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## U.S. IMPERIALISM'S LIBYA STORIES

Official Washington turned into something like Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show last week as the Great Libyan Assassination Caper unfolded all over the media. It was a story with something for everybody. There was Mohamar Qaddafi on ABC News,

charging Reagan with being "not qualified to lead a superpower," and there was the President's stunning retort: "I wouldn't believe a word he says." There was the drama of protecting the President as dummy car caravans loaded with SWAT teams zip-

ped around downtown Washington to draw out the assassins' fire. There was the hand of the Soviet bloc as one of the Libyan "hitmen" was reported to be blond and a possible East German. Even the Weathermen were thrown in for good measure; as "authoritative sources" reported that the ghost-like Libyan hit squad had definite prior contact with the Weather Underground. Finally, there were touching scenes of personal sacrifice for the national interest as columns of tuxedos and evening gowns cheerfully lined up to pass through metal detectors to get into the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

But if nobody believed the official story, as it appears few do, there remains the question of just what the hell the current world record-holders for

political coups and assassinations—the U.S. imperialist hitmen—were preparing for, in this latest twist in their campaign focused on Libya. It should be sobering to recall that the U.S. government, which has the nerve to bellow about all this, itself has more admitted assassinations of foreign leaders notched on its six-guns than anyone else: Lumumba in the Congo, Allende in Chile, even its own puppets like Diem in Vietnam.

The Libyan hit team story was met with international ridicule. One Arab League spokesman mocked, "There is no hit team in the United States except in the imagination of some high CIA official, who must be *high*," and French diplomats quipped that, "Haig has convinced *himself* of this Libyan threat."

Is there a hit squad at work? Well, the CIA has given its solemn assurances of the existence of such an operation, and who should know better than the CIA. One of the more ironic twists in this case is that while we were flooded with hit man stories, suddenly forgotten were all the recent revelations about so-called "former" CIA agents and ex-Green Beret training squads in Libya. And training hasn't been all their work.

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# WHOSE HIT SQUAD REALLY ROAMS THE WORLD?

A new estimate of the federal budget deficit came out this week — \$109 billion for fiscal year 1982 (which began October 1), rising to \$152.3 billion in fiscal 1983 and \$162 billion in 1984, the year of the Reagan administration's promised land—the balanced budget. In fact, that the huge increases in military spending would greatly outweigh the budget cuts in social programs, thus leading to increased deficits, particularly when coupled with tax cuts and the current recession and gloomy economic outlook — all this had been more and more obvious to all over the past months even though President Reagan continued to insist as late as September, that the fiscal 1982 deficit would be only \$43 billion. These ballooning deficits, though, are not fundamentally an index of Reagan's bad faith, but of the desperate dilemma of the U.S. imperialists as they attempt to hold things together while feverishly preparing for world war.

It's more than a little ironic, of course, that Reagan, the loudly avowed apostle of that fiscal conservatism which looks to the balanced budget as its primary goal, will preside over a deficit which is not only the largest in

## War Budget Deficit

history, but almost doubles the previous record deficit of \$66 billion, achieved in 1976. But in fact this expresses nicely the contradiction in which these imperialists are enmeshed. On the one hand they must cut back government expenditures in an attempt to restrain the explosion of debt and inflation which has marked the 1970s and to stabilize the international monetary system, in which the dollar plays a pivotal role. On the other, they must drastically increase military spending in preparation for war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. But their imperialist needs are such that the increases in military spending outweigh what they can cut in other federal expenditures — a stark index of the necessity driving them to war.

The contradiction is sharpened and worsened by the continuing economic crisis of U.S. imperialism, which has

never recovered in any fundamental way from the downturn of 1974-75, which saw the longest and sharpest capital investment decline of the current spiral (since World War 2), and, within this overall crisis, by the current recession, the second in as many years. This has imposed a persistent need to stimulate the economy, a need fulfilled (in a somewhat muted way), in Reagan's program by the tax cut measures. This, however, cuts government revenues, thus helping to make for a deficit — a process accelerated by the recession, which automatically decreases revenues (since incomes and therefore tax payments go down) and increases government expenditures (for unemployment benefits, etc.). It need hardly be added that all such attempts at stimulation have been essentially failures, for they cannot reorganize and restructure the imperialist economy in

the way needed for profitable and relatively dynamic capital accumulation to proceed. It is the basic economic contradictions involved here which drive the imperialists to wars for the redivision of the world, as the only means to accomplish the needed restructuring of capital.

The intensity of their necessity here is illustrated by the planned military buildup, which involves spending an incredible \$1.6 trillion over the next five years, in the biggest "peacetime" military expansion in U.S. history. In the first year (fiscal 1982), military spending will rise by 22% — again a record. Although other factors enter into determining the magnitude of the projected deficits, it is this huge surge of military spending which is at the heart of it. There is a firm consensus on the necessity for such military expansion.

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The Piece Rejected by the New York Times

New Prison Letter from Jack Abbott

see pg. 9

# Palestinian Upsurge in West Bank/Gaza

A new upsurge in the Palestinian people's struggle against Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza has developed, with demonstrations and strikes in numerous cities and towns.

The upsurge began after the Israelis announced, on November 1, that they were going to replace the hated military rule on the West Bank and Gaza with a so-called "civilian administration." What this means is that the Israelis, who have occupied these territories since the 1967 war, are moving to formally annex the West Bank and Gaza as part of Israel. This scheme would feature a form of Arab "control" over administrative affairs, which is nothing but an attempt to create a puppet governing body while the Israelis continue to exercise strict military dictatorship. It has been denounced by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and many of the Palestinian mayors of West Bank towns. It is an outrage on the face of it, since the Israeli government is also continuing to promote the wholesale displacement of Palestinians by new Zionist settlements on Arab land.

Demonstrations and protests broke out immediately, with some of the strongest protests centered around the campus of Bir Zeit University. Bir Zeit has a student population of 2000, and has long been a center of Palestinian resistance activity. On November 2, a demonstration at Bir Zeit denouncing the "civilian rule" and marking the 64th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration by which Britain declared Palestine to be a Zionist homeland, was attacked by Israeli occupation troops. Over a dozen students were beaten with clubs, and many arrested. The next day, more troops came onto the campus in a heavy attempt to intimidate the students. On November 4, the university was officially closed by the Israelis, and by 6:15 p.m. that evening, the Israeli Supreme Court had issued an edict upholding the power of the military governor to close down any institution at his discretion. The Israeli occupiers did not stop at shutting down classes and preventing the students and faculty from meeting and holding protests. They went on a rampage, conducting a dragnet for many students, teachers and school officials. The university president, Gabi Baramki, was summoned by the military governor, questioned, released, and ordered to report again. Others were kept at the governor's office or put under house or

city arrest. The military authorities let it be known that they were after several other deans and students. As of this writing, all the members of the student council are either in jail or under house arrest because of the demonstration.

The attack on Bir Zeit was a stark demonstration of just what the Israelis have in store for the Palestinian people with the new "civilian rule." The Israelis have also stepped up their practice of blowing up the homes of people they suspect are active against their occupation, or whom they accuse of such crimes as throwing rocks at Israeli troops. Whole blocks have been demolished in Palestinian towns and villages. Torture is also a standard tactic used by the military authorities. It was recently revealed that many of the homes blown up belonged to families whose sons and daughters had been arrested and tortured into confessing that they had taken part in outbreaks of protest against the Israelis. In many cases the houses had been destroyed before the confessions had even been extracted.

Nevertheless, the escalation of Israeli attacks against the Palestinians gave rise to a new wave of resistance. Palestinian merchants in Jerusalem closed their shops in protest. In Janin, in the northern part of the West Bank, 300 demonstrators unfurled the Palestinian flag in a protest near the Zahara High School, in full view of Israeli troops. The troops rushed the demonstrators and broke into the school, firing their weapons and wounding a 15-year-old student. On November 15, 18 high school students were arrested in the Palestinian town of Nablus, when troops attacked a demonstration protesting the closing of Bir Zeit. They were tortured at the police station and held there. On November 23, over 50 Palestinian students boldly assembled outside Israeli Prime Minister Begin's office in Jerusalem.

Significantly, the Palestinian upsurge prodded some Israelis as well to protest the Israeli authorities' attack, though some do so clearly from the political perspective that the occupation troops' "excesses" will provoke a Palestinian fury that will further shake the foundations of the already unstable Israeli regime. On November 28, 70 Israeli protestors, including some from Hebrew University, gathered in the main square of the Palestinian town of Ramallah, about 10 miles north of



Home on the West Bank recently demolished by Israelis.

Jerusalem, and chanted slogans denouncing the closing of Bir Zeit University and the demolishing of Palestinian houses. They had to sneak through a blockade by Israeli troops, who stopped buses and pulled people off if they appeared to be heading for the demonstration. The protest was attacked by troops firing tear gas and wielding clubs, and at least two demonstrators were hospitalized.

On the other side of occupied Palestine, in the Gaza territory, strikes and demonstrations also broke out. A general strike began on December 1, with Palestinian store-owners closing down shops. A demonstration on December 7 by students in the town of Rafah was attacked by Israeli troops. They opened fire and killed a 17-year-old youth and injured three others between the ages of 15 and 16.

Throughout this last month, the Israelis have tried to counter the Palestinian rebellions with more clampdowns. They have zeroed in on influential voices in the cultural field in an attempt to silence the Palestinians completely. This has included the arrest of

Palestinian artist Sulaiman Mansour, who has depicted the resistance in many of his works, and the closing down of the last independent Palestinian newspaper in Jerusalem, *Al Fajr*.

The Israelis have set January 4 as the date they will allow Bir Zeit to re-open, but it remains to be seen whether they will carry this out. An Arab-American who visited the West Bank this last summer described the political situation in a recent *RW* interview (No. 116, 8/7/81): "...the West Bank, it seems to me, has been an area of resistance for a long time. We haven't seen what's possible yet, we really haven't. It's interesting that the Israelis, the form their oppression takes right now, is such that it keeps the people rebelling, and there's this bubbling, this bubbling up of rebellion. But they're always careful not to make that little bit more of a leap so that the whole society rebels. And that seems like a real possibility. I wonder how and if the Israelis could contain it if it happens. I'm not sure they could, even with the sophisticated arms, and everybody being a soldier..." □

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

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

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

**Stop Harassment of Bob Avakian.  
Stop Blocking Demand for Refugee Status.  
Accept All Testimonials in Language of Origin.**

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

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

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

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

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# TRIBUNAL: THE VERDICT IS 'GUILTY'

An older woman from the Aleutian Islands, off the coast of Alaska, stepped up to the microphone. She began in her native tongue. Not one person in the audience of several hundred people from around the world understood her. She then proceeded in English, "My name is Alexandra. I speak my native language which they have tried to wipe out. But I speak it fluently." That everyone understood.

It was this spirit of defiance, of bringing to light the crimes of U.S. imperialism, blatant and hidden, that characterized the final sessions of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism in New York City. Even Archie Fire Lame Deer, a Native American and panelist on the Tribunal, had never heard of the Aleutians, also a Native people. A Japanese-American woman interned during World War 2 when she was 5 years old also had traveled 3000 miles to tell her story about which she had remained silent for over 30 years. Haitians, Puerto Ricans, Africans, veterans and more spoke out. A scientist testified about how other scientists are trained for the military to view people in their millions as "bacteria" and exposed the Jason Project, a weapons development and research group and those who allow them to speak at anti-nuclear war programs. The normally voiceless and dispossessed were joined in testimony by supporters of liberation struggles, professors, scientists.

These were the final hearings of the

War Crimes Tribunals that had already been to San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta over the past 8 months. Several hundred people were riveted to their seats as 27 witnesses from many countries tore into the guts of imperialism. Three days of hearings ran late into the evening. And on Sunday the panel was hit with the urge to be heard as others wanted to join in this exposure and speak out. Through these hearings a fuller, more all-sided and detailed picture of this bloodthirsty system unfolded.

As the hearings drew to a close, attention focused on the verdict. The verdict had been clear from the outset — guilty — but when it was delivered it was not a pat ceremonial ending. This tribunal has laid siege on the bourgeoisie's efforts to reverse verdicts. It has assembled imperialism's gravediggers and progressive and revolutionary-minded people from many countries. When the guilty verdict was declared it was for each and every hideous crime and the system which spawns them. The implications for the future were stark. A Black World War 2 veteran drafted his testimony in the audience and wrote, "After listening to the witnesses' testimony at this War Crimes Tribunal I can tell you that the discussion I heard here fully sealed my doom as a patriotic citizen. I will never be patriotic again." As the panel began to deliver the guilty verdict, Archie Fire Lame Deer let down his right braid, a tradition of the Native people when someone is found

guilty.

Those who had testified and those who had heard the witnesses were profoundly moved. A Dominican brother stopped his translator and spoke directly to the audience in English, "My struggle is anywhere I live. If I live here, my struggle is with the exploited people of the United States. I understand that the unity around the world of the proletarian movement is necessary today." The determination of the oppressed to be free pressed up against the bourgeoisie's lies that life will never be any different. No one will forget the story told of a 14-year-old Palestinian boy whose right arm had been cut off so that he would never again take up arms against Israel. The boy has been hard at work, learning to shoot with his left arm. A Puerto Rican youth (see testimony) not only decided to testify on the spot, but vowed to go back to Puerto Rico to dig up more exposure on the role of U.S. imperialism.

Internationalism ran throughout. A Haitian brother declared, "It is an international problem. It needs an international solution." A youth from Japan blasted away at the U.S.' crimes in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and went on to expose both the Japanese and U.S. imperialists' crimes in Vietnam and their current moves toward world war.

From the start the bourgeoisie has tried to ignore the Tribunal in an attempt to defuse and belittle its impact — in particular, to black it out in the press in order to try to isolate it from

the broad masses. In the period leading up to the New York hearings, however, the Tribunal became a hotly debated question. A couple of progressive radio stations, WLIB and WBAI, held interviews with panel members and witnesses. Both ran over their scheduled time with calls of questions from listeners like "Why are you having these hearings before world war?"; "How can you have testimony on Palestine and Israel on Saturday, the Sabbath?"; "What is the role of Israel in the Middle East?"

On the opening day, Friday, there was ferment among the imperialists as well as the proletariat. Members of the tribunal and supporters were about to subpoena the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in New York City. Hearing about it in advance from the press, the INS called the Tribunal office in a fury. "What's going on? Do we need more security?" Shortly afterwards when a subpoena was put up on a wall of the Federal Building where the subpoena was also delivered, a cop scurried out and ripped it down without a second glance to see what it actually was. The INS, an instrument of suppression against immigrants, feared the truth and refused to deal with the question.

At the same time in the garment center, a "mini" tribunal was taking place. Foreign-born workers, legal and "illegal," and others were gathered at a street corner. Pushcarts stood idle. Over a hundred people were gathered as many stepped forward to speak out against the atrocities of the U.S. in response to a diehard patriot of America. "Don't you think this country has given you a lot?" the patriot yelled at a Puerto Rican youth taking some leaflets. "This country has given me shit," the youth shot back. "Well, what have you given this country?" "I'll give this country hell!" A 45-year-old Black man stepped into the middle of the debate and told the patriot: "I have been here 398 years. You know I didn't have a passport either. No, they sure didn't give me a passport. Do you follow me? Now follow this. I'm God. God is coming to take over the world. You know when he comes, he's going to have this Black skin, this nappy hair. Do you follow me? No, you don't. God is not you and your America and if you don't realize it now you soon will!" Cheers went up.

Struggle and debate over many questions and on many levels continued and intensified. An African brother who on his first hearing of the Tribunal had said "This is what I've been looking for." This brother who'd fought and been captured and imprisoned in Angola wrangled with himself and others over the necessity of testifying and concluded he had to make a statement. After three speakers from Haiti testified on Friday night, one from Konbit Libete (a Haitian organization in Miami), one from En Avant (a revolutionary Haitian organization) and professor Franck Laraque, a group of Haitians stayed up until 4:00 in the morning discussing questions of revolutionary strategy and class analysis. And late in Sunday's session two Jewish

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## Filipino Refuses to Testify U.S. Grand Jury Against Marcos' Foes

On November 23, a secret grand jury set up in San Francisco to investigate alleged U.S. links to a series of anti-Marcos "terrorist" bombings that took place in Manila in 1980, hit a snag when the star witness for the U.S. Attorney refused to testify. The key witness, a Philippine-born naturalized U.S. citizen named Victor Burns Lovely, Jr., was brought over secretly in September from the Philippines, where he had been incarcerated for over a year, and put under the federal witness protection program. He had supposedly been ready to point the finger at a number of bourgeois opposition figures in exile in the U.S. in connection with the bombings, making them liable for indictments by the grand jury. At this time, Lovely faces contempt charges for his refusal to cooperate.

It was on August 22 of last year that nine government offices and commercial buildings associated with Marcos' inner circle were hit with a wave of bombings. This was followed by a series of other bombings, all in Manila, the most well publicized one being the one at a convention of the Association of American Travel Agents on October 19. The blasts, occurring shortly after Marcos himself had made the opening address to the delegates, sent the travel agents scurrying to the airport to fly home, and actually did quite a bit of damage to the tourist industry, an important source of foreign exchange for the Marcos regime which is neck deep in foreign debt. A group calling itself the April 6 Liberation Movement (A6LM) surfaced to take credit for the bomb-

ings. Taking its name from a demonstration that occurred on April 6, 1978 on the eve of one of Marcos' periodic rigged referendums and elections to give a new face lift to his rule, the A6LM represented forces within the urban petty bourgeoisie and elements of the bourgeoisie who were squeezed out when Marcos set up martial law in 1972 with U.S. backing and proceeded to put control of the government and major parts of the economy into the hands of his family and cronies. Lovely was arrested in September of 1980, in the midst of the wave of bombings, after an explosive device went off in his room at the Manila YMCA Hotel, shattering his right hand and causing extensive injuries. The Marcos government claimed that the bomb belonged to Lovely and was identical to the ones used in the A6LM bombings. After personally visiting Lovely in the hospital, Marcos declared that Lovely had named exiled opposition leaders in the U.S. as masterminds of the A6LM. When U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig stopped by Manila as part of his Asian trek last June, he reportedly promised Marcos that the U.S. would try to flush out U.S.-based opposition forces, and suggested that Lovely be sent to the U.S. to testify.

The key figure allegedly implicated by Lovely while in the Philippines is Benigno Aquino, presently a fellow at Harvard University. Aquino, a former Philippine senator, had been held in jail by Marcos from 1971 until the middle of last year, when he was released to travel to the U.S. for heart surgery, and

then stayed here, no doubt with the blessings of certain forces in the U.S. ruling circles who saw him as a possible back-up to Marcos.

Just a few weeks before the wave of bombings in the fall of 1980, Aquino publicly declared that "Some elements have completed plans for massive urban guerrilla warfare" and that a "destabilization" scheme would unfold in the Philippines in the next few months. Whatever the actual relationship between Aquino and the A6LM, it is clear that the A6LM's "destabilization" actions were largely influenced by the political outlook of the bourgeois opposition like Aquino. Exactly what this political outlook consists of was revealed by Aquino himself in the testimony he gave at a recent joint hearing of the Asian and Pacific Affairs and Human Rights and International Organization's subcommittees of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Asked about his stand on American bases in the Philippines, Aquino answered that he favored retaining the military bases so that the U.S. could maintain its military presence in the area and prevent Soviet advances. But he warned that open U.S. backing of the Marcos dictatorship is actually endangering the U.S. bases because of the widespread unpopularity of the Marcos regime. In his testimony, Aquino quoted from Cardinal Sin, the head of the Catholic Church in the Philippines: "It was not long ago that American arms were seen as something noble and liberating by Filipinos. I still recall the G.I. soldiers who freed our towns and

villages from the (Japanese—RW) invaders. For us, then, the American soldier was a civilized, trusted warrior, our liberator. I am sad to say that the present image of America is not as inspiring to Filipinos now. Our youth no longer see America in a liberating role but as one who arms our soldiers to kill our fellow Filipinos. An increasing number of our priests, sisters, religious and intellectuals no longer see America in a noble and friendly light."

Aquino, therefore, may be "anti-Marcos" but he is certainly not against U.S. imperialism and its rule over the Philippines. In fact his selling point is that he and other pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition forces that he represents would make even *better* keepers and promoters of U.S. interests in the Philippines than the shaky Marcos regime. They promise to restore the "noble and friendly" sign back on the tarnished image of the U.S., especially among the middle forces in society who are increasingly being pulled toward more radical opposition to the present regime.

The "destabilization" bombings were meant to embarrass Marcos and give an added air of instability to his regime, in the hopes that the U.S. might intervene to force Marcos to step down, in favor of Aquino and others in the bourgeois opposition, or at least to give them bigger concessions. The last thing the bourgeois opposition wants is the victory of a people's war that might topple Marcos altogether and bring the Communist Party of the Philippines, who call for complete withdrawal of the U.S. bases, to power.

For the U.S. imperialists, the stakes are high in the Philippines. The Philippines, besides being an economic gold mine, is a strategic outpost of U.S. imperialism in Asia and a vital link in the U.S. military presence in the area stretching from the western Pacific to southeast Asia to the Indian Ocean. It follows that the squabbling within the Philippine bourgeoisie is of great concern to the U.S.

At least for now, the U.S. rulers, while painfully aware of the shaky state of Marcos' rule, apparently feel it is too

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## Chicago Death By Fire



People march to building where Maria Saucedo died.

The death of Maria Saucedo has sparked tremendous outrage throughout the Latino Pilsen community of Chicago. Maria was forced to leap to her death from the third story of a burning building, even though firemen had already arrived on the scene. Pilsen — a neighborhood of Mexican immigrants and Chicanos — is typical of the inner-city where the oppressed nationalities are trapped in rundown wooden housing that goes up in flames as quickly as a match box. Fresh in the minds of many is the horror of two disastrous fires of Christmas week, 1976 which claimed the lives of 26 people in two Latin communities. The Fire Department was poorly equipped — as is usually the case in these inner-city neighborhoods — and no one on the fire crew could even communicate with the Spanish-speaking victims.

This bitter history, plus Maria's well-known activism in Pilsen, where she worked as a bilingual teacher, drew more than 600 people to her funeral. In a leaflet issued to the community, Maria's friends, co-workers and family called on people to take this occasion not only to mourn Maria but to commemorate her: "Maria was a person dedicated to the struggle of our community. She fought against the national oppression and discrimination we face. From the creation of Benito Juarez High School in Pilsen, the struggle for Latino studies at Northeastern Illinois University, for the farmworkers of the Southwest to the people of El Salvador, to the end of her life Maria Saucedo dedicated herself to the freedom of all oppressed people."

The entire funeral procession turned their grief into a demonstration of anger as they marched to the burned-

out hulk of a building where Maria died. "On the surface there was mourning, but underneath a kind of suppressed rage," said one participant.

When the fire broke out at 11:30 p.m. on Nov. 12, Maria, her husband, Filberto Ramirez, and their 3-year-old son, Albizu, were in their 3rd-floor apartment. Maria was 8 months pregnant at the time. Suddenly, they heard someone yelling, "Fire!" The family ran to the back door, which was the only exit from the apartment, and they discovered the stairs were engulfed in flames and spewing out dense black smoke. The fire had started on the second-floor steps and swept up the stairwell. In a matter of seconds it became extremely difficult to breathe. Unable to escape down the stairs, Maria, Filberto, and Albizu went to a window in the front of the apartment. Little Albizu was crying from the intense heat and the thickening smoke. Filberto broke the window and held his son in his outstretched arms as he leaned over the window ledge, allowing the little boy to breathe.

On the street below, Filberto saw that at least one fire engine had arrived, but the firefighters were making no effort to rescue the people trapped in the fire. Many witnesses commented later that the firemen appeared to be rookies who didn't know what they were doing. Maria told Filberto she was going to jump. Seeing a neighbor down on the street, Filberto yelled for him to catch his son, and then dropped Albizu. Shortly afterwards, Maria Saucedo jumped to her death. Maria died instantly when her head hit the pavement. Filberto also jumped and was seriously injured. A police paddy wagon picked

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Geneva Talks:

# Short-Range Tactical Peace Weaponry

In preparation for the beginning of the latest round of talks between the two superpowers on the subject of nuclear arms in Europe, to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union had been carefully fashioning their "peace" arsenals. There was Brezhnev's "peace" offensive in Europe, followed by Reagan's "peace" counter-offensive and then Brezhnev's "peace" counter-offensive during his trip to West Germany. These initial salvos of demagoguery set the stage for the diplomatic warfare over the conference table in Geneva. U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze had come prepared to be "tough" but "reasonable" and assured everyone in the U.S. in advance that he would not give an inch to the Russians when it came to protecting the U.S.' nuclear capabilities. He warned all concerned not to expect much in terms of arms reduction to come out of these talks.

And Nitze's credentials for wisely wielding the weapon of peace are impeccable. He directed the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey from 1944 to 1946 (remember Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki?), authored the National Security Council No. 68 document in 1950 that recommended a four-fold increase in military spending and was credited as "one of the trumpet calls of the cold war," and he is one of the original architects of NATO. He also advocated bombing Cuba during the '62 missile crisis and served as Secretary of the Navy and Deputy Defense Secretary during the Vietnam war. Not to worry about this man trading away any nukes. But he was outmaneuvered slightly by his Soviet counterpart, Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, just after the opening handshake of the talks. Kvitsinsky had worn his special navy blue and white polka-dot tie which he called his MBFR tie (i.e., one that he had worn during the American-Soviet Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks on conventional forces that have been dragging on for 7 years without result in Vienna). However, Nitze was quick to point out that, "I have a SALT I tie. I should have worn it." to reporters. And anyway, it was Nitze who had to remind Kvitsinsky to shake hands for the cameras in order to establish the necessary atmosphere of "cordiality" and "casual informality" for the meetings.

The *New York Times* dubbed the opening of the talks an engaging display of "nuclear theatre," (ha, ha) and careful efforts were made to impress upon the public that what was transpiring in Geneva was a part, and a vital one at that, of preparing for war. Alexander Haig put it this way in his statement on the opening of the talks: "These negotiations are a result of the December 1979 decision of the alliance (NATO) to initiate arms control involving intermediate range forces while proceeding with modernization of alliance forces. The U.S. is especially gratified that the opportunity has arrived to reduce the Soviet nuclear threat to its allies through negotiations. As President Reagan said in his November 18 speech, the U.S. views that threat as a threat to itself. We will negotiate in this spirit... Progress depends not only on the skill of our negotiators but on NATO's resolve to continue its preparations to deploy the missiles that will offset Soviet advantages." Excellent

Mr. Haig, what clearer admission could there be of just what this "peace" maneuvering is all about—that it is part of the political and military preparations for war. In particular, the U.S. is pursuing them as part of its "two-track" (one track being the actual deployment of the missiles, the other being arms reduction talks for Europe) efforts to strengthen its bloc's nuclear arsenals in Europe, especially laying the basis to deploy the Pershing II and Cruise missile systems in Europe. The great opposition to these deployments, and the superpowers' war moves generally, among the masses in Western Europe, and the intensification of the contradictions between the U.S. and some of its imperialist allies there is an extremely important concern for the U.S. For the Soviets, these negotiations are part of trying to block U.S. efforts and exploit, and widen, the contradictions between the U.S. and its NATO allies especially West Germany. As the *Times* stated it, "Western Europe is at once the main audience and the prize" of these talks.

Thus, in pursuit of these glorious and noble ends, the two superpowers, as heads of their own respective blocs, have engaged in battle on the "peace" front in the European theatre letting it be known to all that the two sides are "far apart" though willing to be "reasonable." The trick for each is to be able to top the other in coming off reasonable and most peace-loving while, of course, not giving an inch in their actual military preparations for war. And meanwhile, each is feverishly modernizing and multiplying their nuclear arsenals in Europe and all over the world. You really have to laugh at the unparalleled heights of doubletalk and newspeak that these vipers have achieved in all of this. They have coined such supposedly enticing terms as the "zero-option," by which they mean deploying as many of your missiles in Europe while forcing your opponent to deploy as few as possible. Reagan's "zero-option" proposal was hailed in the Western press as "a brilliant masterstroke of diplomacy". In this proposal, the U.S. offered to forego the deployment of the 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe (in addition to the nukes they already have stationed there) in exchange for the Soviets dismantling about 1,100 SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles stationed in the Soviet Union and aimed at Western Europe. They knew that the Soviets would never agree to this. This "zero-option" was a counter-proposal to the Soviets' "zero-option" of freezing the further deployment of medium-range nukes in Europe now while talks about reduction go on. The Soviets, of course, have the advantage of having already deployed many of the more advanced SS-20s, and have the advantage of being geographically much closer to Western Europe than the U.S. Even if the Soviets moved all their intermediate-range nukes behind the Urals (technically out of Europe) they would still be able to hit most of Europe, and being mounted on mobile launchers, it wouldn't take long to move them into a position to hit all of Europe. The Soviets have also been pointing out lately that they are, in fact, already reducing their nuclear missilery aimed at Europe by scrapping some of the older SS-4 and SS-5 weapons, and Brezhnev even offered to step up this



Anti-war demonstrators in Stuttgart, West Germany on Nov. 20, 1981. The banner quotes the playwright Bertolt Brecht: "When big people talk peace, little people know they mean war."

"unilateral arms reduction" as a gesture of "good faith," if the U.S. made a similar gesture. The catch, however, is that they are being replaced by new SS-20's which come with three warheads apiece. In addition, both the U.S. and the Soviets have huge nuclear arsenals for the European region on submarines throughout the area, and also on bombers, and France and England also have their own nuclear forces. "Zero-option" indeed!

In the course of all this peace mongering, both parties to the negotiations have engaged in an orgy of finger-pointing at each other as the "threat to world peace" with lie after lie about how they are only concerned with the "defense of the sovereignty" of their country and its allies and "deterrence" from the aggression of the other guy. But this is not all, each is openly brandishing its weaponry and issuing thinly-veiled threats, especially toward the Western European imperialists, applying pressure of the type that these world-class mobsters are famous for. For example, check out these fine words from the noted defender of "peace and socialism," Leonid Brezhnev, in an interview with the German magazine *Der Spiegel*: "The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone. Our military doctrine is of the defensive character. It rules out preventative wars and the 'first strike' concept. I can also say with all responsibility that the Soviet Union will under no circumstances use the nuclear weapon against the states which have renounced its production and acquisition and do

not have it on their territory. We are ready to give contractual guarantees of it to any country without a single exception... And it would be better to abandon dreams of ensuring military supremacy over the USSR. If necessary the Soviet people will find opportunities for making additional efforts, for doing everything necessary to ensure their country's reliable defense. It is far more sensible and realistic to speak of preserving the parity which already exists... Europe is, of course, called upon to play a special role in strengthening peace and deepening detente. At least because it is the most crowded and fragile of all of humankind's 'homes,' which would inevitably be a victim of nuclear conflagration." And just in case this little reminder of the consequences of not seeking a "contractual" agreement with the Soviets in their version of the nuclear protection racket is not sufficient Mr. Brezhnev adds later: "Western Europe is being conditioned to another aggressive turn in the United States' nuclear doctrines at the cost of vast dangers invoked on its peoples. In order to neutralize mobile missiles it would be necessary to deal retaliative strikes of great yield at the supposed areas of their deployment (i.e., all of West Germany—RW). This is the real value of the United States' 'concern' for the security of West Europeans." (emphasis ours—RW).

Brezhnev is quite right about the U.S.' "concern for the security" of Western Europe in extending his magnanimous offer, and in making it

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# N.Y. Grand Jury Jails Activists

December 7th, Fulani Sunni-Ali, a leading member of the Republic of New Afrika, was manacled and thrown in jail for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury in New York. She was sentenced to 18 months in jail or the life of the grand jury, whichever is longer.

In *RW* No. 131 we said, "The grand jury investigation now underway clearly reveals the political aims of the government, for the terms of the 'grand jury game' are deadly serious and political to the bone: either capitulate to your masters and renounce your political allegiances by informing on your organization, or go to jail—with what can happen to resisters once they are locked up left, of course, 'unspoken' and 'unknown' to the judge who signs the incarceration order."

It was only last month that Fulani was arrested in a pre-dawn raid complete with helicopters and tanks in

Mississippi on charges of "conspiracy" in connection with the Nyack Brinks incident. Finally, after extraditing her to New York, despite the fact that a witness was ready to testify to her being in New Orleans at a car repair shop at the very time that an FBI witness claimed to have seen her in New York, she was released when the tales of the FBI were exposed as complete lies. Immediately following her release she was subpoenaed to appear before this grand jury. Even as she walked out the jail door they made their political aims perfectly clear: it was reported at a press conference that the pigs handed Fulani 30¢ for subway fair (the train costs 75¢) and told her she would be arrested if she jumped the turnstile.

Two others have already been jailed in the proceedings of this grand jury "investigation." The pretext for this grand jury is to investigate whether the RNA (Republic of New Afrika) is

violating the Racketeers Influence and Corrupt Organization statute. In fact it is quite apparent that these proceedings are only one part of their calculated and very political assault centering on revolutionary nationalists in this country. Yaasmy Fula is in jail for refusing to give information about the RNA. Eve Rosahn is being held for refusing to testify before the grand jury and on charges of supplying the get-away cars in the Nyack incident.

In the week leading up to Fulani's jailing for refusal to testify, Sonya Sanchez, a well-known Black poet, was "visited" by the FBI. After refusing to identify their photographs, they threatened to jail her if she was found with any RNA members and to kill them.

When Fulani was first arrested, the court barred her lawyer Chokwe Lumumba from the court. The grand jury has upheld this decision claiming

that because of his affiliation with the RNA he would "try to carry out a propaganda campaign" in the media. As lawyers previously told the *RW*, barring a lawyer from the court because of political affiliations is unprecedented.

Fifty supporters protested the grand jury proceedings on Monday. And in outright defiance of the vicious attacks, Fulani had to be dragged out of the courtroom, her fist raised, chanting. But one thing stands out clearly: throughout their frenzied attacks on these revolutionary nationalists—the imperialists are the ones acting out of weakness and fear of such movements. After Fulani was released from jail last November, she and her lawyer pushed their way through a crowd of press to hail a cab. When the cab driver heard of who she was, he drove them to their friends charging no fee. □

## Jimi Simmons Native Fighter Acquitted

December 9, 1981. After less than 7 hours of deliberations, the jury in the trial of Washington State vs. Jimi Simmons found Jimi not guilty of premeditated or second-degree murder. As the verdict was read, the courtroom filled with smiles and tears of triumph. Jimi, given a moment with his friends, stepped from behind the defense table to be embraced and congratulated.

The prison administration used the cover of a stabbing of the hated guard, William Cross, on June 15, 1979 as an excuse to go after Jimi Simmons with a vengeance. Jimi has been a leading force in the Natives' struggle at Walla Walla, high on the administration's "hit list" of Native prisoners. Immediately following the stabbing, five In-

dian inmates were thrown into segregation and a group of guards calling themselves the "Cross Revenge Squad" exacted retribution, viciously beating these inmates. Jimi and his brother, George, were singled out for special treatment; they were accused of premeditated murder. George was convicted of second-degree murder in January, 1980 and after over a year and a half of brutal torture in the segregation unit, George Simmons was coldly and consciously driven to suicide.

Nearly a year after George's death, James Simmons finally came to trial on the heels of a general offensive against Native Americans across the country and part of perhaps the tightest clamp-down in Walla Walla's entire history. Every motion by the defense was

denied. The state attempted to shackle Jimi in the courtroom. It appeared that he would face the death penalty. A change of venue, once granted, was reversed. And the judge was adamant in his refusal to remove himself from this case.

The state was out for blood, but it was also in a bind. Exposure of the frame-up was widespread, notably around George's trial and subsequent death. The state's case was dragged into the light of day. Support was also widespread, throughout the Native American movement and more broadly.

An important struggle developed as to whether or not Jimi would be forced to be shackled, hand and foot, at his own trial. In hearing after hearing, Judge Reser ruled against Jimi. Jimi told the court in no uncertain terms that if he must appear shackled, he would not appear at all at his own trial, he would fire his attorneys in protest. Moments before the trial was set to begin, Judge Reser quietly ruled in his chambers that Jimi did not have to be shackled during the trial. The state's case looked bad enough without having to be carried out in the absence of defendant and defense.

Meanwhile, the prosecution quietly dropped the threat of the death penalty. A slicker railroad was set to roll. But the judge had more problems. For example, after fighting tooth and nail with the defense attorneys over the jury, he was forced to excuse a number of people he would have much preferred to hear the case.

The trial itself was a barrage of lies, deceptions and glaring contradictions in the state's case. The state had bought three informants from the prison population but could only afford to have one testify and stand the slightest chance of their tale being believed. The only guard to "witness" the stabbing was given pretyped statements. All he had to do was sign them. The state's witnesses not only contradicted each other's testimony, they contradicted themselves. It was painfully obvious, even to the jury, some of whom were shaking their heads in disbelief at one particularly glaring testimony of lies. Over and over again, attorney Leonard Weinglas moved for a mistrial. Over and over again, Judge Reser angrily denied the motions.

Two inmates testified for Jimi Simmons, an Indian inmate, Cary Webster, and a Black inmate, Julius Gillespie, from the Inmate Advisory Council — a

man who barely knew Jimi Simmons. Both risked a great deal to go up in the face of the state. Their eye-witness testimony corroborated Jimi's own testimony that he never pulled a knife or stabbed Cross.

Jimi's testimony was a glaring indictment of the oppression of Native Americans, from his being made a ward of the state at birth to this latest frame-up. At the time of the stabbing, he was Vice President of Cultural Affairs of the Brotherhood of American Indians at Walla Walla. Jimi played a key role in bringing together Indians of different tribes. His testimony further revealed his determination to continue in the struggle to resist and eliminate oppression.

By the time the prosecutor began his closing argument, his case was in a shambles. In arguing over instructions to the jury, the prosecutor was successful in adding a third charge, that of accomplice; that is, Jimi could be found guilty of murder if he had purposefully aided someone else who actually committed the crime. Of course, there had been no testimony suggesting such a possibility. It was a last-minute maneuver to nail Jimi at all costs. But the extent to which the state had been thrown onto the defensive was also clear in the prosecutor's closing remarks. He whined, "The police department isn't on trial in this case; the prison administration isn't on trial in this case; and the prosecution isn't on trial in this case!" Just in case anyone had somehow gotten confused!

Just before the instructions were read to the jury and closing arguments began, Weinglas made a motion to dismiss the charge of premeditation since there wasn't a stitch of evidence to back it up. The prosecution didn't need to object. The judge automatically denied the motion but he hastened to add a monologue about all the "soul-searching" he'd done over this very question. Then he turned to the press section with a look of grave concern. At first, he said, he had considered asking the press not to cover this particular motion and ruling until the trial was over because it might be taken by the public as a ruling by the judge on the defendant's guilt. But now, he was simply asking that the press use its discretion. He was frantic to stop the continuing exposure of this trial.

But in the end, the jury voted not guilty. This time, the state's attempts to silence Jimi and attack what he has come to represent have proved futile. □

## The Results of Bakke

When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its infamous Bakke Decision on June 28, 1978, it was hailed as a "landmark" ruling. And so it was — in destroying affirmative action programs and thus tightening the chain of national oppression on Black people and other oppressed nationalities. Recent figures give a little taste of how this was so.

The 1978 court decision was handed down accompanied by an avalanche of so-called justification: charges of "reverse discrimination" against whites. It was a rather blatant call to one section of the masses to defend their petty privileges against another section — all for the benefit of imperialism. Allan Bakke, who was attempting to get into the University of California at Davis medical school at the expense of the affirmative action quota system, became the focus of this ludicrous cry. Of course, when the Supreme Court issued its 5-4 decision in favor of Bakke, it did try to add a dash of cosmetics to its attack: upholding the "constitutionality of affirmative action programs" while trampling them underfoot. It was a lousy make-up job.

In the wake of the Bakke Decision, with affirmative action struck down, the enrollment figures for the UC Davis medical school for Black students reveal the full imprint of unbridled discrimination. In fact, in 1978, the year the Bakke Decision came down, the total number of Blacks in the UC

Davis medical school class of 100 was 4! A stunning figure that quite intentionally got buried in the whipped-up racist hysteria of "reverse discrimination." And, it should be further noted that in the 7 years of affirmative action quotas at UC Davis medical school, the figure for Black enrollment (in a class size of 100) never exceeded 8. Since the Bakke Decision the situation has clearly worsened: 1979 saw only one Black student enroll in UC Davis medical school; 1980, zero; and in 1981 there are two!

In a recent *N.Y. Times* article (Dec. 6), the point is made that UC Davis is attempting to beat back some of the political exposure that focused the spotlight not only on that school and the entire medical hierarchy, but on the vicious and systematic national oppression that imperialism thrives upon. The university has even gone to the lengths of hiring a public relations specialist, one Margie Beltran-Atencio, in order "to make clear the University's role in the Bakke case."

"Many people," she lamented, "not only here but nationally, had the feeling that the Bakke decision sort of rang the death knell for affirmative action programs. It didn't. If anything, it put them on more definite grounds."

True. And their own figures speak volumes. Virtually no Blacks in the UC Davis medical school is *very definite* grounds indeed. □

"Letter to Comrades", October 1917

# Lenin on 14 Ways to Blow a Revolution

It took the leadership of Lenin to pull off the Russian Revolution. This is no exaggeration, since he had to fight every step of the way, even against leading Socialists — including some Bolsheviks — to get the Party to take the necessary vanguard line. The struggle for the Party to launch the October Revolution with an insurrection in Petrograd was a case in point. Many arguments were advanced as to why it was premature, even foolish. Within the Bolshevik Central Committee at that time, two leaders, Kamenev and Zinoviev, led a struggle against Lenin, who saw the time as finally right and the conditions for success slipping through the fingers of the Party. In a series of crucial Central Committee meetings on October 10 and 16, the struggle was engaged and Lenin won the vote. But Kamenev's and Zinoviev's positions had real influence, so Lenin, on October 17, wrote a "Letter to Comrades," citing his opponents' arguments (14 of them) and refuting them. Then, a few days later, Lenin heard that Kamenev and Zinoviev had committed the treachery of having their arguments (and thus the Bolsheviks' plans for an insurrection) printed in a newspaper. At this news, Lenin immediately demanded his own answer to them be printed in the Bolshevik press.

Lenin's response is a sharp example of Marxism as a living science, quite the contrary of an ossified, conservative dogma. As Lenin put it in his essay "Guerrilla Warfare" (1906), "We do regard it as our duty relentlessly to combat stereotypes and prejudices which hamper the class-conscious workers in correctly formulating a new and difficult problem and in correctly approaching its solution." In this same spirit, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at its 1980 meeting also took up a number of questions related to those dealt with by Lenin here (see RW 99, "Charting the Uncharted Course"). There, while upholding Lenin's line and approach, it also analyzed how a number of questions facing the revolution in this imperialist superpower would be different from those facing Lenin, including the fact that it will be unlikely that an insurrection will start with the firm support of a majority of the working class in the U.S.

Below we reprint the first part of Lenin's letter. The second (and final) part will appear next week.

## Letter to Comrades

Comrades,

We are living in a time that is so critical, events are moving at such incredible speed that a publicist, placed by the will of fate somewhat aside from the mainstream of history, constantly runs the risk either of being late or proving uninformed, especially if some time elapses before his writings appear in print. Although I fully realize this, I must nevertheless address this letter to the Bolsheviks, even at the risk of its not being published at all, for the vacillations against which I deem it my duty to warn in the most decisive manner are of an unprecedented nature and may have a disastrous effect on the Party, the movement of the international proletariat, and the revolution. As for the danger of being too late, I will prevent it by indicating the nature and date of the information I possess.

It was not until Monday morning, October 16, that I saw a comrade who had on the previous day participated in



V.I. Lenin

a very important Bolshevik gathering in Petrograd, and who informed me in detail of the discussion.<sup>1</sup> The subject of discussion was that same question of the uprising discussed by the Sunday papers of all political trends. The gathering represented all that is most influential in all branches of Bolshevik work in the capital. Only a most insignificant minority of the gathering, namely, all in all two comrades, took a negative stand. The arguments which those comrades advanced are so weak, they are a manifestation of such an astounding confusion, timidity, and collapse of all the fundamental ideas of Bolshevism and proletarian revolutionary internationalism that it is not easy to discover an explanation for such shameful vacillations. The fact, however, remains, and since the revolutionary party has no right to tolerate vacillations on such a serious question, and since this pair of comrades, who have scattered their principles to the winds, might cause some confusion, it is necessary to analyse their arguments, to expose their vacillations, and to show how shameful they are. The following lines are an attempt to do this.

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 "We have no majority among the people, and without this condition the uprising is hopeless...."

People who can say this are either distorters of the truth or pedants who want an advance guarantee that

1. Lenin, in hiding at the time, actually attended this enlarged Central Committee meeting, but hid the fact for security reasons.

throughout the whole country the Bolshevik Party has received exactly one-half of the votes plus one, this they want at all events, without taking the least account of the real circumstances of the revolution. History has never given such a guarantee, and is quite unable to give it in any revolution. To make such a demand is jeering at the audience, and is nothing but a cover to hide one's own flight from reality.

For reality shows us clearly that it was after the July days<sup>2</sup> that the majority of the people began quickly to go over to the side of the Bolsheviks. This was demonstrated first by the August 20 elections in Petrograd, even before the Kornilov<sup>3</sup> revolt, when the Bolshevik vote rose from 20 to 33 per cent in the city not including the suburbs, and then by the district council elections in Moscow in September, when the Bolshevik vote rose from 11 to 49.3 per cent (one Moscow comrade, whom I saw recently, told me that the correct figure is 51 per cent). This was proved by the new elections to the Soviets. It was proved by the fact that a majority of the peasant Soviets, their "Avksentyev" central Soviet notwithstanding,

2. Refers to July 1917 when Kerensky's new democratic bourgeois government launched a vicious attack on the Bolsheviks, jailing and exiling many (including Lenin) and labeling them "German agents".

3. A revolt in August 1917 by the openly reactionary Russian Army Commander-in-Chief, General Kornilov, aimed at crushing the developing revolution and restoring the war effort. It was quickly defeated.

has expressed itself *against* the coalition. To be against the coalition means *in practice* to follow the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, reports from the front prove more frequently and more definitely that the soldiers are passing *en masse* over to the side of the Bolsheviks with ever greater determination, in spite of the malicious slanders and attacks by the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik leaders, officers, deputies, etc., etc.

Last, but not least, the most outstanding fact of present-day Russian life is *the revolt of the peasantry*. This shows objectively, not by words but by deeds, that the people are going over to the side of the Bolsheviks. But the fact remains, notwithstanding the lies of the bourgeois press and its miserable yes-men of the "vacillating" *Novaya Zhizn* crowd, who shout about riots and anarchy. The peasant movement in Tambov Gubernia<sup>4</sup> was an uprising both in the physical and political sense, an uprising that has yielded such splendid political results as, in the first place, agreement to transfer the land to the peasants. It is not for nothing that the Socialist-Revolutionary rabble, including *Dyelo Naroda*, who are frightened by the uprising, now *scream* about the need to transfer the land to the peasants. Here is a *practical* demonstration of the correctness of Bolshevism and of its success. It proved to be impossible to "teach" the Bonapartists and their lackeys in the Pre-parliament otherwise than by an uprising.

This is a fact and facts are stubborn things. And such a factual "argument" *in favour* of an uprising is stronger than thousands of "pessimistic" evasions on the part of confused and frightened politicians.

If the peasant uprising were not an event of nation-wide political import, the Socialist-Revolutionary lackeys from the Pre-parliament would not be shouting about the need to hand over the land to the peasants.

Another splendid political and revolutionary consequence of the peasant uprising, as already noted in *Rabochy Put*, is the delivery of grain to the railway stations in Tambov Gubernia. Here is another "argument" for you, confused gentlemen, an argument in favour of the uprising as the only means to save the country from the famine that is knocking at our door and from a crisis of unheard-of dimensions. While the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik betrayers of the people are grumbling, threatening, writing resolutions, promising to feed the hungry by convening the Constituent Assembly, the people are beginning to solve the bread problem *Bolshevik-fashion, by rebelling* against the landowners, capitalists, and speculators.

Even the *bourgeois* press, even *Russkaya Volya*, was compelled to admit the wonderful results of *such* a solution (the only real solution) of the bread problem, by publishing information to the effect that the railway stations in Tambov Gubernia were swamped with grain... *And this after the peasants had revolted!*

To doubt now that the majority of  
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4. The peasant revolt in this area outside Moscow assumed great proportions: peasants seized tracts of landed estates, destroyed and burned landowners' mansions and confiscated grain stocks. Frightened landowners took loads of grain to the railway stations in an effort to sell it.

*In The Belly Of The Beast*

# The Storm A Book Provoked

On July 18th, 1981, a waiter at the Bini-Bon, an all-night restaurant on Manhattan's lower east side, was knifed to death. Such incidents are not unheard of in New York City—so common they rarely rate more than a few lines in the police blotter column in the newspapers. But this killing was different—it was splashed all over the front pages of the morning editions. It spilled into New York's weeklies—*New York* magazine, the *Village Voice*, the *Soho*—and into the national press, *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek*. The "hook" for the story, and for a large-scale propaganda campaign that has not relented to this day: Jack Henry Abbott was accused by police of doing the killing.

The publication last June of Jack Henry Abbott's *In The Belly Of The Beast* struck some pretty raw nerves. (Abbott's book was reviewed in *RW* No. 115.) It was brought into print through a collaborative effort by Norman Mailer and a number of other well-known figures in literary and publishing circles. *In The Belly Of The Beast* bore the imprint of a major publisher, Random House; its arrival was marked by a series of hot reviews.

Not only the content of the book, but the circumstances of its publication, grated against the bourgeoisie's carefully fostered pre-war political climate of "new" conservatism and "new" patriotism. The whole affair, in fact, had a strong "'60s" flavor, all the more dangerous in an "'80s" context.

In the 1960s, a section of the intelligentsia in this country broke away from the ruling class over the war in Vietnam and other major international and domestic questions. People made trips to Hanoi. They supported the Black Panther Party. Criticism was rampant from dangerous quarters, and

was so treated by the state. The cynically labeled "radical chic" became a target of the FBI COINTELPRO programs, but was supposed to have been long since discredited, demoralized, and disillusioned.

The participation of a number of well-known people in bringing out *In The Belly Of The Beast* was one conspicuous sign of a certain revival of activity among a section of intellectuals. It was not an isolated signal, and certainly not the first in recent memory, but nonetheless—as events have proved—a signal met with stern opposition, overt and undoubtedly covert. When a section of the intelligentsia becomes openly critical and comes clearly into conflict with the status quo, when it shows signs of being stirred by the rebellion of the oppressed, of even encouraging it, and when cultural and political influence is used to give the voices of rebellion a wider audience, then the danger to the ruling class becomes both broader and more acute.

In Mailer's introduction to *In The Belly Of The Beast*, he implies that the world of the penitentiary described by Abbott can be extended by analogy to describe the whole diseased society:

"We do not live in a world that tries to solve its prison problems. Even to assume we do, is utopian. The underlying horror may be that we all inhabit the swollen tissues of a body politic that is drenched in bad conscience, so bad indeed that the laugh of the hyena reverberates from every TV set, and is in danger of becoming our true national anthem... The measure of the progressive imprisonment of all society is to be found at the base—in the state of the penitentiaries themselves. The bad conscience of society comes to focus in the burning lens of the penitentiary."

In short, *In The Belly Of The Beast*

seemed bound to provoke a storm, and a bourgeois counterattack. For more than a month after it hit the bookstalls, however, the expected assault did not materialize. The book received initial favorable reviews. Then, on July 18th, the killing at the Bini-Bon provided the pivot on which the whole reactionary campaign was to turn.

Suddenly, the deluge: a spewing of diatribes and attacks—against the book, against Mailer and anyone else involved in the project, against prisoners in general, against "radical chic"—hit the press. Hack writers—for the *New York Times*, for *Newsweek*, for *Time* magazine, for the *Village Voice*, etc., etc.—were clearly in their element. Abbott was described in the *Soho Weekly News* as "Norman Mailer's White Negro," the "convict author, suspected murderer, and protégé of Norman Mailer." The accounts in the book of beating, torture and "behavior modification" in prison were jeered and ridiculed as "fabrications," or the tacit point was made that even if true, what better do such sub-human beasts as Abbott and his fellows deserve? *In The Belly Of The Beast* was now characterized as "goo-goo-da-da Marxism..." "a sustained barrage of description and analytical bile, a *Mein Kampf* aimed at terminal capitalism."

The attacks on Norman Mailer have been vicious, and they are directed, of course, not only at Mailer, but at people for whom he has been made to stand as a symbol. He has been repeatedly accused, by insinuation and implication, of having the dead waiter's blood on his hands, because he had written a letter to the Parole Board urging Abbott's release from prison. John Lombardi wrote in the *Soho*, in attacking Mailer's sponsorship of Abbott's writing, that "...for understanding little hunted

men, twisted individual retorts to the mass shape of things to come, you have to feel to be real. If you don't feel, you're just playing around with teenage dreams about the romance of crime, of madness and hard drugs—like the shorn, sham angry kids crawling around out there. You're just being hip, a bad guy without a gun." Mailer "has always licked around the edges of some pretty mean conceits, but Jack Abbott is his meanest." Mailer was "the all-too-corruptible novelist," "white-haired, wise old lady"; the other editors and publishers involved in getting Abbott's book between hardcovers were "carrion-birds" and "status-brokers."

These attacks, and numerous similar comments, all have the common thread of using a vulgarized caricature of Mailer's philosophy to try to reduce Mailer's motivations for "getting involved with prisoners" to a trivial obsession. Well, Mailer has his own philosophy and we're well aware it's not revolutionary Marxism. But what is under fire here, quite obviously, is the aspect of it which has caused him to bring to light the oppression which is "focused in the burning lens of the penitentiary," and especially to support attempts by the oppressed to "break out." There is nothing trivial about this as far as the wardens of imperialist society are concerned. Indeed, Mailer has been subjected to a barrage of slyly-phrased threats in the press, including one *Soho* article by Lucian K. Truscott IV which contained comments like, "I've been waiting for years for Mailer to get snapped in the ass for sitting around romanticizing violence and psychosis. Violence and psychosis get people killed, and Mailer ought to know this by now..."

Continued on page 9

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# New Prison Letter from Jack Abbott

Comrades,

When I was captured, the *New York Times*, thinking I could not properly appraise my situation (—that of being smeared for publishing my "communist propaganda" about prisons), asked me to write a 750-word piece for the Op-Ed section of that "news"-paper.

I immediately sat down and wrote the piece for the Op-Ed section and submitted it — long before the slanderous lies

and distortions in the *Life* article appeared (in which, among other things, it is said that I drove my mother to suicide in my rebellion against prison conditions). At the end of the *Life* article, a Mr. Robert Sam Anson — the same hatchetman who helped smear Gary Gilmore in the press (who is indeed mentioned in *The Executioner's Song*) — wrote as a "postscript" to Jack Abbott (who is spoken of in the "past tense" throughout his article): "There is

a final postscript. A few days after Abbott's capture a message came to him from the *New York Times*. It was a simple request. There was an open space on the Op-Ed page, it said. Some time when he had a moment, back in his cell, they wanted Jack Abbott to write."

When Jack Abbott "had a moment, back in his cell"!! — Mr. Anson, *Life* and *The New York Times* should know that yes, Jack Abbott has gotten the message and will have long moments,

years of "moments, back in his cell", to write. And write he will!

What follows is a copy of the piece I submitted to the Op-Ed section of the *New York Times* — and which was rejected, in their words, for "lack of space" — let the reader judge for himself "why" the *New York Times* rejected it, the *New York Times* with over 3 million subscribers:

## The Piece Rejected by the New York Times

On October 9, 1981, I was both charged and arraigned for second-degree murder.

A week after my arrest I was given about 150 clippings from the major news media in this country. For the first time I learned I had received nationwide attention and had been convicted in the press of murder — a crime I was not even charged with until the other day.

Of all these news clippings only one treated the affair honestly, in a balanced manner. It was also the only clipping among them taken from a communist paper. It reported truthfully that the press opened its articles about me with quotes from my book describing a classic prison murder (a murder I did not commit); the press then proceeded to describe me as an emotionally imbalanced, violence-prone ex-convict, thrown into a whirlwind of celebrity upon my release from imprisonment — someone who "obviously" belonged behind bars.

The communist paper related how my writings expressing anger over prison conditions, and hatred of them, are being turned on me to convict me in the press

of murder — although, as should have been evident, the circumstances that are said to surround the charges against me are obscure and questionable. The death of a man, a death I mourn, has been treated in a way that inevitably overwhelms attempts to defend myself, and prove my innocence, by showing the truth of what took place.

In an attempt to isolate me, my friends and acquaintances are blasted across the pages of these news clippings for simply knowing me and not joining in the press's assault on me. Even my only living relative is adroitly manipulated into supporting the "pathetic" view of me as someone obviously doomed by his unfortunate past to be violent and dangerous.

The public is also told on the front pages, again without any full or accurate sense of what in fact happened, that I was an informer — a "snitch" — who betrayed the very prisoners around him; thus the press has helped the government to make it finally impossible for me to survive even in prison around prisoners.

The press prints "charges" that parts of my book are "not true," mind you, because prison personnel happen to say they are not true. Like a thirsty dog, the press laps this nonsense up and spews it out on the people — a press whose "sources" are in the government, a press whose representatives spend their lives running between the police station and the church for solutions to problems that irritate their sense of life in "beautiful America".

When my book first appeared, critics said it was poetical, "lyrical," and they wrote that I spoke of the "unspeakable" in our prisons — a combination of qualities that are, I suspect, intolerable to many people. The reaction in the daily press is so eager to destroy me, so charged with prejudice and malice, that the effect is to blot out the terror and cruelty of prison conditions once again. They remain unspeakable. That is one of the saddest things to have occurred.

The ancient poet Lucian told of a country whose government punished its most unhappy prisoners by roasting them alive

inside a huge bull cast from bronze. Reed flutes were fitted into the bull's nostrils and the whole bronze structure of the bull was fashioned internally in such a way that the agonized screams of the prisoner were transmuted into music — as he was slowly tortured over a steady flame. This was done so that his shrieks could not reach the ears of the people and horrify them — but entertain them instead.

A poet is an unhappy prisoner whose heart is tormented by his keepers, and whose throat is so constructed that his shrieks of pain and his cries for aid are transformed into lyrics, lyrics that dredge up poetry out of suffering and pain.

Kierkegaard likened the poet to the prisoner tortured inside the bronze bull. And then he said the people who hear his songs shout for more, unaware of what they ask . . . .

Jack Abbott

## The Storm

Continued from page 8

### "Radical Chic" Stur

The killing at the Bini-Bon, it can be seen, provided the signal for the counter-offensive. In the 1960s, there was a similar snowballing of attacks on Leonard Bernstein and other prominent New York intellectual and cultural figures, after a series of cocktail parties organized to build support for the Black Panther Party. Tom Wolfe, the whore of the New Journalism, coined the term Radical Chic with a coy job of character assassination in *New York* magazine. The *New York Times* wrote a blistering editorial. The Jewish Defense League mobilized to mail death threats to the homes of those who had sponsored the fundraisers. As it turned out, this "spontaneous" swelling of outrage was orchestrated from the top: memos on the fundraiser at Bernstein's residence were on Richard Nixon's desk the next day; the press attacks were instigated, in many cases directly, by the FBI as part of its broader COINTELPRO programs, which included among other things the well-known calculated campaign to drive the actress Jean Seberg, another Black Panther supporter, to commit suicide.

Whatever lies behind the current sordid "spontaneous" propaganda campaign, the killing at the Bini-Bon was seized upon with a really ugly and shameless zest as the "critics" suddenly all found their voice at once. The dead man, Richard Adan, it was revealed, was "only a waiter" part-time; he was also a dramatist and actor of some promise. All the better for those determined to use his death as the pretext for mounting a mob lynching. But please spare us the nauseous solicitude of the pundits for the "plight of the struggling artist" in New York, where thousands of artists are every year chewed up and spit out by the same cultural establishment now choking back the tears over a

"brilliant, creative life, cut cruelly short." To be blunt, it is not difficult to make out which side in the current controversy is truly elated by Mr. Adan's death.

One thing above all the bourgeois counter-offensive was designed to make clear: for a while it looked like Norman Mailer and his friends got away with something; but as it turned out, they didn't get away with it after all. Let this be a lesson to the rest of you.

But the first wave of the campaign, apparently, had at best uneven results. The letters column of the *Soho Weekly News*, which served as a major vehicle in New York for the campaign in the first weeks after the killing at the Bini-Bon, was filled with adverse comment: "Mr. Lombardi shows no understanding, no concern for Abbott, Mailer, least of all for the late Richard Adan; the murdered actor, in fact, is the writer's prop, his springboard for a shrewish rant about the glitterati" . . . "Character assassination is Lombardi's home ground and he's just warming up . . ." etc. The only positive response printed by the *Soho* was signed by Clark Whelton, an Asst. D.A. for the City of New York.

Lombardi's reply to the criticism: "...I think Abbott burst full-blown from Norman Mailer's forehead, like a pimple. Editors and reviewers who ignore the evidence of this, in Abbott's 165-page 'book,' are guilty of the worst sort of knee-jerk '60s liberalism." An 11-page spread on "The Brief and Violent Freedom of Jack Abbott" in the November issue of *Life* magazine makes the political content of the charge of "knee-jerk '60s liberalism" pretty clear:

"Jack Henry Abbott, author, convict, murderer, bank robber, was an extraordinary man indeed. Not since Attica had the plight of prisoners stirred so large an audience; not since Elridge Cleaver had a convict-author been so widely hailed . . ."

### The Left Hook

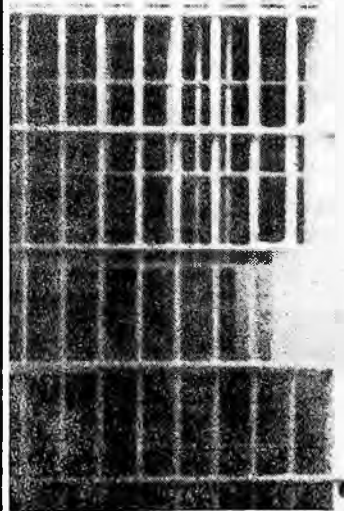
It apparently became evident that more sophisticated tactics were required than continuing exclusively with an "attack from the right" consisting of rants

about "sub-human animals" in the prisons and their "demented radical chic" admirers. For those who refused to swallow all this, a new tact was taken. In a cynical attempt to paralyze revolutionary and progressive people from joining into this battle at all, stories began to appear in the press charging that Jack Abbott allegedly played the role of an informer as prison authorities threatened and pressured him while his possible parole was before them. Of course, no such activity is ever justified. But even if the allegations are true, the intent of their release could hardly be more transparent. That great upholder of revolutionary principle, the *New York Times* broke the story on its front page, even as they continued their fire from the right on Abbott, his writings and those who support them.

Though much of the bourgeois "post-mortem" on the Abbott affair has attempted to adopt a tone of smug pity toward the "naive liberal idealists," beneath the surface smugness can be perceived a somewhat frenzied effort to stampede these people back into their carpeted penitentiaries. Don't expect to find any friends out there, the bourgeoisie warns "its" artists and intellectuals, as the struggle for the allegiance of these strata intensifies. Do not look to Attica, or to the ghettos, or to the revolutionaries for allies. They are not to be found. They are all muggers; they are animals. They will use you and rip you off and leave you bleeding in the streets.

The disintegration of bourgeois society does indeed cause some sections of the intelligentsia to "retreat in terror," to view the oppressed classes as "the mob" which threatens them directly. But the opposite tendency is also at work: when "the walls of Attica" reverberate with the cries of revolt, echoes of this are heard throughout society, and a section of the intelligentsia will stage "riots" of their own. □

## 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* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
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# Puerto Rico: A Showdown Is Coming!

The following testimony was given by a Puerto Rican youth on Sunday, December 6, 1981 at the New York Tribunal.

Good afternoon, brothers and sisters. I'm just going to start by telling you some of the things my grandfather told me. About the time he spent in jail. I'm from Puerto Rico. One of the victims of U.S. imperialism. I am from Jayuya, where the revolution of 1950 started. In this uprising two of my relatives participated. My grandfather was ten years in prison for participating in this uprising. My great uncle was in prison for 22 years, also for participating in the uprising. They both suffered much while in prison. My great uncle was offered many times while in prison to be released on probation if he would renounce what he had done. But he refused, saying he had no remorse. Yes, the U.S. government offered him liberty, but with conditions — that he make a declaration of being guilty and that the revolution be declared guilty. He told them, I will never repent and I will continue the struggle. If I have to die in jail, then I will die.

He has told me that the conditions in jail were miserable. The food was just rice and the rice sometimes had maggots in it. You couldn't even eat it. What I propose is to personally go to Puerto Rico, and I make this pledge before this Tribunal, to get more information on these things. It will be in the near future. I pledge this. Thank you.

\*\*\*\*\*

The following testimony was given by Ruth Reynolds on Saturday afternoon, December 5, 1981 at the New York Tribunal. Ruth Reynolds is a long-time activist in support of the Puerto Rican struggle for liberation. Her activities span many years from the time when she was working with Pedro Albizu Campos, with whom she was arrested in the 1950s and stood trial; her legal defense was assisted by one of the New York panelists, Conrad Lynn. She continues her political activity today, particularly in the struggle around Vieques.

I'm very glad to be here today. This is the first time in my life that I am testifying before judges whom I trust. At the same time I'm slightly embarrassed because I confessed to lame deer two nights ago that I was born in the Black Hills of South Dakota which was taken from his people in 1876 because gold was found there and I taught the first year I was out of college on an Indian reservation in which he grew up and in the very town in which he grew up. I found that he did not blame me for being born where I was nor when I was, and I will say that my experience on the Rosebud, even though there was little contact between the white and the Native American people, taught me a great deal. For the first time I saw intense poverty. And I felt hostility directed against myself which I didn't understand at that time. Indeed it was not until I was in my thirties and reading in New York that I began to understand more fully the situation of the Native

American people in the area not far from where I grew up. The massacre of Wounded Knee, for example, in which American soldiers pursued women and children 15 and 20 miles in order to kill them after they had killed the group at Wounded Knee itself.

Also glad to have on the panel here today Conrad Lynn, whom I've known since 1941 or 2. When I first came to New York he was the young lawyer whom we consulted if we needed to know anything about law. We were living in an inter-racial group in central Harlem and working with little children, Black, Puerto Rican, Gypsy and whatever there was in the little area in which we lived. Conrad and I participated in an inter-racial walk from New York to Washington in 1942 or 43, I don't remember the exact year. (Conrad Lynn: "It was 1942.") So I'm quite comfortable with the judges I see before me.

In New York in the 1940s, becoming acquainted with the Puerto Rican people, I began to learn something about their situation of repression. My eyes began to be opened when a Puerto Rican Baptist minister walked through our street, asked what we were doing and then came into our house to talk with us, and saw that we were demonstrating quite often on behalf of India's independence because we were something disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. And he put to us a question that hit us between the eyes. "I cannot understand," he said, "why you people who



Fishermen battle military police on Vieques in 1979.

work in this community, are so concerned about what the British government is doing in India and appear to have no concern about what your own government is doing in Puerto Rico." And just as I had known just about nothing about the history of the Indians when I lived on the Rosebud reservation, so I was living in a Puerto Rican

community in Harlem and knew nothing about what had happened to the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico. But I found out. Because at that time living not far from here, on 19th Street between 2nd and 3rd Avenue, Columbus Hospital, was Pedro Albizu Campos, who for 40 years was President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. He

was hospitalized here for more than two years for severe heart ailment following his six years of imprisonment in Atlanta Penitentiary, 1930 to 1940. We became acquainted with him and formed, in 1944, the American League for the Independence of Puerto Rico, of which I became the Executive Secretary and made first one trip to Puerto Rico to learn and then in 1948, at the time when students on the university campus were being clubbed to unconsciousness because they dared to express themselves in favor of independence. I was sent to Puerto Rico to investigate that situation. I investigated it and found that in order to explain it required really a book, which I wrote, giving the entire history of the colonial background out

of which the university situation of that time had arisen. While I was there I was also very active in watching what was going on with the entire independence movement. And particularly the increasing danger of a — I sometimes think better in Spanish than English, and "aplastamiento" is what I want to say and don't know how to say in my own language — complete repression of the independence movement and particularly the Nationalist Party. Now what was the Nationalist Party? It still exists with the same principles but with very much reduced numbers. Under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos it succeeded in educating the people and in organizing some of them into a movement which twice forced confrontation with the United States government to the extent that the government felt that it had either to shut them up or to yield. The first occasion came in 1936 when all of the parties that went to the elections, as well as the Nationalist Party which was a non-cooperation party and would have nothing to do with the elections, had agreed that they would form a constituent assembly to establish the free government of Puerto Rico. When that became public the U.S. government moved against the Nationalist Party, arrested its entire leadership and imprisoned them for a period of six years.

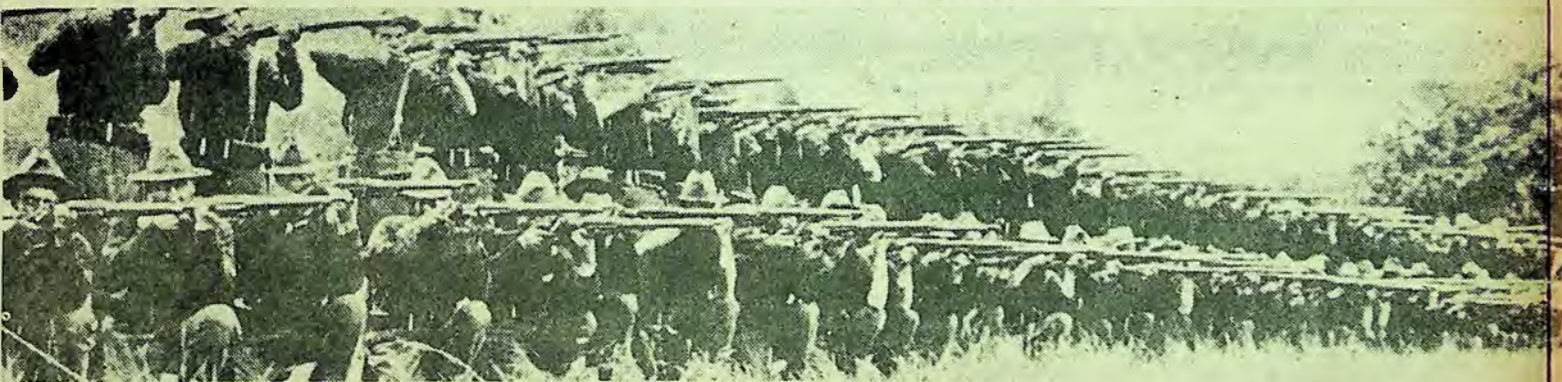
After Albizu Campos had been in jail for ten years he came to New York to try to recover from his heart — he was actually in prison for 6 years. His sentence was an illegal one. The maximum sentence was 6 years for that supposed crime. But the judge added 4 years probation, which the judge couldn't do. You can't add probation onto a maximum sentence, but it was done and he was not allowed to go back to Puerto Rico after his 6 years in Atlanta. He came to New York, the Columbus Hospital, in order to recover from his heart ailment to the extent that he could. He never recovered very fully. After he returned to Puerto Rico in 1947, until he was arrested again in 1950, he spent a great deal of his time in bed to measure his strength, to recover what he could. Whenever he considered it necessary he would speak for 3 or 4 hours at a stretch from a public platform, bringing up the people once more to an understanding and a willingness to sacrifice for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Observing what was going on during those years it was obvious to me that a showdown was inevitable. The question was only when and where it would come. It came in 1950, shortly after a speech that Don Pedro delivered in Barrio Obrero in Santurce, Puerto Rico, on the anniversary of Jose de Diego's birth. Jose de Diego had been a leader of the independence movement in the early days of American rule. He believed

in working within the regime against the regime to try to bring about independence. And it was also the anniversary of the occasion when the Nationalists prevented the flag of Puerto Rico from being converted into an emblem of empire. The legislative assembly in Puerto Rico was voting to make that flag the symbol of the colonial government at the same time that the Nationalists were holding a meeting a few blocks away. When they realized the situation they moved on the capitol where they found the representatives had left or were hiding. Don Pedro told me that when he opened a coat closet, a senator fell out. Well, this was the anniversary of that occasion, and when we got to the Barrio Obrero that night, we knew there was something wrong because 8 o'clock arrived when the meeting was supposed to begin, and Don Pedro had not arrived. Now there is all kinds of talk about "Latin time," and it is true that it is seldom worthwhile to get to a meeting on time. But when Don Pedro was running a meeting it started on time. So when he was not there on time I began to become very nervous. When 15 minutes passed and he didn't show I was even more nervous. He arrived at 8:20 and the meeting proceeded. But as it proceeded there were numerous supposed newspaper photographers there to take pictures. When Don Pedro got up to speak, they started at once to take pictures and he stopped them. He said, "We know that there are plans here for someone parading as a newspaper photographer to kill me tonight. So everyone who has a camera will please move to the outskirts of the crowd." And they moved. Then he changed his entire speech in order to denounce the situation in which the government was planning to move against the Nationalist Party. And he ended his speech by saying, "We Nationalists do not want a violent confrontation. But if the U.S. government insists on it, we will have one. If they insist on it, it will start tonight. But if Mr. Truman wishes to avoid that, then he and his people have to do only one thing. They have to stop being thieves."

So that was the end of that meeting. Within two weeks, Secretary Louis Johnson, who was Secretary of Defense under Truman, arrived in Puerto Rico. He did not speak to anyone except the military authorities. But it was learned very quickly that he had given instructions from President Truman to these authorities that they were to tell Muñoz Marin, the Governor of Puerto Rico, that the Nationalist Party was to be liquidated with the use of the Insular Police, and that if they could not be easily arrested, the leadership was to be assassinated.

Don Pedro denounced this situation Continued on page 12



Left: U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico 1898.

Below: Jayuya 1950, National Guard rounds up rebels. Ruth Reynolds is third from left.



## TRIBUNAL: THE VERDICT IS 'GUILTY'

Continued from page 3

Americans came and wanted to testify in defense of Israel and to debate in earnest questions of Zionism.

Even as the Tribunal was in session people were out leafleting. In all, 200,000 leaflets in four languages went out in New York City alone in building for the Tribunal. Some of the people who came had heard the radio shows, been in the garment center or had gotten leaflets at the movies. There were Costa Ricans, Jamaicans, Nicaraguans, Tinidadians. A busload of people came from Boston; from the West Coast, Miami, the Midwest and East Coast cities people traveled to testify and to participate in the Tribunal. Many people volunteered church space and apartments for out-of-towners, and volunteers set up the stage, sound equipment, video, translations, etc.

All this exposure and activity was going right up against the imperialist efforts to reverse verdicts on their war crimes and create a climate of political

justification for marshalling the masses to again wage war. The publication of a 50-page article in Newsweek on the Vietnam War speaks to the constant attempts at these reversals and the slick and assorted ways they seek to carry these out. The veterans who testified at these hearings exposed not only the hatred for the military that veterans had but the revolts among the soldiers and their becoming part of the troops against imperialism.

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism has exposed the U.S.' war crimes, many never before heard or read. It has united proletarians, progressives and revolutionary-minded people with diverse outlooks and from different class forces, to carry out this historic exposure. Though the hearings have been successfully concluded, the Tribunals are far from over and their far-reaching significance is yet to be fully felt. Further investigation and summation must go on.

Plans are underway to publish a book of the Tribunal's findings in many languages and to disseminate it throughout the world. The Tribunal continues to receive testimony and has just received testimony on Sri Lanka and the British Islands.

The Tribunal spoke for the aspirations of millions worldwide for a future free of oppression and exploitation. A Puerto Rican youth who testified put it: "I think this is one reason they're building spaceships — to escape the wrath that they'll face when all their crimes become public. Don't you believe it? They're not stupid, you know. They need the shuttle and so on. They are conscious that some day all their crimes will come to light, all their lies and crimes. They can't keep people in the dark. They play little games. It's a game to them ... they give people beautiful clothes, drugs, alcohol, little things to divert them. The Tribunal opened it all up ...."

# Panel's Closing

The following statements were the closing statements given by the tribunal panelists at the culminating session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism in New York City, December 4, 5, and 6:

## Archie Fire Lame Deer

*Mnicojou Lakota spiritual advisor for the Native peoples including for Leonard Peltier, testified on behalf of the Native peoples at the Bertrand Russell tribunal on Native people in Rotterdam last year; served as witness and panelist for the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in Los Angeles last May.*

For those of you that are sitting in here that are older, middle age, whatever, look to the youth. Look to the youth for tomorrow. Look to future generations for a better world, for your children and their children's children. Some of our old people, we want to thank them for their wisdom and how far they have brought us. If we had this kind of thinking we would have a young president today, instead of a very old man controlling all our lives. We the American Indians, a traditional people, have practiced the sacred ways. I will let you know how I feel and how my people feel. Also as a Chief of the Sioux Nation I find, sitting here listening, as we did also in Rotterdam, on a world court and in Geneva, we find U.S. imperialism, bigot corporations, guilty. Guilty of genocide and ethnocide, of oppressing the man of color all over the world. We have never changed that view. I'm happy to say today that you are here from different countries of the world, different parts of the world to share with us our thoughts for the future of tomorrow. If you notice that one side of my braid came down, on the right side, that's a tradition of my people when we find somebody guilty. We still practice the old ways. We find, as Indian people, the United States guilty.

## Florynce Kennedy

*Attorney and outspoken political activist on behalf of minorities, women and consumers, a delegate to the International Women's Conference in Copenhagen and a member of Black Women United for Political Action.*

I just want to give you a couple of the findings that I think we would all agree with so that the Tribunal at the end will be able to decide whether or not they wish to accept them. These are findings of law and fact, but really mainly findings of law because the facts are quite clear I'm sure. And I'm sure we can see that they are. I simply want to suggest that the Tribunal find the distinction between economic and political refugees to be fraudulent, and to find that American business, government and media were guilty of genocidal delinquency and oppression. And to find that G.A.T.T., the International Monetary Fund, the Export-Import Bank, the Central Intelligence Agency, the CID, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and many other agencies are guilty of conspiratorial and fraudulent misuse of American taxpayers' money in funding tyrants in First World countries including but not limited to Haiti, El Salvador, Thailand, Iran, Dominican Republic, and Chile. And in order to avoid confusion, when I say First World, I mean what most people call Third World because I'm not sure who decided non-white people were third, and in as much as we were in most continents first and we outnumber white people in all the world. Finally, I would suggest that the U.S. Coast Guard in boarding, searching and challenging boats on the high seas, is in violation of International Law. These are quite obvious and rather technical but I just wanted to add them to whatever other findings of law and fact are concluded by the Tribunal and I thank you very much.

## Virginia Wohl

*A contributor to the Revolutionary Worker and freelance journalist whose questions disrupted the press conference with embassy hostages at West Point.*

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism has dragged the crimes of this hideous monster into the light of day. The international proletariat — the ingrates of U.S. Imperialism — have come before this tribunal to bite the hand that feeds it. It is important to understand that the forces who have come before this tribunal are the very social dynamite exploding in their faces around the world and which they seek to douse with the reversal of their verdicts.

There is no question that they are guilty. And we can see that it is over the refugee camps of the Palestinians, driven from their own homelands, the Israeli desert which blooms with the blood of the Palestinian people, that their flag so "honorably" flies. It flies atop the detention camps of the Haitian refugees; it is a symbol of the U.S.'s plunder on every continent — in Africa, in Asia, in South America. It has never been any different. It will never mean anything different though they would like us to think differently. They would also like us to think that they are so strong, so invincible. But I'll tell you from one example, a small example from my own experience. That flag flew over West Point that day and it

didn't do them a damn bit of good.

I just want to say to U.S. imperialism: don't you dare tell us of how it is high time that America stop being pushed around in the world. Don't you dare tell us to be concerned about our "own backyard". Frankly, the backyard is the world, and that we are concerned with. Don't you dare tell us that we are Americans and dangle before us the trinkets of your plunder and set us out to subjugate and slaughter the people of the world, for there is another thing that I have seen very clearly throughout the hearings of the tribunal, meeting people from many countries that I will probably never go to but have had the opportunity to meet: there is an international army of gravediggers like the Haitian brother whose testimony we heard in Atlanta as he said "We dig, dig, dig," and we are indeed soldiers in that army.

But do, Imperialists, yes, do tell us of your troubles, your vulnerabilities and your miseries for there are millions upon millions of us preparing to put you out of your misery and I do believe that this tribunal has contributed to that struggle.

## Yuri Kochiyama

*A Japanese-American activist who was interned in the concentration camps during World War II.*

Just your presence, your attention, your ovation for each speaker was that uniting cord that bound us. Your vibes, your spirit, was certainly felt. This War Crimes Tribunal could not have happened at a more appropriate time when the U.S. is brandishing its weaponry, attempting to crush or slander all who dare to oppose them and legislating new laws to quell the masses of the underclass here. The verdict, of course, is unanimous.

But to say guilty is not enough. We must go beyond it. It is up to you, us, everybody to create the world that we say we want. But to remember that promulgating and promoting an idea is empty as the U.S. Constitution is empty, unless we practice it, unless we live it. Let's do just that—we can start now.

## Leo Gomez

*A member of the RCP and a panelist for the Tribunal.*

I want to make just a couple of closing remarks. We have met here today to consider the crimes of U.S. imperialism and that we may do so we've had to examine the past, consider the present with all and every implication for the future. Because I think the one thing that's come through is not only is U.S. imperialism guilty of war crimes against humanity but its very existence is itself a crime. Its very existence itself is a barrier to the future progress of humanity. And it's this realization which is a burning, vital and most essential aspect of the verdict which we render against this system. And it is not a verdict which has not been paid for; for the experience of which we speak and the knowledge which we have gained through the analysis made, has been paid for in human suffering and human misery which, in fact, cannot be measured in numbers. But it must be assessed and its weight placed on the scale of history. And its final victory will be that we, the people of the world, put imperialism and all forms of slavery into the ashan of history; that we are animated by the anger of the crimes we heard spoken of; that not fear, which they hope to instill, but a burning, bitter, cleansing hatred is what comes of it. To examine the crimes of imperialism means that we from all the countries of the world must have input, just as the solution to the elimination of imperialism must occur in like fashion. And I think it is only fitting and proper and indeed inevitable given the historical process, that those who began as slaves end up as masters of their own fate and do so in a way which does not spread or help to increase suffering, humiliation, poverty and all the degradation which imperialism brings, but instead, becomes an insurmountable and inevitable victor over that same system which bred them. When the bodies washed up on the beach of Miami, the long chain of history reached back to the days of the birth of this imperialist system. The Native peoples sitting jointly with the Palestinian people reminds us of the long sweep of history which we have examined and I think that it is not only proper that we find U.S. imperialism guilty, I think it is long past time. Which brings me to the last thing I want to say. The crimes which U.S. imperialism has committed in some ways are evident and easily seen. But the one thing, the one question which we have raised and asked and even more importantly answered, is what are the implications that come with the realization of what U.S. imperialism and all forms of slavery mean. Because to merely ponder them, to examine their features apart from the consideration of what flows from that understanding would not only be futile but in fact would be to join in the criminality of the system itself. And so it is not without implication that we render this verdict. We do so in the name of the people of the world, in the name of history, in the name of progress and foremost of all, in the name of all humanity.

# Showdown

Continued from page 11  
first in June in Manati. It was the year 1950 in Manati in a public meeting. His wife had already gone to Cuba and from there had spread the work throughout Latin America. And in this way the showdown was avoided for six months. But it came October 30, 1950, when the Insular government began to move against Nationalists in various places.

The revolution actually started in Penuelas. But when word of the fighting in Penuelas spread by radio throughout Puerto Rico, the Nationalists picked up arms wherever they had them and fought. The military forces were of course unequal. I was living in Cataño and crossed in a launch to San Juan on October 30 and picked up a newspaper which said there was fighting in Penuelas. I knew what that meant, the revolution was upon us. So I wanted some place to think. The only public place was the cathedral, so I went into the cathedral and sat down to think

what I should do, whether I should go back to the United States, what my role should be. While I was sitting there I heard shooting outside, and not having a great deal of sense in my head, I ran outside to see what was going on. I followed the crowd to in front of the Fortaleza, where the Nationalists were attacking the Fortaleza. I was interested in the comments I heard among the people. There was no comment in the crowd that had gathered where I was a block away, that there was anything wrong with what the Nationalists were doing. The comments were, "Don't those people know that behind the police is the National Guard and behind the National Guard is the United States Army? Don't they know that?" And that interprets very well the fact that the Nationalists had little military support and not a great deal more moral support, as far as outspoken moral support. In Puerto Rico it has to be understood that the feeling of the people is very often not evident.

When the four Nationalist prisoners returned to Puerto Rico two years ago they were met with an overwhelming outpouring of affection and support.

But in 1954, in December, nine months after the shooting in Congress for which three of those people were imprisoned, there was absolute silence everywhere. I went into a restaurant of which I knew the owners, which I had eaten in many times in an earlier period, and one of the owners came up and sat on a stool next to me, without turning his head, looking straight in front of him, he asked me, "How is Hernandez Valle?", who was one of our lawyers who was at that time on trial. I, looking straight ahead and not turning my head, said that I understood he was getting along quite well. It was that kind of silence that there was throughout Puerto Rico for a long time.

Now after the revolution in 1950 which lasted about three days, everyone who showed any sympathy at all for the Nationalist revolutionaries was arrested. I am honored to be among those arrested. I had not participated in the revolution. I had simply written a book and was trying to raise some money to publish it with. But it was understood quite correctly that if I were free I would not keep quiet. I didn't keep quiet even though I wasn't free. I learn-

ed to speak pretty good Spanish because I had to speak Spanish in that jail or else keep quiet. But just to show what happens to a North American who becomes concerned in trying to be effective in learning about and publicizing what our people are doing, I was accused of advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The specific counts against me were two. One of them was that I had gone to a meeting on the 26th of October in Fajardo and returned to Cataño on the 27th with the purpose of participating in the revolution, which I didn't participate in on the 30th of October. I was found innocent of that charge.

But I was found guilty, despite the fine defense I had from Mr. Lynn, of having taken an oath to give life and property for the independence of Puerto Rico. I had not taken it on the day that they said I did. They said I had taken it in a meeting of November 1949 in an auditorium about this size in Arecibo, and they had three witnesses, three police. One of them saw me in the front row taking the oath, another one saw me two rows from the back, and the other one saw me in the middle. So

# Judgments

Carl Dix

National Panel moderator, a Black Vietnam veteran, one of the Fort Lewis 6 who refused in 1970 to go to Vietnam and who was sentenced to two years in Leavenworth.

I have the honor of addressing the overall and as people said the unanimous judgment of the panel of the closing session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal. I want to say a few words in addressing this verdict. From the beginning, the tribunal set itself a very lofty and a very important task: to assemble the dispossessed from throughout the world in unity with many others, to deliver a powerful condemnation of U.S. imperialism for war crimes against the people of the world and to do that right here, here in the belly of the beast. And now it's time to assess what has been done. From the beginning we charged U.S. imperialism with numerous crimes. We charged that they came into being through genocide and the plunder of the Native people. We charged that they grew up on the basis of brutal enslavement and continued genocide. We charged that they spread their system of domination to far-flung parts of the world, plundering many peoples of their wealth, wiping out their cultures and languages, carrying out brutal atrocities in every part of the world. We charged that they were party to holding people all over the world hostage as they rattle their nuclear arsenals and threaten naked acts of war. And further we charged that they had set out and begun to reverse the correct verdicts of history. They have attempted to depict their agents in Iran, who trained SAVAK torturers, as the good guys and the heroes and the victims of torture. We charged that they have denied their genocidal war against the peoples of Vietnam. And also denied the powerful opposition that that war brought on. We charged that they have tried to slander the people of the world resisting their domination including people here in this country as terrorists. There's a charge raised by those who carpet-bombed Cambodia. Those who carried out dozens of invasions of Latin America. We charge that they have tried to reverse their verdict on their question of immigration, painting this as a land of the free, all the while bringing people from all over the world here, when it's a question of exploiting their labor and oppressing them, and at other times, jailing Haitians and interning people born here in this country. Further we charged that all this was designed to whip up ugly chauvinism, super-patriotism and support for more and more foul deeds.

Now this panel and those of the previous sessions of the tribunal have heard much testimony with respect to these particular charges. We've heard testimony from those in exile from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Colombia, Haiti, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Jamaica. We heard both from those forced into exile and from the supporters of peoples struggling in those countries about the atrocities that U.S. imperialism carried out and the ways that it has forced its domination. We've heard testimony from the Native people who were robbed of their land, 74 of them exterminated. We've heard testimony about U.S. domination in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, India. We've heard testimony from the Palestinian people, who the imperialists have also robbed of their land. We've heard testimony from Africans involved in struggle against imperialism from Azania to the Horn of Africa. We've heard testimony from scientists whose work was diverted into monstrous weapons of terror. We've heard testimony from people who were interned, put in concentration camps here in this country during World War 2. We've heard the crimes of imperialism carried out worldwide against women, sterilization abuse and many others. We've heard testimony from veterans of the U.S. military, those sent off to be cannon fodder in their wars, but who also returned to expose the naked aggression that they were forced to carry out. We've heard of the fire bombing in Dresden at the end of World War 2 and how it was in fact a message to the people of the world. We've heard testimony about the situation in Iran, the U.S. backing of the brutal dictatorship of the Shah and much, much more. We have heard many controversial questions addressed. Witnesses and panelists did not always agree on every question but in fact what we did agree on was the importance of at this time mounting a major effort to expose imperialism for its war crimes against the peoples of the world.

In reference to this tribunal we've already addressed the question of was an effort like this possible. We've seen it and heard it in those previous hearings. Now some have raised the question that this tribunal was stacked, that we've run an unfair deal down on the imperialists and that we were one-sided in what we heard here in the record. There are two things to say on that. The first is that this tribunal isn't stacked, history is stacked because history is full of their crimes. The other thing that must be said is that we asked, in fact, we demanded that the witnesses for the defense come. We subpoenaed 13 of their hostages. We said, "You guys missed your chance to go on trial with the people in Iran, we got a trial coming down here and there are going to be some people from all over the world getting together to deal with imperialism's war crimes, and why don't you come down here and talk about how you trained SAVAK, or you can turn

state's evidence and see what you can work out. Why don't you guys come down and talk to us." We subpoenaed Jean Kirkpatrick. We subpoenaed William Sullivan, Paul Warnke, CIA head Colby, INS head Charles Sava, and many more. But these witnesses decided not to show their faces. Perhaps they were clear that there was nothing that could be said. But let no one say that the record was stacked against them, it's history that is stacked against them.

I'm up to the question of the verdict and we discussed it and we decided that we did not have to deliberate very long, in fact we felt that if a jury couldn't decide this case very quickly, it deserved to be hung. The verdict was unanimous and it was indeed guilty. Guilty of carrying out genocide worldwide, guilty of growing up and thriving on the enslavement of peoples worldwide. Guilty of exercising a brutal system of domination worldwide. Guilty of holding the world hostage to its monstrous weapons of terror and naked aggression. Guilty of attempts to wipe out peoples' culture and language and guilty of many, many more crimes.

Now I think there are a couple of things that should be said in light of this verdict, I think the first is that it's very fitting that it's coming down this weekend two days after the anniversary of the murder of Fred Hampton, another of their crimes. The other thing that has to be said is this — at this hearing the gavel has come down, the verdict is in, but even in terms of this War Crimes Tribunal the battle around it still goes on. The findings have to be compiled, gone over and distributed as broadly as possible, including distributed around the world. And this is a battle, like the battle up to this point, that many need to step forward and participate in, because it's part of how things are going to develop, what kind of understanding are people going to have on the nature of imperialism. Are they going to succeed with their reversal of the verdicts? Or is this War Crimes Tribunal, the exposure that was heard here, going to have a big impact on society and reach many, many millions of people in lands all over the world? There are a few other things that have to be said about this because there have been a lot of other tribunals and we've learned from as many of them as we could. But there is one thing that is pretty interesting and important. They have held tribunals also, like after World War 2. They hanged the German general because he opened the dikes in Holland and flooded the area and killed a few hundred people trying to halt the advance of the Allied army. This from the very same people who systematically bombed the dikes in Vietnam attempting to drown the liberation struggle of the people of Vietnam in water that they had been trying to drown in blood and had in fact failed. And this is where these guys are coming from and how they work. And I agree with the speakers before who said, "You want to talk about war criminals but then look at these guys here. They've multiplied exactly what the German imperialists stood for." Carried it out on a much grander scale. They should reflect on the fact that they tried some of the Germans after WW2 and found them guilty of war crimes and executed some of them and on that basis they should think about what should be done to them. Now this will probably and definitely will not be the last time any tribunals are held and in the future we in fact think that such tribunals will be held under different circumstances. Circumstances where those who are now the dispossessed will be in a position to not only denounce the crimes of the imperialists and bring in a verdict as we have done here today, but to actually carry out a fitting sentence on these despicable butchers. Looking forward we would like to think that our efforts here in this War Crimes Tribunal that is coming to a close this weekend will in fact have some impact on this developing situation; that in fact as they beat the drums of war and plot more despicable crimes, that this tribunal, the exposure that we've heard here and the battle to spread its impact as broadly throughout the world as possible, becomes a part of exposing imperialism, its war plans and its despicable crimes.

Now the matter of the sentencing has been raised and the War Crimes Tribunal as such does not have a view on exactly what the sentence should be. However in assessing a lot of the testimony that we've heard here today throughout this weekend and in earlier hearings it would seem to me that the dispossessed worldwide, the international proletariat and its allies are in fact working on the question of the sentence in their own characteristic way. And hopefully this record of the War Crimes Tribunal will be of some inspirational value in doing what must be done. We hope that it will let people all around the world know that right here in the belly of the beast there are also those who oppose imperialism and its war crimes. And we hope that our efforts in this is something that they can rejoice at. The last thing that must be said is that this is not in fact the definitive statement coming off of this War Crimes Tribunal. As I said before, the findings have to be prepared, sifted through, edited and a more definitive statement must be made on that question. But what has been said here today in terms of this final statement is what in fact must be said. It is something that was clearly demanded by history and clearly demanded by the people of the world. □

ice I was seen in three places at the same time taking this oath, I was found guilty. Sentenced to six years of imprisonment on that charge. Four years later it was decided that that was not a crime. But I had already spent 19 and a half months in prison. I don't regret it at all. The experience of suffering with the Puerto Rican women who were involved. The experience of going through that whole process, one could gain any other way. And it is an experience one cannot grow out of. So as a result, I am quite rightly considered part of the movement for Puerto Rico's independence and considered by most of its members a sister in the struggle. I'm extremely happy for that relationship.

But to get back to what I'm supposed to be telling you about today, which is one of the history of this struggle, let me just say very briefly:

It began in 1898, July 25, when in what is called the Spanish-American War, the United States invaded Guantánamo, Puerto Rico. This invasion occurred although Spain was already suing for peace. And our government decided they would not even hear the request

for peace until they had Puerto Rico in their possession. It's not a very different situation when, in 1945, when President Truman knew that the Japanese were suing for peace and said negotiations after the bomb is dropped, not before. Since that time, 1898, Puerto Rico has had no real self-government at all. That is, under the terms of the Treaty of Peace of December 1898, it was the United States Congress which was to decide the future of Puerto Rico, the rights of its citizens and its form of government. The United States Congress takes a long time sometimes, and what the rights of the Puerto Rican people are and what its future will be the United States government has not yet said. But it's not for the United States government to say, and the Puerto Rican people are very aware of that.

In order to give the impression throughout the world that there is freedom in Puerto Rico, an elaborate system of pseudo-self-government has been developed which is now called the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. But everyone knows that the day that any part of that government functions in a way that the United States government

doesn't like, that will cease to exist.

Now what is the real purpose for this holding of Puerto Rico? Complete subjection. When airplanes were sent to rescue President Nixon when he was having trouble while visiting Venezuela, it was from Ramay airbase in Puerto Rico that they flew. When the Dominican Republic was invaded in 1965, it was in Puerto Rico that it was initiated.

The greatest confrontation in Puerto Rico with the United States government, takes place in the little island of Vieques, off the east coast, which the United States government has used for target practice for forty years. Forcing the people to live in a narrow strip in the center of the island. NATO countries send their navies and rent time from the United States government, not from the people of Vieques, to use their island for target practice. And the countries of Latin America which are cooperating with the United States: Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, and others, use that island for their target practice. Any invasion that occurs in Central America or in the Caribbean in these next years will probably be initiated from that island. So when we are

asking support to get the United States out of Vieques, it is not just because we feel sorry for fishermen, for a few thousand people on that island, but because that island is being used as preparation for invasion anywhere in this hemisphere that the United States wants it. And it is also used by the NATO countries in Europe for their practice for whatever they want to do. And it is for the purpose of United States military control in this hemisphere that Puerto Rico is held today. So that it is most appropriate that Puerto Rico be considered in this War Crimes Tribunal because there is no greater crime than to use the land and people of another nation for the oppression of people who are their brothers in race and in history and against whom they have no quarrel at all.

I started out by saying that I was a bit embarrassed in the presence of Lane Deer and happy in the presence of Conrad Lynn. But I know that here we all realize that the struggle of the Native Americans for their rights, of the Black Americans for their rights, and of the Puerto Rican people, the people of the

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# Deficit

Continued from page 1  
 sion among the bourgeoisie. Although disputes have been aired in this area, particularly as the magnitude of the budgetary problems has become more obvious, they have centered on questions of military procurement efficiency and the necessity of particular weapons systems — not the basic program.

## The Politics of Deficits

The particular imperatives of the currently projected deficits can be highlighted by comparing them with past periods of large deficits. As can be seen from the chart, the periods of largest deficits during the past fifteen years (as these deficits have become an acute problem for the imperialists) have been during the late 1960s and early 1970s and in the mid-1970s. The first was during the Vietnam War period, and was associated with the contradiction of "guns and butter" — that is, the U.S. rulers' need to both increase military spending in Vietnam and to spend on social programs in the U.S. which were necessary to contain the domestic social upheavals of the 1960s. This was a period when their overall international position enabled them to do both — though obviously not without problems. (The federal budget surplus in 1969 and the small deficit in 1970 are misleading, since they are primarily due to the fact that the surge of inflation at this time was boosting federal revenues — through putting taxpayers in higher income tax brackets and other ways — faster than it caused federal outlays to increase.) The second period of larger deficits, centering on 1976, was associated with the attempt to escape from the 1974-75 recession through a tremendous expansion of credit. The "recovery" which followed, however, was spotty, fragmentary, and could not solve the imperialists' underlying problems. It was, moreover, of necessity highly inflationary and led directly to a situation in which the U.S. had to attempt to bring the explosion of credit debt and inflation under control — while at the same time facing no less of a necessity to vastly expand military expenditures. This brings us back, then, to the contradictions of "Reaganomics" (actually the strategy of the class of U.S. imperialists as a whole) and current budget projections.

These budget deficits, then, have been due to the differing imperatives of U.S. imperialism in different periods. At present the contradictions of imperialism express themselves in the closely interrelated aspects of economic crisis and preparation for inter-imperialist war. In this situation the strategy of U.S. imperialism is to arm for war against its rival Soviet bloc while attempting to stabilize the crisis in a way that is least disruptive to the unity of its own imperialist bloc and to the stability of the international monetary order — even while these are continually undermined and upset by the further

# Yellow Ribbon Arson Sentence Expected

As we go to press, we have learned that the sentencing date for Nancy Whitley and John Kaiser has been announced. Nancy and John, both members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade in Eugene, Oregon, face a possible 20 years in jail and \$2,500 fine each for their conviction on charges of "felony arson." This charge was brought against them after they burned a yellow ribbon during a speech at the University of Oregon by alumnus Victor Tomseth, the notorious hostage/spy who was the high level CIA operative at the U.S. embassy in Iran. The conviction of Nancy and John was a blatantly political railroad veiled in specific criminal charges for a definite purpose. The intent was to portray the RCP and its supporters as "terrorists" and to gain a conviction—no matter how flimsy—to "prove" this. Sentencing will take place on Friday, December 11 at 8:30 a.m. in Eugene.

VERY SUPERFICIAL ARTICLE ON ECONOMICS.

THERE MAY BE SHORT-TERM "PROSPERS" DURING EXPANSIONARY PERIODS — I.E. CONTINUED EXPANSION... BUT THE LONG TERM EFFECT IS TO AGGRAVATE & HASTEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OVERALL ECONOMIC CRISIS...

development of the crisis and measures necessary to try to offset it.

But why should a deficit be a problem? Liberal economists have traditionally argued that it isn't, that "we owe the money to ourselves," and so there is nothing to worry about. This has been associated with the Keynesian theory that government deficits are necessary during periods of economic slump, in order to stimulate the economy and spark recovery. Conservatives, on the other hand, have held that such deficits warp the efficiency of the "free market" and lead to ruinous inflation. In fact, deficits can be handled, and do not cause big problems, in the context of imperialist expansion, such as during the 1950s and 1960s for the U.S. In a period of crisis, however, they cause problems. In practice bourgeois economists (whether of the liberal or conservative variety) tend toward a consensus on what is "economically correct" based on the current contradictions and needs of imperialism. In the 1960s Milton Friedman, the dean of conservative economists, could say "we are all Keynesians now," while today the economists all preach the necessity of government austerity and cutbacks.

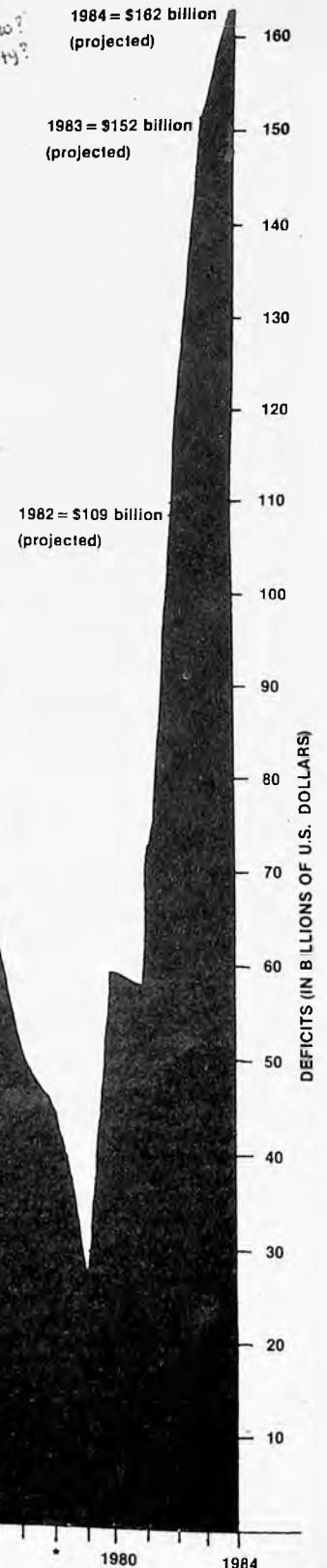
Behind the debates on this subject lies the fact that huge government outlays are an indispensable part of monopoly capitalism at this point, outlays which can be trimmed to a certain extent, but which can hardly be eliminated or even too deeply cut. As such, the matter is hardly one of simple arithmetic, as bourgeois economists generally would have it. There is an obvious political dimension to these expenditures—on the one hand the violent establishment and protection of their empire around the world, on the other concessionary reforms and crumbs on the home front. This is part of the larger fact that although these government outlays represent a huge absorption of resources, although they are generally a deduction from surplus value and a tax on capital, although they are generally parasitic on productive activity—despite all these undoubtedly negative aspects, they are necessary to the defense of empire and more generally, necessary to the reproduction of monopoly capital. They are thus both

unavoidable and not amenable to a one-to-one balance-book accounting. What can be said, though, is that during expansionary periods these expenditures "pay off" for imperialist capital, but in a period of crisis this tends to turn into its opposite and government outlays become more and more part of the problem. So today there is a genuine need on the part of the imperialists to rein in the outflow and cut the deficits. But at the same time, there is no way in which they can actually balance the budget due to their overriding necessity to vastly expand their military prowess in preparation for world war.

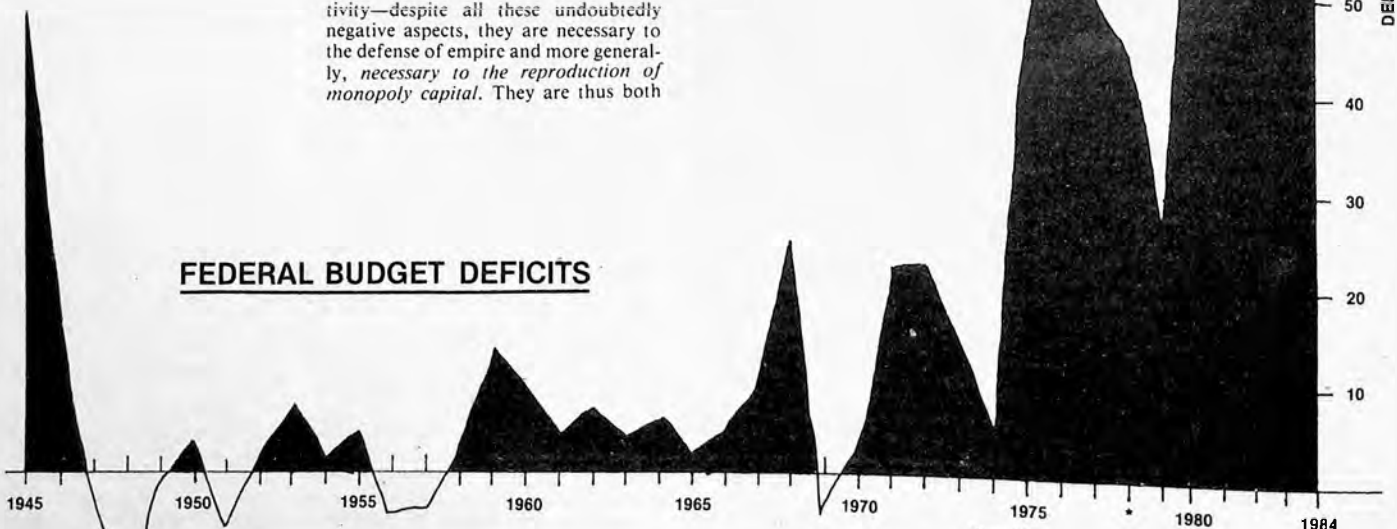
All this is not to say that these projected deficit figures will actually be the ones transcribed into the record books in 1982 and the following years. In fact, there are indications that these figures may have been deliberately put out in order to emphasize the severity of the problems the imperialists face and thus serve as an argument for much more drastic cuts in domestic social programs as well as, secondarily, a "mid-course correction" in the other budget program areas, including a modification of the tax cut plan and some minor scaling down of the military budget. These would tend toward a bringing down of the military budget. On the other hand, the economic situation may be significantly worse than what is projected, which would exert an upward push on deficits. Further, the increasing cuts in social programs to which the bourgeoisie is driven will tend to touch off resistance among the masses, with unforeseeable consequences.

The exact figures are by no means clear. What is clear is the direction of motion and the contradictions facing U.S. imperialism in this area, as its drive to rescue itself through war intensifies and sharpens the underlying crisis which drives it to war in the first place.

How? Why?



## FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICITS



Source: U.S. Treasury Department and Office of Management and Budget  
 \* Through fiscal year 1976 the fiscal year was on a July 1-June 30 basis. Beginning October 1976 (the start of fiscal year 1977), it has been on an October 1-September 30 basis. The 3-month transition quarter from July 1, 1976 through September 30, 1976 does not figure into this graph.

# Trial Battle Imminent for Revolutionary Salvadoran Tour

In the last week the tempo of the government attack on the Salvadoran revolutionaries speaking tour has intensified once again. The trial of the two Salvadorans has now been moved up to Dec. 18 and the trial of the translator and tour facilitator on felony charges of "transporting an illegal alien" is now set for Dec. 21. Just what kind of trial the government has in mind has also become more apparent with actions like the judge's recent denial of the defense attorneys' right to question prospective jurors. The judge ruled that he will do this himself. It is starkly and urgently clear that immediate action is needed to thwart this government attack on revolutionary internationalism. This attempted railroad presents a sharp challenge: to step up and stand decisively with the Salvadorans and the other two tour members against the government's frantic and vicious moves, and to counter the bourgeoisie's attack with a powerful display of internationalist solidarity. A broad and swift response is need-

ed immediately: from statements of protest to the judge to assistance in preparing the legal defense. Of particular importance now is financial support. The judge has denied the defendants' "indigent" status, using the twisted logic that money which was previously donated and loaned to meet their exorbitant bail demands is proof that the defense has no real financial need. This is far from the reality of the situation.

Contributions should be sent to:  
Salvadoran Tour Legal Defense  
717 South Houston, Suite 404  
Tulsa, OK 74124

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

## A Showdown Is Coming!

Continued from page 13

Caribbean, the people of the world for their rights is all one struggle, and I'm happy to be part of it. Thank you.

**Archie Fire Lame Deer:** I want to say that there is no need for embarrassment. First of all, not by me. As most of you understand, I am a Chief of the Rosebud Sioux today. And as Chief of the Rosebud Sioux, the way things work out, it's always for the better. For many years I was the same way towards my white brothers and my white sisters. Until I found that in struggle for freedom, everywhere in the world, it is a necessity that the Black, the Red, the Yellow and white must come together to be free. Thank you.

**Conrad Lynn:** I am happy to echo the sentiments that have just been expressed on the essential need for unity of all the forces who want a better life for the great masses of people of the world. The strongest aid the United States imperialist government now has for its continued rule here and its domination elsewhere in the world is a division amongst the people whose real destiny is to overthrow that government. The main efforts of the United States government today, as it has been in the past, is to keep us divided through the myriad ways that the ruling class has to make people feel that the suffering brought on by this declining system of capitalism is really brought on by your neighbor who needs a job just like you need a job. I think it's just a wonderfully fortuitous occasion today that we have the Native Americans, the Blacks, the whites and all other elements in the hemisphere represented here today so that we can come to a resolve for a united struggle.

**Virginia Wohl:** Having had the chance to speak with you, I wonder if you could talk about what happened to you and the other women that you were in prison with. Also, the condition of Albizu Campos when he was finally released.

**Ruth Reynolds:** Yes, I'd wondered how I was going to get a chance to speak about that when I'd already finished my speech. So thank you. The U.S. government, regardless of which party is in power, will stop at nothing in its determination to rule Puerto Rico. And torture is among its weapons. That is true not just of the U.S. government but of any government that would rule a foreign people, or their own people for that matter. While we were in prison we began to hear rumors about the condition of Albizu Campos. There were five of us women. The other political prisoners were all men. There were

eight of us, but there were five of us who were sometimes together in San Juan. Three were kept in Arecibo most of the time. But we knew that Albizu Campos was in extremely poor health. A man who has been hospitalized for a heart ailment for two and one-half years, and who has been leading a political fight subsequently for two or three years, is not in a good position to take prison life. The circumstances were pretty rugged. We knew for example that his diet of rice and beans and nothing else was not what his doctor would recommend. And before we were in prison, the custom had always been that family and friends could take food to a prisoner, so it was possible to have a healthy diet. But shortly before the crackdown, it was decided that we were to be denied this privilege. Albizu Campos could not live very long on just a diet of rice and beans. No vitamins. There was not a piece of fruit brought into that prison. No vitamins from one year to the next.

We women decided the only thing we could do was go on a hunger strike. Well, we suddenly realized that the cell we were in had ears and everything we said was known by the authorities. So we were sent back to Arecibo before the hunger strike could begin.

Albizu Campos' bad health was not due only to the poor diet. We soon learned that there were eruptions on his legs, hands, two or three inches wide above his ankles and for which there was no physical cause at all. These became so painful that he had to have cold packs on them all the time, night and day, and word started going out of prison that Albizu Campos was crazy, that he'd become paranoid, that he thought he was being abused. By the time I was released, the word in Puerto Rico was that Don Pedro was losing his mind. It was in the papers and among the general populace because nobody could understand how there could be burns on a man's legs when they don't know how they could have got there.

Well, Don Pedro was released through a government pardon. But it just so happened that it occurred while our friend Mr. Lynn was filing a habeas corpus for Don Pedro's release. When he came out of prison, it was in pictures in the newspapers, he had burns above both ankles and the doctor who saw him that day said that they were burns due to unknown cause. Don Pedro's wife was living in Cuba at that time. She found a radiologist, Dr. Orlando Baummy, in Cuba who went to Puerto Rico to examine him. I met him in Puerto Rico and had quite a conversa-

## Reader's Fund Raising Proposal

*Recently we received the following letter and wholeheartedly agree with the author's sentiments concerning the importance of on-going financial support of the Party and its press. We encourage readers to consider the letter's specific suggestions, as well as develop other ways and means to take up this urgent task and welcome correspondence in relation to it—editor.*

October 26, 1981

To the RW

I am writing this letter as a challenge to all people who  
— stand with the heroic people of El Salvador, Azania, and Northern Ireland who are rising against imperialism,  
— fight against oppression  
— stand with revolution in the U.S.A.,  
— and want a bright future for their children and future generations.  
Generally we must earn some income to maintain our lives and our families' lives.

If we can make a small sacrifice for revolution, then the only party which can lead a successful revolution will be able to strengthen itself, grow, and build its ties to the proletariat and the masses.

Without the Revolutionary Communist Party, there will be no chance of a successful revolution in the U.S.!

I call upon the R.C.P. to initiate *Revolutionary Wages Day* for each month, so that 1 day be set aside (every month) to give one day's wages (or a substantial portion) to the Revolutionary Communist Party and the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Also I would like to suggest that the *RW* open up a discussion and struggle about finances for the *RW* and the RCP.

Build the RCP! Give 1 Day's Wages to the RCP! Without the Revolutionary Communist Party there can be no revolution!

D.M.

tion with him, because though I'm not from Missouri, I'm from South Dakota and we're just as stubborn there, so I kept asking this man because he said these burns were similar to those found in cancer patients suffering from overdoses of radiation. That doctor took a piece of film in a completely dark room and with a paper clip taped it to Don Pedro's legs and the shape of that paper clip appeared on that film. I'm told that indicates radiation. We sent a geiger counter down. A very simple one. Kids use them to search for uranium in the hills. In the outer rooms of the apartment where Albizu Campos lived, the geiger counter started ticking slowly. When they entered the room where he was lying, it began to tick very rapidly, and when it was put next to Albizu Campos' body, it broke.

So that is the kind of evidence we have. Don Pedro believed himself that he was being attacked by atomic radiation. People didn't believe him. But today people no longer say that it's impossible. We sent someone to see Joliot Curie in Paris, the son of Eva Curie. And he said France could not do it, but theoretically it is possible, and Russia or America could have the equipment to do it. Don Pedro, when released,

could barely raise his head. He said he had had heat applied to the back of his neck.

I believe that people everywhere who are under repression or know people who are should try to find out whether there is any similar experience anywhere else. We haven't learned of any yet.

Now I was asked to speak about things that happened to us women in prison. What happened to us was much more mild but similar in nature. At times you feel what is like an electric shock, on any part of your body. And at times it is so strong that it paralyzes you for the time being. Lolita Lebrón told me she felt similar things when she was in prison in Alderson, West Virginia. These things have not been talked about because people thought we were crazy. We didn't see that we would be any great use in the world if we were known to have fantasies and illusions. Yet four out of the eight women experienced this. We were all different backgrounds and personalities. For all to imagine the same thing would be extremely rare. If any people in any movement have similar experience, we would like to compare data. That kind of thing should not be left unknown, as it has been left for too long. Thank you.

# MAO TSETUNG'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

by Bob Avakian

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Mao on Lushan Mountain

## ROAMS THE WORLD

Continued from page 1

The only "Libyan" hit ever specifically charged to have been carried out in the U.S. was by one Mr. Tafoya—a red-blooded American boy whose trial ended on December 4. He was charged with the shooting of an anti-Qaddafi Libyan in Denver, Colorado. Tafoya's entire defense rested on his claim that he was sent by the CIA to "rough up" the Libyan man. Tafoya not surprisingly is well connected with Masters Wilson and Terpil who have been the subject of much recent exposure. And despite the polite phrases learned in Washington, D.C. such as "former agents" and "rogue agents", one did not have to look far to find that, after their supposed discharge, Wilson and Terpil and Company were doing private contracting on behalf of and with the knowledge of the CIA (such as with the Chilean secret police DINA). At least one active-duty Green Beret was given leave by his commanding officer to go to Libya to work for Wilson and Terpil.

Thus, the CIA is certainly well appointed to talk about hit squads.

#### Threats Mount

By week's end, the portent of a major announcement from the White House loomed, and it was clear that more foul deeds from the U.S. imperialists were at hand, accompanied by increasingly bitter in-fighting in the imperialist ruling class. As we go to press, the latest threatening order from the capitol was released calling on all the Americans in Libya to clear out, accompanied by the long promised "evidence" of the hit squad—a series of mangled drawings and photographs which looked like potatoes covered with nylon stockings. Along with the increased pitch of threats against Libya, the week had seen an escalating campaign of exposures and counter-exposures in the bourgeois press, several emergency national security meetings and the abrupt cancellation of long scheduled Congressional hearings on Libya.

There was wide speculation that Reagan's announcement would involve an economic embargo of Libya. Most of the Americans recalled from Libya hold key technical positions in the Libyan oil fields, and the call to come home was greeted by public speculation from so-called international oil consultants about the effects of such a

withdrawal on Libyan oil production. The *New York Times* greeted the possible oil embargo by calling it a wet noodle. Indeed, judging by the failure of the economic embargo against Iran, it was widely suggested that an oil embargo against Libya would face great difficulties, particularly in Europe. At the same time, the dubious success of such an embargo was coupled with threats that more direct action was in the cards, if not immediately, then in the near future. The remarks by ABC *Nightline's* Mr. Koppel, a well schooled hit man in state department reportage, comparing the current situation with the Gulf of Tonkin incident, were (like the wet noodle analogy) double-edged—both skeptical and threatening. It was quite clear that, having gone this far out on the limb, the U.S. imperialists would have to create something to show for it, and that it was viewed in imperialist quarters as a necessary but very risky business.

The mounting crescendo against Libya, including the shooting down of two Libyan planes in the Gulf of Sidra, have made clear that for the imperialist powers Libya has become a focal point of maneuvering and contention in the intensifying preparations for war and they are indeed forced to take risks. Haig's remarks from Belgium that the current developments should not be

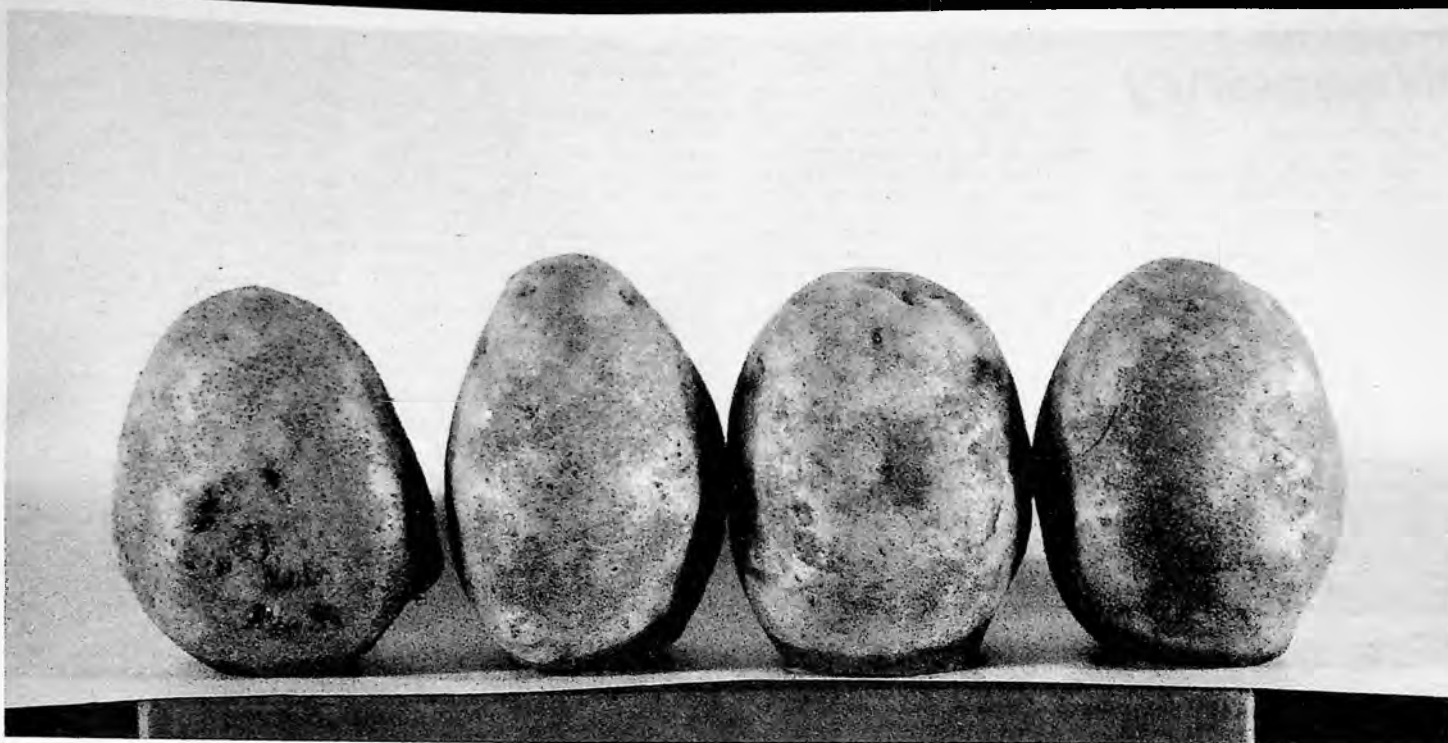
construed as a persecution of Libya is a lie so obvious it amounts to boasting. And his remarks that the U.S. did not seek or count on the support of their Western European allies were also double-edged. More to the point is that the U.S. imperialists aim to force the question of Libya to a head, and drag their allies along, like it or not.

#### Libya a Focus

While a thorough analysis of the whole situation regarding why Libya has become such a focus is beyond the scope of this article, there are a number of life and death strategic questions for U.S. imperialism coming to a head over Libya and an increasing urgency in Washington to either force Qaddafi to their camp or replace him. (It was quite interesting on the eve of the big announcement that an amendment to the new foreign aid bill in Congress, which called for cutting off foreign aid to Libya, was voted down. U.S. imperialism clearly wants and plans to have a future in Libya, with or more likely without Qaddafi.)

Right at the top of the U.S. imperialists' list of Qaddafi's "crimes" are his attempts to block the consummation of the Camp David Agreements and the realization of a pro-U.S. strategic alliance in the Middle East, an

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Dec. 10, 1981. In response to charges of vague and unsubstantiated claims about Libyan hit squads in the U.S., Washington revealed startling new and detailed evidence of Libyan plans to assassinate top American leaders by releasing previously classified photos and specific descriptions of some of the suspected hit men (see photos above). They were flashed on TV screens throughout the country in hopes of dispelling once and for all doubts about the authenticity of what the U.S. states is a serious threat to its security from the Libyan aggressors. We have learned that since the release of this strikingly precise and extensive information, government agencies have been deluged with alarmed reports from vigilant citizens spotting these rogues in several parts of the country. Produce departments in a number of supermarkets in major metropolitan areas have reported sighting "scores of Libyan hit men" congregating right in their stores. Though some of these reports could be false, police and other authorities are taking no chances as flak-jacketed SWAT teams have been rushed to the locations of these sightings. One produce manager was hospitalized and treated for shock after he was reportedly surrounded by a large group of the assassins hiding in burlap bags. In hysterics, his only words were, "They were all around me; they were all over the place." Additional reports are coming in from Idaho that another group of Libyan hit men is now "laying low" in the Idaho underground. These latest developments are being taken "extremely seriously" by the government and offer still more positive proof that U.S. charges against Libya are well founded.

## ROAMS THE WORLD

Continued from page 16

issue of great concern to the U.S. From the beginning Qaddafi has been the loudest voice in the "rejectionist front" those Arab states opposing an Israeli-Arab detente—which would be an alliance under U.S. domination and at the expense of the Palestinians and directed at the Soviet bloc. Most crucial at the moment to the U.S. are maneuvers to force a split in the PLO and acceptance by Arafat of the Saudi "peace plan." While the Saudi royalty labors in the U.S. (and its own) interests to create a political climate among the Arab upper classes which would permit some sort of tacit acceptance of a permanent Zionist state, Qaddafi has been working double time toward the opposite end, denouncing the Saudis and shipping financial and military support to those factions of the PLO (which is a coalition of organizations) which oppose capitulation to the U.S. plan. In Washington's vocabulary, "Qaddafi's support for international terrorism" is little more than a code phrase for Qaddafi's support for the PLO.

The extent of the "Qaddafi problem" was graphically demonstrated a few weeks ago when the meeting of the Arab League in Fez, Morocco, which was supposed to take up the Saudi "peace proposal," couldn't even convene as Qaddafi and 4 other Arab heads of state ostentatiously refused to even attend, forcing many of

the remaining leaders to either back off or come off openly looking like lackeys of U.S. imperialism (which in fact many of them are).

Libya's strategic location, bordering on 6 other African countries, especially Egypt and Sudan, has also been a major source of distress to Washington. The forced retirement of good soldier Sadat, who was gunned down as his American trained bodyguards suddenly took a powder, may have been overall a "godsend" for U.S. strategy (Sadat's isolation in the Arab world being almost complete), but it was also a move filled with grave risks as the Egyptian masses were not exactly consumed with grief. Openly claiming the mantle of Nasser (he places pictures of Nasser next to his own all over Libya), Qaddafi publicly gloated over Sadat's death, called on the Egyptian masses to follow his leadership and continues to harbor any and all Egyptian dissidents. So menacing did Libya's political influence in Egypt and Sudan appear to the U.S. that they were forced to engage in the almost absurd action of flying B-52 bombers non-stop from North Dakota to lay down a none-too-subtle message at the Egyptian-Libyan border.

The Libyan intervention in the civil war in Chad provided an opportunity for U.S. propaganda mills to scream "imperialist," yet what this action and the subsequent signing of the Libya, Ethiopia, South Yemen Mutual Defense Treaty exposed was the extreme instability of the U.S. client regime in Sudan and the French neocolony of Niger. While the U.S. war bloc won a victory of sorts by France's wooing of Chadian president Goukouni out from under Libya, they did not do as well as they hoped in the propaganda war in Africa (where Qaddafi is scheduled to head the OAU in 1982), as Qaddafi immediately withdrew Libyan troops from Chad upon Goukouni's request.

Another key aspect for the Qaddafi

problem for Washington is the storage in Libya of vast quantities of Soviet military equipment, far more than Libya itself has the capability to operate with its small 60,000 man army. The presence of thousands of tanks maintained by Soviet technicians amounts to the prepositioning in Libya of equipment for a Soviet Middle East rapid deployment force. And it must be remembered that not only is Libya strategically located in the Middle East, but control of Libya is important to control of the Mediterranean, as the U.S. imperialists demonstrated with a calculated vengeance at the Gulf of Sidra.

Henry Schuler, one of the so-called "international oil consultants" with a long history in Libyan affairs, commented that the danger in Libya is both that the Soviet Union is "entrenched" there and that "Libya has the wherewithal to subvert U.S. and Western interests around the world." What he really meant by that sheds some light on both the problems and the pressing necessity of the U.S. imperialists to move against Qaddafi. Certainly, the above mentioned weapons stockpile is a key aspect of the "entrenchment" which concerns hitmen like Schuler and those he works for. But Qaddafi's relationship with the Soviets, while politically tight, cannot exactly be described as "Soviet puppet." The abundance of oil in Libya has accorded Qaddafi's regime a relative freedom which regimes on the Soviet dole, like Cuba and Vietnam, cannot enjoy. Without either commanding military or financial leverage, the Soviet Union has held back from a full commitment to a Qaddafi it cannot control and is perhaps somewhat wary of. Libya is not locked into the same standard 30-year "treaty of friendship and cooperation" with the Soviet Union that Syria, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, and so on have, although Libya recently signed a mutual defense pact with Ethiopia and

South Yemen.

The Libya-Soviet connection poses a range of problems that the U.S. doesn't like to discuss as it beats the "terrorism" drums. In 1981, for example, the U.S. will buy \$7.1 billion worth of oil from Libya while selling Libya only \$700,000 worth of goods in return. The Soviet Union, that "natural ally of the oppressed and colonized people," provides weapons to Libya only on a "hard currency" cash in advance basis, just as the Soviets did with Egypt a decade ago. The Soviets then take these U.S. dollars back into the Western market to buy up strategic materials and high technology products to boost Soviet military production (much as Japan bought critical materials from the U.S. before World War 2). This U.S.-Libya-Soviet Union trade triangle, which is itself a vivid exposure of imperialism, drives the U.S. imperialists up the wall; nonetheless it's all part of their system at work.

Libyan oil money is also invested in Western Europe, particularly in Italy, a weak link in the NATO alliance. For example, Libya now owns 10% of the Fiat automobile company. With a Libyan representative on the Fiat board, Fiat has engaged in labor settlements in league with the revisionist Italian Communist Party, a major bourgeois political and financial power in Italy. Fiat also has built a string of auto plants in Poland and the Soviet Union (the Soviet Lada is just a Fiat with a different name plate). All of this points out the complex inter-relationships between the Western and Eastern blocs, and since it can hardly be said that Libya qualifies as an imperialist power, it is in this light that remarks by international consultant Henry Schuler about Libya's worldwide influence must be taken.

While the Libyan hit squad story had all the markings of a product of the CIA fantasy farm, the concern of U.S. imperialism over the Libyan problem is deadly serious business. □



# Peace Weaponry

Continued from page 5

he has revealed all about the "concerns" of the Soviet ruling class for this same "security," contractual agreement or not. Neither superpower has any great love for the imperialists in Europe, or anywhere else for that matter, nor do the U.S.' allies have anything but the loyalty of thieves to the U.S. — a loyalty based on common opposition to the Soviet bloc. Certainly none of these guys are moved in the slightest by the hackneyed phrases about "reducing tensions," etc., being spewed out for public consumption. None gives a damn about any country's "sovereignty" save their own and least of all the sovereignty of the oppressed

nations. Brezhnev's statement, and similar ones by the U.S., just express the real deal straight-up, "Listen, we got all these nukes and we are very concerned about our 'defense' (read: redividing the world in our favor) and you better be, too, because we can blow your ass to smithereens." Clearly, none of these monsters has even the slightest bit of hesitation, or remorse, when it comes to killing tens of millions of people worldwide with nukes or any other type of weapons. Such is the reality behind all this nuclear diplomacy.

The imperialists deserve to be thanked for this latest demonstration of nuclear peacemanship around the Geneva talks, for they have provided an excellent example of the kind of diplomatic jockeying that is going to be happening all the way up to, and through, the actual outbreak of world war. There are going to be more and more feverish maneuvers on the

diplomatic battlefield. It is especially important to each imperialist bloc, and that includes each imperialist country within them, (the Western European imperialists included) that the other guy is painted as the aggressor and the cause for the war which they all need desperately to fight, and most importantly to win. As one Pentagon spokesman remarked sometime ago: "Given the political situation in Western Europe, we would do all we could to put the Russians in the role of aggressor, which would probably mean waiting for them to attack first. However, especially if there was fighting going on in some other part of the world, the distinction between who attacked first is significantly blurred and you could not rule out some sort of pre-emptive or disruptive strike by our side." Substitute Americans for Russians in the above statement and you have the Soviets' view.

Here is the inner logic of the absurdity and madness of the "nuclear theatre" being performed in Geneva by the likes of Paul Nitze and Yuli A. Kvitinsky, MBFR and SALT I ties and all. Whatever agreements are made there, or in possible SALT talks or START talks that transpire in the future, one thing is certain, they will simply be part of setting the terms for war. And these war powers have absolutely no intentions of limiting their arsenals, most especially their nuclear forces. These must be expanded and refined at an evermore feverish pace. As Nitze most aptly put it once, "In important crises, the shadow of superiority at the highest level of potential violence does make a difference." Ah, spoken like a true man of peace and one eminently qualified to be a "peace negotiator" for the imperialists. □

# Death By Fire

Continued from page 4

up Filberto, Albizu and the body of Maria. No ambulance arrived until later.

Margarita Flores, her husband and her 2-year-old daughter, Noemee, were occupants of the back apartment on the

third floor of the burning building. They were also at a window screaming for help. Firemen on the ground yelled to her, "Don't jump, just stay there," but the firefighters were nonchalantly unloading water hoses and did not make any attempt to get people out of the building until after the Saucedo-Ramirez family had jumped.

When they finally raised a ladder to the window bay, Margarita's husband saw that the hooks were not properly secured on the ledge. Just as soon as

Margarita and her child got on the ladder, it swiveled and collapsed, plunging both Noemee and her mother to the ground. Then the firemen dropped Margarita from the stretcher as they attempted to lift her into an ambulance.

Both small children are still hospitalized. Albizu suffered a skull fracture and Noemee may have brain damage from smoke inhalation and scalp lacerations. Filberto Ramirez and Margarita Flores were hospitalized for a few weeks and were recently released. Filberto had scalp wounds and severe heat burns, while Margarita had a broken collar bone and other injuries.

Despite demands for a full investigation into the actions of the Fire Department by the Maria Saucedo Fire Fund, the authorities consider the case closed. As far as they are concerned, there is nothing to investigate. Chief Pagni, in charge at the scene of the blaze, told the RW, "The men did a fantastic job. They rescued six people." He refused further comment. The official cause of the fire is listed as "undetermined."

A detective from the Police Bomb and Arson Unit was sent to hear the charges of the Pilsen residents during a very heated and stormy meeting. Among other things, they demanded to know why firemen from the hose truck, the first vehicle on the scene, failed to follow Fire Department procedure, which supposedly requires that all efforts to save lives by raising ladders or the use of nets must be the first priority.

According to this cop, there was no problem — the firemen had reacted flawlessly. The response time, he insisted, was not the 10-15 minutes witnesses had claimed, but a lightning two minutes and 38 seconds. As regards the procedure of deploying hoses first, the detective didn't deny this, but in fact defended it as "part of the life-saving procedure." He admitted that all trucks are equipped with nets, but that "People get hurt without training in jumping on a net." As all hell broke loose, he sputtered, "You can't save everyone."

But this light dismissal of the death of Maria Saucedo — and all the other lies and excuses surrounding the fire of November 12 — has engendered a memory and an anger which the authorities will find difficult to dismiss in the future. □

cos as president after the latest of his phony elections. In his speech, Bush praised Marcos for his "adherence to democratic principles and democratic processes." This pulled at the rug under the feet of Aquino and others, who attack Marcos precisely on the basis that he violates "standards of Jeffersonian democracy." On a smaller scale, the Mayor of San Francisco, where there is a large Filipino population, recently visited Manila on a "trade and cultural" tour. News wire photos pictured her toasting Marcos, and she declared upon returning from her trip that "What I saw was progress." Then in September, negotiations got under way for a U.S.-Philippines Extradition Treaty. The treaty is now up for ratification in both countries. And finally, there is the Lovely case and the threats of grand jury indictments against the U.S.-based opposition leaders.

The U.S., however, does not want to ice out the bourgeois opposition completely. In fact, the U.S. needs some kind of bourgeois anti-Marcos (but still pro-U.S.) force to exist and act as the "legitimate" opposition. Without such a force, the wavering middle strata will be pulled even further toward the left. Furthermore, the U.S. needs to keep some options on hand in case the Marcos regime should fall (it is also rumored widely that Marcos' health is rapidly deteriorating). Aquino, for instance, has been given some platforms to air his views, as in the House subcommittee hearings mentioned earlier in this article. In this light, it is not at all inconceivable that the U.S. authorities might have truly expected Lovely to renege on his testimony once he was out of Marcos' clutches, intending to raise but not actually carry out the threats of grand jury indictments in order to warn Aquino and others to stay well within the bounds of U.S. interests.

Although those like Aquino do have contradictions with Marcos (and therefore their actions are sometimes not in the best U.S. interests), they are, after all, very much in the U.S. camp. Thus there is hope at the top that the recent pressure tactics will be sufficient to make them toe the line accurately. But it is a measure of the seriousness of the world situation — and inside the Philippines the growing military strength of the insurgents — that these measures are not likely to work even on these basically loyal bourgeois forces (at least for very long).

In a related development, Marcos has recently stated that the main outside support for the CPP and its military arm, the New People's Army, comes no longer from "socialist" countries but from North America and Europe. (In a bid to improve relations with a number of reactionary regimes in the region, the revisionist rulers of the People's Republic of China have publicly disclaimed any support for the anti-government insurgencies in the Philippines and other pro-U.S. Southeast Asian countries). While the Lovely case and the new extradition treaty, as well as the praise for Marcos' "adherence to democratic principles," are on one level aimed at the bourgeois opposition, these moves could very well be laying the groundwork for more open attacks, including grand jury investigations, on the supporters of the Filipino left in the U.S.

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# Marcos' Foes

Continued from page 4

risky to engineer Marcos' fall or force him to step down in order to replace him with less exposed — although still pro-U.S. — forces. For example, political turmoil created by such a sudden change might open up cracks for further growth of the left. Even such things as the A6LM bombings, while not at all intended to overthrow the regime, have dangerous repercussions, given the tremendous difficulties that Marcos is having. In the recent months, the U.S. has been putting some heat on the bourgeois opposition to cool down their activities. In June of this year, Vice President Bush was sent to Manila to attend the "inauguration" of Mar-

# Lenin

Continued from page 7

the people are following and will follow the Bolsheviks is shameful vacillation and in practice is the abandoning of all the principles of proletarian revolutionism, the complete renunciation of Bolshevism.

-----

*"We are not strong enough to seize power, and the bourgeoisie is not strong enough to hinder the convening of the Constituent Assembly."*

The first part of this argument is a simple paraphrase of the preceding one. It does not gain in strength or power of conviction, when the confusion of its authors and their fear of the bourgeoisie are expressed in terms of pessimism in respect of the workers and optimism in respect of the bourgeoisie. If the officer cadets and the Cossacks say that they will fight against the Bolsheviks to the last drop of blood, this deserves full credence; if, however, the workers and soldiers at hundreds of meetings express full confidence in the Bolsheviks and affirm their readiness to defend the transfer of power to the Soviets, then it is "timely" to recall that voting is one thing and fighting another!

If you argue like that, of course, you "refute" the possibility of an uprising. But, we may ask, in what way does this peculiarly orientated "pessimism" with its peculiar urge differ from a political shift to the side of the bourgeoisie?

Look at the facts. Remember the Bolshevik declarations, repeated thousands of times and now "forgotten" by our pessimists. We have said thousands of times that the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies are a force, that they are the vanguard of the revolution, that they can take power. Thousands of times have we upbraided the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries for phrase-mongering about the "plenipotentiary organs of democracy" accompanied by fear to transfer power to the Soviets.

And what has the Kornilov revolt proved? It has proved that the Soviets are a real force.

And, now, after this has been proved by experience, by facts, we are expected to repudiate Bolshevism, deny ourselves, and say that we are not strong enough (although the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow and a majority of the provincial Soviets are on the side of the Bolsheviks)! Are these not shameful vacillations? As a matter of fact, our "pessimists" are abandoning the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets", though they are afraid to admit it.

How can it be proved that the bourgeoisie are not strong enough to hinder the calling of the Constituent Assembly?

If the Soviets have not the strength to overthrow the bourgeoisie, this means the latter are strong enough to prevent the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, for there is nobody else to stop them. To trust the promises of Kerensky and Co., to trust the resolutions of the servile Pre-parliament — is this worthy of a member of a proletarian party and a revolutionary?

Not only has the bourgeoisie strength enough to hinder the convocation of the Constituent Assembly if the present government is not overthrown, but it can also achieve this result indirectly by surrendering Petrograd to the Germans, laying open the front, increasing lockouts, and sabotaging deliveries of foodstuffs. It has been proved by facts that the bourgeoisie have already been partly doing this, which means that they are capable of doing it to the full extent, if the workers and soldiers do not overthrow them.

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*"The Soviets must be a revolver pointed at the head of the government with the demand to convene the Constituent Assembly and stop all Kornilov plots."*

This is how far one of the two sad pessimists has gone.

He had to go that far, for to reject

the uprising is the same as rejecting the slogan "All Power to the Soviets".

Of course, a slogan is "not sacred"; we all agree to that. But then why has no one raised the question of changing this slogan (in the same way as I raised the question after the July days)? Why be afraid to say it openly, when the Party, since September, has been discussing the question of the uprising, which is now the only way to realise the slogan "All Power to the Soviets".

There is no way for our sad pessimists to turn. A renunciation of the uprising is a renunciation of the transfer of power to the Soviets and implies a "transfer" of all hopes and expectations to the kind bourgeoisie, which has "promised" to convoke the Constituent Assembly.

Is it so difficult to understand that once power is in the hands of the Soviets, the Constituent Assembly and its success are guaranteed? The Bolsheviks have said so thousands of times and no one has ever attempted to refute it. Everybody has recognised this "combined type", but to smuggle in a renunciation of the transfer of power to the Soviets under cover of the words "combined type", to smuggle it in secretly while fearing to renounce our slogan openly is a matter for wonder. Is there any parliamentary term to describe it?

Someone has very pointedly retorted to our pessimist: "Is it a revolver with no cartridges?" If so, it means going over directly to the Lieberdants, who have declared the Soviets a "revolver" thousands of times and have deceived the people thousands of times. For while they were in control the Soviets proved to be worthless.

If, however, it is to be a revolver "with cartridges", this cannot mean anything but technical preparation for an uprising; the cartridges have to be procured, the revolver has to be loaded — and cartridges alone will not be enough.

Either go over to the side of the Lieberdants and openly renounce the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets", or start the uprising.

There is no middle course.

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*"The bourgeoisie cannot surrender Petrograd to the Germans, although Rodzyanko wants to, for the fighting is done not by the bourgeoisie, but by our heroic sailors."*

This argument again reduces itself to the same "optimism" in respect of the bourgeoisie which is fatally manifested at every step by those who are pessimistic about the revolutionary forces and capabilities of the proletariat.

The fighting is done by the heroic sailors, but this did not prevent two admirals from disappearing before the capture of Esel!

That is a fact and facts are stubborn things. The facts prove that admirals are capable of treachery no less than Kornilov. It is an undisputed fact that Field Headquarters has not been reformed, and that the commanding staff is Kornilovite in composition.

If the Kornilovites (with Kerensky at their head, for he is also a Kornilovite) want to surrender Petrograd, they can do it in two or even in three ways.

First, they can, through an act of treachery on the part of the Kornilovite officers, open the northern land front.

Second, they can "agree" on freedom of action for the entire German navy, which is stronger than we are; they can agree both with the German and the British imperialists. Moreover, the admirals who have disappeared may have delivered the plans to the Germans as well.

Third, they can, by means of lockouts, and by sabotaging the delivery of food, bring our troops to complete desperation and impotence.

Not a single one of these three ways can be denied. The facts have proved that the bourgeois-Cossack party of Russia has already knocked at all three doors and has tried to force open each of them.

What follows? It follows that we

5. A powerful and well-known reactionary in the Kerensky government; president for a time of the State Duma (parliament).

have no right to wait until the bourgeoisie strangle the revolution.

Experience has proved that Rodzyanko's wishes are no trifle. Rodzyanko is a man of affairs. Rodzyanko is backed by capital. This is beyond dispute. Capital is tremendous strength as long as the proletariat do not have power. For decades, Rodzyanko has faithfully and truly carried out the policies of capital.

What follows? It follows that to vacillate on the question of an uprising as the only means to save the revolution means to sink into that cowardly credulity in the bourgeoisie which is half-Lieberdant, Socialist-Revolutionary-Menshevik and half "peasant-like" unquestioning credulity, against which the Bolsheviks have been battling most of all.

Either fold your idle arms on your empty chest, wait and swear "faith" in the Constituent Assembly until Rodzyanko and Co. have surrendered Petrograd and strangled the revolution or start an uprising. There is no middle course.

Even the convocation of the Constituent Assembly does not, in itself, change anything, for no "constituting", no voting by any arch-sovereign assembly will have any effect on the famine, or on Wilhelm.<sup>5</sup> Both the convocation and the success of the Constituent Assembly depend upon the transfer of power to the Soviets. This old Bolshevik truth is being proved by reality ever more strikingly and ever more cruelly.

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*"We are becoming stronger every day. We can enter the Constituent Assembly as a strong opposition; why should we stake everything?"*

This is the argument of a philistine who has "read" that the Constituent Assembly is being called, and who trustingly acquiesces in the most legal, most loyal, most constitutional course.

It is a pity, however, that waiting for the Constituent Assembly does not solve either the question of famine or the question of surrendering Petrograd. This "trifle" is forgotten by the naive or the confused or those who have allowed themselves to be frightened.

The famine will not wait. The peasant uprising did not wait. The war will not wait. The admirals who have disappeared did not wait.

Will the famine agree to wait, because we Bolsheviks proclaim faith in the convocation of the Constituent Assembly? Will the admirals who have disappeared agree to wait? Will the Maklakovs and Rodzyankos agree to stop the lockouts and the sabotaging of grain deliveries, or to denounce the secret treaties with the British and the German imperialists?

This is what the arguments of the heroes of "constitutional illusions" and parliamentary cretinism amount to. The living reality disappears, and what remains is only a paper dealing with the convocation of the Constituent Assembly; there is nothing left but to hold elections.

And blind people are still wondering why hungry people and soldiers betrayed by generals and admirals are indifferent to the elections! Oh, wisecracks!

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*"Were the Kornilovites to start again, we would show them! But why should we take risks and start?"*

This is extraordinarily convincing and revolutionary. History does not repeat itself, but if we turn our backs on it, contemplate the first Kornilov revolt and repeat: "If only the Kornilovites would start!" — if we do that, what excellent revolutionary strategy it would be. How much like a waiting game it is! Maybe the Kornilovites will start again at an inopportune time. Isn't this a "weighty" argument? What kind of an earnest foundation for a proletarian policy is this?

And what if the Kornilovites of the second draft will have learned a thing or two? What if they wait for the hunger riots to begin, for the front to be broken through, for Petrograd to be surrendered, before they begin? What then?

It is proposed that we build the tactics of the proletarian party on the possibility of the Kornilovites' repeating one of their old errors!

6. The German emperor.

Let us forget all that was being and has been demonstrated by the Bolsheviks a hundred times, all that the six months' history of our revolution has proved, namely, that there is no way out, that there is no objective way out and can be none except a dictatorship of the Kornilovites or a dictatorship of the proletariat. Let us forget this, let us renounce all this and wait! Wait for what? Wait for a miracle, for the tempestuous and catastrophic course of events from April 20 to August 29 to be succeeded (due to the prolongation of the war and the spread of famine) by a peaceful, quiet, smooth, legal convocation of the Constituent Assembly and by a fulfilment of its most lawful decisions. Here you have the "Marxist" tactics! Wait, ye hungry! Kerensky has promised to convene the Constituent Assembly.

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*"There is really nothing in the international situation that makes it obligatory for us to act immediately, we would be more likely to damage the cause of a socialist revolution in the West, if we were to allow ourselves to be shot..."*

This argument is truly magnificent: Scheidemann "himself", Renaudel "himself" would not be able to "manipulate" more cleverly the workers' sympathies for the international socialist revolution!

Just think of it: under devilishly difficult conditions, having but one Liebknecht (and he in prison) with no newspapers, with no freedom of assembly, with no Soviets, with all classes of the population, including every well-to-do peasant, incredibly hostile to the idea of internationalism, with the imperialist big, middle, and petty bourgeoisie splendidly organised — the Germans, i.e., the German revolutionary internationalists, the German workers dressed in sailors' jackets, started a mutiny in the navy with one chance in a hundred of winning.

But we, with dozens of papers at our disposal, freedom of assembly, a majority in the Soviets, we, the best situated proletarian internationalists in the world, should refuse to support the German revolutionaries by our uprising. We ought to reason like the Scheidemanns and Renaudels, that it is most prudent not to revolt, for if we are shot, then the world will lose such excellent, reasonable, ideal internationalists!

Let us prove how reasonable we are. Let us pass a resolution of sympathy with the German insurrectionists, and let us renounce the insurrection in Russia. This would be genuine, reasonable internationalism. Imagine how fast world internationalism would blossom forth, if the same wise policy were to triumph everywhere!

The war has fatigued and tormented the workers of all countries to the utmost. Outbursts are becoming frequent in Italy, Germany and Austria. We alone have Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Let us then keep on waiting. Let us betray the German internationalists as we are betraying the Russian peasants, who, not by words but by deeds, by their uprising against the landowners, appeal to us to rise against Kerensky's government...

Let the clouds of the imperialist conspiracy of the capitalists of all countries who are ready to strangle the Russian revolution gather — we shall wait patiently until we are strangled by the rubble! Instead of attacking the conspirators and breaking their ranks by a victory of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, let us wait for the Constituent Assembly, where all international plots will be vanquished by voting, provided Kerensky and Rodzyanko conscientiously convene the Constituent Assembly. Have we any right to doubt the honesty of Kerensky and Rodzyanko? □

(Continued next week)

7. Scheidemann was a leader of the extreme Right-opportunist section of the German Social-Democratic Party (more openly right-wing than Kautsky); Renaudel was a leader of the French Socialist Party. Both were famous for their open social-chauvinism (socialism in words, chauvinist support for their imperialists' war efforts in deeds).

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# CONQUER THE WORLD?

## The International Proletariat Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

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

Its sections are:

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

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

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