property for plutonium contamination.

Outraged, the many supporters of Silkwood and her efforts took what they saw as the only road to vindicate her ef-

fort and punish the guilty. They reasoned that if the government would not prosecute the guilty, then a civil law suit for damages should still be filed.

After Silkwood's death, it was actually alleged that she had poisoned herself with plutonium in a vain attempt to discredit her employer. So intent was Kerr-McGee in pushing this charge that Silkwood herself deliberately took plutonium from the plant, ate it, and sprinkled it around her own house, that they even formally agreed in the civil trial that there was no way that plutonium could have left the plant accidentally.

In overturning the award, the Appeals Court first threw out the \$10 million punitive damages against Kerr-McGee, alleging that the 1954 Atomic Energy Act pre-empts any civil actions for punitive damages. If this ruling stands, it means that no nuclear industry company could be sued for punitive damages, no matter how flagrant, deliberate or avoidable their "accidents" might be. Then the justices tossed out the \$500,000 award for personal damage, ruling that Silkwood's heirs should have instead filed for workmen's compensation! In this contention, the Court's foul motive is not only to protect Kerr-McGee from paying a single cent, but to obliterate all traces of the fact that someone deliberately tried to

poison Karen Silkwood by portraying it as just an "industrial accident."

Here the Appeals Court has to fall all over itself in contradiction, because Kerr-McGee, in its zeal to claim that Silkwood had poisoned herself, consistently maintained at the original trial that it could *not* have been an accident. The jurors were explicitly instructed by the judge that if they thought Silkwood had deliberately contaminated herself, they should reject the suit. They didn't, and awarded \$10.5 million. Now the Appeals Court has suddenly rewritten the whole history of the case and has ruled that the plaintiffs had the burden in the original suit to *prove* that the plutonium contamination was deliberate — otherwise it's just another workmen's comp case. The history and the facts be damned.

Widespread outrage brought forward the original settlement. And now, the reversal is more than an outrage, more than a flagrant defense of nuclear madness and murder. It shows that important matters are obviously decided on far higher levels than juries, and according to the interests of the ruling class, interests clearly revealed in the recent decision. □

On December 28th, jury selection began in the trial of Wayne Williams in Atlanta. Each day at the Fulton County Courthouse, a macabre melodrama takes place, produced by pigs, directed by pigs, and acted by pigs, in what will surely be one of the most widely and calculatingly publicized trials in quite some time. Police snipers are posted on the rooftops, armed squads of sheriffs roam the hall, police dogs sniff in corners for bombs, guards with metal detectors scan even the prospective jurors, and cops oversee the pressroom, all to make sure that no one violates the order of this court, and of course, order in general.

The officials openly brag of their security measures in this trial. The image they want to come through loud and clear is that in Atlanta, Atlanta! which became a cry of rage, the situation is firmly in control.

For the bourgeoisie, the Williams' trial is very important. The state plans to prove once and for all that the murders of 28 Black youth that became the focus of massive outrage worldwide over the past 2 years was the work of a "lone, deranged Black man," who can now be put safely away. In the months of pre-trial legal wrangling over the admissibility of evidence found in the Williams' house, District Attorney Lewis Slaton has revealed that he plans to introduce evidence linking Wayne Williams to as many as 20 of the

deaths—thus putting an end to all that "groundless" speculation that much more is involved here. One prominent local attorney has been quoted on national news saying that he has never seen a more intense effort to get a conviction.

Putting it another way, you might say, that what is going on here is a massive effort, not only to get a conviction, but more importantly to reverse a verdict: to turn up the imperialist fog machine and blow smoke all around, to cover up what the events in Atlanta brought home so sharply, as swarms of pigs and priests of every stripe, right up to the top, crawled and flew to Atlanta and pontificated and wept crocodile tears to justify and cover up that their system thrives on national oppression and that yes, something big and rotten

was behind the murders in Atlanta. And regardless of the role that Wayne Williams did or did not play in these events, the intensity of their efforts to hustle him into court and to reverse the verdict in Atlanta only serves to underline the fact that this trial is being used to bury the Atlanta murders and to chump the people.

But as the trial nears, the authorities are having some problems. Along with what has already been exposed about the extensive coverup, lies and twisting of evidence that took place during the height of the murders, the *RW* has learned that an independent investigation by the Stop the Children's Murders Committee (STOP) has revealed the possibility that the murders have continued since the arrest of Williams last June.

According to a source from within the ranks of the officials, there have been at least three Black male teenagers' bodies that have been processed through the Fulton County Medical Examiner's Office since September 1981, all with an "undetermined cause of death." (In the majority of the 28 Task Force cases, the cause of death was listed as "asphyxiation" because supposedly no visible cause of death could be determined.) Such leaks of information indicate that there are cracks appearing in a fierce battle being waged to pull this trial off without a hitch, for the authorities are well aware of and actively covering up this information. In looking into this, the *RW* spoke with a secretary of the Fulton County Morgue who at first said that yes, there had been indeed "three Black youth" in the morgue. But in a later conversation her story quickly changed—to two Black females and one white male. She went on to say that the cause of death of the two Black females was known but not being released and that these three bodies were very recent deaths. She then turned the phone over to the "investigator of the day" who categorically denied that there had been any such bodies in the morgue. He later added that unclaimed bodies (which these three were) would be kept no longer than one month, then buried. No doubt the records also then buried in some file cabinet, or elsewhere.

While this is not conclusive, the possibility that the murders continued after Williams' arrest poses obvious problems for the authorities—since one of the key aspects of the prosecutor's argument against Williams is that the murders had stopped. Of course in the urgency of the imperialists to find a fall guy in these murders it would come as no surprise if the murders actually did stop after Williams' arrest, since whoever is carrying out these heinous crimes would have an interest in creating a little "circumstantial evidence" to support the charges against him. You don't need Sherlock Holmes to figure that out. But whatever the case, the flaky response of the officials at the morgue reveals that at the very least something is being covered up.

Going After the Mothers

The information about the continuation of the murders in Atlanta is closely related to the attacks that have been launched against the STOP Committee in recent months. This committee, composed mainly of mothers of murdered youth, played an important role throughout the past 18 months of exposing the lies of the police, especially as the murders intensified last spring. Several of the mothers traveled extensively throughout the country speaking to thousands. Because of that they also became somewhat of a center of

resistance in Atlanta, and most importantly many with information about the murders brought it to STOP rather than to the police Task Force. Clearly this posed an obstacle to the authorities, as they prepare to "wrap up" the case with the Williams' trial. Last summer the state's Office of Consumer Affairs accused STOP of "illegally soliciting funds" (STOP had received thousands of dollars from across the country, much of it unsolicited). This was accompanied by vicious media slanders aimed at STOP leaders—one newspaper columnist declared that Camille Bell, head of the committee, had "lived off the death of her son long enough."

"Horrors," squawk these self-righteous bourgeois vultures, who live off the blood of millions, "Imagine the nerve of these women, who refused to get down on their knees and cry like good little mothers, but actually stood up to expose these crimes and, oh my god, went about traveling and speaking to other people about it. What an outrage!"

A new committee was formed in order to continue the work while the legal issues were being resolved. But the day before Thanksgiving the new committee was hit by a second civil suit filed by the Attorney General to prevent it from functioning. Clearly there is much more at stake here than making sure STOP's books are in order.

In fact, Sondra Pitts, the state investigator handling the case, unabashedly told the *RW* that while no criminal charges have been filed against STOP, yet, "The law provides for criminal penalties...we are asking for a halt now. We will see what is required in the future to stop them."

And this week, on the second day of jury selection in the Wayne Williams' trial, the head of the Office of Consumer Affairs announced that he is dropping the suit against STOP in a press conference that exposed once and for all that the real issue was never tax laws, but centered on muzzling the most outspoken of the mothers of the slain youth. Tim Ryles' so-called "commitment" is centered around the fact that the STOP Committee has agreed that Camille Bell and Venus Taylor would not be on their board for the next 3 years! Of course, this is not the first attempt to muzzle the mothers and it hasn't turned out to be any more successful than the others.

How broadly the distrust of the official maneuvers in the course of these murders goes was evidenced by the recent formation of a fundraising defense fund for Wayne Williams, headed by the editor of a local Black newspaper and including such people as city councilmen and state representatives. As one of the directors of the fund stated, "In Wayne Williams' case, it has nothing to do with a belief in his innocence or guilt. The defense has not had the ample kind of resources available to them simply because they have not had the financial wherewithal to insure he has a fair trial." Within weeks money began coming in from around the country reflecting the widespread sentiment among various strata that something stinks in the state's scenario.

Mystery Evidence

In preparation for the Williams' trial much that has been written about Atlanta has been focused on the "evidence" against Wayne Williams. Most of this "evidence" has been wrapped in mystery, and even the defense attorneys have been denied access to it. The purpose here is to convince people that the

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Court Out for Blood in Atlanta Bat Patrol Trial

As the state prepared for the trial of Wayne Williams in Atlanta, they had yet another dirty piece of business underway in the very same courtroom which is to serve as center ring in their coverup of the Atlanta murders. Another trial, which was planned to end before the Williams case began, was held in the second week of December. On trial here were four of the Techwood Bat Patrolers who were arrested last March for "displaying a weapon at a public gathering" (which is supposedly an anti-Klan law) and possessing a weapon without a permit, when residents at the Techwood Homes housing project in Atlanta, as well as many others, formed neighborhood patrols in response to the vicious murders of Black children in Atlanta. The judge of the state court, anxious to drive home the point that oppressed people taking up arms against oppression are a dangerous example and must be punished, set aside an entire week on her calendar for this case—not to allow for extensive testimony in the bat patrol trial, but because the state had dredged up charges on several of the Black activists in the bat patrol from as far back as 1979, charges which had long since been dead docketed, and wanted to try all the cases right on top of each other! Not only were the brothers to be tried for protesting the Atlanta murders but they would also be tried for any previous political protests they had taken part in.

First, one brother was tried for disrupting graduation ceremonies at Atlanta Jr. College in 1979 where he had previously been fired from his teaching position for leading a struggle against funding cutbacks. Then he and another activist were tried for a demonstration at Rosalyn Carter's appearance at Atlanta University in 1980. Both trials ended in guilty verdicts with the judge refusing to pass sentence until all the verdicts are in. They face a total of up to four years in jail and \$4,000 fines for the combined charges.

So anxious was the judge to jam this railroad through that she started jury selection on the first Techwood trial while the jury was still deliberating on one of the previous trials! In the first Techwood trial, that of Chimurenga Jenga, one of the leaders of the patrol, the state tried their now well-worn tactic of claiming this was just a simple case of

weapons violation—no politics to it. But the fact that officials from Mayor Maynard Jackson to Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown and news media throughout the country had screeched "vigilantes" for several days before the beginning of the patrol and after the arrests, forced the court to allow the the defense to subpoena several of these officials, including Jackson and Brown.

One after another of these officials claimed ignorance of what had taken place and of the numerous secret meetings of top police and city officials that they had held to figure out how to stop the patrols. Jackson even cynically called it just one of hundreds of situations he had to deal with. This was a ridiculous lie, since the bat patrol (and the numerous groups of armed masses developing in the city to catch the killers) posed a challenge to the authorities and a living exposure of the fact that it was believed quite broadly that if the authorities were not themselves directly involved in the Atlanta murders, then they were directly involved in covering them up at the highest levels; and it is well known that the city attacked the bat patrols with a well-planned vengeance to put a stop to the masses taking matters into their own hands.

During Chimurenga's trial, City Attorney Mays even admitted on the stand that he had told the patrol in a private meeting about gun laws, implying that no one would get arrested for carrying unconcealed weapons, only to turn his two-face around and arrest them as soon as they left the meeting.

This trial also ended in a conviction, with the prosecution asking for the max. But again, the judge postponed a decision on the sentence until all of the trials are completed some time in early January. The authorities are clearly distressed that these trials were not over and done with before the Williams trial began, since their outrageous "punishment" of these activists, who among millions of others protested the Atlanta murders, is scheduled to continue at the same time and in the very same court where they are conducting their cover-up. After all, such bad timing tends to point out that these imperialists are once again trying to make the oppressed pay for their oppression. □

Tempest

Continued from page 1

peals from the government and even pleas from families and priests to give themselves up. In Warsaw, one of the many Solidarity chapters that reorganized clandestinely issued an appeal declaring that "Every action of protest, even the most insignificant, strikes a blow against the martial law regime..."

Meanwhile, factories all over Poland were closed down by the authorities as Polish radio reported in a gross understatement that productivity "is being weakened by sickness and absenteeism which has been growing..." There were reports of widespread industrial sabotage—glue being poured on machinery, assembly-line belts removed and coke ovens being shut down by workers occupying one Katowice steel mill as troops moved in to end their 11-day occupation. One Polish student reportedly told of some of the creative ways in which resistance is being carried out—boxes of leaflets rigged with flares to scatter them in the streets and invisible ink used to deface official proclamations long after the perpetrators have disappeared into the crowds.

The actual measures of martial law are by now well-publicized and don't need repeating here, except to say that the revisionists have been somewhat more "flexible," augmenting measures where necessary. Jaruzelski's swift move caught the principal leaders of Solidarity in Gdansk; others were rounded up elsewhere around the country. (One internment camp was said to be an arena built by the Nazis in the '30s for holding rallies!) A centralized, coordinated effort was obviously made difficult by the cut-off of communications still largely in effect. Generally, by necessity, much of the struggle developed spontaneously and in isolated pockets. Some Solidarity leaders did manage to escape the nationwide dragnet for a time and continued to call for strikes, distribute literature and organize other forms of resistance.

Cheap Tricks

Accompanying the crackdown has been all manner of sordid and highly-conscious attempts to spread confusion and demoralization. After Walesa's arrest, the revisionists spread the rumor that he had completely capitulated and would support the martial law decree. What Walesa apparently later said was at variance with this; but whatever Walesa said, the revisionist rumor was designed to further browbeat the people by implying that that leading figure of the opposition had thrown in the towel. They charge "counter-revolution" to cover up martial law, and right here is yet another well-worn imperialist counter-revolutionary tactic!

This was followed in subsequent days with a parading in front of Polish TV cameras of "former Solidarity members" who were, typically, "rank and file workers" and born-again supporters of the regime. "In September, 1980," said one fellow, "I joined the activities of the newly set up trade union Solidarity. I expected this union would, at last, firmly protect the working man." But alas, he and others learned differently. They came to understand the ulterior motives of this union were quite sinister: "... it became clear to me that the new union had been maneuvered into politics" by people who "dealt all the time with issues outside the statute which certainly could not have been urged by a worker or a peasant".

It sounds like some sort of reverse script to the '50s U.S. film, *I Was A Communist For The FBI*. But here, as in the following similar TV newscast, it's "socialism" being defended, and what a defense it is. "Q: Within Solidarity itself, aren't opinions divided regarding the role played by, for instance, Michnik, Kuron and Geremek? A: Well, as for the role of the persons you have mentioned, I am absolutely convinced that these people are much wiser than me. Q: Excuse me, what is your work? A: I operate rolling equipment. I've been working in the steel plant for 23 years. I have never been interested in politics. I have not been and

am not a member of any political party. My hobbies are walking and mountaineering." Remarkable. The revisionists call forth the philistinism of a labor aristocrat, and then cleverly conclude that they have scored a few points against the opposition while boasting that their "socialist" social base consists of people who have "never been interested in politics." It's a fine exposition of what they mean by socialism, and we can't help remarking that this segment could have been titled, *Archie Bunker Visits Poland*. But the main leg of the revisionist move in Poland has been the use of the armed forces of the state and the pure and simple reliance on these arms in the service of reaction. The Polish troops which Jaruzelski said in 1970 would "never fire on Polish workers" have done so. Naturally, it's all been coordinated with the Soviets and aided by their direct assistance. The revisionists have admitted to the killing of seven workers at the Wujek coal mine near Katowice—and have railed against the West for spreading "foul lies" by inflating the number of deaths. But while there undoubtedly are plenty of lies on both sides, the revisionists are hard-pressed to wipe the blood from their hands.

This description of the events at the Wujek mine were broadcast on Warsaw radio: "The forces of order on the premises of the Wujek coal mine acted at first without weapons, peacefully, with all discretion. They had clear and often-repeated orders to keep the legal means of coercion to the minimum. No one can deny this. The forces of order were not looking for confrontation, for martial law was proclaimed for the very purpose of avoiding confrontation. Even when members of the forces of order began to

fall with serious wounds under the blows of chains, picks and stones, attempts were still made to appeal to reason. It was no longer any good. Firearms were only used when it came to a clear need for self-defense." It was a fair fight—stones against guns. The workers picked on the army, so the army shot down at least 7 workers—undoubtedly more—but in "self-defense"! The height of this cynical rhetoric is matched only by a statement which follows from the same broadcast. "No one will bring those who fell back to life now. No one will now restore the health of the cruelly beaten soldiers and militiamen. Let us bow our heads in silence over the victims of yet another Polish tragedy."

Of course, the sorrowful veil serves two purposes. The government (and with it, the rest of the revisionist camp) has continually dressed its actions in appeals to national unity and portrayed Solidarity as the real source of the imperialist mess in Poland. There were calculated attempts prior to martial law along these lines, a "lesser evil" necessary to save the nation from the presence of foreign troops. Since there has been a strong tendency in Poland to cast the workers' struggle in fundamentally nationalist terms, there are no doubt sections of the people in Poland that have been influenced by this. Cheap hypocrisy and demagogery, after all, is all the more forceful when accompanied by a tank.

Not The 1970s

But the revisionist posture mainly serves as a decisive warning and none-too-subtle declaration of intent—if this is necessary, given the general sweep of events in Poland. The political atmosphere which has characterized Poland for the last period has drawn to a close. It

is not the case, as one Solidarity representative in Sweden suggested, that current problems will yield to a period of prolonged ease of tensions, relaxation and political reform, as was the case after the revolts of 1970. The international situation has changed drastically, today overall defined by the drive of rival imperialist blocs toward war and the tuning and tightening (albeit, not over a smooth course) of these respective blocs. The future doesn't promise a rerun of the tit-for-tat niceties that more or less prevailed throughout the '70s in Poland (and this is true of that period, despite occasional sharp clashes, and despite popular

wisdom that there was never room for bourgeois reforms and pluralism behind the "iron curtain"). An Eastern European commentator posed the question last week: "How can there be a Warsaw Pact without Warsaw?" And as the leaders of Eastern Europe gathered in the Soviet Union to celebrate the 75th birthday of Leonid Brezhnev—and, of course, to discuss more pressing matters—Jaruzelski continued to provide an answer to this commentator's question: There can't.

A Polish delegation was not, at least publicly, present in Moscow for Brezhnev's 75th. This is part of the Soviets'

feeble stabs at putting a little distance between themselves and martial law in Poland. Jaruzelski did, however, send Brezhnev a letter: "The Polish community was able to convince itself once again that at difficult moments, it can always count on its Soviet friends. We stand firmly for consolidating the ideas of socialism, the independence and sovereignty of the Polish state. In this work, the understanding and trust—as well as the ideological community—of the PZPR (the party in Poland—RW) and the CPSU is a matter of enormous significance to us. The alliance of our states... contributes to consolidating the

position of Poland in Europe, in the socialist community of nations, in the political defensive Warsaw Pact." In other words—"Thanks, Russia."

But, of course, this is the thanks of a bourgeois politician with little other choice—or desire—in the matter. Barring a major realignment of significant forces internationally (a possibility not to be discounted though, for instance, after the outbreak of war), Poland is a crucial link in the Soviet bloc and it is actually rather appropriate that martial law has been declared in the "national interests" because any bourgeois regime in Poland would end up in one imperialist alliance or another. For Poland as it stands under bourgeois-revisionist rule, the Warsaw alliance is in its national interests. This is true in spite of (and to some degree illustrated by) the "opening to the West" of the '70s. And while it's very unlikely that Solidarity was actually about to mount an immediate and serious attempt at seizing power in Poland, still, the cumulative effect of all the diverse currents of that organization, resting on the fact that it has been a genuine mass organization created by a real mass struggle, spelled trouble for social-imperialism.

There are many contradictions welling up inside the Soviet beast as the U.S. in particular has been gleefully pointing out. Western imperialism is drawing its own lessons from the crisis as, for example, Zbigniew Brzezinski has expressed quite often in the last few weeks. His point has been that in Poland exists many of the problems the Soviets will face in the future. Of course, he's right from his own perspective—that of war coach to the U.S. imperialists—and while all this is not exactly news to those in office in Washington, the crisis in Poland has served to spotlight it.

Splits, Defections

The defections of two significant Polish officials to the U.S., Romuald Spasowski, Ambassador to the U.S., and Zdzislaw Rurarz, Ambassador to Japan, was a real coup for the West. Rurarz was hailed as a noted economist and muscleman. "He used to grab a chair and stand up—a one-armed handstand on a chair," said a U.S. official. Rurarz wrote a message to some acquaintances on his flight to the U.S. and signed it "Former Ambassador Zdzislaw Rurarz, somewhere over the Pacific, on the way to a free America." As for Spasowski, he defected to protest "a state of war against the Polish people." It was said that he planned to retire in the U.S. anyhow. The whole episode provided an amusing glimpse at the outlook of these revisionist creatures, bourgeois to the core. Now that their asses were on the line back in Poland there's always the imperialism of the other side to serve.

But at the same time, the revisionists stepped up the offensive against former and present party officials in Poland. Several of these people associated with the Giermek regime (1970-1980), including Giermek himself, were rounded up in the initial sweep. Others came later, and just recently it was announced in Poland that 400 former officials would stand trial.

The meaning of all this is two fold. It is partly for show; an attempt by the current rulers to appear even handed. In his original declaration of martial law, Jaruzelski laid this out: "Citizens of Poland—as there is no turning back from socialism, there is no turning back to the false methods and practices from before August 1980." All those nasty

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December 17 after the radio announced that the police and army had restored order, youth throw up barricades in front of the airlines building in Gdansk.

A police van is overturned.



Static, Threats in Mao Defendants Hearing

On Friday, December 18th a special status hearing was held in the government railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The hearing was requested by the defendants in order to flush out the government around its refusal to turn over the material on its years-long electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the other defendants and anyone else connected with the case. The upshot of the hearing was twofold: more threats, including threatened court orders against Bob Avakian; and second, and related to this, that the issue of electronic surveillance was pushed forward as a central point in the case, an issue which even the judge was forced to acknowledge as a "threshold question." At the same time, however, it was once again made absolutely clear that the government is continuing to maneuver and wheedle their way around the issue in an attempt to avoid a major political spectacle and ram their railroad through as a "quiet, ordinary, criminal case."

In the course of the hearing the prosecution announced that they would have "a complete response" to the 1979 court order compelling disclosure of electronic surveillance by January 15th. Of course this "complete response" does not mean that the government will suddenly show up for court accompanied by tractor trailers full of its records and surveillance. Instead, their "complete response" means that they may turn over a little, if any, of the doubtless volumes of the contested material and offer yet another excuse for suppressing the rest of it. They may very well turn over a few pages of almost worthless, and highly censored at that, documents while continuing to hold

back as much of the most explosive material as they can. Anyone who has ever seen an example of the trickle of information wrenched out of the hands of the political police under the Freedom of Information Act, with sentences, paragraphs and whole pages deleted because of "security questions," is well aware of what the ruling class' "complete response" means.

The latest maneuver along these lines was carefully spelled out during the December 18th hearing. While the judge rejected the prosecution's attempt to set a cutoff date of January 1st, 1979 for the material disclosed, and instead that the search be conducted back to June 19, 1968, he was very careful to make it clear that this did not at all mean that the government would necessarily have to turn over all of, or even the bulk of the material it comes up with.

Referring to the fact that it is not the search for, but the disclosure of the material that the government objects to, the judge continually brought up his recent experience as the trial judge in another highly political case. As it turns out, Judge Ugast, the current judge in the Mao Defendants' case, was also the trial judge in the "Tabatabai Murder Trial" (Tabatabai was an Iranian official under the Shah and a rightist exile leader in the U.S. who was killed in Washington, D.C. in 1980). In addition to being a bald-faced attempt to raise the spectre of so-called "international terrorism" in connection with the Mao Defendants, the judge was specifically referring to the government's success in that case in suppressing the release of "sensitive information" on the grounds of foreign counter-intelligence.

The prosecution was more than prepared to pick up this ball and run with it. Prosecutor Abrecht had been accompanied to the hearing by two of the Justice Department attorneys respon-

sible for the coordination of and screening of all materials turned up in the search through the files of all of the various political police agencies. (Apparently these two Justice Department attorneys are the same ones who had worked so well with Judge Ugast in the Tabatabai case.) In the hearing the government charged "several of the defendants were overheard on foreign intelligence matters", and, therefore, the Justice Department attorneys declared that the government will invoke the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 in order to avoid turning over what is an undoubtedly large chunk of material concerning the surveillance against the defendants. However, a brief glimpse of one of the contradictions squeezing the ruling class was provided by the Justice Department attorneys' admission that the situation is a "little complicated" since there are "constitutional problems which we are working overtime to solve."

Apparently the great bulk of the material that they are willing to admit exists is from a period before the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act was written into law and therefore it was not covered by it. Not only does this mean that the ruling class has to figure out some other "constitutional" way of suppressing this material and still be able to legally proceed with the railroad, but they are also undoubtedly more than a little concerned about increased exposure of their infamous—and even illegal by their rules—wiretapping and surveillance operations during this period of time. They are concerned both because of the damage this would do to their ability to press ahead in this case and because of the broader ramifications of revealing all of this.

Threatening Bob Avakian

Yet, even as they continued to maneuver on this question of disclosing the electronic surveillance material and attempted to bury the political essence of the railroad, they had to in fact reveal its political nature even more sharply, particularly its focus on Bob Avakian. As he opened up the hearing, Judge Ugast immediately dropped his "liberal Uncle" demeanor and launched into a prolonged tirade about the politics of the case and how, according to the judge, "It's all tied into one individual and the organization." Referring to the contested importance of the material on the government's electronic surveillance the judge stated: "This is all tied up with the organization and Avakian... Bob Avakian is a symbol of the party. Why should I go through all this if he's not even in the country... You have no intention of bringing him back." In response to several attempts by one of the defense attorneys to interject the fact that Bob Avakian's presence in France was not in violation of any law or court order, the judge snapped, "That would all change if I ordered him to appear."

In fact, at the mere mention of Bob Avakian's name, the judge exploded. "If we can keep Bob Avakian out of this, would all of this go away? Could we get rid of the party and all the political aspects and get down to the simple case? Robert Avakian is over in Paris, let's get down to the simple matters and then come back to him. Let's deal with all these other individuals and then deal with him separately and keep all this about harassment of the party separate." This is quite a clear expression of the dilemma facing the ruling

class in their attempt to carry out a massive political railroad as an ordinary "criminal trial." While they may talk of "dealing with Bob Avakian separately," their talk quickly slams into the reality of the case. Bob Avakian is objectively the heart of their case. In fact, the government's entire case is politically and legally centered around him. Where would their "conspiracy theory" of prosecution be without Bob Avakian, who supposedly "gave the order"? And how could political statements made by Bob Avakian, prior to the January 29th, 1979 demonstration protesting Deng Xiaoping's visit to the U.S., be introduced as "criminal evidence" against all of the defendants unless Bob Avakian remains at heart of their attack? Secondly, no one is going to sit quiet here. Even if somehow the ruling class could figure out some way of "dealing with Bob Avakian separately," this would still not erase the politics motivating this railroad—and the political response mounting around the world and in the court. The entire case, from the original police attack on the demonstration up to the present, is built on politics and in fact is a continuation and intensification of the decade-long government attempt to destroy the RCP and Bob Avakian. No amount of slick maneuvering can cover up this fact.

Dodging Other Issues

Still another blatant attempt to bury the politics motivating this railroad emerged in the course of the December 18 hearing. Although the hearing was scheduled to deal solely with the government's two-year refusal to obey the court order compelling them to disclose the material on electronic surveillance, the judge suddenly decided to raise the issue of the necessity of pre-trial hearings on the defendants' motion to dismiss the indictment on the grounds of selective and bad faith prosecution. (RW readers will remember that the government has already submitted a motion aimed at "postponing," actually preventing, these same hearings.) Speaking "off the top of his head," the judge stated, "I don't see why I have to have evidentiary hearings on these matters. Everything can be submitted as documentary evidence, I can decide on that basis, why do I have to have a hearing?... The government has an obligation to be truthful." Who could ask for a clearer statement of Judge Ugast's intention to preside over a thoroughgoing railroad?

And, as he continued: "I have real problems in seeing the issue of selective prosecution or bad faith prosecution against these individuals... The government's campaign against the party was not relevant to this case... the question is, were they selectively prosecuted... This case must be viewed as a factual matter. I have a question whether what happened to this organization two years ago in another city has any relevance. It is not part of a pattern if the facts show that they were out on the streets breaking the law." The issue of "selective prosecution" has absolutely nothing to do with whether "the facts show" that laws were broken; this is a matter of clear legal precedent, and the judge is not stupid. Rather, his statement is yet a further indication of the ruling class's determination to ram this railroad through even if it means blatantly trampling on their own laws in order to do so. □



Protest Rejection of Evidence for Bob Avakian's Refugee Status Appeal!

The French appeals commission overseeing Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status refused to accept the first batch of testimonials on political repression in the U.S. unless they were all translated into French. This is a clear attempt to prevent these and the many more testimonials from the masses from being submitted at all. It is also a blatant attack on all immigrants seeking refugee status in France.

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

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 de 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. □

More from Vets at War Crimes Tribunal

The Lessons of the Buffalo Soldiers

This week we are continuing to run testimony by Vietnam vets from the final session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in New York. In the coming weeks significant testimony on a wide range of topics from the New York hearings will appear in the pages of the RW.

The following letter was submitted to the New York tribunal by a woman whose brother was a Vietnam vet, killed by Agent Orange:

Nov. 30, 1981

In the late 1960s, my brother Keith was drafted and sent to Vietnam. I was marginally involved in the anti-war movement; my father had put a large peace sign out on our front yard. Both he and I urged Keith to go to Canada; my mother was unsure what she thought he should do. He was timid and hesitant to disobey government orders; in any case, he felt that, although he didn't believe the war was just, that he had a duty to his country. Nineteen-year-olds often feel that way; I'm sure that's why they draft kids. He went to Vietnam and, with tremendous luck, was kept in the typing pool for the whole year he was there — an interesting irony: he knew how to type because that was what the commercial program at high school had offered him. The only time he was ever in danger was when his sergeant, drunk, mistook him for a "viet cong" and nearly shot him.

I was doubly relieved that he wasn't in battle. I didn't want my kid brother getting killed, and I didn't want him killing anyone else — especially in a totally unjustified war. And I didn't want him going through life with the kind of trauma I knew he'd face if he killed anyone.

When he came back, he married the girl-next-door — literally — and got a job with the post office. A few years later, they had a daughter. His life was as happy and unhappy as most people's, but whatever problems he faced, it never occurred to any of us that he would ever have to worry about Vietnam again. Even when I started reading about Agent Orange, I never thought it would affect my brother.

Two years ago, at Christmas time, he had a case of bronchitis that wouldn't go away. His wife got worried, and talked him into getting a chest X-ray. We found out, early on New Year's Eve, that the "bronchitis" was a huge tumor pressing against his lung, that he had lymphoma. Soon after his cancer was diagnosed, he started wondering about Agent Orange. He got in contact with a local vets' group in New York and found out that the area he was in in Vietnam had indeed been sprayed with Agent Orange. And he found out that lymphoma is one of the forms of cancer associated with dioxin, the carcinogenic toxin used in Agent Orange.

My brother lived for two years, going through a number of chemotherapy treatments, refusing to be defeated when each treatment in turn proved a failure. At my urging, he even began work with a psychic healer.

At one point, I wrote a poem about his cancer and Agent Orange, and gave it to him. I asked if he'd mind my reading it at an anti-draft rally. He was very pleased; never politically active himself, he was glad that I was — and he liked to think that the poem might keep some other young man from going to the next war, to face whatever the government might do to its own soldiers.

Keith died this past September. It was a peaceful and beautiful death, but it was a death that should never have been.

When you've been in the army, the army pays for your funeral, so Keith was buried in a military cemetery. They had a flag on his coffin and they played "Taps," and some honcho in uniform rattled off some garbage about how Keith had nobly served his country. He didn't say anything about how nobly

Keith's country had served him — poisoning him with dioxin, then turning down his claim when he tried to get compensation for what they'd done to him.

What they did to my brother they did to thousands of other American soldiers who went to Vietnam because they bought all that crap about duty and honor and serving your country. And they did it to God knows how many Vietnamese. How many Vietnamese are going through what Keith went through? How many Vietnamese families are going through what my family and I are going through? And what "harmless" little chemicals are they planning to use in the next war, against innocent civilians and indigenous soldiers defending their country against our troops — and against those troops themselves, the naive boys who really believe their government gives a damn about them?

This testimony was given by Carl Dix on Sunday, December 6, 1981 at the New York tribunal. Carl is the National Panel moderator for the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal; a Black Vietnam veteran, he was one of the Fort Lewis 6 who refused to go to Vietnam in 1970 and were sentenced to two years in Fort Leavenworth prison:

I'm a Vietnam era vet. I've got a little bit of experience and I think it has to be spoken to. You see this thing about them reversing the verdict of history rendered against them is really a question of them trying to chip away at the things that we've learned, the understanding that millions and millions of people have gotten, and really reverse the way people think about certain questions, questions like U.S. imperialism and its relations worldwide. And particularly in that they've got to wipe away the powerful movement against the war and especially the terrifying image, terrifying to them not to us, of their troops, many of them, refusing to fight the enemy, some of them went so far as to fraternize with and fight on the side of the enemy. I heard about Salt and Pepper, Black and white GI's who fought with the NLF. Fragging their own officers, thousands of them coming home to oppose that war, helping to spread an understanding of the nature of this rotten system. So I've got to speak to those things since it's part of my own experience, just like a lot of vets got to use theirs.

Now I got drafted in the late '60s, 1968, June. That was Vietnam time. I didn't want to go to Vietnam, deep down inside, not because I understood what was going on in that war, and opposed it or anything like that. It was just that I didn't particularly want to get shot at. I didn't see anything there worth putting my life on the line for. When I came out of training I got lucky. They sent our whole camp to Germany and not to Vietnam. At the time I didn't know that they sent one camp to Vietnam and one to Germany, and six months later the guys who went to Germany were sent to Vietnam. I didn't understand that at the time so I thought that I had dodged something. But when I was over there for two months, they called me into the first sergeant's office, and he says to me, "When I put somebody on my list, they either end up licking my boots or looking up at me at Mannheim" — that was the stockade that had a pretty killer of a reputation over there. And then he said, "Boy, you're on my list." What it came down to was that I was Black. I was Black and proud in the sense of what was going on back here. My back was too straight, I didn't stoop enough, I didn't bow and shuffle. So they had to get me.

Then orders came to leave Germany. I wasn't unhappy to leave Germany. The

only problem was the destination on those orders: Vietnam. Pleiku, to be specific, up towards the northern part.

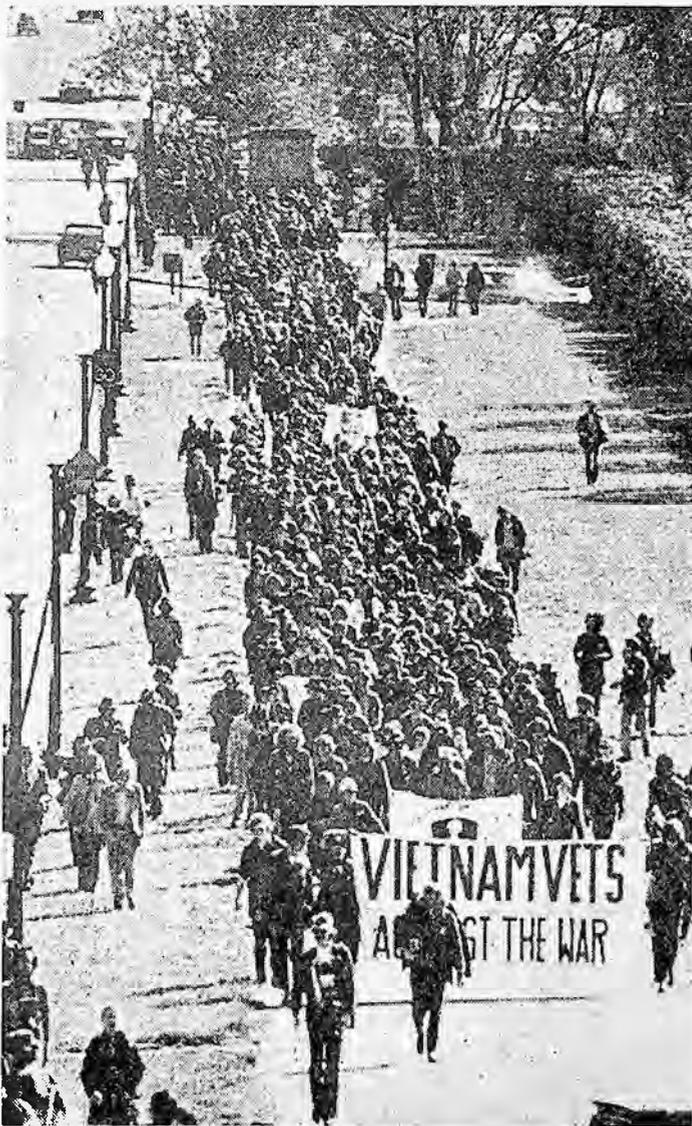
So I come home on leave, middle of November 1969, having to actually confront this question of: OK, I don't want to get shot at, but do I have a good enough reason to actually stand up against this war. See, when I got back, there was a lot going on. In fact, the day that I got back to the States, I got home just as the evening news was on and there was a shot of half a million people marching in D.C. I think that was the time of the big Moratorium, half a million in D.C. and half a million in Frisco. A couple hours later, we got a phone call from D.C. My sister who had been in New York was calling us from the vicinity of the Justice Department. She was part of that march, you see. She was telling us how great it was and how people had to really fight that war. I hadn't told her yet that I had orders to go there because, well, I was kind of ashamed of the fact that this was going down. She was also coughing when she told me this. So I asked her why she was coughing, and she said, "Oh, after the demo was over, we marched on the Justice Department and trashed the shit out of it!" They hit them with teargas and she was in the middle of it. "They gassed us and everything. It was great!" And it really raised the question for me of what side of this war do I need to really be on?

A couple of weeks later it got even sharper. I heard of somebody who I had never heard of before, Fred Hampton. I

heard of him December 4th, 1969 for the first time. When they killed him. And all I saw on TV was these four Chicago pigs. Chicago's swineest, laughing and joking and carrying the dead body out to the wagon. Then a few days later there was the shootout, war in the streets of L.A. I think there were 13 Panthers in the house there. And I saw army tanks rolling down the streets of L.A. They showed shots of the mortars that they set up on the roof and the soldiers that they sent into the streets to actually go to war to try to eradicate the BPP.

See, at that point I didn't know much about the Panthers. I knew they existed, I'd heard some stuff about them, and from a distance I had kind of admired them, that these dudes would stand up to some stuff. But I didn't really know where they were coming from. It was later when I found that out. But it was pretty sharp. The war wasn't just over there; it was over here too. And in some way it seemed like those Panthers were on the same side as the NLF. And where was I going to be in that stuff. Looking into it, I figured I had to get it from the horse's mouth. I knew a lot of guys who had been to Vietnam, so I made up a list and went and asked them all what the deal is. Some of these guys was just jive. They said Vietnam was just a lot of weed, and wine and women. It was just a ball and man you got to go over there. That's what some of them told me. Some other brothers said, "Hey man, this dude's pulling your leg. Yeah,

Continued on page 12



Above: April 19, 1971. The start of Operation Dewey Canyon III. Thousands of veterans met in Washington, D.C. for a series of actions prior to one of the most massive protests against the war—over a million people demonstrated on April 24, 1971.

Buffalo Soldiers

Continued from page 9

there's weed, there's wine and women, but a lot of the reason people go in for that skag and that weed is to get away from what the essence of what that question was." 'Cause by then the rumors about the massacres were floating. And people said, "Uh uh, ain't no rumor, that's a fact. And even more than that, that's what that war is all about. You kill children, you kill women, you kill old people. They drop bombs and try to get the whole village. Because all the people over there are the enemy. It's not like, here's an army and there's an army and the Vietnamese people are in the middle. It's the people that's the enemy. And if you're gonna go over there, that's what you got to get ready to get down on and deal with."

Putting all this stuff together, I said, "Hey man, I can't fight this thing." But then I had to work out a way to get out of it, because I had a little bit of slick in me. I figured the way to deal with it was to figure out a way to dodge it and not hit it straight on. So when I got out to the base out there, I hooked up with these other guys. There were three of us. We all didn't want to go. So we went downtown and found out at this coffee house that we could apply for a discharge on the basis of being opposed to the war. So we did that. But some of the things that were happening recently were pushing me that we had to do more than that. So we started doing up notices explaining how you could apply for a discharge, how if you applied for discharge they couldn't send you to Vietnam, that if you didn't want to go, this was a way you could deal with it. We distributed them on the base to these thousands of GI's a week that were being sent to Vietnam. And lo and behold ... see I was the company clerk and I had to type and dozens of people started applying for discharge. And they had, in about three days, 58 people who had applied for discharge and couldn't be sent to Vietnam. They did two things real quick. The first thing they did was they changed the regulation so that if you applied for discharge they'd send you to Vietnam, and you'd wait for your discharge over there. The other thing that they did was they got me out of the company clerk's office and they put me over on the end of the base.

There was a lot of tit for tat around particular applications for discharge of the 58 that got ours in. Finally it came down that they were going to cut us a deal. If we stayed off in our corner of the base ... I mean we were like a mile away from everything else ... if we stayed over there, didn't mess with nobody else, didn't talk about the question of Vietnam, didn't mess with their operation, sending thousands of dudes over there to fight in that war ... wouldn't be no problems. Things went along that way for a little while. Then something else happened.

There was this Black GI who had worked with the Panthers some, who came back to the base to resign. They didn't particularly like that and they had him in limbo trying to figure out what to do with him. He did up a petition of the statement that David Hilliard made about vowing to kill President Nixon if he doesn't give Black people their freedom, something to that effect, the one that Hilliard got popped for. So he made this statement into a petition, and he circulated it for signatures in his barracks, just one barracks. In a day he got 34 signatures on that petition. So pretty quick, this brother was in the stockade facing 107 years for threatening the Commander-in-Chief, treason, and all that kind of stuff.

We had this deal that would have kept us from going to Vietnam. But some of us got together and we discussed it. We said this deal smells like 30 pieces of silver. So I think we got to deal with it. So we set up the Willie Williams Defense Campaign and we tried to get it in motion. Before we could get anything going around that particular thing, though, what happened was Kent State, Jackson State. This was May, 1970. When that

came down, it was like, OK, like I had thought about it before and had kind of pushed into the back of my memory. "This is war, and what side are you on, sucker? No deal, what side are you gonna be on?" Now when that happened, there were of course demos all around. I think there was a demo in a city called Tacoma, not that far from the base. They shut the base down, blockaded all the exits out of it. A few of us, though, went out the back side, jumped the fence, and hitchhiked because we had to get to that demo. And then after that we decided that we had to deal.

There was a big march, I think it was in Seattle. And we had to get the word out to the GI's. They had closed the base down. Civilians, unless they had a lot of ID and a reason to be there, couldn't get on the base. A GI who had shown another GI a leaflet got 6 months for it for subversive activities. So they were trying to keep the GI's from linking in with the movement against the war. We decided we had to break that. We told them to give us 10,000 leaflets and we'd make sure that every GI on the base knew about that demo because we knew something about these bastards that run this army, we knew how they operate. We took those leaflets on Sunday night, around midnight, drove around the base at high speed, and threw them out the window. We littered that whole base with 10,000 leaflets on that demo. Sure enough, bright and early Monday morning, the brass sent the word out: the sergeants lined all the GI's up all across the base, marching across the fields, picking up this trash. Every GI on that base knew about that demo. But we figured we had to go even a little bit farther than that. We had to bring the movement against the war right onto the base.

Every Sunday a TV station would interview the General's wife as she went to church and ask her how were the boys doing in Vietnam and all this bullshit. So that had to be our next target. So she's coming out of the church, I think it's the first Sunday in June, she's coming out of the church. They're about to stick the microphone up under her sour puss and ask her about the boys in Vietnam, and then all of a sudden there were eight of us, four civilians and four GI's, and we started a demo, we started chanting about the war in Vietnam, the attack on the Black Panther Party and the Willie Williams case. And she ran screaming down the street, like the enemy's right here, "I got to get out of

here." We marched into the church, right up to the front. We gave about a 45-second speech and we turned around and marched out. All the while the camera was going, running live. The MP's got to us just as we got out the door. The GI's ended up in the MP Headquarters and they took the civilians off to the edge of the base and dropped them off in the middle of nowhere. Everybody got out of it OK. But very quickly after that, the orders that had been shelved on us to go to Vietnam were dropped down on us. And 6 of us had enough time to have to go.

But, see, by then some stuff was pretty clear. It was pretty clear that the war wasn't just over there and it was a question of where were you gonna stand. And it was also pretty clear to the 6 of us — we all decided not to go the AWOL route, which a lot of people had gone, you know, the Canada stuff. For different reasons we all felt there had to be a stand made around this question of the war; and that we had to make it and make it very publicly. And the 6 of us all refused to go to Vietnam.

Now there's a lot of stuff I wouldn't mind getting into around how that went down. Also around some of the stuff in prison. But even more than that, they said that I was organizing for the North Vietnamese in Leavenworth. While I didn't have any direct ties with the Vietnamese, I did kind of feel that I was working with the enemy. Not only there, but continuing on since I got out. See, this is a pretty important question. I learned a lot, because of what a lot of other people were doing in the situation I was thrust into. Just like thousands and thousands and millions of other people learned a lot. And there is a pretty sharp question posed of: What are we going to do with what we know? I mean they talk a lot about this Vietnam thing. They talk about this stress syndrome, they call it the Vietnam syndrome. A guy is walking down the street and a car backfires and they dive into the gutter, and cover up. People who can't sleep at night. They have nightmares. What that comes down to is: what was the nature of that war? The reason you jump on a backfire, or you get scared when a little kid comes up behind you is because you know the kind of war you were fighting over there, that you were killing kids, that that's what you were sent out there to do. That's why people can't sleep at night and got these nightmares. It comes down to getting clear on what was the nature of that war and who was really responsible for the atrocities that were committed there. Because if you don't get clear on that, then it might be that it was your fault, and that you can't shake this stuff. And that's what some people got to get clear on. And traveling for this Tribunal, we talked to a lot of vets

who knew they had something to say but they say, "Man, I can't say it. Every time I think about this stuff I crack up and I can't handle it no more." The point is to understand it, to point the finger at the dogs who are really behind it, and to help build the fight against them. That's what we've got to be doing off this experience, 'cause them dogs are still in the street.

A few of the people referred to this question that it ain't just the dogs here. There's a lot of other dogs, including another big dog, the Soviet Union. And these two dogs are sharpening up their claws and dragging the whole world toward war. And we got to deal in that situation. We've got a role to play in that. 'Cause them dogs are still out there and we've got to take what we know. And that's what I'm challenging vets to do, not only in the record of this War Crimes Tribunal but in every possible opportunity: To take what we know and bring it to bear to build the fight to put this rotten system where it belongs.

In this context, I'd like to look at history a little bit. I was reading about this thing called the Buffalo Soldiers. These were ex-slaves, just released from slavery. You know what they got them to do? They got them into the army, into the Cavalry and they put them on the front lines stealing the land from the native people of this land. That's what they got them to do. See, that's what they do in all their wars. They got people who got every reason to fight against these guys being dragged out behind their banner, press-ganged into their military and sent off to fight the slaves of other lands. Now look at it like this: What if the Buffalo Soldiers had had a chance to run their experience to the Black GI's that they sent up the hill at San Juan — who were the first ones to go up there? What if they had had a chance to run their experience to them? Or what if that experience had been collected and made benefit to some of the Japanese-American people who were getting dragged into the 442? Or some of the Dine people who were the code talkers in World War II and are sent off to fight for these bloodsuckers now? I don't want to get metaphysical because we can't go back and change all that. But there is something we can change today, because we've got some experience. We learned some stuff. And we've got to fight not only to see that it doesn't get chipped away, but that it gets propagated, that it gets read, that it gets into every crack and corner of this society. And when it comes to the question of raising the cannon fodder, lifting up that red, white and blue rag and pointing to the enemy and saying, go get 'em, that a lot of people know what the enemy's on and which way the gun's got to be pointed. That's all I want to say. □

Tempest

Continued from page 9

bureaucrats will be punished too. At least those from before August 1980! The point of this was lost on few people. And as if to make the promise good, Polish TV ran an "exposure" of an opulent villa maintained by one of the recent defectors. They failed to mention how he got it in the first place, or who happens to be living there today!

Secondly, this overall illustrates the deep crisis of the Polish United Workers Party which, after all, is a bourgeois party and a swamp of conflicting interests. A tightening up of the whole ruling apparatus in Poland was called for, and the general is delivering.

As mentioned, the west and especially the U.S. has been quick to point to the contradictions in the Soviet orbit; the "failure of communism," the oppressive and war-like nature of the Polish government, the oppressive and war-like nature of the Soviets. Real as all this is, it would literally take a book to record the amount of bullshit that has flown from the mouths of U.S. spokesmen—the big shots and the small fries—over the last few brief weeks: the pious "concern" for the people in Poland; the seemingly unending stream of comparisons between "communism" and "freedom"; the constant and feeble portrayal of the "dictators in Moscow" as the sole threat to "world peace."

The U.S., of course, has set out to

maximize its position off the crisis in Poland. In a series of announcements, Reagan disclosed first, mild sanctions against Poland itself, and then, measures aimed directly at the Soviets. It was most recently announced that Alexander Haig would soon fly to Europe to consult with the allies, and that depending on how things go, even stronger measures might be adopted.

What has stood out around the U.S. posturing is its own need to sharpen the Western alliance. And moreover, as with the U.S.'s counterpart in the east, this is not a smooth road, nor one without contradiction. The U.S. had hoped to use a Poland crisis to weaken the Soviet bloc and especially, to strengthen their own.

The U.S. government doesn't give a damn about the Polish people. From these imperialists' point of view, far preferable to any decisive move by Solidarity in Poland would have been a Soviet invasion. A move by Solidarity would have forced the U.S.'s hand and would have created big problems with the West European governments. Even as it stands now, there is a pronounced reluctance in Europe toward going along with the relatively mild sanctions against the Soviets the U.S. just imposed.

The political and economic interests of the European imperialist powers aren't always immediately convergent with those in the U.S., and there are real contradictions that lead to disputes. The U.S. view is that a Soviet invasion of Poland would have decisively forced Eu-

rope's hand and shake up the often decry "neutralist tendencies." The fact that the Polish regime is so far handling it "on its own"—at least without a massive Soviet invasion—creates problems for the alliance. At the same time, the apparent U.S. decision to fire a "warning shot" and "go it alone" around the recent sanctions—with or without Europe—illustrates precisely that it is the U.S. on the frontlines of the coming war and it is this imperialist power which must take the lead in the Western bloc—forging unity not so much by persuasion as by forcing the issue.

In terms of the internal situation within Poland at this time, both U.S. and Polish government (and Soviet) strategy is served by the rising chorus of conciliation and compromise heard from different forces, notably the Catholic Church. These appeals to "reason," calls to avoid bloodshed and overtures to "salvage what can be salvaged" dovetail not only with Polish government aims at consolidating its power but also with U.S. schemes. Since the Soviets have not invaded, perhaps this logic goes, it's best to dig in and wait for the days ahead—of war and even greater crisis when the strategy of taking advantage of contradictions in the opposing bloc will come to fruition.

But while this is the strategy of imperialism, it isn't the strategy of the international proletariat in Poland or anywhere else. In Poland, the question still posed sharply is state power and proletarian revolution. □

Felony Trial to Open in Salvadoran Tour Case

Monday, January 4, the trial of two revolutionaries on felony "transport of illegal aliens" charges opens in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Manuel Campos, a Chilean-born translator, and Carol Tsuji, both with the nationwide speaking tour of Salvadoran revolutionaries, face possible 5-year prison terms if found guilty on these fabricated charges. As readers of the *RW* are well aware, since the arrest of these two and the two Salvadorans on the tour at a tollbooth in Miami, Oklahoma October 12, the thrust and scope of the government's steadily escalating attack has been increasingly brought out into the open. Most recently, during and immediately following a scheduled misdemeanor trial for the Salvadoran brothers on the tour on Dec. 18, much was revealed about how seriously the bourgeoisie is taking these cases and everything surrounding them, and why.

The Salvadorans' trial allegedly concerned their "not carrying proper alien registration papers." On December 18, Judge Brett rather quickly announced he was dismissing these charges against the Salvadorans on a technicality that this law doesn't apply to those who've never been registered. But there was more, much more. Without so much as pausing to catch his breath, Brett then carefully announced that "the more appropriate charge" for the Salvadorans would have been (*and should be?*) "failure to register," a charge which carries a heavier 6-month jail term and \$1000 fine.

Not missing a beat, the official prosecution filled in the blanks. In the best tag-team, judge-prosecution tradition of bourgeois justice, Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Baker was quoted the following day in the *Tulsa Tribune* commenting on the new charges, "I consider these are worth going after." Then Baker continued with the main thrust of his point, this was "not because of the issues of the case, but because of the untrue and scandalous accusations against the government that have been made by the defense. Our effort in this office has been as much to defend the government against untrue attacks by the Communist Party as it has been to prosecute these men." It will be remembered that only two weeks ago defense motions to dismiss the case based on selective prosecution and prosecutorial vindictiveness were axed by the judge. (As an aside, it must be noted that Baker knows all too well that he's referring to the *Revolutionary Communist Party*, not the revisionist CPUSA.) It will also be remembered that the government has taken great pains to contend that the trials in Tulsa are "not political" but simple "criminal cases."

The government, it appears, feels under attack! The RCP, *Revolutionary Worker*, the Party's youth group the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), which is the national sponsor of the speaking tour, and the class-conscious proletariat in general have been consistent objects of whimpering by the government in all these cases. And the "attacks on the government" have also and significantly come from far broader quarters. Hundreds of individuals and organizations representing a broad spectrum of society from progressive Catholics and attorneys to student governments to Haitian refugee organizations have protested this attack and supported the speaking tour. Just recently Amnesty International has been sending Telexes across the Atlantic between London and Toronto regarding the trials in Oklahoma. Among those adding to the siege by sending telegrams to Judge Brett recently have been 112 residents of the South Bronx and 40 NYC garment workers as well as 14 Native Americans in Tulsa. That all this has touched a raw nerve was borne out when the *Tulsa Tribune* made a special point to print the shocking exposure that: "In a Chicago-

based newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the address to write Baker to protest the arrests has appeared for weeks. Brett's address appeared for the first time this week."

The government has obviously been tremendously affected by the political heat generated nationally and internationally around these cases. The dismissal of the misdemeanor charges reflects both that the government has been politically wounded by the exposure and outrage over their express railroad attempts widely among the masses, but also very much signified stepped-up attempts and threats on their part to consolidate these attacks. (In addition to the felony charges on Campos and Tsuji, the Salvadorans still face yet-to-be-announced deportation hearings with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, as well as the threat of one or more additional federal charges.)

The frantic and defensive tone in Baker's remarks to the *Tulsa Tribune* also has more than a little to do with the press of developments in the world today, including revolution and imperialist intrigue in El Salvador. The recent attempts by the U.S. to capitalize on events in Poland—for example, by trying to build their image of being a "freedom-loving democracy"—also certainly must have figured into their calculations of what is at stake in these trials.

The CIA Connection

Despite the repeated claims by the government that these cases are "routine, criminal" trials, the bourgeoisie's attack is directed from high levels in the government, and through a motley array of its agencies. Of course, the "routine" agencies in cases like these (like the U.S. Border Patrol) are fully involved. But who else has been thrown into the fray indicates much more about the significance attributed by the bourgeoisie: the FBI, the State Department (including its "anti-terrorist" "Threat Analysis Group"), the Secret Service, and most recently uncovered, the CIA. Before a December 11 "evidentiary hearing" in Tulsa, an individual who had expressed much support for the Salvadorans and the two charged with felony "transport," and who is deeply involved in researching Central American affairs, was "visited" by a man flashing a CIA badge. The agent was "just in the neighborhood" and decided to drop in. Quaint timing, indeed. The agent's story: "You're interested in Central America and so am I," and the agent thought they could "exchange notes." Whether directly connected with this individual's support for the revolutionaries on trial in Tulsa or not (and it's likely it was), this is a clear sign the bourgeoisie is most worried about and intends to step up its attacks on anyone associated with these cases, and more broadly on forces in this country who expose and denounce the role of the U.S. in Central America and the oppression of political refugees from that area of the world.

Targeting Revolutionary Immigrants and Those Associating with Them

All this points to some of the broader implications of what the government is up to in this transport case. While the open focus of the government's assault revolves around the two Salvadoran brothers, Campos and Tsuji, the RCP, and the national speaking tour, the government is overall aiming at a wider target: revolutionary immigrants and all those who associate with them generally. This is sharply illustrated in how the government is seeking to declare the question of political asylum for the two Salvadorans "irrelevant" or "highly irrelevant," etc. (The two Salvadoran revolutionaries visited an attorney in Los Angeles October 9—three days before their arrest—and in culmination of the

long process of filling out the political asylum application forms, signed these papers, thus "legalizing" their status in the U.S.)

In "orders" handed down by Judge Brett on this question it is stated that until the political asylum claim is *heard and approved*, he considers it irrelevant to the "transporting" charge. Ben Baker put in his two cents adding in response to defense pleadings, "The fact that an alien's ultimate purpose in being transported within the United States was lawful will not provide a defense to those charged and demonstrated to have illegally transported the alien within the country." Despite the doublespeak of Baker, the overall thrust of his statement and the unequivocal one by Brett is plain: Anyone traveling with immigrants (even if they have applied for political asylum, but are still awaiting a hearing on this) should be hit with this felony transport charge. In other words, the bourgeoisie is bent on impressing broadly to *anyone* associated and standing with progressive and revolutionary immigrants (Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Haitians and others): Stay away from these people, these un-Americans, or we're going to fry you. And side-by-side with this, the imperialists are issuing a warning to immigrants: Stay away from progressive and revolutionary politics or you'll pay the price.

The government is painfully aware of the social makeup of U.S. society. In particular here, the fact that millions of people are driven to the U.S. from countries under the boot of imperialism, bringing with them deep knowledge, experience and hatred of imperialism, and many having profound internationalist inclinations. A huge section of the population in this country made up of immigrants from U.S.-dominated countries is just not loyal to the red, white and blue and is a key part of the social base for revolution in this country as well as in their native countries.

When a revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line is added to this situation, and a class-conscious section of revolutionary immigrants begins to develop among these forces as part of the international communist movement, the magnitude of this question grows qualitatively greater for the bourgeoisie. The government's ferocity in going after the two people on the "transport" charges and the two Salvadoran brothers cannot be understood without grasping the general assault by the U.S. imperialists on revolutionary immigrants nor without grasping the additional "factor" of the RCP's proletarian internationalist line and prac-

tice, which has greatly magnified the bourgeoisie's horrified concern over these cases.

Tied in here are the continuing, disgusting, if very futile efforts of the government to get the Salvadorans to testify against the other two in the "transport" trial, again, using the still pending deportation charges and the possibility of others as their club. The government has resorted to asking these brothers questions like "You weren't really going on a speaking tour when you were arrested, were you?" and, "You were actually on your way to find work in Chicago, weren't you?" Because these attempts have failed repeatedly, the bourgeoisie has lately resorted to spreading lies in their press about the state of mind of the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The government begins its trial against Manuel Campos and Carol Tsuji Monday. Their opening move will be to not allow the defense to directly question prospective jurors, but instead to have the judge do this. The defense will wage its legal and political counter-attack with the Salvadorans (who will testify against the same government that has subpoenaed them for the trial) and other witnesses who will bare the essence of this attempted railroad and its political roots in the role of the U.S. in El Salvador, the oppression of immigrants in the U.S., and the bourgeoisie's raging fear regarding class-conscious and revolutionary immigrants, the RCP, the speaking tour, and the proletarian internationalist trend re-emerging in the world today.

As the battle continues to sharpen up around these cases, support through telegrams, financial contributions, and in other ways must also be stepped up, deepened and broadened in order to defeat each and every aspect of the bourgeoisie's assault. In addition, at the same time this attack is being taken on in Tulsa, and thousands of eyes are focused on the outcome of the trial, the members of the speaking tour will also be readying to continue with the second phase of the tour following the trial. Beginning in Texas, the tour will then proceed out West.

Statements should be sent to:
Judge Brett
333 West 4th St.
Tulsa, OK 74354

Contributions (and copies of statements) should be sent to:
Salvadoran Tour Legal Defense
11 East Latimer
Tulsa, OK 74106

For more information, call (918) 592-6843.

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Why We Are 'What Is To Be Done?'-ists

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in the imperialist camp, there were some very backward conditions and the masses were in very desperate straits a good part of the time. But at the same time Lenin viewed things on a world scale, as well as just taking account of the particularities of Russia and the acuteness of the situation there and the conditions that did, if correctly and dialectically understood, cause Russia to be a certain kind of weak link at a certain point. So he understood the need to accelerate the process of revolution and he saw very clearly that if you sat around and waited for the spontaneous development of the revolution, you would actually be contributing to retarding the revolution.

This view, this sort of Titoite social-democratic, bourgeois-democratic view in vague Marxist coloration tries to wrap itself in the mantle of Marx by playing on the fact that Marx's ideas of the party were not as developed as Lenin's. When Marx and Engels dealt with the question of the socialist revolution (although you know in opposition to some slanders to the contrary, Marx and Engels paid a lot of attention to important instances of colonial oppression and still more to rebellions in the colonies, whether in China, India or Ireland, and drew important conclusions), still they were largely looking at things from a European context and correctly so in the sense that that was exactly where the most important developments influencing the world, particularly toward socialism, and the working-class movements generally, were concentrated at that time. Some of the questions that Lenin was confronted with, that were brought sharply to the fore in the imperialist era were only beginning to assert themselves toward the end of the lifetimes of Marx and Engels, like after the Paris Commune. At the same time, as Lenin pointed out, the period of several decades between the Paris Commune and World War I and the developments leading directly up to it, say at the turn of the century with the advent of imperialism, was a period where by and large, while the world was not quiet in any sense, for Marxists only slow patient work was possible. And then the contradictions accumulated and brought a lot of these questions sharply to the fore. What Lenin summed up was precisely all the lessons, the rich lessons, the very important lessons that are concentrated in *What Is To Be Done?*, in terms of the spontaneity of the masses and the consciousness of the revolutionaries and the need for a vanguard party, whose backbone is professional revolutionaries. (Not that every member has to be a professional revolutionary, in fact we have to learn how to combine the two: people who are not full time cadre making up a large base for the party or in the party at the same time as you have a backbone of professional revolution-

aries, a backbone of the party who are professional revolutionaries.) This is an important development in Marxism; it is precisely this that these people want to negate.

Consciousness and the Conscious Element

To me there is something very significant to learn from that, it is a very good teacher by negative example of how important, once again, *What Is To Be Done?* is, that all these people feel compelled to go back to that and attack Lenin for that, precisely because what's concentrated there is not only the organizational line of the party, but its underpinnings, which is the more developed sense of the role and importance of consciousness and the conscious element in relation to the masses which, yes, involves a contradiction and requires this contradiction be handled correctly. But still, the role of consciousness and the conscious element is a very indispensable element for the revolution. The masses will not spontaneously develop socialist consciousness. They may gravitate toward it, as Lenin said, but they will not spontaneously develop socialist or Marxist consciousness and that has to be, in a certain basic sense, imparted to them from without, even at the same time as that doesn't mean standing to the side of them in the political sense. But it does mean not simply merging into their midst, that is, tailing behind them. It means carrying on active political revolutionary work in their midst, especially paying attention to the advanced but also even more broadly among the masses, being in their midst in that sense, but not just sort of merging into their midst, that is, submerging yourself beneath their level of consciousness and struggle spontaneously developed at any point.

This is a tremendously important point that Lenin raised. And I know that sometimes people accuse us of being "What Is To Be Done"-ists," as if that's a crime, but this helps you to understand much more fundamentally just how important it is and how proud one should be to be a *What Is To Be Done*-ist. Sometimes people have said, "you just uncritically take everything in *What Is To Be Done?*, you don't even have any criticisms of it." And I say, yes we do, we have some points of disagreement with Lenin because there are some places where he still made certain concessions to the German social-democratic (which really was social-democratic) trend. You can see that even in *What Is To Be Done?* there are certain ways (probably mainly for tactical reasons because he wasn't in a position to call into question the whole German social-democratic party and its pronounced role of leadership in the Marxist movement) that Lenin holds them up as a model even though the whole thrust of what he says goes up against what they were doing, something which he brings out openly when there's no longer any choice in World War I, when, as he says, their opportunist boil burst. But Lenin was not able to go back and tie together all these threads and it is important to do so.

This is what we started doing in the last Central Committee Report, in the "Charting the Uncharted Course" section in particular. We've held up this Ger-

man "WORKING CLASS" social-democratic model in more sharp relief as a negative example. This Eurocentric "WORKING CLASS" model is what I'm talking about with all these people like Djilas and the *Nomenclatura* author, Claudin, etc. It's not accidental that they have to bring *What Is To Be Done?* right into their sights and fire on it; you can see again what an important contribution it was; I mean, it does have its organizational expression, but not only that. You can see what's the basis by seeing what they say, using them as a negative example of the importance of a Leninist party and what it's based on. This notion of just "going slow" and "if the workers don't want revolution then nothing can force them" is of course a way of pitching yourself to the most backward.

"Alienated from the Masses"

It's very current now in the movement in the U.S.; it's a recurrent theme that all opportunists dump on us because we're always doing things to "alienate ourselves from the masses," by which they mean the lowest common denominator. In particular the viewpoint comes through that "you shouldn't do anything to offend the American people" which, if you think about it, is ridiculous. I mean, why shouldn't we? For example you have to say from being around, and you yourself were involved, that when the Vietnamese people rose up in revolution against U.S. imperialism they offended a good part of the American people. And, precisely if they hadn't been offensive in that kind of way then a lot of the good results—not only in Vietnam and internationally at the time, but even in the U.S. itself—a lot of the very positive results would not have developed. People who were themselves oppressed, outraged at their situation, alienated, in a frame of mind to rebel and looking to reach out to others who were in the same situation and with the same sentiments, would not have been encouraged and drawn forward to the degree or in the same way they were because the Vietnamese people rose up: Black people in the U.S., a lot of the youth, and so on.

And for that matter, when the Black people rose up in the U.S. or the youth and so on, didn't they offend a good part of the American people? And these people were around then too. The CP was also around then. Unfortunately, some of the very same people who are now putting up stop signs and saying "no offense, please, you can't offend the mainstream," were themselves involved in doing it then. That's one of the big tragedies, people from the '60s who drew the incorrect conclusions from the temporary ebb in the movement, especially in the mid-'70s. But there was the CP then pushing the same line: you know, you said, "U.S. Out of Vietnam," and they'd say, "Can we have a little negotiation, fellows?" and so on. This was tied up with the whole Soviet international line and their relationship to that, but also the way they see carrying out even that line for that matter, which is you can't offend the masses.

One thing that comes up is you can't offend the national sentiments of people. Well, for Christ's sake, if we didn't offend the national sentiments of the American people how could we be communists and proletarian internationalists! It would be absolutely impossible. This is where this leads you though. It's not a correct theory and it leads to problems in the oppressed nations; for example, it leads you into promoting bourgeois nationalism and reformism in the final analysis, anyway. But especially in an imperialist country this is directly and immediately a recipe for chauvinism and pro-imperialist reaction. And of course, all these people I've cited, that's what they're promoting, some of them almost openly and consciously and with little disguise, some of them with more of a leftist disguise, but this is the whole idea. This is a tendency that is accentuated with the development of imperialism and in the imperialist countries, in particular "go slow" and so on. It attempts to wrap itself in the mantle of Marx, as I said, by taking advantage of the fact that Marx's work was done before the real development of the imperialist era, at least the qualitative leap involved in the development to imperialism. But, it is also a retrograde trend, it's not really just upholding what Marx said, but out of condition, time and place. It's also retrograde against Marxism, of course, because what it's doing is taking advantage of the fact that with the development of imperialism and, particularly since the Second World War there has been a temporary retarding in the revolutionary movement, particularly among the working class in these advanced imperialist countries, especially of the West. There has been much more of a material basis for these kinds of lines and the basis to say "let's go slow." But that has also, because of the same material conditions, put you much more directly—especially if you're talking about conscious forces, people with worked out theories and not just people who are just acting spontaneously—in opposition to the international proletariat, makes you much more a leech, and a conscious pro-imperialist chauvinist in relation to the international proletariat. That's what's involved.

Here's where the importance of the point about "Leninism as the bridge" in terms of *What Is To Be Done?* links up with "Leninism as the bridge" in terms of revolutionary defeatism and opposition to one's own imperialism. You see what I'm trying to say? This trend concentrates how they come together in a negative sense.

Q: You mean the way you talked about imperialist economism?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions
of Our Movement

"The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain."

"... In a word, the 'plan for an all-Russian political newspaper,' far from representing the fruits of the labor of armchair workers infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work."

Quotes from "What Is To Be Done?"
by V.I. Lenin

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Lenin in Red Square

Atlanta

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state does indeed have Williams "nailed," to create the most favorable climate for a conviction.

But what has become clear through some of the arguments at pre-trial motions is that the state doesn't even have what it has claimed. It turns out that the search warrant issued for the Williams' house stipulated in several places that the state was looking for material that matched *light yellow* fibers found on slain Nathaniel Cater. Yet all of the internationally proclaimed fiber evidence that has been viewed by dozens of experts is purple and green, which not coincidentally happens to match some of the colors in Williams' room. Colors which first were mentioned after material had been confiscated from the house.

While not a word of this obvious contradiction was reported on by a single of the 80 some-odd reporters at the pre-trial hearings, this and other discrepancies have continued to be debated among the many masses who are checking all of this out on their own. But even more important have been the big questions that continue to be debated.

Debate in Atlanta over the causes and implications of the murders is growing—recently the Student Council of Morehouse College (part of the Atlanta University complex) held a panel discussion on the murders featuring one of the defense attorneys and a former member of the police Task Force. The questions reflected a deep desire to both understand the cause and to wipe it out.

In this context, the bourgeoisie has recently promoted and applauded various attempts in print to sum up the events surrounding the murders. While a number of these articles deserve further analysis at another date, one account is worthy of comment here, if only for its reactionary and authoritative bragging: a recently published book entitled *Murder In Atlanta, Sensational Crimes That Rocked The Nation*, by James Jenkins, the son of Herbert Jenkins, Police Chief of Atlanta for 25 years from the late 1940s through the late '60s. Ostensibly a look at several

Imperialists Invoke Fair-Fight Doctrine in Dozier Kidnapping

Blustery winds filled the White House on Friday, December 18, as word of Brigadier General James L. Dozier's capture by the Red Brigades reached his Commander-in-Chief. "This is, I think, a terrible situation," Reagan fumed to the Press Corps. "It's a most frustrating situation because I would like to be able to stand sometime—I'm sure we all would—and say to the people who do these things, they are cowardly bums.... They wouldn't have the guts to stand up to anyone individually in any kind of fair contest." Of course, with all this hokey tough-guy talk aimed at those who love America as much as his movies, Reagan is hardly referring to the kind of contest that was offered him in the late '60s when, then Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver challenged him to a duel—as in one-on-one. That one he definitely turned down. No, what big bad Ronnie more had in mind is the kind of "fair contest" involving him and his

30,000 nukes against any comers. These are the kind of fair fights that U.S. imperialism is into waging.

Across the Atlantic another scene in this grade-Z melodrama was being played out. In this little tear-jerker, directed by the U.S. State Department, the General's wife figures prominently into the production. Appearing in several pathetic balcony scenes, Mrs. Dozier and her daughter—a captain in the army—have appealed for the General's safe-and-sound return saying he was a good family man who wouldn't dream of harming anybody. This touching display just must have caused some consternation over in the Pentagon. Imagine the head of NATO's Southern Command with all their nukes and everything else, who wouldn't harm a flea! That man should be fired immediately! At the very least this would call into question Dozier's fitness for duty. Why with such an attitude he wouldn't

even be qualified to graduate from the ROTC much less command an army. We suggest that the U.S. imperialists look into this matter further.

Somehow we doubt that Mrs. Dozier's claims are accurate, however, as evidenced by the massive efforts to get her pacifist husband back. And it has recently been reported that he has trusted friends not only among the U.S. ruling class but elsewhere. It has been reported in the press that a reward of nearly a half-million dollars has been promised for the safe return of General Dozier. It turns out that the benefactor who posted the reward is a high-ranking, drug-trafficking kingpin in the Italian Mafia. How fitting these thoughtful and fraternal actions are from another organization whose members wouldn't harm a flea either and they certainly are all *family* men as well. □

murder cases throughout the past 30 years in Atlanta, the book's main selling point is that it deals with the murder of the Black youths. While running a straight-up police description of events in Atlanta, Jenkins presents a rather interesting analysis of the reason for the murders: "Certain complex homicides of the past occurred in social environments undergoing ardent social alterations, and in effect acted as harbingers of more that was to come. Perhaps it is no happenstance, then, that the multiple murders of young blacks took place in Atlanta...." In embellishing that point, a review in the *Atlanta Constitution* describes the murders as a "late reaction to upheavals of the '60s" in Jenkins' opinion. And "(typify) in many ways an end of segre-

gation... You have these kids that up until 10 years ago never basically left the confines of their own neighborhoods, mainly because of segregation... now they travel around all hours of the day and night, work jobs at all times, and become streetwise at a much earlier age."

So there you have it! Straight from the horse's mouth! Indeed, who should know better than the son of the former police chief in Atlanta about the organized reactionary forces, in and out of uniform, who would perpetrate such crimes on the Black people. And, mind you, not only are the imperialists still trying like hell to bury the '60s but more to the point, they are mindful of "harbingers of things to come." Civil war, for one.

Fitting right in with the likes of Mr. Jenkins, reactionary artists have recently produced numerous racist works being sold all over the all-white sections of Atlanta. Just in time for Christmas, all manner of trash could be purchased by any good Christian from antique store owners, etc., along the lines of one insidious picture of a group of naked Black teenagers running toward a river, titled, "First One In Is A Nigger."

As more of this dirt continues to get unearthed, it becomes all the more clear how high the stakes are in Atlanta, and how certain verdicts are long overdue to be delivered. □

Why We Are 'What is To Be Done?'-ists

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BA: Exactly. And bourgeois democracy. You can see the bourgeois democracy; these people, not accidentally, all push bourgeois democracy. You see, one point I wanted to bring out in relation to this, and going back to what I was saying earlier, I myself have done some agonizing over this. It's true, there is a real danger and a real risk that you try to develop a party and the party goes bad when it's in power and becomes a bourgeois party and institutes a bourgeois dictatorship, turns the state into a bourgeois dictatorship. We put a lot of emphasis, and I myself have fought in particular to give leadership on this question of preparing *now* against that, and that preparation is very important, although when the time comes you're going to have different material conditions and the ideological preparations we do now will be important then but obviously won't be sufficient, there'll be tremendous struggle anyway because it's different when people are in power than when they are being hunted and hounded and everything.

Q: I noticed in your speeches and even in some of your radio talks, it's something that you pay attention to, something that's a question on the masses' minds, "whatever happens when you guys get in power?" And you always try to deal with that question.

BA: Obviously events in China brought it out even more sharply. We all knew what happened in Russia; we'd all come to a basic understanding of what happened there and we also theoretically knew the contradictory nature of socialist society, but we were all taken off guard by what happened in China to one degree or another, so that has to tell us that our understanding was still far from really profound on this question. And it's on the minds of the masses; they bring it up a lot, even the basic proletarian masses who really don't have anything to lose; there is a difference in the way it comes up among different sections of the masses, but it comes up. Malcolm X gave the example in one of his talks that when slaves are leaving a plantation and

somebody says "Yeah, but where are we going?," they say, "Who gives a fuck, anything's better than this." Malcolm X was talking about outlook, not literally that it's not important to know where you're going. And that's very correct and that is the outlook of the real proletariat that has nothing to lose but its chains. But on the other hand he was talking to an audience largely made up of that section of Black people, for example, yet he still had to make that argument, to struggle over that point with his audience, and the point of that story obviously was that there were some in his audience who were posing the same question, where are we going? Not that it's wrong to pose the question, but it was still like wanting to know what's on the other side of the river before they were willing to leave where they are, even as bad as where they are is. That'll always come up, even among the basic proletariat, but especially in the U.S. where even the most oppressed sections are, after all, in the U.S.

As perverted as he's become, when Eldridge Cleaver left the U.S. and went to Algeria and other places, and he saw the conditions, the much more stark conditions of the oppressed masses in other countries—and this was obviously for him the beginning of his capitulation—he started talking about how, compared to that, even the oppression of Black people in the U.S. is like being pressed between two velvet sheets. Well, obviously, that's an exaggeration and going way too far and way over the line, and for him it was the beginning of his capitulation, the idea that things aren't so bad even for Black people in the U.S. after all, and he didn't see it as part, as just the much more extreme form of the same imperialist system. But, nevertheless, there is an element of truth in that, that even the most oppressed in the U.S., if you want to get into this sort of contest, reverse upmanship to see who's most oppressed, there are people outside the borders of the U.S. who will win. And it's obviously a ridiculous and reactionary contest to get into.

Still, there is this question and it's good that people pose the question because you don't want people to rebel blindly, you want them to make revolution consciously with a sense of where they are going. But again it divides into two. On the one hand, it reflects that even people who are very oppressed feel they have a little something to protect, as against an unknown, and that shows that even for them, their consciousness is not unrelated to the sharpening of contradictions.

They're not constantly in the mood to exchange anything, whatever it might be, for what they have, it's only when the contradictions sharpen up very acutely that they themselves are willing to put everything on the line without knowing exactly in every detail how everything's going to work out.

Be Part of the Battle

On the other hand, it's good that people do pose the question, it's good that people do want to know where things are going and what's the way forward out of this, including on this question, "Well, how do we prevent this revolution from becoming turned around, betrayed or turned into its opposite." But it's not quite correct the way they pose this. It's good they pose the question but the way it's posed often is sort of like *us* and *them* or *us* and *you*. What will happen when *you* guys get in power, instead of seeing their own role in this process which is crucial ultimately.

That's why we've also emphasized that we have to put it back to the masses to a certain degree, not to duck the question or to avoid the point of our own role in this. We've emphasized that the role of the vanguard and the masses is not an absolute and we don't want it to be an absolute. In other words, for people who are posing this question it's precisely not a matter of saying, "Okay, we're the Party we'll do what we can, but now what are you going to do?" There's also the question of saying, "You have to make that leap to becoming part of this Party to fight this question out from *that* standpoint too;" it's not just enough to be an advanced person among the masses who rallies to the call, but keeps a certain distance and says, "Let's see whether you guys are for real or not." You've got to come in and fight to make this thing for real, because that's the way it's going to get determined whether it's for real or not is people struggling it out and you can't stand, keep a certain safe distance, or a certain distance in any case, to see what happens, you have to become part of that battle. And you can't do that fully unless you join into the vanguard, because there *is* a real separation, at the same time there is interpenetration, between the vanguard and the rest of the masses, even the advanced masses. It is from this point of view, from this angle, that Marxists pose this question. □

(To be continued)

A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

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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“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* 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.”
