



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, U.S.A.

No. 141 (Vol. 3, No. 39) Published weekly

February 5, 1982

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3465 50¢

## El Salvador Crisis Deepens

# More U.S. Guns, More U.S. Worries

Stepped-up military shipments to the Duarte puppet regime, threats of even greater ones, renewed posturing about "drawing the line against Soviet and Cuban intervention in Central America" by any means necessary, shameless lies upon lies, and worried debate in U.S. ruling circles—these are the clear signs of the deepening crisis facing U.S. imperialism in El Salvador. In rapid succession this week, the Reagan administration freed \$66 million in already appropriated military and economic aid to the U.S.' puppet junta; added another \$55 million in military appropriations by taking it out of funds earmarked for other U.S.-dominated dependencies; announced that it would request a further \$100 million for the rest of this fiscal year and \$300 million for 1983—a grand total of over *half a billion* (so far) for the next

two years for counter-insurgency programs, napalm and helicopter gunships, military advisers and training, etc. At the same time, ABC News reported that according to a "White House source," the U.S. has approached Argentina about infiltrating Argentinian combat forces into Nicaragua to operate covertly in "guerrilla fashion," posing as "Latin American freedom fighters," to stem the alleged "flow" of arms to El Salvador and then, to overthrow the Sandinista-led Nicaraguan regime. Whether this or some equally reactionary scheme(s) are finally chosen—including possibly an invasion of El Salvador from Honduras, Guatemala or wherever—it is clear that U.S. imperialism, despite its best efforts on a number of fronts, is facing a seriously deteriorating situation in Central America, and is scrambling to do

something about it. As Alexander Haig stated before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this week, his hands nervously fiddling with a pen and his face twitching between a smile and a frown, "Cooperating with our friends and allies in the region, we will do whatever is necessary to contain the threat."

Once again, the spectre of a "massive arms flow" to guerrillas from Cuba through Nicaragua is being thrown up—despite the fact that even a *New York Times* reporter who had traveled with the guerrillas wrote that they clearly have a *shortage* of arms and that most of what they do have was bought on the black market. The sad-faced butcher José Napoleón Duarte continues to be described as a "moderate" besieged by "extremist violence of the left and right"—despite the fact that he has presided over the murder of 30,000 Salvadorans in the past two years and that he publicly defends, at every oppor-

tunity, every massacre by the junta's troops as "trying to bring democracy to my country." This ghoulish figure appeared on ABC's *Nightline* once again, looking and sounding like a stuffed mummy with a tape-recorded message from the State Department set to go off whenever genial TV interviewer Sam Donaldson paused. He did reiterate his long-held and firm belief that "We don't want any armies of anyone, including the United States." But he quickly added, "And of course, we don't want Cuba and Nicaragua either." The U.S. government obviously agrees with Duarte (after all they told him what to say) and has made clear that they "have no plans at this time" to "involve Americans" in El Salvador. No Americans involved??? Who the hell has placed in power—and maintained—El Salvador's generalissimo for the past 50 years? Who is currently supplying all the weapons, training, finances, political duplicity, etc. with which the junta is managing to hang on by the thread known as "U.S. aid?"

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## ATLANTA:

Atlanta, February, 4—As the state continues to aim its big guns at the Wayne Williams trial, declaring far and wide "case closed!" on the Atlanta Black youth murders, momentum has been building this past week for the teach-in called by a wide variety of forces: "Only the People Can Close the Case of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders!" At the time of this writing, speakers included Chimurenga Jenga, an organizer of the Ron Carter Bat Patrols in Techwood Homes; Venus Taylor, an outspoken mother of one of the murder victims; Walter Collins, a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika and veteran '60s activist; Wayne Webb of the Revolutionary Communist Party; Columbus Keebler from the National Black Students Association; and attorney Charles Thornton from the National Conference of Black Lawyers which has been closely following the Williams trial.

The teach-in comes at a time when once again the question of who are the *real* criminals in this string of murders is being hotly debated, largely because of the near-sighted attention the bourgeoisie has been trying to focus on this trial. This is, of course, not at all surprising. A crucial point all along for the ruling class has been the idea that the murderer was a lone, deranged Black man and any theories to the contrary—particularly anything that points to national oppression as the motive and a Klan-type group as the perpetrator have been widely and viciously suppressed.

Obviously, the authorities' motivation for this has been anything but a burning desire to find the real killers (and if nothing else the Wayne Williams trial reveals how little they are concerned about *that*). Their deepest concern was and is suppressing any serious response from the masses, *especially* when that response points the finger at them and their system with its long history and current stepping up of national oppression. That line of attack is today concentrated in the Williams trial, which, as the call for the teach-in puts it, is "aimed at 'closing the book' on the murders and telling the millions who are outraged not only by the murders themselves, but by the actions and words of the authorities, that their outrage is unfounded." They have now even come up with Williams' "motive"—he hated Blacks!

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## The Hand at the End of the Chains

## Wash. State Declares Open Season on Native Americans

# The Not So Mysterious Murder of Roque Duenas and Kevin Henry

It has been 4 months since Roque Duenas and Kevin Henry launched a small boat from Point Defiance in Tacoma, Washington, for a night of salmon fishing. Roque was a nationally-known activist in the American Indian Movement (AIM) who was once acquitted on charges of aiding in the escape of Leonard Peltier from Lumpoc Federal Prison. He and Kevin died while fishing on the night of October 1, 1981. Their boat was found overturned, floating some 400 yards off the western shore of Commencement Bay by the Tacoma Fire Department. On October 19 Kevin Henry's body was discovered only a third of a mile from where the boat was found; Roque's body has never been found.

What actually occurred in the last hours of October 1 remains wrapped in mystery. What is clear is that the forces of the federal, state and local governments are doing everything in their power to make sure that this mystery is never solved, and this in itself is a strong enough indication to convince many who know the case to conclude that Roque and Kevin were the victims of a government-sponsored murder plot.

All this has taken place against the background of the government's years-long campaign of murder and repression directed at AIM and also an increasingly heated battle over Indian fishing rights in the Northwest.

An investigation by different people into the deaths has shown that the authorities have systematically forgotten, misplaced and/or simply destroyed evidence and information. The actions of the Pierce County Coroner's Office are perhaps the most blatant of all. The coroner's report on Kevin Henry gives virtually no information on the condition of the body. When questioned, Bill Barnes, the deputy coroner who wrote the report, has given a number of different stories. Barnes told relatives of Kevin that there was a "bruise" or a "welt" on Kevin's head and he admitted that Kevin must have been struck on the head before he died (since bruises do not appear once someone is dead). Later, Barnes told the *RW* that there were not any bruises at all, that there were "lacerations" on the face. When asked the cause of the lacerations, Barnes speculated that they were

caused by rocks on the bottom of the bay after Kevin had died. Barnes knew perfectly well that he could speculate about such things with no fear of being contradicted because he refused to have an autopsy done on the body, despite the request of some of Kevin's relatives, and this is the only way the cause of such injuries could be determined with any degree of certainty. As for why he ordered that an autopsy not be performed, Barnes would only say, "there was no need to. It was a case of accidental saltwater drowning." Quickly becoming nervous and defensive, Barnes accused the *RW* reporter questioning him of "making a mountain out of a molehill" and went on to say that asking such questions "doesn't do anybody any good."

When talking to Barnes on the phone he agreed to allow the *RW* to look through the file on Kevin Henry, but by the time the reporter arrived at the coroner's office Barnes had changed his

mind. On further questioning, Barnes—while holding the file on Kevin Henry in his hands—denied that there were any pictures of Kevin Henry's body. When the reporter replied that he knew perfectly well that there were pictures of the body in the very file that Barnes was holding, Barnes opened the file and "discovered"—lo and behold!—that there indeed were pictures of the body. Barnes then announced that these were for the coroner's office "personal use," that nobody, not the reporters, the family or any lawyers for the family would be allowed to look at them! Oh no, nothing to hide, eh, Mr. Barnes?

Meanwhile the U.S. Coast Guard has erased two sets of tape recordings and suppressed at least one report concerning this case. The first recording is a call to the Coast Guard Search and Rescue Unit in Seattle. (This is relevant because the Coast Guard denies that it ever received a call from the Tacoma Fire Department notifying them that Roque's and Kevin's boat had been found.) A few days after Roque and Kevin were found to be missing, the Puyallup Tribal Prosecutor called the Coast Guard and specifically requested that the tape recordings from the early morning of October 2 be saved. Nonetheless, the tape was erased. (When contacted by the *RW*, the Coast Guardsman who took this call claims he "didn't remember" this request.) A second tape has a record of all radio traffic on marine frequencies in the Puget Sound region, establishing what ships were on the water at the time and, very likely, other relevant information as well. The *RW* contacted the Coast Guard and asked to listen to this tape and was told that this would only be possible by filing a request under the Freedom of Information Act. After this request was made, but before the Coast Guard granted the request to listen to the tape, this recording, too, was mysteriously erased. Also, a lawyer working on this case filed another Freedom of Information Act request, and was given some inconsequential telecommunications between different Coast Guard units, mainly concerning a 90-minute search for the bodies by a

Coast Guard helicopter, and was told this was all the information the Coast Guard had. But, in fact, there is an entire report on the Coast Guard's investigation of this accident which has been written and has never been released. An officer in the Coast Guard Marine Investigation Unit in Seattle said that this report is "not releasable until it is approved by Washington" and that this—despite the fact that it has already been over 4 months since the deaths—would take "at least another month."

Others who have requested to hear the Fire Department's tape recordings of their supposed call to the Coast Guard have not been able to hear this tape either, and the Tacoma Police Department, while promising repeatedly to come across with reports they have on tapes, has yet to do so.

While the coverup surrounding the deaths of Kevin and Roque proceeds, the struggle over Indian Fishing Rights in the area is growing extremely tense. Many Indians, Puyallups and members of other tribes in the region, have told the *RW* of frequent attacks on Indian fishermen. The Washington State Department of Fisheries has staged a series of anti-Indian rallies, officially called "hearings" to discuss the possibility of closure of part of the sport salmon fishing season around the state. The comment of one "sportsman" at one of these rallies in Everett, Washington, was typical: "I'd be satisfied with a closed season on salmon if we got an open season on Indians."

Recently a large boat owned by a member of the Squaxin Tribe, located south of Tacoma, was set on fire and destroyed. When a fireboat responded to the blaze, they noticed that a loghouse owned by the tribe was also burning. The cause of both fires was determined to be arson. It is quite likely that federal courts will soon order a substantial reduction of the salmon fishing season of both Indian and non-Indian fishermen in western Washington in the next few weeks, a move which will further intensify the situation. □

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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0733-3486) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of May by RCP Publications, 642 S. Dearborn, No. 906, Chicago, IL 60605. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico, (\$30 for institutions; foreign subscriptions are \$80 a year airmail, \$40 for six months and \$30 surface mail).

## More Thoughts on Party Building

# Pay Attention to the Day to Day Needs of the Masses—

# But Don't Overdo It!

by Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decade of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of 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) are being published in serial form in the RW. Previous sections ran in RW Nos. 136-140.

I remember being interviewed on WBAI in New York a couple years ago by a woman who was either with the Communist Party or certainly had a lot of similarities in her line. (See RW Nos. 27 and 30) And I was running down the essential thrust of our line. (We have since developed it further, but by that time we had made a leap in grasping the essential thrust of it.) She tried to do a form of guilt-tripping: "Is that what you tell people in the winter when they don't have any oil, when they are freezing to death?"

I remember looking right back at her and saying, "Yes, that's exactly what we tell them." And while we have to fight for partial demands, and such struggles can be important, the most important thing is that we have to imbue people with the understanding that the whole system is thoroughly rotten and has to be overthrown and we have to move beyond it to a whole different stage of society and that there is no other solution to all the many different problems and outrages and abuses that exist other than that. And yes, that's exactly what we tell them.

But, obviously there's more of a problem here than just an opportunist trying to guilt-trip people. And, again, this is really where political courage comes in: There is a spontaneous pull and it is a reflection of a real contradiction. While that revolutionary answer is a fundamental truth (and one that you have to instill and imbue in the masses and enable them to grasp), it's also true that you can't make revolution right away. So the problems of the masses remain and the abuses and outrages and the struggles they give rise to will continue to take place. And there will therefore be a pull toward "Let's do something more immediate, let's do something more practical," and even the pull toward "This is the way in which we have to win the masses to revolution." This has been and remains a very big current in the communist movement — and not only in the U.S. in our recent experience, but also, of course, historically and internationally. The idea has been that you cannot build a revolutionary movement unless you satisfy or somehow find the way to deal with the most immediate, pressing needs of the masses and unless you become the leaders of their day-to-day battles and their most immediate struggles.

There is influence of this idea, for example, even in the Chinese "General Line" polemic\* in a section that actually puts emphasis on carrying out all-around preparation for revolution and stresses that unless that's done you won't even be ready to seize a revolutionary opportunity if it does arise and you will throw it away even if the chance is there. Even that section, which we've quoted in the past, talks about *while leading the day-to-day struggles of the masses* you must carry out all-around preparation, etc. It's not that you should never lead any day-to-day struggles, or it's not that you should make a principle out of not leading any day-to-day struggles. But neither should you make a principle that you must lead the day-to-day struggles, which is what it has been — a principle — in the past in our own thinking and work. This remains a very widely held current in the U.S. among many groups and internationally, and it's an incorrect tendency.

There's an essay by Mao called "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work" in Volume I, written in 1934. It's often cited by people who are influenced by this incorrect tendency I've just been talking about. In there Mao talks about

the need to "solve the problems facing the masses — food, shelter, clothing, fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt, sickness and hygiene and marriage. In short, all the practical problems in the masses' everyday life should claim our attention." Now, I think the most important thing to point out in relation to this is what is the context in which it is occurring. Volume I in general covers the period of the first and second revolutionary civil war and the beginning of the war against Japan. The general characteristic of the Chinese revolution, as Mao pointed out and stressed, and even Stalin noted, was that the armed revolutionary camp was from the beginning fighting the armed counter-revolutionary camp. In other words, the form of struggle around which everything else was organized was revolutionary warfare pretty consistently throughout this whole long period from 1927 on.

Mao wrote in "Problems of War and Strategy" that the central task and highest form of the revolution is the armed struggle for power. So here they were, carrying out the highest form of revolution, which in the imperialist countries in a general way is what you build up to during a period of preparation. But in China at this stage (and this does have broad and important application for revolution in the countries similar to China, though it shouldn't be applied mechanically), they were carrying out revolutionary warfare almost from the beginning; and from the time that Mao's line even began to come to the fore and even before it fully triumphed, from the time he went to the countryside and formed the first base area, the forces under his leadership were carrying out warfare almost constantly.

#### Warfare Central

So, in other words, they were already carrying out the highest form of struggle, and Mao insisted in a number of writings in this period as well as later that everything else was subordinate to this form of struggle — to warfare. Political work, everything else, was subordinate to that. So it's in that context that Mao is talking about how you've got to solve all the masses' practical problems. He doesn't say, well, before we can launch revolutionary warfare we have to go out and make sure the masses have enough salt, and that their problems of marriage are taken care of. He's raising this in the context of waging war. He even starts this particular essay

out (one which does put some emphasis on this problem) with this very point. After a short introduction of the subject of the essay, he then goes on to say, "Our central task at present is to mobilize the broad masses to take part in the revolutionary war, overthrow imperialism and the Kuomintang by means of such war, spread the revolution throughout the country and drive imperialism out of China. Anyone who does not attach enough importance to this central task is not a good revolutionary cadre." And then he goes on and says on the other hand, if you do not attach enough importance to the problems of the masses you are not doing right either. But this is what he begins with and this is in fact what their work, everything, revolved around.

First of all they are waging warfare as the highest form of struggle, and as the central form of their work around which everything else is revolving. And second of all, they actually are holding power in a number of areas; therefore they have the actual practical problems that a government has. This is something that also has some provocative implications that should be thought through more deeply, because in fact when you are in power you do have to pay attention to those kind of problems in a way that you don't have to and in fact shouldn't when you don't have power. This is one of the particular aspects of the Chinese revolution too; they had power in a partial sense for a long period of time because they had base areas.

So, if anyone wants to take what Mao says, even stresses, in this essay and abstract that from that situation and make some kind of general rule that when you are making revolution you have to make sure the masses' marital problems are solved, you have enough salt and cooking oil and so on and so forth, and raise that as the *sine qua non* (that is, your starting point without which you can't do anything else), then they have actually perverted what Mao is saying and in fact they have reversed it. Mao was very clear on this too; without waging war as the central thing they were doing, all this stuff would lead to reformism and social work divorced from the concrete question of waging revolutionary war and of having base areas and so on. Elevated up to a principle in and of itself, it would lead to reformism in politics and capitulation ideologically as well. If you try to make this the central thing around which your work has to un-

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## A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

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.

"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."

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Revolution

CONQUER  
THE  
WORLD?

The  
International  
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Must and Will

\* "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", FLP, Peking, 1963. Point 12 is especially being referred to here — RW.

# Problems, Problems, East and West

In a recent commentary of the situation in Poland, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* exclaimed, "Problems, problems, there are more of them than are mentioned here" and offered a rather frank admission that Poland's revisionist rulers are facing "big difficulties." And as the Polish government rammed through huge price increases of up to 400% for food, fuel and other basic goods last week, one aspect of these "difficulties" exploded in the face of the clampdown. Riot police clashed with several thousand youths in Gdansk as, according to the Polish government, youth "attempted to storm government buildings and passed out anti-state leaflets." Polish security forces finally dispersed the protestors with water cannon and tear gas, arresting over 200 with six demonstrators and eight policemen injured. Martial law measures were promptly tightened up in Gdansk, including a new 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew and a ban on public and sports entertainment and travel by car. Meanwhile work stoppages in protest against the food prices were reported in a number of other cities and there are persistent rumors that the Solidarity underground is organizing for a general strike against martial law this spring.

These latest developments have not done much to bolster General Jaruzelski's claim in his recent speech to the Polish parliament where, in reference to the imposition of martial law, he said: "The most important achievement since that time is calm. A stop has been put to anarchy." Martial law, he said then, "is a kind of bridge that makes it possible to get through a critical period." But just how shaky this "bridge" is—and how ludicrous Jaruzelski's additional claim that "the process of setting right the activities of state... is continuing"—has been manifest not only in the latest outbreaks but in the signs of widening cracks within the highest levels of Poland's revisionist ruling circles. Indeed, the fact that after nearly two months of martial law a "decisive resolution" of the crisis has not been proposed—much less achieved—points to sharp conflicts.

This has been indicated, for one thing, by reports that the PUWP's central committee has not met—at least officially—since martial law was declared. (At that time, a Politburo member even complained that he had not been informed of the measures!) The Polish News Agency (PAP) has also revealed that at least 760 top officials—provincial governors, mayors, commune heads, etc.—have been ousted from their posts since the martial law decree. Various government officials have referred to the question of "polarization within the party" and different sources have indicated

that a "power struggle" is under way between so-called moderates (who favor retaining some kind of role for Solidarity) and what has been described as "a strong conservative faction" which opposes any revival of the union. Elements from this latter faction are said to be partially based in the Ministry of the Interior which controls domestic security (as distinct from the army), the secret police, etc., and which is reportedly an institution Jaruzelski doesn't control. This conflict has been advanced as an explanation for the fact that, despite recurring reports that Walesa is expected to begin negotiations in the presence of some advisors, no such negotiations have yet taken place.

"When we hear news we should always wait for the sacrament of confirmation," said Voltaire, and, of course, there's no lack of speculation about what's happening within the ruling apparatus in Poland these days. But the line up (and issues) described here might be close to accurate. But whatever the terms on which things are being fought out, it is clear that—while it is mostly hidden from public view—there is a great deal of turmoil and chaos within the revisionists' ruling fold. And while exactly what ruling group will eventually emerge remains to be seen, it must be said that Jaruzelski and Co.'s future is not exactly secure and that even if they remain in control for a time, there are bound to be further convulsions and shifts within the ruling apparatus. Right now things are locked in an increasingly dangerous holding pattern which must be broken out of if Poland's rulers are to manufacture any semblance of their hoped-for "national accord."

As Jaruzelski put it: "The duration of martial law is not dependent simply on our intentions. It is dependent on realistic conditions that would secure a permanent, safe and normal course of life..." But if anything stands out in the present situation it is that revisionist rule in Poland is proceeding along anything but

a "permanent, safe and normal course."

Meanwhile the Polish regime has not been the only one having problems over "how to proceed," as the U.S. rulers continued to blaze the path forward (or, alternatively, douse it with a "Crude Floperoo"—see below) against the Soviets in an extremely complex situation. First, there was Henry Kissinger's friendly "criticism" a couple of weeks ago of the Reagan administration's stance on Poland—widely publicized in major U.S. newspapers—in which he basically urged a harder line, i.e., the axing of high level contacts with the Soviets and stronger policy of "linking" U.S. diplomatic initiatives with Soviet concessions. This was followed, among other things, by the U.S. cutting back the Haig-Gromyko talks to one day instead of two and the refusal to schedule strategic arms negotiations or a Reagan-Brezhnev summit "until conditions permit"—though State Dept. officials sniffed "There is linkage, as there always has been" and Haig snapped to reporters that any tougher moves had been despite Kissinger's criticism, not because of it.

However, it was not coincidental that Kissinger spoke up—who is frequently run out to proffer some farsighted imperialist advice. Indeed, his remarks spoke directly to one of the most pressing questions the U.S. must solve in the process of preparing for war—i.e., his warning on the "disarray of the western alliance" and especially his statement that "Europe's leaders have little to be proud of. But neither have we put forward a clear signal." This question of putting forward "clear signals"—i.e., "taking the lead" in the western alliance—is a delicate one that the Reagan administration has definitely been attempting to address. Last week there were signs of some movement on this front—e.g., the fact that, among a bevy of other NATO leaders, West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt participated in the U.S.'s brazen "let Poland be Poland" propaganda effort and that

Solidarity rallies were reportedly sponsored in more than 100 West German cities.

Interesting in this light was an article in the *NY Times* the following day headlined, WEST GERMANY REVIEWING POLICY TOWARD SOVIET BLOC. It cites a study being prepared by the West German Foreign Ministry, excerpts of which were printed in *Der Spiegel*, which reportedly concludes: "Faced with the differences of opinion between us and the United States, but also between us, France, England and Italy as well, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that ostpolitik increasingly threatens to be in opposition to our alliance policy." An indication of the problems the West German rulers are faced with in charting an imperialist course best suited to their national interests was the study's parallel conclusion that West Germany "must protect what we've achieved in our relationships with East Germany, the Soviet Union and the other East European states." As the *Times* put it, West Germany would probably "simultaneously talk a harder line while maintaining contacts with the Soviet Union that make clear Bonn's basic nonthreatening attitude." Any "progress" here is obviously highly contradictory.

Another seemingly contradictory move was the U.S. announcement that it would "bend the rules" and make good on government guarantees covering some \$71 million in unpaid Polish interest due American banks without them having to declare Poland in default—a decision which prompted some cries that Reagan's threats of stronger economic measures were "evaporating into hot air." However, the administration's particular tack here is being motivated by larger considerations. As one U.S. financial expert put it, a technical declaration that Poland is in default (which in fact, it is already) could have "a serious impact on the international monetary

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## A Crude Floperoo

Last week one of the more notable media events was the U.S. government's global TV extravaganza, "Let Poland Be Poland," put together by the same people who package the annual Academy Awards ceremonies and produced by none other than the International Communications Agency (formerly the U.S. Information Agency)—the same folks who bring you Radio Free America... uh, Voice of America, that is. For crude, unadulterated American chauvinism, the show was—as promised by ICA Director Charles Wick—truly "the greatest in the history of the world."

In addition to prepared statements by numerous NATO leaders and a film of "Solidarity Day" events, it featured—among other things—Charleton Heston lighting lots of candles, Frank Sinatra crooning in Polish, and numerous other show-biz personalities and noted notables generally burying themselves in the red, white and blue, denouncing "communist oppression" in Poland, etc., etc.

There was only one half-way sophisticated riff in the whole show, and this

stood in contrast to the general wild-west tenor deliberately designed to offend European "sensitivities". One will never forget a propped-up Henry Fonda reading remarks on "Polish independence" from someone he described as "a European thinker who could not be with us tonight." This turned out to be quotes from Frederick Engels' preface to the Polish edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—comments written on the Polish national question when there was a Polish national question in the 1890s. Henry's performance was a sop to home-grown social chauvinists still hung up in the "Polish national question"; at the same time, it was a recognition, at least, that people like the Italian CP and other so-called Eurocommunists are after all a significant social force in Europe.

Bob Hope reminded viewers that the Soviets were undoubtedly jamming this historic broadcast, solemnly remarking that "I, myself, have had my own voice jammed before," though this was clearly not a reference to the times when he was booted off the stage by GIs in Vietnam.

However, there was not much need for jamming since the show was apparently an unmitigated flop—largely snubbed by European television after most stations decided it was "too Hollywood" and just a bit too hard for people to swallow. The *Times* of London declared it to be "as dull as an East European propaganda film" and dubbed it "The Reagan Show." In West Germany at one station where a shortened version was broadcast, more than 200 viewers called to complain that it was cold-war style propaganda, outright incitement, and just a plain cheap shot. One European commentator wryly noted that "in Europe we respond to significant events with sarcasm and demonstrations, but rarely with musicals."

Naturally, the Eastern bloc couldn't pass up the opportunity to crow that the show had been "unprecedented propaganda," a "spectacle of slanders" as well as "a complete failure." The Soviet Union's bottom line retort was that "Socialist Poland will stay socialist" as it broadcast its own spectacular "The

Friends and Foes of Poland," accompanied by soaring Chopin themes. Meanwhile, the Polish government paper, *Trybuna Ludu*, remarked "There is an old proverb: The braying of an ass does not reach heaven." They then proceeded to air a counter-production titled "Scenario and Production by Ronald Reagan" which featured clips of CIA agents operating in Poland, pictures of "cowboy" Reagan riding at his ranch, and film of U.S. troops herding prisoners into camps in Vietnam.

However, while there was clearly no shortage of asinine braying from both imperialist blocs, it's the U.S. that has to take this one on the chin. The *New York Times* admitted that the show was "widely assailed" as well as that in the U.S. "Solidarity Day" itself had gotten a noticeably "tepid response."

But perhaps this is a little harsh. After all, you have to give some credit to any broadcast which can feature Prime Minister Bulend Ulusu of Turkey denouncing the situation in Poland without ever using the words "martial law." □

Gus Hall's Dance Around Poland

# A NIGHT ON THE TOWN WITH REVISIONISM

The announcement of Gus Hall's impending speech in Chicago on "The Meaning of the Events in Poland" was laden with political promise. Here we would get to see the General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA squirm on the horns of revisionism's self-made dilemma: How does a party that holds up the Soviet bloc and its social system as the ultimate answer to the ills of the U.S. empire grapple with the profound exposure inherent in the events of Poland. After years of arranging a wedding of tepid reformism with a worship of Soviet social-imperialism, how does the CP deal with the way Poland's military just methodically ground into a trade-union movement that deliberately limited itself to economic demands, pressure for "democratization" within the revisionist system and perhaps a modest "slice of the pie"?

There was a promise of struggle and controversy. The importation of their party's Big Gun could even draw out the contradictions within the CP's own intricate network, especially from whatever bases they have managed to cultivate in the Black community, the trade unions and with the general liberal/progressive/pacifist circles they infest.

It was an unfulfilled promise. One scan of the audience in the Americana Congress Hotel told that story — this was a gathering of the hard-core faithful, who, as one reporter later wrote, "seemed to have many years of Gus Hall speeches under their belts already." The only real signs of the outreach of the CP were the scattering here and there of the CP cadre doing their brilliant approximations of "young-trade-union-hack-on-the-rise" and the small clusters of mimics of "sweet beautiful Black sister Angela."

In between these clumps were the standard filler of CP gatherings: the left-over geritol-revisionists of the CIO generation, whose politics and thoughts were embalmed and buried during World War 2, alongside FDR's body. And with them (making up another chunk of the crowd) were the bored, round-shouldered second-generation offspring of their party — young revisionists without a hint of rebellious bearing, cheek-pecking their way through the ritual greeting, listlessly staring at the baroque fixtures of the hall during the speeches, clapping appropriately at the right moments. . . .

Well, you think, there'll be no controversy here tonight. A public display of the CP on a major question, with a token presence of its public face. The living heart of this party remains (for now) still submerged in their various "community" pursuits and covers and at work within the Democratic Party.

But, at least, surrounded by the safest of safe crowds, we'll see Gus deal with this question of Poland with some frankness. Relying on the level of unity of this, his, crowd, he'll give us some depth and detail on their stand. That was mistaken hope No. 2.

From the opening remarks (which were a joke about Chicago's weather, and some barbed asides on the film "Reds") it is clear that this is not so much a speech about Poland, as it is a speech about why *not* to talk about Poland. "It's awfully hard to concentrate on far-away Poland, when the crisis we face is right here." Quickly Gus's central theme is established: don't look *there*, look *here*. And what's more, train the masses to look *here*.

And Gus is off-and-running for almost an hour with the crisis and depression caused by the policies of "that demonic racist Reagan" — the world recedes into the distant mists, pushed there by the layoffs cutting into the security of unionized workers.

Survey the crisis breaking over Gus's beloved America, and we get the picture of that ever-tightening, ever-popular wrench squeezing "the little guy" until his eyeballs are about to pop out. A bleak winter picture — gas and heating cut out, evictions on the rise, rising unemployment, "hungry, unhappy children," and at the core of this callousness, this gouging assault on the common man by "our government": a jelly-bean popping, "second-rate actor in a second-rate role." Here is the heart of the problem — according to this most non-revolutionary "communist" analysis — the personal greed, the uncaring, the racism, the incompetence of Reagan and those "ultra-rightists" he serves. These are just plain bad people. And in drawing this picture, Gus himself becomes the picture of caring, loving, compassion (if not of competence) — he transforms himself into an all-American grandfather oozing benevolence and good will, and barely restrained outrage at suffering.

And the problem is so elementary, you see. Gus Hall points out that what has brought on this despair and suffering is a massive "take-away" that has transferred, in the last year alone, over *one trillion dollars* from the wallets of the little guy to the "nest-eggs" of the super-rich. Reaganomics, "that Trojan horse," is hurting "our country" with the utter blindness of its greed — not understanding that if you continually take, take, take from the poor — why then they can't buy anything, and crisis erupts.

Gus pauses to paint the picture more fully for us: it's like a flooded engine in a car, and Reagan is pouring more gasoline through the carburetor . . . the rich already have all the money (Gus pauses to mumble again about their well-known "nest eggs") . . . that's why the engine is flooded . . . and Trojan-horse Stockman/Reagan simply pour more and more money into their engine . . . no wonder it won't run! (Gus is obviously building to a climax at this point, the revisionist in front of me has her head bobbing up and down like it is held in place by a very loose spring.) What we need, Gus continues, is to put the gas where it belongs . . . in the people's gas tank!! (The crowd erupts into respectable-restrained-but-appreciative applause.)

Back to Poland. . . .

This is after all a speech about "The Meaning of the Events in Poland" — so that at the very least some ten or fifteen minutes must be set aside to touch on the questions raised by this "faraway" event.

First, says Gus, let's build up to it right — because the very point about Poland is that it is the construction of a Cold War "Big Lie" — every move of the Reaganites, every billion given to their militarists, is justified on the basis of "sending a message to Moscow." Poland is nothing but a Reaganite red herring, and those who *really* know what's happening and what matters not only aren't confused by this cold-war-big-lie, they don't even care about it.

Still, political reality does demand that Poland at least be addressed — and Gus, with practiced strokes, lays out the official Soviet analysis of the throes of its ally.

### Through the Looking Glass

Cross into the Soviet bloc through Gus Hall's eyes and you have gotten there through the looking glass. Everything is the reverse from Reagan's America. This is the land of the benevolent ruler, where everything is wise, planned, measured, and where progress comes through hard work, common sense and reasoned steps. There was recently a problem in Poland, Gus admits. Such things are possible under socialism, because even planners

(out of the best of intentions) can make mistakes. Here was a push to industrialize too fast, that led to debt to the West, that led to lowered standards of living, that led to a justified and righteous trade-union movement to right some wrongs. It was infiltrated by anti-socialist (certainly non-working-class) elements; they jacked up the demands higher than reasonable men could allow, even daring to raise some questions of politics and power (!) — and the government had to respond. (On local radio this "man of the workers" pointed out that the workers should have left politics to the Party and the Catholic Church.)

It was martial law or chaos. Now everything is back on the track, the workers are back to work, the party is in command, and there may be some way to fuse the Solidarity Union, the Catholic Church and even that "moderate" Walesa into the structure ("if he stops his drinking long enough"). But you see (here Gus leans forward as if he is finally going to make a profound political point) the difference between socialism and capitalism: under socialism you may not be able to detect all problems ahead of time, the early warning mechanisms may not sound in time . . . but you never repeat the same mistake twice! The mistakes of Stalin will never come back, and certainly the mistakes of Poland will never come back again. (There is a mixture of smugness and threat in his tone.) . . .

Here for a moment, on the topic of Poland, the reality of what the Communist Party USA represents shines through. Because of the sharpness of the confrontation in Poland, the very issues of power it raises, the reality of social relations of the Eastern bloc it concentrates and places in sharp relief, Gus Hall steps out of character for a moment, and the unmistakable voice of the oppressor can be heard through his lips.

Suddenly the measured compassion about the "box people" (Americans forced to live through the winter in cardboard boxes) gives way to a glib smooth justification of martial law, the openly terroristic suppression of a mass movement, the execution of rebel workers by government troops.

In a sense it is a startling thing to hear. Gus is a carefully chosen and groomed "public face" for the CP. A broad, bland, carefully and thoroughly Anglo-American face; a son of Minnesota, with flecks of iron ore instead of hemoglobin in his veins. A studied benevolence and compassion — looking for all the world like a Captain Kangaroo who wandered by accident onto a political stage, eliciting sympathy from the audience, not only because of the "caring tone" of every word, but also because of our instinctive compassion for the obviously mediocre, as he stumbles over the separate syllables of a prepared text. Certainly *this* man is a walking refutation of any "anti-Soviet" stereotype. Can you imagine *him* as an "agent of Moscow" or as a state capitalist crushing the masses with tanks? No! Never!!

His line is the line of "common sense" — and yet there, over in Poland, that "common sense" gets revealed in all of its reactionary, counter-revolutionary, thoroughly capitalist essence. Because once you start to talk about Poland, the "common sense" of Gus Hall becomes openly the common sense of the rulers there. It is the logic of the exploiter, the logic of revisionism in power, that asserts itself:

Obviously you can't run a country that is wracked by strikes. Obviously you can't allow the talk of "taking power" to go on. (And don't forget — the workers already *have* power there, says Gus. So

naturally it's OK to shoot them. Especially when they go beyond the limits of trade unionism and start talking about politics and affairs of state. Right?) No society (and this is the bottom line) can tolerate a trade union to cease to be a trade union. "How far do you think the AFL-CIO would get if *they* started talking about overthrowing the government?" Not far, obviously, according to Hall, and apparently that is an understandable thing.

And so . . . what's the big problem? Especially *now*, when everything is back under control, when the workers are where they ought to be, back at work? "Back to normal." The familiar laid-back viciousness of the oppressor feeling himself more firmly back in the saddle, contemplating the problems of "mopping up."

It is on this question of Poland that Gus Hall and the CP reveal exactly the ways that they are something different than just Tip-O'Neill-out-of-office. Alongside the crude Keynesianism and the standard all-American political wisdom of "Throw the rascals out, and let's get in some good guys," here is exactly that *revisionism* which differentiates the CP's particular brand of bourgeois politics from the rest.

For the CP, Eastern Europe is anything but "faraway." They are so close to having a piece of the rock there, that when order is restored again in Poland the sigh, the relief, the smug look of "back to normal" on Gus's face is certainly genuine.

Poland and the rest of the Soviet bloc loom large in the CP plans. Here are the alpha and the omega — at once their model for the future, and the motor force for their ambitions in the present. Here is "socialism as it has actually emerged in the world." And what is that "socialism" but security and goulash, the rule of benevolent expert men, a rational and well-planned state where hard work is appreciated and awarded, where labor and management can "work out their problems" without the dissonant pulls of a marketplace? And what is the program of the CPUSA but the promise of such a society? To be realized at some future date when the balance of power in the world has possibly been abruptly changed in favor of the Soviet bloc, and bourgeois forces in the U.S. (including the CP) seek their own imperialist peace within the new order.

It is tempting to dismiss the Gus Halls as deformed ex-Marxists, lost in a swamp of silly reformism, slipping into senility as the memory of their glory days in Flint fade from the memory of man. Until, the real world snaps me back — and it becomes very clear that their plans for power are very real; that they have a strategy which consists of crafting their party for an "historic compromise" in America, at some future time, in connection with historic reorganizations on a world scale.

If the program for *today* crafted by Gus is painstakingly compatible with the leftist wing of the Democratic Party, the *ultimate* program of the CPUSA has the particular twist to it that sees the CPUSA in a coalition that inherits the remains of a wracked and disturbed America. ("Someday, someday" muses Gus Hall as the question comes up of when socialism itself would come to the fore in the USA.)

At some future point, when the bourgeoisie can't rule in the old way, and where even the mainstream of the masses have been thrown into political life and many are looking for a "return to normal" (even while others look for revolution) — Gus will provide exactly that "new way" of ruling for the bourgeoisie,

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On January 14th, the Los Angeles District Attorney John Van de Kamp put the official seal of approval on the police murder of Ron Settles, and the whitewash that followed.

It's been an open secret for two months that no charges would be filed for Settles' murder, with the D.A. repeatedly saying that his Grand Jury "investigation," which began in November, was turning up "no new evidence" and that there were no "breakthroughs" in the case. Not that the D.A. ever had any intention of bringing indictments. The Grand Jury hearings were just another attempt to close the case.

The authorities had tried to close the case as of June 2, the night Settles was lynched in a jail cell. But the lies of the police blew up in their faces. Police reports said Settles charged out of his car with a 9-inch butcher knife. Eyewitnesses said that Settles was pulled out of his car by police and no knife was seen until the arresting cop, Jerry Lee Brown, said, "Look what I found." Police said Settles hung himself with a mattress cover, while other prisoners testified that there was no mattress cover in Settles' cell. A Settles' family mortician with years of experience performing autopsies revealed that Settles had been brutally beaten on the head and face—exposing not only police lies but the complicity of the Coroner's Office in the coverup. And on and on.

A Coroner's Inquest was scheduled for late August—the hope being that trusty "experts" could bury the issue. Instead the 8-day inquest served to expose the coverup to people all over L.A. as it became front page news—with the jury delivering a 5 to 4 verdict of "death at the hands of another" on September 2nd.

Still more lies were exposed at the inquest. Police had "routinely" destroyed radio transmissions of Settles' arrest after denying their existence to the press. The County Coroner, Thomas Noguchi, had backed up the police story of "suicide" for two months without ever conducting an independent investigation. And, the Signal Hill cops all refused to testify at the inquest—taking the Fifth.

It was only then that the District Attorney announced his Grand Jury "investigation"—floating the idea that the authorities were going after Signal Hill. This "investigation" culminated January 14th with Van de Kamp's announcement—a thorough whitewash and open exoneration of the police. The announcement came in the form of an unprecedented 80-minute presentation to the media, a neat little package attempting to explain away all the evidence of murder. However, upon examination, the contents of this package turned out to be nothing more than the same old coverup resurrected, along with the fact (sur-

prise!) that none of the Signal Hill police admitted to the Grand Jury that they murdered Settles.

The original arrest report, the trumped-up charges on Settles, the destruction of tapes, the Signal Hill police chief's lies to protect one of the cop murderers, Jerry Lee Brown, aren't even mentioned.

The "investigation" did devote an entire section to the mattress cover, ultimately disposing of that piece of evidence solely on the basis that Signal Hill cops and a janitor said it was uncertain which cells had mattress covers and which didn't. Never mind the eyewitness testimony of other prisoners.

The "investigation" never mentioned the coroner's inability to reconstruct the "suicide" either. Instead, it devoted a section to criticizing the Coroner's Office for not covering things up properly in the first place, and chastized Naguchi in particular for not overruling the inquest jury's verdict of murder. As for the brutal beating Settles received, the report made Settles, who was handcuffed, out as the aggressor, with the police just trying to calm him down (in a department where even a former cop has publicly admitted that prisoners were "regularly" beaten "three or four times a week" with all the cops taking part). Perhaps the D.A., like the Signal Hill police chief,

thought "it didn't seem important." And then there was the "discovery"—PCP. After the County Coroner's Office had checked Settles' body three times for drugs and found none, the D.A., 7 months after Settles' death, simply went out and got another "expert" who suddenly "found" that wonder drug of police coverups, and right on time for Van de Kamp's announcement.

"We are not reasonably sure a crime was committed," summarized the D.A. But not too far beneath the surface was the real point: it's never a crime for police to murder Black people in L.A. or anywhere else. □

## Milwaukee Court Makes It Official "Justifiable Homicide"

Justifiable homicide and to hell with the volumes of eyewitness accounts to the contrary. This was the essence of two court decisions in Milwaukee on January 29 and 27 where, for the second time in two months, reckless homicide charges were dropped against three Milwaukee cops who beat to death Ernest Lacy, a Black youth, last July.

This is a case which is probably one of the most well documented police murders in recent years. Following several marches involving thousands of people in the wake of the murder, over 100 witnesses testified at a 4-1/2-week inquest which found the police unanimously guilty. Dozens of eyewitnesses, paramedics and medical examiners came forward despite intimidation to tell every last detail how the cops mercilessly beat Lacy, crushed his windpipe with their knees, and then did nothing to resuscitate him when it was clear he was dying.

The homicide charges brought by the inquest were already dismissed once in early December when the court ruled the pigs' constitutional rights had been violated because the inquest judge had set a "racial quota" requiring an equal number of Blacks and whites to sit on the inquest jury. Homicide charges were refiled on January 12 against two of the cops (the case had been split into two). But in short succession a special prosecutor refused to issue charges against the third cop, and Judge Callan dismissed the charges against the other two.

The "legal arguments" give yet another sickening example of the extent to which the bourgeoisie is willing to go to justify police murders. "My concern wasn't so much with the causation question (of Lacy's death) but it was with

whether or not Dekker knowingly participated or aided anybody else in an act of recklessness," said the special prosecutor. In other words, Dekker beat Lacy, helped crush his body and then watched him die in the police van, but since he didn't intend to kill him he can't be charged with murder.

Judge Callan gave a slightly different reason: the charge was "insufficiently supported to justify further criminal prosecution." The complaint "didn't have enough facts." So while for the masses even the most circumstantial evidence, even a hair fragment or less, is enough to railroad you to jail, for a police murder even a trainload of documented evidence is not enough facts.

Not to be outdone in this orgy, Milwaukee's District Attorney had still another angle on why he refused to appeal Callan's decision. "The evidence is open to argument and will probably not result in proof beyond a reasonable doubt." According to this line of argument the "exact mechanism" that killed Lacy cannot be proved beyond a reasonable doubt because Lacy had psychological problems and there is a chance that during his arrest he had a seizure and simply stopped breathing. On the basis of this incredibly ridiculous argument the DA said, with all the mock profundity of considering weighty legal arguments, "serious differences of opinion exist between several lawyers and judges."

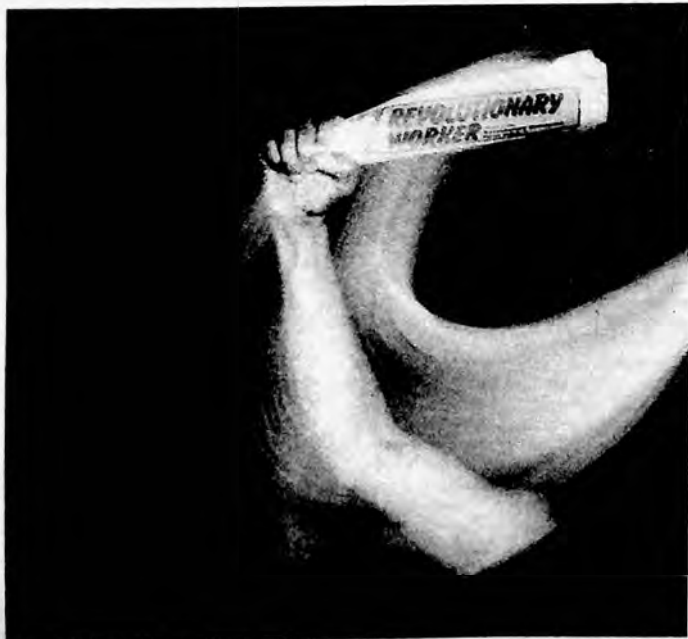
At this point only misconduct in public office charges remain against two of the cops, and the third, Officer Eliopul, faces no charges at all.

As the homicide charges were being dropped some social-democratic leaders in Milwaukee jumped in to try to rope

people's anger back into reliance on the system. For example, Roy Nabors, a Black alderman and longtime lackey of the local power structure, made a speech to the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy, in which he urged the audience not to lose faith. "He (God) didn't bring me this far to leave me here," he preached. The Coalition itself began a sit-in in the DA's outer office, demanding that homicide and reckless misconduct charges be brought against Officer Eliopul.

In another incident, the day after the charges were dismissed, yet another Milwaukee cop was shot to death in the Black community. This is the third cop killed in less than five weeks, while a fourth survived a shotgun blast to the face.

The shockingly bald nature of what is going on in Milwaukee was really only underlined by what came down in Chicago around the Richard Ramey trial on February 3. While two of the killer cops were sentenced to 8 and 2-1/2 years for "involuntary manslaughter" they were not arrested pending an appeal which no doubt stands an excellent chance of overturning the decision. Meanwhile the judge made provisions for them to attend a country club prison if by some long shot they ever spend a day in jail. The third cop had his charges dismissed. But the real exposure in this was not that some cops got a small slap on the wrist but that it came to light that, while the prisons are full of people incarcerated for lifetimes for doing nothing, 8 years was the longest sentence ever given a cop in Chicago history—a city where the police murder dozens of people each year. □



## Create Public Opinion ... Seize Power

This pamphlet was published on the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. It contains two articles which originally appeared in *Revolution* magazine, propaganda organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, titled "On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda" and "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power."

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The U.S. In the Spanish-American War of 1898

# Famous Imperialist “Liberators”

As part of a continuing series presented from time to time, here is another historical example of how the imperialists have deceitfully tried to portray themselves as the “liberators” of oppressed nations and peoples. While we have focused here on events over eighty years ago, history since is replete with efforts by the U.S. rulers along these lines. It was the U.S., after all, which “liberated” the Philippines in particular at the end of World War 2. And—difficult as it was, given U.S. aggression in Korea—the general posture stretched even into the ‘50s as the U.S. fought to depose rival imperialist (British, French, etc.) domination in places like the Middle East and Africa.

As the era of imperialism was being ushered in, the rulers of the U.S. found themselves lacking a traditional colonial network like the other great powers and thus the scale of international markets necessary for the export and expansion of American capital. So, they set out on a holy crusade to “liberate” a number of colonies in the Caribbean and the Pacific from the tottering rule of one of their weakest and most vulnerable rivals—Spain. Already in 1823, the Monroe Doctrine had sonorously declared: “The American continents, by the free and independent condition they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.” Between 1798 and 1895 the U.S. army had intervened at least 103 times to protect growing American interests—and not just in the Americas—but so far the U.S. rulers had not been able to decisively oust their competitors.

However, just what power would be taking responsibility for the “future colonization” of the subjects in question was indicated in Hawaii in 1893. After Queen Liliuokalani had placed herself at the head of a nationalist movement which was demanding “Hawaii for the Hawaiians” and abolished the colonial constitution under which American and European businessmen had controlled the islands, a U.S. government official, John L. Stevens, ordered 150 Marines from the cruiser *Boston* into Honolulu. They deposed the queen and set up a “revolutionary government” run by the Dole Pineapple Company which quickly accepted recognition by the U.S. and demanded immediate annexation. The move was so blatant that President Cleveland was forced by public opinion to temporarily back off.

But a few years later, Hawaii would be officially annexed along with Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, Wake Island (and, for all intents and purposes, Cuba) in the Spanish-American War of 1898. By the eve of the war, the growing U.S. concern for the “free and independent condition” of exploited colonies—Spain’s in particular—was revealed in a *Washington Post* editorial which declared: “The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people even as the taste of blood in the jungle...” Two brief examples of in just whose mouth this taste actually was and of how the U.S. rulers whetted their imperialist appetites under the banner of “liberating” Spain’s possessions from the barbarity of its colonial rule appear below:

## CUBA

In 1895, another in a long string of revolts by Cuban nationalist rebels had broken out against Spanish rule and a long guerrilla war ensued. The Spanish government sent the notorious General Valeriano Wyler to crush the uprisings—one method of which was the herding of the peasantry into concentration camps in order to deprive the rebels of a base for food and recruits. Playing off



A cartoon of 1898 depicts Dewey returning with prize catch, Cuba, Philippines and Puerto Rico, in tow.

American ‘Liberators’ stand on a pile of Filipino bones at Batangas, Luzon.



the bill was the Teller Amendment piously disclaiming any intention of adding Cuban territory to the U.S.

The invading U.S. armies quickly routed the Spanish who had been weakened by 30 years of Cuban revolts and guerrilla warfare—a victory that was accomplished only with the help of the Cuban forces. Among other things, Cuban rebels under General Gonzalez Clavell joined the battle at San Juan Hill along with the Americans—even though the American troops disdainfully referred to them as “Niggers, bandits and Dagos”. This was truly ironic in more ways than one since, as one southern officer admitted, in the battle for Santiago: “If it had not been for the (American) Negro cavalry, the ‘Rough Riders’ would have been exterminated.”

Imagine the outrage, then, of the Cubans when after Spain had been thoroughly smashed, U.S. General Shafter declared that the Cuban people were “no more fit for self-government than gun-powder is for hell.” Rebel leaders were not allowed to participate in the surrender, and their troops barred from the city of Santiago until the U.S. could rig up a “Cuban Republic” under its control. The Cubans were informed of

the ultimate insult that the old Spanish civil authorities—judges, constabulary, etc.—would temporarily remain in control of the municipal governments and administer Spanish law, subject to American orders, of course. Meanwhile, American monopolies swarmed into Cuba taking over the railroads, mines, etc. United Fruit Co. moved in to take complete control of the sugar industry in which some \$30-50 million had already been invested by the U.S. before the war. By the end of the first American occupation in 1901, an additional \$30 million of U.S. capital had been invested in Cuba and 80% of the country’s minerals for export were in the hands of American companies, mainly Bethlehem Steel.

However, there was resistance to the new American overlords. For example, in 1899, thousands of Cuban workers launched a general strike for the 8-hour day in Havana declaring “the workers of Cuba will no longer remain in total subjugation...”—despite arrests and vicious repression by U.S. occupation forces. A Cuban Constitutional Convention was finally set up as the U.S. rulers decided it could not get away with outright formal annexation; real power,

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# Hit Squads Sent Against Iranian Students

On January 14, an assassination squad trained and directed by the Iranian government murdered Sharoukh Misaghi, an Iranian student opposed to the reactionary Khomeini regime at Ortans University in Manila, the Philippines. Witnesses reported that about half a dozen people attacked Misaghi with knives and other weapons as he was walking alone on a quiet street in downtown Manila. Two Filipinos who witnessed the incident took Misaghi's body to a nearby hospital where he died after three hours.

Eleven days later, as 500 Iranian students and supporters had gathered to commemorate their murdered comrade at Manila International Airport (Misaghi's body was being shipped back to his family in Iran for burial), they were attacked by 200 pro-Khomeini students. Among them was the same group of professional assassins, who opened fire with two machine-guns and threw hand-grenades into the lines of mourners. This brazen attack, which was organized out of the Iranian embassy in Manila and had the protection of Marcos's police, caused the critical injury of five and the wounding of 25 other people.

This was only the most recent of a series of violent attacks on Iranian students and opponents of the regime living abroad. Several weeks earlier, a supporter of the Peykar organization was shot and seriously wounded by pro-Khomeini thugs inside the Iranian embassy in Paris when he went there to get his passport renewed. There have been similar attacks and incidents in many

other countries as well, including Italy, Turkey, India, Britain, West Germany and the U.S.

In nearly all the major Western imperialist countries, where large numbers of Iranian students and exiles live, the regime has developed close working relationships with these governments to harass and suppress Mojahadeen and leftist activists; recent months have also seen a steady warming of relations with the West European and Japanese imperialists and the development of closer economic and military ties with them. At the same time the Soviet social-imperialists have signed a number of economic and military agreements with the reactionary regime in Tehran recently, including sending teams of advisors to strengthen Iran's intelligence and security forces; and in November they offered the Khomeini government a 5-10 year "friendship and mutual assistance treaty" which is still under consideration in Tehran. Enlisting the aid of reactionaries and revisionists all over the world to help crush opposition to their regime is yet another bloody signal by Khomeini and Co. of their steady progress towards complete capitulation to imperialism. And both imperialist blocs certainly desire to assist the Iranian government in becoming new compradors for their own brand of imperialism.

IRP officials and Ayatollah Khomeini have admitted on many occasions they are having a severe problem with "public relations" overseas, and faced with this, must bend every effort to "export the Islamic revolution." They have even

allocated a special budget to cover the "operating expenses" of this counter-revolutionary effort. In practical terms, this has meant sending abroad hard-core supporters of the IRP, Hesbollahi (members of the "Party of God") and Pasdaran (so-called "revolutionary guards") under various guises to be hit squads.

### Secret Documents

A number of official Iranian government documents that have been obtained by supporters of the People's Mojahadeen Organization abroad and printed in their press, provide a glimpse of what the Iranian government is up to. In one cable, marked "Totally Secret," sent from the Iranian embassy in Bonn, West Germany to Iran's Vice-President for Political Affairs in late July 1981, a high-ranking embassy representative complained about an attack against the Iranian consulate in West Berlin by "counter-revolutionaries and monafaghin" ("unbelievers"—what the reactionary authorities call the Mojahadeen), and informed his superiors in Tehran that he was shortly going to have a meeting with the West German Foreign Ministry to discuss the incident and future preventive measures. He requested that "immediately proper actions be taken for the dispatch of a few Pasdaran... such action would be in the framework of diplomatic affairs. And we could introduce them as embassy guards with political passports, and we could even arrange to give them licenses to bear arms." In addition, this cable strongly recommended that news of dem-

onstrations and actions of progressive and revolutionary Iranian forces abroad be "reported as little as possible on the radio and other mediums so their plans to strengthen the morale of their supporters and consolidate their organizational strength will be neutralized."

Embassies of the Islamic Republic have been instructed to identify and harass students studying abroad who oppose the regime—refusing to renew their passports, refusing to transfer funds from their families inside Iran, and requesting that colleges with large numbers of Iranian students supply them with complete lists and urging these schools to refuse to admit more of them (see letter from the Iranian embassy in London).

In the U.S., Iran's diplomatic mission has offered to pay tuition and other expenses for reactionary students if they hand in pictures, exact addresses and other information on opponents of the Khomeini regime. One group that has responded most vigorously to this reactionary call are members and supporters of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen-Majority. These police agent revisionists have been handing over information about Iranian revolutionaries living overseas, just as they have been in Iran—where they have been especially useful to the reactionary, and often politically ignorant, mullahs in identifying and interrogating captured Mojahadeen and Marxist-Leninists—all in order to curry favor with the authorities in hopes of steering the Islamic Republic towards its "socialist" neighbor to the north.

### New Outbreaks

These are not the actions of a government which is sure of itself. For all its sanguinary suppression, the Khomeini regime is on increasingly shaky ground. The economy is in its deepest crisis since the revolution three years ago that toppled the Shah; unemployment is reaching upwards of 4 million (one-third of the workforce), major plants close every week, inflation is running at a 60% rate, and there are serious shortages of many basic necessities—a tremendous deterioration in the living standards of the masses. In addition, the vicious bloodbath unleashed against Mojahadeen and the left (the regime officially claims to have executed 4,000 "counter-revolutionaries" and more than 20,000 people have been jailed) while apparently having had the effect of setting back the struggle in the past few months, has at the same time turned much broader sections of the Iranian masses against the regime and Khomeini himself.

In the past few weeks there have been signs of renewed opposition and revolutionary activity inside Iran. In the face of threats by the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs to "severely crush any disturbances in the factories," a number of strikes and other forms of protest among the workers have been reported. The most significant was a strike at Iran National, the largest car assembly plant in the country, where Pasdaran units arrested 2000 workers and killed seven. And last week, Amol (a medium-sized city in the north of Iran and a traditional stronghold of the Mojahadeen and various leftist groups) was captured for more than a day by guerrillas from a group called "Sarbedaran", which has been operating out of the forests of the Alborz Mountains running along the Caspian Sea. After successfully assaulting the governor's office and the police station, the guerrillas and others carried out widespread leafletting and agitation among the masses before government reinforcements were sent in from other cities. The government was so incensed by this raid that Khomeini appeared on TV to denounce the attackers as "U.S.-aligned counter-revolutionaries" and to complain that the foreign media had given more prominence to the attack than to the government forces' eventual recapture of the city. Developments such as these—as well as other outbreaks of protest and struggle in Iran today—are certainly weighing heavily on the minds of the reactionary officials of the Islamic Republic as they draft new directives to their diplomatic missions to "neutralize" the growing worldwide opposition to their reactionary rule.



### Translation:

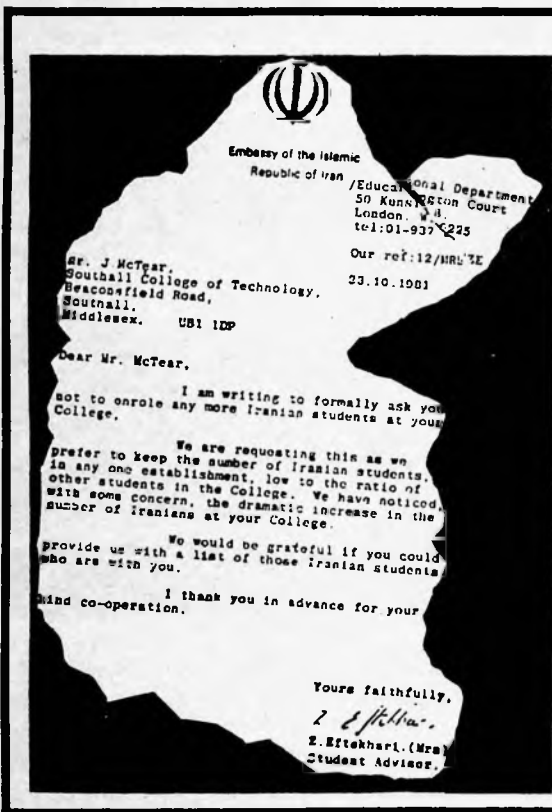
Islamic Republic of Iran  
Islamic Foreign Ministry  
Top Secret—Immediate—Direct  
Office of the Vice-Chairman  
of Culture and Consular Affairs  
4462-10-533-17  
1 August 1981  
In God's Name

Directive to All Representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran Abroad:

From the date of this directive, all authorized representatives are to prepare and send us the precise names of all Baha'is\* of their area, and the counter-revolutionaries of their area, particularly the so-called students. Also refuse to renew the passports of these individuals and only issue them a pass-paper.\*\*

Vice-Chairman of Culture and Consular Affairs  
Javad Mansouri  
1 August 1981

\*Religious minority in Iran against whom the Iranian government has been trying to whip up popular frenzy. Many of the Baha'is who fled abroad were upper-class supporters of the Shah's regime—RH.  
\*\*A "pass-paper" from an Iranian embassy or consulate abroad will only allow the bearer to travel back to Iran (where it will in turn become a "pass" from the airport to Evin Prison, and possible execution)—RH.



## Problems

Continued from page 4

system"—possibly triggering a series of unpredictable events such as an international scramble by banks to seize Poland's assets outside the country or, possibly, the failure of certain West German banks that have invested heavily in Poland, etc. In other words, it could throw the whole East-West trade nexus into chaos.

The point here is that due to the increasing entanglement of the Eastern and Western imperialist networks the consequences of such a "jolt" could be both unforeseen and uncontrollable. Obviously, the East-West financial

deals that were once an attractive arrangement for both blocs—from differing imperialist perspectives and strategies—have now become riddled with contradictions (as the economic mess in Poland illustrates in the case of the Soviet bloc). This explains Haig's assertion that from the U.S.'s point of view not declaring a technical default is actually "the hard position, the more rigid position" in that it does not let the Eastern bloc off the hook for these debts and ironically keeps Western economic leverage alive (while keeping technical default in reserve as a possible trump card as things develop). The main thing, however, is that this position minimizes possible shockwaves that, for now, the U.S. would rather avoid.

These kinds of conflicts that are coming to the fore both within the various ruling circles of the two imperialist blocs and on a world scale reveal, once again, that the path to resolving them—ultimately through war and redivision—is a most rocky one and that there are indeed "problems, problems" for the imperialist system that are posing themselves with increasing intensity. As Kissinger warned: "... a crisis like Poland reveals fissures and uncertainties that if long continued may become unmanageable."

Take it from us, Henry, the "fissures and uncertainties" are guaranteed to become far more unmanageable than even you can imagine. □



In the interest of promoting continued struggle and debate over scientific and philosophical questions in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker we are printing the following letter which was received recently in response to an article by Bian Sizu from the 1973 Chinese journal *Dialectics of Nature* titled "The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" (reprinted in the Dec. 18, 1981, issue of the RW—issue No. 135). In responding to this letter readers may wish to further study not only that article but also another article by Bian Sizu from the same Chinese journal titled "Matter is Infinitely Divisible" which was reprinted in the Sept. 18, 1981 issue (RW No. 122).

To the Revolutionary Worker,

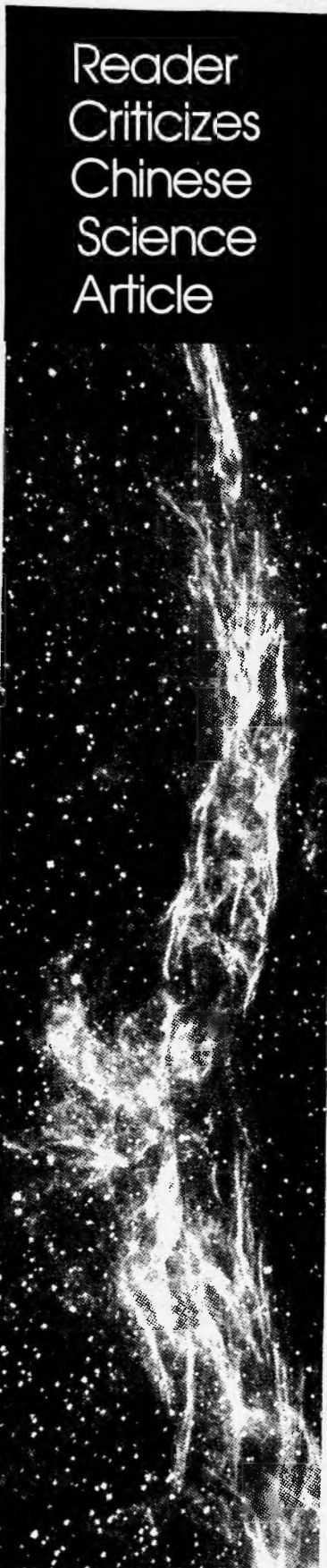
I read "The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness" with great excitement and enthusiasm in last week's issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. The whole discussion is an important contribution to dialectical materialism and the nature of our universe. However there are also in my opinion blatant and ridiculous errors in this article which if not struggled against and exposed will cut against its importance, if not in fact turn it into its opposite.

In short this article attacks the big bang theory of the universe as well as the very possibility of a finite but unbounded "universe" (by which I do not mean Universe—the universal and eternal material world—more on this later). These theories and those scientists who uphold them are labelled as completely incorrect, western, and bourgeois. Why is this so off the wall? At this point the overwhelming preponderance of scientific evidence points to an expanding universe which developed out of a primordial explosion 15 billion years ago with the main debate between religious idealists like Jastrow (see RW No.4) claiming this represents divine creation out of nothingness and basically materialist scientists (Sagan, Asimov, Weinberg, Motz) who see that this must have been formed out of the collapse of the previous cycle of the "universe". Furthermore the question of this "universe" being finite but unbounded does not flow out of the head of some demoralized scientist, but is a very plausible and I think correct interpretation of the general theory of relativity.

The evidence for the oscillating universe is so strong that even the most famous upholders of the homogeneous steady-state theory like Hoyle, were forced by the 1960's to admit that the former model is correct. To characterize this briefly—the chief evidence for an explosion approx. 15 billion years ago which led to an expanding, evolving universe include the red shift of all but the nearest galaxies, the discovery of 4K background radiation "left over" from the big bang, and quasar counts which show that galaxies were more tightly packed together billions of years ago than today. The gradual slowing of the "universe" by gravity and its eventual contraction find strong evidence in Sandage's calculation of the deceleration parameter which shows a slowing of the "universe's" expansion rate over the last billion years. Even the question of the "missing mass" required for gravitational force strong enough to cause contraction of the "universe" can be explained in several ways (the neutrino may have mass, black holes and neutron stars may be very common, etc.).

The tremendous gains made by the theory of the oscillating universe have caused a crisis in bourgeois and idealist thinking, especially in the western religious concept of initial creation as well as the rebirth of empirio-criticism and even the view that intelligent life has willed itself into existence—the Absolute Idea—(see for example a ridiculous article in the Dec. '81 *Scientific American*, "The Anthropic Principle in Cosmology").

But much more to the point these rapid advances in cosmology have been an ideological big bang which has brought a whole section of astronomers and physicists to increasingly stand against idealism and develop (objectively) in the direction of a dialectical materialist understanding of the universe including raving and profound debate over chance and causality in physics. Sakata (a Marxist physicist from Japan) pointed out in 1969 that when Lenin wrote *Materialism*



Part of the Cygnus loop thought to be the wavefront of a supernova explosion that took place 60,000 years ago.

## Reader Criticizes Chinese Science Article

glues—scientific experiment? This sort of separation is itself metaphysical and profoundly wrong.

Dialectical materialism is a powerful weapon—Engels used it to show that matter had to be eternal and pointed toward a hierarchy of organization of matter with much less scientific evidence than now exists. Some people might be asking—but isn't there some dialectical materialist necessity to attack the big bang or a finite but unbounded "universe"? Isn't such a "universe" in blatant opposition to matter being organized into an inexhaustible hierarchy of higher as well as lower forms? Bian Sizu seems to think this way, but let's examine this more closely.

The whole struggle in physics is ripe with examples of advances in man's understanding around which proletarian and bourgeois outlooks struggle. In Lenin's time the discovery of radioactive decay proved that atoms are not indivisible, leading Mach and other physicists to flee into empirio-criticism. The discovery of quantum mechanics and Heisenberg's uncertainty principle led Einstein to exclaim, "I cannot believe God would play dice with the world" and others to say this proves you cannot know the world much less change it, yet this did not prove it wrong. In fact this theory is correct and has been the basis for further advances in science and philosophy. The discovery that "ether" could not exist in space as a vehicle for the propagation of light caused a crisis in both physics and dialectical materialism, but today only a fool would claim that there has to be ether in space to uphold materialism. In fact the destruction of the ether theory was one of the paths which led Einstein to discover the special theory of relativity—a major leap for dialectical materialism.

Do scientists today, even some of the most progressive, draw idealist conclusions from an expanding "universe" which is finite, but unbounded? Yes—especially in terms of this meaning we have reached the limit on the macroside. Sagan falls into a yin-yang spiritual view of the Universe. Asimov, in his excellent book, *The Universe—From Flat Earth to Quasar*, shows strong streaks of positivism and says the limit of how far we can observe makes anything beyond it irrelevant anyway (a sort of out of sight out of mind syndrome). Nigel Calder says about the same in his book *The Violent Universe*.

However, matter is composed of an infinite hierarchy of levels of organization as Bian Sizu himself powerfully states. Our "universe" appears to be finite, unbounded, and oscillating from all scientific investigation to date. But why should we think this "universe" is the only one of its kind? There are probably huge numbers of such "universes" within the Universe—all with roughly the same physical laws in operation and with their interconnections and development governed by natural laws yet to be discovered and which could be different than the main forces—nuclear, electromagnetic, gravitation—that govern the portion of the cosmos we are aware of. Should it surprise us that finite, unbounded "universes" constitute one level in the hierarchy of matter. Isn't the atom finite in space? Doesn't it contain an infinity of smaller subdivisions of matter? There is a fundamental unity of opposites in the positive and negative charge of the atom which exist in stable equilibrium without qualitative evolution over billions of years. Yet atoms take place in evolution on the molecular level. Also the atom is governed by quantum mechanics while the macro world is governed by the general theory of relativity in which gravity and electromagnetism seem to form a fundamental contradiction.

Unfortunately I think there is another reason why Bian Sizu would oppose this view of reality. In the section "Everything in the Universe is Continuously Developing" there are some straight line and undialectical views in my opinion. "When the earth dies out there will be even higher levels of celestial bodies to replace it. By that time people will celebrate the unity of dialectics welcoming the birth of new stars. When the human species dies out there will appear even higher level species. Speaking from this point of view, human activities are creating conditions for the appearance of even higher species." This strikes me as a form of anthropomor-

phism. For man to develop forward in a straight line comes into pretty sharp contradiction with a "universe" which will ultimately collapse to be "reborn" to be sure, but it doesn't seem likely that intelligent life would survive.

Mao, in a very excellent article (Talk on Sakata's Article, Mao Miscellany) makes I think a similar error in terms of straight line development. "In regard to the solar system and the earth we have not as yet overthrown Kant's nebular hypothesis that both the earth and the sun were formed by the creation of extremely hot gases. Our earth is most probably still in its youth and is growing larger steadily because many things such as meteorites and sunlight are falling on it every day."

In both these cases a straight line view is wrong. Our solar system was formed from dust of a star that went supernova, and once planets have formed they are fairly stable over billions of years, and perhaps our universe will oscillate for trillions of years. Yet there is development on other levels of the hierarchy of matter. Hydrogen and helium are formed in the big bang and other atoms are formed in the stellar furnaces through fusion and even more complex atoms in supernova explosions. These atoms do not evolve into endless higher atoms, but on the next (molecular) level in the hierarchy of matter these stable atoms take part in the evolution of chemical and biochemical compounds and eventually the development of intelligent life itself (see Victor Weisskopf's *Knowledge and Wonder*). Thus life develops on the surface of a stable planet over the remaining life of our sun at least. In a similar fashion why can't our oscillating universe together with our just like it take part in development and evolution on higher levels of matter as of yet undetected? Clearly this sort of development could well take place in spite of the destruction of all life in our universe billions of years from now, but that's the way reality may go.

So what is serious criticism here and what is speculation? The point is that it's not permissible to have dialectical-materialists who do not take part in the struggle to understand the scientific evidence of their time. Engels (*Dialectics of Nature*), Lenin, and Mao all fought to develop dialectical materialism in connection with struggle on the scientific front. But not every page is as bright. During the 1930's in the Soviet Union serious distortions of this stand took place. Physicists were told to avoid Einstein because relativity went against the ether theory. Also the Heisenberg uncertainty principle was declared a priori as anti-dialectical materialist. To make matters worse there appear to have been actual instances where scientists were repressed because they went against some of this. The point is that these errors could have been avoided by these "philosophers" learning from Lenin's stand, viewpoint, and method. These errors have been seized upon to make dialectical materialism appear to be some sort of a bizarre Marxist state religion forced on science. I tend to think that this has seriously impaired genuine and liberating dialectical materialism from being consciously studied by these scientists and the thousands who are following these major questions of cosmology.

I strongly suggest that as Bian Sizu's very profound article is taken out broadly in society that some sort of criticism of these shortcomings be written to accompany it. I am looking forward with great anticipation to further translations from the Shanghai Journal—*Dialectics of Nature*.

C.C.

Books upon which I have based this letter are:

<i>The Universe—Its Beginning And End</i>	Lloyd Motz
<i>The Collapsing Universe</i>	Isaac Asimov
<i>The Universe—From Flat Earth To Quasar</i>	Isaac Asimov
<i>Knowledge And Wonder</i>	Victor Weisskopf
<i>Some Philosophical Problems Of The Theory Of Elemental Particles</i>	Sh. Sakata
<i>Einstein's Universe</i>	Nigel Calder
<i>The Violent Universe</i>	Nigel Calder

# ATLANTA:

Continued from page 1

In light of that, it is indeed most timely today to reflect back on the past two years and the various attacks and maneuvers of the bourgeoisie, particularly through its "democratic" state. Since the summer there have been a number of people and groups who have launched independent investigations aimed at uncovering the forces directly involved in the murders (an indication itself of how widespread the distrust of the bourgeoisie's so-called investigation is). These investigations are a welcome development and while some are being carried out for questionable reasons, through them we are sure much more will be revealed even than the hands of the murderers themselves, including the very real and widely-suspected possibilities of direct links to the police or other government agencies.

But it must be said, that along with the bourgeoisie, some opportunist forces are using the genuine desire to find the murderers to argue far and wide that the only real question involved in these murders is (and always has been) *who did it*, and what were *their* motives—as if that ever determined the nature of these murders in the first place. In the course of the Wayne Williams trial the bourgeoisie has once again trotted out its pundits of various stripes to declare in the pages of their news media: "See? It never was racist after all!" This has even reached the point of humorous absurdity in the writings of one columnist who declared that the idea the murders were racist was "fiction, fiction based on a piety that is nonsensical. America, if the truth be known, is not a racist society. In fact, it is a rather good society." A crushing blow indeed.

The fact is that we cannot yet say exactly who the killers were, and what were their motives and links with the bourgeoisie, although we can certainly say that it is quite likely such links exist. But that does not for one minute let the system off the hook—on the contrary, *abundant* evidence exists to indict the system, through its various government agencies and news media, for openly and flagrantly "aiding and abetting" the murderers as well as committing major crimes against the people in their own right, including using the murders to unleash and further organize their reactionary social base. It's *this* indictment that must be deepened and spread ever more broadly today.

On the one hand, the murders were carried out in a manner impossible without the protection and encouragement of those in power; and beyond that what was far more visible and revealing was both the open fist of the state—a fist that included the knuckles thrown in by their faithful Black "public servants"—and the sugar-coated bullets shot by those same servants to sweeten the poison. With every murder came stepped-up repression, stepped-up slander, stepped-up strengthening of the whole repressive apparatus of the state. With every murder the stench of national oppression got fouler as the officials desperately fought off the anger of the masses. And through it all the "Black power structure" revealed itself as little more than a

crass, hollow front for the system, desperately trying to "keep things cool" while the bourgeoisie stokes the coals.

A deeper look into these questions—the national oppression these murders were part of and the role of various aspects of the system—from the local "Black power structure" on to the top—reveals much about the workings of this "democratic" system.

## National Oppression

From his reactionary position, the columnist quoted above actually hit on what has been central to the murders all along—the fact that this is a society steeped in national oppression, and beyond that in the past few years that oppression has been greatly intensifying. As the *Programme* of the RCP, USA points out, "Discrimination, and national oppression in general, is both extremely profitable for the bourgeoisie and a crucial political weapon, wielded directly against the oppressed people but also, fundamentally, at the entire working class."

That "political weapon" is something the bourgeoisie wields in an infinite number of forms, and most strikingly they have shown themselves to be quite willing and capable of directly organizing the most vicious terror against the masses of Black people. Those respectable citizens who deny that the ruling bourgeoisie could possibly stoop so low as to murder Black children would do well to remember the last time a reign of terror was launched against Black people in Atlanta when, under the direction of then Police Chief Inman, 18 Blacks were gunned down by the police in one year in 1974 (looking at it on a yearly basis, these "official" terrorists quite handily surpassed what was accomplished by the current Black youth murderers).

And history has provided abundant evidence that this kind of terror is ingrained in the daily situation that Black people face in this country, and that it has greatly intensified in periods of crisis and inter-imperialist war. In his book *The Other American Revolution*, Vincent Harding describes the scene in East St. Louis just as the United States was entering World War I:

"Just before July 4th, 1917, whites in East St. Louis, Illinois, unleashed a vicious pogrom upon the Black community. With the aid of militia and police forces, they managed to kill scores of Black men, women, and children and to injure hundreds of others. Closing white ranks, they burned Black homes, picked off Black targets with rifles and pistols, threw Black children into bonfires, and smashed babies' skulls against the ground. When word got out, cries of anger, outrage, and anguish swept the Black community. Men and women made promises of revenge; many made even more important rededications to struggle for the total transformation of America. In many cases, at least in words, this Black response to events in the southern Illinois town suggestively exposed the revolutionary potential of the Afro-American community."

Actually, given that long illustrious history that East St. Louis is just one ex-

ample of, you would have to be blind or a fool *not* to "assume" that the motive behind the Atlanta murders was terrorism against Black people. It was that "assumption" held by literally millions here and around the world that the bourgeoisie went on a massive offensive against, knowing full well and greatly fearing the revolutionary potential that was being unleashed by one more crime against Black people.

In fact the murders were, as we have pointed out repeatedly, a sharp concentration of and testimony to the whole experience of the masses of Black people in this country. Vicious oppression is part of the daily experience of Black people even in so-called "good" times. Again from the RCP *Programme*: "Discrimination and segregation has the concrete effect not only that Black people and other oppressed peoples are crowded into the worst housing, but also that they face the worst of inadequate social services, and are hit the hardest by cutbacks and general deterioration in the cities—and on top of that are forced to pay for the privilege of being oppressed in this way. It has been calculated that there is a hidden tax amounting to \$1,000 a year or more, in the form of higher food prices, insurance rates, etc., on the average Black family." Along with this superstructure of national oppression always includes and relies heavily on attacks and terrorism, but it is in times of crisis that the attacks become more widespread, more depraved and more organized. World Wars 1 and 2, and the international crisis they grew out of, were both accompanied by the unbridled use of lynch terror and pogroms (like that described in East St. Louis) by the bourgeoisie. But those waves of attacks, flowing both from the need to step up oppression and the fear of the revolutionary potential of Blacks in this country, have themselves given rise to some of the sharpest resistance and struggle in history.

The year 1919, after the war ended, saw the most widespread violence in city streets ever—in over 25 cities—and this time it was *Black people* attacking and rebelling against the vigilantes and police, creating quite a different picture than that of East St. Louis in 1917. As Harding describes it, "Black men set up roadblocks of wood, bricks, and concrete in the streets of their communities. Both Blacks and whites used cars of armored men to roar like armored military vehicles through the opposite communities. Black snipers operated from the windows of houses... everywhere, Black veterans played a central role in the fighting, often using weapons they had managed to smuggle back into the Black community, weapons as large as machine guns." Clearly while the imperialists were roaming the world locked in combat with their rivals, the oppressed at home were not sitting back idly.

There is certainly much to learn here for the present, both for the proletariat and for the bourgeoisie. While the U.S. and the Soviet Union lead imperialist blocs toward world war, the imperialist system is literally full of contradictions, one of the sharpest being widespread na-

ional oppression. Even in the very recent past it has brought forward significant struggles from Iran and El Salvador to Afghanistan and from Brixton to Miami. It is one powerful reason why, as Mao Tsetung said, there are only two possibilities: either revolution will prevent war or war will give rise to revolution.

## The Past Two Years

It was (and is) this reality that the bourgeoisie is so desperate to cover up and suppress, and which played a central role in their actions surrounding the murders in Atlanta. But in doing so they only revealed more deeply how much national oppression is built into their system. A brief look at the events of the past 2 years in Atlanta bear that out:

On October 13, 1980, an explosion ripped through the day care center in the Bowen Homes housing project, killing four children and one teacher and thrusting Atlanta onto the international scene. All of a sudden everyone from the cop on the street, to the mayor, to the president was crying big, public crocodile tears over the deaths of Black youth in Atlanta. But their touching concern pales next to what they had been doing the entire year *before* the explosion. By then as many as 15 Black youth (more than 1/2 the total number today "officially" listed as part of the string of murders) had been kidnapped or already killed. Yet the several months' struggle of the mothers of the victims to force the police to investigate was met with the stony silence that said loud and clear "Who cares?" The mothers were told straight up at one point that "knowledge of the murders would arouse the community" so they would be kept quiet. They finally forced the formation of a tiny, comatose task force after they had held a press conference exposing the stonewall they had been hitting.

It's not that the police were not concerned about crime. In fact, just two months before the first Black youth was killed, the murder of a white woman—a former secretary to the governor of Georgia—on a downtown street sparked a torrent of outrage from every quarter of officialdom demanding "something be done" to end the wave of crime in Atlanta. Amidst widespread national publicity 100 state troopers were brought



in to patrol downtown and a great hue and cry went up over the (white) victims of crime. So much for their grave concern for the Black youth who were by then being systematically swept from the streets and murdered.

But with the explosion in Bowen Homes all that changed. The murders could no longer be ignored as millions began to see Atlanta as a concentration of the attacks on Blacks coming down from Buffalo to Chattanooga. The image of the "new south," the "Black mecca" had been torn apart. New tactics had to be used and new forces brought into play. The overriding concern was now to *keep the masses down* as newspaper columnists openly sweated over the prospect of "enraged Blacks wreaking vengeance on the city." In fact on that day in Bowen Homes there was very nearly a second, far more volatile explosion as 1,000 residents and friends pressed into the area demanding answers, stopped short only by the fast work of Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (more on Jackson later).

From this point on the full arsenal of the state came into play. Within days the Bowen Homes explosion was ruled accidental. Never mind the whites seen lurking outside the center in the early morning hours; never mind the safety valve rigged not to work; never mind the dozens of bomb threats on other day care centers the police admitted getting *immediately* after the explosion; never mind especially the string of murders of Black youth that had already been going on over a year. It was an accident. Case closed.

And that was just for openers. At first, fearing the response, the authorities could not openly declare the string of murders to be "not racist." So, in one of their slimmer tactics, they dredged up a psychic and boldly paraded her around town as she declared she was *positive* that the killers were Black. Having opened the door, the bourgeoisie launched an all-out offensive aimed at pushing this lie. While this psychic was in town, a secret meeting was held, attended by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the NAACP, the SCLC, the Anti-Defamation League, local police and, among others, the Feds. Ozell Sutton, the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service Regional Director, sternly addressed this gathering: "There is some perception in

the Black community of this (the kidnap/murders of 15 Black children and the day care center explosion) as a concerted attack on Blacks. We hope to get the community leaders in a position to allay these fears. Perceptions can cause you as much problems as facts. They must be dealt with affirmatively or they may get out of control. We are not trying to muzzle the anger, but to focus that anger into constructive channels." This meeting, held in November 1980, was a clear indication of the direction the federal government with the aid and support of many so-called "leaders" of the Black community were taking things. And just how much they were "not trying to muzzle the anger" was vividly shown when even Joseph Lowery, national head of the SCLC, stepped a bit out of line and called the murders the product of "a racist society" and was hit with such intense public (and we're sure private) denunciation that he backed away in a couple of days.

But beyond the propaganda campaign, as the murders not only continued but grew more frequent and systematic, increasingly the need grew for the open fist to be bared. Lenin, in *State and Revolution*, pointed out that: "The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively *cannot* be reconciled... (The state is) a power which arose from society but places itself above it and alienates itself more and more from it. What does this power mainly consist of? It consists of special bodies of armed men having prisons, etc., at their command." The state, as Lenin points out, especially in capitalist society ("a democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism"), has to appear to be a "neutral" force to hide its real nature as the political and military arm of the capitalists and promote the view that it exists for the purpose of "reconciling" differences between classes. This is true even as the need arises to step up oppression of the masses and to organize a social base for reaction. Thus, for example, when martial law was declared recently in Turkey it was in the name of "stopping the war between left and right" while the fist came down solidly on the left.

In the case of the Atlanta Black youth murders, the government would have us believe that its overriding concern was to catch the murderers and "solve" this crime (of course due to its deep concern for the lives of Black children) while at the same time keeping the masses from going too far and taking matters into their own hands based on the "irresponsible" notion that racism was behind the murders. That myth wore thin as every measure taken was increasingly openly aimed at suppressing the masses and opening up maneuvering room for the killers. And beyond that it must be said that the bourgeoisie was not at all unaware that the objective effect of the murders was to instill terror. They consciously used and promoted that, including through all of their propaganda about how "terrified" Black youth were in Atlanta. All of this had the subtle—and at times not so subtle—but very conscious effect of emboldening reactionaries, particularly in those sections of the masses the ruling class looks to be the "unofficial" enforcers of their rule as the crisis deepens and more people take to the streets.

The institution of a strict curfew for youth up to 16 years old that resulted in over 1,500 being "taken in" was to keep them from being abducted, despite the fact that the vast majority of abductions happened during daylight hours. The widespread roadblocks and house-to-house searches that netted hundreds of "unrelated" arrests for crimes such as possession of drugs were aimed at "finding the killer." The state was definitely taking action—but more and more openly against the people.

When 50-year-old Oscar Kemp jumped in his car and chased after a group of whites in a stationwagon trying to pick up some Black kids, he was immediately followed by the cops who arrested—*him!* for shooting at the tires of the car he was chasing. While he was charged with firing a weapon within the city and carrying a pistol without a license (as we said at the time, you don't need a license to kidnap Black children in Atlanta—only to stop it), the whites he had caught were released almost immediately without being questioned, without their car being searched or samples taken from it (although by then the officials were already linking the

murders up with fiber evidence), without any harassment. No question of neutrality here, as the state made it clear who and what it was really after.

But that basic conflict, which repeated itself in many different ways, was to take a major leap in March. The masses of people were beginning to take matters into their own hands, as throughout the city armed groups were formed to patrol the communities around the clock. Then, after graffiti had appeared on the wall of a nearby restaurant stating specifically that the next victim would come from Techwood Homes, the residents of Techwood Homes announced the formation of the Bat Patrols. This was too much. "Vigilantes!" screamed the mayor and the news media as "Black leaders" were dragged out from every corner and under every carpet to both attack the patrols and try to "talk them out of it." When neither of these worked, the community was overrun by swarms of cops and a SWAT team to "establish order," even going so far as to arrest some Black people under an "anti-Klan" law prohibiting the carrying of weapons at public gatherings.

And with the cops came the killers, who grabbed Eddie "Bubba" Duncan from Techwood Homes and dumped his body later in the Chattahoochee River. The killers had lived up to their promise, and the state had once again played its "neutral" role. And while the stories of "vigilantes" and "anarchy in the streets" continued to pour through the airwaves, another story "suddenly" appeared on front pages and in "special reports" about the so-called "survivalists." As we said in *RW* No. 102: "Reactionary white groups and organizations, armed to the teeth—the rotten-to-the-core social base of the imperialists, preparing to defend their mountain strongholds against the revolutionary onslaught of the masses yet to come. Ah, but this is 'survivalism'. When the oppressed take up arms—that's vigilanteism—get it?"

At this point the propaganda campaign took on a decidedly depraved character as the authorities desperately searched for ways to pin this whole thing on the masses—particularly the Black masses—themselves. Lurid tales began appearing about "homosexual rings" be-

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## The Hand at the End of the Chains

# Atlanta: The Hand At the End of the Chains

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ing involved and the victims were labelled "hustlers" and "street kids" not to examine their economic status but to lay the blame on them for their own kidnappings and murders—going so far as to imply they were child prostitutes looking to be picked up by strangers. The line that "the killer had to be Black" was taken to new levels as mud was slung at the Black community from all angles.

Then in a surprise move in late spring, FBI Director William Webster announced four of the murders had been "solved." "There is no evidence that I can find of racism. It could just as well be a preference for Blacks as a prejudice against them." The "solution"? The kids' own families did it! You know how these Blacks are—they like to kill each other off. No evidence, no arrests—but a well-timed, well-placed lie to further attack the Black masses and further unleash reactionaries to do their work.

In that context May Day 1981 became a particularly sharp battle in Atlanta. The authorities tried every maneuver possible to literally bury the message that on that day the red flag of revolution must be held firm and key territory ripped, politically, if only for one day, from the control of the bourgeoisie. *RW* sellers were banned from any public housing property and repeatedly arrested for "trespassing" on the Atlanta University campus. But these attempts backfired as dozens of Techwood Homes' residents took up the red flag and participated in a mass burning of American flags in the face of two separate police raids and massive arrests in the community that day.

While some may call the murders in Atlanta, and overall stepped-up attacks on Black people that they are part of, a "rising fascist tide," it is clear that they are well within the bounds of bourgeois democracy and the American way and the standard operating procedures of the state within that.

## The Black Power Struggle

— A central feature of the developments around the murders has been the role of the so-called Black power structure of Atlanta, a structure that only came into being a few years ago in the early 1970s, and whose role in suppressing the masses and derailing any serious struggle against the murders has been a hot point of controversy. While it is not possible to present a full analysis of this stratum in this article, some points can and should be made.

In an article entitled "Atlanta: The Evidence Of Things Not Seen" published in the December issue of *Playboy* magazine, James Baldwin, while doing some good exposure about the nature of the so-called "new South," described what to him was the most horrifying development in the Black youth murders: "If... the administration of the city had been white, the Blacks would have known themselves to be, and with every conceivable justification, the victims of a reign of terror: that cross on Stone Mountain (an Atlanta suburb that is home to the KKK—*RW*) would have taken the weight—to storm the Bastille, however hazardous, would not have been complicated by not knowing where to find it. But it is a very different matter when Black people on the bottom—in the streets—accuse the Black police department of not caring about Black children. I am perfectly willing to tell you, categorically, that I do not believe this accusation to contain any truth at all; the point is that the accusation can be made, and believed by many people." This article expresses rather sharply the dilemma faced today by the Black power structure as concentrated in the murders and events surrounding them.

It is not at all surprising that "the accusation can be made." Maynard Jackson and Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown were far from bystanders in the open suppression of the masses. They are, after all, the government. As Lenin pointed out again in the *State and Revolution*, capitalism,

through its "democratic republic," "established its power so securely, so firmly, that no change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois democratic republic can shake it." Meanwhile, a whole chorus of Black officials and "leaders" joined the "it's not racist" song, actively fronting for the bourgeoisie's attacks.

To a certain degree it can be said that that stratum reached its heyday in the first part of the 1970s, as both new opportunities opened up for the significant growth of a Black petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie opened the floodgates for petty bourgeois and bourgeois forces to move into positions of political power in many major cities around the country, largely as a means of diffusing the revolutionary potential that was emerging in the streets and consolidating the hold of the Black bourgeois forces over the masses generally. While between the years 1900 and 1960 fewer than 300 Blacks had ever been elected to any political office, by 1975 there were over 3,000 Black elected officials, including the mayors of such key cities as Washington, D.C., Newark, Detroit, Los Angeles and Atlanta.

In Atlanta the bourgeoisie even bragged of "sharing power" with Blacks. "Integrating Atlanta's power elite" was what *Business Week* called it when they described the Atlanta Forum, a semi-secret group of six of the top white and six of the top Black businessmen in Atlanta who, according to many, "ran the city" from behind the scenes in the early '70s. By the mid-'70s the Atlanta city government (both elected and appointed) was 71% Black, and the percent of Black policemen jumped from 23% in 1973 to 35% in 1976 (this over the loud objections of white police officials and cops).

Maynard Jackson, who bragged upon his election that "anyone looking for the Civil Rights Movement in the streets is fooling himself. Politics is the Civil Rights Movement of the 1970s," explained his views on this great "alliance" between Black and white being forged in Atlanta in an interview with the *Great Speckled Bird* (a local underground newspaper at that time): "My feeling is that Atlanta operates best when we have a cooperative working relationship which means certain critical elements in the community. Historically, we have only had the business community and city hall working hand in hand. It's always been my opinion that's not enough. There has to be another partner at the table and that is a representative of the grassroots leadership of Atlanta, white and Black... and major elements must be giving the most denied elements of our community, the people who are the most denied, the most oppressed, the greatest chance of all."

Despite the fine-sounding talk, this "marriage" never meant any real change for the masses, while it certainly tied the "Civil Rights leaders" more firmly than ever to their jobs as firemen for the bourgeoisie. As the "good times" of the early '70s rapidly gave way to the deepening crisis of the late '70s the ground was steadily eroded from under these people and they have been increasingly put in the position of proving their loyalty to the ruling class to save their hides. What was loudly proclaimed as a "new day" for Blacks has increasingly been shown to be merely a new stage in the nightmare, only this time the Black bourgeois forces are more and more openly "partners" in the clampdown.

The Black youth murders represented the sharpest crisis so far in that stratum. While part of the bourgeoisie's line was that there couldn't be any racism involved since the city administration was Black, Jackson showed himself to be perfectly capable of, and willing to directly carry out, repression against "his own people" and to even cover up for and protect the reactionaries who were murdering them. He was even so brazen as to justify the curfew as a means to keep "unruly youth" off the streets. To say the least, this has poked denials in the

facade of his (and others like him) "Black politicians are the road to freedom" bandwagon.

This has led some forces, particularly those who saw the elections of large numbers of Black officials as a great advance for the masses of Blacks, to conclude that the child murders were used by the ruling class to discredit and get rid of those Blacks in office. But it's not nearly so simple as all that. The contradictions involving forces like Jackson are not the same as the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the masses of Black people; instead, while related to the question of "how to control the Black masses", this is basically a question of contradictions within the ruling bourgeoisie itself. The bourgeoisie is not a monolithic bloc that at one time used to want Black officials but now just wants to bring in the Klan. Indeed, just how to combine various forms of repression is still a big point of struggle among them. It is possible that the murders, while obviously fundamentally directed at the Black masses, also represented a form of that intra-bourgeois struggle, and was partly aimed by some at discrediting the local Black politicians as "unable to control the situation." But the response of the Jackson forces was predictable—a coverup of the murders and more repression directed at the masses—all aimed at showing The Man that they were indeed the best bet for keeping the masses under control. There is still much use for good Uncle Toms, as shown by the widespread support given Andy Young in his mayoral race by powerful sections of the bourgeoisie nationally.

But the phenomenon represented by Jackson's role has, beyond that, sparked a good deal of "reevaluation" among many Black petty bourgeois forces, and more broadly among those who may have thought that there was some way that they could "make it" in this system. When Venus Taylor, mother of one of the murdered youth, spoke to a Black

student association sponsored meeting at a major university campus she was asked her opinion of Jackson. After making it clear she had no great love for him and what he represents, she was asked with concern by one of these students: "Do you think that is what we are being trained to do?"

## The Conclusion

All during this period, and especially, at the height of the murders, Atlanta has been one of those crucibles Lenin spoke of, a "minor" crisis which "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." Literally millions were drawn into political life, particularly from that stratum, the masses of Blacks concentrated in the lowest sections of the U.S. proletariat, that is most volatile and dangerous to the bourgeoisie, and this laid the basis for profound political lessons to be learned. As the *RCP Programme* explains it: "Numbering in the tens of millions and suffering discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples, while at the same time in their great majority part of the single proletariat of the U.S., concentrated in its most exploited sections, the oppressed peoples in the U.S. are a tremendously powerful force for revolution." Not unaware of that, the bourgeoisie sought throughout this crisis to both suppress that revolutionary potential while unleashing and organizing that reactionary social base it will increasingly rely on as the crisis deepens. As Lenin said, while the enemies of the proletariat are few in number, during times of crisis they are given direct aid and support by the ruling classes.

The murders of Black youth in Atlanta were not only testimony to the daily oppression of Blacks in this country, but to the tremendous intensification of that oppression that has already started and will greatly increase in the period head. They are a powerful indictment of this system, one that will surely come back to haunt the bourgeoisie no matter how much they try to bury the truth. □

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# Don't Overdo It!

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fold, or the starting point without which you can't do anything else, then you will inevitably be pulled toward reformism.

We can look also at our own experience in the revolutionary movement. Even though it is limited there are some lessons we can and should draw out of it. What I'm addressing here is this line that you have to prove yourself "a good fellow"; like Stalin once wrote in this hideous essay in 1925\*, you've got to prove yourself to be a good fellow in the trade union struggle: for a few years before you can win the masses to communism. That's a ridiculous reformist recipe. But such a line and current does exist; you have to prove yourself in terms of people's day-to-day needs before they'll listen to you about the larger questions. In an overall sense this is just exactly the contrary of the truth and is a reversal, an inversion, of the actual dialectic at work.

In our own experience, for example, let's take the students and in particular when the RU got involved in SDS. In the Bay Area and in Berkeley in particular, SDS was not very strong. It was not the main form through which political work against the system and anti-imperialist struggle and revolutionary development was taking place there. But, if you took the U.S. as a whole and in terms of the students, it was the most advanced form and in that sense the most important form of organization for a period. So while we weren't locally involved in SDS and hadn't earned our spurs or earned our right to speak by being actively involved for a long time in SDS and all of its local struggles, we were invited in to take part in the struggles in SDS nationally. It's sort of ironic we were invited in particular by Mike Klonsky and some others at the time, basically because being the mechanical hack that he always was and remained (remains I guess, whatever he's doing now) he was incapable of carrying out any kind of real ideological struggle. And one was shaping up very sharply between a number of different trends, particularly against PL (Progressive Labor) at that time in SDS. So on the basis of some contacts and especially the drafts of *Red Papers* which were circulating among some different circles at that point, they invited us in.

But whatever the mechanics of how that came about, the point is we went to those SDS meetings in 1969 and there were just a few of us that went. The RU was known partly on the basis of *Red Papers* and partly on the basis that we had been involved in an oil strike in Richmond, California. But what we had done in Richmond which attracted people and, if you will, gave us a certain right to speak, was not that we went there and took responsibility for all the day-to-day needs of the oil workers. It was that we were doing advanced political work — even with problems and errors, including some of these same wrong tendencies that I have been describing, there still was a thrust of advanced, even revolutionary, political work the RU was doing, helping to link up the Third World Strike at San Francisco State with the oil strike and actually doing some political work among those oil workers to win them politically to supporting that. But, that was the kind of work we were doing there; we also got involved (maybe a little too much, but I wouldn't say it was wrong in principle certainly) with some of the tactical problems of the time, of the strike. But this was always from the point of view, and always with a thrust toward trying to bring forward advanced political ideas and win people politically to a more advanced stand; and advance the struggle — not just the oil strike, but the larger political movement — on that basis.

When we went to the SDS meeting, *Red Papers* and the articles in *The Movement* that I wrote at that time about the work in the oil strike all made for some more receptivity to what we had to say. But when we got up and struggled in these SDS meetings, nobody said, "Who are you, how long have you been involved in SDS." "What have you done practically" and "What have you done about this or that problem with the students," or whatever. Or if anybody wanted to say it, they didn't get very far with it. People wanted to know what we had to say because they were involved in a very sharp struggle over what direction that organization should take and that was being debated as a part of a larger question of what direction the overall movement should take and even how to make revolution. Nobody demanded to know if we had earned our spurs by paying attention to the everyday needs of themselves or somebody else and had been "good fellows" for such and such a time in a reformist way. People wanted to know what we had to say politically. They were interested in our ideas and they were interested in the ideological struggle and the struggle over what political direction to take. That's what they wanted to know: "What the hell do you have to say," not "Have you been good fellows in your local SDS chapter for so long."

## Upside Down View

Now you could say, well that's the students, and students are intellectuals in a certain way (and I guess even in the U.S. that's true in a broad sense, even with all the philistinism there is). But I don't believe, and nothing in my own experience or what I've read about convinces

me, that when the broad masses become politically active and politically involved and begin to take up these questions, they are more narrow than the intellectuals in this regard. They are not more insistent that first you prove your spurs by having been "good fellows" in some immediate struggles or in relation to their immediate needs, or that you have no right to speak to them unless you've earned it first by paying attention to all their everyday problems. That's not my own experience, not what I've studied, and it's not my own experience nor generally the experience of the revolutionary movement. It's not the case, to put it simply. If that were the case it's true we couldn't carry out "Create Public Opinion . . . Seize Power." It is true that there are backward masses or only awakening masses, or even masses who can't really even be called politically awake, who go into struggle and have a narrower view and largely remain interested only in the immediate questions of that struggle. But it's also true, and a much more profound truth, that we should not be pitching our work to those masses. Even though we should not ignore them nor fail to take them into account, we certainly should not be basing ourselves on them.

This upside-down view that first you have to prove yourself and earn your spurs does a great deal of harm. It influenced our own ranks for a long period of time, and its influence will continue to assert itself in our own ranks and among others because it is a pull. It does have a basis in reality and it is a pull of spontaneity. It is something that has to be much more deeply rooted out. You cannot cite that essay of Mao's, "Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," as though that is the central problem that is being dealt with. If you read through that whole Volume I, of which it is a part — here I'm looking at some titles: "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War"; "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan"; and then a little bit later it's "Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front"; there is "Why Is It that Red Political Power Can Exist in China?"; "The Struggle in the Ching-Kang Mountains"; "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party"; "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire"; "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," and so on. The central theme and the line that comes through here is not that first we must pay attention to all these problems of the masses, then we can think about starting a revolutionary war after we have proved ourselves to be "good fellows." The emphasis is just the opposite in these overall writings, including in this very essay.

It's true for us as well in a different way even though the form of our work in this period is not one of armed struggle, and even though we do not hold political power in the sense of having base areas the way they did in China, still the essence of our work is "Create Public Opinion . . . Seize Power," with agitation and propaganda central now and exposure as the key link. The same relationship that existed for Mao also exists for us, though in a different way, with different practical implications. That is, in that context, and grasping that as the overall and essential thing that we are doing, then we have to pay attention to, or be conscious of, the problems and everyday needs of the masses. I mean that in the sense that we have to take them into account in carrying out our work.

When I say this it doesn't have the same application it had in China because we are not waging revolutionary warfare and we're not holding power, so we're not able to and should not try to solve those problems in the same way that they had to in the situation that Mao is describing. But we do have to take them into account in carrying out our overall work. It's true that we would be making a mistake if we carried out our overall work and did not pay any attention to — ignored — the conditions of the masses and their everyday needs, especially the masses who actually are the most solid social base for a proletarian revolutionary line. The "Basic Principles" document\* states that first of all these everyday needs and the struggles they give rise to are one important (though not the most important) source of exposure, of agitation and propaganda. And second of all, around some of these questions and in some of the struggles that develop or can be developed in relationship to them, there is potential to lead masses in a way of militantly fighting back that can contribute toward the building of a revolutionary movement — precisely if it's seen in that light and governed by a revolutionary outlook and approach.

But with all that, that is still (a) not the most important thing we should be doing, (b) not the main thing we should be doing, (c) not something more important than or a necessary prelude to carrying out our central task and particularly exposure as the key link, and (d) the idea that we do have to do all that first is a trap of quicksand that we have to very, very rigorously avoid. That's what it will become if you fall into the idea that somehow the day-to-day needs of the masses are the most important thing we have to pay attention to, or as we used to formulate it "the center of gravity." It becomes a thing that drags you down if you make it the center of gravity. Or to use another metaphor it is a trap to view that as a fulcrum of your work, or even a prelude to more advanced work, or that without doing this you cannot carry out more advanced work.

In other words, alright, it's true, in a general sense, we have to pay attention to these questions, as it says in the "Basic Principles" document. You cannot carry

out revolutionary work while ignoring the everyday problems, especially of the less privileged masses, the people who are the more solid social base for a revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist line. It's true, you cannot in an overall sense carry out revolutionary work if you pay no attention to these things. So in that sense, yes, you have to pay attention to them. But, number one, all the things that I've been stressing are different between our situation and our kind of work now and the kind that Mao was talking about have to be immediately and firmly grasped. And number two, it was not said by Mao, and it's even less true in a situation like the U.S. where you are not now carrying out revolutionary warfare, that these everyday problems of the masses are the center of your work or a necessary starting point for your work without which you can't carry out broader and higher-level political work.

## The Party

While you have to pay attention to this, that's precisely what you have to do; you have to take them into account and you have to find the ways that these questions can be made elements of and parts of the overall process of building a revolutionary movement. They have to be approached from that angle, which is of course how Mao is approaching them under different circumstances. But, again, the principle in an overall sense remains the same, that these things are not the heart of your work and they are not a preliminary condition before you can carry out more advanced work. Quite the opposite. In his and our conditions alike, they are treated in the context where a more advanced form of work is what is in fact central to revolutionary work.

This leads back to two different views. One ultimately (and not too ultimately) is a reformist one; the other, an actual revolutionary line. An important, even crucial aspect of the struggle between those two lines will be the struggle over how you approach the question of the party, the importance and role of the party — is it really a vanguard, how important is it and in what way should it be built? And that's why, while maybe it's obvious that the party is the most important organization of the proletariat and it's the most important aspect of organizing forces, still it hasn't proved so obvious. It is part of the view that you have to, as a principle, pay attention to the day-to-day problems and struggles of the masses as the basis for carrying out other kinds of work, and as a way of winning the right to carry out more advanced work. Owing to the influence of that kind of line and the general reformist tendency and pull that it is a part of, there has been a tendency even in our own ranks in the past to see it as "sectarian" to talk about building the party as the most important form of organization. "What about the masses? What about mass organization? Isn't building the party putting our own needs above those of the masses?"

That's your view only if you somehow think that the party in the most fundamental sense is something other than an instrument for serving the needs of the masses and the proletariat. It's the highest and most concentrated expression of doing that. That's what it means that the party is the vanguard. And second of all, if that's your view, it means that you actually fall for that guilt-tripping revisionism of the woman on that radio program, for example, based on the idea that somehow there is a way that the problems of the masses (particularly the solid, real proletarian masses) can be solved other than through revolution; or based at least on the idea that the only way you can win those masses to see that revolution is necessary is by doing what's impossible, that is, trying to solve all their problems without revolution. If you think about it, those ideas, especially when you pose them that way, are sort of ridiculous. But it's taken a lot of struggle for us to get to the point of being able to see how ridiculous they are and there will be continuous struggle over that in the ways in which this question will continually reassert itself, even if in different forms and if in a sense more advanced forms, now that we've fought through certain aspects of this.

To the degree that that line still exerts influence, the role of the party will be downgraded. To the degree that the real grasp of the revolutionary line is firm and increasingly sharpened, the importance and role of the party, the fact that it is the most important aspect of organizing forces and the need to build it will come to the fore more powerfully.

There was just one point I wanted to make before we went on. It's on this question of paying attention to the well-being of the masses. I think what I said earlier is correct, that you do have to pay attention to those questions, in the sense in which I put it. But on the other hand, to be provocative about it, particularly given the pull of economism and spontaneity, in a certain way we could almost say that you have to have the ability *not* to pay attention to some of those problems to a significant degree. In other words, on the one hand, you cannot fail to pay attention to them at all, or as some kind of principle, in the ways that I talked about earlier. But on the other hand, there has to be a conscious effort not to pay *too much* attention to them, and that is the much more dangerous and much more powerful current that has existed and continues to exist even within the trend within the international communist movement that we are a part of. I just wanted to summarize it that way to be a little provocative about it.

\* *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement.*

(Continued next week)

\* "The Results of the Work of the 14th Conference of the RCP(B)", 1925.

# Transport Charges Dropped Deportation Threat Upped vs. Salvadoran Revolutionaries

On Friday, January 29, two extremely important developments took place in the cases against the four members of the Salvadoran revolutionaries' speaking tour. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, the two members of the tour charged with felony transport of "illegal aliens," Carol Tsuji and Manuel Campos, were granted a motion for acquittal — a major defeat for the U.S. government in their overall railroad. On the very same day, clearly trying to rebound off this setback and indicating the government's determination to deport the two Salvadoran revolutionaries, David Mendez and Emilio Henriquez, the Immigration and Naturalization Service flatly denied a change of venue from Dallas to Los Angeles in the deportation hearings. They insisted on pressing ahead with the hearing as scheduled on Tuesday, Feb. 9.

Since the arrests on Oct. 12 in Oklahoma, government and defense have battled through 3-1/2 months of non-stop hearings, motions, appeals and more, culminating in a week-long trial in early January in the transport case in which the government was unable to get a conviction, resulting in a hung jury. Now, after all this, presiding Judge Thomas Brett has suddenly "discovered" merit to the defense motion for acquittal — the same

motion, raising the same points, which he had already dismissed in the middle of the trial. In his order, the judge waxed eloquent about how "while the defendants and their counsel publicly condemn the system of government of the U.S., it is those principles of due process and fair trial so permanently woven into the fabric of our law that assures them their liberty." But the whole legal case has shown exactly how in fact the government uses its whole legal system as a key instrument to defend its rule and attack its enemies. And so, while the judge was touting the supposed great freedoms of this country, the INS moved on the very same day to try and steamroll the deportation of the two Salvadorans to certain death at the hands of the Duarte regime in El Salvador, as they have already done with thousands of others.

## Government Concentrates on Deporting Salvadoran Revolutionaries

The U.S. government has from the first made no secret of the fact that it intends to return the Salvadoran brothers to the junta's clutches as quickly as it is able. It first brought heavy pressure, even doctoring statements by the Salvadorans, to intimidate them into signing voluntary departure forms; and when

that failed it began the deportation process, despite the Salvadorans having applied for political asylum in Los Angeles October 9, before they even set out on the tour. The U.S. State Department itself intervened in a hearing on bail, which at one point was revoked entirely and then reinstated at an unheard-of \$35,000 as they tried to keep the Salvadorans in their grips. The INS is now threatening that the Salvadorans' mailing address fails to meet bail requirements — a requirement which is in fact not part of their bail agreements at all!

Clearly the Salvadoran revolutionaries have been targeted by high forces in the government who are continuing to maneuver through the change of venue denial and in other ways. In fact, the denial of change of venue was made not by the assigned immigration judge, but, in a highly unusual move, by District Director of the INS Southern Region William Chambers. Only a week ago, at the request of "the U.S. government," Chambers offered to change the venue from Dallas to L.A. if defense attorneys presented one of the Salvadorans to be subpoenaed for the felony transport case, then still scheduled for re-trial. ("The U.S. government" at this point could mean the CIA, FBI, the State Dept.'s

"Office for Combatting Terrorism" or any number of other official faces of U.S. imperialism who have already been involved in this case — or some new agency, of course.) Such complicity is obviously totally illegal, but then that's an obstacle the government has managed to hurdle more than once in all these cases.

Haste is also a key objective of the denial of venue change. After sitting on this motion for months through the other proceedings, Chambers is now worried about the delay which moving the hearings to L.A. would entail, though he explains this by expressing concern for the Salvadorans' right to "speedy access to due process." How touching indeed coming from the man who personally revoked the Salvadorans' bond last October because, "after all, why set bail when deportation is imminent." Their speed and intensity are calculated to sabotage the defense's ability to do legal preparations as well as mobilize broad political support — factors which certainly weighed heavily when Chambers "took into consideration all the factors involved."

In fact overall political considerations have been central in the course of events throughout these cases, no matter how much the government has tried to deny

# Statements of Protest in

The following is a sampling from the hundreds of telegrams and letters that have been sent to various government authorities involved in the arrests and attempted railroad of four members of the Salvadoran Revolutionaries Speaking Tour. Further statements demanding immediate change of venue in the deportation hearing from Dallas to Los Angeles, no deportations, and political asylum for the Salvadoran revolutionaries should be sent to:

William Chambers  
District Director INS  
Room 6A 21  
Federal Building  
1100 Commerce St.  
Dallas, TX 75242

Contributions towards defense and tour expenses can be made out and sent to:

Salvador Tour Legal Committee,  
11 East Latimer St.  
Tulsa, OK 74106

The Emergency Southeast Conference on Immigration Rights and Political Asylum, composed of over 140 delegates from 45 human rights organizations, held in Miami, Florida Dec. 4-6, demands all charges against the two Salvadorean refugees David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez who are on a speaking tour in this country, be immediately dropped. The two have been charged with "illegal entry" despite the fact that their applications for political asylum status were perfectly in order. They face deportation as the Immigration Dept. maneuvers to push through a "phony trial" which would mean sure torture and death at the hands of the Duarte dictatorship.

We also demand that the charges of "transporting illegal aliens" be immediately dropped against their translator and tour facilitator. This attempt to victimize political refugees and their supporters is unconstitutional and a threat to the democratic rights of all Americans. We strongly urge that you drop all charges immediately.

Jack Lieberman, a coordinator of the Southeast Immigration Conference (co-sponsored by Haitian Refugee Center, Inc. of Miami; Farmworkers' Rights Organization of Florida; the Friends of Haitian Refugees; National Immigration and Refugee Network)

We demand the immediate release of the four people kidnapped by the INS. We support the nationwide speaking tour and you are only further exposed by your actions to stop it.

Attending Daniel Berrigan's speech in Los Angeles:

Rita Luchenbe, Marne Carmean, Daniel Berrigan, Martin Sheen, Valerie Sklarevsky, Jane Bonnet, Jan Oston, Ruth Persky, Harry R. Mintin, Corrine Hagan, Chay Wood, Cary Shulman, Kajhleen Armores, Eileen Wole, Joe Ellen Brady, Thomas Pfeifer, Hilde Bernstein, Willie Kinnamon, Karen S. Loen, Ros Reddy

The continued attacks by the U.S. Government on the two El Salvadorians and the other two tour members are not going unchallenged. Your deperate moves cannot stop the spread of the internationalist understanding this tour represents. We demand that political asylum be granted to the two El Salvadorians and that all the charges be dropped against the tour members.

40 Garment Workers and 112 South Bronx residents  
New York City

Letter by Committee circulated at showing of "The War At Home"

It was recently brought to our attention that 2 Salvadorans and 2 U.S. political activists were arrested and held with unusually high bonds; the former charged with being illegal aliens and the latter charged with transporting illegal aliens. We were just informed that after the cash for these bonds was raised, the Immigration and Naturalization Service removed the bonds and announced that the Salvadorans will not be released with any amount of money.

We know that 70% of illegal immigrants detained by some U.S. border patrols are Salvadorans, their numbers in the U.S. close to 70,000. We know of their terror as they try to get past the Ku Klux Klan who patrol the borders and of the torture and almost certain death they face when caught and deported back to El Salvador.

As people whose own government funds, trains for, and participates in the repression of the Salvadoran people, we take strong issue with your claim that they have "no ties" in the U.S. To the contrary, we support them and are dependent on them to inform us about the current situation in their country. Our own government has proved to be a discredited source on the subject. We demand their immediate release without deportation and see anything less as further evidence of the role of the U.S. government (with the INS as a tool) in the repression of the people of El Salvador.

Dayton Central American Solidarity Committee

Bill Chambers:

Stop deportation proceedings against David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez. Recognize their demand for political refugee status. Drop all charges against the four. Free the El Salvador speaking tour.

Signed at World Hunger Day, UCLA

Buckminster Fuller, Denise Jones, Frank J. Blau, James Leach, Shaun Carlson, Paul Murdoch, Salah Aitonolif, Lorely French, Eza Segert, Rosemary E. Hawley, Andrew Liebermann, Noel J. O'Connor, Siferinc Fienoz, Josh Kounitz, Eve R. Rubell, Mark Holt, Christopher A. Park

Drop all charges on the two Salvadorans, and their two companions, one a Chilean-born and the other a U.S. citizen of Japanese ancestry. These four were seized on Oct. 12 by "La Migra" — the U.S. Border Patrol — as participants on their way to begin a 20-city, nationwide speaking tour on the revolution in El Salvador, sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and others.

This political railroad now going on in your courts is typical of the treatment of foreign-born, as well as Native American leaders such as Leonard Peltier and others, especially when they speak out against the U.S. government. We support and depend on them to inform us of how the U.S. government systematically trains, funds, and participates in the bloody repression of the Salvadoran people — how they rip off the land of the oppressed and unleash terror on those who resist — forcing people to flee their country, and, like Native Americans, herd them into refugee, i.e. concentration, camps where they get treated like dogs or deported by the busload to their death.

We cannot stand for any more political attacks by the U.S. government on revolutionaries who play a key role in telling people what imperialism actually means. With deportation hearings pending, your courts are now focusing their railroad on the two alleged transporters facing five years in prison along with the threat of deporting the Chilean-born translator to certain death in Chile, even though he has been a permanent resident for 16 years, and threats of treason charges on the U.S. citizen. Drop all the charges now. No deportations of the Salvadorans or the Chilean. Grant political asylum to the two Salvadorans. Stop the railroad. Long live internationalism.

13 Native Americans at a gathering in  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

this. In concluding his acquittal in the transport case, Judge Brett firmly proclaimed that "From the commencement of these proceedings, the defendants have made numerous and continued serious allegations of misconduct against the office of the U.S. Attorney and other state and federal government agencies. These charges include assertions of conspiracy, selective law enforcement, invidious discrimination, improper efforts to influence the grand jury, as well as prosecutorial vindictiveness. Each one of these charges has proved groundless. Despite being afforded ample opportunity to present evidence and question officials of various government agencies, the defendants have failed to adduce any evidence in support of these charges or even to raise suspicions in the minds of reasonable persons. Further the court reiterates its earlier observation that the defendants are responsible for the repeated injection into the proceedings of the matter of the defendants' political persuasion."

"(S)uspicious in the minds of reasonable persons"? Why, just ask a "reasonable person" like Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Baker, whom the judge quotes in these same remarks: Campos and Tsuji were transporting a Salvadoran "around the country for their political purposes and using him as a political puppet in their revolutionary charade." This is the same Ben Baker who entered the *Revolutionary Worker* into evidence in the same judge's courtroom, the one who asked menacingly at least two defense witnesses in the transport trial (one a professor from Ohio who spoke about the tour coming to his college, the other an immigration attorney from Houston), "Are you a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade?"!! This is also the same Ben Baker who back in October denied the existence of the tour, then claimed it was a fabrication of the

defendants after they were arrested, then that it was irrelevant. For four months it has been the government's exact intention to squash the Salvadoran speaking tour and its political exposure of what the U.S. (and Soviets) are up to in El Salvador, and its rallying support for the revolutionary struggle in that country and worldwide. Earlier in the case Baker arrogantly declared that the government "would not be too bent out of shape" by seeing the speaking tour stopped. Now that the tour has already appeared in over 25 cities before some 2,000 people, Baker is no doubt bent like a pretzel.

#### What Lies Behind the Acquittal Decision

The judge's acquittal decision also reveals that he and others in the government have been paying quite close attention to international developments in relation to this trial, and that in fact such important and very political considerations have had a bearing on their decisions (and vice versa). It was particularly the world situation which prompted the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade to initiate the tour, and it was the world situation which especially compelled the imperialists to attack it all along. Consider the following analogy which Brett was forced to make in his acquittal order after the powerful testimony in court by the defense concerning the U.S. government's varying treatment of different political refugees. "The matter is akin," Brett wrote, "to the Polish seaman who leaves his ship at a U.S. port and enters the U.S. without official documents. He is befriended by a U.S. citizen knowing his status and taken to a lawyer specializing in immigration law to file a political asylum application. While the application is being prepared for prompt filing, the friend transports the Polish alien to a university campus to

talk to a group on the subject of the current political situation in Poland, the recently imposed martial law. While being transported by the friend in his car to the university campus, the friend is arrested and charged with 1324a2 (transport of "illegal aliens")." The judge, of course, didn't just "happen" to think of this analogy, but was speaking for the government and the contradictions they face, while trying to take advantage of the situation in Poland to expose the Soviet Union. Thus the bourgeoisie's crocodile tears, shed piously and with the utmost hypocrisy for the struggle of the Polish masses, while the U.S. itself heads up massacres of the people in El Salvador and threatens even more. Brett also, unavoidably, showed how the imperialists use political asylum as a weapon wielded depending on how it serves their empire.

The judge's Poland/El Salvador comparison is certainly revealing, and the situation in El Salvador is causing much turmoil within the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself. With things sharpening up around El Salvador, the U.S. is growing increasingly desperate. Indeed, the deportation hearings are happening at a very bad time for the U.S. imperialists, and one which shows prospects of getting even worse for them. This situation revolving around El Salvador makes these deportation proceedings all the more important for the government — and for those who see them as an important part of the overall need to expose and oppose all the imperialists' present and projected intrigues. This is what the national speaking tour and the defense throughout all the court proceedings have consistently seized on: precisely the opportunities and necessities presented by this situation to tear into the role of the U.S. in El Salvador.

While definitely taking the international situation into account in this case,

the government has faced a strong and significant counter-attack launched and waged within the U.S. and even internationally. Support for the defendants has come from a wide grouping of social forces, tapping the widespread hatred for U.S. imperialism among many. In a variety of ways, including financial support, this response from thousands — particularly at each sharp juncture — has been critical in winning the acquittal victory. In addition, in the courtroom and in all aspects of the legal battle, the defense has continuously unraveled the government's case, ripping apart the political and legal railroad the prosecution has tried to ram through.

The importance and significance of defense of the Salvadorans and the two other revolutionaries arrested with them must also be seen in this light. Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Baker's dripping sarcasm immediately after the arrests about "why all the fuss" over "two aliens bumming a ride to Chicago" was turned by a deluge of telegrams, statements and phone calls into public whining that "my office is under siege" — and later, in desperation, to a demand for a gag order on the defense. Veterans of the '60s stepped forward, as did youth for whom the names of provinces in El Salvador are becoming as well known as those of Vietnam were to an earlier generation. Many have been challenged both by the Salvadorans' analysis of how U.S.-Soviet war preparations are profoundly influencing the struggle in El Salvador and by their internationalist opposition to all imperialism. Representatives from religious, legal, refugee and other organizations call not only to offer assistance and check on the status of the cases, but often to ask about the "controversial positions these Salvadoran rebels are taking." Students from Arkansas and Kansas have called to

Continued on page 16

# Salvadoran Tour Trial

#### Sirs of the Migra:

Just as you let your servile President Duarte give his message to the people of the U.S., so we demand freedom for our comrades because if they cannot speak, then we will do it anyway.

Two Revolutionary Salvadorans  
Oct. 18

The charges that you are making are evidence of what you are, "a paper tiger." You will gain nothing by repressing that which will be the seeds of your defeat. I'm thinking about how everything that goes up must come down.

A Mexican Revolutionary

#### U.S. Attorney Frank Keating

The arrest and prosecution of David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez, Salvadorans who have applied for political asylum in this country, along with Carol Tsuji, a U.S. citizen, and Manuel Campos-Sevilla, a permanent resident, are a gross infringement of their rights under international treaty and the U.S. Constitution. We urge that the prosecution be immediately dropped.

Under law and treaty applicants for political asylum are not to be treated as criminals but are to be accorded their human rights and simple compassion. Once their political asylum claim is filed all other proceedings should be dropped pending determination of the application.

The unusual nature of this prosecution, the excessive bails that were set, and too the circumstances that these persons were each exercising their Constitutional right to travel about the country for purposes of communicating on a subject of public concern — the present conditions in El Salvador — all suggest that the government is involved in a serious infringement of First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and association.

It is extremely troubling to all who are working for the rights of persons who are forced into political asylum by conditions in their own countries, that a U.S. citizen and lawful permanent resident who assisted as interpreter and organizer for the speaking tour are charged with felony transport of illegal aliens. This is another equally serious violation of Constitutional rights.

Our American tradition is to extend hospitality, not harassment, to those forced to seek asylum on our shores. The action taken by your office in these cases is

a deplorable violation of this tradition and of fundamental Constitutional rights.

Sincerely,

Robert Hager, Attorney  
William J. Davis, S.J.  
Daniel P. Sheehan, Attorney  
Walter Kasuboski, O.F.M. Cap.

We will not tolerate this outrageous robbery from the international proletariat. We demand freedom for these fighting comrades in Oklahoma.

39 immigrant workers in Houston, Texas

We protest the unjust actions of the INS in the cases of Carol Tsuji and Manuel Campos-Sevilla. We demand that the U.S. government grant political asylum to David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez, since deportation back to El Salvador is certain death. Furthermore, we are outraged at the INS' arbitrary and capricious behavior in first setting outrageously high bonds and then totally revoking the bonds. These people must be freed.

Feminist Women's Health Center  
Los Angeles

I demand the immediate release and all charges be dropped on the four revolutionaries and the two El Salvadorans be given political asylum. It's clear by your actions that this tour is very detrimental to the further terror and exploitation by the U.S. of the people of El Salvador. Your attempt to deport the two revolutionaries from El Salvador who face no less than torture and death at the hands of Duarte only further exposes your real intentions.

John R. Kent, M.D.  
California

We demand unconditional freedom for the four revolutionaries arrested by the U.S. government in their effort to stop the tour of the Salvadoran revolutionaries. U.S. imperialists hands off the tour. Political asylum for the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

141 Latinos, Iranians and Blacks from Los Angeles

We are outraged at your repression of the Salvadoran Revolutionary tour!

We demand:

- Stop deportation charges against David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez!
- Recognize their demand for political asylum!

—Drop charges against all four tour members!  
—Free the Salvadoran Guerrilla Tour

14 people at a conference of Western Association  
of Marxist Historians

We are lawyers in the San Francisco Bay Area. We support the struggle of the people of El Salvador. We feel it's important for people in this country to hear first hand about the struggle there and its implications for the present world situation. We feel the arrest of the Salvadoran speakers is a blatant effort to crush the revolution in El Salvador while propping up the bloody Duarte regime. It will not be tolerated by the people here or worldwide. Historically in the U.S. immigrants and minorities especially those involved in political activities are targeted for such persecution by the INS and other arms of the U.S. government. We demand the immediate release of and the granting of political asylum to David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez. Their speaking tour must proceed as scheduled. We condemn the bogus arrest and high ransom of the other two people traveling with David and Mauricio and demand their immediate release as well.

12 lawyers

Border Patrol  
101 2nd St. N.E.  
Miami, Oklahoma 74354

We are outraged at the arrest of David Antonio Mendez and Mauricio Emilio Henriquez. We demand that all charges be dropped immediately — deportation proceedings stopped — and the immediate granting of political refugee status!

Sri Lanka International Solidarity Committee

We demand the immediate release and the dismissal of all charges against Carol Tsuji and Manuel Campos. U.S. Imperialism — Hands off El Salvadoran political refugees!!

On with the National Speaking Tour of Salvadoran Guerrillas!!

Sri Lanka International Solidarity Committee

The seizing of the two El Salvadorans while on their national speaking tour only further proves the danger of exposure posed to the ruling class by these two brothers. Our rulers cannot have "their" backyard break free as they prepare for an imperialist world war to redivide the world. Think what you like bourgeoisie, the people will liberate themselves from your repression. Your attempts to hide the truth will backfire.

100 students at Portland State U.

# Deportation Threat

Continued from page 15  
find out how they should take up defense of the tour members. In Oklahoma too, the advanced forces in society have continued to rally, like the senior citizen who called in to a radio talk show to berate several backward callers: "How can you expect these people to understand what's going on in El Salvador — they still don't even know what happened in Vietnam!"

The high political stakes involved in these cases have brought forward people to testify in court as well. One Salvadoran youth, himself battling for political asylum and thus facing possible severe reprisals, went ahead to boldly testify as a defense witness about the conditions which drive thousands to flee his homeland and how Salvadoran refugees are treated in the U.S. A member of the Steering Committee of the National Immigration and Refugee Network exposed the inequities and discrimination Salvadorans suffer at the hands of the INS. The intense pace of the government's proceedings has failed to undercut this support, and in fact was increasingly viewed as another flagrant exposure of their political persecution of the tour members. Most recently, an attorney with the National Center for Immigrant Rights in Los Angeles has joined in this battle, filing a request for a temporary restraining order to try and prevent the INS from going ahead with the deportation hearing Feb. 9 in Dallas and calling for the granting of a change of venue to Los Angeles.

## The Issue of Political Asylum

The government has fought strenuously from the beginning to avoid the issue of political asylum, just as they have the tour, because it puts the politics of the defendants on center stage and gives the defense great initiative in spotlighting the actual political objectives of the legal attack. At first, in the transport case, they pretended the Salvadorans had never applied for political asylum at all. Later, when proof of their applications was established, they declared it "irrelevant" when they were unable to obtain a conviction in the trial, however, they began to search desperately for a new line of attack. In a Jan. 15 hearing on the defense motion to acquit, Judge Brett then floated the idea that the political asylum claim was not genuine and was not intended to be filed by the defendants except in the event they were arrested. (To even raise this argument the judge had to trample all over the government's own laws because in such a post-trial hearing he is not even supposed to hear new evidence much less suggest whole new legal arguments to the prosecution, which of course rapidly adopted the judge's new theory but still was able to come up with nothing.) One problem with this line of attack, however, was that the prosecution had already considered and rejected it as bogus several months ago! An L.A. INS official had interrogated the attorney with whom the applications had been filed, and based on the results the prosecution had stipulated (legally agreed) that there had definitely been a visit to an attorney's office Oct. 9 to file a political asylum application.

Having suffered a defeat in the transport case the government is certainly more determined than ever that the INS, the hated Migra which is today being wielded as an important instrument of U.S. foreign policy more than ever, will carry through this next decisive part of the attack. In doing so they will attempt to use political asylum as a critical part of their arsenal. Political asylum is routinely denied to Salvadoran political refugees — so far as every immigration attorney we've spoken with knows, the only Salvadoran ever granted political asylum was a general who was the former Chief of Security under the U.S.' former dictator Romero, who was ousted when Duarte came to power in the U.S.-backed Oct. 1979 coup! Though the INS widely proclaims that such decisions are made on a case-by-case basis "on individual merit" by local immigration judges, in fact the procedure is much more tightly controlled. Following an asylum hearing, the immigration judge forwards the papers to a central agency in Washington, D.C., which then basically determines the decision through its "recommendations." It

was on the instructions of this agency, the State Department's "Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs," that over 1200 Salvadorans were deported in one group last summer.

The imperialists are tightening this process even further (which is saying something, for the INS courts are generally akin to military courts). Following a landmark case won by the Haitian Refugee Center which decided that political asylum claims must be heard before deportation hearings, last October 12 (the same day as the tour members were arrested in Oklahoma coincidentally) the U.S. government revoked the section of the INS rules pertaining to the relationship of scheduling these matters. Thus the INS now has even more flexibility in deporting refugees without this kind of red tape slowing them down. Even these routine procedures are frequently ignored, though, as more than a few Salvadorans and Haitians have been deported prior to any hearing at all — many times simply after filing a political asylum claim.

This standard operating procedure of the U.S. government toward immigrants was given concentrated expression by the U.S. Border Patrol agent who stated the night of the arrests in Miami, Oklahoma, "Aliens got no rights." This is especially true of immigrants from countries "in the U.S. sphere" who know first-hand the crimes of the U.S. around the world — and it is all the more true of revolutionary immigrants from those nations. It is immigrants from those countries under U.S. domination who face systematic terror of U.S. immigration policy and who are sweepingly denied political asylum and silently shipped back to be executed, jailed, and tortured at the hands of various U.S. puppet regimes.

It is this systematic terror which is now being raised against the Salvadoran revolutionaries, to attempt to break their defiant internationalist stand in undertaking the tour and to send a message more generally to revolutionary immigrants that there is no escape from the power of the imperialists. In fact, a key reason why the government dropped the misdemeanor charge against the Salvadorans (failure to have "proper papers") in mid-December — a relatively petty charge — was to say basically, "Look, it is we who have the power to give and to take, to free you or to send you back to our hitmen in your homeland. Go along with us, stay out of revolutionary politics. Or else!" In fact, immediately prior to the opening of the transport case a court-appointed lawyer tried to get the Salvadorans to leave the country right away and to renounce all their revolutionary politics.

The message of the ruling class to revolutionary immigrants is also to stay away from revolutionaries and the RCP in particular in this country. That this is a key concern of theirs was recently illustrated by documents from their own political police which repeatedly portray an increasing sense of alarm over the line of the RCP and its ties with revolutionaries from other countries. One document, for example, took careful note of the fact that Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, spoke at an August 1976 national convention of revolutionary Iranian students and "criticized the regime of the Shah and pledged full support from the RCP for the (Iranian organization's — *RW*) plan to overthrow the Shah." The events in El Salvador today, in the midst of upheaval throughout Central America and in the heightening developments towards world war, no doubt make even more alarming to the political police the kind of internationalism the Salvador tour exemplifies and is spreading.

Having now been forced to acquit those charged with illegal transport, while going full steam ahead with the deportation hearings, the government also no doubt hopes to appeal to the chauvinistic prejudice that it is bad enough for legal residents to condemn U.S. imperialism, but it is intolerable for "illegal aliens" to do so. They are seriously underestimating the already existing and growing sentiment and activity against their heinous crimes around the world.

This continued attack poses great challenges to the advanced political forces at this time. The situation in the INS courtroom will be fraught with contradictions for the bourgeoisie. Reagan's own new nominee for INS commissioner, Alan Nelson, openly states to the press he "isn't very knowledgeable about international conditions" and cannot comment on why some people from Poland are allowed to stay in the U.S. while political refugees from El Salvador are deported. Sure. He is acutely aware that any comment other than this bald-faced lie would be widely viewed as an outrageous obscenity. Yet in prosecuting the two Salvadorans, the INS will be forced to operate openly on exactly this exposed ground: to argue that they are here not for political reasons, not because of the vicious repression they like thousands of others would face in El Salvador were they to return, but for economic reasons — the rationale that is standard for denying a political asylum to immigrants from the U.S. bloc countries. And then, who should know better that they are here for precisely political reasons than the U.S. government, which not only is the driving force behind the political terror in El Salvador, but has also hounded them because of the political stand and exposure they have done around El Salvador.

The two Salvadorans facing deportation hearings Feb. 9 know all about the "benefit of U.S. aid and assistance," and they have taken up the responsibility of helping to reveal its barbaric essence. They have done so knowing full well the risks involved, because they saw the pressing necessity for the national speak-

ing tour and because they were absolutely confident of others stepping forward against U.S. imperialism. For those many people in this country who despise and seek to end the rule of the U.S. over vast sections of the globe, and who refuse to behave like "typical chauvinist Americans," learning from, struggling alongside, and defending these revolutionary brothers is of the utmost importance.

We are calling on the thousands of people who have already taken up support around these cases and thousands of others — all those who see the stakes involved here in the context of spiraling events in the world today. The intensity and furious pace of the government's moves in this deportation proceeding require nothing less than broad and immediate response from throughout the country.

Telegrams demanding immediate change of venue, no deportations, and political asylum for David Mendez and Emilio Henriquez should be sent to:

William Chambers  
District Director, INS  
Room 6A 21  
Federal Building  
1100 Commerce St.  
Dallas, TX 75242

Contributions and copies of telegrams should be sent to:

Salvador Tour Legal Committee  
11 East Latimer St.  
Tulsa, OK 74106

For latest information and to contact the Legal Committee by phone:  
(918) 592-6843.



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## A WORLD TO WIN

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All Countries"

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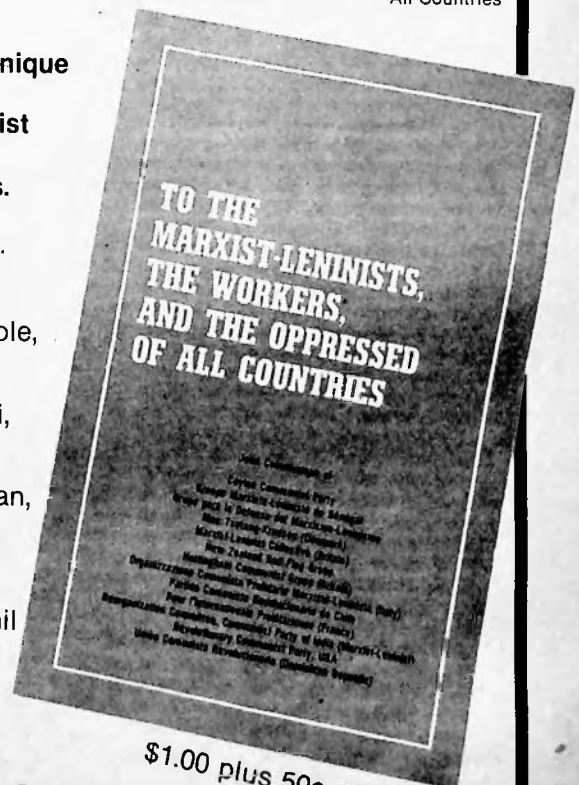
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Continued from page 1

Well, maybe he just means no U.S. bodies. What are the far more than 49 officially acknowledged "advisors," not to mention countless CIA agents, mercenaries, "businessmen" and businessmen, "labor leaders" and every other reactionary they can find to try to prop up their domination, if not Americans? It would seem that Mr. Duarte's and the U.S.' calls for non-intervention in El Salvador should be looked at with at least a small degree of skepticism don't you think?—especially at the very time the U.S. is openly threatening more "fraternal aid" to the "forces of democracy" in El Salvador in the form of guns, guns and more guns and people that fire them as well!!

Reagan certifies that the U.S.' puppet junta is making "concerted progress" in the "field of human rights"—while it is discovered that the junta's armed forces have massacred between 700 and 1,000 women, children and old people in the province of Morazán within the last month, and that over 2 dozen people were dragged from their homes in the middle of the night and murdered by the security forces in a San Salvador working-class suburb. U.S. officials admit that there are "problems" with "undisciplined" military men, but say that more U.S. aid will solve that by "professionalizing" the military; this is proven to be true as the very professional U.S.-trained and U.S.-led Atlacatl Battalion is shown to be responsible for the Morazán massacre. No problems there. Asst. Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas Enders, simply points out that it was all the guerrillas fault that all the people got killed because "The guerilla forces did nothing to remove them from the path of battle."

But wait—there's much more. For example, the "land reform"—remember that? The infamous counter-insurgency program that has already been exposed to millions around the world as resulting in the murder of tens of thousands of peasants and the enslavement of thousands more. State Department and AFL-CIA officials are once again trumpeting its glories. Even the CIA-organized Salvadoran Communal Union (UCS), set up as a recruiting ground for the government's paramilitary group ORDEN, sent a report to the junta in December declaring the program a complete farce and complaining of the murder and evictions by government soldiers. But that didn't stop the State Department from describing the program as "the most revolutionary land reform in Latin American history"; a few days later, UCS officials cooperatively sent a letter to the head of the American Institute for Free Labor Development praising the promises made by the "moderate" junta that all this would be changed.

### Voices from the Quagmire

Seeing as how all the above is old garbage that has long ago made millions in this country and worldwide gag, it would appear that these latest regurgitations are designed to appeal to, and mobilize, only the most fervent worshippers of U.S. propaganda; the rest of us are supposed to shut up and go along with the program while it is crammed down our throats. But not even the bourgeoisie is doing that. It is striking that at the same time as the administration is moving to step up U.S. military posture in El Salvador and flooding the airwaves with bellicose sabre-rattling that a number of powerful voices, including important media mouthpieces, are loudly disagreeing with some of the recent government moves and actually engaging in a little bit of exposure of some of the more blatant, and by now widely exposed, crimes of the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador and some of the more blatant and widely-exposed lies that have flooded out of the U.S. propaganda mills in the past. Great care is, of course, being taken not to go too far in this and especially such opposing voices are careful not to expose their own role in the sordid dealings of U.S. imperialism in Central America. While a big part of this new-found and oh-so-hypocritical outrage is to deflect some of the widespread opposition to U.S. domination of El Salvador and further U.S.

involvement there and to actually serve as a cover for whatever actions that the U.S. might take there, clearly some among the ruling class have some bones to pick. There are indeed some sharp, tactical disagreements at this particular point over how to proceed in a situation where there is a lot on the line not only in El Salvador and Central America but on the whole world scene.

Suddenly, *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *New York Times* are actually reporting on the routine murders, massacres and even the guerrillas' support among the population. Congressman Gerry E. Studds is whining that "we are creating revolutionaries" and "this country is being led into a quagmire." One thing none of them are exposing is any mention of the real role in all this being played by Señor Duarte—because he fits in very crucially with what they are currently advocating. Within the media generally, and among the crop of liberal politicians who are trying to jump to the head of all opposition to U.S. actions in El Salvador, is the constant theme that poor Duarte is being *oppressed* by the military, that he really has no power, and is just an all-around good-guy—albeit a helpless pawn—trying to make the best of a bad situation. In fact, Senator Dodd said that if Duarte tried to negotiate with the opposition, "his temporary allies would slit his throat."

But what the liberals are fervently standing for is best described by their most elegant current advocate, a Kennedy-type liberal and the former ambassador to El Salvador, Robert E. White. Interviewed on PBS, White said, "I would convict the Reagan administration of a lack of imagination, a lack of creativity... (the opposition leaders) want an opportunity to negotiate with Napoleón Duarte—with our help. And Napoleón Duarte wants to negotiate, but he's prevented from negotiating by the hard-lining military officers who want to kill their way to victory." White added that he was strongly against the latest military aid to El Salvador because it was "throwing good money after bad." Reminded that just a little over a year ago, when he was in San Salvador, he was frantically screaming for more military aid to the junta, White insisted that that was different. "Remember, at that time we were pursuing an intensive human rights policy." True, the junta had only murdered about 15,000 Salvadorans a year ago, very different from the 15,000 it murdered in the year since.

### The Deepening Crisis in El Salvador

The sending of more U.S. arms to El Salvador and current turmoil within the U.S. bourgeoisie over what to do next has been sparked by the junta's desperate need for more "aid," a series of successful guerrilla attacks against important junta positions, and the essential demise of the U.S. election scheme to take place in El Salvador on March 28—all coming together at the same time and in the context of an overall deteriorating political, military and economic situation in that country. In terms of the U.S. "aid," the deadline for Reagan's "certification" of the junta's "human rights improvements" is at hand. This is the result of a bill passed by Congress last year to require all further appropriations to El Salvador be accompanied by the president swearing up and down on a stack of bibles that things are getting better down there. As noted earlier, Reagan had no trouble complying with this, although it virtually guaranteed that there would be an outburst of bourgeois debate over the question.

At the same time, the guerrillas launched a successful attack on Ilopango Air Base, wiping out half the Salvadoran air force—whose equipment is made up of helicopter gunships and French jetfighters obtained through Israel. The "urgent" \$55 million that Reagan is sending is to pay for new helicopters and possibly jetfighters to replace those that were destroyed. In the days following this announcement, massed guerrilla attacks in Nueva Trinidad, Corinto and El Salvador's fourth largest city Usulután, have resulted in sharp setbacks for the junta's troops. It is clear that both pro-Soviet imperialist and pro-Western imperialist forces in leading positions of the opposition Democratic Revolutionary Front (DRF) and its armed wing the

Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), are viewing these actions mainly as part of their campaign to upset the U.S.' scheduled elections and add to their calls for negotiations with the U.S. for some kind of settlement that will give them a share of the power in El Salvador without upsetting the appellation any more than necessary. Still, the masses are taking the opportunity, with whatever weapons they can get their hands on, to fight against the junta's troops in hopes of actually overthrowing it. And it is clear that the guerrilla forces have been getting the active support of virtually the entire rural population in some provinces.

For the U.S. and its junta, these battles concentrate the deeper deterioration of their military position in El Salvador, despite continuous escalations over the past two years. The "crack" Atlacatl Battalion, directly led by U.S. "advisors" and equipped with the most modern counter-insurgency weapons and techniques, has been lumbering back and forth across the countryside massacring women, children and old people—but it has been unable to inflict any major defeats on the guerrillas. Its commander complains that in much of the country, "everyone can be the enemy." Overall, army morale is extremely low. Reports have surfaced in the *New York Times* and elsewhere of captured soldiers requesting escorts to their homes when they are released by the guerrillas, so the army wouldn't know they were no longer being held; these soldiers have heard stories of army officers killing their own troops after they had been freed by guerrillas. Defections and desertions among the government forces are on the rise. The very fact that the U.S. is being forced to train 1,600 officers and foot soldiers in the U.S. is itself an exposure of the state of the El Salvador armed forces.

Politically, the junta has become more isolated with each passing day. It is now clear that the U.S.' desperate effort to breathe life into its elections is a dismal failure. The U.S. had hoped to pressure whoever in the DRF they could get to go along with these elections on strict U.S. terms, of course. These terms included disarming. But having nothing to offer them except more of what they are already fighting against, the U.S. has been unable to get any defectors from the opposition to participate. But without the involvement of some DRF opposition leaders these elections have become a meaningless charade with no chance of garnering support either within El Salvador or internationally, a fact which is beginning to be publicly admitted by the U.S. bourgeoisie, including by Deane Hinton, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador. Canada, which previously supported the elections, has begun to hint that it may withdraw its support—and other imperialist allies of the U.S. may well follow. At the same time, infighting among El Salvador's U.S. compradors has reached a new peak. The head of the National Conciliation Party, which ruled the country under U.S. direction from 1961 to 1979, was the first to begin the electoral campaign; he was assassinated the very next day.

Interpenetrating with all this is a deep-rooted economic crisis throughout Central America. With economies totally

dependent upon imperialism, every country in the region is suffering from massive unemployment, rising inflation and food shortages. Prices for the agricultural exports that are still the overwhelming mainstay of their economies, subject to the fluctuations of the world imperialist market, are very low, while imported energy costs have remained high. Massive public debts have been incurred to try to deal with this, but skyrocketing interest rates and no possibility of repayment have combined to dry up loans from U.S. and other imperialist banks. Demand for the light industrial products that the countries of the region trade with each other has gone way down as the recession has intensified, causing numerous factories to close—thereby exacerbating the problems. All this has intensified the political struggle, throwing more and more forces into open opposition to the various regimes. The situation in El Salvador and Guatemala is the sharpest; but even Costa Rica, the neo-colonial "model of stability" in the region, is experiencing what the *New York Times* calls "labor unrest." As the struggles in the region intensify, the economic situation is getting worse; the British periodical *Latin America Weekly Report* estimates that \$22 billion in capital has fled from El Salvador in the past two years, both because of declining profitability and fear of revolution. The gross domestic product in the region has dropped almost 25% in the past three years.


At the same time, pro-Soviet revisionist forces in the DRF/FMLN led by the big shots of the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and other pro-Soviet/pro-Cuban leaders are maneuvering to take advantage of the political turmoil all this has unleashed in order to advance their own interests—and those of their imperialist backers. In particular at the moment, they are avidly pursuing the "historic compromise" strategy, seeking to unite with bourgeois forces who are more aligned with the U.S. and other Western imperialists and bring such an alliance to power (or a portion of power). From this position the pro-Soviet forces aim to further maneuver to gain influence and prepare to seize the whole state apparatus when the time is ripe.

### Caught Between the "Undesirable" and the "Unacceptable"

Faced with all this, it is clear that the U.S. must do something. They are losing ground and the opposition is gaining. But abandoning El Salvador is out of the question; it would be too costly both in terms of the region and in terms of the world overall. For El Salvador has become a focal point—among many—in the world. And it is the world overall that is ultimately at stake here. Having "instability" in its "own backyard" is hardly conducive to waging and winning a world war. The U.S. has a pressing need to bring the opposition to heel in El Salvador, including keeping out the pro-Soviet forces.

On the other hand, in escalating things they take the risk of intensifying other serious contradictions. For one thing, there are divisions over Central America between the U.S. and its Western Euro-

Continued on page 18



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# A NIGHT ON THE TOWN WITH REVISIONISM

Continued from page 5

a "new way" of turning a revolutionary crisis into a constitutional crisis, wrapped in the radically different garb of the CP's state capitalism. A "someday" where the CPUSA's lifelong devotion to a different form for class oppression might find willing partners in a section of American capital which would see it in their own imperialist interests to arrive at an imperialist peace in line with the overall international interests of the Soviet bloc. It is that "someday" that keeps the real spark of life and ambition alive in the political carcass of the CP. And it is that "someday" which even today provides the logical thread in what otherwise would appear as the silliest of silly reformism and cornball bombast. Remember, the problem is simply this Reaganite clique, and their tie-in to warlike sections of monopoly. It is this particular clique of evil men running things. And the answer, of course, is a new form, a *planned* form, run by another particular clique, which

## Imperialist "Liberators"

Continued from page 7

of course, was in U.S. hands. The U.S. refused to remove its army until the Cubans were forced to agree to permanent U.S. bases on the island and—get this—the right for the U.S. at any time "to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence". This imperialist prerogative was to be exercised no less than four times between 1900 and 1933, whenever the Cuban people rose up, to preserve Cuba as a giant sugar plantation and "playground" for the U.S. rulers. (Today, of course, Cuba is dominated by another imperialist "liberator"—the Soviet Union. But that, also, is another story.)

### THE PHILIPPINES

Perhaps an even more engaging example of the U.S. imperialists' desire to "emancipate" oppressed peoples from the yoke of Spanish colonialism was the Philippines where the first action of the Spanish-American War took place. No sooner had war been declared than Commodore George Dewey sailed against the Spanish naval base at Manila and blew the rickety Spanish fleet of ten ships out of the water in a couple of hours. Dewey had established contact with Filipino nationalist leader Emiliano Aguinaldo, bringing him to the Philippines from China on a U.S. warship. The Filipino people had risen in revolt several times against Spanish rule and now, with promises of liberation, the U.S. secured the help of the "insurrectos" in driving out the Spanish. Aguinaldo's army already controlled most of the Philippines and had surrounded Manila when 11,000 American troops arrived and barged through Filipino lines to assault the city.

The U.S. attempts to portray themselves as the "friend of the oppressed" was illustrated by a famous speech on the "Philippine question" delivered in 1898 by Republican Senator Albert Beveridge as a justification for annexing the Philippines: "Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage and extortion from which we have rescued them? . . . It is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization." The bottom line of this concern for "rescuing liberty" in the Philippines was, however, as Beveridge eloquently put it (drawing on the best tradition of American principles): "The rule of liberty, that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. . . . We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. . . . We are the ruling race of the world. . . . We but pitch the tents of liberty westward. . . . We only continue the march of the flag. . . ."

President McKinley cynically describ-

Gus Hall would be all too eager to offer trained candidates for.

And it is this logic of "someday" that permeates and guides their criticism of the Reaganite abandonment of the real "American national interest." And guides Gus's in-house criticism of the present honchos of America's Labor Movement. This non-revolutionary "socialism" of the prospective state capitalist speaks the language and logic of its natural social base—the American labor aristocrat. And Gus hammers at events from their point of view, basing himself on the labor aristocrat's profoundly conservative ideals of common sense, self-interest and nationalism:

Who are the leaders of America's unions serving, Gus asks, when they join the anti-Soviet chorus on "faraway Poland"? "I've noticed Kirkland is coming here to Chicago to speak next month—and what's he going to talk about? Poland! Why isn't he going to talk about the crisis hitting American workers!" Gus caresses the word "American" with

his tongue, as it tumbles out of his throat, lingering for just a fraction of a second on the "M" and the "R"—and gets the desired response . . . a spontaneous wave of applause ripples from the CP crowd, forcing him to stop for a moment.

"Who do the sanctions on Poland serve?" he asks, pointing to the thousand unionized Caterpillar workers pounding the streets in Illinois now that a Soviet trade deal has fallen through.

And as for these noble Polish strikers, Gus reminds us not once but three times that Polish workers continue to get paid when they strike. Right, Gus, obviously they're not hurting anything like the American PATCO strikers! Give 'em the riflebutt, Gus!

No rational system can allow trade unions to question power. No rational men can allow disruption, work stoppages, unauthorized organizations. Certainly no ruling party "of the workers" can allow irresponsible actions and demands. Right, Gus, bust these troublemakers in the ass. A place for everything, and everything in its place—that's what socialism's all about, Gus!

And now back to what *really* matters, Gus. America.

And now back to Reaganism . . . Gus launches into a discussion of how things are reaching the point of "The

U.S. army developed the Colt .45 automatic pistol which was designed for the express purpose of knocking down the determined rebels who wrapped themselves in bamboo shields as they overran U.S. troop encampments, fighting with bolos and machetes. Responding to the charges of brutality back home from outraged supporters of Philippine independence, U.S. Secretary of War Elihu Root declared: "The war in the Philippines has been conducted by the American army with scrupulous regard for the rules of civilized warfare. . . with self-restraint and with humanity never surpassed."

An interesting footnote to the Philippines campaign was the fact that many U.S. soldiers had their eyes opened to the nature of U.S. imperialism—particularly those among the four Black regiments that saw duty there. As in Cuba, the Black soldiers were outraged by the term "nigger" routinely used to describe the Filipinos and were strongly influenced by rebel agitation which pointed to the prevailing lynch-mob terror in the U.S. and the long history of the oppression of

Black people by the U.S. rulers. Among the Black soldiers sent to the Philippines there emerged militant opposition to the war as what was described as "an unusually large number" refused to fight, deserted, and in some cases turned the guns around. The most famous of these was David Fagan of the Negro 24th Infantry who wholeheartedly took up the cause of Filipino liberation, accepted a commission of Captain in Aguinaldo's insurgent army and for two years wreaked havoc upon the American forces—even launching stinging attacks on his former regiment.

After three long years, the Filipino resistance was temporarily broken with the capture of Aguinaldo—though it was not until 1916 that the southern portion of the islands where the Moros continued to fight on were officially declared to be "pacified." To this day, however, the fierce struggle for national liberation against U.S. imperialism continues in the Philippines, the better part of a century since the U.S. rulers so generously "liberated" it from the dastardly clutches in its Spanish imperial rivals.

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## U.S. Guns

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pean allies, who have both a keen interest and considerable influence in El Salvador including political ties with some forces in the FDR. In El Salvador, a number of these same allies for their own reasons are favoring a "negotiated settlement." The Western European imperialists are bound to be upset by further U.S. escalation right now which can only cause further difficulties in the Western bloc. This has everything to do with the current situation in Poland, and the fact that the U.S. has been decidedly unhappy at the response of its allies to that crisis. The *New York Times* duly noted in arguing against a Salvadoran escalation, "The crisis in Poland makes the situation more urgent. Secretary of State Haig found it mind-boggling that Europeans could condemn America's double-standard in reacting to martial law in Poland and El Salvador. The reproach plainly touched a nerve. Let the sting move him." In addition to this, the U.S. faces opposition to stepped-up military moves broadly in the U.S. and these moves risk further political turmoil in this country.

In a very real sense the U.S. is damned if it does and damned if it doesn't in El Salvador. As an ABC correspondent pointed out, "There are no good choices for the Reagan administration in El Salvador. As is so often the case, the choice is between the undesirable and the unacceptable." Coming to a critical juncture in the Salvadoran crisis, the administration has decided for now to continue its "hard line," refusing any kind of real "negotiated solution" which would politically strengthen opposition forces including especially the pro-Soviet revision-

ists. This does not, however, rule out a change in policy at some point after further guns and muscle are applied to pry cracks in the FDR and get better terms for such negotiation.

The liberals argue that *this* "hard line" is "unacceptable," especially because they don't feel it will solve the problem anyway, given the underlying crisis that will only have the effect of worsening things in the bloc. Thus, they argue for the "undesirable," a "negotiated settlement" now—a step which will please the Western Europeans, temporarily anyway. And of course, the "hard-liners" can come back with the fact that things are not going to get more together, pro-Soviet political influence in El Salvador will only screw up the works, the Western alliance will get worse anyway, etc. In the final analysis whatever tactical moves they make will be at best of very limited and temporary value. Such maneuvers can do little to solve the underlying contradictions involved here.

There is in fact no way for them to avoid getting further enmeshed in all these deep contradictions, and through this escalation of guns and worry, the U.S. is standing more nakedly exposed than ever in El Salvador and worldwide—a fact which should be taken full advantage of. Clearly, there are those in El Salvador—and not just in the junta—that are trying to prevent the masses from achieving their aspirations, exactly because it conflicts with their own interests, and those of other, more powerful backers. But the crux that imperialism is caught in in El Salvador holds out great promise for the future advancement of the revolutionary interests of the Salvadoran people as part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle.

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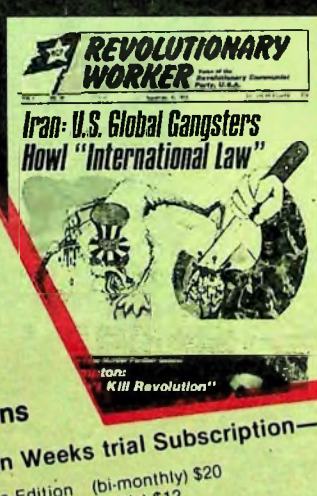
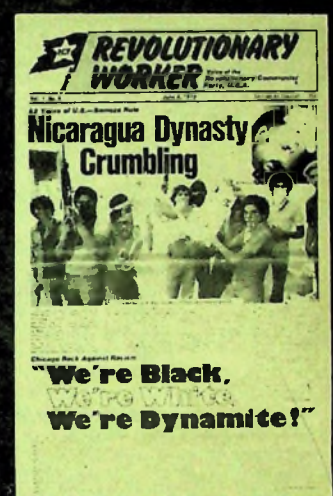
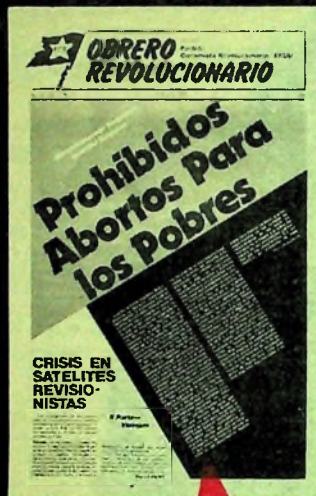
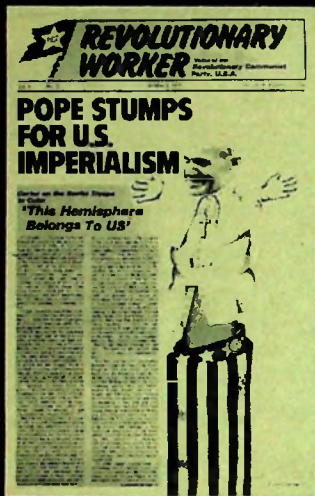
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Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Crisis in Poland; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England . . .) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into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

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