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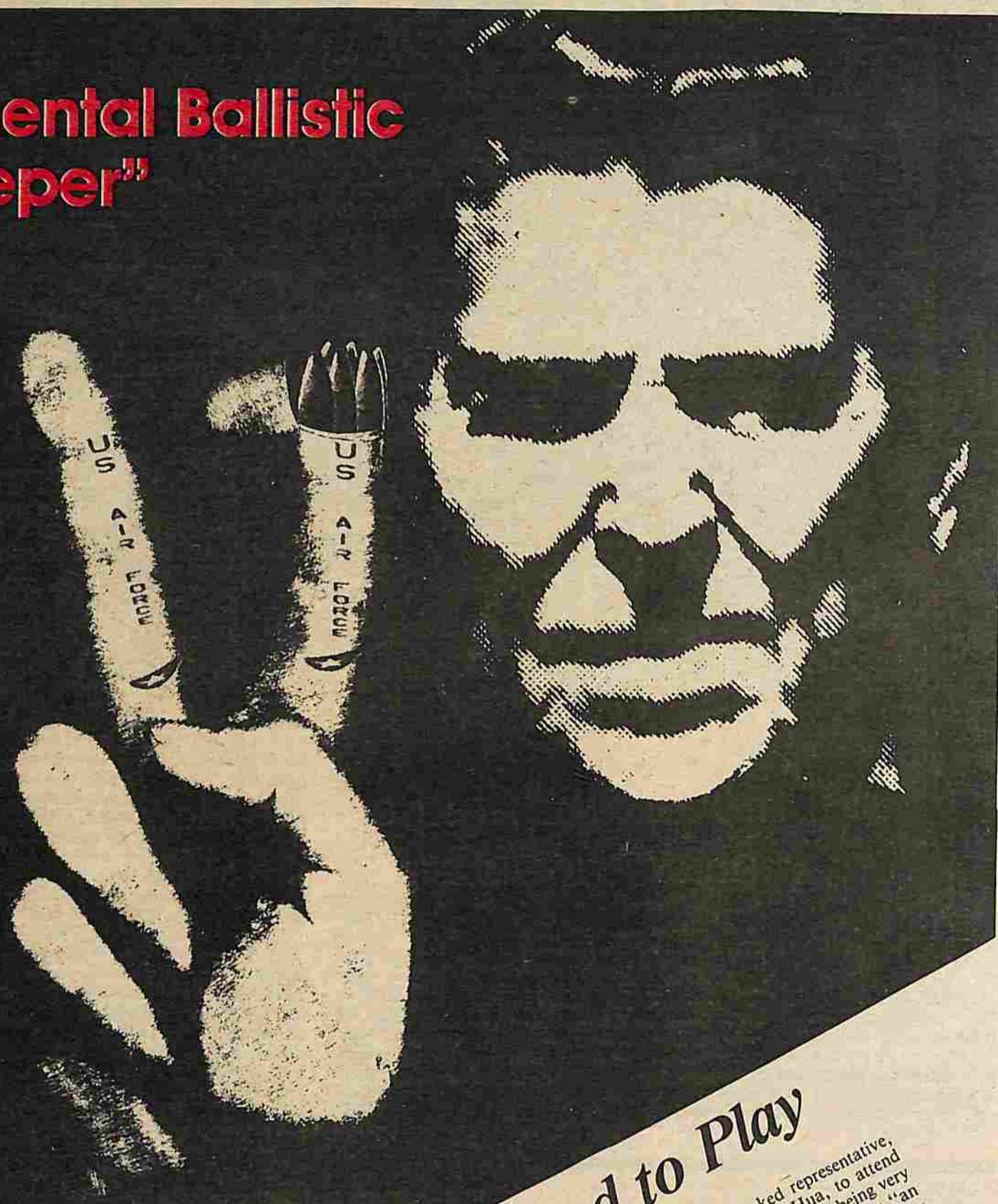
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Reagan MX Plan: Intercontinental Ballistic "Peacekeeper"

On November 22 Ronald Reagan announced his decision to deploy the U.S.' latest instrument for world peace — the "dense pack deployment" of the MX "Peacekeeper" missile. Bourgeois liberals may call this decision to deploy 100 missiles, each carrying 15-20 nuclear warheads, and then dubbing it "Peacekeeper," a mockery of U.S. efforts to "achieve peace and deterrence in a nuclear world." Some are already saying that this decision is a "blow to U.S. arms control efforts." But the announcement and the dubbing of the "Peacekeeper" serves as an absolutely splendid crystallization of what all the imperialists' arms control efforts and peace talk are all about and what the bottom line for them is, has been, and will be.

The MX speech showed that Reagan had been listening to and learning something from his liberal opponents. The cowboy who they wag their fingers at managed to deliver up a fine parody of all of their more refined contributions to the pre-war peace wars with the Soviets. In fact it was impossible to tell when the "peace through strength" talk began and when the talk of reducing the threat of nuclear war ended. And the more people that spend less time trying to make such distinctions, the better. Reagan also showed that he had been listening to the concerns of the masses of people, illustrating quite well a point made by Bob Avakian recently: "They will listen in order to be able to better tactically maneuver in order to line people up on their side in this coming showdown. In other words it's like the line in the fairy tale, 'All the better to eat you with.'" Thus Reagan holstered his pistol on a number of points and expressed his heartfelt concern for the mothers and children "in a world where peace is

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China/Soviet Talks Dealing the China Card—A Risky Hand to Play

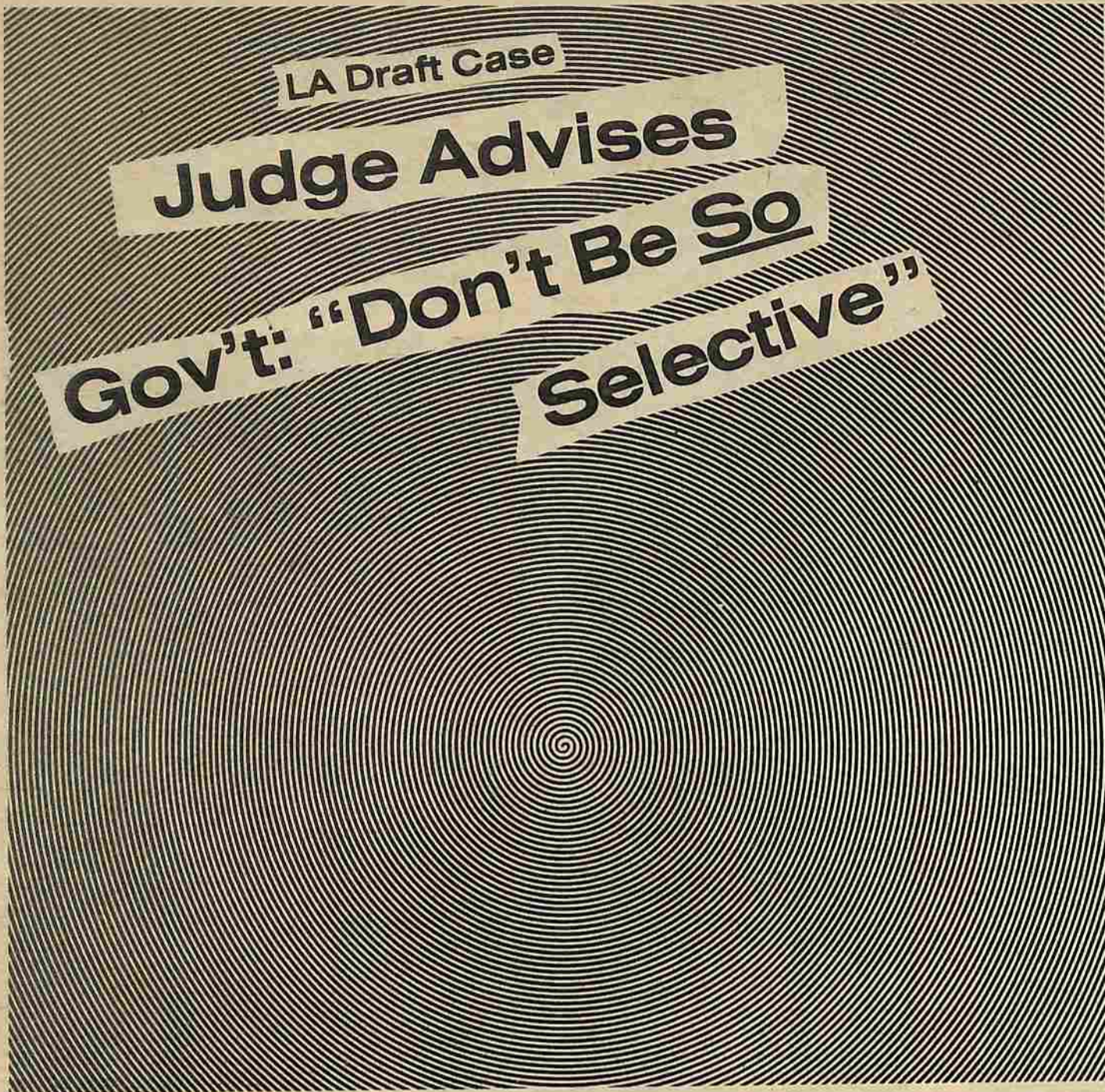
In a speech to the head honchos of the Soviet military establishment only two weeks before he finally kicked the bucket, Leonid Brezhnev put the recent Soviet overtures toward China squarely in the context of the intensifying contention between the Soviet and U.S. imperialists. Brezhnev called for stepped-up arms build-up, Soviet experts in the U.S. commented that Brezhnev "was in effect throwing down the gauntlet to the U.S." Obviously referring to some of the traditions that are flaring up as the U.S. hammers out its war bloc, Brezhnev said that Washington's "adventurism, rude-

ness and undisguised egoism" is arousing "growing indignation in many countries, including those allied with the U.S." Then Brezhnev went on to specifically mention China, saying, "We sincerely want a normalization of relations with that country and are doing everything in our power toward this end. In Peking, they also say now that normalization is desirable." One Western diplomat was quoted in news reports as saying of the speech that, "It was pure cold-warism. The message for the U.S. was, 'We are going to meet you tit-for-tat on arms, and let China be a warning that we have some cards we can pull out of the hat, too.'"

What made Brezhnev's use of the "China card" in this speech more than a mere bluff was the fact that the Soviet Union and China had just completed the first round of normalization talks in early October in Peking, and talks were expected to continue early next year in Moscow. Brezhnev's funeral put a spotlight on what, on the surface at least, seemed to be a budding romance between the revisionists in Moscow and Peking. China's very

choice of a high-ranked representative, foreign minister Huang Hua, to attend the funeral was interpreted as being very significant. Huang called Brezhnev "an outstanding statesman" whose memory was held in "reverence" by the Chinese people and said that "his death is a great loss to his country and his people." On his return to Peking, Huang told reporters that he had discussed with Gromyko, his counterpart in Moscow, ways of achieving progress "on substantive matters" and that he was "optimistic" about the prospect for China-Soviet talks. The *New York Times* report on Huang Hua's activities in Moscow clearly reflected the U.S.' concern with these goings-on.

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On November 15th U.S. District Judge Hatter in Los Angeles dismissed the charges against draft resister David Wayte. Wayte had been one of the 13 men so far indicted for refusing to register for the draft. Before this ruling, all four who had been tried on these charges had been convicted, including Ben Sasway in San Diego who was sentenced to a two-year federal jail term. All of these 13, including the 8 not yet tried and whose cases are not affected by Hatter's ruling, are vocal opponents of the draft and as a result were singled out for prosecution. (Wayte and 11 others had written letters to government officials declaring their refusal to register, the 13th was turned in by a snitch.) Hatter's ruling accepted the obvious, saying that prosecution of only vocal opponents was "discriminatory prosecution." Hat-

ter further ruled that then-President Carter's proclamation establishing the registration was itself invalid because it was implemented without the 30-day waiting period (for "public discussion") mandated by law.

So what gives? A progressive and path-breaking ruling by a maverick L.A. judge, a "mad Hatter"? A threat to present and future government plans to prosecute and jail draft opponents? Think again...

That the government was going after vocal draft opponents has never really been concealed. In a memo dated July 9, 1982 turned over to the defense in Wayte's case by the government, Asst. Attorney General Jensen states openly that the Justice Department's prosecutive policy is designed to ensure that only persons who are most adamant in their

refusal to register will be prosecuted. That memo also states the view expressed by government officials in other draft cases that "The first wave of prosecutions would encourage other non-registrants to register." And the government certainly has a big problem here since even by their own latest admission there are at least 585,000 men who have refused to register (and the actual number is certainly far greater).

Hatter has said to federal prosecutors: "Don't be so selective." They have responded: "Very well, we won't!" In fact, on the very same day of Hatter's ruling, the government proceeded to add 5 new names to its prosecutorial hit-list, names of men who are not necessarily vocal draft opponents. The Selective Service System announced it was sending these five new names, obtained through

Social Security records, to the Justice Department for prosecution. Hatter's ruling is simply part of a larger package in which the government is now broadening its scope, an attempt to intimidate not only the more active anti-draft elements, but also the larger number of non-compliant young men who have not, for various reasons, been drawn into the anti-draft movement, who have not written letters, etc. The government's strategy here will be similar to that of the first round of indictments: "Prosecute a few as a message to the others." It is undoubtedly aimed in particular at the oppressed nationalities.

In his ruling, Hatter calls for an "active" enforcement policy. "(According to the Jensen memo) the Selective Service System now has access to all Social Security records and has 'merely implemented an active enforcement policy,' based on the use of those records to identify non-registrants. If an active system were implemented, the memorandum anticipated that Selective Service would refer mass numbers of non-registrants to the Justice Department. In that case, an appropriate selection system, probably based on randomness, would be implemented. Random selection is a valid basis on which to justify prosecutions of non-registrants." It is likely that this dismissal was worked out some time ago. Early on in the Wayte case, Hatter indicated he might rule that there had been selective prosecution and he offered the following advice to the prosecutor: "Why don't we dismiss this case and wait until you have a better way to implement your law." As regards the nature of Hatter's "30-day waiting period" ruling, this is simply a warning that the government should clean up its act and avoid legal challenges on a mere technicality.

Much has been made in the press of Hatter's order during the trial that Presidential Advisor Edwin Meese testify about certain high-level administration meetings and that the government turn over to the defense certain documents relating to these meetings. General strategy regarding the first round of indictments against open draft opponents was mapped out at these meetings. Some of those involved were: Meese, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, the White House National Security Advisor, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Director of the Selective Service System. The public airing of the full contents of these meetings was something the government could not go for — prosecutors claimed "executive privilege." Of course, in a much publicized "leak" to the *Washington Post* some months ago, enough of the contents of these meetings was aired to make the point that the first round of indictments would in fact be extremely "selective," that the targets would be well chosen. Whatever else was discussed will remain a government secret, most definitely *not* something for public scrutiny. □

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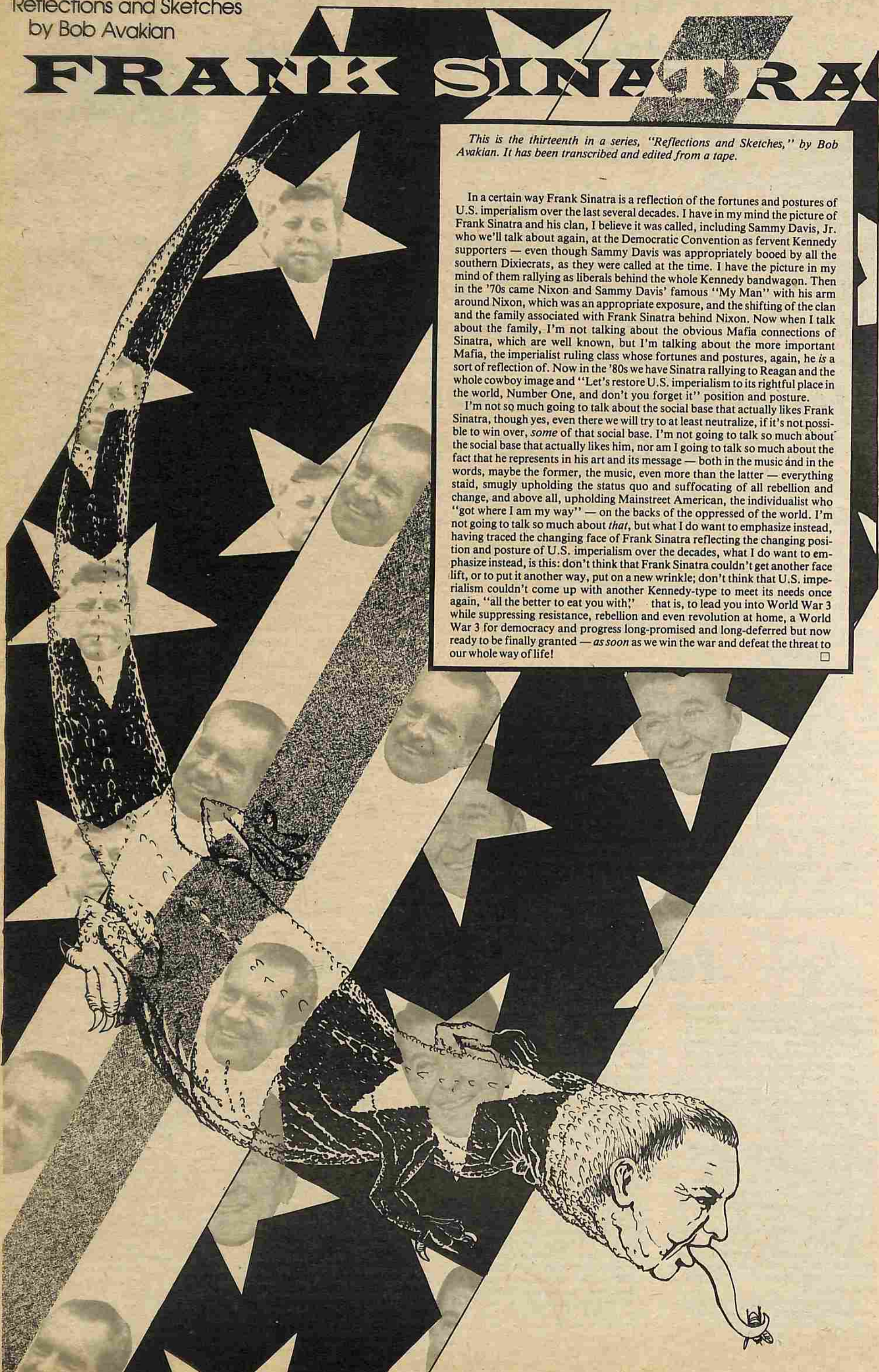
Reflections and Sketches
by Bob Avakian

FRANK SINATRA

This is the thirteenth in a series, "Reflections and Sketches," by Bob Avakian. It has been transcribed and edited from a tape.

In a certain way Frank Sinatra is a reflection of the fortunes and postures of U.S. imperialism over the last several decades. I have in my mind the picture of Frank Sinatra and his clan, I believe it was called, including Sammy Davis, Jr. who we'll talk about again, at the Democratic Convention as fervent Kennedy supporters — even though Sammy Davis was appropriately booed by all the southern Dixiecrats, as they were called at the time. I have the picture in my mind of them rallying as liberals behind the whole Kennedy bandwagon. Then in the '70s came Nixon and Sammy Davis' famous "My Man" with his arm around Nixon, which was an appropriate exposure, and the shifting of the clan and the family associated with Frank Sinatra behind Nixon. Now when I talk about the family, I'm not talking about the obvious Mafia connections of Sinatra, which are well known, but I'm talking about the more important Mafia, the imperialist ruling class whose fortunes and postures, again, he is a sort of reflection of. Now in the '80s we have Sinatra rallying to Reagan and the whole cowboy image and "Let's restore U.S. imperialism to its rightful place in the world, Number One, and don't you forget it" position and posture.

I'm not so much going to talk about the social base that actually likes Frank Sinatra, though yes, even there we will try to at least neutralize, if it's not possible to win over, *some* of that social base. I'm not going to talk so much about the social base that actually likes him, nor am I going to talk so much about the fact that he represents in his art and its message — both in the music and in the words, maybe the former, the music, even more than the latter — everything staid, smugly upholding the status quo and suffocating of all rebellion and change, and above all, upholding Mainstreet American, the individualist who "got where I am my way" — on the backs of the oppressed of the world. I'm not going to talk so much about *that*, but what I do want to emphasize instead, having traced the changing face of Frank Sinatra reflecting the changing position and posture of U.S. imperialism over the decades, what I do want to emphasize instead, is this: don't think that Frank Sinatra couldn't get another face lift, or to put it another way, put on a new wrinkle; don't think that U.S. imperialism couldn't come up with another Kennedy-type to meet its needs once again, "all the better to eat you with," that is, to lead you into World War 3 while suppressing resistance, rebellion and even revolution at home, a World War 3 for democracy and progress long-promised and long-deferred but now ready to be finally granted — *as soon* as we win the war and defeat the threat to our whole way of life! □



STOP THE EXTRADITION OF HÜSEYİN BALKIR

It has now been well over two months that W. German authorities have held Hüseyin Balkir in prison pending deportation to Turkey. This fact alone is an indication of the seriousness of the case, since the blatant illegality of his arrest had led some people to hope that he would be freed immediately. Balkir, a leading revolutionary from Turkey, was arrested Sept. 13 by W. German authorities said to be acting at the request of the Turkish government, despite the fact that Balkir had been given political refugee status in France and a passport under the UN Convention, despite the fact that the Turkish junta had previously stripped him of his Turkish citizenship, and despite the fact that deporting him would be a clear violation of the UN Convention, W. German-French and even W. German-Turkish treaties. (See the *RW* Nos. 173 & 178.) Formal notes of protest from the UN High Commission on Refugees and the French government have brought no results whatsoever. Balkir's continuing imprisonment under

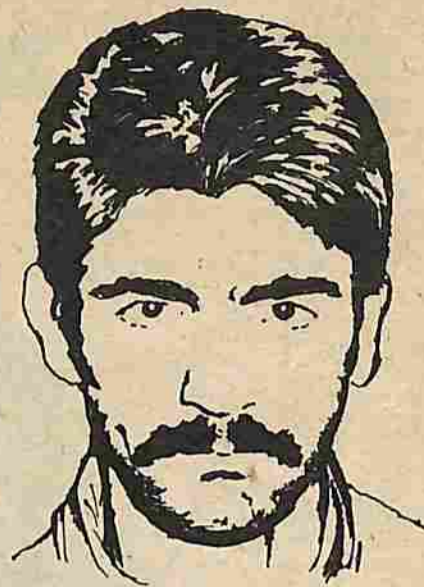
these circumstances shows just how determined the W. German and other Western imperialists are to send this revolutionary to his death; but at the same time they have not, at least so far, been able to simply dispatch him without some thought about the political consequences, especially as the case has become an increasingly hot issue among different circles in several countries.

This situation makes it all the more important that letters, petitions, telegrams, etc. continue to deluge the W. German and French authorities. There must be no letup. On the contrary, the events so far make the outrage all the more blatant and create even better conditions to carry out broad efforts to win support for the campaign to free Hüseyin Balkir.

Send protests to:
Oberstaatsanwaltschaft
Reihensperplatz
5000 Köln 1
W. Germany

Ministère des Relations Extérieures
Quai d'Orsay
Paris 7^{me}
France

Copies should be sent to the *RW* and to:
Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners
Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 252
4100 Duisberg 11
W. Germany
Phone: 0203-407244



Guatemala: Bringing Death Squad Democracy Up To U.S. Standards

It appears that Guatemala may be in line for its very own U.S. human rights stamp of approval, just like its Salvadoran neighbors. Although there isn't a *certificate* immediately on tap for the regime of born-again General Efraín Ríos Montt, U.S. officials have just publicly announced that \$3 million worth of spare parts for helicopter gunships and military communications equipment is "currently under consideration." As a State Department spokesman noted, the U.S. has "been encouraged by steps the Guatemalan government has already taken to address human rights concerns." Considering that the U.S. has officially refused to send any military "aid" to Guatemala since 1977 because its human rights abuses just weren't up to U.S. standards, this is indeed a significant development. Ríos Montt has definitely compiled an impressive record on this front. Recently, a group of Guatemalan priests held a press conference in London to announce that since it came to power in March the born-again general's government has killed 5,000 people and forced a million Indian peasants to leave their villages and flee into the mountains and another 200,000 to go to Honduras or Mexico. They were referring to the well-known "beans and guns" campaign, whereby platoons of Guatemalan counterinsurgency soldiers rampage through the countryside, offering the masses a choice of joining one of the regime's "civil defense patrols" and be-

ing herded into "model villages," or being massacred in the most brutal manner possible. Now this is certainly up to U.S. standards; in fact it is exactly what U.S. "advisors" have publicly gone on record as *trying* to implement in El Salvador, not to mention the numerous other locations, from Southeast Asia to the Middle East, where the standards have *already* been set.

But officially resuming "military aid" — that *would* be a big step. Of course Guatemala already gets the "civilian" versions of the Bell Huey and Bell Long Ranger helicopters and then outfits them with .30 calibre machineguns. Undoubtedly, the ex-Green Berets that the Pentagon admits are already in Guatemala tell them exactly where to put the gun turrets. And then there is the letter that was recently discovered by a Guatemalan guerrilla group when it shot down an air force plane. The letter was from a Miami-based war materiel broker to the chief of logistics of the Guatemalan Air Force, and it showed that the U.S. government was *already* supplying spare parts and communications equipment for use by the Guatemalan military. In addition, some of the "non-military aid" has been quite helpful as well, such as the recently approved \$71 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank, \$48 million of which is earmarked for "communications" and "special education" in rural areas.

But this is quite recent and highly unofficial, and really doesn't amount to all that much when it is compared with the *surrogate* military assistance that the U.S. has supplied Guatemala since 1977 through its Argentine, Taiwanese, Chilean and especially Israeli clients. The Israelis alone have officially supplied ARAVA transport planes, Kfir fighter jets (which include U.S.-made engines, meaning their delivery to a third country requires U.S. approval), light artillery weapons such as mortars, bazooka and grenade-launchers, and the replacement of U.S. M-1 Garand rifles with Israeli Galil models, for which U.S. companies had supplied \$5 million in cartridges of ammunition by the beginning of this year. And then there are the numerous Israeli "advisors," the exact number of which is a closely guarded secret. However, in addition to mentioning his "Gospel Outreach Mission" in California and his "capital master," Ríos Montt has also made a point of crediting the success of the coup that brought him to power to the fact that "many of our soldiers were trained by Israelis."

There are those among the U.S. rulers who feel that all this *unofficial* U.S. "aid" is sufficient for the time being — at least until a somewhat less isolated combination of compradors can be placed on the Guatemalan hotseat. Still, it is apparent that the U.S. is unable to leave things in Guatemala at the present level. Ríos

Montt spelled out some of the difficulty in a private meeting with representatives of the four comprador parties that are still legal in Guatemala. According to *Latin American Weekly Report*, he admitted, "We are killing people, we are slaughtering women and children. The problem is, everyone is a guerrilla there. They use the Vietnamese system. If the situation goes on much longer we'll have to drop napalm on those villages."

Of course, funneling napalm surreptitiously to Guatemala would not be an insurmountable problem either, but then, the question here is not one of weaponry; as noted, Guatemala is already being supplied. The real problem for the U.S., as Ríos Montt makes clear, is that the situation in Guatemala is already out of hand and growing more so. More direct command and control of the situation is most definitely required, and an official U.S. endorsement is part of the picture. Thus, in addition to openly promoting the resumption of official "military aid," the administration has added a meeting in Honduras between Ríos Montt and Reagan to the latter's upcoming trip through Latin America.

It's only fitting. After all, State Dept. officials have already announced that an important theme of Reagan's Latin America trip will be the significant way that U.S.-style democracy is being promoted throughout the region. It would be hard to find a better example than Guatemala. □

Fort Ord, 1970—An Unforgotten Legacy

RW,

In light of the government's sickening and sick attempt to rewrite history and honor the Vietnam era vets for their role in the Vietnam war, it may be of interest to the readers of the *RW* to know about some of the truly honorable and heroic acts of the soldiers of that era.

In the late 60's young soldiers were putting up some very determined resistance to the military and the war effort under some very oppressive conditions.

Hatred for the military and war and resistance to it was widespread at Fort Ord, one of the main army training bases on the west coast, located near Monterey, California. The base's stockade was filled to overflowing with "troublemakers". The military authorities, in order to accommodate the ever growing number of rebellious soldiers fenced off a section of the base as a sort of minimum security prison within the larger prison which was the base itself.

Soldiers confined to this area called the "Special Processing Detachment" or SPD were subject to all kinds of special harassment. In place of their regular military IDs they were issued SPD IDs which marked them wherever

they may go on the base to humiliating treatment by whatever gungho type might be around.

Among the inmates at SPD, and on the base in general, the soldiers most hated and feared by the brass were the soldiers that had returned from combat in Vietnam. These vets for the most part made no secret of their hatred for the war and contempt for everything related to the military. Some of these Nam vets were coming to an understanding of the rottenness of the whole system and of the need to overthrow it. This was a dangerous contagion that even SPD could not contain. So concerned were the brass about the bad influence the vets were having on the new recruits, that by the end of the 60's large numbers of them were being "exiled" to Camp Hunter Liggett, an experimental weapons base in the forest 60 miles south of Ft. Ord. They were held there in isolation to await their discharges.

Towards the end of the summer of 1970 a rebellion broke out in SPD. For 2 days the inmates held the SPD area with MPs not daring to enter. They burned down the mess hall and other buildings. On the third day of the rebellion the brass put out the word that space

was being made available in the stockade and that if the rebellion continued, the Black inmates of SPD would be sent there. This tactic succeeded in creating tension between the white and Black soldiers who had previously fought side by side in the rebellion.

Several days after the rebellion, a group of four white soldiers from SPD jumped the fences and came to a GI anti-war coffeehouse in Seaside which was a few miles from the base. They asked the civilian staff, of whom I was one, for help in putting out a newspaper that would expose the moves of the brass and forge greater unity among the different nationalities on the base in fighting the military. They called the paper *Unity Now*.

Since SPD inmates were restricted to the base and at nights were not allowed out of the SPD area, it was not without difficulty and some risk that these soldiers jumped the fences to put out the paper. In the following weeks 4 or 5 issues of *Unity Now* were published with the SPD soldiers doing nearly all the writing, typing and layout work. They also developed an underground network of distribution within SPD and other areas of the base.

Though their political understanding was primitive (as it was for the movement as a whole at that time) these soldiers wrote articles denouncing the racist tactics of the brass and exposed how this was part of the racist setup of the whole system. They exposed the Vietnam war as an imperialist war and denounced other aspects of capitalist society like the oppression of women while ridiculing the backward garbage promoted by the military.

The life of the paper was cut short because the brass were shipping out or discharging GI organizers as quickly as they could be discovered.

This incident was but one of hundreds if not thousands that occurred on military bases in the U.S. and abroad. They constitute the real heroic actions of the Vietnam era soldier whose hatred for the war and the military aroused in them a desire to understand and oppose every aspect of oppression in this imperialist society.

It is this legacy of resistance that many thousands and hundreds of thousands of us who lived through this era will never forget, no matter how many tons of granite the imperialists try to bury it under.

A reader



JFK: "Peace" by the Megaton

"Today, every inhabitant of this planet must contemplate the day when this planet may no longer be habitable. Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by miscalculation or madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us."

—John F. Kennedy

An important part of efforts to create and maintain the Kennedy myth in the 19 years since his death has been to construct an image of this dearly-departed Commander-in-Chief as a great peacemaker and champion of ending the era of "nuclear brinkmanship." A variety of mythmakers hope that referring to a few quotable quotes like the one above will be enough to keep this total lie alive. With his peaceloving little brother Teddy the Freezer now running for the top commander spot, this is all the more important. A few historical facts, however, tell quite a different story about Kennedy's concern for humanity and abolishing nuclear weapons. Not only did he dramatically increase the size and weight of that nuclear sword, he threatened to swing it too.

• 1960. The presidential election campaign. A key plank in Kennedy's election platform is a rapid escalation of both conventional and nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal. In his book, *Strategy of Peace* published during the campaign, the item given first importance on Kennedy's agenda is strengthening U.S. military might:

"First — we must make invulnerable a nuclear retaliatory power second to

none..."

"More air tankers to refuel our SAC (Strategic Air Command) bombers and more air-to-ground missiles to lessen the need for their deep penetration of Soviet territory are among the first steps to be taken while we expedite our longer range ICBM and IRBM (intermediate range ballistic missiles) development and our progress on atomic submarines, solid fuels, the Polaris and the Minuteman. Our continental defense system, as already mentioned, must be redesigned for the detection and interception of missile attacks as well as planes..."

"Second — We must regain the ability to intervene effectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world — augmenting, modernizing and providing increased mobility and versatility for the conventional forces and weapons of the Army and Marine Corps..."

• In his short term of office Kennedy managed to preside over a huge buildup of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, particularly of ICBM's. Kennedy's Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric boasted of U.S. plans, developed under Kennedy's tutelage, to double the nuclear stockpile within three years:

"We will have *more than double* the number of alert weapons than we have today by the end of 1965. By alert weapons I mean warheads in manned bombers that are in the alert force as well as the warheads in the Polaris submarine and in other ICBMs. Those warheads will be carrying a yield, a megatonnage, of *more than twice* what our present alert force can carry. In other words, we will have *twice the striking power* by 1965 that we have at the end of Fiscal Year 1962."

(emphasis added) This was no idle boasting.

When Kennedy took office the U.S. had approximately 30 ICBM's and less than three dozen Polaris missiles on submarines. In early 1964, less than six months after his death, the U.S. had 750 ICBMs and 192 Polaris missiles on subs. Moreover, planning and funding had been provided for to bring the U.S. land-based ICBM arsenal to a total of 1300-1400 by 1965, and to establish a fleet of 41 nuke-equipped subs, adding a further 450 Polaris missiles to the U.S. arsenal.

• 1962. Cuba. The USSR places several intermediate range missiles in Cuba. Kennedy reacts swiftly: He surrounded Cuba with a naval blockade and placed all U.S. military forces worldwide on alert, both nuclear and conventional. Brandishing the U.S.'s nuclear arsenal, Kennedy then threatened all-out nuclear war if the Soviets didn't remove the missiles.

And Kennedy presided over other military efforts as well:

• Vietnam. A rapid buildup of conventional forces accompanies the nuclear expansion under Kennedy. Many of these forces are to be used in the bloody war to suppress the Vietnamese people. When JFK took office in January 1961 there were officially 685 military "advisers" in Vietnam. When he left office (and this world) there were almost 17,000 U.S. troops there.

• Beyond this, Kennedy presided over a 45% increase in the number of combat-ready ground divisions, the procurement of airlift aircraft was increased by 175% and there was an increase by nearly five

times the manpower of "special forces" troops to conduct counter-insurgency warfare against liberation movements.

What about the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty?, some may ask. Now there was a giant step toward world peace. Kennedy pushed for signing this treaty with the Soviet Union and the other nuclear powers ostensibly to "halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons." What he meant was the proliferation of nuclear weapons to countries like revolutionary China for example. The treaty was specifically designed *not* to interfere with the efforts of the imperialists to stockpile nukes and it certainly had zero impact as far as the spread of these weapons goes, as the size of current arsenals plainly indicates. It was quite convenient for the U.S. and the Soviets to agree to this treaty. After all, each had already carried out hundreds of atmospheric nuclear tests and now underground tests would do just fine (of course, if they wanted to resume aboveground tests it would be a simple matter of breaking the treaty). The treaty said nothing about building and deploying nukes and it didn't stop the U.S. from helping Israel and South Africa get the bomb and even carry out atmospheric tests in the process. In short it was nothing but a calculated and cynical diplomatic maneuver to aid in the *proliferation* of the nukes of the signers to the agreement and an attempt to ensure that they remained firmly in their hands and the hands of their allies and clients. So here we have yet another example of what statesmen of peace like John F. Kennedy are all about. □



In a recent hearing, the state has made a significant self-exposure that the political persecution of Black revolutionary Vietnam vet and musician Darnell Summers is based on a tattered web of lies. On November 12th, the government prosecutor requested that he be granted a postponement in Darnell's trial which was originally scheduled to begin on November 16th. His reason? As the prosecutor said in court, "It would open up a Pandora's box of legal problems" if Darnell were to be put on trial now.

This defensive posture by the prosecution is in sharp contrast to the aggressive attitude of the authorities who extradited Darnell from West Germany and dragged him back to Detroit in handcuffs this past July. Then amidst well-publicized lies that "it had taken 13 years" to track down this "fugitive" who had "eluded Interpol for months before his arrest," Darnell Summers (well known to both the U.S. military and West German government for his revolutionary activity) was jailed for the second time since 1969 on the fabricated and politically motivated charge of murdering Michigan State Police undercover man Robert Gonsler in 1968. Now the gung-ho prosecution, which 4 months ago proclaimed the "apprehension" of Darnell Summers with such bluster and bravado, is talking about a "Pandora's box of legal problems." This is an understatement if ever there was one, since from the very beginning the government's case has been based on nothing but lies, squeezed out of so-called witnesses by police threats; and the current request for postponement only further reveals that they are having to buy time to tighten up this railroad by respinning their web of lies for the umpteenth time. But their desire to press ahead with this case—which was thrown out of court the first time in 1969 for lack of evidence and which on strictly "legal" grounds should be thrown out of court before it ever comes to trial—reveals that these are dangerous web-spinners (spiders with state power), who are determined to make an example of a revolutionary.

One of the holes in their web, which they are currently maneuvering to sew up by postponing Darnell's trial, is the fact that their so-called star witness Gale Simmons, also charged with the murder of Gonsler in 1969 and rearrested in 1981 with the sole express aim of the authorities being to coerce her into making a false statement against Darnell, recanted her testimony shortly after Darnell was extradited. Readers of the *RW* will recall that after Simmons publicly told the press that she had been threatened by police to give this false testimony, she was then scheduled for trial on the murder charge. Over a month ago, the same prosecutor baldly stated that if Simmons agreed to go along with the original

game plan, then she would not be facing trial herself.

At the November 12 hearing, the prosecutor reminded the judge of the delicate arrangements upon which the case against Darnell rested, arguing that because Gale Simmons' case is "older", he could not try Darnell first. Now here is some genuine fancy web spinning. Simmons' case is "older" because it was necessary for the authorities to charge her and threaten her into signing a statement against Darnell in order to frame-up Darnell again in the first place. And since she has stated that her testimony was false, it is now necessary for the prosecution to try her case first in order to attempt to use that trial in one way or another to set the stage for railroading Darnell. Since her trial was scheduled for November 22nd, a week after Darnell was originally supposed to go to court, the state needed a continuance on bringing Darnell to trial. This was granted and Darnell's trial is now scheduled for February 8th, 1983. It is interesting to note that soon after Darnell's trial was rescheduled, Gale Simmons' trial was also rescheduled for January 5.

While the postponement may buy the state some time, their outrageous legal maneuvers only confirm once again that the authorities have a much deeper motivation in trying to jail Darnell Summers—the political necessity to silence a revolutionary as an example to millions more. And they have proven time and again in this case that concocting evidence and creating witnesses is the stuff that such a railroad is made of. They have blatantly flaunted their strong-arming of Gale Simmons and they will certainly attempt to do more of the same in the future. And we have surely not seen the last of the infamous Milford Scott who testified against Darnell in 1969, admitted at that time that he had lied under police coercion, and was dredged up after 14 years at Darnell's preliminary hearing to say that he suddenly wanted to "clear his conscience" and repeated the same lying story all over again. (Scott's sudden discovery of his "conscience" not coincidentally coincides with the fact that he is serving a 60-90 year sentence on charges unrelated to this case and he comes up for parole in 1983.)

Clearly for Darnell Summers and all those who support him, postponement of this kangaroo trial is not the issue. This railroad should be thrown out of court altogether and right now. In this regard, the defense lawyers for Darnell used the occasion of the prosecutor's postponement to announce their intention to file several powerful legal motions on the subject of dismissing the case and to expose the very political spectres in their raggedy "Pandora's box."

One important motion is to dismiss the

Gov't Re-spins Web of Lies in Darnell Summers Railroad

charges against Darnell on the grounds of bad faith prosecution. The motion outlines Darnell's history as a revolutionary activist in the Black liberation struggle in the 1960s, in Vietnam and in West Germany while still in the army, and his recent revolutionary activity in West Germany. It declares that "Mr. Summers' political activities have been monitored closely by the authorities—in Germany and here in this country as well. He contends, and is prepared to prove, that his telephones were tapped, his public speeches were taperecorded, and he constantly was subjected to police harassment by agencies of local, state and federal governments. His anti-war activities, his close links with activists from other countries and, in particular, his expressed support for the Iranian revolutionaries who seized the U.S. embassy in 1979—all this and more have marked him as a target for military and civilian intelligence operations in Michigan and in Germany and we submit—led directly to the decision to extradite and prosecute him in this case." This motion on bad faith also points out that: "It is clear, that no other prosecution has ever been brought fourteen (14) years after the event and based on the exact same witnesses who have stated that they have previously lied when they claimed that Darnell Summers was involved in the alleged crime. The prosecutor cannot point to a similar case."

Other motions demand the disclosure of all this surveillance, electronic or otherwise, which has been accumulated on Darnell by a comprehensive list of local, U.S. and West German police and intelligence agencies. In an affidavit in support of these motions, Darnell laid out many of the numerous incidents of police snooping on political activities he has been involved in for the past 19 years. Further motions to be submitted will include one on the complete illegality of Darnell's extradition.

The defense has already filed a motion regarding the right to a speedy trial. This motion speaks to the fact that 14 years after the original charges were dropped Darnell's ability to defend himself is significantly prejudiced in the legal sense; for example, the destruction of key evidence for the defense including the *destruction of Milford Scott's written recantation from 1969*, and inavailability of defense witnesses including the *death of two key witnesses*. The state is banking on the fact that the case is prejudiced to the degree that they can attempt to run this railroad through *with the identical manufactured and already discredited "evidence of guilt" and get away with it this time*.

The political implications in all of this legal maneuvering are important to take note of because while it is very important to wage this battle in the courts, to fight them every step of the way and rip apart their web of lies, the political battle to free Darnell Summers is crucial. Basing their case on lies has never bothered these pigs and they are well aware, as revolutionary and progressive people should be, that not only did the government's legal case fall apart in 1969, but that the political context—a period of revolutionary upheaval—at the time was very unfavorable for them to pursue this railroad. It was not a politically inexpensive

move for the government to dredge up these charges against Darnell again, in a blatant attempt not only to reverse the verdicts of the 1960s but to make an example of a revolutionary whose political understanding and activity bodes very ill for the imperialists in the 1980s. In short, the authorities have gone to a great deal of trouble to railroad Darnell Summers, and even as they maneuver for time in their raggedy case, the gauntlet has definitely been thrown down. Thus, political exposure and opposition to this railroad is crucial to turn this whole thing into its opposite—into a political defeat for the imperialists and a victory for the people.

To these ends, the work of the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers and of others to win broad support for Darnell is already having a far-reaching and deep effect. In the most recent period of time, a major benefit concert was held in Detroit which drew over 350 people to hear jazz performers Roy Ayers and Ubiquity, Marcus Belgrave, and Bill Summers (Darnell's brother). The Association of Black Students at Wayne State University held a forum on November 15th for students and others to learn about the railroad which featured Darnell as well as Attorney Chokwe Lumumba; representatives from the Center for Black Studies; Carl Dix, a member of the RCP, who spoke for the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers; the Wayne State National Lawyer's Guild chapter; the Women's Law Caucus; the National Black Independent Political Party; the Swahili Club; and the Inner-City Sub Center, a community organization in Detroit. That night, there was a fundraising party at a local bar in Inkster organized by supporters in that area. Also in Baltimore, some supporters held a benefit where local punk musicians and Black artists and poets performed. The *RW* also received a report that at a program called Black Awareness put on by the Black Prisoners Caucus at the State Prison in Monroe, Washington, which was attended by 500 people including friends and relatives of the prisoners, there were several big banners hanging around the room for people to sign which said "Right On To Darnell!" Darnell's case is common knowledge throughout the prison and the Black Caucus there plans to continue their support activities in the future. In addition, Darnell has been interviewed on a number of television talk shows oriented towards the Black community and on radio, including a major local reggae/Caribbean music program in Detroit and a radio interview on a Washington, D.C. station, WPFW. The Coalition is publishing a powerful agitational brochure for use nationally and internationally in rallying support and raising funds to wage this battle.

In short, the battle to knock the railroad of Darnell Summers out of the "Pandora's box" completely and to expose the political motivations of the state is picking up steam. Those interested in contacting the Coalition for more information, to send statements of support, to assist in distributing the upcoming brochure, and to send much needed funds should contact: Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, P.O. Box 206, Inkster, Michigan 48141. □

THE "RE-ASSESSMENT" IN POLAND

The release of Lech Walesa — now widely described even in the Western press as the "former leader of Solidarity"—and subsequent events, not the least of which is the public posture (or lack thereof) that Walesa himself has assumed, has confirmed that a high-level "understanding" has been consummated between Poland's revisionist rulers and the Catholic Church acting on behalf of its *bono patrias*, the U.S. rulers. Of course, it is now openly admitted that on Pope John Paul II's instructions, the Polish Church obtained a promise from the junta to release Walesa and to allow a Papal visit to Poland sometime next year in return for active cooperation of Church officials with the Jaruzelski government in putting the damper on the Solidarity protests that had been scheduled for November 10 and generally working for the prevention of further disorder. It was hardly surprising then, that upon his release, Walesa and his advisers rushed immediately to Warsaw for a closed-door meeting with Poland's Archbishop Glemp and other Church officials. The discussions that followed were said to have focused on "Walesa's future activities and current political realities."

Though the details of the meeting were not revealed, as Walesa emerged from the smoke-filled room there were ample indications of just what sort of bargain had been struck. Walesa's message to the world was basically a terse "No Comment" as he fended off not only reporters but the standard bouquets thrust under his nose by waiting admirers as if to say, "Not now — no flowers please!" If anyone had arrived expecting a note of defiance from the "living symbol of the Polish struggle" they left sorely disappointed (though Walesa ever so briefly tipped his hat to "the road and ideals we came up with in August" without ever mentioning Solidarity by name). Indeed Walesa looked for all the world like a VIP with something to hide as he was hustled past crowds by phalanxes of advance men. Thousands waiting for him to celebrate mass at St. Bridget's Church near the Gdansk shipyards were abruptly stood up as he shipped instead to an out-of-the-way chapel in a nearby housing project. Walesa then pleaded to be left alone for a month to "re-assess the political situation," promising that "I will assuredly speak out on all matters that interest us in the near future... I will talk and act, not on my knees, but with prudence; you can rest assured of that."

It is clear, however, that such political "re-assessments" had already been made. As Walesa got the Word from Glemp, the fix was already in — a "fixing" of the Polish crisis within agreed parameters that has been doggedly sought by the revisionist rulers. And it should come as no surprise that Washington, through its agents in the Church, has lent its support to this turn of events. There has always been a basic bourgeois unity here on keeping the struggle in Poland within certain defined limits (though from quite differing motives and strategic perspectives) and in



Glemp and Jaruzelski play "Let's Make a Deal."

this effort the Church as proven a reliable shepherd when the flock seemed to be straying beyond the well-worn path of the respectable mass trade union movement that fit Western stratagems for fishing in troubled Polish waters. But while a few months ago the Church was being touted in the U.S. press as "the spiritual backbone of resistance to the martial law regime and the Pole's struggle for freedom," now the sight of Glemp and Jaruzelski playing "Let's Make a Deal" is cynically and glowingly described as "heralding a new, more conciliatory relationship between church and state."

Certainly "prudence" has been — and is presently even more so — the U.S. watchword in Poland. Poland's rulers have demonstrated their necessity to "take command" of what is, after all, the recognized sphere of social-imperialism and not the U.S. The Solidarity mainstream has been suppressed and a return to mass pressure tactics, peaceful general strikes, etc., so prevalent a year ago is not in the cards. Far from being some kind of "betrayal" of basic principles, the Church's sudden and hypocritical turnaround merely represents new U.S. tactics for probing new opportunities in a dramatically changed objective situation. The pro-Western forces like Walesa and the social-democratically inclined trade unionist stratum that makes up their social base are still a force, even if presently demoralized and in disarray. But in order to regroup and maneuver anew what is now required is facing up to "current political realities." (In this light, claims made in certain Western bourgeois quarters that Walesa's release represents East European willingness to experiment with a degree of "autonomy" from the Soviets since Brezhnev's death can only be said to be a self-serving — and ridiculous — justification for a package the

U.S. rulers found it politic to negotiate themselves.)

While the revisionists are obviously not the only ones who are seeking to capitalize on the agreement which included Walesa's release, for them it is more of a distinct opportunity seized and part of a strategy which, as the media has put it, "balances highly visible gestures of conciliation, particularly toward the Roman Catholic Church, with a steely use of the powers of the state." Now that Walesa's "coming out" has been accomplished smoothly, it is being intimated that martial law may even be lifted on the December 13 anniversary of its imposition one year ago (if true, a shrewd move by Jaruzelski to undercut any rekindling of protest this occasion might inspire). Certainly, Poland's rulers would like nothing better than to announce a triumphal "return to normalcy."

The bottom line, however, will continue to be "steely state power" to insure that there will be *no return* to August, 1980. This is being made abundantly clear in the ten-year sentence being demanded by the government for captured underground leader Wladyslaw Frasyniuk as well as in the unclear fate of Jacek Kuron and other Solidarity advisers from KOR who remain charged with "high treason" who, according to some sources, may be slated for execution. Likewise it is being made plain that most of the repressive martial law measures will remain in effect anyway — militarization of the factories, the new "social parasite" law which provides for pressganging rebellious elements into "public service," etc., etc. And if the memories of total communications cutoffs and cities sealed off by tanks are not fresh enough to inspire cooperation, these measures too can always be slapped back into place at a moment's notice. In

any case, the ZOMO will be available to assist any malcontents in seeing things the government's way.

However, Jaruzelski & Co. would undoubtedly prefer to avoid such extremes. And this points to other reasons for Walesa's release besides "conciliatory gestures." As the *New York Times* surmised: "While he (Walesa) remained interned he was a symbol of resistance, staunchly refusing to cooperate with authorities. Free, he is a question mark. But the government appeared ready to gamble that he was, indeed, less of a threat returned to his home in Gdansk." Of course, that the government's move was less of a gamble or the result of any "staunch refusal" to cooperate by Walesa than it was prompted by certain outright guarantees is something that is obvious to all. Clearly it is hoped in revisionist circles that Walesa's compliance with his part of the bargain will have a profoundly demoralizing effect on the movement he once inspired. One Solidarity activist spat: "We will see what kind of Walesa we have."

What kind of Walesa has emerged is, however, already apparent. While it has been reported that he still "has hopes of reviving the banned union," he has reportedly been "seeking a consensus among Solidarity leaders for making considerable concessions to the military authorities" — like, for instance, unceremoniously dumping the intellectual advisers from KOR who are about to be put on trial. Government spokesman Jerzy Urban confidently asserted Walesa was "no longer a threat," period.

The fact that NBC News reports claiming that the government has pictures of the Solidarity figure in "sexually compromising situations" were leaked by a "source close to the Church," and then just as quickly stoutly denied by Church officials, is an indication that some added insurance may have been taken out on the investments made in Walesa's good behavior — and not only by the revisionists.

Jaruzelski, et al., are undoubtedly pleased to be able to parade a quiescent Walesa before the cameras as evidence that they have the upper hand. They are, however, anything but confident about what lies ahead. This has been revealed in, among other things, continuing intraring class spats over how to deal with Poland's battered economy (also, incidentally, a subject of much concern to the West and another reason these imperialists want a little Polish "stability"). Apparently Jaruzelski's economic policies which are said to include a loosening of central planning and introduction of so-called "free market" measures à la Hungary, were widely challenged at the recent Central Committee meeting of the PUPW. Such conflicts are only a hint of the thin ice on which the revisionists still find themselves skating. Given Poland's precarious political and economic situation, one bad move could be, as a Politburo member pointed out, "the source of a much greater explosion than anything the underground can organize." □

solid as a ruble

This is a brief addendum to last week's Brezhnev article. Throughout the '70s, international speculation was the source of both enrichment and embarrassment for the Soviets. In the early '60s, as a result of major dislocations in Soviet agriculture, Khrushchev was forced to make massive grain purchases from the U.S. and Canada. After Khrushchev was ousted, Brezhnev condemned this scheme as "harebrained." *Red Papers 7* recounts this story and goes on to say:

"Of course, Brezhnev found himself in almost exactly the same position a little under ten years later, when the Soviet Union had to buy a full quarter of the U.S. grain crop for 1972. But unlike Khrushchev, he was able to turn his coun-

try's agricultural failure into a neat commercial profit through sharp dealing. 'The Great Grain Robbery of 1972' sent the price of wheat skyrocketing around the world—something the Soviets immediately took advantage of by selling large quantities at the new, inflated price after the good harvest the following year. And it opened the eyes of a number of people to just what kind of men they were dealing with. As the U.S. Department of Agriculture's commodity export specialist, George S. Shanklin, told *The New York Times*, 'I give them credit for being very good capitalists.'"

However, even "very good capitalists" can be caught short on occasion. This is evident in an incident mentioned in an essay entitled "Soviet Investment in the

Industrialized Western Economies and in the Developing Economies of the Third World" by Carl H. McMillan, a Canadian (and Western imperialist sycophant). In a discussion of Soviet international financial operations, the author calls attention to one of the big Soviet banks, Moscow Narodny, which "styles itself 'The Bank of East-West Trade'." "Moscow Narodny has long served as the London correspondent for client banks in the LDC's (Less Developed Countries) and has participated in the financing of trade and capital projects in the Third World." This bank, incidentally, opened a branch in Beirut in 1963. McMillan notes that "After slow initial growth, the branch bank reportedly prospered in the late '60s and early '70s and despite the disruptions of the Lebanese civil war, was reported still in operation in late 1978."

On the other hand, another branch of the bank took a few lumps:

"The opening of a Moscow Narodny branch in Singapore, in 1971, further extended Soviet banking operations into the

Third World. While the bank was intended primarily to assist the development of Soviet trade with Southeast Asia and Australia, it also provided a channel through which Moscow Narodny could operate conveniently on the Asian-dollar market. The bank grew rapidly until 1976 when it ran into serious difficulties. At that time, a number of the highly risky ventures which it financed (reportedly including a Bangkok gambling casino and speculative land development schemes throughout Southeast Asia and Australia) proved unsound; and by the end of 1976 it was faced with bad or doubtful debts amounting to an estimated \$100 million. The bank's difficulties attracted a good deal of rather gleeful Western publicity to what was in fact an exception to the generally sound and successful record of Soviet banking operations abroad. After a change of management, the bank remains operative on a less flamboyant scale, although faced in the courts with several suits resulting from the affair." □



Correspondence on Soviet Debate

The Role of Social-Imperialism in Colombia

Following are selections from an article submitted for the debate around the nature and role of the USSR by the publication *Cuadernos El Trabajador* in Bogotá, Colombia. Sent to us to contribute to preparing for the coming New York Conference on the USSR, it was first published in *Cuadernos El Trabajador* No. 4, October 1982; it is based on a talk entitled "The Importance for the Marxist-Leninists of the Debate on the Nature of the Soviet Union," given in August by Felipe Tapia. We have had to omit two sections because of space considerations: one dealing with the justifications of imperialism given by the social-democrats of the Second International, who disguised and praised the rapacious relations between the imperialist countries and the countries they dominate, and another on the present-day justifications of these same relations by the Soviet ruling revisionists. The translation is by the RW.

The October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 marked a milestone in the history of mankind: The first great ex-

perience in which the revolutionary proletariat seized political power and moved forward in building and consolidating socialism. This revolution led by the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at the head, demonstrated the scientific truth of Marxism theoretically and practically. For the international proletariat, the legacy of this event constituted not only a banner of struggle, but also the beginning of the era of proletarian revolution.

Nevertheless, after thirty-odd years of socialist advance and development in the economy, politics, culture, etc., the socialist revolution in Russia had not completely resolved (above all at the ideological level) a cardinal question at this stage, the existence of classes and class contradictions: the bourgeoisie, which went from ruling class to a class ruled over by the proletariat, and the proletariat, which went from ruled over to ruling class through revolution. The error of the revolutionary proletariat in power, of not implacably wiping out the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois elements, allowed the latter to take advantage of these circumstances and

systematically advance, burrowing into the proletarian party and state to unleash a death blow at an opportune time, which is what actually happened in the late fifties.

The faction that took control of the Soviet party and state organized its bourgeois headquarters and named Khrushchev as their loyal representative. It was obvious that the Soviets of Lenin and the Bolsheviks were sinking into the abominable swamp of revisionism, as Mao Tsetung clearly pointed out: "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." In this struggle the Russian revolutionary proletariat lost its dominant and favorable position in the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat, changing into its opposite, dominated and unfavorable, although temporarily.

With the 20th Congress of the CPSU, an already completely developed revisionist line was put into practice. This line promoted openly reactionary theses: "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "state of the whole people," "party of the whole people." A whole series of policies in the period after the 20th Congress brought about the progressive transformation of the socialist economic base and superstructure into a monopoly capitalist economic base and superstructure: a straight road of capitalist restoration in the USSR. The party and state became a monopoly bureaucratic-bourgeois state and fascist party.

Monopoly concentration reached such a point in this period—in the mid-1960's—that its monopoly capital surpassed the national confines and the revisionist rulers set forth in search of rich sources of raw materials to make lucrative investments, new markets for their products, cheap labor. The USSR set out to compete with the rest of the imperialist countries, principally U.S. imperialism, for control of important spheres of influence in order to redivide the world.

Between 1960 and 1968 it unexpectedly increased its military power and engaged in the arms race with other imperialist countries, especially with the U.S. Its first show of military might was its naked intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, which revealed their voracious colonialist appetites. From 1968 on they have made use of many sophistries and methods to penetrate strategic points with relative ease and establish spheres of influence: military intervention and occupation, hatching conspiracies and subversion where they think it necessary, backing coups, using phony "internationalist economic aid" to begin to exercise economic control, using the pro-Soviet parties which are part of their strategy to create political influence in their respective countries, win over traditional sectors of the classes which lean towards another imperialism, etc.

The rise of revisionism to power in the USSR placed two alternatives before the International Communist Movement: ally with revisionism or pick up the banner of defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese Communist Party took the lead in the struggle against Soviet revisionism. In response to revisionism and capitalist restoration in the USSR, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched in China. Chairman Mao's contributions regarding the existence of classes, the class struggle and class contradictions under socialism formed the scientific underpinnings of the Cultural Revolution whose essence was the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the definitive crushing and destruction of bourgeois ideology and bourgeois elements infiltrating the party and state, the prevention of capitalist restoration in China (an event which occurred with the counter-revolutionary coup carried out after the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976). This revolution, with its great advance in the development of socialism in the spheres of economics, politics, science, art, thought, etc., enabled the people to grasp the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat and struggle tenaciously to increasingly restrict bourgeois right (ideology, habits, customs, beliefs, etc.).

By looking at the experience of the

Cultural Revolution as an effective contribution to the struggle against Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism and to their exposure, the Marxist-Leninists of the world were able to achieve an important position on a question of principles. Deepening the debate on the nature of the USSR continues to be a question of principle for the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the world.

Another point that we will touch on in this article, a point we consider to be basic, is related to defining the character of the Communist Party of Colombia (CPC). Despite the fact that it has operated quite a bit within the Colombian "left", as yet there exists no clear position on this question. Clearly the existing positions on this question up till now are slanted and reflect a particular social-economic base. Our object is to put forward some points of view to contribute to the polemic.

The criticism made of the CPC's revisionist character was never made in light of Marxist principles; there was no concrete analysis made of its practice nor of the international relations this party has maintained. Since its birth in 1930, when the Communist International approved its creation, its ideological principles were not Marxist. The line developed by the International in that period was basically economist, thus it was logical that the CPC would easily mold itself to that outlook.

Vieira's party, as it should correctly be called (Vieira is head of the CPC — RW), has always been a registered follower of the line of the Soviet social-imperialist party, is part of their general strategy and fulfills (as an agent of that party) the job of developing political influence favorable to social-imperialism's interests in our country. Since the conference in 1964 when Soviet revisionism called together the "communist" parties of the world, Vieira's party has been a sworn supporter of Soviet social-imperialist policy.

With the presentation of this material, we call on Colombian Marxist-Leninists to develop a broad debate on the true nature of the Vieirist party.

The Strategy of Social-Imperialism

Today in Colombia there is a thesis supported by various groups which seems to be emerging as a trend on the international level as well. This thesis states that social-imperialism is an enemy of the class struggle internationally, but when it comes to analyzing the role of that superpower's agents in a particular country, that pro-Soviet party becomes a "revolutionary," "democratic" party supposedly necessary to facilitate the advance of the revolution. In essence, this thesis doesn't grasp the imperialist character and nature of the USSR, as a country ruled by the big monopoly bourgeoisie, fascist and Hitlerian, to use the words of Chairman Mao Tsetung. Such a view makes it impossible to understand the global strategy of social-imperialism against U.S. imperialism.

If we look at the world situation today, there are numerous examples of the strategy of social-imperialism, or of the bloc that the USSR heads, in its struggle against the rival bloc of Yanki imperialism, and how the actions of any pro-Soviet party fit within this global strategy, and as such contribute to frantically preparing the conditions for a new imperialist war for the redivision of the world.

In its struggle for certain spheres of influence, Soviet social-imperialism doesn't necessarily play only one card, the armed struggle. It also uses agreements and compromises between the pro-Soviet parties and sectors of the traditional reactionary parties and develops its influence in a particular country on that basis, or combines the two elements when it decides that within the general framework of its strategy a wedge has already been driven into North American imperialism's social bases. This is the case in El Salvador, where the USSR, in addition to supporting the armed struggle, promotes negotiations with North American imperialism.

At present the USSR doesn't need to create a "revolution" subordinate to social-imperialism, nor to destroy the power of the traditional classes, in order to set up its own government in alliance

with some pro-Soviet bureaucratic bourgeois classes, elements of the traditional classes of the old order. (In today's conditions, in addition to the existence of authentic socialist or national-democratic revolutions, there arise social-imperialist revolutions and bourgeois-democratic revolutions in service of North American imperialism and its bloc. A "revolution" in service of social-imperialism doesn't seek to destroy the reactionary state apparatus, it transforms it into a feudal-fascist apparatus in service of the USSR, allied with sections of the traditional reactionary classes.)

The principal contradiction worldwide is the struggle between the two imperialist blocs, each with a superpower at its head, in the rapid process of amassing forces and gaining strategic positions in spheres of influence, for the outbreak of a new war for the redivision of the world. Social-imperialism uses military coups, develops political movements which give rise to compromises, fosters social-imperialist revolutions, etc.; but the principal aspect of Soviet social-imperialism's global strategy consists in cultivating political movements, strengthening the pro-Soviet parties where they exist, developing economic and military "aid" to certain countries to penetrate U.S. imperialism's spheres of influence. This explains today's situation in the Middle East, the Iranian situation, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the confrontations between Israel and the PLO and Syria: the struggle of the two superpowers for control of that area...

Imperialist Deals, the Economic War

There are some sections of *Basic Principles** which are important for the theme we are dealing with: "...the Soviet Union has for a number of years invited in capital from the U.S. bloc to jointly exploit the peoples of the USSR and piled debt upon debt to the countries of this bloc, including the U.S. itself—by 1980 Soviet bloc indebtedness to its rival bloc had reached 68 billion dollars" (page 6), which doesn't mean that the USSR is becoming dependent on the Yankies. The key lies in "strengthen(ing) the technical base of the Soviet bloc war machine."

In 1972 two major Yanki banks opened branches in Moscow: First National City Bank and Chase Manhattan Bank. Further, the following Yanki corporations have set up operations in the USSR: Coca Cola, Pullman Incorporated, General Electric, Caterpillar Tractor Company, Engelhard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation and Bank of America. Also: FIAT (Italian), producer of the car Zhitull (LADA in Latin America); JEUSA and ENSA (French); Trocôsa (Belgian); International Computer (British); Hoechst, Siemens (German); Ciba-Geigy (Swiss); Renault (French), etc.**

The global policy of "cooperation" with the "third world" is part of this strategy. The USSR is the main producer of non-energy minerals (ferrous and non-ferrous minerals, precious and metallic minerals) as well as energy-producing minerals; nevertheless it imports mineral resources from the "third world," even minerals which it produces: bauxite, phosphates and aluminum oxide. "The 1978 agreement for the exploitation of phosphates in Meskala in Morocco is the most important that the USSR has ever signed with a third world country: the total amount of the contract, which foresees the construction of the mine and supply to the USSR of 10 million tons of phosphates a year for 30 years, reaches \$9 billion."***

With these few examples we can see the key questions within the global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism: to try to

* *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement*, RCP of Chile; RCP, USA.

** Echangué, Carlos: *El Socialimperialismo: el Otro Imperialismo*, chapter 4: "La Política Imperialista," pp. 183-84, Caracas, Venezuela.

*** Francois Geze: "la Carrera de los Recursos Minerales, la URSS y las Reglas de Juego," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, No. 23, page 12, 10/3/81.

strengthen their military and technological apparatus and to control markets in conflict with the U.S. imperialist bloc. For this economic maneuvering they seek political movements which assure that process of penetration. ...

Colombia and Soviet Economic Penetration

The nature of Vieira's party has to do with the export of Soviet capital, the sale of technology and industrial products to Colombia. Soviet economic penetration is creating a new pro-Soviet comprador bourgeoisie which, while linked to the USSR, is also seeking compromises with sections of the pro-Yanki bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The social-economic base of the Vieira party as a "colonial party" is that comprador bourgeoisie and naturally this makes it an anti-national and anti-democratic party.

The USSR provides Colombia with trolleys; "Volga," "Gaz" and "Lada" automobiles; parts for these cars; medical instruments; rolled iron and other metals; generators; equipment for hydroelectric plants; communication equipment; etc., and the Soviets buy coffee, bananas, sugar and "other so-called traditional products." In this whole commercial exchange, the idea is that "The Soviet Union, keeping in mind the plans for economic development of Colombia and particularly the plans for the electrification of the country, measures to boost agriculture, etc., can offer Colombia the necessary equipment and machinery..." (Quotes from Soviet sources—RW)

Anyone might say that these are the normal commercial relations between two countries and in a formal sense that is true; but the question is the content of that "aid" and commercial exchange, and the strategic importance for the USSR of grabbing the raw material markets of the "underdeveloped" countries in competing for control of markets within the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S.

"More than seeking in the short run to out-compete the U.S. imperialists in sucking the blood of the peoples in the 'underdeveloped countries,' the Soviet social-imperialists are laying the basis to forcibly recast the whole framework within which the imperialist vampires compete." (*Basic Principles*, page 6).

It is from this point of view that the question of the character of the so-called "Colombian Communist Party" must be examined, so that it can be explained why the CPC can't be considered a possible ally in the Colombian revolutionary process, as thought by many reformist nationalists whose "analysis" does not start from a world perspective.

The Vieira Party: Economism and Reformism

One of the criteria that has caused the most damage to the revolutionary organizations in Colombia has been an erroneous characterization of the CPC, especially the absurd thesis that it has a double character: social-imperialist in its foreign policy and "revolutionary-democratic" in its internal policy. This position is very related to a conception of the party's birth according to which it was a communist party even at the very beginning. Nothing could be further from reality. The creation of the CPC was a product of the convergence of factors which contradict its supposed role as a party of the proletariat.

The upsurge of the mass movements in the first decades of the century, sharpening as a result of the effects in Colombia of the crisis of the world economic system in the 1920's, led to the formation of economist organizations (Confederación Obrera Nacional, CON, in 1925, Second Workers' Congress) to lead the strikes and protests which were breaking out almost uninterruptedly. Simultaneously the radicalization of reformist Liberal strata who were seeking to break the grip on state power held by the Conservatives since the end of the 19th century—strata who rejected the criminal treatment that the regime dealt out against the uprisings of workers and peasants—led to the creation of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) in 1926 in the wake of the Third Workers' Congress. The sympathies of the popular leaders and the petty

bourgeois intellectual strata making up the RSP towards the events of the October Revolution led them to join the Communist International which considered everyone who declared sympathy with the USSR to be "communists."

The weakening of the RSP after the failures of the mass movements, especially after the big defeat of the banana workers' strike in 1928, meant the almost complete destruction of the RSP and the collapse of CON. In response to the crisis in the popular movements due to the defeats suffered during the Abadía government and the apathy generated by the hopes placed in the "new" Liberal regime, the remnants of the RSP decided to form the Colombian Communist Party in July, 1930.

Since its founding, the CPC has shown nothing that would characterize it as a Marxist-Leninist party: "it lacked a Marxist analysis of the social and economic structures of the nation" (Ignacio Torres Giraldo, one of the founders of the RSP and for a time general secretary of the CPC). What motivated the founding of the party was to win back the trade union organizations: "The orientation was to rebuild the organization and overcome mutualism (labor-employer cooperation—RW)," with an apparatus that had a strongly economist and reformist character.

In the years after its formation (the 30's and 40's), the CPC was just another appendage of the Liberal Party, limiting its action mainly to the trade unions, even to the point of mobilizing the workers in support of the big bourgeois reformist government and calling for "support for the López government in carrying out the reform plans it is engaged in" (resolution of the CPC in its congress of November, 1935). The CPC's participation in López Pumarejo's government, with the formation of the "People's Front," speaks volumes in that respect. López Pumarejo himself grasped the CPC's real nature: "it's a little Liberal Party." Together with the Liberal Party, the CPC participated in the construction of the CTC (trade union federation — RW), which made some of the leaders of the workers' organizations of that time (reformist-liberals, labor aristocracy) feel "aligned" with the policies of the CPC. Later they (Gilberto Vieira) took over the party. The CPC became more distant from the path set by the October Revolution, to which it was never very close in the first place.

In the 50's and 60's, with the beginning of the consolidation of capitalist restoration in the USSR, the ideological subjugation of the CPC to the line dictated by Moscow (Khrushchev-Breshnev) became more blatant. It became a sworn follower of the Soviet leaders in the chorus of support that accompanied each and every "exploit" of the Soviet Union: attacks on China and Mao, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, etc. When the anti-Soviet movement arose in Colombia, the CPC played the role of saboteur and stoolpigeon, acting in the service of the repressive state apparatus, in turning in Marxist-Leninist activists, currying favor with the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie and greasing the skids for its alliances with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie so as to transform Colombia into another colony of social-imperialism through the consolidation of state monopoly capitalism.

With the basic tasks for a national-democratic revolution in mind and conscious of what the global strategy of social-imperialism means, we understand why the Vieira party will never fight for national liberation and still less for the democratic tasks that this revolution demands. Representing social-imperialism's interests, the task of this party is to broaden its base of influence, open avenues for Soviet imperialist penetration, and through this process confront U.S. imperialist domination in our country.

The political struggle of the Vieira party against Yanki imperialism is not an antagonistic struggle if you consider that the Vieira party is not going to work for the destruction of the state apparatus in the hands of U.S. imperialism's frontmen; what they want to do is develop an economic, political and social base which, at a given time, whether through a

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New Miracle Valley Indictments

A month ago, members of the Christ Miracle and Healing Center Church in Miracle Valley, Arizona, boarded up their church and drove in a caravan to Chicago (where most are originally from) to bury the two people killed in the bloody police attack of October 23. This out-of-state funeral was seized on by authorities and local reactionaries to direct new threats of violence and jailings at the church members in a continuing attempt to drive them out of Arizona permanently.

Very soon after they arrived in Chicago, Arizona Governor Babbitt called up Jesse Jackson at Operation PUSH, where the wake was held, and expressed his "concern" that "there be no more bloodshed and killing." It would be easier to sort out the facts, according to the Governor, without the possibility of "further incidents." So why not keep these Black people in Chicago?

Jackson agreed that time was needed "to bring calm to the community." He then used his influence to convince the

church members to stay in Chicago for a while after the funeral while he flew to Arizona to meet personally with the Governor and visit Miracle Valley (where he was escorted around in two carloads full of plainclothesmen from the Department of Public Safety, the same police force whose medical examiner had lied that the two men were not shot in the back). Soon Jackson was calling the church member refugees and saying "the climate is such that the Justice Department will have to assume the responsibility of (the church members' — RW) safe resettlement."

One effect of all this was to give the authorities some extra time to prepare and launch new attacks on the legal front. On November 15 the Miracle Valley judge refused to lower the \$68,500 bail on the ten church members arrested after the attack. A few days after this a second batch of indictments was issued, supposedly based on police scrutiny of photographs taken during the assault. Three of these were against church members already jailed. But in addition seven more peo-

ple were also charged. *All of these new indictments are secret.* Not even attorneys for the church have been informed which members are to be arrested and what the new charges are. This is a not very subtle attempt to brandish a club over the heads of all the church members now in Chicago.

Julius Gillespie was the first to be arrested under these new charges. He replaced William Thomas as the new bishop of the church after Thomas was murdered. In this capacity, Gillespie returned to Arizona in order to arrange the release of Roy Williams, whose spine had been severed by a bullet. As he got off the plane the police grabbed him, informing him as they led him away to jail that he was one of the seven new people indicted and he was being charged with assault and riot. Later he was bailed out — the original ten, including Roy Williams, are still in jail.

Adding the two dead and one permanently crippled together with these seven new charges brings to approximately 40

the number of people either dead, disabled, in jail, or with serious charges pending. The total adult population of the Black religious community is 100. In addition the heavy and growing bail costs have drained the church's financial resources.

On November 15 Cochise County Superior Court Judge Matthew Borowiec also reaffirmed that he was removing the two Black lawyers Stanley Hill and G. Severe Cole from the case because they had made public statements exposing the true nature of the police assault on the Miracle Valley church. Previously this judge had indicated that on November 15 these lawyers would be able to present arguments against his action (the church defendants have unanimously requested these lawyers to represent them). But when court opened he announced that he was removing himself from the case and moving the trial to Tucson. A tentative trial date has been set for December 22, though this will probably be continued. □

U.S. International Dragnet

Bilal Sunni Ali Arrested in Belize

On Tuesday, November 16 as the RICO grand jury was returning a new multi-count federal conspiracy indictment in New York which stretches back over a period of six years and adds more names to the already growing list of people facing charges in the wake of the Brinks incident, the government's dragnet against revolutionary nationalists took an international turn. Bilal Sunni Ali was arrested in the Central American country of Belize. Bilal, a member of the Republic of New Afrika, a long-time activist in the Black liberation movement, a jazz musician and former member of Gil Scott-Heron's band, has not been specifically charged with the attempted Brinks expropriation; but he is among the many so-called "suspects" indicted on conspiracy charges. For over a year the political police have been unable to catch up with him, and as evidenced by

his arrest, the government's dragnet includes an international hunt.

While the full circumstances of the arrest have yet to be revealed, some points do stand out exposing a high-level plan between the U.S. government and the Belize authorities to seize Bilal as well as his wife, a leading member of the RNA, Fulani Sunni Ali.

The FBI, in conjunction with the Belize authorities, insists that Bilal was arrested on a minor drug charge and once he was in the custody of the Belize police, they then "discovered" who Bilal was. But Bilal is quoted in the New York newspaper *Newsday* as saying, "They'll never say exactly how it went down because they want to catch the other people the same way" and that the cops who arrested him "told me that day they weren't that interested in drug charges. The whole thing was just a ruse — and

I'm quoting them directly." In fact, Bilal was not even arraigned on the alleged drug charge in Belize! No sooner was he arrested than the Belize authorities just happened to notice that he and his fingerprints matched a photo and a set of prints on an international wanted poster dispatched by the U.S. government and hanging in Belize police stations. The FBI was waiting in the wings ready to run a check on his fingerprints back in the States. Within 24 hours of his arrest, the FBI was on the scene in Belize (if not already); Bilal was jetted pronto to a federal prison in Florida, where authorities are holding him on \$5 million bail. When Bilal was spirited to Florida and hauled before cameras, bound and handcuffed, he raised his shackled fists and shouted, "Free the Land! Long Live the Black Nation!"

Far from stumbling onto Bilal, there is every indication that the Belize govern-

ment, at the behest of and with assistance from the U.S., was actively tracking him down with the drug charge a mere technicality.

Bilal's arrest was also designed to isolate out his wife, Fulani Sunni Ali, three times subpoenaed by the RICO Federal Grand Jury and with a warrant for her arrest standing for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury. Fulani, 7 months pregnant and with four of her children in her care, was told by the Belize government following Bilal's arrest to get out of the country within five days. With the U.S. political police ready to move in, Fulani turned herself in, in New York City, where she denounced the U.S. and the compliance of the Belize authorities for framing Bilal and stating further, "I'm ready to fight for my case. But I will not cooperate and I will not collaborate." □

Intercontinental Ballistic "Peacekeeper"

Continued from page 1

made uneasy by the presence of nuclear weapons." He assured all that he would "seek peace above all else" and that he "considered this a sacred trust." And he even pointed out how he had talked to the Soviets about improving the dependability of the hotline.

All in all it was a very instructive address — instructive on all the catchwords that all of the imperialists of both blocs utilize as they go about preparing to nuke it out on a global scale. And just how ludicrous all these catchwords are was all the more apparent given the commander-in-chief's particular style and flare for absurdity. Here he was giving a speech announcing the deployment of nuclear megatonnage 17,000 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb, trying to pass it off as a speech on *reducing* nuclear weapons. The MX — like the rest of their nukes — is after all simply a means of *preventing* the outbreak of war and reducing nuclear arsenals. The MX is necessary because, as everyone knows, the U.S.' nukes are practically harmless, it hardly has any of them, and what does exist in the nuclear arsenal amounts to little more than a rusty old six-gun. And even these are so old that the main danger is that they might backfire and harm "our young men and women in uniform (who have) to maintain and operate such antiques. The Soviets have many more modern, dangerous and warlike nukes than the U.S.' peaceful ones. "You often hear that the United States and the Soviet Union are in an arms race. The truth is that while the Soviets have raced, we have not."

Out came the familiar, carefully selected and drawn graphs and charts which both the U.S. and the USSR use to

prove the other one has superiority in order to justify their own war preparations. Reagan's, of course, proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the U.S. was way behind, having fewer missiles and so forth. The U.S. has hardly spent anything on "defense" and "most of our defense budget is spent on people not weapons" (you know, those people in olive drab and camouflage whose job it is to spread goodwill throughout the world). Apparently everyone has been suffering under the mass delusion that the U.S. has been spending hundreds of billions for war. And cleverly the graphs did not show U.S. *sea-based* nukes of which the U.S. has four times as many as the Soviets, nor did they show the total number of U.S. nuclear warheads. For what it's worth, the U.S. has around 2,500 more strategic nuclear warheads than its rival, packed onto a total of 9,500 missiles.

But the "Peacekeeper" was not just part of improving a harmless nuclear force, it also had another role in the U.S. "strategy for peace." It was supposed to be an effort to convince the Soviets that they better listen to U.S. pleas to negotiate reductions in nuclear weapons, especially *Soviet* nuclear weapons. "Never before has the U.S. proposed such a comprehensive program of nuclear arms control. Never in our history have we engaged in so many negotiations with the Soviets to reduce nuclear arms and to find a stable peace." How perfectly true. Never before have both blocs made so many proposals to each other, held so many negotiations and talks, and talked so much about having talks. And never before have these stockpiles increased so rapidly in size and sophistication. Indeed how could there be such build-ups and

feverish preparations for world war without so many peace talks and pre-war "peace" maneuvers. The "Peacekeeper" is certainly a worthy component of the "strategy for peace," as are all the rest of the nukes in the hands of the imperialist powers. Reagan himself pointed out, "Certainly we don't want such weapons for their own sake." Certainly not: *these weapons are there to be used.*

The U.S. had little need to hold nuclear arms talks prior to being challenged by the Soviet Union. When they were the undisputed kingpin imperialist in the world and held most of the nuclear trump cards, they could just wave them around and threaten to use them when necessary. They could drop a few nukes on Hiroshima and Nagasaki — and afterwards, threaten the world with them — without much need to talk about it with anybody. But now things are a bit different and the U.S. longs to return to that period of "nearly 40 years of peace" while the USSR longs to achieve such a peace for the first time — a "peace," in other words, in which one or the other imperialist power (and those with whom the U.S. and Soviets are allied) will reign supreme. Reagan made it clear in his speech that this was precisely the kind of peace he was talking about when he painted a glowing picture of the glory days of the U.S.' post-World War 2 *Pax Americana*. This brief tale was, as is often the case, a fine tip-off of what they have in store for the future, both in what was directly said and what was left out. He said in part, "Our military power was at its peak, and we alone had the atomic weapon. But we did not use this wealth and this power to bully, we used it to rebuild . . . the peace of the world was un-

threatened, because we alone were left with any real power, and we were using it for the good of our fellow man." Not mentioned directly were such minor disturbances as the "local conflicts" like Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and others in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa. These obviously don't count as wars. After all the U.S. didn't get nuked once and no one dared to invade *this* special land of peace, freedom, and prosperity. The stationing of U.S. troops all over the world, the CIA coups and counterrevolutions, the counter-insurgency warfare, the fascist regimes, the tortures and mass murders, the proxy wars of all types — all this was part of the "divine plan" for this great continent. Nor was the fact that the U.S. has actually dropped two nuclear bombs mentioned directly. This towering crime too was committed in the interest of humanity. In fact, even when the U.S. does speak directly about Hiroshima, it openly declares that it dropped the bomb in the interest of humanity through saving American . . . and Japanese lives. All of these past crimes reveal a lot about the even greater crimes they are feverishly planning for the future — World War 3.

In his summary of the past, Reagan was trying to make crystal clear the real kind of future the "Peacekeeper" was being deployed for. He summed up very well what all the imperialists are striving to achieve with their peacekeepers, peacemakers, peace talks, and peace proposals. And he almost said it all in his closing lines quoting a famous hymn: "Oh God of Love, Oh King of peace, make wars throughout the world . . . (oh yes), to cease." □

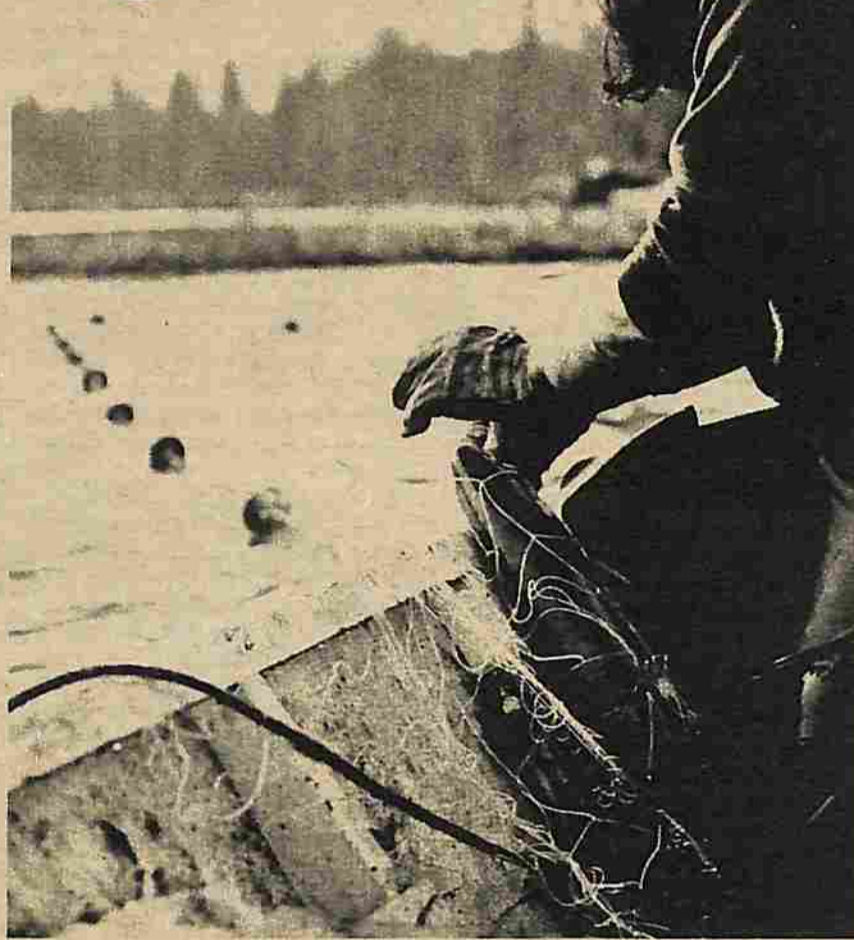
On the afternoon of Wednesday, November 17, 17 defendants appeared in the U.S. District Court in Tacoma, Washington after being indicted by a federal grand jury on felony conspiracy charges. These defendants and two others, members of the Yakima and Warm Springs Indian tribes, are charged in a 29-page indictment with 29 separate counts. In the indictment, the government spins a lurid tale of "complex, illegal fishing conspiracy." In reality, this indictment is the centerpiece of a massive and vicious assault on the very livelihood and culture of Native Americans in the Northwest. Along with the federal conspiracy charges, state charges of illegal fishing are being or have been filed in Skamania, Cowlitz and King counties in Washington and in Hood River and Wasco counties in Oregon. The total number of charges being brought against Native Americans living in the Columbia River area will reach up to 100. All of these charges were cooked up after an 18-month "undercover investigation" launched by the National Marine Fisheries Service, the Oregon State Police, the Washington State Patrol and the Washington Department of Fisheries: a conspiracy alright, one by federal, state and local officials to concoct the charges being used in the current attack on these Native Americans and their economic and cultural mainstay — fishing.

Typical of the terror the state is trying to unleash with these charges is the raids they staged on June 17, four months before the federal indictments were handed down in late October. A special army had been assembled by the head of law enforcement of the National Marine Fisheries Service especially for this raid. A hand-picked team of ex-cops, Green Berets and other thugs from as far away as Alaska, California and the Virgin Islands was gathered and secretly drilled in the off-limits forest area near the Mount St. Helens volcano for four days.

In the early morning of June 17, over 30 agents stormed into the small settlement of Cook's Landing, Washington on the Columbia River, about 50 miles east of Portland, Oregon. Brandishing shotguns, with a plane overhead and three boats on the river, the agents stormed into a house trailer and a couple of sheds. David Sohappy, Sr., a Yakima Indian who is a leader among the Columbia River native fishermen, described the scene: "They came in here about 5:53. They drug me out of bed. When I tried to put on my clothes, they pulled a gun on me." His relatives were met with gun-toting agents as well. Sohappy's grandson, recovering from a recent operation, had his wound reopened when agents pulled him out of bed. For four hours the agents scoured houses, sheds and cars; they seized law books, car titles, land deeds and several vehicles.

"It looks to me like they don't want Indian people fishing here at all," David Sohappy, Sr. told the *RW* after these raids but before the current indictments were handed down. "It's our religion, our customs and culture — we have to fish to retain this. It's our right to fish, but they try to make it like we're out there

Vicious Assault on Indian Fishing Rights



(left) Fishing with a net, a typical method.

(below) A scene out of past assaults on Indian fishing rights. State fish and game wardens about to raid an Indian fishing site near Tacoma, Sept. 1970.



stealing fish. They're the ones stealing the fish." It is exactly for this kind of stand that David Sohappy has been singled out, described as "the central figure" in the government's indictment. Sohappy has long been in the forefront of the battle for Native American fishing rights, defying decades of government harassment and abuse aimed at Indian fishers off of the Columbia River.

The current Columbia River case is only one of several recent attacks launched by the federal government on West Coast Indians' fishing rights. One of the most prominent of these cases was when, On January 23 of this year, U.S. Interior Secretary James Watt himself announced the arrest of 41 people, mainly Yurok and Hoopa Indians, for "illegal fishing" on the Klamath River in northern California and southern Oregon.

Accompanying the current government prosecution of Indian fishers has been a carefully orchestrated series of attacks in the press. Over the past year the West Coast press from the *L.A. Times* to the *Vancouver (Washington) Columbian* and the *Oregon Journal* have run special series of "investigative reporting" on In-

dian fishing with titles like "Poached Salmon: Recipe for Extinction." David Sohappy, Sr. has been singled out for attack on this front as well, the *Vancouver-Columbian* running an article on the Sohappy family entitled "Stubborn Family Eludes Law's Net," which features one Oregon fish enforcement cop muttering, "They flaunt the law in our face."

Clearly the authorities have gone to a great deal of trouble to mount these attacks. Long months have been spent in their "undercover investigations," in secret federal grand jury hearings, in setting coordinated federal and state prosecutions into motion and initiating a simultaneous offensive in the press. The obvious aim is to intimidate and crush resistance among Native Americans who dare to fight to preserve their fishing rights and their way of life. But there are signs that all of this is, in fact, only intensifying and spreading this resistance. At the November 17 federal court hearing — which is only the first step in what will undoubtedly prove to be a very long and complex series of legal maneuvers — some 70 people filled the courtroom. In

addition to Yakima and Warm Springs Indians who had to travel some 200 miles to the Tacoma courthouse, people from the Nisqually and Puyallup reservations in the Tacoma area turned out as well. Efforts are already under way to publicize the case both in the Columbia River and in the Seattle-Tacoma areas, and fundraising events and other plans are currently being laid. Following the November 17 hearing a dinner was held for the defendants and supporters at the Wa-he-lut School on the Nisqually reservation. "If anybody's conspiring," said one Indian fisherman addressing the dinner crowd, "it's the U.S. government, the BIA, the National Marine Fisheries Service, the state; they are conspiring to deny us our treaty rights." And it is this conspiracy that many are determined to drag into the light of day.

The arraignment of the 19 people under federal indictment, which is the next in these legal proceedings, is set for Wednesday, December 1, at the U.S. Courthouse in Tacoma at 1:30 p.m. □

Cyanide—Soviet Style

Revolutionary Worker,

The effects of the Soviet neo-colonial strategy in Mozambique are a stark indictment of the Soviet imperialists. In addition to the picture presented in *RW* No. 180, a few other facts have recently come to light which graphically add to the illustration of the criminal nature of Soviet imperialist domination and oppression in Mozambique.

The northern provinces of Mozambique once served as liberated zones under the control of the FRELIMO guerrilla fighters during the decade-long struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Partly because of this, these provinces not only produced enough food to feed the FRELIMO guerrillas and the local peasants but also provided enough surplus to export certain foodstuffs to the neighboring country of Tanzania.

Today, under the rule of FRELIMO and dominated by Soviet imperialism, these provinces are almost barren wastelands. A 2-year drought has

devastated agricultural harvests in the region, and more than 1.5 million people are suffering from hunger. By the end of 1981 all reserve stocks of food had been used up. In a number of areas the situation was so devastating that out of hunger thousands of Mozambiquan peasants were forced to eat their cassava crop before the normal drying-out period had ended. The catch here is that cassava, not properly dried out, is laden with cyanide. By mid-1982, up to a thousand peasants so far were reported to have been paralyzed as a result of eating the cyanide-laden cassava.

As was pointed out in your article on Mozambique (*RW* No. 180), under the operation of the Soviet theory of "socialist orientation and non-capitalist development," all of the policies employed by FRELIMO can in no way deal with the problem but in fact only serve to rub the contradiction raw. While the peasants eat cyanide, FRELIMO proudly boasts of increasing the production of the export crops of sugar, tea and cotton. FRELIMO's only "solu-

tion" has been to launch an international panhandling scheme to obtain emergency supplies of food — 300,000 tons of cereal and beans for 1982 — as well as tools and seed for future harvests.

The Soviets, FRELIMO and all their various apologists are quick to cast the blame for all this on the forces of nature wreaking havoc in the country. In reality, the heart of the matter is the question of the forces of domination operating in Mozambique today. Of course, the onward march of imperialist domination in Mozambique is only slightly hidden under the Soviets' "socialist" slant on the tired old "chicken in every pot" line. Faced with the situation today, Samora Machel, the president of Mozambique, ironically enough has lamely echoed the Soviet version of "socialism" as the goal of Mozambiquan society. "Socialist society means the welfare of everyone; the right to work; the right to school and health without discrimination; the right of each citizen to decent housing and

transport, to have butter and eggs for our children, to be decently clothed; the possibility of eating chicken, rabbit, fish, meat; and soap to keep clean for all and razor blades — that is what we want. . . . For us, socialist society means having rest centers for workers, celebrating holidays with a glass of beer, wine or orangeade and good cakes, producing toys for our children's birthday presents, producing flowers to give to our wives and mothers, keeping our city streets clean, making parks and gardens for recreation and the pleasure of children and adults." But as the realities of Mozambique today reveal, all of the sugar-coated visions and words of the Soviet social-imperialists and their frontmen concretely translate out to nothing more than the cold-blooded reality of sugar-coated death.

A comrade

Govt Tries to "De-politicize" Legal Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter

On December 7th, Mao Tsetung Defendant Tina Fishman goes to court in Redwood City, California in a permanent custody hearing to regain custody of her daughter. From the day her daughter was legally kidnapped, to the present, this has never been a mere child custody dispute, but rather a brazen political attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, and an attack on women who dare to be revolutionaries. The latest twist in this case is the government's attempt to "de-politicize" it.

Going into the hearing on December 7th, several of the central political figures on the government's side have taken some pains to dissociate themselves from the case, and to dissociate the case from the blatant political persecution it has represented all along. Judge Browning, who made the judicious decision to kidnap Tina's daughter initially, in August 1981, recently declared that the case has "absolutely nothing to do with politics," and went on to say, "I'm too close to this case: ... (I) disqualify myself."

To shed a little light on just what Browning is trying to separate from what by resigning from the case, it is worth recalling his initial order in August 1981 to remove Tina's daughter from her custody. In his ruling, Browning flaunted all normal legal procedures in the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act, ruling that an "emergency" situation existed, and that Tina's daughter, who was in California visiting her father, had to stay with him. To provide some legal justification for this, Browning cited the Carney case, which set the precedent for such extraordinary moves due to "substantial changes in circumstances." That these "substantial changes in circumstances" had everything to do with Tina being a Mao Defendant was made quite clear by the judge when he ruled, "The court cannot disregard the impact of (Tina's felony) charges" on Tina's daughter. Beyond that, Browning's decision came down just a few weeks after the

government had streamlined and concentrated its legal railroad of the Mao Defendants. What Browning is now trying to dissociate from the case by resigning is exactly the blatant way his own ruling made clear the political motivation behind the kidnapping.

Another aromatic figure out of the case is Donald Daugherty, who came into the case as probation officer after an earlier probation officer in California had recommended that Tina's daughter not be kidnapped. Daugherty went at the case like a seasoned attack dog, at one point grilling Tina: "Are you second in command of the RCP, if not who is? Are you going to take your daughter to Paris, like Avakian?" In his report, Daugherty backed up Browning's ruling that Tina offered her daughter "an intentional withholding of those intangible necessities of parenting." Daugherty made quite clear what the essence of this was all about: that the center of Tina's life was not home and family, but revolution instead — a heinous crime for a woman. Daugherty charged that Tina did not work full time, because "she is an active member of the Communist Party (sic)" and her "other days were spent working for the advancement of the party." Daugherty's role as significant accomplice in the political kidnapping of Tina's daughter apparently pleased some people, and he is no longer connected with the case because he received a promotion.

In a recent article in the November 1982 *Chicago Lawyer*, some of the other principals in this case, Ted Fishman, Tina's ex-husband, and his lawyer, John Murphy, made further efforts to muddy the waters. Murphy said, "There is no political battle from Ted's side, only from Tina." This it should be remembered is the same Murphy who admitted in court last year that he had been discussing the case with the chief prosecutor of the Mao Defendants in Washington, D.C. "If it was my little girl

I would be terrified to send her back, first of all, I suspect that her mother is going to be gone for a long time, now, because as I say, I talked to the U.S. Attorney back in Washington, D.C. The trial is going to start in January." There were no politics on Murphy's side, oh no. Just coordination with the chief prosecutor, and the blatant and arrogant message from the top that Tina will be separated from her child, one way or the other.

All this washing of hands, and bowing out of very dirty figures in this case is enough in itself to arouse suspicion as the government and the courts are trying to maneuver and push forward the same ends and reactionary purposes they have pursued all along — only now under conditions that have been radically changed by the major victory of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. In a phone conversation from France summing up the victory of the Mao Defendants in court, Bob Avakian said:

"They tried to teach a lesson but we turned that itself into further exposure of their whole system, further opposition and exposure of the revisionist betrayal in China, but more than that, of its links with imperialism, of the imperialist system and of their war preparations. I think all in all, if you look at the whole thing, it's a tremendous victory that we prevented them from exacting a price and we made the whole thing come out with a different lesson altogether than the one that they wanted people to learn. I think within that context one thing I think is extremely important — it was pointed out in the article in the *RW* a couple of weeks ago but I think it should be called attention to again — is the fact that not one defendant nor even former defendant was able to be broken by any of it. I think the stand of the defendants was extremely important and I think people should not underestimate how inspiring that is to other people who have been watching this case or who have been involved in it for the three and a half years

that this battle has been going on."

Exact revenge on Tina Fishman for the major victory in the Mao Defendants case, and sending out the same reactionary message they've been sending all along, is very much what the bourgeoisie is up to at this point. The victory in that case limits the government's ability to use some of the same arguments that were used in the original kidnapping, and the government has had to do some housecleaning, in part in order to attempt to create conditions for further attacks. The continued hand of high level authorities in this case came out quite clearly when Tina finished her probation from the Mao Defendants case and requested that her probation officer in Chicago notify the family court in California that she was now free of all legal ties in relation to the Mao Defendants case. Her probation officer called Washington, D.C. and they told her not to write anything to anybody regarding Tina or her case. Any information would have to come from Washington, D.C. itself. No politics involved here!

Discovery hearings are scheduled for November 24th to further dig into and expose the political conspiracy behind this kidnapping. For the hearing on December 7th, the Committee Against the Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter is calling for letters and telegrams of support to be sent to:

Case No. 255665,
Fishman vs. Fishman
Superior Court of San Mateo County
Hall of Justice
Redwood City, California 94063

and to send a copy to the Committee:

c/o 17 Brenham Place
San Francisco, CA 94108

Funds are also needed for legal expenses, and people are being called on to pack the courtroom and to offer testimony on December 7th. □

His Honor Has A History

Judge Browning's recent decision that he was "too close" to the kidnapping of Tina Fishman's daughter is even more exposing in light of the role he played in the early 1970s as an active agent in the COINTELPRO operations of the government against revolutionary organizations, including the Revolutionary Union (RU), the forerunner of the RCP.

In 1970, Browning was appointed by Richard Nixon to be head U.S. Attorney for Northern California. One of his first acts in office was to mount a highly publicized crusade against draft resisters and military deserters in the San Francisco Bay Area. He ended up prosecuting some 150 cases in this campaign. Just how he viewed the revolutionary movement of those times was indicated in an address he gave in 1970 to a meeting of "criminal investigators," at which he announced, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, that "Revolution in America was more of a threat than at any time since the Civil War."

While Browning himself did not try cases in court (except the Patty Hearst case in 1976), he was head of an office of 35 lawyers, and deeply involved in handling some of the very complicated questions bound up with the government's prosecution of revolutionaries. One example of this was the time when Browning's office tried to send Black Panther leader David Hilliard to prison for threatening the life of President Nixon in 1969. Hilliard's lawyers argued that the extensive wiretapping of Panther telephones should be handed over to the defense because they would show that Hilliard had been making a political statement, not a direct threat. Browning led the fight against disclosure of the taps on Hilliard and the Panthers, arguing

that they were "irrelevant to the case" even though they were "expressly ordered" by Nixon for national security reasons. The court eventually ordered the charges dropped because the government refused to release the tapes. Browning protested at the time, but he was clearly quite attuned to balancing the sometimes contradictory goals of limiting exposure of the operations of the political police, and pursuing political railroads with gusto. (His recent self-disqualification from this case shows that in this regard, Judge Browning hasn't lost his touch.)

The RU was another target of the COINTELPRO operations that Browning had a hand in. In October 1970, a house in Richmond, California, where people working with the RU were staying, was broken into by 15 to 20 FBI agents, on the pretext of looking for a Weatherman fugitive. Then in April 1971, another raid was conducted on another house of RU supporters in Richmond, and people arrested for allegedly possessing stolen dynamite. It was obvious at the time that this was an attempt by the political police to link the RU to terrorist bombings. It quickly became clear that the government had other plans as well. On August 5, 1971, James L. Browning convened a Federal Grand Jury in San Francisco to question an RU supporter arrested in the April 1971 raid about "violations of a newly enacted Omnibus Crime Bill dealing with the use, possession and transportation of explosives."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote at the time, "All indications are that this grand jury probe is not part of a nationwide investigation, but is directed solely at this one local matter." In fact, there were 12 grand juries convened in the

country at the time directed at the "New Left," and Browning was clearly coordinating his actions with that as he went after the RU in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Browning's grand jury eventually jailed the RU supporter for contempt after she refused to answer any questions asked by the Assistant U.S. Attorney, David Bancroft. Bancroft's questions included probing into the leadership and membership of the RU. Bancroft had been assigned by Browning, and was probably given direct leadership by him as well.

This grand jury was hardly the end of the interest of the political police in the RU, or of Browning's involvement. A 2-day national conference of FBI agents was convened in San Francisco in January 1973, specifically to develop plans to go after the RU. Although the details of the conference and the particular participants aren't now known,

members of the National Lawyers Guild told the *RW* that it is safe to assume that Browning, as head U.S. Attorney in San Francisco, attended this conference.

These are just a few pieces of what is clearly a much larger picture. But they make quite clear that Judge Browning was a very convenient judge, as far as the political police go, to hear the case of the kidnapping of Tina Fishman's daughter. In light of the recent efforts of the prosecution to "de-politicize" this very political kidnapping of Tina's daughter (see article above) and just what kind of high level political interests might be uncovered in the discovery motion just filed by Tina's lawyers, it is quite clear that when Judge Browning said he was "too close" to hear arguments for final custody, he meant too close to the political police and potentially "too exposed." □

The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have

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The Perverse and Persistent Prosecutors of Pierce County

The Pierce County, Washington authorities are at it again. It seems they are determined to make an example of uppity women who dare to stand up against rapists and other beaters and attackers of women and defend themselves. Pierce County, which sports two major military installations, Fort Lewis and McChord Air Force Base, has distinguished itself with particularly high levels (even compared to normal American standards) of rape and abuse of women and children, and the authorities have a distinguished record of official approval of this oppression: from 1975 to 1982 as many women have been prosecuted for defending themselves against attack in Pierce County as have been prosecuted in all of the rest of the state of Washington. But lately the local mucky-mucks have been running into some trouble — the women.

At 10:30 on the morning of Monday, November 22, the Pierce County prosecutor's office initiated the latest in a series of prosecutions against women who have defended themselves — the arraignment of Cherri Laudenberg on charges of second-degree manslaughter in a Tacoma, Washington courtroom. On July 5, Cherri's ex-husband, Melvin Laudenberg, returned to her house, bringing home their 5-year-old daughter and saying that he wanted to take their son with him for a visit. He was drunk; and Cherri refused to let him have their son and told him to leave. But Melvin, who had beaten his ex-wife on several occasions so badly that she was sent to the hospital, refused to leave. Cherri went to her bedroom to get a friend's gun she was keeping. "I got the gun just to scare him and to get him to leave because he told me

I wasn't putting him out of the house that time. He told me he was going to beat me," Cherri later explained. When Cherri came out of her bedroom with the gun, Melvin Laudenberg grabbed a pot of hot soup off the stove and threw it at her. Cherri fired the gun, and one shot hit a bone in his shoulder and went into his heart.

None of these facts is denied by the prosecutor, nor is the fact that Melvin Laudenberg had been arrested previously for harassing his ex-wife, including once when he was spraypainting Cherri's house. In fact, for more than four months, the prosecutor has not filed charges against Cherri Laudenberg. But less than two weeks after the prosecutor was forced to drop manslaughter charges against Lori Ann Newman — who shot a man who had previously raped her and twice broken into her apartment when he tried to break in again — Cherri Laudenberg was in court facing charges.

Hoping to avoid the kind of support and outrage sparked by the persecution of Lori Ann Newman, on October 27, the state held a quiet little coroner's inquest into Cherri's case. The verdicts of such inquests are not binding on the prosecutor's offices in Washington, but they are routinely used by the authorities to conceal their own political motives in prosecuting or not prosecuting sensitive cases. Inquests are regularly used to excuse police murders as "justifiable homicide," and one was used to whitewash the murder of Carl Harp by authorities at the Washington State Penitentiary as a "suicide." In this case, the political motivation of the prosecutor was to get himself a woman. Ac-

ording to a report received by the *RW*, the sole "evidence" considered at this ludicrous proceeding was the questioning of Cherri by the inquest jury, which asked her questions like when was she married and when was her son born; in other words, was she a "legitimate" mother or a loose woman. (This is an area which thrives on prostitution to keep up the "morale of the troops"!)

No testimony was given concerning evidence at the scene of the shooting, nor did the jury hear two witnesses who were at Cherri's house and witnessed the attack on her that led to the shooting. It was no surprise that the inquest jury came back with a recommendation that she be charged with manslaughter. Still the prosecution was plainly nervous. The inquest was held October 27, but they waited until mid-November before they let it be known they were going to file charges. Further, the prosecution did not file the charge as one involving the use of a deadly weapon in the commission of a crime — a special provision of the law which carries a mandatory 5-year prison term if convicted, and a provision which the Pierce County prosecutor has not hesitated to invoke in other cases of women defending themselves. Suggestions were made by the prosecutor's office that Cherri would "only" be sentenced to probation, in the hopes that they could get a conviction without stirring up a fuss.

But on the morning of November 22, the authorities were to find something quite different. Even before the 10:30 arraignment, 11 women went into the prosecutor's office demanding to see the chief criminal deputy prosecutor,

Ellsworth Connelly, who was forced to meet with a group of three of the women. Connelly let the cat out of the bag when he said that he thought the courts were being too "lenient" in such cases, referring to the fact that in a number of such cases higher courts have been forced to reverse convictions of women who defended themselves due to broad opposition they have encountered. His point of view perfectly expressed the all-American attitude toward rape when he said that unless these uppity women were prosecuted, men would be shot as soon as they got out of their cars by women who would claim self-defense! In other words, rapists and women beaters are doing something about as offensive as "getting out of a car," while women who defend themselves against attacks are "murderers."

Following this exchange came the 10:30 arraignment, which took place in an atmosphere which was sure to shatter any lingering illusions in the prosecutor's office about how they were going to get a quiet little conviction to augment their already disgusting record of oppressing women. The courtroom was jammed with Cherri's family, friends from her church and women from various women's rights organizations. For the Pierce County bloodhounds, it was a dismal sign of what they can expect more of when the case comes to trial in February. □

A Risky Hand

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between China and the Soviet Union. Emphasizing in its title and first paragraph that Huang Hua and Gromyko had met for 90 minutes, the article contrasted this with the meeting between Huang and the American representatives, Vice President Bush and Secretary of State Shultz, which "was considerably briefer." The article also mentioned that at the reception following the funeral, Andropov chatted for three minutes with Huang while Bush and Shultz waited in the line behind.

But things quickly took a dramatic turn when, the day after Huang Hua's return from Moscow, China announced his retirement from office. Although Huang had been expected to retire soon, this sudden announcement came as a surprise since the change was supposed to take place later in November when the National People's Congress met. Moreover, in apparent contrast to Huang's optimism about the future of Sino-Soviet talks, Premier Zhao Ziyang insisted in comments made during a talk with the visiting premier of Thailand on the same day as the announcement of Huang's retirement that "There is no change in China's basic position of opposing hegemonism and expansionism." He reiterated the demand that before any improvements in relations take place, the Soviet Union must withdraw its forces from the Sino-Soviet border and Afghanistan and stop support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. This tough talk only serves to underscore the point made in *Basic Principles For the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and For the Line of the International Communist Movement* that: "The Chinese revisionists' quarrel with their counterparts in the Soviet Union centers around the fact that the latter's expansionism — which in fact is not in the Chinese leaders' view stems from the capitalist-imperialist economic base of the USSR today — conflicts with the Chinese revisionists' own bourgeois ambitions. Not only do these two groups of renegades and 'socialist' capitalists have no fundamental differences of principle but some form of 'reconciliation' between them — which would objectively find the Soviet social-imperialists in the superior position — is

not at all unthinkable or even unlikely."

Despite Zhao's sharp remarks, the talks are expected to continue in Moscow next January. Meanwhile in Washington, U.S. officials leaked out confirmation of plans for Schultz to visit China in January. The visit had been under discussion for some time but the timing of the confirmation was significant, as was the U.S. officials' indication that the visit might be a first step in exchange visits by Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang. All this points to some intense maneuverings going on, with very heavy stakes involved.

Soviet Feelers

Since September of last year when the Soviets proposed to the Chinese to re-open bilateral talks that have been suspended since the December '79 invasion of Afghanistan, Moscow has been actively extending feelers toward Peking for improved relations. The September offer was followed up by a note in February announcing that the Soviet side was ready to open talks and asking China to set up a date. In March, Brezhnev himself declared in a speech at Tashkent (near China's western border) that the Soviet Union was ready to re-open talks with China without prior conditions. In pointed reference to the cracks appearing in U.S.-China relations over the question of continuing arms sales to Taiwan, Brezhnev said that the Soviet Union does not support the concept of "two Chinas" and recognizes China's sovereignty over Taiwan.

The offer to re-open talks without prior conditions, however, was no concession on the part of the Soviet Union, for what it meant in effect was a refutation of China's preconditions — withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Sino-Soviet border and Afghanistan and an end-for support for the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea. But the overall tone of the speech did indicate a certain softening of the Soviet approach to China. Whereas at the 26th Congress of the Soviet party a year earlier he still attacked China for distorting "the principles and essence of socialism," in the Tashkent speech Brezhnev said that "We have not denied, and do not deny now, the existence of a socialist system in China."

Although, at the time of Brezhnev's Tashkent speech, China had yet to respond positively to Soviet offers in the

previous months, one can assume that the Soviet leadership would not have included an overture to China and relatively conciliatory language in a major policy statement by its top leader without some sign or indication from China that talks might be possible. In this light, it's interesting to note that two Soviet China specialists, one the head of the foreign ministry's Far East desk and the other the director of the Diplomatic Academy, made several visits to Peking in early '81 before Brezhnev's speech.

By the time Brezhnev repeated the call for talks in a September speech in Baku, the groundwork for their talks had already been pretty firmly set. There were reports that in August, the chief of the Chinese foreign ministry's Soviet desk was in Moscow to talk to his Soviet counterpart. Less than two weeks after the Baku speech, the Soviet delegation arrived in Peking to open the talks. The talks ended without any indication from either side about what had been achieved or even what had been discussed. The *New York Times* quoted one "Eastern European diplomat" as cautioning against any quick breakthroughs and describing the negotiations ahead as a "marathon." According to one account of the talks, the Chinese rejected the attempts of the Soviet representatives to avoid discussions of China's preconditions and made clear that they do not expect ties to improve soon.

But the events around Brezhnev's funeral, especially Huang Hua's "optimism" about the talks, fed speculations that more had gone on at the talks than what was let out. The editor of *Pravda* added fuel to the speculation when he told Japanese reporters during the discussion of the Sino-Soviet talks, "It is possible that the two sides might promise each other a reduction of military forces in border areas." He also said that he thought Soviet troops "will eventually withdraw" from Afghanistan, and that a senior Soviet official had been discussing the question of Afghanistan with "concerned" parties, including Pakistan.

Most recently, Andropov, in a speech to the Central Committee, took the baton from Brezhnev to reiterate overtures toward China. Referring again to China as a "socialist" country, Andropov said that the Soviet Union pays "great attention to every positive response" from the Chinese to ideas put forward by Brezhnev

The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tse Tung

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The events since September of last year clearly show that the Soviet revisionists had decided to launch an offensive to drive a wedge into the U.S.-China strategic relationship. Their goal is to pry China away from the U.S. bloc and into their own, or at least to destabilize the U.S.-China relationship as much as possible. As the magazine *Far Eastern Economic Review* pointed out, "The Soviet Union sees any alteration in the traditional triangular arrangement of Soviet-American-Chinese relations as likely to be beneficial to its side: Any Chinese movement away from the U.S. is a movement toward the Soviet camp." This is so because as the *Basic Principles* document points out: "while the Chinese revisionists have wild ambitions which they are pursuing in direct opposition to Mao's often repeated call to 'never seek hegemony,' and while they can push their weight around to a certain degree in some situations, especially with regard to other countries in the 'third world,' their abilities do not match up to their appetites, and they can only play a subordinate part in an alliance headed by one or the other of the two superpowers." Even if all that the Soviets can achieve in the short run is some cooling down of the Chinese revisionists' verbal attacks (which has already taken place to a considerable extent) and an increase in

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A Risky Hand

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cultural exchanges, this creates conditions where pro-Soviet forces within China can operate more freely and gather strength.

The efforts of the Soviet social-imperialists within the past year or so to get China to the negotiating table have been unusually persistent and intense, and this points to the seriousness with which they view the "China question." As the Soviet Union prepares for war, and in the actual war itself, a China firmly tied to the U.S. bloc poses tremendous dangers for them. For one thing, the important ports and military installations on the Russian East Coast facing the Okhotsk Sea, crucial to Soviet defenses and attacks against Japan and the U.S. forces in the Pacific, the Far East, Alaska and continental U.S., are highly vulnerable because of their great distance from Russia's political, industrial and population centers and proximity to northeast China, a heavily populated, industrialized and militarized area. Conversely, a swing by China into the Soviet bloc would mean a big shift in the world balance of power.

At this point, the Soviet Union is pursuing its designs on China through offering negotiations and even throwing out promises of troop withdrawals. But a couple of things must be said about this. The Soviet offers for negotiations are in the nature of "offers that can't be refused" from a Mafia don that comes knocking at the door of a lesser gang leader, accompanied by a throng of machinegun-wielding thugs. The thugs in this case are the 50 or so divisions of Soviet troops and an array of missiles, bombers and tanks on or near the Sino-Soviet border. (Although a significant part, perhaps the great bulk, of these forces and arms are actually directed against Japan and the U.S., they can quite obviously be used against China.) Moreover, many Western analysts of Sino-Soviet affairs have by no means discounted the possibility that in the event of world war the Soviets would resort to the military option — e.g., a sweep to cut off northeast China, a vital industrial area for China, in order to reduce China to impotence or to force capitulation to the Soviet camp. At the same time, the tremendous military forces which the Soviets have committed to the Soviet/China border — the largest single concentration of troops in the world — is a great burden on the Soviets right now and a reduction of troops there would enable them to utilize these forces elsewhere, possibly as further persuasion of their "peaceful" inclinations currently directed toward Western Europe.

China Plays the "China" Card

What is revealed by China's response to the Soviet overtures is that while looking to further their own interests as much as possible, Deng & Co. are still very much operating within the framework of the U.S. bloc. In order to understand this, it is important to look at the timing of China's response to the Soviet overtures in relation to the developments in the U.S.-China relations. As mentioned above, the Soviet feelers to Peking began at a time when the dispute between U.S. and China over the Taiwan question was at its height late last year and the early part of this year. However, at that point, China refrained from using the "Soviet card" against the U.S. The Chinese revisionists responded cautiously to the Soviet overtures and remained non-committal, at least publicly, toward re-opening the talks. They focused the main attention in that period on resolving the differences with their masters in Washington. It was only after the U.S.-China Joint Communiqué of August had papered over the cracks, if only temporarily, and the political report to the 12th Congress of the Chinese Party in early September had re-emphasized China's place in the U.S. bloc, that the Chinese rulers became more open about the contacts with the Soviets. But even then, the first confirmation that Sino-Soviet talks were actually going to be held came from Britain's Thatcher and Japan's Suzuki, both of whom came to Peking immediately after the 12th Congress. China was making it known that the steps toward talks with the Soviet Union were being taken with full consultation with the allies of the

U.S. bloc. Every move that China has taken which could be interpreted as being favorable to the Soviets has been counterbalanced by re-affirmation of ties to the U.S.

At this point, the Chinese bourgeoisie still sees its interests best served within the U.S. bloc. As Huang Hua remarked to Schultz at the UN a few days before the opening of Sino-Soviet talks in Peking, "From the long-term point of view, regardless of some present factors, the development of relations between our two countries is of fundamental importance to the two peoples." Undoubtedly, Huang was here talking about the "long-term point of view" of the U.S. bloc waging and winning the war for redivision of the world against the Soviet imperialist bloc. Of more immediate concern, the Chinese revisionists still expect the West to be the main source of capital and technology for the capitalist "modernization."

But within this framework of the U.S. bloc, China seeks to maneuver to improve its position, increase its options and lessen the dangers in the future. Of course, it is not entirely a matter of free choice for the Chinese revisionists whether or not they sit down at the negotiating table with the Soviets. The immense pressure on China from the Soviet military forces on the border forces them to pursue some kind of lessening of tensions with the Soviets and hampers their ability to pursue their role in the region in competition with Vietnam for which one is going to be the bully of Indochina. During the 1979 invasion of Vietnam by China, it was reported that the situation of the Soviet/China border was extremely tense. Soviet tanks fired empty shells on the border and Soviet aircraft buzzed the border regions. But beyond this, the Chinese revisionists do see the possibility of using "the Soviet card" to gain leverage with the U.S. — although it must be emphasized again that they have been very careful not to overplay their hand with the U.S. China also wants to create uncertainty and worry among the Vietnamese leadership about the possibility of a major Sino-Soviet agreement that might pull the rug from under their feet. And from a strategic viewpoint of preparing for a showdown between the two imperialist blocs, the Chinese revisionists expect that by keeping open the channels to the Soviets, they can be in a better position going into the redivision to come out on the winning side.

The incident involving Huang Hua was apparently part of these tactical maneuvers by China. It is rather inconceivable that Deng & Co. were caught by surprise by Huang's gushy statements about Brezhnev (which were actually made before the funeral while Huang was still in Peking) and his optimistic view of the Sino-Soviet talks, and therefore had to hurriedly fire him upon his return to Peking. Huang had never been known to be pro-Soviet; in fact he was always associated with Zhou Enlai's pro-West faction. Being slated for retirement soon anyway, Huang was the likely candidate for an expendable sacrificial lamb. It would seem then that the Huang Hua affair was in part a conscious play by the Chinese revisionists to keep both the Soviet Union and the U.S. a little bit off balance.

Although Huang Hua himself probably is not an avid pro-Soviet figure (just an avid revisionist fellow) and the various contradictory signs coming from China recently around the question of its relations with the Soviet Union are in part maneuvers by Deng to get the most out of flashing the "China card," underlying all this is very real and sharp struggle with the Chinese ruling class between the pro-West revisionists now in leadership and pro-Soviet forces that would favor not only more contacts with the Soviets but even an actual switch of China into the Soviet imperialist bloc. In the struggle over the best path to pursue China's revisionist interests, the pro-Soviet forces have very persuasive arguments in their arsenal. An alliance with Moscow, they maintain, would not only free up precious resources now directed to the defense of the northern border but would give China a powerful backer in pursuing its own ambitions, especially in Southeast Asia. They also point out that China has been disappointed in its grand expectations of economic and military aid from the West, and furthermore has been subjected to some humiliating treatment over the question of Taiwan.

It is not clear exactly how the pro-Soviet forces line up at this point, but it can be said with some certainty that the military is, and has been historically, a stronghold of these forces (although the situation in the military is complicated and pro-Soviet forces are not the only current operating within it). The Soviet revisionists see this, and have been trying to take advantage of it. Soviet publications, for instance, constantly heap high praise on Peng Dehuai as a great "internationalist" as an example that should be followed by the present leadership. Peng, a Defense Minister during the '50s who had a strong influence in the military, came into open conflict with Mao after the Great Leap Forward. What makes him such an "internationalist," in Soviet eyes, is that he colluded with the Soviets to overthrow Mao, even meeting clandestinely with Khrushchev to plot a Soviet-backed coup.

There have been sharp struggles within the Chinese bourgeoisie over how best to appropriate the limited resources they have in order to further their revisionist program, and some forces are very dissatisfied with the present level of military spending. Recent major changes in the top military leadership are in part a reflection of the problems Deng is having. In the biggest shake-up since the Cultural Revolution, four of the 11 regional military commanders were recently replaced or transferred. The Political Commissar of the People's Liberation Army was also ousted from the position in September. Most recently, at the same time as Huang Hua was unexpectedly retired, Defense Minister Geng Biao was also replaced by a new face. There have also been reports that a number of military figures who participated in Lin Biao's abortive 1971 coup have been released from jail recently. A major point of conflict between Lin and Mao was Lin's line of capitulation to the Soviet threat.

The pro-U.S. forces represented by Deng Xiaoping are therefore operating on very dangerous ground in pursuing negotiations with the Soviets. They hope to reduce at least some of the pressures from the Soviets to gain some breathing space, and perhaps to undercut the pro-Soviet forces' arguments for a shift to the other imperialist camp. On one hand they are driven by the overall contradictions intensifying between the U.S. and Soviet blocs on a world scale and the necessities facing them as a bourgeoisie to seek a *modus vivendi* with the Soviets, but this can backfire on them by giving more maneuvering room to the pro-Soviet forces. (It is also important to note that reversing verdicts on the Soviet Union and making a rapprochement is not easily swallowed by millions of people in China. In this light it is interesting to note that China's message on Brezhnev's death was not reported in the official newspaper, the *People's Daily*, and while Huang Hua's interview citing his "optimism" about the Soviet/China talks was carried by *New China News Agency* for international consumption, it too was not reprinted in *People's Daily*.)

U.S. Response

A November 17th article in the *New York Times* described the U.S. approach to the flirtations between the Soviet Union and China: "The Reagan administration is deliberately avoiding any obvious show of concern about the improving relations between the Soviet Union and China, but privately some officials find the trend troublesome." In fact, "troubled" is probably too mild a word for the trepidation which at least some in the U.S. ruling class are openly expressing about the growing Sino-Soviet contacts. In arguing for a cessation of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, Senator Henry Jackson warned that there is a "military faction" in China that is pushing for accords with the Soviet Union, and also warned of the possibilities of a future mutual non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and China, "with a new group in power in China." The prospect that something like a mutual non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and China, not to speak of the emergence of a new Sino-Soviet axis alliance against the U.S., could free up big chunks of Soviet forces and resources now on the Chinese border for redeployment elsewhere, is a nightmare that haunts the U.S. imperialists.

A column by William Safire in the November 28 *New York Times* indicates fur-

ther the difficulties plaguing the U.S. with respect to China. In an ironic if hypocritical remark, this barking dog for U.S. imperialism, who is certainly not known for having "liberal" views, said, "Strategically, the U.S. might be better off with Maoism in China, because such radicalism would continue the Sino-Soviet party-to-party rift." Now, it is hardly the case that this mouthpiece has suddenly become an advocate of the return of revolutionary rule in China. As Safire points out, the U.S. is quite happy to see the restoration of capitalism in China, but the irony here is that exactly what the U.S. likes about the Chinese revisionists — their pragmatism and capitulationist nature — is leading them to seek some sort of accommodation with the Soviets. What Safire is pointing to here is the staunch stand Mao took against Soviet social-imperialism, which did pose an actual and imminent military danger to China. As we have pointed out in the *RW* and in other documents and publications, our party has criticisms of the way Mao dealt with this threat by identifying the Soviet Union as the main danger on a world scale and as the main source of war, and on this incorrect basis trying to forge an international united front, including approaching the West, but these were the errors of a great revolutionary. Although the U.S. would like China to be friendly and anti-Soviet, there's one thing wrong for the imperialists about Mao — he was a revolutionary communist, and under his leadership, China was a socialist country and a base for world revolution. Mr. Safire makes it quite clear that what he wants is for China to be a firm base for U.S. imperialism. "Does appeasing Deng keep China estranged from the Soviet Union? Or does it do the opposite?" he asks. What he is pushing for the U.S. to do is to meet the Soviet offensive tit for tat and tell Deng in strong words to cut out the coziness with the Soviets. Although there are dangers involved in this approach (Safire mentions opposition Deng faces from the military as well as "the millions of Maoist firebrands"), Safire sees more danger in not dealing with a firm hand.

But overall, the comments of the Barry Goldwaters, *et al.*, whose bellicose outpourings about the "untrustworthiness" of "communist" China and denunciation of U.S. "appeasement" toward Deng were given widespread coverage in the U.S. media only a few months ago during the Taiwan arms sale controversy, have not been featured in the U.S. response. Bullying China into submission on the Taiwan question is one thing; hasty moves on the extremely sensitive and pivotal question of Sino-Soviet relations is another. The U.S. so far has been stepping very carefully, feeling out the terrain, not wanting to appear too concerned or too much the interested party behind the scenes. But the announcement of the Schultz trip to China in January (to be possibly followed by Reagan) might be an indication that the U.S. is preparing to go on the offensive and retake the initiative in relations with China. China has already received a visit from the Mafia boss of the East side. Now the West side boss is preparing a visit of his own to make clear to his rival just whose territory this is, and possibly present China with an "offer that can't be refused" of his own.

Exactly how these relations will develop in the future is not possible to foretell, nor is our purpose here to speculate on which bloc China is going to end up in, but as the *Basic Principles* document points out, "The 'switching from one side to another' of various reactionary states is, once again, an important part and important indication of the intensifying developments toward and preparations for world war, and whatever the particular alignment among the imperialists and reactionaries and regardless of the specific components of the two blocs, both must be exposed, opposed, and fought against as enemies of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations. The actions of the Chinese revisionists will certainly affect all this, and in a significant way, in a tactical sense, but will not change it fundamentally or in its nature nor alter the fact that the rival imperialist blocs are set on a collision course and that only the international proletariat and its allies can, through their revolutionary struggles, radically transform the historic conjuncture shaping up in the interests of the great majority of the world's people." □

Colombia

Continued from page 9

social-imperialist "revolution" or through political compromises with the ruling classes in power, will enable them to grab the state apparatus and advance from there to a state monopoly capitalism at the service of the USSR. But it is an antagonistic struggle if you keep in mind that this is part of the confrontation of the two imperialist blocs for control of our country.

The Vieira party's "war of national liberation" against U.S. imperialism is no such thing, since its interests are anti-national. The Vieira party is incubating within itself the seed of the development of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie at the service of Soviet imperialism, in opposition to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie now in power.

There is a Marxist thesis that says that imperialism always bases itself on the local reactionary classes, using the feudal classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie for its penetration. And in this case there are facts to show that the Vieira party allies itself, in deeds, with the feudalists to maintain its areas of influence in the struggle against the Colombian army.

In a revolutionary situation a pro-Soviet party would use the revolutionary movement, use its military and political experience to try to take the leadership of that movement and sidetrack it towards serving social-imperialism. It would be a social-imperialist revolution in the sense that it would be led by the position of the USSR, either through its party or through other groups which are not directly agents of social-imperialism but are part of the Soviets' political coalition and serve their interests. That would be the case with the existence of a revolutionary situation. During a non-revolutionary situation like today in Colombia and other Latin American countries, a pro-Soviet party is better able to strengthen itself and create the strategic conditions for when revolutionary situations do arise. A pro-Soviet party moves forward using the more backward masses of workers, and also the careerist sections of the trade union movement, the urban petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the peasants.

In the particular case of the masses of workers, above all the more backward among them, social-imperialism, through the union organization of the Vieira party (the CSTC), bases its domination of the working class movement and the trade union movement on sections of the labor aristocracy. The USSR's support enables the reach of the Vieira party's propaganda to be broader than any other political group, and with the union leaders of the CSTC, with the machine that they have built, it can use those privileged situations to rig up its social base in the working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie, sections of the labor aristocracy, sections of the peasantry that it has reached out to, but especially in the urban petty bourgeoisie and the working class. That has to be kept in mind in order to see how the pro-Soviet party is advancing in today's conditions in Colombia, a non-revolutionary situation.

The attitude of a Marxist party towards a pro-Soviet party is not the same during a non-revolutionary situation as during a revolutionary situation. During the present non-revolutionary stage, with the weaknesses of the Marxist-Leninists, the Vieira party can advance better, is better able to con-

solidate in preparation for the revolutionary situation; it has more opportunity to advance, to strengthen itself, to create ideological confusion, to win over sections of other political groups, to better its ideological and political control among the masses. It has more opportunities now than in the stage of a revolutionary situation, and therefore the tactics of the Marxists must be to wage a life and death struggle against them now, stripping bare their nature, so that in a revolutionary situation social-imperialism will be the weaker force.

This is possible. In a revolutionary situation, if there is a correct Marxist-Leninist line which synthesizes the experience of the international communist movement, the position of the revisionist parties, of social-imperialism in Vietnam, Cuba, Central America and here, this can mean that in an advanced revolutionary situation, Marxism-Leninism can be stronger than social-imperialism and the pro-Soviet party, as opposed to now where the situation is the opposite. But this can only happen on the basis of clarity on the nature of the Vieira party and the nature of the USSR, and as long as that doesn't happen, any other tactic will mean strengthening of social-imperialism, to the detriment of the Colombian revolution.

The mass demonstrations of the Vieira party are of an economist character. The Vieira party mobilizes the masses simply to promote demands within the framework of the reactionary big bourgeois state; it also uses its electoral machine, the UNO (Unión Nacional de Oposición — RW), to gain support among backward sections (campaigns for cooking gas instead of the charcoal briquets imposed by the Bogota district government, empty pot and empty basket demonstrations, similar to those against the Popular Unity in Chile, etc.).

The character of the Vieira party's mass mobilizations can be seen in each and every one of its demonstrations: the celebrations of the anniversary of *Proletarian Voice* with fairs and so-called political-cultural programs where what is least apparent is the revolutionary sentiment of the masses; the mobilizations of the CSTC which are demonstrations in the traditional mold and don't differ from those of the UTC and CTC, in which the revolutionary spirit, the combative ability of the working class doesn't exist.

The emergence of violent demonstrations (National Civic Strike, 1979) doesn't mean that the Vieira party is revolutionary or democratic. The pro-Soviet party rallies the masses as a pressure group for a possible deal with the regime; this kind of struggle is what it needs in order to broaden its influence. It doesn't mobilize the masses in order to educate them through the process of revolution. The Vieira party doesn't advocate the violent transformation of the Colombian society, it pushes reactionary propaganda for peace, peace for it, with the old demands for general unconditional amnesty, for "democratic" freedoms, etc. under the regime.

Mobilizing the masses around these slogans, around these demands, doesn't seek to enlighten the masses in the struggle for an anti-imperialist democratic revolution; on the contrary, it seeks to extend social-imperialism's influence within the bourgeoisie and urban petty bourgeoisie, to expand its influence in this way, in order to safeguard its own army in times of a military confrontation with the "Colombian" army, the army of the oligarchy.

Lenin discussed the relation between war and peace and the policy of the proletariat and maintained that no party of the proletariat could call for peace unless it was prepared to make war against its own government, against its own ruling classes. The only way to win peace for the masses is making war on their own oligarchs.

The military line of the armed branch of the Vieira party, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), is a clear expression of the political and ideological line of the CPC. The phenomenon of "the violence," the influence of the Cuban revolution, and the bourgeois orientation of the line promulgated by the USSR, have been determining factors in the military line of FARC.

During the era of "the violence"—the period when armed actions by Liberal guerrilla groups flared up against the Conservative regime, which was around

1949 to 1958 and left more than 300,000 dead—the Vieira party oriented its work towards gaining influence within the peasant movement which had developed self-defense groups against the regime's assassins. The CPC organized a "Cadre School" to give military training and political (dis)orientation to the Liberal guerrilla leaders. To this day the "guerrilla leaders" of the FARC are the same "cadres" recruited from Viotá's school and continue using the pressure tactics of the era of "the violence" to win logistical support from the peasant masses. The phenomenon of "the violence" forced the Vieira party to promote the creation of its armed branch: "Against all forms of violence against the people, the Communist Party of Colombia raises ever more broadly the slogan of mass self-defense, although it does not consider this the time for guerrilla warfare or that the guerrilla movement is the only possible form to develop the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. Self-defense exists in a number of important peasant regions, but as yet has not developed throughout the country. Communists consider that its adoption by the broad masses throughout the country is the only solution to the terrible problem of the 'violence'."*****

The military victory of the "July 26th Movement" in Cuba gave rise to a "guerrillist" tide in Latin America which promoted the formation of guerrilla groups and the (quantitative) development of the already existing groups. The idea of a guerrilla elite proposed by Che Guevara contributed to strengthening the bourgeois military line which emphasizes the material base, equipment and arms instead of the role of the masses in people's war.

During the post-1970 upsurge of the National Association of Peasant Producers (ANUC), the biggest peasant mobilization since the era of "the violence"—for the redistribution of the land—the Vieira party assumed a position, quite in conformity with its line, of open opposition to the interests of the peasantry: "One of the clearest examples of this contradiction arose around the confrontation between ANUC and the Ministry of Agriculture in 1971-1972. During this time there arose a division in ANUC, the Armenia Line vs. the Sincelejo Line. In this conjuncture, the Communist Party supported the Ministry of Agriculture and the Armenia Line of ANUC, in opposition to the Sincelejo Line. The Communist Party adopted this pro-government position in order to win more control over the peasant movement."*****

The tactics of Vieira's party in the countryside don't give priority to the struggle for land. Nicolas Buenaventura, in an analysis on the building of the party, says that in the countryside the party is not building itself on the basis of the peasants' struggle for land, but the struggle for housing, because today, according to him, most of the population is urban and not rural, today there are less latifundios, and instead small parcels and poor landless peasants are predominant. Thus, the program of the phantom peasant organization of the Vieira party clearly fixes the order of demands: for wages in the countryside, for housing and for land. The Vieira party thinks that an agrarian revolution in a country like ours can be carried out by fighting for housing in the countryside, by fighting for wages, and not by fighting for the main thing, the land question.

In face of the weakness of the Marxist-Leninists, the subjective element of the revolution, and the fact that no revolutionary situation exists, the supposedly revolutionary, "socialist," "internationalist" character of Vieira's party serves to attract backward sections of the masses, including sections of the working class. Of course, the CPC uses this element to reinforce its ideological and

political domination among certain sections of the population, especially within the working class. With this revolutionary, socialist, Marxist and proletarian internationalist face, the Vieira party seeks influence among the masses only so that it can pursue state power, either through violent means or through political compromises with sections of the traditional reactionaries. The Vieira party is an anti-revolutionary party, it uses its broad propaganda (which is most effective in a non-revolutionary situation) to reinforce its ideological domination over the masses in order to use them later as a spearhead in the development of the strategic objectives of social-imperialism.

The pro-Soviet parties not in power work to thwart the national democratic revolution and preserve capitalism: thwart the revolution, because to wage a social-imperialist revolution is not to free the masses from oppression and exploitation, neither from an imperialism nor from their own oligarchies; and the preservation of capitalism, because social-imperialism and the pro-Soviet parties that hold to this strategic policy are not interested in destroying capitalism, but in developing a capitalism in service of Soviet social-imperialism. To achieve this, through its parties and through "economic aid" to certain governments, social-imperialism works to develop a privileged strata of the pro-Soviet bureaucratic bourgeoisie. These parties seek the development of a state capitalism in service of Soviet social-imperialism in alliance with sections of the old bourgeoisie, by using the existing state apparatus.

The characterization of the Vieira party as "democratic," "revolutionary," to consider it a force in opposition to the regime, to consider it a possible ally in the revolutionary process, is to play along with social-imperialism, it means assuming a pro-Soviet position.

To take a correct position towards one of the enemies of the Colombian revolution, social-imperialism and its agents in Colombia, means developing the understanding of its reactionary, anti-national, anti-democratic nature. An important task for Colombian Marxist-Leninists is to create public opinion around a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line, broaden the reach of propaganda and work among the masses, to create the basis even before a revolutionary situation and above all within it, to thwart revisionism's opportunities to politically advance. A theoretically clear and politically capable movement that develops a truly revolutionary mass movement, can work to destroy Soviet social-imperialism's ability to influence the struggle for the national-democratic revolution.

For this it is necessary to emphasize our position on the tactical and strategic political relations between Marxist-Leninists and the social-imperialist parties like Vieira's:

"In the colonial and dependent countries there is also the contradiction that arises in relation to the fact that it is most often the case that the revolutionary struggle must be directed, in an immediate sense, against one imperialist power (or imperialist bloc) and the domestic reactionaries dependent on and serving it, but this struggle must be carried out without joining in with—or still less supporting or even becoming dependent on—rival imperialists (in particular the rival imperialist bloc) and their lackeys, and in a fundamental sense as part of the international struggle against imperialism and reaction in general" (*Basic Principles*, page 43). It is with this outlook that we must develop the process of the national-democratic revolution, making it clear that we must reject alliances or support of all imperialist blocs and their lackeys, and further, under our present conditions, the struggle must be waged against the two blocs and imperialism in general. For some this point of view means that we don't understand the question of the main enemy nor the principal contradiction, etc.; nevertheless what is not correct is to tie oneself up with anti-Marxist and anti-dialectical interpretations of the enemy and the principal contradiction. For the Colombian revolution it's very healthy to have a clear understanding of the counter-revolutionary character of the CPC and to work to expose it for the benefit of the people and proletariat. □

CORRECTIONS

In RW No. 181, in the article "Seattle: Vets, Anti-War Forces Unite vs. War Memorial," the first full sentence in column 3 should have read: "They're not memorializing the losses that we here are memorializing; they're memorializing their viewpoint on things."

In RW No. 181, on page 14, we incorrectly reported that two interviews with members of the VVAW (A-I) were aired on FM radio station WPFW in Washington, D.C. One interview with two VVAW (A-I) members was aired on this station. A second interview, with an Indochinese brother who came to D.C. with VVAW (A-I) to protest the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, was aired on station WHUR on Monday, November 15th.

**** Gilberto Vieira, essay on *La Violencia en Colombia*, which appeared in the magazine *Tiempos Nuevos*, an edition of the newspaper *Trud* (Moscow), No. 28, July 17, 1973 (cited by Eduardo Umana Luna, *La Violencia en Colombia*).

***** Bruce Michael Bagley and Fernando Botero Z., *Organizaciones Contemporáneas en Colombia: Un estudio de la Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC)*, in *Estudios Rurales Latinoamericanos*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January-April, 1978.

A call to prisoners in the U.S. imperialists' dungeons:

At this time, in the battle to win refugee status in France for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCPUSA, statements are needed from prisoners documenting political repression and "routine" acts of torture—repeated beatings, denial of food, bedding, clothing, prolonged periods of isolation, administering of drugs, sexual violations, etc.—on the part of police or prison personnel. This testimony will be a vital part of exposing the nature of bourgeois democracy and the torture and terror inherent in the normal functioning of the justice system in the U.S.A.

Please send your statements to the address below. You may want to do this through your lawyer or relatives or friends on the outside. We will notify you that we have received your letter.

RCP PUBLICATIONS POB 3486 CHICAGO, IL 60654

Dear R.C.P. Publications,

I am presently a prisoner here in Texas and would like very much to receive your pamphlet "You Can't Beat The Enemy While Raising His Flag," on the question of so-called "National Nihilism." I am entirely without funds and am hoping to receive it under my prisoner status. The "flag of serpents" that you depicted, I am very much interested in also. Do you have available a larger production of this fine declaration of truth?

Thank you for being!

Huntsville, Texas

Dear RW,

Received your letter of Nov. 1, 1982. I appreciate your dedication in taking the time in answering my letter of request. Your party's publications list was very informative, I thank you!

My course of studies consist of, Vol. 1 Karl Marx "Capital", V.I. Lenin selected writings "WHAT IS TO BE DONE", and selected works of Marx and Engels. I've been studying for a few months. I have the basic idea of Marxism-Leninism, although some type of study guide would be a tremendous help. Any suggestions? I may be released next year, at that time I plan on becoming very much involved with the party. There are things which I'd like to say, but because of my present situation I can't allow myself to express my thoughts in a more aggressive nature.

Being a student of Marxism-Leninism has made a drastic change to my life, it has been a guiding factor for me. With just the little knowledge that I have acquired has given me the ability to understand and evaluate my conditions and also my existence more realistically.

The situation here at Marion is oppressive. Since the lock down in Sept. of 1980, due to a work strike, which was in solidarity with the *Marion Brotherhood Project* to protest the existence and inhumane conditions of Marion's H-unit. The administration found this to be an opportune time to lock down the prison permanently. They are now in full control of the situation, and Washington has given the warden (Miller), who's a descendant of "Alcatraz" their blessings. The unity here has deteriorated to almost none, and there is very little political awareness. The administration has encouraged violence among the prisoners by creating the situations. Beatings of prisoners who are confined in segregation, harassment, insufficient exercise and no jobs. There has been talk of reopening the prison but every time an escape attempt or a violent incident arises it is put back a few months. There has been four killings and numerous stabbings, all encouraged by the warden and his administration. So what we have here is suppression and depression and the out-come is violence.

I have read the articles written by Chairman Avakian and have considered them very closely, but at this time, 'cause of my little knowledge that I have acquired up to this point in my studies, I feel I am in no position to agree or disagree with what Chairman Avakian has to say. Give me time and I will discuss my thoughts on the articles in the *RW*. For now I will close my letter with the support of my mind and the strength of my body, I give to the struggle.

P.S. I would appreciate a copy of the Constitution of the RCP, USA.

Thank you!
Marion, Illinois

To the R.W.:

In solidarity with prisoners worldwide and with optimism for the revolutionary future, enclosed is \$200 for the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund.

Behind the walls, where there is some of the sharpest hunger for political knowledge, and it is least available;

There, where the degradation of the oppressed at the hands of the state, concentrated in the exposure of the prison letters, is some of the strongest testimony for the necessity of its overthrow;

There, beside the heroic figures, past and present, of Leonard Peltier, Hüseyin Balkir, Steve Biko, and George Jackson, are thousands more as yet unknown;

Let the light shine behind the walls, so that the light within the walls can shine out with internationalist fire!

B. Sullivan
(sentenced to 2 yrs. for spray-painting internationalist slogans on the Exxon Building)
& family

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

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:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654