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The show was set up for State Department spokesman Dean Fischer's office. Carefully selected and briefed in advance, the responsible journalists eagerly anticipated the arrival of their story. State Dept. officials mingled with the reporters, laughing and joking over the public opinion coup they were about to pull off. At precisely the right moment, puffed-up and cock-sure that he had the script down pat, Fischer led the prisoner into the room. As the prisoner began to deliver his message in Spanish, all the reporters sat back in their chairs, relaxed and smiling — all, that is, but the one who understood the language; at first, he looked puzzled, but his expression soon changed to gloom. As the opening statement finished, the interpreter hesitated and looked over at Fischer — but, like most of the assembled press, the State Dept. spokesman doesn't understand Spanish either. Somewhat impatiently, he ordered the interpreter to begin. As he proceeded with his translation, the corners of all the American mouths in the room took a dive, and the State Dept. officials huddled nervously in the corner. In a steady, clear voice, 19-year-old Orlando José Tardencillas Espinosa from Nicaragua turned the tables on the U.S. imperialists, tearing up their script and delivering lines they just can't comprehend.

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Nicaraguan Youth Turns the Tables

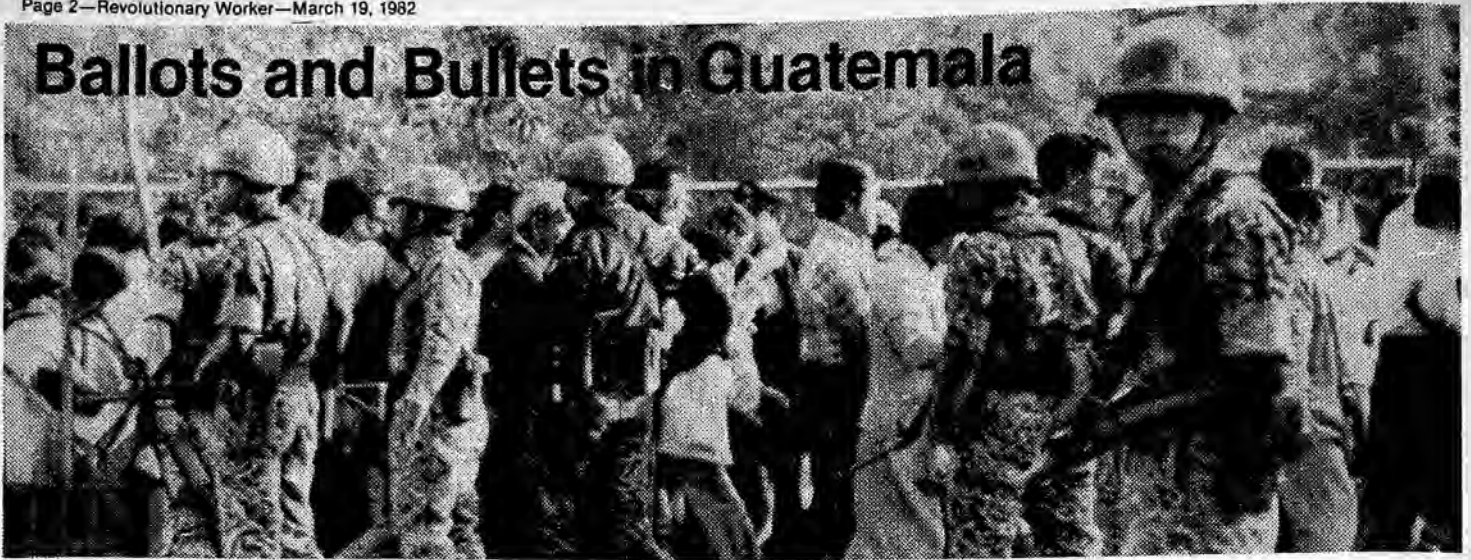
A Delicious Little Hint of the Future

**PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM
IN ACTION AT THE PARIS COMMUNE**

p. 6, 7, 8

Paris Communards burn the guillotine in Voltaire Square.

Ballots and Bullets in Guatemala



Going to the polls in Guatemala.

To the incessant crackle of machine-gun fire and the sinister hiss of CS tear-gas—both rather common sounds in many Latin American countries oppressed by U.S. imperialism—the U.S.-backed military junta held its “long awaited” presidential elections in Guatemala on March 7th. The U.S. rulers had been banking on a somewhat “dignified and orderly” electoral atmosphere, on an election they could pass off as “relatively fair.” In preceding weeks, the media had painstakingly set the stage for the much-heralded possibility that unlike previous elections this one would be different—a clean bill of health for the bloody dictatorship of their Guatemalan puppet regime. As election day dawned, the U.S. media optimistically began to rattle off pre-packaged and glowing news reports about “happy Guatemalans lining up in droves to vote,” etc., etc. But just as the newsreels had begun to roll, they were just as abruptly cut off and revised as the whole hoped-for-scenario blew up in their faces.

No sooner had the junta's candidate, General Anibal Guevara, been declared the victor in an instant replay of the 1974 and 1978 elections (where the military's main man won—or else) than his three political twins that were running against him—two open right-wingers and one liberal right-winger—screamed that the elections were a “scandalous fraud” and ludicrously yelled that “We had hoped for a process that would be pure, democratic and clean, but disgracefully, it was not so.” The three then called for a rally by their respective supporters in front of the National Palace to present a letter of protest to outgoing President Lucas Garcia. The demonstration was promptly attacked by the national police and army troops who beat, teargassed and arrested their reactionary brethren (with three apparently wounded by automatic weapons fire). And in an accompanying public relations effort that undoubtedly had the U.S. rulers crying in their martinis, eight foreign journalists were clubbed and/or detained along with Geraldo Rivera and an entire ABC camera crew—when, for Chrissakes, they were only trying to help!

However, that the elections were “marred” by this unfortunate incident was only the capper in what might have been called a parody of a farce—i.e., a parody of the American-style elections

farce which is, after all, bound to assume a more naked form when transplanted to the “colonies.” Indeed, elections in the imperialist countries are comedy enough as people “freely” go to the polls to choose which imperialist representative will administer over them the armed dictatorship of the bourgeois state. But in oppressed countries like Guatemala this translates into a “farce squared” as the masses are herded into the polls at gunpoint to vote for their choice of reactionary candidates.

All this is, of course, in the finest traditions of Guatemalan government which has been legally organized (on the books at least) as a democratic republic ever since the original Constitution of 1879! In fact, Guatemala has been one of the few countries in Latin America that has consistently held elections for the purpose of bestowing a democratic blessing on an endless succession of military governments. And this electoral heritage has been upheld even at the most unexpected of times by Guatemala's U.S.-backed rulers. For instance, right after the CIA-directed invasion which overthrew the government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954 (ending a brief ten year interlude in which two successive nationalist bourgeois governments took a variety of measures, including the expropriation of land owned by the United Fruit Co., that weakened the hold of U.S. imperialism), the U.S.'s new man, Carlos Castillo Armas, actually held elections right in the streets where the masses were encouraged to cast a “yes” or “no” vote for the new regime, orally and in public... while staring down the gunbarrels of Armas' mercenary army! In the course of the next two months, the Armas regime proceeded to murder some 8,000 peasants in the process of re-tightening the U.S.' grip.

Thus it is not too surprising that, in this latest election, along with the military's handpicked protégé, Gen. Guevara there were three “opposition” candidates—all of whom ran on similar law-and-order programs and vowed to destroy the guerrilla movement. Perhaps most notable among these democratic choices was former vice president Mario Sandoval Alarcon who ran as a candidate of the incongruously named far-right National Liberation Movement (MLN). He is the man who is credited with founding the Mano Blanco (White Hand)

right-wing death squads for the U.S. in the mid-1960s and he presently brags that he controls a private army of 5,000 mercenaries.

In an attempt to legitimize the elections and inject a bit of “balance,” one of the other candidates, Alejandro Maldonado Aguirre, was nominated by the Christian Democrats and “strongly urged” to run by the Reagan administration as a “moderate” alternative. This may indeed have taken some strong urging since in the past two years at least 130 prominent members of the Christian Democrats have been rubbed out by the junta. Unfortunately, however, even the media had to admit that this “moderate” was actually a far-right conservative, a former member of the MLN which ran the above-mentioned death squadder. Imagine the pressure on the average Guatemalan voter—decisions, decisions!

All things considered, it was really not all that much different in form (not to mention content) from the electoral process here in the good ol' U.S. of A. In the best traditions of U.S. presidential elections, all the candidates wore bullet-proof vests and travelled around in armor-plated limousines accompanied by contingents of machine-gun toting bodyguards. Well, perhaps it was a *bit* more extreme... Among the more exciting moments in what one diplomat described as a “no-holds-barred campaign” were the following:

*** The early removal by assassination of two potential candidates, one the former mayor of Guatemala City and one the former foreign minister.

*** A week before the election, passing cars fired a rocket and tossed grenades into the home of the Christian Democratic Party's secretary-general.

*** On Feb. 6, Guevara's campaign manager was assassinated.

*** Guevara's security chief was blown to pieces when a bomb destroyed his armor-reinforced vehicle on election eve.

*** The day before the election, the house of Sandoval Alarcon was riddled with automatic weapons fire.

To our knowledge, none of the guerrilla groups fighting the government has claimed credit for any of these particular campaign efforts—though they did take the opportunity of the elections to step up attacks on army convoys and outposts,

etc. One radio news report in the U.S. managed to capture the essence of Guatemalan electoral politics as it matter-of-factly began: “With elections approaching in Guatemala, the level of violence is rising...”

U.S.' Guatemalan Commitments

If anything, the sight of various rival factions of the Guatemalan oligarchy vamping on each other and on their most loyal supporters was a vivid confirmation that they are in deep trouble, beset by splits over how to best hold their deteriorating setup together. And aside from revealing sharp conflicts between competing sections of Guatemala's comprador bourgeoisie, undoubtedly these cracks mirror some tactical divisions among the U.S. rulers as their Guatemalan “possession” is being wracked by revolutionary struggle. Recent developments in this country—which serves as a strategic northern-most buffer between Mexico (which is, after all, right on the U.S. border) and the revolutionary upheavals elsewhere in Central America—have set the Reagan administration to whining that Guatemala may well be the next “domino” to fall in the region.

In the past few years, the armed struggle of the Guatemalan people, particularly among the Indian peasantry who make up 50% of the population, has accelerated rapidly—drawing inspiration from the 1979 Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the intensifying revolution in El Salvador. Just days before the election, the four main guerrilla groups in Guatemala announced they were merging into the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). That two of the groups instrumental in pulling this merger together (The Guerrilla Army of the Poor and the Guatemalan Labor Party) are closely tied to the Soviet imperialists and their Cuban front-men also indicates that, as is the case in El Salvador and Nicaragua, there is a strong revisionist-dominated current in the movement.

To create more favorable conditions for dealing with all this, the U.S. has been hinting that it might be wise for the junta to put on a show of cleaning up its act, perhaps by installing a civilian government in place of outright military rule, etc. As the *NY Times* remarked just before the elections: “American officials

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Bob Avakian on...

'60s PEOPLE

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of Revolution magazine (issue No. 50). Earlier excerpts in this series dealt with questions about the party (RW issues 136-144) and about anarchism (issues 145-6). Bob Avakian's remarks are edited from a tape. Other topics from these tapes will appear in coming issues of the RW.

Q: A lot of the questions I had in reading over "Conquer the World..." and thinking about it were about what went on in the '60s and then in the '70s. We both became involved in the '60s during the Black liberation struggle, the anti-war movement and the Cultural Revolution in China. A lot of other forces, other people, were involved then too besides us. Then in the '70s there was a big lull, and we were among really very few who kept carrying forward the banner of revolution; as the movements subsided a lot of other people went ahead and got jobs and raised families and went off and sort of did their thing. I'd like to hear your thinking on that and the whole period of big upsurges of the '60s, and then the '70s and then get into—with the historic conjuncture shaping up—get into the role of these "'60s people"; as we said before, there are people who were active then and who still have aspirations. There are still a lot of them who think about what happened then and want to change things. How do you see things developing and the role they are going to play?

BA: I think it is important to grasp how profoundly people in the '60s were rebelling against the utter bankruptcy of the system as a whole, the society, the people that rule it and their values, and also against the official "opposition," the "Left"—their utter bankruptcy. These were the kinds of sentiments that were widespread even among the intellectuals and certainly a lot of the youth, including many youth from the proletariat.

This went along with what was happening internationally, which overall set the context and gave the major impetus to what was going on in the U.S. Within the U.S. itself there was the tremendous upsurge of the masses of oppressed nationalities, in particular the Black people; we've analyzed a lot of the basis for that upsurge which also was rooted in the international situation and some changes that were brought about even in the tactics of the U.S. imperialists and the way that they had to deal with the "problem," as they saw it, of the Black people when they were trying to institute neo-colonialism in place of colonialism in big parts of the world. At the same time there were the changes in the economic situation and the material conditions of the Black masses, the change from

the sharecropping system in the South to more advanced production relations and the tremendous migration that was occasioned by that, the transformation of millions of Black people into proletarians concentrated in the urban ghettos. Along with all that were the ideological factors; all this combined and gave rise to a tremendous upsurge.

Then there were the youth. Of course, among the Black masses, too, it was the youth who were at the forefront, going back to the civil rights movement, especially if you are looking at who were the ones that took the initiative, who were the ones in the forefront of the action. But also this was true of the youth more broadly. Speaking in particular of the white youth, including from among the proletariat, but especially the intellectuals, they were going through some changes—both in terms of their material position, and especially in the whole way in which society was being shaken and everything was being challenged. You were being confronted with choices and the world was going up. All around the world, including in the U.S., there was tremendous upheaval and upsurge; everything of convention, everything established was being challenged. The word "establishment" (especially among the intellectuals, but more generally) became a word that combined the idea of the "ruling class" and "the way things are" and "those who protect that." It's not a thoroughly scientific term, but it did capture the essence of a lot of what people were rebelling against. The world was being turned upside down at that point. The utter bankruptcy of the Establishment and of the Established Order was something that revolted people and that they revolted against.

The way the bourgeoisie tries to sum this up, as we talked about earlier, is to distort or leave out the international dimension, and they do the same with the question of the more basic masses' revolt within the U.S., and in particular the revolt of the masses of Black people—like in the movie "The Big Fix." I saw this other movie, "A Small Circle of Friends." And while there may be references to other things, they focus in on—"A Small Circle of Friends"—by which they mean campus radicals, students who became somewhat radicalized, I believe at Harvard. In general it all focusses around them, and the real thrust of the time within the U.S. which gave everything its revolutionary impulse and pushed it as far as it did go, that is, the uprising of the Black masses and the revolutionary currents and the revolutionary tendencies and organizations that developed there, are either cut out all together, or certainly distorted in a grotesque kind of way.

War Communism

On the other hand if you just take the youth, the intellectuals, and so on, who were involved at that time, the bourgeoisie tries to present this as if these were people

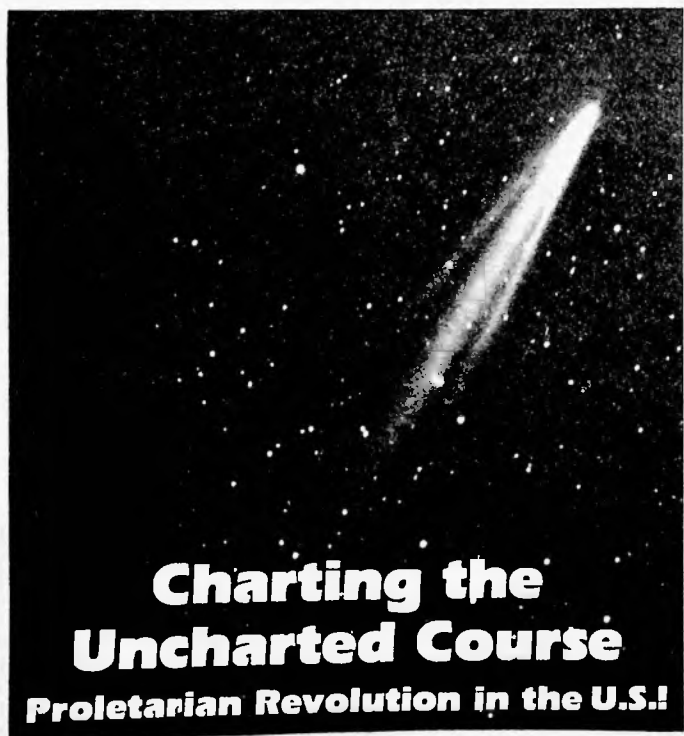
who were alienated, yes, but really just an updated version of the early '50s, of "Rebels Without a Cause," James Dean and his Mercury '49—middle-class kids who have everything so good that they just get bored, except now, because there are some "causes" around, they latch onto this or that cause. Or even if they present it a little bit more "sympathetically" in one sense, that is, that these young people really have become "caught up" in larger questions and causes but sooner or later they have to face reality: the society is still there, they have to settle down, they can't spend the rest of their life rebelling and living this kind of...

Q: Idealistic.

BA: Yeah, the idealism, but particularly thinking they could live this marginal life, you know, "a whole generation can't be marginal." While on the one hand this line is a clear perversion on the part of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand there's an aspect of truth to it, even though perverted of course by the bourgeoisie. Mao talked about it from another angle. He talked about how up in the mountains they all ate out of the same bowl, they shared everything they had. They didn't have any wage system or anything else. And then, he says, we won victory and came down out of the mountains and things got worse in a sense. Mao's not literally saying that they shouldn't have won and they shouldn't have come down out of the mountains and they shouldn't have administered the whole country. But he's saying that it wasn't possible in those conditions to maintain a kind of "war communism", because they weren't at war. The war communism was basically correct and corresponded to the period when they were waging guerrilla warfare in the mountains, but when they came down into the city they had to administer the whole country and there were all these different class forces and strata that they had to take into account. They had to win over a number of intellectuals and unite with them and make concessions to them to a certain degree without making concessions of principle. Life became a great deal more complicated. And when their cadre were no longer living in the same threadbare sandals and clothes in the dead of winter and eating out of the same bowl, but were administering the country, it was a different story too. And so, for a number of reasons, war communism could not be maintained.

I think there's a certain analogy there, to the situation coming off the '60s. I wrote a paper for a Central Committee meeting several years ago, some parts of which have been published, which we refer to as the "Thoughts" paper and which was initial thinking that I was trying to do on precisely some of these kinds of questions, trying to get a more historical sweep to our view of the process of proletarian revolution, as well as a more sweeping view of its fundamentally international

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**Charting the
Uncharted Course
Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.!**

NEW PAMPHLET

Reprinted from a section of the report from the 1980 Central Committee Meeting of the RCP, USA

"The point is to challenge old, economist conceptions of what an insurrection and civil war is. We have to get away from straight-jacketing preconceptions of the sort that the enemy is 100 families and that millions upon millions will surround them (after a round of successful general strikes). In 'Guerrilla Warfare' Lenin wrote, 'The forms of struggle in the Russian revolution are distinguished by their colossal variety as compared with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe. Kautsky partly foretold this in 1902 when he said that the future revolution (with the exception perhaps of Russia, he added) would be not so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people...'"

"Historically, having a majority working class has always been viewed as an advantage for the revolution. In a certain sense, it is. But isn't there some strategic significance to this fact? Isn't it more difficult to win this whole class to a revolutionary banner? Doesn't it mean we have to look at the strategic significance of the stratification within the working class itself, even within the industrial proletariat?"

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Northern Ireland



May Day 1981, U.S.A.

Nicaragua

May 1st
“Let the youth
be out there
in the
forefront ...



Soweto '77



Soweto 76

W. Germany

and let the
old people
not be far
behind”

Bob Avakian
May Day 1981

MID EAST: CONSENSUS AT GUNPOINT

The U.S. press in recent weeks has been percolating speculation about the possible imminence of a major Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon.

The Feb. 15th edition of *Time* magazine, quoting unidentified Cabinet-level Israeli sources, claimed that a decision to launch a broad scale assault against the PLO and Syrian positions in Lebanon was narrowly postponed only after Prime Minister Menachem Begin overruled an invasion plan approved by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. On March 5, Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times* wrote in a front page Times analysis that "Reagan administration officials are increasingly fearful that a sizeable Israeli assault on southern Lebanon has become virtually inevitable. . . ."

"Moreover, Washington's assessment is that, over the next few weeks, the political and military situation in the region will provide Israel with the most opportune moment for an attack that would deal a severe blow to the Palestine Liberation Organization and possibly to Syrian forces as well." Smith also quoted several American officials as "agreeing" that "it's no longer a question of whether Israel will attack, but only when."

"The American analysis," Smith writes, "is that Mr. Begin will calculate that he can calm any political uproar here and elsewhere by ordering a fairly swift Israeli military operation and by carrying through with the final Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai scheduled on April 25th."

"Coming after an Israeli offensive in Lebanon," said one American official, "the Sinai withdrawal will look like a conciliatory move. So the timing is politically propitious."

"In addition, Washington reasons that the Israeli leadership sees the Arab world in a very weak position to counter an Israeli attack."

"President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, who is estimated to have 25,000 troops in Lebanon, faces domestic unrest and must worry about reports that Iraq and Jordan are covertly aiding his foes."

Moshe Arens, Israel's new ambassador to the United States, claimed according to a Feb. 26th article in the *Washington Post* that "Palestine Liberation Organization forces in southern Lebanon, bolstered by a buildup of heavy weaponry, seem increasingly likely to take 'some provocative action' that will force Israel to retaliate militarily."

"You might almost say it's a matter of time," Moshe Arens told reporters in assessing the likelihood that this fragile ceasefire in effect along the Israeli-Lebanese border since last summer might be shattered soon."

Arens reiterated these "warnings" on March 17th in a nationally televised interview on ABC News Nightline. Arens charged that the PLO and Syria, backed by the Soviet Union, were swallowing up Lebanon.

On Tuesday, March 16th, Drew Middleton, the military correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote that the PLO had armed itself with "a steady stream of long range guns, rockets and mortars. . . all produced in the Soviet Union." The effect of Middleton's article was to give credence to Israeli claims that the PLO military presence in Lebanon constitutes a real threat. "At the moment," Middleton quotes "unnamed Western and Israeli military analysts" as saying, "the ground in southern Lebanon is too soft—a result of winter rain—to permit extensive deployment off the main roads. But they said that the military and political situation in the area would appear to indicate early action, even at the cost of some delays in moving troops through the countryside."

It is often difficult to predict particular U.S. tactics in the Middle East, because one must peer through a haze of ambiguous signals generated by the United States' so-called "two-track" policy aimed at forging a regional strategic consensus. Nevertheless, there is growing

evidence that the U.S. may be preparing to give a discreet and "deniable" green light to a major military initiative in Lebanon. Although the U.S. has in the past had real objections to certain Israeli military moves (such as the bombing of Beirut, Lebanon, last summer) which conflict with broader American strategic objectives, the clear opportunity which some imperialist "analysts" claim to see now in Lebanon — an opportunity to wield the Israeli might to deal pro-Soviet Syria and the PLO — serious military setbacks — may be exactly in accordance with those objectives.

It is interesting to note that on March 3rd, the *Washington Post* quoted "authoritative Israeli sources" as stating that U.S. officials, including U.S. Special Envoy Philip C. Habib, had expressed a "community of interests" with Israel and the pro-Western Arab states in weakening Syria's influence in Lebanon. Israeli Ambassador Arens, interviewed by Ted Koppel on March 17th, said that "70% of Lebanon has been taken over by Syria and the PLO in conjunction. . . . we have tried to settle these problems by negotiation. . . . but these negotiations have not been very successful." Arens is referring to Habib's so-called "shuttle missions" aimed in part at removing the Syrian anti-aircraft missiles from the Bekaa Valley.

As far as the PLO's position in southern Lebanon is concerned, U.S. spokesmen have been corroborating Israeli allegations of a large influx of Soviet arms to PLO units and signs of PLO preparation to organize into a conventional military force. Both official and semi-official "off the record" comments have generally been carefully designed not to appear as offering a carte blanche justification for Israeli military counter-measures. But the U.S. would be far from averse to scoring a quick military triumph over the PLO that would weaken their political position — and even those within U.S. imperialist ranks who favor a policy of opening direct negotiations with the PLO might be persuaded that it is best to negotiate from a position of greater strength.

There is no question that the PLO must be taken into account by the U.S. as a powerful political force with important connections and influence not only with the Arab world and the Soviet bloc, but with the West European imperialists and around the world.

A November, 1981 profile in the *Middle East* magazine describes the organization as " . . . a highly complex political and military instrument. . . . PLO fighters can field a developing tank force against the Israelis in South Lebanon and use their flying skills in several Arab air forces. . . . PLO doctors treat military and civilian patients in ten PLO hospitals throughout Lebanon, PLO diplomats deal with a growing range of international issues, PLO managers run an increasingly sophisticated network of manufacturing facilities and plantations, and PLO investment analysts place reserve funds in development projects throughout the Mediterranean basin and beyond." The PLO, which receives \$250 million annually in a direct subsidy from Saudi Arabia and other Arab states, has its own oil company incorporated in Western Europe, and hundreds of millions more locked up in plantations and real estate. There are 120 PLO diplomatic or consular missions around the world — more than any existing Arab state. According to the *Middle East* magazine, "When world markets were in chaos after the outbreak of the gulf war in September 1980, it was the PLO that managed to get oil for 'at least 4 African nations,' according to PLO sources."

The PLO is still an umbrella organization comprising various factions, many of which represent the political interests of Syria, Iraq, or other Arab states. But despite growing friction with Syria and continued challenges from various quarters within the Palestinian movement, the

Al Fatah grouping headed by Yassir Arafat continues to play the dominant leadership role.

Arafat has pursued a course of cultivating close relations with the Soviet Union while doing nothing that might jeopardize the "gold seam" of funds flowing to the PLO from the Arab oil capitals. At the same time, Arafat has over the past years, demonstrated increased "flexibility" — i.e., willingness to deal with U.S. imperialism under the right circumstances.

Thus the PLO, like virtually every other element in the Mideast equation, which includes the revolutionary initiative of the Palestinian people, presents the U.S. with contradictory problems and possibilities: should the U.S. continue to try to politically isolate and thwart the PLO, viewing it as a Soviet surrogate, or try to bring the Palestinian bourgeoisie represented by Arafat, which already has extensive dealings with West Europe and the pro-U.S. Arab regimes, into the U.S. camp?

There has, of course, long been a gap between the public U.S. position of "non-recognition" of the PLO and the extensive private conversations that have occurred between U.S. and PLO officials going back a number of years. But over the past year or so, there have been signs that at least some sections of U.S. imperialist opinion believed it was time to "go after" Arafat's vote more vigorously. And Arafat's initially favorable response to such clinkers as the "Saudi initiative," a peace proposal which implicitly extended recognition to the state of Israel, seemed to encourage these forces. Speculation has increased in Arab journals on the question of whether Arafat is "about to pull a 'Sadat'." The Syrian faction within the PLO has increasingly challenged Arafat's leadership, and there have been persistent reports that Syrian president Assad is maneuvering for Arafat's overthrow.

But despite all this, Arafat's ties with Moscow are not a matter of speculation, but a palpable fact of the present. The Soviet Union is clearly way out in front in the battle for influence and control of any PLO-led state that might emerge in the future; and in the near term, the matter of military and territorial control of Lebanon is one of grave strategic concern for U.S. planners.

Yassir Arafat was interviewed on Nightline on March 16th. Ted Koppel's tone was respectful and even cozy, indicating that Arafat's image is now being adjusted for U.S. mass consumption. But what was perhaps most interesting about the interview was Arafat's boast that Egyptian president Mubarek was "not another Sadat" and would prove to be a "true friend of the Palestinian people." Arafat even made a special point about Egypt's military might as an important potential asset to the Palestinian cause.

The effect of Arafat's remarks, and Koppel's pointed follow up questions, was to give the impression that Mubarek might indeed be planning on a "sharp turn" away from Israel following the April 25th withdrawal of Israeli troops from the last occupied section of the Sinai peninsula, according to its obligations under the 1978 Camp David accords.

It is well known that Mubarek's U.S. advisors themselves have been counseling him to patch up his relations with the Arab world; it is even possible that the U.S. might not be opposed to a slight thaw in Egyptian-Soviet relations. But at the same time, however much the U.S. may believe that Mubarek is their man, it must not be imagined that there is no concern within the Reagan administration over the potential for a resurgence of Soviet influence in Egypt coupled with an attempt by Egypt to wriggle out from under the U.S. baton. After April 25th, an important piece of leverage insuring Egyptian good conduct — the prospect of the return of the Sinai — will no longer be in U.S. hands. To be sure, the U.S. will

have plenty of remaining leverage; but nevertheless, the realization is growing among many different political interests in the Middle East that there is increasing potential for some shifts and realignments. If it is recalled that Egypt was close to a Soviet neo-colony before 1974, and that the Soviets still have connections and a base within the Egyptian bourgeoisie, clearly U.S. fears are not utterly without foundation.

Despite all of the ranting about strategic consensus, and the numerous Haig and Weinberger shuttles through the region, U.S. observers detect an undramatic but steady gain in Soviet influence in the Arab world. The Soviets have "diversified their portfolio," scrapping their old habit of putting all of their money on one horse — and more often than not losing, as in the case of Egypt in 1974 — with a policy of cultivating business-like and "mutually beneficial" relations with a wide spectrum of regimes and political forces. According to an analysis in the *Middle East* magazine, an important feature of recent Soviet policy is "sensitivity to conservative Arab opinion." While the Reagan administration publicizes Soviet ties to Libya and Syria, it is less widely known that the Soviet Union carries on a varied and active diplomacy with several of the oil shiekdoms, and recently concluded an arms deal with Kuwait. King Hussein of Jordan has threatened his U.S. sponsors with the spectre of large purchases of Soviet armaments unless the U.S. provides the fighter planes he wants. The response of the "conservative" Arab regimes to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, after initial protests, was muted; in the spring of 1981, the president of the United Arab Emirates "startled some Western observers by saying that Soviet troops were in Afghanistan at the invitation of the legal government."

But though such Soviet forays into the U.S. camp must be kept in mind, it is nonetheless the case that at present the major Soviet stake in the Arab world rests in its relationship with Syria. During the so-called Syrian missile crisis in the spring of 1981, triggered when Israel demanded the removal of Soviet-supplied Syrian anti-aircraft missiles from the Bekaa Valley, the USSR issued clear, if cautiously worded, statements of support for Syria. The Soviets are anxious to maintain a reputation for making good on its client commitments. An October, 1981 analysis in the journal *Current History* states that despite complications in the Soviet-Syrian relationship, Syrian leader Assad "has apparently gained the following: assurance from the USSR of support in the event of a war with Israel over Lebanon. . . ; help, if needed, to suppress domestic opponents; backing for Syria's opposition to the Camp David peace process. . . ."

Strong Soviet support for Syria obviously must loom large in both U.S. and Israeli calculations of the pros and cons of mounting a major operation in Lebanon that would touch seriously on Syrian military interests. Yet the U.S. may believe that, handled correctly, the operation can succeed despite Syria's "Soviet umbrella," and could then reap major political benefits for the sputtering "strategic consensus" throughout the region.

So, it does seem possible that the U.S. believes that Israel's military might can once again prove instrumental as a means of advancing broad U.S. interests in the region. At present, of course, no chickens have been hatched, or come home to roost, from this proposed gambit, and the vagaries of regional politics inevitably shuffle all "firm predictions" into the circular file. But it may safely be said that it's doubtful the U.S. will attain any of its key objectives along the road to war with the Soviet Union without a series of violent and coercive adjustments of the political situation; and Israel figures to loom large in any such U.S. plans. [1]

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION AT THE PARIS COMMUNE

March 18, 1871: The Parisian National Guard, composed of workers and masses of the city, seizes power in Paris as the French national government flees to Versailles. Ten days later the Paris Commune is proclaimed—the first dictatorship of the proletariat. This was an event unprecedented in history. Though the proletariat had participated (most and even formed the main fighting force in previous European revolutions (most notably in 1848), this was the first time it had seized power in its own name and for itself. A new type of revolution had broken through the fabric of bourgeois society. One aspect of this breakthrough of the new was the Commune's spirit of internationalism. Both the proletariat as a class and its revolution are essentially international, and this character was manifest in its first dictatorship, as revolutionaries from many countries (some pictured here) participated; and one of the Commune's papers in an article (reprinted below) proclaimed, "France is dead, long live Humanity!" The same internationalist spirit, deriving from the Commune's proletarian character, can be seen in the decision to pull down the Vendôme Column. Erected by the first Napoleon in honor of his victories, and fitted out in 1864 with a Caesar-like statue of Napoleon in Roman dress by Louis Napoleon in an effort to shore up the second empire by recalling the Napoleonic legend, the monument was widely hated as a symbol of bourgeois national chauvinism, and was torn down as such.

This was the first proletarian revolution, born more or less spontaneously from the strivings of the workers and masses of Paris. Although Marx was in touch with some of



DECREE ON THE VENDÔME COLUMN
Paris, April 12, 1871

The Commune of Paris,
Considering that the imperial Column of the Place Vendôme is a monument of savagery, a symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international law, an abiding insult of the conquerors to the vanquished, a perpetual attack upon one of the three great principles of the French Republic — fraternity;

DECREES.

Article First.

The Column of the Place Vendôme shall be demolished.

Following is an account of The Destruction of the Vendôme Column

An enormous crowd fills the Rue de la Paix. Above their heads, against a beautifully clear sky — a Floreal' sky — the column soars. The red flag flies from the railing at the top, gently flapping against Caesar's face. Three cables hang from the summit, linked to the capstan that will later revolve and pull the monument towards it.

A murmur rises from the crowd. Has the column's last moment arrived? 'Quick, let's go', said Vermeersch. 'It looks as though it's going to start.'

As we begin to plough our way through the seething mass of people we try to catch what those nearest to us are saying. There are few recriminations; the dominant mood seems to be one of anxiety about the crash.

'It will burst the sewers of the Rue de la Paix,' says one man.

'What if it knocks down the houses in the square?', says another.

Of the column itself, of Napoleon, the Great Army, Austerlitz, not a word.

The shops are closed. Strips of paper have been pasted across the windows to protect them against the shock.

At last we reach the barrier that fences off the square. We show our cards to the sentry . . .

The hall of the Ministry of Justice is

packed with people; the balcony is already full. Through the wide-open windows we have a view of the square and the multitude of uniforms. The sun is burning hot on the cobble-stones. Leaning against the column railings is a young commander of one of the many battalions, the Avengers, the Defenders or the Turcos, with his red tunic and triple row of glittering braid.

At the corners of the square the brass instruments of the bands gleam in the sunlight.

Below us stand five or six members of the Commune: Miot, with his tall stature and long white beard; Ferré, a little man with a black beard hiding most of his face, an aquiline nose and very black eyes that are soft and yet gleam strangely from behind his glasses.

On the pedestal of the column half a dozen men are having an animated discussion, looking up inquiringly at the place where the column has been partially sawn through.

'We need a bit more sawing,' orders one of them.

The saw goes into action, biting a little further into the column and letting off a puff of white dust.

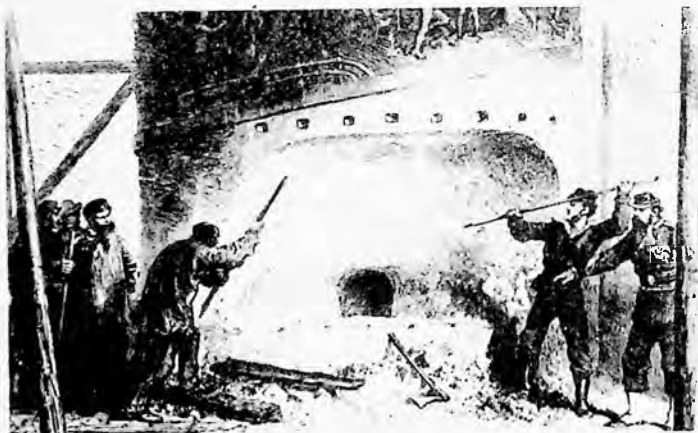
'All right, we can pull now.'

The time is half past three. They give the column a tug — Crack! The capstan breaks and the cables slacken. Murmurs of disappointment. The word goes round that people have been injured.

New pulleys are fetched . . . Over an hour's wait.

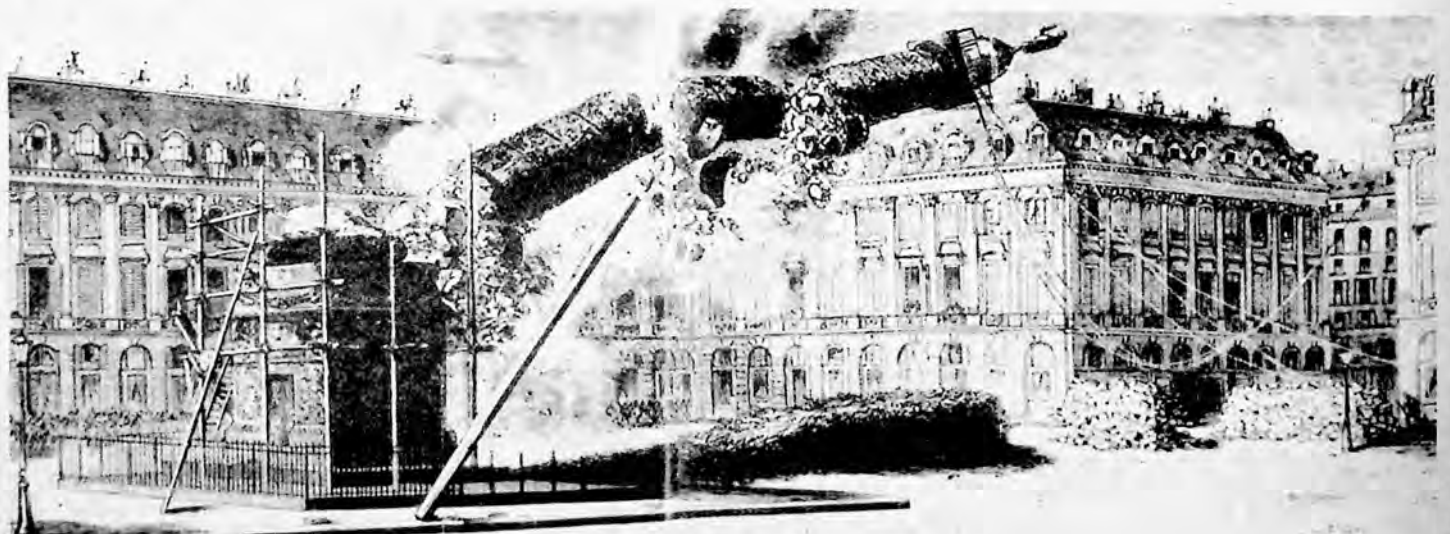
Someone wheels the astronomers' telescope into a safe place; it had been left out in the open and was about to become the innocent victim of the demolition.

A quarter past five. The men on the pe-



1. The eighth month (20 April to 19 May) of the republican calendar instituted in 1793.

2. Vermeersch and Vuillaume (the author of this extract) were two of the three editors of the popular Communist paper, Le Père Duchêne.



its leaders both before and during the Commune, it contained no one who could be called a Marxist. Even those who were members of the First International, in which Marx played a leading role, tended more toward syndicalism and various forms of non-Marxist socialism. This new class—the proletariat—and this new thing on history's stage—proletarian revolution—still bore the marks of the old which the revolution was breaking through, and this was apparent in relation to the question of the nation. Marx had criticized the leaders of the proletariat in France (including those belonging to the International) some months before the Commune, warning that their internationalist principles were in danger of giving way to French patriotism, and the Commune did show such tendencies. They were given a strong push by the circumstances in which the revolution occurred.

The occasion was an armistice in the Franco-Prussian War—a war entered into by Prussia as a means of completing the unification of Germany; under Prussian leadership and by France under Emperor Louis Napoleon as a means of consolidating his increasingly shaky regime. But the Emperor was soon captured along with an entire French army, at Sedan. The bourgeoisie hastened to declare the end of the empire and the beginning of the third French republic in the face of the accelerating rebelliousness of the masses, especially in Paris. The Prussians began a siege of Paris while the French ruling class strove secretly to make peace as quickly as possible in order to deal with the "forces of anarchy" in the capital city. An armistice being concluded, they moved to "restore

order" in Paris, but the crucial step of removing the cannons of the National Guard failed, touching off a revolt, and the Paris Commune was born.

The fact that the bourgeoisie readily capitulated to the Prussians in order to put down the uprising gave powerful impetus to the idea that the Communards were better representatives of the nation than the reactionaries at Versailles.

Even Marx and Engels—who were true internationalists and made the profound point that "the proletarians have no country"—were not completely clear of this tendency. The further development of history, especially with the appearance of imperialism and the accumulating experience of the proletarian revolution, would make even more clear how sharply the line must be drawn between proletarian internationalism and the outlook of "the nation first"—in particular within the imperialist nations.

But what is remarkable is not the tendencies toward nationalism in the newly-forming proletariat. What is truly remarkable and significant is the fact that this still primitive class, and its just-founded revolutionary science, came upon history's stage in such splendid internationalist style! What a promise for the future! What a challenge for today!

"What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians! . . . History has no like example of a like greatness." So wrote Marx to Kugelmann about the Communards. Nothing like this revolution had been seen before. □

destal are driving wedges into the incision at the base of the column. The monster refuses to budge. To entertain the crowd the bands play the Marsellaise. The Rue de Castiglione and the Rue de la Paix are a swarming mass of people hemmed in by the barriers.

The bands suddenly stop playing. An officer has climbed to the top. He takes down the red flag and replaces it with a tricolour. A shudder runs through me—the column looked as though it were shifting.

The officer has disappeared now, he is climbing down the inner staircase. What if the column were to fall right now with him inside? No—here he is.

I let out a sigh of relief; what an insane thought to have! Ah, the column is still standing firm; they will obviously tauten the cables in vain.

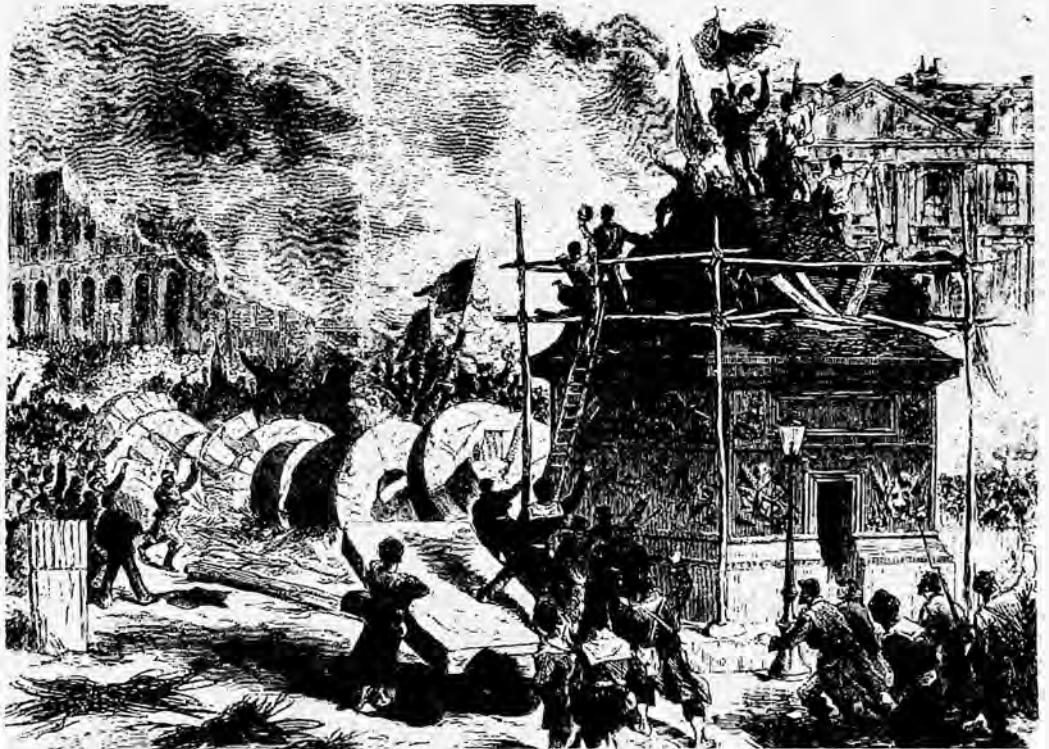
Then suddenly, there it is, like the flap of a gigantic bird's wing, a huge zig-zag through the air! Ah, I shall never forget that colossal shadow falling across my eyes!

Flop! A cloud of smoke.

All is over. The column lies on the ground, split open, its stony entrails exposed to the wind. Caesar is lying prostrate and headless. The laurel-wreathed head has rolled like a pumpkin into the gutter. The bronze statue of Victory is intact. By evening it had disappeared.

Vuillaume, *Mes Cahiers rouges au temps de la Commune*.

(Reprinted from Edwards, *The Communards of Paris, 1871*. Cornell University Press.)



The following article was written by communard Jules Nostag (Jules-Gaston Buffier) in *La Révolution Politique et Sociale*, No. 3, April 16, 27th Germinal (Organ of the International-United Sections of Ivry Station and Bercy)

COUNTRY—HUMANITY

"Our country" — a word, an error!
 "Humanity" — a fact, a truth! Invented by priests and kings, like the myth God "the country" has only been used to confine human animals in exact limits, where they can be shaved and bled for their masters' benefit, under their eyes and in the name of their unclean fetish.

When the worm-eaten wood of the throne began to crack and looked like collapsing, the shepherd, or rather the butcher of his people made an arrangement with his dear brother or cousin over the way, and the two crowned wretches flung against each other stupid crowds who — infatuate mobs — slew each other and cheered for glory and their country while their masters chuckled in their beards.

After the bloodletting Caesar, who kept the score, called off the slaughter, embraced his dear brother the enemy and drove back to his fold his decimated flock, incapable for months of annoying him at all.

The trick had succeeded.
 To-day we have had enough. Peoples are brothers. Kings and their valets are the only enemies.

Enough of blood and folly. Peoples, your "countries" are but names. France is dead, humanity remains.

Let us be men and prove it!
 The Utopia of Anorchasis (sic) Clootz becomes true. Nationality — an error and but the chance of birth — is an evil. We will destroy it.

Birth here or there, a mere accident, changes our nationality and makes us friends or enemies. Let us reject this silly lottery — a farce in which we have always been the butts.

Let "country" become an empty word — a valueless administrative division — our country is wherever life is free and work is done.

Peoples, workers, light is arising: let our blindness end. Down with tyrants and despots!

France is dead, long live Humanity!



PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN ACTION AT THE PARIS COMMUNE

It is twenty-one years today since the people of Paris raised the red flag, a fighting challenge both to the French tricolor which waved over Versailles and to the tricolored German flag over the Prussian-occupied forts.

The red flag: with it, the Paris proletariat raised itself to a height from which both conqueror and conquered equally dwindled from view.

What constitutes the historic greatness of the Commune is its eminently international character, its bold challenge to every sign of bourgeois chauvinism.

Engels, in greetings to the French socialists on the 21st anniversary of the Commune, dated March 17, 1892



Anna Jaclard. Daughter of a Russian general, Jaclard went to Paris, and fell in with the Blanquist revolutionaries. Exiled with her husband Victor to Switzerland, she joined the Russian section of the International. She helped to edit the daily La Sociale during the Commune, and became a member of the women's education commission. Afterwards she escaped to Russia and eventually returned to Paris where she died.



Leo Frankel was the son of a Hungarian doctor. Arrested in Germany in 1864, he met August Bebel, the German follower of Marx, in prison. Freed, Frankel went to London to meet Marx. He later went to France and became a jeweler in Paris. He was a member of the International, and played leading role on the Commission for Labor and Exchange during the Commune. Afterwards, Frankel escaped to London, and was active in the socialist movement in Hungary until arrested, and then again in Paris, where he died and was buried, as he wanted, "wrapped in a red flag, flag of the international proletariat."



Jaroslav Dombrowski was the son of an impoverished Polish aristocrat. He went into the Russian military and joined in an attempted Polish uprising against Russia in 1863. Captured, he escaped in Moscow before being deported and went to Paris. Widely seen as the ablest military commander of the Commune, he was killed fighting the Versailles troops in the Commune's last week.

Elisabeth Dmitrieff was 20 years old in 1871. Daughter of a Russian nobleman, she married a Colonel to escape Russia and study in Switzerland, where she joined the first International. She went to London to meet Marx, who sent her to report on what was happening in Paris in early 1871. During the Commune she organized the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris as a branch of the International. After the fall of the Commune, Dmitrieff escaped back to Russia; there she married a revolutionary who was condemned to deportation to Siberia, where she died.



A comrade from Turkey at the Paris Commune.



Walery Wroblewski was the son of a petty Polish aristocrat. He joined the Polish uprising of 1863. Wounded, he escaped to Paris, where he worked as a printer. He was active in the Committee of the Union of Polish Democrats. Wroblewski joined the Parisian National Guard and was active in military matters during the Commune. (Indeed, many Polish exiles living in Paris joined the National Guard and later the Commune, including the five Okolowicz brothers, one of whom—Auguste—was a close companion of Dombrowski.) After the Commune, Wroblewski escaped to London and became the corresponding secretary for Poland in the Council of First International. Later he returned to France. His name, Lenin said, "is indissolubly linked with the great movement of the proletariat in the nineteenth century."

Last Week for Translations, Criticism of Draft May Day Call

Since we published the first draft of "An Internationalist Call to May First Action" by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA one month ago, it has appeared in 16 languages—in Aleut, Arabic, Chinese, Creole, Dutch, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Oromo, Polish, Sinhalese, Spanish and Turkish. The final version must appear in many languages in early April, and this is the last part of March. We are calling on people right now to broadly take up discussion and struggle over this call, to send us suggestions and criticisms soon, including criticisms and comments on the various translations, and to translate the draft call into even more languages for publication next week.

Atlanta: Fighting in "No Everyday Way"

The simmering anger at the state's "solution" to the Atlanta Black youth murders has boiled up several times over the past two weeks into skirmishes with the Atlanta police. Tense confrontations have centered around the distribution of the proclamation, "Only the People Can Close the Case," (reprinted in last week's *RW*). The proclamation is aimed at both the murders and the verdict in the Wayne Williams trial; it is a sharp call for action against these outrageous attacks against Black people.

Several so-called "trouble spots" in downtown Atlanta have been the focus of the unfolding battle around this proclamation. Since January these spots have also been the focus of a series of massive police sweeps called "Operation Clean-Up" that have resulted in the arrests of over 750 people, mostly Black men and youth. The ideological clampdown that swept the country at the end of the Williams trial has been coupled with stepped up police repression in Atlanta. The authorities have been dead-set on enforcing their verdict, coming down hard to do it, starting well before they even had a jury to proclaim it. But in recent days their clampdown has been taking some licks of its own.

On Friday, March 12, a number of youth at the busiest downtown MARTA (rapid transit) station took up the call of several revolutionaries, picked up two banners, and marched through a portion of the downtown area calling on others to join. Chants could be heard for blocks, "The whole thing's a cover-up, the whole thing stinks!" One of these youth brought his own chant, "Wayne Williams trial was just a show, All the people in Atlanta know, Don't matter if you're white, Don't matter if you're Black, We got to get together and fight this attack!"

As the march converged back on the starting point, where hundreds of people were waiting for buses, the cops moved in. They arrested a well-known Black revolutionary and a white member of the RCYB, both of whom had been arrested only two days earlier at Atlanta Junior College for the same activity.

As 200 people circled, the situation threatened to get out of control. All the uniformed cops sped away. One of their superiors was overheard screaming, "We got to get out of here."

The arrested youth were hit with three counts each on charges ranging from creating a turmoil, assault, battery, and abusive language, to obstructing an officer. They were put under a total of \$2800 bond.

The scene at the MARTA station was electric. Dozens of people took copies of the proclamation to get out. Meanwhile, several people gave their names to be witnesses for the revolutionaries. Others headed for the phones and called the phone number on the proclamation to report the busts. The core group in the march struggled with even more people to continue on. Several took up this challenge in the face of the police attack.

Activities continued for many hours. The police got a further taste of the deepening anger sometime that night, when someone spray-painted the front of their Task Force office, "28 + — You're Guilty!" In several other areas of the city, the proclamation was posted.

The word was out. That MARTA station was getting a reputation as the place to be to throw this attack right back in the faces of the authorities. Several youth who had missed the struggle but heard about it and wanted to make sure it continued showed up there the next day looking for the revolutionaries. That night, Saturday, the focus of activity shifted over to the Omni entertainment complex, a huge convention center hotel that is a favorite hangout for youth all over the city. The Omni was the abduction site several times for the murderers of the

Black youth. The cops sweep through it every night at 7:00 p.m., curfew time for 14-year-olds and younger, throwing out or arresting anyone they want. As the activists began their work in the packed game room, the cops stood by, afraid to make a move against them or any of the other youth. Two activists who were caught outside that area were escorted out of the building by a security guard who told them, "You're not going to do to us what you did at AJC" — a reference to the fact that the arrests at Atlanta Junior College had only been possible after a tumultuous 40 minute debate among 50 students. Word of the proclamation and the activities around it had spread quickly, but officials sensed the mood of the youth around this game room and no arrests were made that night.

As the MARTA station became a center of debate and resistance each day, the RCYB and some of the youth who joined up on Friday fanned out to new areas — a high school, neighborhoods (including Techwood Homes, where the "bat patrols" had been formed) and back to AJC. There a small group of students had taken the proclamation and posted it all over campus after they had heard about the arrests.

Then on Wednesday, March 17, the police decided to attack again at MARTA. The number of people coming there

looking for action was growing. As one man put it, some were there who wanted to take this on in a "no everyday way." The RCYBers were back on the streets, and as people were gathering to hear them rap, two motorcycle pigs roared right up into the crowd to arrest them once again. Only this time, the tension was hotter and the anger deeper. At one point a fight erupted with the cops, and the Black revolutionary was temporarily yanked from police hands. Individuals in the crowd demanded that the revolutionaries had the "right" to be there. It was obvious the cops didn't think so. A chant by 50 people began, "Only the people can close the case..." Another 150 people gathered around them.

All through the crowd people were yelling at the cops. A Jamaican Black man, dressed in a business suit, shouted, "You come out with guns and think you can stop people. It's the same thing they do in Britain. But you're gonna lose in the end!" A Black youth slammed the cops, "Why couldn't you catch the murderers!" One cop yelled back, "We don't have to explain anything!", loudly

threatening other arrests. Then he and his fellow pigs got the hell out of there as fast as they could.

Four people had been busted this time around, and slammed with a total of \$3800 bond and ten ridiculous charges, including littering, profanity, and obstructing MARTA, with a few counts of battery thrown in. Revolutionaries were told the next day at the MARTA station that a small group of youth were now hanging out there with the aim of stopping the cops from making any more arrests.

As this struggle continues, the political terrain in Atlanta is changing. The state is resorting to increasingly heavy-handed tactics to try to force the people to accept their demented version of the Atlanta murders. They are beginning to be met head-on by some of the people who will never, never find this acceptable. []

MAY FIRST

Put the Stamp of the International Proletariat on

NEW YORK

ATLANTA

L.A. Volunteers Needed

Correction

There was an error in the introduction to the "Statements in Support of the Mao Tsetung Defendants" printed in issue No. 146. The introduction listed a number of individuals and organizations in addition to those whose statements were reprinted and said that all these had statements to the court. In fact, the Black Front, Washington D.C. and At-United Front, Washington D.C. and Attorney Leonard Weinglass were unable to send statements to the court or the Speak-Out held outside court, but expressed their solidarity. []

Funds Are Needed Now:

- To send & support volunteers in these focal cities
- To print the Call for May Day in final form
- To build for a great leap in revolutionary preparation on the First of May

Contributions can be sent to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654 or to RCP in your area (see page 2)

Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Damián García!

Red Flag Over the Alamo, March 20, 1980

The Internationalist Call to May First Action begins, "World war and revolution... the clash of these two trends marks the approach of May 1st, International Workers Day. This sets the stage — and the stakes — for the actions of revolutionary workers in every country." Resounding across the stage is the echo of the action of three revolutionaries, including Comrade Damián García, on March 20, 1980, who scaled the crumbling walls of the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas. On the roof of the Alamo

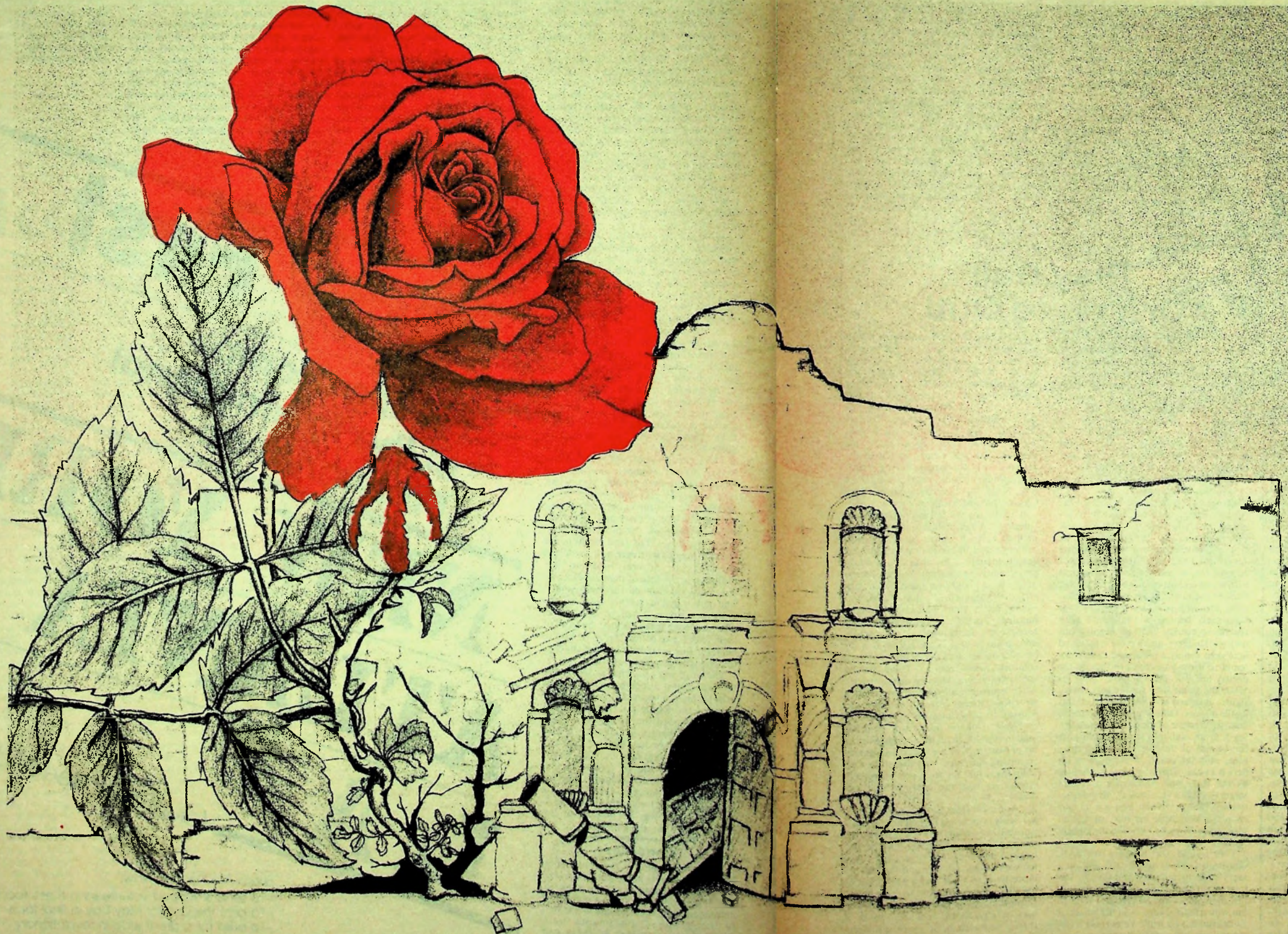
— that "holy shrine" of U.S. imperialist plunder, that monument to slavery and to the slaughter of the Native American and Mexican people, that decaying symbolic bastion of imperialist rule down to the present day — the reactionary flag of the Texas republic was lowered to the dust. Hoisted in its place was the red flag of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. In the crucial weeks before the historic May 1st, 1980 demonstrations, it was the spirit of revolutionary proletarian internationalism which marked the takeover of the Alamo.

The red flag flew over the Alamo for one hour, an hour agonizingly long for the bourgeoisie. Stunned and shaken by this revolutionary "desecration", they sent their police scrambling to the summit to seize the "criminals," and tried to blot out what had been done and prevent its impact from spreading among the oppressed. But they could not. The revolutionary significance of that hour inspired literally millions. In this country this was especially so among the Chicano people who know the true history of the Alamo as a symbol of the theft of land and the expansion of slavery. And the word of this action spread around the world. In El Salvador and in Mexico, pictures of the takeover appeared in newspapers.

The Alamo seizure so stung the enemy that one month later Comrade Damián García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was viciously and premeditatedly murdered by the political police in an East Los Angeles housing project.

The Alamo remains an important imperialist symbol. Recently, for example, the Public Broadcasting System aired a program titled "The Truth of the Alamo", a story which glorified the Mexicans who fought on the side of the oppressor to defend the Alamo. Obviously, contained here is a contemporary reactionary theme: the demand of the imperialists for the loyalty of an oppressed people throughout a period when such loyalty will be both desperately required and increasingly in doubt.

The seizure of the Alamo was a bold action by class conscious proletarians which will be remembered by millions. It was a ripping exposure which spread the word of May Day 1980 far and wide. Its impact continues to be felt today. □



U.S./Philippines Mutual Pact Against Troublemakers

The U.S. government and its client state in the Philippines have recently come up with a new weapon to attack opposition to the Marcos regime by Filipinos living in the United States. In November 1981, the Reagan administration negotiated the U.S.-Republic of the Philippines Extradition Treaty with the Marcos government and it is now pending ratification by the U.S. Senate. Also pending are four different congressional bills which would revise U.S. extradition law along the lines of the proposed treaty. As early as last summer, Secretary of State Haig hailed the treaty as "tremendously important" in enhancing the ability of the U.S. government to carry out extraditions "more effectively." And given the tremendous upsurge in the struggle of the Filipino people in the past couple of years, it hardly need be said that the "crime" for which the U.S. rulers are interested in extraditing Filipinos more effectively is none other than the political one of daring to oppose and expose the towering crimes of U.S. imperialism and its propped-up reactionary dictatorship in the Philippines.

According to Felix Razon of the Philippines Research Center, "What is obvious needs emphasizing: while extradition treaties are supposed to cover only criminal offenses, the Marcos regime has passed numerous martial law decrees which practically convert all political offenses into criminal acts. Even

though Marcos claims that he has lifted martial law, these decrees—many of them still secret—are fully operative today." One example is the Philippine Anti-Subversion Act which is interpreted to mean that "A person becomes liable for subversion when he knowingly, willfully or by overt acts becomes or remains a member of a subversive organization." Since all organizations opposing the Marcos regime are naturally defined as "subversive," under the terms of the proposed treaty the Philippines could request and obtain the extradition of Filipinos for "crimes" against the government even though such political activity takes place within the confines of the U.S.

Another wrinkle in this particular treaty is, as Razon relates, that it would "transfer the authority of the courts, which have the power to decide what are extraditable (i.e., common crimes, from tax evasion to bigamy) and non-extraditable (i.e., political offenses) to the Secretary of State. . . This would then give Haig and his staff blanket authority to determine whether or not to ship any number of Filipino dissidents to Marcos' stockade." The accompanying congressional bills would "update" the U.S. extradition laws so that the State Dept. would determine what are "criminal" and what are "political" offenses (i.e., decide what political offenses are "criminal") in applying all U.S. extradition treaties with other nations. While, of

course, the U.S. courts work hand-in-glove with the State Dept. and are always ready when instructed to extradite progressive and revolutionary foreign nationals for allegedly "criminal" (in fact, political) offenses against their repressive U.S.-backed regimes—e.g., the recent case of Palestinian revolutionary fighter Ziad Abu-Ein—this change would simply streamline the process of delivering up those who oppose imperialist-directed repression in their homelands for torture and execution. As Razon indicated, in the case of the Philippines, "it is no exaggeration to say that transporting 'extraditable' persons to this regime would be like delivering carcasses to the slaughterhouse."

In anticipation of the ratification of the treaty, in January the Marcos government brought indictments on subversion charges against some 40 people, including prominent bourgeois opposition leaders and members of the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP), which the Marcos regime claims is linked to a wave of bombings carried out in Manila in 1980. Also included is the editor of *Ang Katipunan*, the newspaper of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). That this whole assault is being orchestrated by none other than the U.S. imperialists themselves has been indicated by the resumption of the grand jury investigation in San Francisco into Philippine "terrorist" activities allegedly organized in the U.S., including testimony by a key government witness, Victor Lovely. The FBI has forwarded copies of statements made by Lovely to FBI investigators, as well as documents seized in a recent raid on the S.F. home of Philippine dissident Steve Psinakis, to the Philippine armed

forces chief-of-staff. This resulted in the arrest of at least 20 people in Manila, and the information being funneled to the Marcos regime by the FBI will obviously be used to expedite the extradition of those charged with subversion when and if the treaty is ratified.

While the majority of those targeted in this particular attack so far have been bourgeois opposition forces, this nevertheless contains the implicit message that the U.S. does not plan to tolerate any form of opposition to its domination of the Philippines within the United States, particularly as the armed struggle in the Philippines advances to a higher stage. And while even if the treaty passes, the U.S. government may not be able to get away with any kind of mass deportations, nevertheless they intend to use it—even if mainly as a threat—to stifle revolutionary-minded Filipinos who oppose them in this country.

Furthermore, as Razon points out: "The treaty and the Criminal Code Act(s) (the congressional bills—Ed.) place in jeopardy the lives and liberties not only of Marcos' opponents but—if the principle is followed—of any national opposed to a repressive government supported by the current administration." This, he said, "is laying the groundwork for shipping off more Salvadorans, Palestinians, Haitians, Guatemalans, etc. to stabilize the homebase for future and more intense pacification of the empire's outposts." And as far as the question of "stabilizing the homebase" is concerned, our rulers are also well aware that finding better ways of threatening and/or removing revolutionary immigrants and foreign-born, especially among sections where struggle is high, serves a dual purpose since these immigrants are also a powerful and critical part of the social base for proletarian revolution in the nerve-center of U.S. imperialism itself. □

Coke is It!

As most people are undoubtedly aware, a major change is occurring on the country's ideological landscape. On one night alone, on all three major networks, the Coca-Cola company announced its revolutionary news to over 90 million U.S. consumers. Coca-Cola has decided it's time for a brand new slogan, one with more punch and positive feeling. Gone are the more timid and friendly days of "Have a Coke and a Smile," or "I'd Like to Buy the World a Coke." No longer is it enough to just "Drink Coca-Cola" or take that "Pause that Refreshes." Times are changing and no one will ever be able to accuse Coca-Cola of dragging their feet. No, the world, and especially America, is now ready for, and in fact needs, "COKE IS IT!"

According to Sergio Zyman, Coca-Cola's vice president for marketing operations in the United States, there is much more involved here than selling a few billion Cokes: "I think the country is trying to assert itself again. I think the country is a hell of a lot more aggressive than it was in the past. It is standing up and being counted, both as individuals and as a nation. We want to tell it like it is. People want to hear it like it is. We're telling the world we are what we are and we are proud of it." He is as delighted as Lyndon Johnson holding up his beagle by the ears that ever since 1886, Coke has kept up with the times. Why at the turn of the century, when U.S. imperialism was really beginning to settle into the groove for the long haul of oppression and exploitation throughout the world, Coke was right there with the drink that "Revives and Sustains." When crusades against alcohol seemed important to American stability Coca-Cola became "The Great National Temperance Beverage." At the end of World War I, Coke ran an ad "Victory's Reward" with a big bottle of Coke (the end of sugar rationing and the beginning of coca-colonization). But in 1969, reflecting the woes of a battered empire, Coke ran an ad series, "Things Could Have Gone Better With Coke" with pictures of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, Captain Bligh being set adrift by the Bounty's mutineers, Marie Antoinette and Napoleon. Alas.

And now, to use the words of *Chicago Tribune's* columnist Charles Madigan: "The hostages came home. . . Ronald Reagan became President. . . The Moral Majority became a serious political force. The space shuttle went up, twice, and did not explode. It landed exactly where the

scientists said it would, sending a groin kick in the direction of the nation's pessimists. Politics got regal again in Washington. The nation salivated over a royal wedding overseas," and "our Navy wasted some Libyan jets, just to show it can be done. . . Dammit, it's time for a change. . . We are a 'Coke Is It' country, and we'll punch you right in the nose if you disagree."

But there is more to this story. The *RW* has learned from a well-placed source that the far-seeing executives of the Coca-Cola Company have actually planned their advertising campaign for the whole decade of the '80s. It seems that "Coke Is It" is only the beginning. Next there will be on every radio, TV station and billboard and in thousands of newspapers, "Drink Coke for the Victory That Refreshes." This will then be followed in approximate order by: "War and Coke—The Real Thing," "Have a Coke and a Gun," "Coke would like to Give the World a Nuke," "Nuke a Russian for Coke," "Radiation Goes Better With Coke," "Drink Coke With Your Anti-Poison Gas Tablets," "Bash a Coward in the Teeth With a Full Coke Bottle," and "Kill a Commie for Christ and Coca-Cola."

Quickly recognizing the potential impact of this devastating ad campaign on the Pepsi-Cola Company, the *RW* approached William Con, Pepsi's senior vice president in charge of marketing, and was able to obtain an exclusive interview. While being somewhat vague to protect his sources (obviously highly placed corporate spies in the Coca-Cola Company) and to safeguard Pepsi's exact plans, he admitted that they were well aware of Coke's project and insisted vehemently that Pepsi would not be outdone. "Just picture in your mind's eye" he explained with a slow and sweeping wave of his arm, "the Pepsi Generation coming out of their swimming pools and off of the beaches to don chemical warfare and radiation suits over their bikini clad bodies or hoisting flack jackets and M-16s onto their sun bronzed shoulders. All the while happily drinking Pepsi, of course. The mental image is positively mind boggling isn't it?" "And how about this little stroke of genius?" he chortled. "We are even now in the process of developing the ultimate Pepsi Challenge—a taste test designed so that everyone can decide for themselves whether anti-gas tablets taste better with Pepsi or Coke. We are determined to prove that everything goes better with Pepsi." |

Play Ball Or You're Out!

"It's a situation involving a non-resident alien who finds himself without work. . ." pronounced a spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) over a Los Angeles radio station on March 4th. "We have a petition filed by the Dodger ballclub for Mr. Valenzuela to play baseball for them. . . The petition, as we view it right now, is still valid. But there's a potential problem in the future should he not go and play baseball with them. If he doesn't live up to the terms of the petition he'd have to be returned to his home."

Fernando Valenzuela, who started the All-Star game, was a key element in bringing the Dodgers to the World Series, won Rookie of the Year and became the first rookie ever to win the Cy Young Award for being the National League's best pitcher, is now suddenly threatened with arrest and deportation by La Migra! Despite the fact that the INS announcement came on the very same day that Valenzuela became a "holdout" with regards to current contract negotiations with the Dodgers, much more is involved here than simply a crude and callous attempt to force Valenzuela to sign on the dotted line for the Dodgers' offer of \$300,000. Some may see the high salary figures involved and lose interest in this whole dispute. Others may cry that this is another example of the government coming into an employer/employee dispute on the side of the employer. Both these ideas miss the point. What is going on here is a heavy dose of cynical symbolism by the INS, with Valenzuela a chosen target to make a very broadly aimed reactionary point: "When you are in our country, Mexicans, on our team, you play ball with us, by our rules, or you get the hell out!"

This is just the message the U.S. bourgeoisie grinds home daily and on a mass scale to millions of Mexican immigrants. (And, one would have to say, this message reveals an arrogant tone—but with a fearful edge—in the voices of its deliverers.) So while Valenzuela is obviously not in the same material position as most of these immigrants, the government has jumped on his case with a big target in mind.

What they have done here is to take the

same racist garbage that was thrown at Valenzuela throughout the last season and raise it to new and more despicable heights. While the Dodger owners and the media hacks wielded a two-edged blade in regards to Valenzuela's arrival into U.S. professional baseball last year—hying his rise as an "only in America" rags-to-riches story and making sure he damn well kept his place—the sharper edge was clearly honed in the direction of Valenzuela being really nothing but a "dumb, fat Mexican." (See *RW* No. 110, "America Slides With Cleats Up At Mexican Pitcher")

It seems that as far as the owners are concerned Valenzuela hasn't shown the proper respect, both in his salary demands and in his failure to genuflect deeply enough at the altar of *American* opportunity via baseball. Valenzuela has of late been raked over the coals as "uppity," "ungrateful," and "greedy." Never mind that Valenzuela single-handedly drew the enormous gate receipts for the Dodgers. And anyway, their point is also being aimed at a far broader audience as the by now standard comment below from *LA Times* premier sportswriter Jim Murray demonstrates. After lamenting all the fine, upstanding *American* citizens currently out of work, Murray launches into his racist assault, complete with the images of Mexicans (and applicable to all the foreign-born as far as Murray *et al* are concerned) as lazy conniving illiterates, who should be eternally thankful they were ever allowed to cross over into the land of milk and honey:

"And a kid from Etchohuaquila, Mexico, with little or no formal education, a non-citizen who cannot speak the language, wants \$1.4 million a year (his original demand—*RW*) for a job where he works every 4th day and then for no more than an hour and a half. And he usually requires a backup to come in and finish the job for him. . . he's a guy who may have no shot in real life, I mean, if there's no baseball, he's probably sleeping four to a room."

And, we should point out, without the bourgeoisie's need for bullshit and racist ideologue/hack writers, the likes of Jim
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Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal

Father Roy Bourgeois on El Salvador

Father Roy Bourgeois, the Chicago priest who became widely known last year for his "unauthorized" travels with the guerrillas of El Salvador, taped the following testimony and submitted it to the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism.

As he recounts in his testimony, in April 1981, while serving as a translator for a CBS news team on a trip to El Salvador, Father Bourgeois made an unannounced decision to go and learn from the rebels. His sudden disappearance was nearly blacked out by the major U.S. media—leading many to the suspicion that he had been captured or executed by the junta. But when Father Bourgeois resurfaced ten days later, to not only reaffirm his solidarity with the Salvadoran people, but to sharply condemn U.S. crimes in El Salvador, the media hacks descended and attacked him like a pack of vultures.

In the testimony printed here (which, due to tape problems could not be played at the Tribunal), Father Bourgeois relates what was behind this courageous decision to travel with the guerrillas and presents his views on other topics as well.

I think I should start this testimony for the War Crimes Tribunal with a few words about what I was doing in the 1960s. At that time I came from a situation where there was no basic questions being asked in my own life. I ended up volunteering for the Navy and as a Naval officer most of my time was spent overseas—two years aboard ship I was at a NATO station in Europe for a year and then ended up volunteering for duty in Vietnam.

That was a turning point for a number

of reasons. I guess the human condition of suffering that I was exposed to there had a lot to do with that. Children at an orphanage that I and others were working at—all these children who had lost their parents in the war—had a very big effect on my life. That along with being wounded there. I did a lot of serious thinking, just about life and death, my own death.

Something happened there. I came back different, as many did. I began to ask some very basic questions in my life that I hadn't asked before. About decisions—was I making my own decisions or was I having others make my decisions for me?

Well I left Vietnam and joined a group, the Maryknoll missionaries, and spent the next six years in the seminary. Those were good years, a lot of good time for reflection and study, some action. I was active at times in the anti-war movement as many of our people were.

And then I was finally ordained and assigned to our mission in Bolivia, in South America. A barrio in Bolivia, a slum section on the outskirts of La Paz. That was home for the next five years. Those were good years for me, difficult years, lonely years at times, but I felt home so to speak. I felt I learned a lot with the people there—the people in their

struggle, being taught by them what their struggle was all about, what oppression means, what exploitation means, and our role in that—the military aid, thru the multinational interests there, thru this whole concept of racism and how that's expressed in the Third World.

I became very active in an ecumenical group, the Church Commission for Human Rights. Because of my involvement in that commission, because of being a chaplain, I was commissioned as a chaplain to political prisoners. I was eventually arrested and then later joined the ranks of many people who are not able to return to Bolivia.

It was then that I came back to the States, took a Sabbatical and then later came to Chicago where I began to go out to colleges, high schools and churches trying to share that experience of our sisters and brothers in Latin America, trying to share that with the people of our own country, to come to a better understanding of what that struggle was all about.

Well not long ago I had an opportunity to return to the Third World, this time to El Salvador, thru the CBS crew and of course I didn't hesitate. I said "Yes" to that. My job was to be one of the interpreters and a field resource person. We were going to put together a documentary

to help people in the Chicago area understand what's going on in El Salvador, a country we've been hearing so much about and yet lack such an understanding of—El Salvador.

This is some of it—a country at war, a country where over the last year and a half 20,000 people were killed, over the last four years 12 priests assassinated, countless peasants, other Christians, we don't read about. But of course in March 1980 Bishop Romero, gunned down at the altar, the archbishop of the capital. Then of course, it really hit home for all of us when four of our own were killed, raped and hurt—and I began to ask—"What the hell is happening here?"

Well I think what's basically happening in El Salvador is happening throughout the Third World. It's a microcosm really. We see a system at work, an economic system where the land, the power and the wealth are concentrated in the hands of a very small group who refer to themselves as the aristocracy, the oligarchy. In El Salvador they are known as the 14 families and over the last fifty years or so they have been able to do quite well for themselves, very well. They own 60% of the land, the best land, and on that land is grown coffee—coffee for exports to the U.S. and Europe. And that land is gold. A hundred acres will bring you a net profit of \$150,000 a year and they are not about to give up that land.

And you talk to the people there which we did. That was my second trip to El Salvador and it was educational. They are "great"—talking with members of the oligarchy. They "agree" the poor should not live under such conditions, they express "compassion." And you ask, "Are you willing to give up, let's say, only 10 acres of the three thousand you own so that the people can grow food that they need?" And they say, "Wait a minute—that sounds like socialism, that sounds like communism to me." They want to stop the discussion right there.

And speaking with that side, the oligarchy, the members of the 14 families and their extended families, there are so many things you remember. First of all when you speak with them you speak with them in very nice homes that you can't see from the highway. There's a big wall around it with cut glass on the top and with German Shepherd dogs wandering indoors. You walk in and you got a Mercedes Benz on the lawn with a water sprinkler. You're greeted by one of the two or three live-in servants and you sit down to a nice meal and you talk about El Salvador. But it's hard because they would like to talk of the U.S., private schools that their daughters and sons attend, trips to Europe that they are able to make, restaurants they are frequenting in the capital. But you say to them, "¿Qué es el problema aquí?" "What's the problem here?" And they would say, "El problema es Comunismo." "The problem is communism."

That's the side we are told—"the problem is communism." That's what we read about. That's what we hear. But there's another side we're not hearing. It is that side we tried to represent when we went down there to El Salvador—the other side, the opposition—who make up 90% of the population. They are the victims of the system. They are the dispossessed. They are the oppressed—the poor.

Well, while there, I received an invitation from the opposition, from the subversives, representing the poor, the oppressed—to stay behind and see El Salvador thru their eyes. So much to say about that—let me just say that after a few meetings and speaking very rapidly and not having a lot of time to dialogue all these things as we would have here, I had to make a decision. After a couple of days and sleepless nights—and there was a lot of anguish—I didn't know what to do. Let me just say that I think there are



Montage by Josep Renau from the Spanish magazine Photo Vision

Those Who Feed On Revolutionaries' Blood

The RW recently received a copy of a secret directive issued several months ago by the Prosecutor-General of the reactionary regime in Iran (the equivalent of the Attorney-General in the U.S.). It was translated for the RW by an Iranian comrade.

Prosecutor General, Revolutionary Islamic Republic of Iran Date Oct. 2, 1981 No. 3250

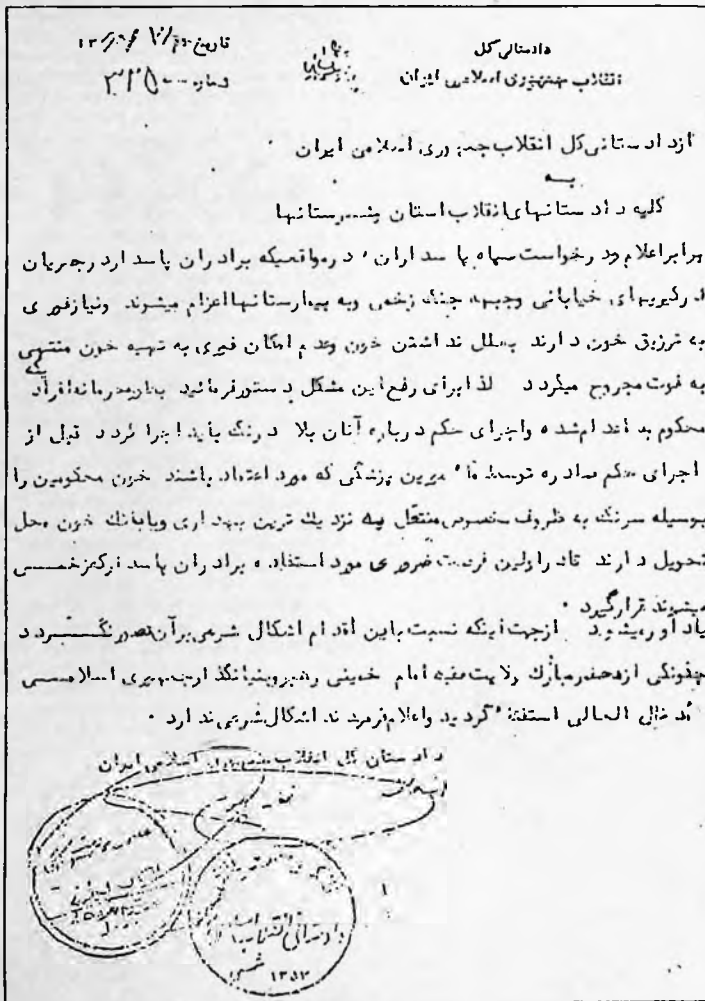
From the Prosecutor-General of the Revolutionary Islamic Republic of Iran: To All State and City Public Prosecutors:

According to the proclamation and request of the Pasdar Corps*; at a time when Pasdar brothers are injured because of the street clashes and their involvement at the war front, and they need blood and their injuries may result in their death because of lack of blood, instruct trustworthy medical personnel to secretly draw blood from those who are condemned to death immediately before execution, in order to remedy this problem. The blood of the condemned should be drawn and transferred into special vessels and sent to the nearest hospital or blood bank in order to be used by the injured Pasdar brothers at the earliest possible time.

In order not to violate any religious laws in this regard, this matter was brought to the attention of his Holiness Faghih** Imam Khomeini, the leader and the founder of Islamic Republic—God bless his soul—and his excellency proclaimed his approval.

Prosecutor-General of Revolutionary Islamic Republic of Iran (Signature and Seal of Prosecutor-General Affixed)

* The so-called "revolutionary" guards—RW
** The highest legal authority in Sh'ia Islam—RW



We would like to draw attention to several parts of this directive that demonstrate that the Khomeini regime is indeed in deep trouble.

First, the Prosecutor-General's instruction to his subordinates all over Iran to only get "trustworthy" medical personnel to carry out these heinous acts is an indication of the level of resistance the regime is facing among doctors, nurses and other hospital workers—resistance that has been fueled by repeated cases of Pasdaran and Hesbollah thugs busting into hospitals looking for wounded Mojahedin and communists, even pulling them off operating tables and executing them on the spot. There have also been many cases of hospital workers being killed for not complying with these goons' orders. The regime is clearly able to rely only on fanatical, Hesbollah-type "medical personnel" to carry out this kind of dirty work.

Second, the very fact that they are being driven to take the blood out of captured revolutionaries points that their appeals to the masses for blood donations for "their Pasdar brothers" have been failing miserably while confrontations in the streets have increased. Thus, the reactionary "Islamic laws" by which this regime declares revolutionaries "kafar" ("sinners" who are "outside Islam," and thus deserving to be executed) are overruled—and their "unclean" blood can be used to send the regime's hired thugs back on the streets to commit more crimes against the people. Just how touchy a question this is indicated by the fact that they had to go all the way to the top, to Khomeini himself, to hand down a ruling making it all religiously "legal."

Lastly, the efforts of the Khomeini regime to shroud this whole operation in total secrecy shows how much they fear exposure among the masses, just as vampires fear the light of day.

NY Grand Jury Dirty Work Continues

Under a blanket of media silence and out of the public eye, the political police have continued to charge ahead five months after the attempted Brinks robbery in Nyack, New York. Three women, Jerry Gaines, Eve Rosahn and Yassmy Fula, have been hauled before a federal grand jury and imprisoned for refusing to cooperate. A warrant for the arrest of Fulani Sunni-Ali, chairperson of the Center Council of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), was issued when she did not appear before a judge who was about to order her to comply with the grand jury—for the third time. A fifth subpoena has been served on Yvette Alfonso, an activist in the Puerto Rican independence movement and associated with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The hushed media is in stark contrast to the heavy duty press coverage which immediately followed the events in Nyack. And there is good reason for this. The more the political police continue in this round-up of political activists and supporters, the more exposed is their whole claim of conducting a "criminal investigation."

The federal grand jury was set up in New York City immediately following the Brinks attempted robbery under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statute (RICO). Portrayed as a law to aid in investigating organized crime, the RICO statute has been used with increasing openness by the bourgeoisie to investigate political groups. According to *Quash*, a publication of the Grand Jury Project: "Racketeering activity" is defined... as any act or threat to commit any of a long list of crimes—including kidnapping and robbery, obstruction of justice, 'obstruction of criminal investigation' or obstruction of state and local law enforcement. And 'enterprise' is 'any individual, partnership, corporation, association or other legal entity or any union or group of individuals associated in fact although not a legal entity'. Any political organization is eligible. To be guilty of a 'pattern of racketeering activity' an 'enterprise' need only be involved in two prohibited acts within 10 years of each other... Under the conspiracy section of RICO, any member of any organization can be charged with any of the actions of the group. Participation in the specific act or active participation in it is not required."

A broad definition of who is subject to open government probing has been the legal grounds for subpoenaing and jailing anybody for any reason. Those who have been subpoenaed have either been connected to Nyack on the flimsiest of evidence or none at all. Where criminal indictments have not held up or where subpoenas have been successfully challenged in court, the bourgeoisie has come back by repeatedly reissuing more subpoenas.

Fulani Sunni-Ali, readers will recall, was dragged from a house in Byrdtown, Mississippi in a pre-dawn raid conducted by a SWAT team, tanks and a horde of government agents. She, Jerry Gaines, another adult and 11 children were handcuffed and searched. Fulani was jailed in New York City for several weeks in isolation. Once released (when it was shown that she had been in Louisiana at the time that the government attempted to place her at a "safe house" in New York) she was served another subpoena. This was later dismissed because she had been denied her right of counsel. Her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, had been barred from representing her because he is also a member of RNA. But again another subpoena was issued. With a warrant now out for her arrest, the government will no doubt use this as a "legal" pretext for sending machine-gun toting pigs to bash down doors in an attempt to get her and others. An attorney working with

these cases disclosed that in at least three cities the children and relatives of Fulani have already been harassed by the political police attempting to question them.

Yassmy Fula was a legal assistant at the Bronx Legal Services for 9 years and a five year member of the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research. Officially the government has tried to link her to Nyack via her car. No criminal charges have ever been pressed, but instead Yassmy has been twice subpoenaed and twice imprisoned for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury. Yassmy has been involved in a number of suits against the government for its COINTELPRO hit jobs against Black nationalists. Supporters of Yassmy charge that "The government might be deliberately trying to undermine her task force work and drive a wedge into the many relationships she has developed through that work."

Eve Rosahn is an anti-imperialist activist and a member of the Women's Committee Against Genocide. Criminal charges brought against her were also dropped and quickly followed up with a grand jury subpoena. She, too, is in prison for the second time.

Jerry Gaines is the mother of 8 children, a religious woman and a community organizer in Byrdtown, Mississippi. She was at home when the pre-dawn raid was conducted and Fulani arrested. When Jerry refused to cooperate with the grand jury, a court judge attempted to use "American motherhood" as a political weapon against her. The judge: "Has it ever occurred to you that you are planting the seeds in your children's minds of an example to disobey the law, and once these seeds germinate, who knows what will follow." And further, "But you can comply with the order of the court... that, I believe, is the best way you can really express concern for your children." When Jerry refused to accept this ethic of motherhood, she was promptly locked up.

All three women can be held for 18 months for refusing to comply with the grand jury. And once released they can be subpoenaed all over again.

Eight people have been officially indicted on charges directly stemming from the events in Nyack. For five months they have been barred from meeting as a group with their attorneys to prepare their defense. Only recently has the government agreed to permit one meeting of all the defendants and lawyers. Two defendants have had to be hospitalized following their arrests. Sekou Odinga was fed intravenously for 4 months due to a damaged pancreas at the hands of the police. Sam Brown was confined to prison with a broken neck and was refused medical treatment. He was later transferred to a hospital for 12 days where an operation was performed to implant bones back into his neck. When Anthony Laborde was arrested in January in Philadelphia he was returned to New York City with 42 stitches in his head. Bail was set at \$10 million! When defense attorney William Kunstler demanded that bail either be reduced or this charade of bail dispensed with, the government revoked all bail. And one "suspect" is dead, shot down in a hail of police bullets in Queens three days after the events in Nyack.

The press has not been totally mute during these recent developments. In attempting to stir up public opinion in favor of the government's repression, the *New York Post* in February ran a 5-part series on the "Armies of Hate." Various organizations from the Republic of New Afrika, the Black Liberation Army, the Weathermen and the May 19th Communist Organization were portrayed as

What Some People Don't Like About What Lou Grant Knows About Politics

"We want to tell Reagan that his enemy in El Salvador is not our enemy," Ed Asner, the popular star of the "Lou Grant" series, declared on February 15th. Standing opposite the State Department building in Washington, D.C., he and several other celebrities handed a \$25,000 check to a Mexican doctor, a liaison for the FDR/FMLN. The money was the first installment of a promised million dollars for medical aid to the Salvadoran rebels.

None other than Ronald Reagan led the bourgeoisie's charge. Stating he was "very disturbed" by Asner's action, he sounded the alarm and political operatives from Charlton Heston to hack TV reviewers responded. With his sidekick Robert Conrad (Gordon Liddy's alter-ego), Heston gathered a couple hundred film industry reactionaries together on Sunday, February 21st, to announce a recall campaign to unseat Asner from the presidency of the Screen Actor's Guild (SAG). Meanwhile, the press cranked out gems like: "What does Lou Grant know about El Salvador?", "professional dilettante," "public weary of pretentious celebrities as t.v. ratings drop," etc.

Such strong opposition to U.S. policy in El Salvador coming from progressive artists more than ruffled a few imperialist feathers. With the junta's deteriorating political and military position, amidst worried debate over which tactical move promises the least trouble in the short-run, the government didn't need this stark example of widening opposition in the mother country. The picture of stars, "made in Hollywood," aiding the enemy

could only cause many worldwide to ponder the extent of popular anger here.

With supreme hypocrisy, SAG flunkies charged "politicizing the Guild," and "using the presidency to push personal politics." To enter the February 21st meeting, allegiance to the general thrust of the attack was required; stuntmen were even positioned at the doors to protect the political purity of the gathering. Inside Heston roused the reactionary rally by invoking the names of big-time warhorses like Jimmy Stewart and Clint Eastwood, who'd promised financial underwriting for the campaign.

In an obvious attempt to alienate Asner from his viewing public and neutralize the effect of his stand on El Salvador, t.v. reviewers Gary Deeb of the *Chicago Sun-Times* and Howard Rosenberg from the *Los Angeles Times* knocked out nearly identical editorials. Slandering Asner for "barnstorming the country speaking on pet issues that he doesn't seem to know all that much about," Deeb is dredging up the tired line that it's only government experts who really know the score. Show business celebrities have no credentials to speak on affairs of state unless they follow the leaders in Washington. (And, if they have no right to speak, this must be doubly true for the masses!) This reasoning is strikingly similar to State Department complaints that, if only they were able to release their entire files of "secret intelligence reports, it would be clear to all doubters that their mission in El Salvador is to "draw the line against Soviet and Cuban intervention in Central America."

Play Ball

Continued from page 12

Murray would be out of a job and starving. But that is exactly what is required if sports is going to live up to its role as promoter of racism, patriotism, and chauvinism. It is hardly a coincidence that in baseball, positions such as pitcher, which tend to emphasize leadership, thinking and the limelight, have been almost never filled by Blacks or Latinos. Except for a brief but significant period in the late 1960s—a direct result of the political tumult then—Blacks and Latinos have been systematically frozen out of these spots. At pitcher, for example, Blacks were only 3% in pro baseball in 1960; 9% in 1968; and 5% in 1977. The

position of catcher amounted to the same story, with 11%, 12%, and 4% in those years respectively. In the outfield by contrast, Blacks during those years made up 24%, 53%, and 44% of the players filling that position. Truly an all-American pastime.

At this point, Fernando Valenzuela has returned home to Mexico to await the next move by the Dodger management. It seems that an impasse has been reached, or as the Dodger overseers might call it: "a failure to communicate." Well, perhaps that's the way they see it, but this whole episode is sending some very strong and very clear signals out, communicating just what the U.S. imperialists mean when they turn to those in the U.S. who are foreign-born and sneer: "Play ball!"

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character. In that paper I referred to a feeling that you know very well, having been around that time; we had the feeling that we were on a path straight to revolution. We always would say revolution may be 20 years away, might even be 50 years away, talking about the U.S. in particular. But, as much as we thought that (and I think that we actually didn't expect that it was going to come in the next year or two, we just didn't know when it was going to come) we *did* tend toward too much of a *straight line* view. In other words, even if it took 20 years, it was kind of going to be a generally ascending line toward that goal without much break or interruption. What we were largely unprepared for was this ebb that came, not only in the U.S., but internationally, more or less in the mid-'70s—not without contradiction, not that the world was ever quiet, without struggle, without upheaval, without uprising, without rebellion, without revolutionary movements and struggles and so on. But there was a general ebb at that time, a reflux as they say, of the revolutionary process. One of the points I stressed in "Conquer the World . . ." was that to understand the reasons for the ebb that generally characterized the movement in most, if not all, countries during that period of, say, the mid-'70s to the end of the '70s more or less, it is most important to look to what was happening internationally overall rather than what was happening within any particular country. Without really grasping that I don't think that the greatest advances can be made that I don't think that the greatest preparation for the possible advances can be made on a world scale, and also within different countries. Some crucial opportunities will be lost or not seized.

Homework

I think this analogy of war communism applies in a sense to the developments through these periods. I remember, for example, when I was involved in the Free

Speech Movement. At that time I was a student at Berkeley and I was in my second full year, I think. And I was concerned about my grades, like a lot of students are; you see your grades as your future. And I remember . . . What are you laughing at? Well, that's the way it is with students—mainly—especially then. It wasn't that much different in the early '60s. Everybody talks about the '60s and people correctly focus on the principal aspect of the '60s which was the tremendous social upheaval and movement and that the students were of a different breed and in a different mood and frame of mind than they were in the '50s or became to a degree in the last part of the '70s—thinking largely about their future and their grades and the most narrow kind of concerns. (Although the late '70s were quite different than the '50s, they weren't able to turn back the clock nor wipe out everything that happened, and that's got to be grasped.) Nevertheless, with all the differences, the '60s were not just all one big mass revolutionary movement, or one big social upheaval. It's correct that people focus on the principal aspect of what the '60s was like, but there was contradiction within it. The '60s spilled over into the early '70s, and the '70s wasn't all one cloudy, overcast period of political paralysis.

In any case, I remember I was in the Free Speech Movement and we took over a building and we were in there for a couple of days. This whole building was vibrating with political struggle and discussion, as well as literally teeming with people, but in the middle of this there were a number of us, including myself, who were doing our homework. Because you knew that at some point you were going to come out of this building one way or the other, and there was still school and there was still your future to think about. And at some point in there—although not for good and for all, it wasn't the final rupture—but at some point I just said, "Aw, fuck this homework!" and I just put it away or threw it away.

The charge of dragging the Screen Actors Guild into politics is laughable on the face of it. When SAG, along with other unions, opposed martial law in Poland, there was no hue and cry about "politicizing the Guild." That was just all-American concern for Soviet victims. Charlton Heston volunteered to be one of the three narrators for the crudely chauvinist flop, "Let Poland Be Poland," out of simple patriotic feelings. From the star-spangled U.S.O. tours in World War 2 to the recent spectacle of Suzanne Sommers strutting her stuff on the USS Constellation deck, numerous entertainers have heeded the call to use their fame to rouse the troops, both in and out of uniform.

The history of the Guild is no exception. In the 1950s, SAG actively came down on the side of reaction. While hypocritically decrying the movie moguls' blacklist, SAG, under Ronald Reagan's presidency, banned communists and witnesses who refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) from membership in the Guild. Reagan, in classic bourgeois doublespeak, stated on February 19th that when he was in control, "the Guild had a solid rule that it did not engage in politics . . . nor would we allow *politicos* in the Guild. That has been changed under the present administration. I thought we were better off under the previous rule." The royal "we" Reagan is speaking on behalf of need no more exposure of their bestial rule in El Salvador, especially from entertainers known to millions.

Precisely because Asner's action wasn't a lone voice crying out from the glitter of Hollywood, "objective news reports" have been trying to paint a pic-

ture of his isolation and potential career damage to intimidate others in the film industry. Death threats requiring Asner to be accompanied by bodyguards have been repeatedly reported. Anonymous network executives are quoted as being disgusted with falling ratings of "Lou Grant." (Of course, no mention is made of the recent dip in ratings for all network TV shows.) And, exactly because the allegiance of sections of progressive entertainers isn't at all sewn up, they've had to conjure up the image of the '50s blacklist.

This rapid-fire campaign appears to be running out of steam. The recall petition has been at least temporarily shelved and some of the most vituperative remarks in the press have died down. All of this coincided with Haig's appearance on a McNeil-Lehrer program. On the show Haig commented, "Ed . . . Ed, who?", simultaneously poo-hooing the controversy while making only a pretense of distancing the administration from its leading role in the attack. Still, he had to follow this with stock phrases about how the ability to speak one's personal views indicates the greatness of this country, etc. It seems the imperialists are having second thoughts about the advisability of a prolonged battle in Hollywood over their policy in El Salvador. The near-unanimous vote of confidence for Asner taken by the Guild's board of directors along with Martin Sheen's announcement that he was going to garner signatures for an ad in Asner's defense reflect the alignment of social forces in Hollywood that doesn't signify a quick, easy victory for the imperialists if they forced this to a showdown now, not to mention the political turmoil this would create broadly in society. □

NY Grand Jury

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"like the Moonies", "mad dog killers of the BLA" and bizarre gangs of terrorists.

A couple of things in the *Post's* series stand out. Stating that various organizations have eluded the FBI, the *Post* articles amounted to a call for a reactionary social base to "help out" the political police. Sources for the *Post* are attributed to former members of organizations, a blatant move to recruit informers as well as stir up divisions and suspicions among groups and individuals now under attack. Paving the way for further and far-reaching repression in general, the *Post* wrote, "Even more important, the 'above ground' political groups which provided the terrorists with support, sustenance, and recruits has survived largely intact."

May 19th was derided on the basis of lesbianism with "little appeal for red-blooded Americans." And to help all

red-blooded Americans grasp the real political nature of this case the *Post* wrote: "... Their proclaimed aim is nothing less than a dismemberment of the country." Right there is enough reason for a grand jury to investigate these "criminals" who don't respect the sacred territory that the U.S. stole fair and square!

This combination of press blackout on the subpoenaing and jailing of a broad cross section of people and opinion-making articles like that of the *Post* present a revealing picture. We are witnessing a not at all confident ruling class. Their "criminal" investigation is obviously political and an attack on various organizations particularly on revolutionary nationalist forces. What is being revealed is both the naked use of the state's apparatus for political repression and at the same time a dire need to conceal this from the public eye. □

I don't even know what happened to it. The book and all got lost when we were arrested and everything else. But before that I just said, "Fuck it!" because there was a whole social upheaval, and in that situation a certain social climate gets established. Certain values get discarded and other values get taken up. There's nothing absolutely permanent about that, but there is something that sets in where something that begins as a certain opposition movement begins to—not become the "accepted thing" in the bad sense—but begins to sweep in large numbers of people and set the tone for what's happening generally. You can use the Free Speech Movement as a little miniature of what happened generally by the end of the '60s in society—not completely, and certainly not without contradiction—but to a large and significant degree it happened for a whole generation of youth. It happened to varying degrees, but there was a whole phenomenon. That's why I use the analogy of war communism.

The point I am getting at is that it's one thing when that's going on more and more throughout society. It's one thing to say, ah, to hell with your homework, that is, to hell with your future, to hell with your career, who gives a fuck about all the things that you are supposed to be worried about by the time you grow up and face your responsibilities and all the rest of that bullshit. And on the other hand when there does come an ebb in the movement, some things change. And this is even true for the more basic masses in a different way and to a lesser degree; but there's still some truth to it even for the basic masses, for whom the sacrifices are even harder to make in a certain way because there is less "margin" of something to sacrifice—even for them there is a thing of whether you settle into trying to figure out how to survive, how to make the best for yourself, sort of accepting the system. Among the middle strata, it even comes to the point of how to advance, how to make your way

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ahead, how to get a little bit better position. Those things reassert themselves. Those are not only dominant values ideologically, but in terms of the material conditions that's the way the society runs. And it applies differently for different classes, but there is the fact that you have to come to terms with this system, and, if you will, compromise with it in order to survive or in order to find your place in it—whatever your place is allowed to be or turns out to be through the workings of this system overall. In one way or another you have to make your peace and live—even if you don't ideologically completely make your peace; that's the example of a lot of people who say, "look, I may be doing this or that but that doesn't mean I like this system, that doesn't mean I like these values." Or even more positively, "I still believe in revolution." You run into people who say that; all that has not been wiped out.

The '70s, even the worst days of the '70s, even the days with the least sunlight and fresh air, were not like the '50s were. They could not put "Leave It To Beaver" and "Howdy Doody" back on TV, really. Maybe they tried with "Howdy Doody," I don't know. But they couldn't really put "Leave It To Beaver" and all those things back on, unless they put them on as something of a joke. I mean, when they put "Batman" on the TV in the late '60s, they had to do it as camp. They are trying again; they've got Superman out again and so on. But even that has to be adjusted for the times and take into account everything that has happened since they could put forward unadulterated "Truth, Justice and The American Way" through and coming out of World War 2. The point I'm trying to make here is that it's very sharply contradictory. I really believe that out of that generation, out of that whole upheaval of the '60s, even among older people and not just the generation that was coming to "maturity" at the time, but more broadly there was a tremendous impact on millions of people that has not been lost.

You can see it now, with things sharpening up again, more social ferment going on, movements. People don't have to go through everything that they had to go through around Vietnam before they can come out in opposition around El Salvador, for example. Look at the movement in the U.S. around El Salvador. True, it hasn't reached the massive proportions that the movement around Vietnam did, because the world is different. And El Salvador today does not play the same role in the world, or even specifically in relation to U.S. imperialism as Vietnam did. But on the other hand people don't have to go through everything before there's thousands of people who get active, and before public opinion is in large measure mobilized against the administration in a way that in a certain sense it took years and years to achieve during the '60s around Vietnam. So that reflects the fact that people learned things and there were changes that went on, materially and ideologically.

John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan

The position of U.S. imperialism is not what it was then; it doesn't have the strength, it doesn't have the reserves, and it is not able for material as well as ideological reasons to portray its role in the world in the same way. This is the early '80s and now we have Reagan, not the early '60s with Kennedy. Kennedy made a leap in Vietnam in active U.S. attempts to suppress the revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism. Kennedy was trying to set a model — which he did, not in the way he wanted to, but in a way that was very good for the revolutionary people in the world and for the international proletariat — trying to set a model of how to suppress revolution in the third world. He was openly trying to set a model of counterinsurgency against national liberation struggles. But he did all this while at the same time wrapping himself in a mantle of humanism and democracy and the New Frontier and all — and mobilizing everyone from misty-eyed intellectuals to Mafia minions. Kennedy was able to go, for example, to Germany — you know, *Ich bin ein Berliner* — and do all sorts of podium-pounding threats and war drum-beating, all in the name of democracy. He made imperialist gangster threats and even threatened war, for example, around the missile crisis in Cuba. Even though the danger of world war was not really that great in that period, still they were able to beat the drums of war precisely to make others back off and get out of the way. He was able to do that while at the same time having most everyone believe this was some kind of new and vigorous democratic force that was presiding over the United States and the great part of the world that it had under its boot. The fact this combination could be pulled off is not mainly due to a slicker Madison Avenue public relations job, or a person who was younger and more vigorous than Reagan and could be packaged to appear both more idealistic and more vigorous at the same time. It was a reflection of the different position of U.S. imperialism. It hadn't been battered in the world to the degree that it has been since, which took a leap under the Kennedy administration. The makeup hadn't been knocked off.

I saw a movie called "Dead and Buried." It was not a very good movie. But one thing about it was sort of interesting: it was about this mortician who would take these corpses and had figured out a way to put their bodies back together and give them back all their human functions. In fact he made a practice of having his crew of zombies go out and find new potential zombies and mangle them, burn, brutalize and deface them so that he could then do his master craftsman work of making them look more beautiful than ever. Then he would program

them so that they would act like people. But they had to keep coming back every few days or weeks to get fixed up by him because their skin would crack apart; they were walking corpses. And that's the image that's called to mind of U.S. imperialism in the early '60s. But once the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people in the world really start smashing away at it, why then it gets revealed as being a creature like the zombies in that movie. It starts coming apart; the cracks in its skin and the decay start coming through. This is what happened to U.S. imperialism. It's partly a question that it has been unmasked to a greater degree, its zombie or vampire-like features have come through more clearly, and the makeup and the make-shift character of its seemingly democratic functioning has become much more revealed. But beyond all that, it's also that it doesn't have the same reserves. It's not able to make some of the kind of concessions at the same time that it is intensifying and bringing about new forms of exploitation and oppression — neo-colonialism, for example, or some changes in the economic relations in some of the neo-colonies that it is dominating and plundering. It's not able to do that to the same degree. It doesn't have the same reserves, and it has much less maneuvering room. So it's not only that over a period of time it has become more exposed, but much more quickly today it is exposed.

Now U.S. imperialism has to try to assume this image where turkeys go hunting turkeys wearing military fatigues. You know, Reagan and his buddies get in the jeep and they pose for the photographers with their Marine greens on, their jungle fatigues. It's obvious pop art. I don't want to go too far with this Reagan-the-actor thing — I think that gets away from the essence of the thing. Reagan is not an actor. He is the leading executive of U.S. imperialism, or at least its leading spokesman right now. But there still is this pop art thing, and not because Reagan's an actor, though that may be secondarily why he was chosen. But there is a certain pop art thing they are doing for the dumb, philistine American masses whose ignorance and philistinism they consistently try to promote and who they want to treat and keep on that level. You can just see them putting an elbow to your gut, saying, "We're going hunting with military fatigues on, get it?"

Of course Reagan can't ignore reality either. Even he has to get up and say, "Well, we won't put our missiles in Western Europe if the Soviets take them out of Eastern Europe. We can have peace; that's what we want. GRRRARGH!", as his fangs come protruding from outside of his lip anyway. But mainly they have to have the tough guy image. That's partly for internal consumption; that is, they have to rally their social base and get people prepared and conditioned within the U.S. and ready for war at whatever time they have to launch it. But it's also for international consumption. In that arena, too, they mainly need the tough guy image, even while they make certain efforts to mollify, to pacify the "allied forces," both the governments but also mainly the masses of people of the countries of Europe. Europe is going to be a big arena of this war, as well as other parts of the world, and the governments there are sitting on top of this very explosive situation, so they have to make certain allowances for that and they have to go through certain maneuvers; still with all that they mainly need a tough image — even there. And it's not because Reagan is in there. It's much more the other way around: Reagan is a symptom and an expression of that; he's not the cause, he's the effect.

They have to have a Reagan in the early '80s. Now that doesn't mean they might not have Kennedy in the mid-'80s, because that depends on a lot of things. My opinion is that the bourgeoisie itself doesn't know now how long they are going to let Reagan stay in office, or by what means or under what circumstances they are going to dispatch him from office, if they do. They are letting him play his role now and they are keeping within certain bounds, but they also have other things in the wings in case they need to have the friendly, smiling imperialist who smiles when the blood comes down and says, "Great party!" like in "The Shining." Maybe they need that kind of guy instead of somebody who openly bares his fangs and swaggers. Maybe they need a Ted Kennedy or a Walter Mondale, who knows? They are not closing off those options. But right now, in order to prepare at this time, they need a Reagan. And generally they need what Reagan is an expression of, and what they've got him there for — a tough image.

Even largely for their allies, as the principal aspect, more than making certain allowances for the explosive situation these allies are sitting on top of, they have also got to show a tough hand to keep their allies in line. They've got Greece and Turkey, they've got Israel and Saudi Arabia and Egypt, they've got all these conflicting interests and rivalry among the other imperialists and reactionary forces within their camp; there are conflicts between Japan and the Common Market, within the Common Market, Japan and the U.S., the Common Market and the U.S. . . . And the only way they can hold the whole thing together is with a very powerful stance and trying to maintain a very powerful grip on it, even if secondarily they relax it here and there. So this is what they've got to do. And because of that, there is a very sharp polarization among the people, especially in the U.S. A social base for that openly chauvinist line is being stirred, the kind of people who really do support what Reagan represents. Some of these people will be able to be won over or neutralized further down the road. If a revolutionary situation develops over the next period before or during or right in the aftermath of the war, many of those within the opposite pole, the reactionary pole, will be able to be divided by the complete bankruptcy of the system, and by the fact that it's even more ex-

hausted in its reserves, and in opposition to that, by the growing strength of the revolutionary camp. Of course a good part of them all will support reaction all the way through, be die-hard supporters of it. But right now there is a polarization between those people, the strongest social base of the imperialists, and on the other hand those who are the kind of forces that were called into motion in the '60s — including those who came to a position of support for the Vietnamese struggle and also the Black masses and the people who were won to a position of support and unity with them in their struggle, and so on. There's that pole out there today and because of everything that has gone on up to this point and because of the role the U.S. has to play in the world and the stance it has to take, these social forces that have in the past tended to gravitate toward the stance of opposition, have today been coming much more quickly to see what is happening and come to a stand of opposition to the government or of cynicism of a basically positive kind toward the government, not believing its propaganda and its lies.

It's Not the '50s

You can see it in a lot of different ways — even a few years ago which was the low point in one sense, when uprisings stood out even more than they do now. Take, for example, the Houston rebellion and the Moody Park 3 trial. Now it wasn't good that the jury didn't acquit the Moody Park 3, but when you look at both the verdict and the sentence (both of which in that case were set by the same jury) you can see there was a compromise reached where basically they decided that they were not going to do anything heavy to them. That was the compromise. And the simple fact is that a good part of the jury, including even one daughter of a police chief or something, did not believe the police. You know very well, and we can tell people that weren't around in the '50s, that *that* didn't happen then. If "nice officer so-and-so" got up and said that you did thus and so, that was the end of that. And it wasn't only the attitude of the judge, which it still is today, but it was the attitude of the kind of people from the middle classes who got on juries. Their attitude, which is still expressed of course by the judges today, was, "Well, if it wasn't true, why would the officer say it?" This is what judges are supposed to say and do say now, but juries used to have the same attitude. They do not now. There are cases where there are reactionary, outrageous convictions. I'm not saying that juries are a force for revolution, progress or anything like that. But even the fact that it's a not uncommon phenomenon that juries don't believe police has some significance. Whether they think of them as pigs or not, they often don't think of them as the "Police, Authority, Truth, and anyway even if they're lying you still have to go along with them because that's order and the whole fabric of society will come apart if you don't believe them and uphold them and blah, blah, blah." There's still a lot of that attitude, but what's significant is that there is a lot of the opposite attitude even among the "respectable" middle classes who get on juries by and large.

This is another product of the whole changed situation and everything that has gone on since the late '50s and the fact that it hasn't all been reversed. They aren't back to where they were before the whole period of the '60s; both what was happening internationally and what was happening in the U.S. has left its impact and these are changed circumstances. They really are. It's not just a few, scattered, rare individuals out there who see things, like one lawyer I read about in the *RW* who made a statement, in relationship to the case of the UN 2, that: Just because a lot of us have gotten jobs (for example himself as a lawyer) and temporarily made our peace with the system doesn't mean that we don't still hate the things that we hated before; it doesn't mean we like this system or we've accepted it the way it is. And an even more positive example of another lawyer who says, "I still believe in revolution." There was some evidence on that last speaking tour I made of people who came forward, of people who called in, of people who came into the bookstores and contacted us, of a lot of people in the '60s who have not forgotten why it was that they were active then. They've made their "peace" in the sense that they've settled into another kind of life rather than being a movement activist — because they have had to, because the movement did ebb.

Sure, this is different from the people like those in our Party who make the leap to being conscious revolutionaries, to having a grasp of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, communists who are professional revolutionaries, or even if organizationally they don't have the responsibility of full-time work for the Party, still ideologically are full-time revolutionaries; that is, that's what their life is devoted to. Those people, by definition, are the ones who are armed with the line of the Party, whose understanding enables them to see beyond the temporary ebb. But even this was not without a tremendous amount of turmoil and struggle within our own ranks, including a major split. Only through this did we make it through the shoals and rocks and avoid the shipwreck that the other forces who gravitated toward Marxism-Leninism in the U.S. ran into at one point or another along the way — mainly through the course of the '70s, and some even have done so more thoroughly even in recent times. The CWP, which was always opportunist, now has made another leap by reversing, I won't say *correct* verdicts, but reversing a certain verdict they had on the question of revisionism and on the nature of Soviet society as capitalist and the system as imperialist; now they've reversed all that. This kind of opportunism is a double-barreled weapon, aimed both at the masses of people, but also at themselves. When you have this kind

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of opportunist patchwork of a lot of different and contradictory positions, and you attempt to cover them over, eventually it does implode as well as explode.

The main point I'm trying to make here is that many of the people who came through the '60s will come forward again. Not all of them. Some of them have really risen in the world, changed their social position, or become cynical to the point where it's going to take a great deal to shake them out of it in terms of a real mass upheaval and tremendous changes in the world. Maybe even that won't do it, maybe they'll be total cynics if not diehard opponents of revolution. But I really believe that a tremendous number of people from that period will come forward. I think so not just because I want to believe it, but I think we see the signs of it. These individuals are not rare individuals but are more or less typical of a large number of people who went through that period. And if you want to use the analogy, because the war communism was not something that could be maintained indefinitely, they had to "grow up and face their responsibilities." Some of them grew up and faced their responsibilities at age 35 or 32. So it's obviously not a question of age or a question of growing up. They were plenty old enough before that to know what they were doing, unlike what the bourgeoisie wants you to believe. It wasn't just a youthful phase that they outgrew, although there is something to the role of youth and the characteristics of youth that these people exhibited.

Newborn Forces at the Forefront

It's true that we can't expect that these people, many of them, are going to be in the *forefront* the way they were 20 years ago. That would be a mistake. I think that we have to become "not old" ourselves. We have to ourselves grasp what Lenin was talking about when he said communism springs from every pore of society, with regard to the new things that exist. We have to understand them in the new forms, and recognize them in the new forms in which they emerge. The punk scene is not the scene that was among the youth when we were youth. And as much as we are ideologically young, in some ways we're not youth anymore—much as we have tried to be. And I think in large part those of us who have stayed with this and developed and deepened our revolutionary outlook are in some ways younger than we were then. We're the opposite of Bob Dylan; according to what he said he was "so much older than, I'm younger than that now." For us there are some important ways in which that's really true, whereas for him, he was on his way to becoming a lot older, although that didn't show up quite then. He still was contradictory with a strong positive aspect even after he became cynical toward communism. But there are some actual ways in which we are younger than we were then, although on the other hand we're really *not* either. And we have to grasp that too!

We can't expect the rebelliousness of the youth and the social upheaval that's going to characterize the period ahead to take the same form it took in the '60s when we were part of the youth of the time. It's not going to be the same thing, and overall things are going to be more advanced. The things at stake are even more profound. The possibilities are greater as the stakes are greater overall—including the negative aspect of that, the losses that can be incurred can also be greater. Even though there was tremendous repression at that time, the stakes were not as high and even a certain margin of opposition was allowed—not "allowed" in the sense that they encouraged it or didn't mind it, but they were able to make more concessions and maneuver more. And now—while they'll still do that all the way through and it's wrong to think there won't be that aspect—there are going to be even more attempts to just outright suppress it and prevent it.

We have to be prepared for the new forms and ways in which things will arise. Even though in one sense we're younger now, we also can't think that life has stood still or that things are going to reappear the way that we experienced them then. Being younger now, ideologically and politically that is, we should represent even more strongly the new and arising forces in the world. That's what I mean by "younger," we represent even more powerfully and in a more thoroughgoing way the new and arising forces in the world, that is, the proletariat, and the thrust of communism coming through all these different pores of society throughout the world in many different ways and forms. So we can't expect that the thrusts of communism shooting up everywhere are going to be the same ones which we experienced a while back, or else we will be old and we will look and act old to the new forces emerging, whether they themselves are 17 or 37 or 47.

With all this, however, it is still important to grasp that there is a tremendous force of people, a reserve, if you will, of people who were active in the '60s. The most important dimension of this is its expression among the basic proletarian masses, particularly though not only among the Black masses, and also among a number of the proletarians who were youth at that time and part of that movement and who also, while they may have "faced up to their responsibilities" of having a home and family and so on, have not lost all that they gained during that period either. Most basically it's among the proletariat, with a particularly sharp expression among the Black proletarian masses. But also there are tremendous reserves among the people who were the petty-bourgeois youth and students of the time who are now in the middle classes, but who, as society becomes more and more sharply polarized, and particularly as there are leaps in

that, are going to be called into motion by the underlying events that are gathering and the heightening of the contradictions in the world. These people are already and will increasingly be called into motion. Not all of them, certainly, but many of them are going to be a tremendous potential reserve of the class-conscious proletariat.

Reformism's Pull

Of course, it's not going to be without tremendous contradiction. A lot of those people who were active then, who still have some of these sympathies, are largely reformist and social-democratic in their outlook. At least spontaneously and under the influence of opportunists, reformists and revisionists that's what they have drawn out of their experience of the '60s. There is a tremendous effort on the part of those forces, linked up with certain forces within the ruling class itself, to sum up the '60s in that way and to divert people in the more reactionary direction, through reformist channels. And there's going to be tremendous struggle. Ironically, maybe some who have remained active in the movement are a lot harder cases than some of those who haven't because if they stayed active and they didn't gravitate more toward our Party, then they became more conscious in their opposition to that whole kind of a line. That's not to say we should give up on them or not struggle with them or think that all of them are lost either, but they are even a harder case than a lot of those who weren't active. And, of course, we should be so naive (and economist) to think that there won't be tremendous political struggle between different influences and forces among those who are newly coming forward again. In both categories, including even the many who weren't active but still in some general kind of way have followed things or are now beginning to follow them again more closely, a lot of them don't understand the developments that have gone on in the movement. In particular they don't understand what has gone on with our Party. They don't understand its motion and development. They don't understand the leaps it has made as leaps forward and advances.

A lot of them, because they haven't seen the process and don't understand it and also because of their own class biases, think that we're crazy or isolated. Let's face it, these are currents among a lot of these forces that are potential reserves. Again to a significant degree, that's because of their class position and their class bias, which is going to be a problem which is going to be there for a long time. On the other hand, it's also true that to a significant degree it's because they don't know us and also we don't know them, because they haven't been involved—not just in contact with us—but in struggle with us and in unity with us. That is, they haven't been involved in social movement, in struggles where we've also been a part in a kind of united front, and they also haven't been involved in ideological confrontation and struggle with us. And we have to learn how to work with these people. We have maintained and deepened (which is the only way you can maintain) a firm revolutionary stand on the basis of our proletarian internationalist outlook. This means we've deepened our class outlook, not in the narrow, economist sense, but in the broadest sense of moving toward communism on an international scale; we've maintained a firm class position as revolutionary representatives of the international proletariat and as Marxist-Leninists. But a lot of these people hear "Leninists," "Mao Tsetung Thought" and so on and think, "Leninism," "Mao Tsetung Thought"—that's dogmatic by definition! That's the way a lot of these people think: Who goes around talking about *Leninism* and *Mao Tsetung Thought* and so on?

Are Marxist-Leninists Open to Struggle?

It gets back to the same thing we were talking about earlier (see *RW* No. 137) about participatory democracy versus Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought that the Party is based on. In fact the so-called "participatory democracy-ites," the bourgeois democrats, because their outlook is ultimately bourgeois, are a lot more manipulative, are a lot less open to real and principled ideological struggle and real give-and-take and the real recognition that others who disagree with them can nonetheless make a contribution. They are a lot less open to that—and practice has proved and will prove this over and over again—than those who *really* and in a thoroughlygoing revolutionary way apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought (and not dogmatically, which is ultimately reformist). Those who really do this are the *most* open to struggle and most recognize that communism *does* spring from many different pores, and see that even those people who are not consciously communist or even to some degree see themselves as being opposed to it can still contribute to it nonetheless.

There has to be struggle, as well as the attempt to forge unity with a lot of these different forces. It really is what Mao said, that thoroughgoing materialists are fearless. That's why we are trying to both make advances right now and also lay the basis for the future by opening up the pages of the paper to people to struggle over everything from the question of the cosmos, to the question of Brecht, to revolutionary defeatism as opposed to social chauvinism as concentrated around the *Sooner or Later* debate, or a number of other ways in which we are trying to make breakthroughs and to prepare for the future at the same time. The more that we move away from dogmatism—but more, dogmatism-revisionism and economism, even in the "left" form—and away from reformism and toward a more thoroughly, really radical, revolutionary stand, and take up a revolutionary criticism of the old society and also revolutionary destruction in order to carry out construction of the new—the more thoroughly we do that, the more we learn

how to grasp and apply that method, the more we are going to be able to draw these forces toward us, even though many of them, of course, will not and should not actually join the Party (although some should). And we have to work to bring that about too.

A Challenge

We are going to lay the basis both in the upheavals and sharpening situation ahead and even for the more long term toward being able to carry out the policy of unity and struggle with these types of forces; we're going to get to know them and they're going to get to know us better. This itself is going to be a big task. But I think that the forces that are shaping up in the world are increasingly going to call these forces, as well as newborn forces, into motion. This is also going to present them with challenges; they are going to be confronted with whether to stay in or whether to get out of the rut that they've been driven into, or spontaneity has pulled them into, and which to differing but significant degrees many of them recognize that they are in. They stay in it because they don't see the possibility of doing something else.

I think that's going to be changing radically, and we have to find a way to call forth the best from that period, the best in terms of social forces, the best in terms of individuals, and the best *within* individuals. Within different individuals generally, as well as from that period, there are also sharp contradictions; and without getting existentialist about it, focusing on the individual as the main thing, we have to call forth the best in social forces, the best individuals, and the best *within* individuals. But this isn't all—forces are going to be knocking on their door from both sides. That's the kind of thing that sometimes scares people from the middle classes. They wish that nobody would knock on their door, especially in the night. And nobody likes to think about their door being knocked on in the night, because everybody knows that the next thing after the hand knocking on the door is the foot kicking it in. This is what people are afraid of. This is a little bit what they are afraid of with us. This is a little bit the image, the monster, that's conjured up, because of class bias and also in this case because of the mistakes that have been made historically, and because of ignorance on people's part. A lot of people, especially in the middle classes and the more privileged workers and so on, accept the system in the U.S. because, while they know it's not very good and their lives aren't very happy, at least they can go home and their door is not kicked in. The bourgeoisie is going to knock on it, kick it in, shoot through it and what have you, because they are going to be extremely desperate. On our part, too, there is going to be a knocking on the door, but of a different sort. We will be consciously expressing what the situation is presenting anyway—the challenge that's there, and the choice that people are going to have to make. Not that they are going to be confronted with it once, but in a continually sharpening way they are going to be confronted with it.

I think that this is the kind of challenge that is going to be there, increasingly, for people generally, including those who have tasted what it's like when you do throw away your homework, and in a sense know that while things go through spirals and you have to consolidate at given points, you can't be constantly trying to advance, you have to consolidate and then forge the basis for leaps again. Still, these people have experienced what it's like when you can throw away your homework and focus your gaze, your attention, your thinking and your actions on the much higher things in the world. That's the kind of way the question is going to be posing itself. Objectively there's going to be a challenge and we have to find a way to consciously and in a very powerful way present this challenge to these forces, while at the same time recognizing that the main thrust in terms of social forces and motion is *not* going to be especially those '60s forces from the middle classes; they are not going to be the ones who are going to be at the forefront. Some will, but not overall. It's going to be newborn forces. It's going to be class forces such as among the proletariat that are going to be called into motion even more fully by the objective situation and to the degree that we are able to carry out our work correctly, more consciously and around a more thoroughlygoing revolutionary banner than in the past.

But with all that, there is the question still of reserves, and an important reserve is these various kinds of people who did go through the experience of the '60s and did learn some things. Even if they had to temporarily take off their backpacks and pick up their homework and do it again, even put on a suit some of them, and make some compromises, still as things sharpen up and the society more deeply polarizes, many of them are going to be potential reserves, even an *important* potential reserve, and some of them will come to the front lines. So there are many different places we don't now know where communism will spring from. That was Lenin's point. We can and have to predict (and can see already) that the most important thrusts are not going to come from those among the middle classes who were active, for example, in the student movement of the '60s, but are going to be newborn forces and basic proletarian forces. At the same time we have to recognize the tremendous potential there and we have to find the ways to really *move* people in the most profound sense of that word. We have to find the ways, that is, not just to move them physically, not just to have their feet move in action, but to move them by calling forth the best in them that was brought to the fore to a significant degree during the previous period when they were active, and infuse that with an even more conscious content and expression, as is required by what's actually shaping up in the world today.

(To be Continued)

A Delicious Little Hint of the Future

Continued from page 1

According to the State Dept. script, Tardencillas was supposed to tell the press that he had been trained in Cuba and Ethiopia, and sent to El Salvador by the Nicaraguan government before his capture in January, 1981. This was to be a key element in the U.S.' "solid proof" that programmed Soviet-bloc robots are all that oppose them in Central America. Instead, he announced that he had "obviously been presented for purposes of propaganda," and that he had never been to Cuba or Ethiopia. The youth stated that he had been a soldier in the Nicaraguan army who quit to join up on his own initiative with the guerrillas in El Salvador. He showed a scar behind his left ear, a result of surgery to remove blood clots from the beatings he had received in San Salvador that were designed to get him to say what the junta and its masters required. "The day before I came, an officer from the U.S. Embassy told me what I should say. He told me they needed to demonstrate the presence of Cubans in El Salvador. I was given a choice. I could come here and do what I'm doing — or face certain death." But he added, "The North Americans have made a mistake with me because I have decided not to say what they wanted me to say, but the truth." When asked about the dangers of doing this in the U.S.A., Tardencillas replied, "I know whose hands I am in. I am a revolutionary..."

The reporters present could not believe their ears, making the young Nicaraguan repeat some of his statements twice. In fact, Fischer handed a written question to a reporter, "requesting" that Tardencillas be asked one more time about receiving training outside Nicaragua before he went to El Salvador. No luck, as Tardencillas patiently repeated that he had not. In summation, an anonymous senior official moaned to the *New York Times*, "It was a disaster. I don't know whether to laugh or cry." But he *did* know — this was indeed a disaster for the U.S. imperialists, and not a laughing matter.

In the public eye, a different face was required. Ronald Reagan courageously launched a counterattack, calling Tardencillas "a liar" from the safety of the White House lawn. The media decided to downplay this tack somewhat, perhaps feeling that given the reputation of the accuser, it could only add to Tardencillas' credibility. "Courage" also entered the picture in another form. Incredibly, the PBS McNeill-Lehrer report featured praise for *Dean Fischer* for "courageously" letting the press conference continue. They neglected to mention that by the time Fischer understood what was happening, it would have been the height of blatancy to call a halt — and only damage the effort even more. The captive had turned the tables on the captors; now they were the ones who were trapped. Of course, no mention of *Tardencillas'* courage was made in the U.S. press.

Then there was the problem of figuring out how such a "disaster" could have occurred. Immediately after the press conference, State Dept. and CIA officials were sent off to investigate how it had happened. Then, the thought struck. It

must have been a sinister plot. Reagan publicly expressed surprise that "no one speculated about the possibility... (that it) might have been a set-up." In other words, in the frantic search for the cause of this plot-finding fiasco, the first thing which pops into the imperialists' heads is a plot. But all the circumstances for this plot unfortunately pointed the wrong way, unless one is such an imperialist stooge as to entertain seriously the idea that Nicaragua also ordered Tardencillas to torture himself and perform self-surgery so that he would have the scars to show for it. And what about the brilliant idea, carried out by the U.S. Embassy official, to threaten Tardencillas with death unless he came to Washington, D.C. to hold the press conference? Was this a Soviet plot, also? Maybe the Cubans ordered a little birdie to whisper it into the official's ear.

This preposterous search for a set-up, combined with the investigations on the theme of "How could we have been so dumb?", are really quite understandable. The bourgeoisie has a basic ideological problem here, and it is hard for them, given their decrepit world outlook, to explain what has happened. Of course there are revolutionary youth — and lots of them — supporting and making revolution in El Salvador and other places. Of course those youth, in Nicaragua and elsewhere, are going to want to go to those revolutionary hot spots to fight against imperialism and all reaction. But to the imperialists, who can't fathom the revolutionary consciousness and struggle of the masses, all this can only be evidence of a "Soviet plot." The Soviets certainly have designs on Central America and there certainly is Soviet influence there, including among the revolutionary youth, but this is principally a question of *political line* — which is

not the neat exhibit the U.S. imperialists were looking for at their press conference. And their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union suffer from the same blind spot. Compare, for example, the Soviets' view of the upheavals in Poland as a "U.S. plot" with the U.S. view of the war in Central America as a "Soviet plot." When it comes to underestimating the masses, the imperialists make the same basic mistakes over and over; and it is this blind spot which may indeed prove fatal to them in the future.

In great haste, U.S. officials got it together to whisk Tardencillas off to the Nicaraguan Embassy in the middle of the night — undoubtedly on the condition that they get him out of the country right away, and promise not to schedule any more press conferences for him in the U.S. While they obviously would have liked to give him a heavy dose of their bourgeois justice, they knew enough to realize that the international political repercussions of such an attempt would be enormous — both from their imperialist rivals and from the masses. (While it is true that they always underestimate the masses, that doesn't mean that they are blind to the surface manifestations of what they cannot comprehend in its depths.) Tardencillas' arrival in Nicaragua was a cause for wild celebration, with school children cheering him at the airport and a joyous crowd gathering in Managua. Apparently the Nicaraguan masses knew whether to laugh or cry over this incident. Those sentiments — and celebrations of various forms — were shared by millions all over Latin America, and indeed the rest of the world as well. One of those who "do not exist" in the calculations of imperialists had slapped them upside-the-head. What a delicious little hint of the future! []

Ballots and Bullets in Guatemala

Continued from page 2

are hopeful that the government emerging from Sunday's election can persuade the U.S. Congress to lift its ban on military aid to Guatemala (enacted in 1977 as part of the Carter administration's "human rights" charade—*RW*) by reducing indiscriminate repression in rural areas." (A little *discriminate* repression is, needless to say, quite in line with U.S. congressional sensibilities!)

But the problem for the U.S. rulers has little, if anything, to do with military aid. Carter's "human rights" was indeed a charade. As planned, the junta has had little trouble skirting the aid ban in the past four years since the military equipment it needs has been funneled through other client regimes of imperialism like Israel and Argentina (some \$270 million worth). And since the ban applies only to military aid, the junta had no problem with furnishing its counter-insurgency forces with a fleet of "civilian" helicopters purchased directly and openly from the U.S., which then had machine-guns mounted on them and were painted olive green.

No, there are other more pressing problems here. And one of these is the U.S.'s attempts to paint a more "reasonable" face on its murderous Guatemalan hitmen who have gained a reputation for running the most brazenly repressive regime in Latin America. Indeed, the U.S. rulers' deep-felt concern for human rights was demonstrated right after the Reagan administration took office when it dispatched a retired General and recent CIA employee, Vernon Walters, to Guatemala allegedly to inform President Lucas Garcia that political assassinations would have to be "controlled." In the past year or so, such control has been admirably exercised as a mere 13,500 people (mostly Indians and peasants) have been murdered by the regime.

Unfortunately, however, those murdered have included not only what are referred to in Guatemalan ruling circles as "the tortureable classes," but hundreds of trade union leaders, teachers, journalists and priests as well as the Christian Democratic leaders referred to above and other prominent social-democratic figures who are also pro-Western imperialist. While the particular clique of pro-U.S. compradors in power

certainly has U.S. blessings—including for the basic thrust of its vicious repression campaign—still such moves, especially against these upper strata, do have double edged results. For one thing, this has driven much of the social-democrats, largely petty bourgeois social base into support for the guerrillas and the armed resistance. For another, in conditions where there is a strong pro-Soviet revisionist influence in the movement, it has put a number of basically pro-Western imperialist political forces, like the leaders of the Christian Democrats, in a position where they are much more likely to pursue their fortunes by striking a deal with a rival set of imperialists—the Soviets. This sort of new alignment of pro-imperialist forces is very much at the heart of the Soviets' current "historic compromise" strategy for Latin America and would create similar problems as the U.S. is now facing in El Salvador, where a section of pro-Western imperialist forces have now aligned themselves with pro-Soviet forces in the FDR.

In this light, and in light of the stunning embarrassment of the elections, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders was moved to complain that the junta's policies were polarizing the country and that moderates "are not being permitted to move forward." This is similar to recent U.S. statements about how the Lucas government "has refused to help us help them." (Or as Gerardo Rivera put it another way, "The generals are their own worst enemies.") What this means is that while keeping the military and its vicious repression intact is the bottom line as far as maintaining the hold of U.S. imperialism on the country, at the same time the cohesive strength of the pro-Western imperialist forces there must also be preserved, or things will turn into their opposite for the U.S. Given this, the possibility of a U.S.-inspired coup sometime in the future cannot at all be ruled out (there has recently been some talk of the "virtues" of some of the military's junior officers). Thus, Enders coyly demurred that "We take the Guatemalan situation very seriously but we have not committed to the government in the way we have in El Salvador. It is important to see where we are going before

we commit."

This, of course, is the height of hypocrisy considering that the United Fruit Co. moved into Guatemala in the early 1900s, grabbed up millions of acres of the choicest land, and virtually ran the country, designing the railroads and the entire transport system to cater to their banana business (hence, Guatemala became the U.S.'s original "banana republic"). Since then, the U.S. "commitment" referred to by Enders has been amply demonstrated many times—just a hint of which can be gleaned from looking at what happened beginning in the late 1960s.

Then, in response to the armed struggle, the U.S. mounted what was known as "Operation Guatemala," a massive counter-insurgency campaign modeled after the notorious "Operation Phoenix" in Vietnam. To carry this out some 25 foreign service officials, i.e. top counter-insurgency experts, were eventually transferred from Vietnam to Guatemala to direct operations which included, among other things, "pacification" (total destruction) of entire villages, the establishment of "free-fire zones," and the murder of 15,000 people in a couple of years. Green Berets openly roamed the streets of cities like Zacapa as the napalm exploding on surrounding hillsides gave searing testimony to the fact that the U.S. was (and still is) not one bit less committed to its Guatemalan puppets as it was to its successive regimes in Saigon.

It was during this period that the clandestine death squads were created (in 1966) at the suggestion of Col. John Webber, Chief of the U.S. Military Mission, and trained as experts in U.S. torture methods, assassination and disposal of bodies by helicopter at sea (Webber was killed by guerrillas the following year). This imperialist repression and murder continued throughout the '70s as one new counter-insurgency campaign after another was mounted under the Arana, Laugerud and Lucas military regimes—all of them, of course, duly elected at the polls. And in response to the resurgence of the armed struggle of the masses in the past few years, the slaughter has reached unprecedented proportions. Today, the regime doesn't even bother to disguise the fact that the death squads

operate directly and openly out of an office in the presidential palace. It is little wonder, then, that the U.S. rulers had hoped the latest elections would give them some ammunition for even the most pitiful pretense that all this is merely "the mandate of the people."

Failing that, however, it was left for the U.S. and its various media stooges to wag their tails between their legs and try and blame the election debacle on the revolutionaries. True to form, Gerardo Rivera appeared on ABC's 20/20 show with his own personal theory that the guerrillas (who, in fact, boycotted the elections completely) had actually *encouraged* people to vote for Guevara in order to polarize things and instigate trouble. Uh huh... And when he was asked "Don't people *fear* the military?", Rivera (who was reportedly hit with a rifle butt during his arrest) replied, "Oh no, the people L-O-V-E the army!" Meanwhile the TV screen convincingly flashed a couple of shots of some unsmiling peasants accepting handshakes from a group of Guatemalan soldiers cradling M-16s.

However, the truth about the army's "comradely" relationship with the Guatemalan people, and a sickening reminder of what lies behind this latest exercise in Guatemalan democracy, was brutally revealed on election day itself. The death squads invaded two isolated villages in Guatemala's Quiché province, slashing the throats of over 200 Indian men, women and children and beheading some of them—an incident which one U.S. radio news report cynically summed up as "an indication of increased leftist activity in the area..." Such desperate, and it must be said, perverse, attempts by the U.S. rulers to prettify its blood-stained Guatemala client regime only serve to emphasize that not only were the elections and the events surrounding them a major blow to such efforts, but, more, they do not bode well at all for the disintegrating hold of U.S. imperialism on Guatemala or, for that matter, the rest of Central America either. []

El Salvador

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moments in our lives, situations that transcend responsibilities to families, friends. To me this was one of those moments. I didn't know where it would take me but I felt the responsibility and I said "Yes" to that. The idea behind it, of course, was to try to relieve some of the suffering and pain that we saw.

Before leaving I wrote a letter explaining my motives, a letter that was supposed to surface in a couple of days because I was to be travelling, I needed time. I had to get out of the capital, past the road blocks, into what we call a liberated zone. Well that letter didn't surface until I came out about ten days later, just a few hours after I came out. That wasn't intended. That letter caused a lot of anguish. It may have been part of the implications I didn't think out.

But the journey began. I started walking at night with the guerrilla movement, with other people who weren't armed, the landless peasants. And I spent time with them—did a lot of talking and a lot of listening. The people didn't have to talk really, they didn't have to say anything. The people I lived with these ten days, victims of the system, their lifestyle is their testimony, the way they live, most living in a one room shack, dirt floor, no lights, no running water—so poor! *No servanis*. You sit down for a plate of frijoles—at times—beans, tortillas—that's it. You go to bed hungry—I was hurting. In those ten days I lost fifteen pounds. They go through this day-in, day-out. What was ten days? A moment—a moment in their lives.

But they do talk. They don't have to speak but they talk a lot, about the struggle, about their reality—*realidad*. They don't speak about Europe, the United States. They speak about their reality. Most of all they speak about the children, their children whom they love deeply. They speak about malnutrition. They speak about their children who die. Among the landless peasants forty percent of their children die before reaching the age of six. They speak about illiteracy. Half of their people can't read or write for the lack of schools. They speak about unemployment. Half of their people are unemployed and those who work, the campesinos, the landless peasants, they earn \$150-\$200 per year.

And often I would ask them, "¿Señor, quien es el dueño...?" "Who is the owner of the land?" "¿Lo siento pero no sé..." "I'm sorry but I don't know." For twenty years his family has been subjugated working this land in a situation of suffering and struggle and they don't know who the owner is. *Incredible!*

The people speak with fear, you know. Fear is very alive there. They speak with a lot of fear and that is simply because there is death all over—people being killed. The woman, Señora Rodriguez, forty nine years old, her husband, her two teen-

age sons, dragged out of the house and shot before her eyes, put on an ordinary truck and hauled away. And I would ask, "¿Por qué?" "Why?" She would say, well, she didn't know, but "they went into the capital for a demonstration, they attended Bishop Romero's funeral." Or we have this young fellow in his middle thirties, his wife raped and murdered. "¿Por qué?" "Why?" "Well she was a factory worker. She and others tried to organize a union." That is dangerous, that is outlawed. A lot of union people, people trying to organize unions, have been killed and so people join the ranks of the guerrillas.

The young fellow, Juan, fourteen years old, the guerrilla. I met him in the mountains there, incredible little fellow. He had a pistol under his belt. His entire family wiped out; his parents, two sisters and brothers—Why? They too were subversive. So you see he will not return to his pueblo, no way. They would kill him. You see there are eyes and ears around looking out for subversives, people denouncing people, the subversives.

Who are the subversives? We have to clarify. Anyone speaking about "Nueva Sociedad"—the new society, a new system—"Nuevo Sistema", or "Nueva Persona"—new person, or speaking against "los ricos"—the rich, or against "Los Estados Unidos"—the United States, or speaking words such as "la justicia"—justice, or words like "Liberación." *To speak of liberation, you are suspect.* And these are the people who are being hunted and killed.

No such things as defense lawyers, lawyers wouldn't dare to defend, or judges try to accuse. A body, when they find a body that body can't be touched until the judge personally comes and writes out a request and that body is marked on the chest so that the family can come and claim the body. *Intimidation!* Look at some of these photographs! *Decapitated!* It will be left at the entrance of the town to instill fear in people. The message is if you speak out as this person, you will end up the same way. *Incredible!*

A lot of fear. At night sometimes I just got a few glimpses of that. A knock would come on the door. We'd scatter! My heart would just stop. We thought it was the military. I would have been killed. They would be looking for someone as they often do, especially now, what we call search and destroy missions. They come looking. They have the weapons, the trucks...

Another thing you know—the anger—they express a lot of anger. They would say, "¿Cómo es posible...?" ...just asking how is it possible? They would ask me as a North American, "How is it possible for your country to be arming this group, a dictatorship?" And then I would ask them often about President Duarte, I mean, "Who is this man?"

"A Notre Dame graduate, coming into our country, appointed by the military to be our president, this is your president. He's here to represent you." And they

would say, "No". Just by referring to him as president was an insult. And they ask, "¿Cómo es posible...?" You send M16s, Huey helicopters, advisors who are training these people to kill...

Along with many of these people, I met when we were out with the guerrillas, we had also arranged to go out with one of the junta's patrols. Here is the Captain of the patrol, trained in Panama by our Rangers. The piece of equipment he had—I read it—"Mo-to-ro-la, Motoro-la." His boots, hell, I used those boots in Vietnam, the same boots used now in El Salvador. That M16 he had, where did it come from? Those Huey helicopters that scared the hell out of them at times? Ours! All I could say in response to the peoples' questions was "No sé", I don't know. We in the United States are not aware.

But I don't know if I was totally honest. I was not totally honest with a lot of people I said that to. There are people in this country, in the Pentagon, in the State Department, in high positions who know what is going on. *They know, they know.* However their decisions are made to protect the interests of their class. President Reagan, General Haig, the majority of our representatives in Washington—they're into a different lifestyle. They do not know by name too many people in El Salvador who are living under those conditions I saw. I think they know the situation and that the source of that problem is not communism.

Like you need a communist to tell a person who has lost two of their five children from malnutrition that somehow to fight for food, to say that "I have a right to live, I have a right to life," somehow labels the person a communist? That is what they are guilty of. It's cruel and unjust and that has to be identified. *And I am angry!* I am angry at this country for blaming the poor, the victims of the system. I am angry at our Church for its silence, for its lack of compassion. Most of all, I am angry at our leaders because they know!

You see, there is no turning your back, there is no way. Well, they know, they know what they are doing, the people in the Pentagon and whose interests they are protecting. The poor and the oppressed, they also know. There are also Christians there, people of the faith, faith in a loving God. You see, people in struggle have reached the point where they too know. They know there is no reason why people in their country have to die. They know that their country can sustain their five million people plus many more. And there's no reason why people should be murdered and mutilated. And they know that their exploitation by the rich, by the aristocracy who are laying heavy burdens on their backs—they know that the poverty and the suffering, all these things are contradictions, contradictions to the divine plan of creation. And they've got a calling, they've got a plan. And their plan is to change that, to subvert it. They are subversives. They are going to subvert the system of exploitation and bring about what they consider what the world should be all about, what Creation should be all about, where people should live as human beings.

One last thing. They talked with fear, they talked with anger. The Church there—I'm proud of the Church there. It's taken a stand, a courageous stand. As a result of taking a stand, Pope John Paul himself talked about that if we are to be a credible Church of authentic Christians

there's no way out; we've got to be allied with the poor and the oppressed and their struggle. There's no other way. The Church in El Salvador is trying to do that, all of the different denominations. However they're paying the price. They are joining the ranks of the poor and they are getting tortured. They are getting raped. They are getting killed. They are disappearing. But that struggle continues, you know. I want to mention this: to have a Bible in El Salvador is to be subversive. A radical book there. *Incredible!*

We have what we call the "Comunidades de Base", a basic Christian community. They're coming to life. I think they are going to influence the Church in the United States and hopefully shake us out of our apathy, out of our silence. But these Christians come together, exploited people, the dispossessed of our world, God's chosen ones, however. And they come together at night in groups like the early Christians' community, with a lot of fear, a lot of fear. People have had their homes burned for having a Bible in their homes. But they come together and just read and reflect this spirit of a loving God.

One thing that just amazed me when I was there more than anything else was this thing of hope. They spoke with a lot of fear, a lot of anger. I found a lot of despair also, to be honest. People just crying, "What is going to happen to us?" A mother who had lost her two children, her husband, everything. But transcending that was hope—hope. But it wasn't a false hope. It was a hope that their loved ones didn't die in vain, that somehow, justice will triumph. "Justicia va a triunfar".

I want to end by saying that this is where you and I come in. We have a role to play here. Our country has taken a side. It's not on the side of the victims and the dispossessed, the poor and the oppressed. It is on the side of those who are exploiting, laying heavy burdens on the backs of the people who are saying "Basta", we can not take it anymore. They say it, they say it. I think we are called to take a side. There is no neutral ground. "The junta there—moderate. The problem is the far right and the far left". *No*, we are being lied to and we are being deceived. There are two sides—those who are doing the killing, those who are doing the exploiting, those who are oppressing, and those who are the victims, our brothers and sisters, who are living under conditions that we saw in this brief testimony that I have given.

I would like for us to be able to think what we can do, to express that—a call for solidarity, to work for that and justice, I think we are in a position here to do that. All I think of is Resistance, Resistance, speaking out, breaking out of our silence!

How do we do that? I have no package deal. I think Machado says it best, a Spanish poet, who says, "Caminantes," "Sojourners," we are all sojourners, pilgrims in this journey. "No hay camino". There is no road to peace today. How true it is. Our leaders telling us "that's the enemy. Let's invest our money in billions of dollars of bombs. That's where our trust, where our security is. That's the enemy." He says, "El Camino se hace al andar". "The road is made by walking," one step at a time. I think we are called to do that, to travel—with the poor. []

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Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Compañeros,

I am a prisoner in San Quentin and would like for you Brothers and Sisters to send me any literature possible, especially books on "Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought." There are many in here also that once I educate myself for our struggle, I would also share and lead them also towards a better understanding of what the capitalist system has done to many of us and to refuse to be beaten down and join the struggle for a better life for all people of all classes. I look forward to those books and any other literature. I will save what money I can get and put in my share and contribution toward this Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund. On to May 1!

Comrades,

It was brought to my attention by a fellow P.O.W. that the *Revolutionary Worker* is free to inmates. If that is so, could you please start sending to me. Because as we all know, the C.I.A.-controlled media either gives up half-truths or whole lies.
All Power to the People and United We Will WIN!!!

Your Comrade

Dear Comrades,

I am locked inside the walls of the O.P. Reception unit in X and have read *Barricades in Berlin* and also would like to get the latest copy of *Liberation Distributors*. I also would like to know how to get a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* inside to share with the prisoners. Here, when you arrive, they take everything from you except your soap, towel and washcloths and then they cut your hair like Reagan's and then spray you with D.D.T. like you're an insect — and then have the nerve to ask you to tell them if you have ever been a criminal before this charge. Some people are here for taking some food out of Kroger's that have a prior petty theft and are doing 6 mos. to 1 year for a 90c can of food. Also they do not care if you have clean uniforms and they have no real laundry services for reception prisoners. And when they finally do wash your clothes and they get lost, you are told to wait until they decide to wash clothes again before they will look for your clothes. Then they want to know why inmates rebel and tear up and burn down prisons. Also I would like to be kept up on the D.C. 79 trial of the Mao defendants.
U.S. out of El Salvador!

In Struggle

Dear RW,

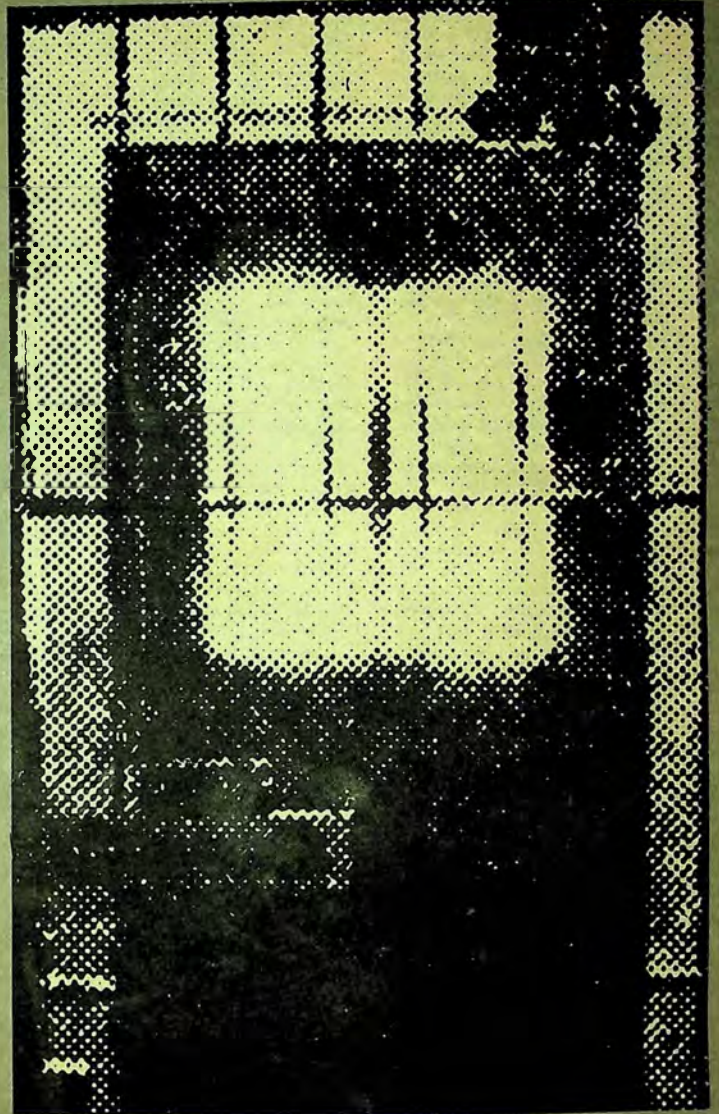
I waited until now to respond to your letter of 1-22-82, because it took this long for the Media Review Committee and the Deputy Superintendent of Programs to decide "Coming From Behind" and "Crucial Questions" is something I shouldn't be allowed to read.

The reason being they say is that it advocates the violent overthrow of the govt. Of course I appealed this decision, not permitting me to have this publication, but I don't really expect any positive reply. However, the appeal is part of exhaustion of administrative remedies before filing a suit in court for denial of one's constitutional rights. I don't really believe they have the right to deny one reading material. We shall see. In the meantime, I'm wondering if the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper is being sent to me? I have not received but one issue since Dec. '81. I'm wondering if these people are keeping them, destroying them or what. I did write regarding the change of address to this new address. Could you check this? Let me know? I'll continue to read what I've received so far. As of yet they're unaware that I have "Black Nationalist With Communistic Inclinations," "New Programme and New Constitution," and "Summing Up the Black Panther Party." I had "The Science of Revolution," but I let someone read it, and during a shakedown of his cell, they confiscated the book as contraband. I'm sure as soon as they become aware that I have these books they'll take them. The last institution I was in let these books in. This one won't. However, I don't think they'll stop the paper from coming in.

I have a New York City address of the RCP. When I get out in a few months, I think I'll visit and get involved.

Please advise regarding the paper.

In Struggle



The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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