



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Israeli Commission Report

Democracy Strikes Again

Democracy has struck again. The Israeli "special commission" charged with "investigating" the massacre of Palestinians at the refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra last fall, has studiously absolved the Israeli government and army of any direct responsibility or prior knowledge of the slaughter. A dose of healthy democratic criticism, however, accompanied the commission's "findings." The government was criticized for "failing to halt" the killings once they came to light. A number of leading officials, including Menachem Begin, were mentioned — but the commission recommends that no action be taken against them. Harsh tones were reserved for Ariel Sharon, who resigned as Defense Minister, only to be immediately rehired as cabinet minister "without portfolio."

And so it is that yet another lesson can be learned by the people of the world about that code word of the imperialist West — democracy. "... the whole process," exclaims the *Washington Post*, "of Israeli reaction to the Beirut massacre is a tribute to the vitality of democracy in Israel and to the country's moral character."

With this, we agree! And what has the "whole process" amounted to? Hundreds of Palestinians murdered in Shatila and Sabra alone, and a slap on the wrist

for the Israeli Defense Minister!

When Zionist involvement in the planning and execution of the slaughter of hundreds of unarmed Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra became too blatantly obvious to conceal, the Begin government was forced to reverse its early opposition to the convening of a special commission — exactly on the grounds that to fail to go through the motions of an "impartial inquiry" would undermine support for Israel and thus be contrary to

its "vital interests." On the other hand, an elaborate charade surrounding an impressive investigation conducted at the Supreme Court level would tend to defuse the issue and even bolster Israel's sublime democratic credentials.

The commission report itself is a combination of feigned, hypocritical indignation and a cover-up of the fact that the massacre had been planned, for a very long time, at the top levels of the Israeli leadership. Israeli military observation

posts actually overlooked the camps while the slaughter took place; Israeli military units provided flares over the camps the night of the butchery so the executioners could hunt down their unarmed victims; the Phalangists passed through Israeli checkpoints in order to get to the camps. The official who ordered the Phalangists into the camps was Israeli Lieutenant-General Eitan; from this fact, volunteered by Eitan

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Statement by the Central Committee of the RCP, USA

On the Execution of 22 Founders, Leaders and Members of the Union of Iranian Communists

The murder of 22 founders, leaders and members of the Union of Iranian Communists at the hands of the Khomeini regime is a vicious and cowardly crime. The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA joins with the torrent of revolutionary outrage from all over the world in condemning it and in extending revolutionary condolences to the Union of Iranian Communists and its members and supporters and to the families of murdered comrades.

The arrest, torture and executions of the UIC members charged with rebelling against the reactionary Islamic order unveils the essence of the so-called liberalization now being undertaken by the Iranian government. The existence of this regime continues to rest upon brutal terror and repression over every sphere of Iranian society, in particular the revolutionary opposition. The attempt to apply

a touch of thin make-up to this fact is proof that the present regime — like the hated Shah before it — is perfectly capable of adapting to the best of Western bourgeois legality and democracy and incorporating this with the ideals of theocracy and medieval reaction that have come to be known as the "Islamic revolution."

The trial and execution of the 22 is part and parcel of the efforts by those ruling Iran today to demonstrate to imperialism, both East and West, that the Islamic Republic is stable and reliable, and that the revolution is over. What better way than the copious spilling of revolutionary blood to symbolize the common strivings of all these reactionaries for a return to imperialist "normality" in Iran?

The forces grouped around Khomeini, like all bourgeois forces leading a revolution, had to ride the revolutionary initiative and energy of the masses in order to

seize power. Of course, they tried to limit and control the revolutionary tide of the masses at every point and to brutally repress it as soon as they had consolidated their grip. But there was indeed a broad and thunderous mass movement in Iran, including mass armed struggle against the old order. This is the genie that the Iranian regime must stuff back into the bottle, and although they may be able to do it partially and temporarily, the swirl and collision of world events, of a magnitude not felt for decades, are bound to unleash this genie even more powerfully in the future.

It is within this context that the January 25, 1982 uprising in Amol struck a blow to the Islamic Republic as well as to the designs of both blocs of imperialists who are clawing at each other for influence and position in Iran and the whole region. Amol was a flame that burned only briefly, but the heroic initia-

tive of the people aroused revolutionary sentiments and the desire for resistance throughout Iran and continues to stand as an inspiration to the proletariat and oppressed the world over. If there are those who would call such action a futile and wrong turn for the movement, we would reply, as Lenin himself did in a different context during a period of pogroms and martial law in Russia in 1906, "It is said that guerrilla acts disorganize our work... What disorganizes the movement more in such a period: the absence of resistance or organized guerrilla warfare?" The regime's execution of founding and leading members of the UIC and others associated with the Amol uprising, an act of bloody revenge carried out near Amol on the anniversary of the uprising, shows the truth of this statement.

In some important ways, the Iranian
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Magician Shakes Up Spirit World

For years, The Amazing Randi, Magician Extraordinaire, had grown increasingly irritated at those who used tricks and deception to stake out a claim to psychic abilities such as clairvoyance (the supposed skill of detecting things out of range of human senses), precognition (foreseeing the future), psychokinesis (moving objects through sheer mental power), talking with spirits of the dead, etc. Randi had also grown quite irritated at the gullibility — and outright complicity — of scientists who support such people and promote pseudo-science.

So, along with two young proteges, Randi launched "Project Alpha." When the results were announced at a press conference in late January, controversy erupted, and Randi himself came under sharp attacks including by the *New York Times*, the *American Psychological*

Association, and others.

Project Alpha began just over three years ago. In 1979 the Chairman of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation donated over half a million dollars to set up a psychic research lab at the prestigious Washington University of St. Louis. It was the largest grant for parapsychological research ever. Randi urged the lab to take on magicians in order to detect deception in the lab—they are, he pointed out, experts in the field. The University pointed out that the lab was headed by a distinguished professor from the physics department. Randi's reply: "The scientists believe they are too smart to be fooled, and so they are the most easily fooled of all."

When the McDonnell Lab refused Randi's offer, he hit on a new tactic: two of his proteges, 17-year-old Michael Ed-

wards and 18-year-old Steve Shaw, presented themselves to the lab as psychics. Over the next three years, the lab spent 120 hours in experimental testing of the youths. The head of the lab, Professor Peter Phillips, told a reporter that "These two kids are the most reliable of the people we've studied." The two youth were written up in the leading scholarly journal in the field, *Research in Parapsychology (RIP)*.

Take a couple of samples of Steve's and Michael's powers. Asked to demonstrate psychokinesis, the two caused keys, forks and other utensils to deform. *RIP* reported, "The experimenters have observed apparent PKMB (psychokinetic metal-bending) on numerous occasions." The two youth later explained how by employing magicians' techniques of distraction they had

simply used leverage in a number of ways to bend the metal objects. Similarly, the McDonnell Lab researchers reported how the two moved a quartz clock by means of PKMB—unaware that Steve had stretched a fine, nearly invisible thread between his thumbs and used it to pull the clock.

As word of this find of the "real thing" spread, the two youths were invited to demonstrate their powers before other parapsychological researchers. The demonstration which most impressed one group, including a biophysicist from the University of Minnesota, was the pair's ability to turn the readings on a digital clock to gibberish; in fact, Michael had managed to briefly cook the clock in a nearby microwave oven. Another resea-

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New Moves Against Defiant Draft Protesters

"The defendant has shown utter disregard for the law—and should be removed from society. The best interests of society and the judicial system are best served by a sentence of two years in prison." So spoke the assistant U.S. Attorney in federal court in Boston as he called for the maximum sentence to be given to Edward Hasbrouck, the 6th draft resister to be convicted for refusing to register for the draft. Hasbrouck, an anarchist pacifist and the founder of MOR (Massachusetts Open Resistance) had been convicted two weeks earlier on December 15 in a highly-charged political trial. As he had throughout the trial, Hasbrouck openly defied the court and vowed to the judge, "If you do not choose to incarcerate me, I give you my word that I will continue to fight against repression and oppression. I will not lose my ability or will to speak out—in or out of prison." He then read a poem entitled *America is preparing for war*. This brought wild applause from supporters in the courtroom. The line, "We will rejoice in the death of America" especially shocked the judicial mummies present.

The court allowed the government prosecutor to respond and have the last word. His remarks succinctly and openly summed up why the rulers have been so intent on convicting Hasbrouck and other open draft resisters and expressed the government's anger and hatred for those who dare to challenge them as Ed Hasbrouck has. He said, "...like all criminals he (Hasbrouck) is a person whose incarceration would have the effect of curbing dissent. Taking Mr. Hasbrouck as a person into account, he is the self-appointed guardian of a group—he has welcomed, ran towards, and embraced his own indictment principally for the greater access to publicity connected with his role...one must see a person who sees himself above the law—even a law unto himself. He thinks the laws of the government and even the whole country itself should be run the way he thinks it should be run." The presiding judge then proceeded to pass sentence of 6 months suspended jail time, two years probation and 1,000 hours of community service to be completed during the probation period.

When Hasbrouck requested that a motion for appeal be filed, the judge shot back, "There is positively no possibility, no chance whatever that an appeal be granted."

The judge had prefaced the sentencing by declaring that his sentence was, of course, completely non-political and that the courtroom was no place for politics. (Mind you this was after he had just allowed the prosecutor to run his reactionary tirade as he had throughout the trial.) "Most people abhor war. There are wide-ranging beliefs on how to prevent war—to the extent that these beliefs are political ideas no debate must be carried on in this courtroom...Constitutionality was never placed before me as an issue." He concluded, "I cannot agree that this offense merits incarceration, unless I wanted to make a political statement. Violent crimes have been dealt with shorter incarceration."

These remarks by the judge, however, revealed just how very political and calculating his decision and sentencing in this case was. They constitute an admission that after the government had gotten the conviction it wanted, they reckoned it would be better not to throw the book at Hasbrouck at that point and make the conviction look too much like the blatant political attack that it was. However, as subsequent events have shown, the government was undoubtedly even then preparing to get Ed Hasbrouck in jail any way they could, as well as step up their harassment and persecution of anti-draft protesters in the Boston area generally.

On January 24th, less than two weeks after Ed's sentencing, they struck with a vengeance. At the arraignment of 3 peo-

ple who had chained themselves to the courthouse doors on the day of Ed's original trial in solidarity with Hasbrouck and other draft resisters, they made their move. Fifteen federal marshalls entered the courtroom and sealed it off to institute a search for anti-draft stickers that had appeared in the courtroom on that day. After a backroom conference between the marshalls and the judge, the three being arraigned were taken into a separate room for their hearing. At the end of the arraignment, a man in plain clothes went to the front of the room and said, "We are going to take everyone out and search you all." When Ed asked by whose authority, the unidentified man replied, "by my authority" and then, pointing to Hasbrouck, said, "Take him first." The marshalls grabbed Ed and a woman who was one of the three being arraigned and dragged them out into the hallway and began to beat Ed. In the process of the marshalls beating Ed, slamming his head against the wall, the woman put her hand on his head to cover the blows and said, "Don't hit him he hasn't done anything wrong" at which point she was grabbed from behind, thrown to the floor and was cuffed herself. Both were taken into custody. The two were held until six that evening during which time the marshalls were busy trying to decide what to charge them with. They finally chose assault on a federal officer and set bail for \$2500.

After the bust, the prosecutor made it a point to call the press and tell them how to report what had happened. The media followed his instructions. The stories the next day, including a feature story on a local news section of a major radio sta-

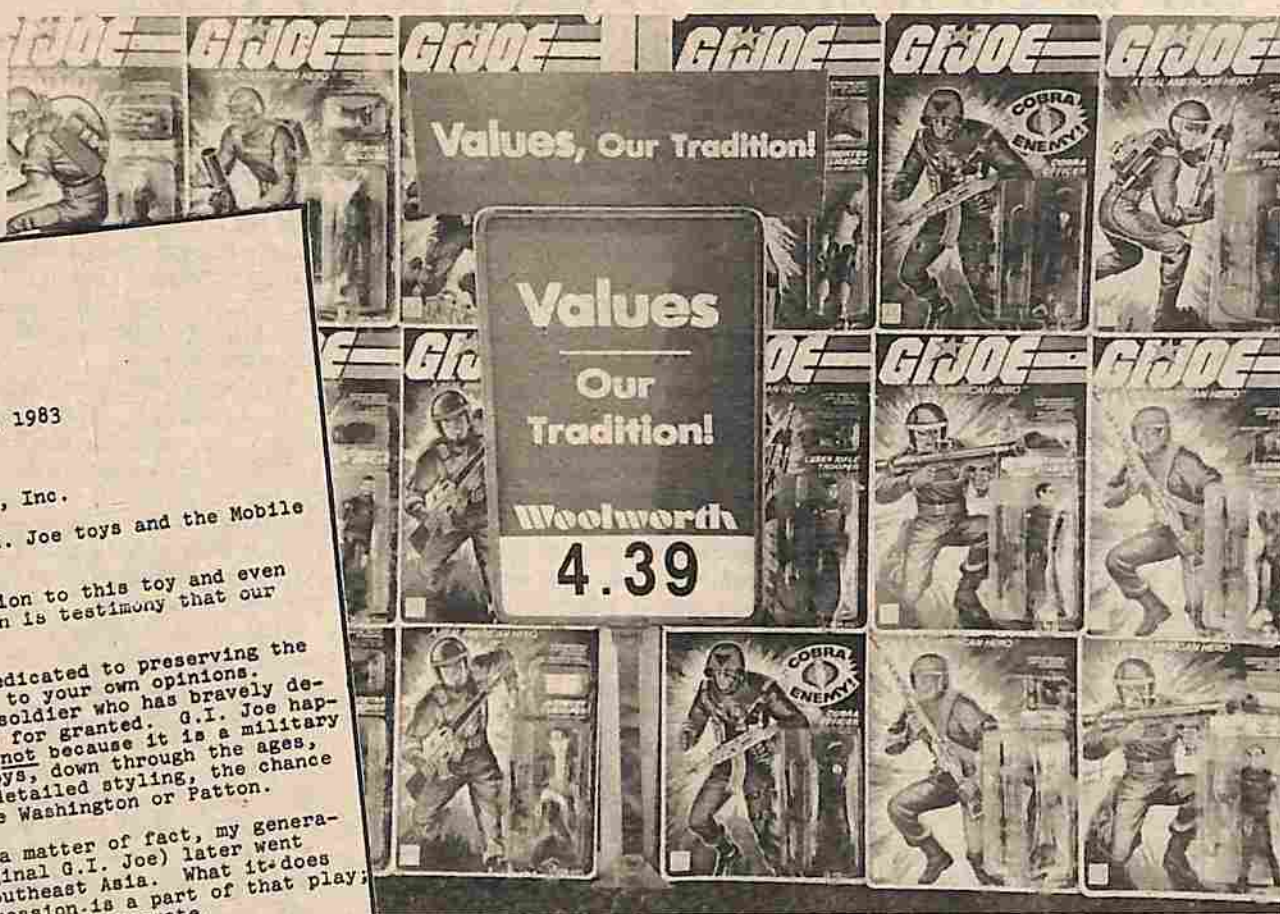
tion were as follows: "Ed Hasbrouck, the first Massachusetts man to be convicted for refusing to register for the draft was arrested for assault on an officer." PERIOD. And when Hasbrouck called the different press people who were responsible for parroting these police-written reports, a number refused to even talk to him, and not one of them has ever attempted to call him or others who witnessed the marshalls' assault.

The next day Ed's probation officer made a point of letting him know that if he was convicted on the assault charges his probation would be revoked. She also notified him that the court had not started him serving his 1,000 hours community service time because if he is convicted of the assault charge he'll have to serve jail time anyway for both charges. No dates have been set for court cases.

In addition to this vengeful attack, further jailings of anti-draft protesters in the Boston area were in the works. Also on January 24th, the prior convictions of the Boston 18 were upheld and all 18 were ordered to jail to serve 30 day sentences for "failing to obey the direction of a federal protective officer, and creating certain disturbances in federal buildings." The Boston 18 were arrested on January 5, 1981 during the first day of draft registration while participating in a sit-in at the entrance of the Boston post office. They were first tried in January of 1981. They were quickly convicted and given the maximum sentence of these federal charges; 30 days in jail and a \$50 fine. Both before and after their conviction the

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From the Maker of G.I. Joe



HASBRO INDUSTRIES, INC.
1027 NEWPORT AVENUE
PAWTUCKET, RHODE ISLAND 02861 U.S.A.
TELEPHONE (401) 726-4100
TELEX: 827-754

January 17, 1983

TO: Signers of Petition Re: Hasbro Industries, Inc.
I read with interest your petition regarding G.I. Joe toys and the Mobile Missile System in particular.
The fact that you can freely voice your opposition to this toy and even organize people to express their dissatisfaction is testimony that our American system of democracy works.

The G.I. Joe team is an anti-terrorist force dedicated to preserving the American way of life and protecting your right to your own opinions. G.I. Joe symbolically represents the American soldier who has bravely defended our right... rights we so often take for granted. G.I. Joe happens to be the leading boys toy this year - not because it is a military toy, but because it represents things young boys, down through the ages, have looked for in toys: action, adventure, detailed styling, the chance to act like a hero. Be it King Arthur, George Washington or Patton.
G.I. Joe doesn't teach boys to love war. As a matter of fact, my generation (the generation who played with the original G.I. Joe) later went on to protest and eventually stop a war in Southeast Asia. What it does is offer boys a chance to play, and yes, aggression is a part of that play; but it is aggression directed at toys not at another playmate.

I would also like to clear up a misconception regarding the Mobile Missile System about which you petitioned. This toy bears no resemblance to the MX Missile System. It is based on the Army's Hawk Missile System and is designed to defend G.I. Joe from tank or plane attack--something we stress in our G.I. Joe folder. Nowhere do we state or imply that its Patriot missiles have nuclear warheads.
Hasbro is a toy company with a great sense of commitment to its customers, you, and your children. We work hard on the development of good product, and we annually contribute over a half million dollars to organizations and needy causes serving the growth and development of America's children.

Sincerely,
STEPHEN SCHWARTZ, INC.
Stephen Schwartz
Stephen Schwartz
Senior V.P. Marketing

SS/s1.

To the RW,
I attended an anti-nuke meeting in preparation for the action at Vandenberg a few months ago. A couple of people were distributing a petition against Hasbro which manufactures GI Joe toys and the Mobile Missile system, which they said was modeled after the MX. I recently received this letter in reply; it sounds like something someone might have made up as a parody, but it is really authentic.

a reader.

Statement by Members of the UIC on the Executions in Amol

On January 25, 1983 at 9:00 p.m. under the strictest security, Khomeini's reactionary regime executed a group of founders, leaders and members of the Union of Iranian Communists. These brutal executions took place in the northern city of Amol, where the city's residents stood watching in outrage and disgust.

These revolutionary communists shone among the many brilliant stars in our people's revolutionary movement. They stood for a future Iran free of oppression of man by man.

As revolutionary communists, many of these martyrs played leading roles in the struggle against world imperialism, especially against the two superpowers. They fought to expose and condemn all forms of revisionism; participated in the struggle to expose the erroneous lines; and struggled to correctly grasp and apply the peasant-land question in Iran. They sought to correctly analyze the roles and natures of different class forces within the society and fought to develop a true and lasting unity within the Iranian communist movement.

As part of the overall Iranian communist movement, the Union of Iranian Communists actively participated in our people's revolutionary upsurge against the Shah. It carried out the battle to defeat each and every remnant of the Shah's regime and responded quickly to every attempt to crush the revolutionary spirit of our people. The UIC vigorously participated in the insurrection in

Kurdistan; in the struggle of all revolutionary sections of the society against Iraqi aggression; in the mass, revolutionary movement during the seizure of the U.S. Embassy; and in the Sarbehadaran uprising in Amol during January 1982. It responded valiantly to every act of oppression brought down on our people, and since the June 1981 coup has dedicated itself to the complete overthrow of the reactionary Khomeini regime. As a result of the Sarbehadaran uprising and the militant battles on the 18th and 22nd of Aban, 1981 the city of Amol was taken over. Hundreds of revolutionary executions were carried out against Khomeini's lackeys and more than 40 of our heroic comrades were martyred in this fierce response to the treacherous June 30, 1981 coup.

Since this June coup, Khomeini's regime has tried to crush the people's growing opposition movement by using vicious Nazi-like tactics. It has attacked any manifestation of opposition: workers' struggles in Ghazvin, mass demonstrations in Tehran, etc. By using mass imprisonment, torture, and executions, even of children and pregnant women, Khomeini's regime has tried to quell the rising tide against it. Many comrades have fallen at the hands of this vile regime and the UIC has felt this loss. We know, however, that there is truth in the slogan: "WHERE THERE IS REPRESSION, THERE IS RESISTANCE!"

These comrades are but the first of more than 250 arrested to be killed by

these butchers. After six months in prison and under torture, these freedom fighters were systematically executed on the anniversary of the January insurrection in the city of Amol. Their "trial" was merely a transparent attempt by the Khomeini regime to appease the West, and particularly U.S. imperialism. It was an "anti-communist" gesture by the Islamic republic to show the West how "stable and liberal" the regime had become. It came at the very time when the rulers in Iran were publicly "recognizing" the U.S. and only days after Khomeini released his so-called "8 Point Charter on Islamic Justice."

This savage and barbaric mass murder was an exposing example of "TRUE" justice in Iran. Resistance by our comrades has seriously frustrated the regime's efforts. It has served as an inspiration to people throughout Iran and the world.

— FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, COMRADES AND ALL STRUGGLING MASSES:

Bahman (Jan. 22 to Feb. 19) is the month of martyrdom; the month of pride; the month of Khomeini's brutal crimes against our people. It is also the month in which our people engaged in revolutionary struggles to overthrow the Shah. In Bahman our organization, the Union of Iranian Communists, has given many martyrs: Comrade Sahbar during the revolution, Comrade Salaheddin, Shams Borhan, Comrade Boria Moderes in Kurdistan, Comrade Ghassem

Sarif Zadeh at the war front, Comrade Khosrow Gholami in 1981 in Ghazbin, 40 comrades in the Amol uprising from the Sarbehadaran, and most recently these comrades in Amol. They have all died proudly and their courage and dedication will remain forever in our hearts.

More than 200 of our comrades remain in Khomeini's prisons and little news of them is known. Khomeini's putrid and reactionary regime is fraught with economic and political instability and opposition. Its days are numbered. Because it fears our people's continued resistance and rage, the Khomeini regime dares not reveal any information about the trial and execution.

We members of the Union of Iranian Communists on the blood of our comrades; in the spirit of all those courageous comrades who have fallen before them; with our hearts full of the revolutionary aspirations of our people and the oppressed people of the world, we vow to intensify our unity and resolve to crush the life out of the reactionary regime of Khomeini in Iran.

DEATH TO KHOMEINI!
DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!
DOWN WITH SOVIET SOCIAL-
IMPERIALISM!
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY
STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE OF
IRAN AND THE OPPRESSED
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

— Members of the Union of Iranian Communists

Statement by the Central Committee of the RCP, USA

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revolution was a harbinger of what is already developing and what will come into being on a much broader scale and with a quickening pace in the decade of the '80s. The Iranian revolution burst out of the '70s as a product and concentration point of the deepening crisis of the imperialist system and its expression in the contention between the two opposing imperialist blocs that are heading toward world war. The imperialist crisis, and as part of that the deterioration of the situation in Iran, opened up cracks for the revolutionary torrent of the masses to burst through with dramatic suddenness and force, engulfing millions and sweeping away the Shah, the self-proclaimed king of kings and indeed the pride and hope of his U.S. imperialist masters.

While thus exposing in a living way that the world situation already holds and will increasingly open up tremendous prospects for revolution, the experience of the Iranian revolution also highlighted the deep and difficult challenges facing the international communist movement, which, in particular countries and more fundamentally on an international level, is seriously lagging behind the objective developments.

Those who have upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought are by and large forces that were newly created out of the upsurge of the 1960s and nurtured by events internationally including Vietnam, the Cultural Revolution and the struggle against Soviet revisionism led at that time by the Communist Party of China. The Iranian communist movement emerged and developed in the 1960s and '70s largely outside the borders of Iran among the students and intellectuals. It is a particular feature of the imperialist epoch that leaders of a revolution in a country like Iran are often reared right in the belly of the imperialist beast oppressing them. All this was fine and

important from a proletarian internationalist standpoint — both for those of us here fortunate enough to be influenced by these comrades and for the revolution in Iran. In contrast to the extremely repressive conditions under the rule of the Shah, certain advantages of the situation in the U.S. provided an opportunity for open political activity and organization, a process of study and clarification of the theoretical and political questions facing the Iranian movement and of accumulating forces.

At the same time, it is also true that this process was still in its early stages when contradictions rapidly came to a head in Iran. How to establish the proletarian internationalist trend as a significant force in a situation in which a party had not been established and in which Marxist-Leninist organization was still weak in Iran, a situation in which the same immediate factors which had led to the rapid success of the insurrection also worked to insure that Khomeini and the forces grouped around him would have real advantages including in their influence among sections of the masses who had been recently propelled into political life? How, in the midst of this upsurge, to establish the independent position of the proletariat and on that basis, through the twists and turns of the objective situation, bring to the fore the proletarian revolutionary leadership that alone could bring about the eventual success of the revolution, even in this first, national-democratic stage?

Due to the sudden maturing of a revolutionary situation in Iran and the relatively underdeveloped state of the Marxist-Leninist forces there, the Iranian communist movement confronted in an especially acute way the necessity to come from behind and march to the forefront. Is this not a sharp concentration of the contradiction that the international com-

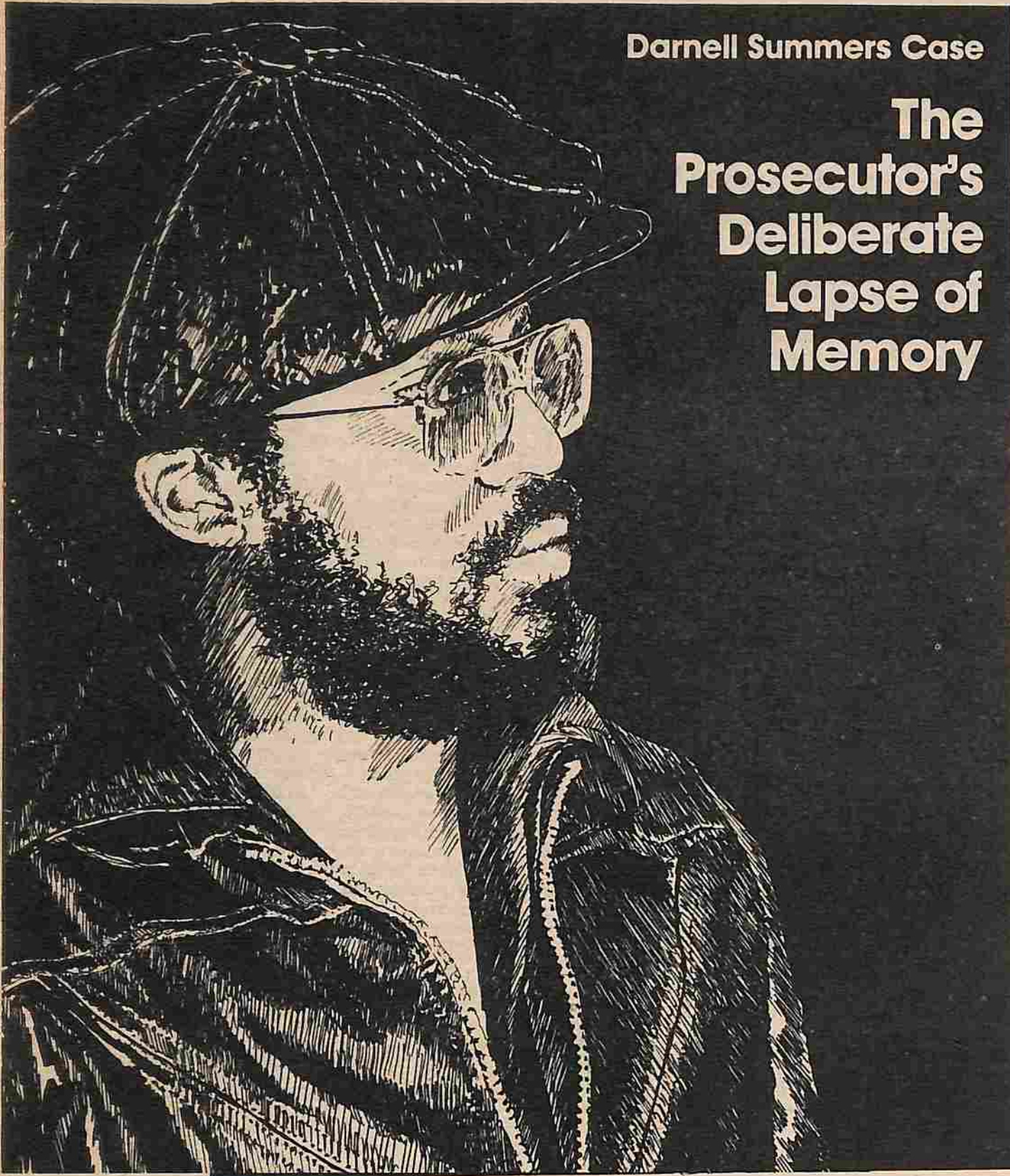
munist movement as a whole confronts and must resolve? This underscores the necessity to analyze and deeply ponder the lessons of the experience of the UIC thus far and that of the Iranian revolutionary movement as a whole. This is a task to be taken up not only by the Iranian revolutionary movement, but by others in the international communist movement as well.

Writing in 1908, after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, Lenin polemicized against the "logic of disillusionment," against those who despaired of or opposed the necessity of a vanguard party preparing for and capable of eventually putting itself at the head of the masses. After recounting the course and causes of the 1905 revolution, Lenin continued, "What lesson follows from this? The lesson that we must now carefully follow the new political crisis that is now brewing, teach the masses the lessons of 1905 and the inevitability of every acute crisis developing into an insurrection, and strengthen the organization that will release this slogan at the moment when the crisis arrives. But it is a barren occupation to ask, 'is there hope in the immediate future?' The state of affairs in Russia is such that no thoughtful socialist will venture to prophesy. All that we know and can say amounts to this, that without reconstructing agrarian relations, without completely breaking up the old land system, Russia cannot live — but live she will The business of the Social-Democrats is to imbue the masses with a clear understanding of this economic foundation of the growing crisis, and to train up a serious party organization which could help the people to assimilate the abundant lessons of the revolution, and would be capable of leading them in struggle, when the maturing forces become fully ripe for a new revolutionary 'campaign.'"

Lenin's materialist approach combined with a full appreciation of the role of the vanguard is extremely relevant. It is not only the backwardness of Iran's imperialist-dominated economy but even more the contradictions of the entire imperialist system as it moves towards world war that is determining the pace of events in particular countries, as well as heralding the eruption of a whole period of revolutionary opportunities in many countries. In the upheaval the world is approaching, the unprecedented opportunities may well include the chance to reverse setbacks which have occurred on the eve of this world-historic conjuncture. From this perspective it is all the more crucial and urgent that the international proletariat's revolutionary vanguards sum up the lessons of even the most severe setbacks and forge ahead on that basis, heightening the level and pace of their work in preparation for those days when revolutionary determination can become revolutionary reality.

The situation in Iran today is most certainly a difficult one for the revolutionary movement. Arrogant reaction is swollen with blood. All the revolutionary forces have suffered heavy losses. But what successful revolution led by the proletariat has not had to undergo such periods in progressing to greater heights? These executions and indeed no move by reaction no matter how terrible is enough to prevent the emergence of "a new revolutionary campaign" in Iran or to halt the rapid approach of those days when we can deal crushing blows to the system of imperialism and reaction responsible for these crimes and thus take giant strides toward eliminating exploitation and oppression altogether from the face of the earth. □

Darnell Summers Case

The
Prosecutor's
Deliberate
Lapse of
Memory

Lawyers for Darnell Summers subpoenaed William Cahalan, chief prosecuting attorney for Wayne County to appear on February 10, 1983 at an evidentiary hearing on the defense motion to dismiss the murder charge and to disqualify the prosecutor and his assistant for the misconduct in the extradition of Darnell from West Germany. February 10 marked a year, nearly to the day, since Darnell was seized at his house in Worms, West Germany and the

railroad of this revolutionary as an object lesson to others was on, full steam ahead. But this year has witnessed a storm of struggle as Darnell's supporters in both the U.S. and Europe have dissected and torn away the so-called "legal case" in the frameup to lay bare the vicious and purely political essence of the prosecution of this revolutionary internationalist for everyone on both sides of the Atlantic to see. Nearly 20,000 copies of the very powerful brochure on the case have gone

out on the streets of Detroit and other cities in the last month and a half alone. Hundreds have signed the statement of protest. The motions which have been filed demanding that the case be dismissed in the pretrial stage on the grounds that the state has broken their own laws right and left has been hitting them hard too, revealing right in the rulers' own courtroom how this is nothing but a railroad. Recent developments, and in particular the proceedings in court on February 10,

indicate that in the face of all the damaging political exposure and growing support for Darnell, the state is intensely maneuvering to push this railroad forward and *now* (out of the courtroom and down to the jailhouse).

In particular, what was revealed on February 10 is that the state as a whole has hammered out a policy of attacking and distorting all these damning pretrial motions, clamping down on further evidentiary hearings which serve only to drag out of their own mouths the political motivations and collaborations at high and low levels of the U.S. and German governments in carrying out this railroad.

Just how they intend to move things forward was underscored by some ugly little outbursts by none other than the "fair minded" Judge Sullivan. In an exchange over the way that the judge and prosecutors have both recently reversed their former positions and refused to sign the orders that require all state, federal and German agencies that conduct surveillance to turn over electronic and other surveillance they have on Darnell, the judge jumped in, insisting that everything you say may be true, but that it is a *murder* that is before the court. "The surveillance may or may not have been improper but... how does that become a question in this murder case?" The defense lawyer reiterated that the law just did not require one to show the relevance of the surveillance to the case before one ever even saw the surveillance, but began to explain how in fact in this case the surveillance was especially relevant, that Gonser was in the Red Squad that was conducting surveillance on political activities at the Malcolm X Cultural Center — suddenly the judge just cut him off, interjecting to the effect that "just because he was being surveilled, does that *give anyone the right to kill someone??*" Darnell is being framed for the second time for a crime he had nothing to do with because he is a revolutionary which is what all these motions have been exposing and the judge himself characterizes Darnell's legal defense as "I did it but surveillance is an excuse for murder." He was not only saying that the MXCC amounted to nothing more than a bunch of people running around killing people. This is the bottom line statement from the judge that *Darnell is guilty*, which he makes long before Darnell ever sees the much-touted jury trial which the judge keeps saying the case should be left to (and one he makes in order to create public opinion to be sure Darnell gets to the jury soon and that the verdict it delivers will be a guilty one).

The February 10 extradition hearing concerned, in particular, the Affidavit Of Prosecuting Attorney Setting Forth His Basis For Extradition" which the State of Michigan filed in order to obtain Darnell's extradition. After purporting

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MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!

Iranian Students Pledge Red Wages Day

We are living in a crucial period of history. The economic and political crisis of imperialism is getting deeper every day, and the struggle of the working class and oppressed masses all over the world inspires our hope for overthrowing world imperialism, and bringing to power proletarian dictatorship.

We all belong to an internationalist class and we struggle for its victory. So we have to share our experiences, and we also have to organize an ideological struggle among Marxist-Leninists, which will help us to sum up the history of the international communist movement, and also it will guide us in our future struggles.

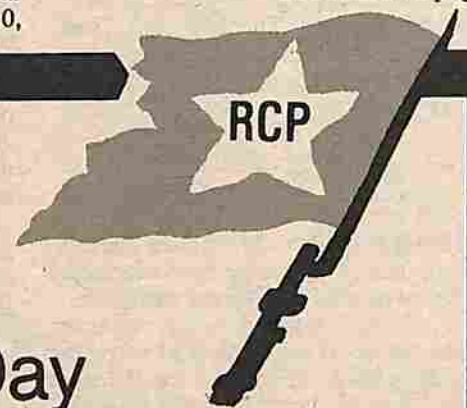
It is with confidence and pride that we are calling on you to participate in a major fund drive for the RCP over the next several months. Many deeds cry out to be done. Large sums of money are needed to help strengthen the revolutionary communist trend internationally; to help build the party and deepen and spread the influence of its line into all the diverse streams of rebellion and protest; to further address the burning questions of our time, including in our party press; to counter the constant attacks by the state — in short, to hasten the process of revolution worldwide.

We are asking you to contribute as much as you can; help publicize the fund drive (including sending letters of support to the RW and others); and initiate or be part of special fundraising activities.

We are taking part in this fund drive campaign because we believe that the RCP is struggling against the same enemy that oppressed people all over the world are fighting. We hope our contributions will also help in publishing the *World To Win* journal, which aids ideological struggle among the Marxist-Leninists internationally.

So, on the fourth anniversary of the February uprising of the Iranian masses, we Iranian students pledge a red wages day to the RCP's fund drive campaign.

A group of internationalists from Iran in Houston



Contributions, including anonymous donations, can be addressed to: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

A Minor Concession — But What's Next?

At the end of January, Mao Defendant Tina Fishman was granted regular visitation with her kidnapped daughter, Riva. This visitation, one weekend every two weeks and two 4-hour periods during the week every two weeks, is a step beyond what was granted by Judge Ragan in his cowardly and vicious decision to continue this legal kidnapping for another six months. At that time only one 10-day visit at Christmas and a possible ten days in the spring was granted. That Tina was even forced to fight for visitation with her daughter, who according to all legal precedents should be living with her, is itself an outrage. But the fact that she was granted regular visitation is an indication that the government is having to maneuver to cover its badly exposed ass by granting this while it proceeds in trying new ways to make this kidnapping permanent.

In his December ruling, much of Judge Ragan's argument for extending the kidnapping until July 1983 was based on the flimsy excuse that it would be a psychological "trauma" for Riva to go home immediately to her mother because a "rift" had developed. So Ragan ordered six more months of kidnapping, with very minimal visitation for Tina. A rather bla-

tant attempt to buy time for Ted Fishman to pursue new avenues in getting his kidnapping of Riva legalized and to lay the basis for further developing this "rift" argument. As part of countering this, Tina and her attorney asked a mediator to arrange a meeting with her and Ted Fishman to discuss visitation rights. When Ted wouldn't even speak with the mediator on the phone, let alone get together with Tina, Tina's attorney then went back to Judge Ragan, and asked him to arrange for mediation. He also arranged for a public hearing on visitation, should the mediation fail.

A public hearing on the outrageous visitation terms ordered by Ragan, and the threat of another public airing of the political attack this kidnapping represents, was apparently something the government didn't want to have happen so soon after the politically exposing December custody hearing. Ragan quickly ordered Ted to show up at the offices of a mediator the judge personally appointed.

When Tina and Ted went to see this "neutral" mediator, virtually the first thing he did was to warn that this meeting was off the record and out of the public eye. He insisted that should the question

of visitation ever get to a public hearing, he could not be subpoenaed. He then went on to show why he had been chosen, and why he was so concerned about keeping out of the public eye. He said, "Now as I read the order, the child is in the custody of the father," to which Tina, who has always had permanent legal custody, replied, "That is the temporary, physical custody." "Well, however you want to say it," he responded, plainly indicating the real bottom line of Ragan's custody ruling: Ted still has the child.

And Ted, and the court, definitely intend that Ted keep the child, using the so-called "rift" between Tina and Riva as their justification. It should be noted here again that according to all custody laws this "rift" argument cannot be used as a justification for not returning Riva to her mother. At the meeting, when the mediator asked Ted what he thought about visitation for Tina, he jumped up with objections about the "purpose" of the visitation. He moaned about how this was all supposed to have been over in August 1981, when he originally kidnapped Riva, and now it had dragged on more than a year and a half; he particularly objected to having "a new rift introduced with regard to Riva's orientation to my life, her relationship with her sister, her relationship with my wife, and her school, and everything she has here. I don't want to see anything that threatens that environment." At this point, the mediator asked Tina to leave the office while he spoke privately with Ted for 30 minutes. Ted emerged quite agreeable about Tina's visitation rights, even agreeing to pay half the cost of a rental car for Tina to pick up Riva.

Apparently, 30 minutes with Ted was enough to clarify for him the necessity of tactically backing off on this particular matter and making this concession, using "normal" procedures and some semblance of legality. After this little talk, Ted clearly indicated that further legal maneuvers are being planned. When the mediator said he understood that Riva

would be returned to Tina on July 1, Ted smugly replied, "subject to whatever occurs." Tina asked, "In other words, you are planning further legal proceedings?" Ted replied, "Well, is it against the law?"

Of course, as Ted knows full well, and the history of this case has shown repeatedly, going "against the law" around child custody has been quite the norm when carrying through this kidnapping demands it. One instance of this occurred a week or so after the meeting with the mediator. In the course of attempting to file an appeal of Ragan's decision in December, Tina's attorneys wanted to get free transcripts of the custody hearing. (These transcripts would cost over \$3000, and are a required part of the papers filed for the appeal.) Getting free transcripts is normally a very straightforward procedure, when the principal in the case is indigent (makes less than \$800 a month), as Tina has shown she is. It does require the signature of the presiding judge in the court whose decision is being appealed. When a legal worker for Tina went to the San Mateo courthouse to get this signature, the presiding judge that day happened to be Judge Ragan, who was in his chambers. A clerk took the papers to his honor, then returned. "He refuses to sign this." The legal worker asked why, then pointed out that on the form, it said that if the judge refuses to sign, he has to give a reason. "He's not giving you a reason." This action forces Tina's financially strapped legal defense to go through further legal gyrations to get the free transcripts, and delays the filing of the appeal.

These recent developments show that while the government is having to clean up its act a little bit, it is all the more calculatingly and viciously trying to make this attack on the RCP and women revolutionaries stick. In pursuing this outrageous political kidnapping they are having to deal with widespread exposure and opposition and a determined battle to defeat this attack. □

Memory

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to describe what happened when Gonser was killed and Darnell's alleged participation, the affidavit stated:

4. Although defendant Darnell Stephen Summers was suspected of committing the crime of murder first degree upon Officer Gonser in 1968, the reason for the delay in arresting him was that there was insufficient evidence to arrest him at that time and the eyewitness Gail (sic) Simmons feared for her life. She came forward in 1981 to give her testimony and through a special arrangement with the Departments of State Police and the Wayne County Prosecutor's Office, she was granted immunity from prosecution in return for her testimony as an eyewitness to the participation of defendant Darnell Stephen Summers in the assault upon officer Robert Gonser.

The affidavit is one obvious and bald faced falsehood after another — in fact, Darnell had been arrested before on this very same charge and on this very same evidence; in fact, Cahalan's office had the case dismissed; in fact, it was they who hunted and hounded Gale Simmons for the express purpose of nailing Darnell. And the affidavit is devoid of any facts indicating that Gonser's death was "incident to and formed a part of a political uprising" in Inkster at the time, which might qualify the offence Darnell is being framed on as a non-extraditable "political offense" under the extradition treaty. Because Darnell's very presence before the court was obtained through submitting such falsehoods, the defense motion argued that Darnell's right to "due process of law" was violated (in fact that the extradition was a kidnapping, albeit a legal one) and the court must, according to their own laws, divest itself of jurisdiction over Darnell.

The assistant prosecutor showed up on the 10th with the principal attorney of research and appeal (one of the three big "guns" who are an elite group under the chief prosecutor) in tow and presented a written "Answer" to the motions to dismiss for bad faith prosecution and misconduct in extradition proceedings, which states that: "These motions have in effect been decided in this court's decision on the motion to dismiss for lack of speedy trial. An extensive evidentiary record was made as to the reason for the delay in reinstating charges against defendant and the reasons why the charges were brought now."

Creative argument gentlemen! First the judge denies the motion to dismiss

due to speedy trial and due process violations in spite of the fact that the prosecution had failed to provide a shred of justification for the 14 year delay. Now the prosecution argues to shelve any and all further hearings and go straight to trial because the first hearing resolved all the legal questions around this railroad. This must be what the judge meant when his earlier ruling concluded: "the question of credibility... should be left to the jury."

The prosecutor's memorandum claims that the motion to dismiss for bad faith prosecution "borders on the frivolous" and that the extradition motion "borders on the scurrilous." In other words, like your honor said, when our political necessity demands it, our own laws against bad faith prosecutions become frivolous and our own laws concerning "due process" become scurrilous. The prosecutors also claimed that with regard to bad faith, "... it is the defendant's burden to demonstrate that there are others who are similarly situated who are not generally prosecuted" and "because defendant can point to no other murder cases where the prosecutions have been discontinued and that prosecutor has declined to re-issue where the principal witnesses have agreed to testify 14 years later, he can not sustain his burden." Here, in order to make the none-too-clever argument that it is a logical impossibility for Darnell to have been singled out, the prosecutor has actually admitted straight up that this is a totally unprecedented case! As to those who are "similarly situated who are not prosecuted," what about the cops, who virtually executed 14-year-old Jimmy Matthews only minutes after officer Gonser was shot and who were exonerated within days? They also argued that the extradition hearing at which Cahalan was to appear should be cancelled because once Darnell was in front of the court in the U.S. what the hell difference did it make if the process by which he got there was based on lies? Despite the protests of the prosecution, Cahalan was ordered to appear.

Cahalan took the stand at the evidentiary hearing and, incredibly, testified that his first recollection concerning Darnell's case was last summer when he read about the extradition in the newspaper! He had no idea who Darnell was, he said, and so called his office and asked "Who is this and why are we bringing him back from Germany?" He then said that he met once with the assistant prosecutor, and learned that the reason Darnell was being brought back was that he allegedly killed Gonser. Beyond this, Cahalan testified over a dozen times, he could recollect nothing. (And gee, in an earlier proceeding, his assistant had grumbled when requested to

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Break The Chains — Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

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Please specify small, medium, large, or extra large.

The CPUSA's Vampiristic Celebration

The Los Angeles chapter of the Communist Party, USA, along with supporters of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (Majority) and the Organization of Democratic Youth and Students of Iran have issued a call to join them in a Feb. 19 "celebration of the fourth anniversary of the glorious anti-imperialist and popular Iranian revolution, led by Imam Khomeini, founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran." Similar events are being held in San Francisco and other cities.

These sinister "celebrations" are billed as expressions of "solidarity with the heroic people of Iran, struggling for independence, freedom and social justice." Just what they really celebrate is clarified by the fact that they come just one month after the public execution of 22 members of the Union of Iranian Communists in Amol and amid new reports of mass executions in Tehran's Evin prison.

Apparently this is what is meant by the laudatory declarations in the leaflet announcing the CP's "celebration" in the Bay Area about how "fortunately" attempts to "defeat the revolution from within" have been "met by decisive resistance from the progressive forces inside the government of the Islamic Republic under the leadership of Imam Khomeini." Of course these pro-Soviet revisionists might argue that they are referring to Khomeini's "decisive resistance" against Bani Sadr and other more openly pro-U.S. bloc rivals; the truth is, however, that since Khomeini and his cohorts in the Islamic Republican Party consolidated their grip over a year and a half ago, they haven't been putting up much resistance to *any* imperialism.

Similarly, in the 5th issue of the CP's *Peoples World* newspaper an article titled, "Iranians Challenge Torture Tales" blasts a recent Amnesty International (AI) report which charged that torture, imprisonment, and executions are "rampant" within Iran.

What is the basis for the CP's critique? That the report is questionable because it was compiled by "anonymous authors" on the basis of reports by "unnamed" ex-prisoners and others within Iran; that its timing is suspect because it comes at the very time when the Imam Khomeini had just announced an eight-point reform program "aimed at uprooting counter-revolutionary functionaries within the judicial apparatus and civil administration," responsible for whatever injustice exists within the Republic; and that therefore, AI had "allowed itself to be used by destructive interests against the Islamic Republic of Iran," namely, those who are "not so much interested in the human rights of the people of Iran as they are in regaining their control over the lost fortunes in the Iranian oil fields," i.e., Western imperialism, and those loyal to the late Shah.

But *everyone* knows that imprisonment, torture, and executions of progressive and revolutionary Iranians are rampant as hell. Even the Khomeini regime hasn't gone to great lengths to deny it, except lately, and some in the clerical camp have boasted of the regime's practices toward its enemies. As for Khomeini's eight-point reform program, accompanied by yet another wave of executions and continued imprisonment and torture of thousands more, it is actually a political maneuver aimed in great measure at building further bridges to the West. And as for the functionaries from the old regime in particular, Majlis speaker Rafsanjani made the Republic's attitude on them crystal clear during a Friday prayer speech in December, when he warned the Iranian people: "Don't go after SAVAK agents anymore. SAVAK

is dead and gone. Some SAVAK agents have come to us and now serve society."

But what about certain people in the West who complain about human rights violations in Iran only for their own sinister and imperialistic purposes? Well, there are definitely plenty of them. But as far as stumbers for imperialism go, these revisionist defenders of the Islamic Republic certainly rank right along with the best. In fact if they are so concerned about possible inaccuracies in AI's report, perhaps they should simply consult some of the KGB agents who have been sent to Iran to strengthen the Republic's police apparatus, or members of the Tudeh Party, who have been quite actively fingering revolutionaries for the government. We are quite sure that their experience qualifies them as experts on the subject of torture, imprisonment, and execution in today's Iran!

The revisionists' bloodthirsty enthusiasm for the Islamic Republic, is decidedly different than their attitude toward the revolutionary upheaval of the Iranian masses during the revolution and after. It was not until November, 1978, some time after the outbreak of revolutionary struggle against the Pahlavi regime and a mere two months before the Shah fled Iran — or in other words, not until it was clear to all that the Shah was finished — that the Soviet Union abandoned its flirtation with the Shah's regime and abandoned the "neutral,"

hands-off attitude towards the gathering revolution that accompanied it. A survey of *People's World* during the tumultuous years of 1978 and '79, for instance, reveals that neither the mass strikes and street demonstrations of late 1978; nor the February 1979 insurrection which toppled the Pahlavi monarchy; nor the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran — actions which represented the heights of the revolutionary initiative of the masses in Iran — merited prominent coverage in the *People's World*, much less calls for public celebration!

In fact, during the so-called "hostage crisis" — when the U.S. was receiving some of the Iranian revolution's hardest blows and the U.S. was openly threatening and planning direct intervention, pro-Soviet revisionism bluntly *opposed* the Iranian revolution. The Soviet Union voted for the December 1979 UN resolution calling upon the Iranian students to release the hostages and vacate the embassy.

Why is it *now* that pro-Soviet revisionism has become so eager to celebrate the Khomeini regime? Could it be the CP's idea of "international solidarity with a fraternal party"? Not exactly. In fact, these celebrations are taking place while the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party is still under fire by the Iranian government, and shortly after the Soviet *Tass* correspondent was expelled from the country. But so what? Soviet strategy in Iran is

not simply tied to the fortunes of the Tudeh Party, especially when there are Imams available. The Soviets understand that the situation in Iran is still in flux: which bloc the regime will finally enlist in is not a settled question.

But the fact is, Khomeini's got the power and the Soviets — in line with their larger global strategy — want Iran. With the revolution now having suffered serious setbacks and the regime boasting reactionary stability and its reactionary availability — an availability to imperialism made possible by imposing some "stability" over the revolution, but made necessary by the fact that Iran is extremely unstable and without accommodating to imperialism no reactionary rule can last long there — the Soviets think they have a good chance of getting it. (Of course if the Soviets decided at some point that the Khomeini regime was now out of reach and firmly in the grip of the West, then certainly discussions of the backward nature of the Iranian theocracy would fill the revisionist press and all celebrations of the Imam would be cancelled.)

The CPUSA's "celebrations" are bloodthirsty — bloodthirsty in the service of international revisionism. With these events, the CP is trying to appeal to certain forces with the aim of furthering the interests of international revisionism. The events serve to show what the CPUSA is all about. □

It has come to our attention that the Los Angeles Police Department, greatly concerned about the public uproar over their spy activities, has been conducting a telephone survey to find out what some people *really* think of them. More than 3,000 randomly-chosen people have received such phone interrogations conducted by the transition team that is overseeing the "disbanding" of Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) and the creation of its newly-named replacement, whatever that will be. According to an LAPD spokesman, "four or five" officers did the calling, helped out by "volunteer" college professors and polling professionals.

Not having been one of the lucky 3,000 plus, we at the *RW* can only speculate as to the specific content of these phone calls. Perhaps they go something like this: "Hello, is this _____? This is the police. Click... Click... Whirr... Whirr. We were wondering just what your *attitude* is toward our intelligence operations. Hmm. Well, thank you very much. By the way, in order to confirm the accuracy and reliability of our phone poll, we have just taken your voiceprint. For extra accuracy, we would also like a complete set of fingerprints. I believe our special pollsters assistants team (SPAT) is just now arriving for that purpose outside your door." □

Pollsters Arrive



More Reflections and Sketches

Hill Street Bullshit Richard Pryor Routines and the Real Deal

During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. Beginning in this issue, we will be printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.

"... I had a magnum, too, man. I shot one of them tires. *P-voom!* The tire said, 'O-o-oh, O-oh, Ooh.' It got good to me; I shot another one — *P-voom* — 'O-o-oh, O-oh, Ooh.' And that vodka I was drinkin' said, 'go ahead, shoot somethin' else.' I shot the motor, the motor fell out the motherfucker. Motor said, 'fuck it!' Then the police came: I went into the house, 'cause they got magnums too — and they don't kill cars, they kill nig-gars."

Richard Pryor, on shooting his car, from Richard Pryor Live In Concert, 1978.

Reports of recent events, such as in Miami and Memphis, call to mind a story I was told a while back. A rookie cop was riding in his police car with his veteran partner when a report came in that there was a Black man in the vicinity with a gun. As their car screeched around the corner, a young Black man suddenly appeared sprinting up an alley — into a dead end. "Shoot him!", the older partner screamed, "Go on, shoot him — it's free!" "It's free!" Think about that for a second. "It's free!" — in other words, here's a chance that gets a pig to sweating and salivating with anticipation — a chance to "kill a nigger" with the already-provided cover that a Black man — a Black man, any Black man — was reported in the area with a gun. This is an opportunity too good to pass up: "Go on, shoot him — it's free!"

Well, in this case, the rookie was not ready for that — perhaps he was one of those rare ones who joins a police force actually believing the "serve and pro-

tect" bullshit — and that particular Black man did not die that day. But one of the most telling things about this whole incident is the fall-out from it: the rookie cop had to resign. If he wasn't ready and willing, if he didn't have the proper attitude, to do what his veteran partner was calling for, what came naturally to the seasoned "peace officer," what any pig in his place and in a pig's right mind would do — then there was no place for him on the force. It was *he*, the rookie who hadn't learned, and couldn't learn it seems, what it's all about — it was *he* who was the outcast and felt he had to resign.

Perhaps this whole story helps give an inkling of the answer to the question: why do we call the police "pigs." Perhaps it also puts in clearer perspective the comment of one of the main actors on the *Hill Street Blues* series, Daniel Travanti (who plays Captain Furillo), that as he sees it, one of the main purposes, if not the main purpose, of the show is to help give the police a more positive image, after the experience of the '60s, when many people came to call the police "pigs." Well, you can't say he doesn't lay it straight out — and *he* can't say he's not conscious of what he, and others, are doing.

But maybe they want to say that they're "making things better" they're "helping to promote communication and understanding between the police and the community" — and so on and blah, blah, blasé, blasé. Well, bullshit! You don't "help make things better" by covering up and apologizing for the murderous role and vicious nature of the police. Or to say it more correctly, you only "make things better" for those the police really do serve and protect — the rich and powerful — those whose order the police enforce and whose laws they uphold. You don't help a mother protect her baby from flesh-tearing rats by "promoting understanding" between her and the rats — or portraying the rats as "human beings too, with the same hopes, fears, ambitions, joys, sorrows, humors and desires as all other human beings" — just like the gang at the Hill Street Station. It's not true, and no matter how slickly it's packaged, no matter how much skill and talent of writing, acting, directing and so on goes into it, that still can't make it true.

Pigs are pigs. Of course, that's an image, a symbol — in the most literal sense they are human beings, but they are human beings with a murderer's mentality, sanctioned, disciplined, unleashed by the ruling class of society to keep the oppressed in line, through terror whenever necessary and as the "bottom line," as they like to say. Terror against the oppressed is even a special reward for "carrying out the dangerous and thankless duty" of being the "thin blue line" between "civilization on the one side and anarchy and lawlessness on the other." That is one of the deeper meanings of the story at the start — "Go on, shoot him — it's free!"

Actor Travanti's comments — his conscious concern to improve the image of the police after the turmoil of the '60s, to in fact wipe out the lessons learned through that upheaval about the role and nature of the police (along with other things) — bring to mind another story. Someone who had been part of the broad movement of the '60s, and who now has a "civilian" job which, however, brings her into regular contact with the police, told a friend not too long ago: "You know, I used to take part in demonstrations, I was in fights with the police and I called them 'pigs' like a lot of other people; but now that I work around them a lot, it's only now that I actually realize how disgusting they really are!" Well art, especially art of high quality, can exert a very powerful influence, it can be a very powerful weapon serving one class or another, depending on its content — but it cannot exert as powerful an influence as life itself, overall. Despite Travanti, and his producers and directors, pigs are pigs, and they prove it every day for all to see — except those blinded by class bias and prejudice.

But maybe some liberals (of the "left" or "right"), will object that these stories are after all only stories, and even if we allow that they themselves are true stories, still they are only a few cases — the famous "isolated incidents" perhaps. Well, anyone who still really thinks that, or says it, has got to answer one basic question about the following Richard Pryor routine:

"Cops put a hurtin' on your ass, man, you know. They really degrade you. White folks don't believe that shit, don't believe cops degrade; — 'ah, come on, those beatings, those people were resisting arrest. I'm tired of this harassment of police officers.' Cause the police live in your neighborhood, see, and you be knowin' 'em as Officer Timpson. 'Hello Officer Timpson, going bowling tonight? Yes, uh, nice pinto you have, ha, ha, ha.' Niggers* don't know 'em like that. See, white folks get a ticket, they pull over, 'hey, Officer, yes, glad to be of help, here you go.' A nigger got to be talkin' 'bout 'I AM REACH-ING INTO MY POKK-ET

More Reflections and Sketches

Below are the titles of this new series, in the order in which they will run in the RW:

- Hill Street Bullshit, Richard Pryor Routines and the Real Deal
- The Streets and Festivals of Miami — Two Opposing Views
- Indian Fishing Rights — And Tell Us Again Who "Never Keeps a Treaty"
- The Challenges Confronting Communist Stand-Up Comedians, or More On Hypocrisy
- So Many Lies in So Little Space, a Look at a Single Paragraph of a Reagan Speech
- Down on the Word "Lady" (To Say Nothing of "Bitch")
- We Want In... We Want Out — Two Opposite Views on Discrimination and Degradation
- A Message on Hearing "The Message"
- The "City Game" — and the City, No Game
- When the Real Deal Goes Down... "I'll Be There" — You'll Be Where?!
- The '60s Weren't Always "The '60s," and the '80s Will Be Far Heavier
- The Worst of Times and the Best of Times
- Ronald Reagan, Nicholas II and the Spectre of Revolution
- And What Should We Call the Third Time? or Still Fighting the Battles of the 19th Century at the Approach of the 21st
- More Questions to Carl Sagan, Stephen Gould, and Isaac Asimov
- On Saviours, Realism and Working Within the System

it, outines eal Deal

FOR MY LICENSE — 'cause I don't wanna be no motherfuckin' accident!

"Police degrade you. I don't know, you know, it's often you wonder why a nigger don't go completely mad. No, you do. You get your shit together, you work all week, right, then you get dressed — maybe say a cat make \$125 a week, get \$80 — if he lucky, right, and he go out, get clean, be drivin' with his old lady, goin' out to a club, and the police pull over, 'Get outta the car, there was a robbery — nigger look just like you. Alright, put your hands up, take your pants down, spread you cheeks.' Now, what nigger feel like havin' fun after that? 'No, let's just go home, baby.' You go home and beat your kids and shit — you gonna take that shit out on somebody."

(from *That Nigger's* Crazy*, 1974)

The question is this: why, at the crucial points of this routine, does Pryor's audience erupt in tense, knowing laughter, coupled with prolonged applause? Can it be for any other reason than the fact that Pryor has indeed captured and concentrated — with humor, higher than life, as art should be, but the stone truth, all too true, at the same time — a situation that is *typical* for the masses of Black people in the U.S.? Something which if it has not happened directly to them (and the odds are pretty good that it has) is subject to happen to them tomorrow, or the next day, and has already happened to a relative or friend. To anyone who wants to defend the police — to say nothing of prettifying them, showing them as just ordinary human beings, etc., etc., ad nauseum — and even anyone who wants to raise pious doubts and petty amendments about calling them what they are, without reservation or apology — you can't get around this question: you have to confront it straight up. And don't tell me Pryor's audiences aren't a fair representation: the response will always be the same from any audience that includes a significant number of the masses of Black people, or other oppressed masses (as, in fact, is the case with the audience for Pryor's live performances).

A relevant fact here, drawn directly from "real life." I read in a recent *RW* (no. 188, January 14, 1983), the report about the announcement by the Los Angeles District Attorney that — once again — "no charges would be brought against the two pigs who beat and choked a 28-year-old Black man, Larry Morris, to death" without any justification, even according to the authorities. The *RW* article went on to expose that "This is just the latest in more than 200 'investigations' of police murders (that is, murders of people by police) since the forming of the D.A.'s 'Operation Rollout.' This program has so far endorsed the police's right to kill every time." And after everything else, we're still bound to hear from some quarters how this is just Los Angeles, where the police are known to be particularly brutal etc., etc. This really shouldn't have to be answered, but it does, so let me answer it by turning again to a Richard Pryor routine, this one from the same performance, in Washington, D.C. in 1978, as the one cited at the head of this article:

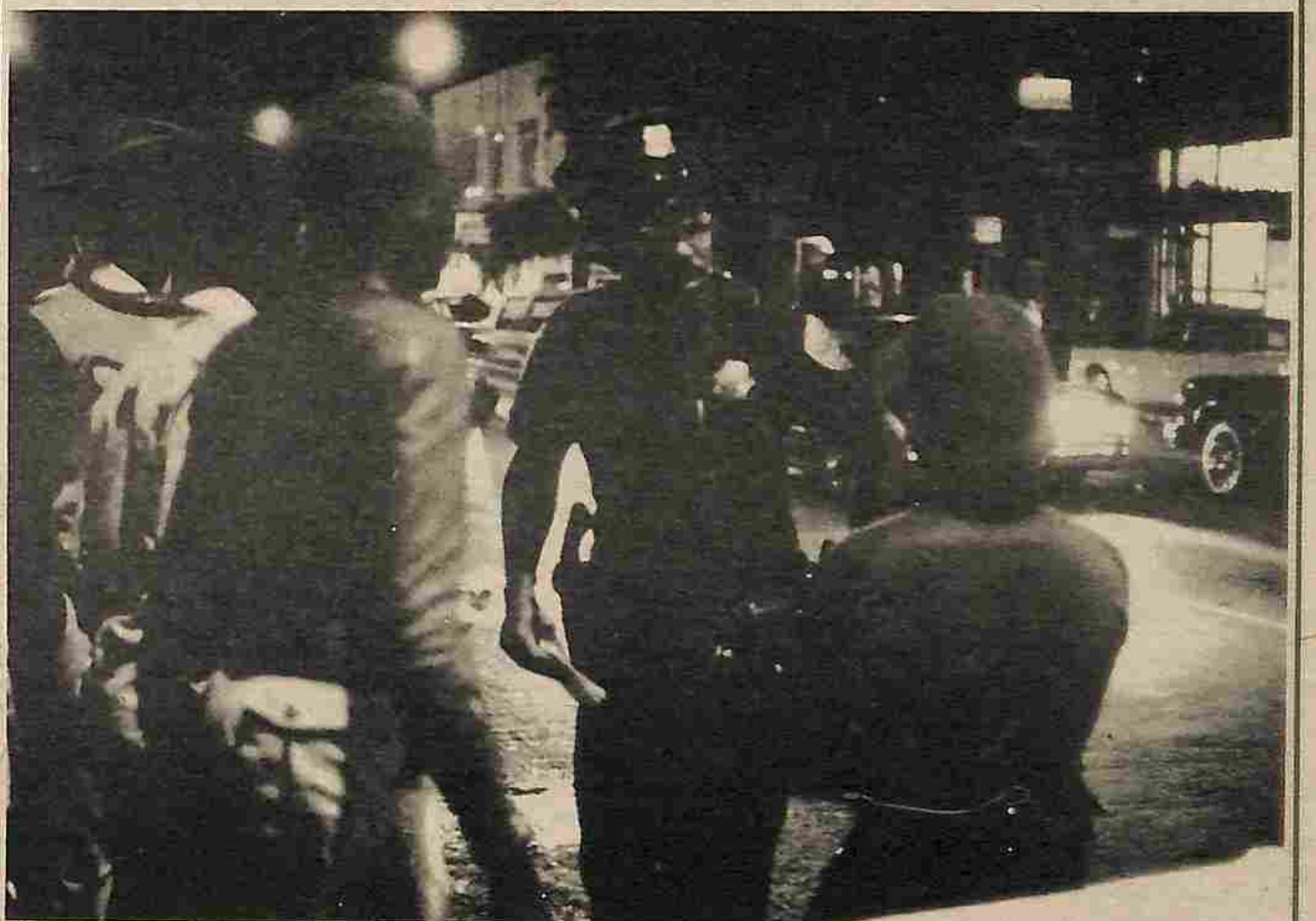
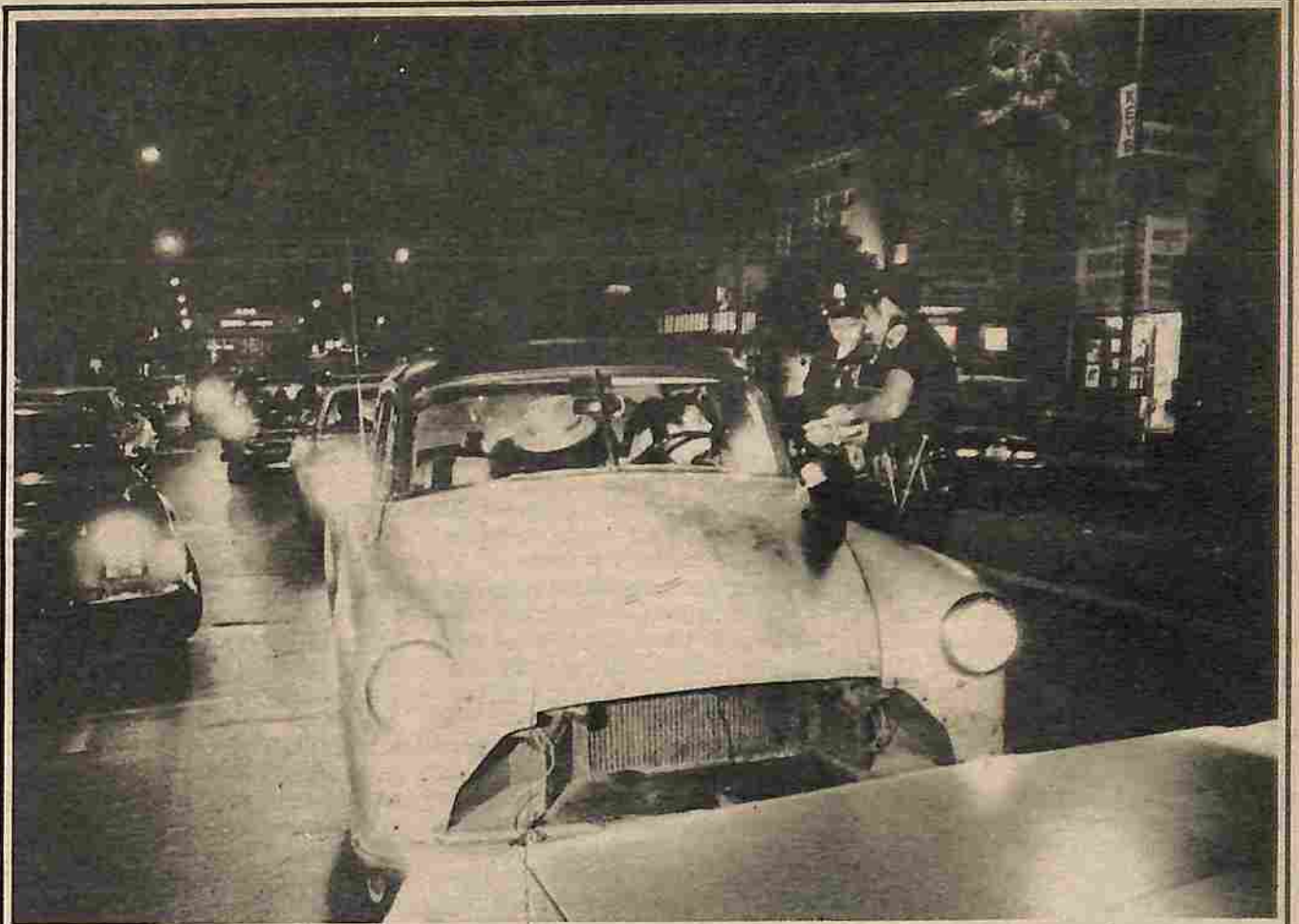
"Police in L.A., man, they got a choke hold they use on motherfuckers.

Do they do it here, do they choke you to death. (Voices from the audience, many voices from the audience: 'Yeah!') That's some weird shit. Cause I didn't know it was a death penalty to have a parking ticket."

But for the masses of Black people in this "great land of freedom and justice for all" it can be — and it has been for hundreds, at least, every year. Of course, this kind of freedom and justice is not reserved for Black people alone in the U.S., though they are special "beneficiaries" of it. It also lashes out and ensnares millions of the masses of other oppressed nationalities, immigrants (so-called "legal" as well as so-called "illegal") and in general those who are without wealth and therefore without power, including many white people, for whom Officer Timpson is hardly a friend, either.

In short, the armed force of the bourgeois state exists for the purpose of suppressing, by force and arms, the proletariat and all those who would step out of line and challenge this "great way of life" founded on robbery and murder, not only within the U.S. itself but throughout the world. And that, simply, is why pigs are pigs, and will always be pigs — until systems that need such pigs are abolished from the earth. A hard truth — but a liberating truth. □

*This material is reproduced here as it was performed by Richard Pryor at the time, including the use of the word "nigger"; this is for the sake of accuracy and not out of any disrespect for his feeling, after a trip to Africa, that he should no longer use the word "nigger" because it is dehumanizing.



A normal night in San Francisco's Mission District. Pigs blockade the streets, stop and ticket a long line of low riders, some are busted. Youth hanging out on the street shout at cops for arresting people. The pig says, "Get the hell out of here or I'll run you in."

Puerto Rican Activists Convicted of Criminal Contempt

On February 16, an anonymous jury convicted four political activists on the precedent breaking charge of *criminal contempt*. Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra, Ricardo Romero, Julio Rosado, members of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), and Andrew Rosado, a longtime activist in the Puerto Rican independence movement, had been charged with criminal contempt of a grand jury in Brooklyn, New York. This charge was brought for refusing to testify before a grand jury investigating the FALN.

The defendants can now be sentenced to 5, 10, 20, 30 years, even life, since there is no specific limit on the jail term for criminal contempt. Civil contempt, the previously normal charge, carries a penalty equal to the term of the grand jury involved, usually 18 months; while the process of calling the witness can be, and sometimes has been, repeated with a new grand jury, it is obvious that with the criminal contempt charge, the government has unveiled a convenient new weapon of political persecution.

In addition to this conviction, the U.S. Attorney then announced that he would go ahead and do what he had in fact wanted to do in this trial, to prove "these defendants are members of the FALN and are terrorists themselves." This case was also routinely referred to in the news media as the trial of FALN leaders. This is most interesting since the trial, in court at least, was only supposed to determine guilt or innocence of the contempt charge. The presiding judge himself admitted in court that the defendants were not accused of being FALN members or of participating in any violent acts. In fact a prosecutor had stated four months ago, "There is no conclusive evidence that they are members of the FALN."

This trial marked an escalation in the seriousness of the charge and the drastic method deployed to try and secure a conviction. Four of the defendants were found in civil contempt and jailed for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury investigating the FALN in 1977. The defendants were again subpoenaed in January of 1981 to another grand jury. When they refused to testify the government at that point told them to go home and wait to be contacted. Nine months passed without a word. (It should also be pointed out that for years the defendants have been subjected to intense surveillance, break-ins, mail tampering and phone taps including the FBI regularly subpoenaing records of long distance phone calls of one of the defendants' parents.) Then, in late September, 1982 in a coordinated attack FBI agents fanned out across the country arresting the defendants at gunpoint and charging them with criminal contempt of a grand jury. The FBI released a press statement saying they had arrested the "remaining unincarcerated leadership of the FALN" though at no time have charges of being involved in any bombings ever been brought. When the U.S. Attorney failed to show in court just what the defendants were in contempt of, since they had in fact gone home and waited, the charge was dismissed. Challenges to these subpoenas on the basis of singling the defendants out because of their political beliefs were denied. However, the decision to uphold the subpoenas and to bring back the criminal contempt charge was not actually returned until 12 months later. Judge Sifton was very selective about the timing in doing this. On New Year's Eve of this year in New York City the FALN claimed responsibility for a series of bombings of government buildings. Three days later the judge returned his decision claiming that all the government was doing was conducting a legitimate investigation of "serious crimes."

But the political aims of this criminal contempt charge were revealed when Judge Sifton himself ruled, "I am not persuaded that the grand jury inquiry here is directed at plaintiffs because of their political and religious beliefs. The fact that plaintiffs may possess knowledge relevant to the grand jury's inquiry as an incident to their political or religious

associations does not, of course, excuse them from their obligation to testify." (our emphasis) The implication of targeting political and religious associations is very far reaching.

Jury Procedure

Far reaching, as well, were the implications of the empaneling of an anonymous jury. The judge swept aside the defense arguments which pointed out that the real purpose of keeping the names of the jurors secret was to further prejudice the jury with visions of wild, vengeful, dangerous defendants.

In a trial where Judge Sifton ruled that a political defense was "irrelevant" he personally grilled each juror. What feelings did they have about Puerto Rico and its relations with the U.S.? How did they feel about members of the Episcopal Church supporting national liberation struggles through peaceful and non-violent means? (Some of the defendants were also members of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs or the Episcopal Publishing Co.) Had they ever heard of the MLN? The FALN? Were they at all troubled by their anonymous status? The judge, of course, told each juror that none of the defendants were accused of violent crimes or acts of terrorism but there are "others" (who are). In papers filed by the U.S. Attorney some of the "others" alluded to in court were listed. The U.S. Attorney pointed out that at previous hearings concerning this case Sylvia Baraldini and George Harrison had been present in the courtroom. Sylvia Baraldini is a defendant in a five-count RICO indictment aimed primarily at Black revolutionary nationalists. She is also a member of the May 19th Communist Organization. George Harrison is an outspoken and longtime supporter of the IRA. The U.S. Attorney also cited from political documents seized by the FBI a suggestion to conduct political work in areas where prospective jurors might be drawn from as another reason for the anonymous jury. This was all construed as posing some kind of violent threat to the jury.

The Trial

In this "simple, criminal" case one would also guess that all the government would need to do would be to call a witness to verify that the defendants had deliberately disobeyed a court order to cooperate with the grand jury. An agent did testify to that. But the government also called in two cops from New York City's bomb squad to testify. Photos of bombed government buildings were passed out to the jury. In fact the government sought by inference to try the defendants on bombing charges under the pretext of "only" showing the jury the nature of the grand jury inquiry.

The defendants did not take the witness stand and instead Julio Rosado represented himself thereby joining with other attorneys in making opening and closing statements in court as well as questioning government witnesses about just what they were up to. For instance in one situation an agent was questioned about if he knew the long history of the use of the grand jury to incarcerate activists in the Puerto Rican independence movement. (He did.) Another agent, newly assigned to this case, testified that he had been told that this was an FALN case though he admitted never seeing any evidence like this. Several people also came forward to testify as character witnesses for the defendants. Four bishops from the Episcopal Church and two Puerto Rican sociologists testified to the commitment and activities of the defendants in the cause of the Puerto Rican, Chicano and Mexican people. Another witness from the grand jury project testified for an hour on how the grand jury has been used to incarcerate political activists as for example during the Vietnam war. Documentation of COINTELPRO campaigns to "disrupt and neutralize" activists were also presented.

The government made a calculated risk in allowing even this much to be introduc-

ed in court. Part of their strategy in doing this was to deal a side blow at middle forces supportive of the Puerto Rico independence movement. When one bishop was on the stand the U.S. Attorney asked him if he would still stand by Maria Cueto if he knew that other members of the Episcopal Church's Commission on Hispanic Affairs "had been convicted or are fugitives in FALN-related affairs." The bishop replied with a firm yes. Further, the U.S. Attorney made the accusation that funds and equipment from the Hispanic commission had been found in an alleged bomb factory. The judge of course ruled this question out of order but with the point being made for broader consumption that supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement had better beware.

After all of the defense witnesses testified the U.S. Attorney then announced in court that he could introduce evidence proving that the defendants were leaders of the FALN! Judge Sifton ruled against this move, but whether this was an actual difference or just a little game is another question. The U.S. Attorney's stunning evidence consisted of alleged fingerprints of two of the defendants found on a book in an apartment along with explosives four years ago. Besides, an adequate hysteria had already been created in the courtroom by the prosecution about the "FALN connection" — all with the judge's permission. And no sooner was a guilty verdict brought in than the U.S. Attorney again said he'd proceed to prove the defendants to be "FALN members and terrorists." While the criminal contempt charge can put the defendants in jail for a long time a conviction on bombing charges would open the door to all sorts of conspiracy counts and the dragnetting of more people as part of the "conspiracy." This is precisely where the government's efforts are headed.

The "Crime" of Political Literature

A week before the trial opened, the Joint Terrorist Task Force staged a highly-publicized raid on the Madam Binh Graphics collective, a group initiated by May 19th. Supposedly seeking a fugitive on an old warrant, 20 agents descended on the collective bashing in the door with sledgehammers. The "big catch" announced all throughout the media was *political literature!* Cartons of leaflets and pamphlets in support of the FALN were carried out and treated like criminal contraband. And in an effort to cripple efforts to respond to the government's overall assault, political posters and T-shirts, a copying machine, and film equipment were also confiscated. Two women inside the place at the time of the raid were charged with obstruction of government business.

Not only was this raid staged to create a proper atmosphere for the MLN trial but

was part of the "conspiracy" theory the government wants to advance in order to attack broader and broader forces. As we have reported on previously, the government has launched a broad-scale attack against revolutionary nationalists. Some of this sprung into high gear in the aftermath of the attempted Brinks expropriation in October of 1981. Without elaborating on all the specifics here the political police have been manufacturing all sorts of half-baked "criminal links" while they have targeted Black revolutionary nationalists including the Republic of New Afrika, the Black Liberation Army and former Black Panther Party members. Former Weathermen and members of May 19th have also been arrested. The government is now trying to take this one step further by attempting to concoct a "criminal link" from the Brinks case to those being targeted in the course of the FALN investigation. This was behind all the fanfare of the fact that in the raid of the collective, photographs of agents from the Joint Terrorist Task Force and newspaper clippings of the police presence at the Brinks trial and of the police that killed one Brinks "suspect" Mtayari Sundiata were confiscated. Further unnamed sources have revealed to the media that the government "suspects" that money from the attempted Brinks robbery was earmarked for the FALN. From the other side the government has theorized about the involvement of the BLA, Weathermen and the FALN in the New Year's Eve bombings. Also a defendant in the RICO indictment, Sylvia Baraldini and another woman were subpoenaed (and jailed) by the same grand jury investigating the FALN. This is precisely the method of the political police throughout — to contemplate aloud the "possible criminal links" especially through the media and then to return indictments, subpoenas, etc., at a later point.

The government's attack has drawn forth opposition from many quarters. In addition to the bishops who testified at the trial, many church members were present from West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Michigan. One bishop told the *RW* that prior to coming to the trial his Sunday sermon had been on the grand jury. Another bishop stated that he and others firmly "support the right of self-determination of the Puerto Rican people" and that they stand "shoulder-to-shoulder with the defendants." Activists in the movement to free Ireland were also present in court. Members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico came, as did Señor Corretjar, who came from Puerto Rico for the trial and who is a leader of the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria, who was imprisoned in the 1930s with Albizu Campos. The National Lawyers Guild, the National Council of Black Lawyers, and the Grand Jury Project also issued a joint statement condemning the government's attack. □

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

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U.S. "Two Track" Tango in El Salvador

In the early morning hours of February 3, U.S. Staff Sergeant J. Thomas Stanley, a radio operator, was riding in a UH-1H Huey helicopter over the Cuscatlán bridge that joins the provinces of San Vicente and Usulután in El Salvador when he suddenly got shot in the leg. How could this have happened? Hasn't the U.S. government assured us time and again that all U.S. soldiers in El Salvador are merely "trainers" — not even "advisers"? Supposedly, all they do is *train* their Salvadoran charges in the finer points of U.S. counterinsurgency, after which the puppet troops are supposedly left on their own to bomb, murder, torture, etc. according to how well they have learned their lessons. It seems that after a little "investigation," the U.S. Military Group in El Salvador was forced to publicly admit that both the helicopter that Stanley (and an undisclosed number of other U.S. soldiers) were riding in and another helicopter that was also in the area were "attempting to establish direct contact with a Salvadoran Army unit on a tactical operation." It was left to a UPI story which appeared a few days later to suggest that, according to an unnamed Salvadoran Air Force source, the helicopter that Stanley was traveling in was "perhaps" used as a *command center* for Salvadoran soldiers.

One can only wonder what other operations of the Salvadoran military have "perhaps" had U.S. "trainers" barking out the orders directly. For example, the Catholic Church documented the killing of 258 civilians during the week of the helicopter incident, "many" of these from the "indiscriminate bombing" of the city of Berlin that reduced its central zone to a pile of rubble. Of course, it is readily admitted that the helicopters and the A-37 Dragonfly planes, not to mention the bombs, were supplied by the U.S., and the pilots were obviously schooled in the same techniques that have been applied, on a larger scale, in Beirut and Indochina, and so on. But the direct command of such operations is also very important to their ultimate success, and there is a possibility that unless the vast U.S. expertise were *directly* applied, a sufficiently high *body count* might not be achieved. The Church also reported that death squads were responsible for the disappearance of 25 and the deaths of an additional 37 people in the same week, and here too there is no substitute for the command of those who not only invented such activity but have perfected it through repeated application throughout the neo-colonial world. Indeed, it may very well be that having U.S. "trainers" directly commanding Salvadoran operations is the only way to ensure that El Salvador remains worthy of U.S.-style human rights certification.

At first, U.S. officials reported that this was strictly a non-combat operation, and that Sergeant Stanley's helicopter was merely trying to check up on a communications link; Stanley was widely quoted as saying, "We weren't doing anything wrong," a statement that the press originally interpreted to mean that the helicopter wasn't involved in combat. Then, when it became apparent that this story wouldn't hold — for example, some Salvadoran troops in the area reported seeing exchanges of gunfire between guerrilla forces on the ground and two U.S. helicopters — unnamed U.S. Embassy sources floated out the story that since the pilots of the aircraft were *Salvadorans*, U.S. personnel had no control over where those pilots chose to fly! Knowledgeable observers immediately began speculating over whether the U.S. was about to set a new Salvadoran record for bald-faced, shameless and thoroughly laughable lies. Finally, U.S. officials decided to cut their losses, declare the incident an "exception," in the words of Ambassador Deane Hinton, and make a big show of removing three U.S. soldiers from their Salvadoran posts for supposedly violating U.S. non-combat "guidelines." Sergeant Stanley was cleared since he was "only following orders," while the three others are to remain nameless, undoubtedly so that the question of whose orders *they* were following cannot be further pursued.

Still, one might very well ask, "What's new?" After all, such activity has been going on in El Salvador for a long time, and there have undoubtedly been any number of similar incidents — including "perhaps" injuries to other U.S. soldiers as well. In one sense, the most networ-

thy thing about the Sgt. Stanley helicopter incident is that it actually got publicized in the U.S. media. And it is no coincidence that this should occur right in the middle of some inner-bourgeois discord over the precise mixture of blood and guile that the U.S.'s sticky Salvadoran situation requires.

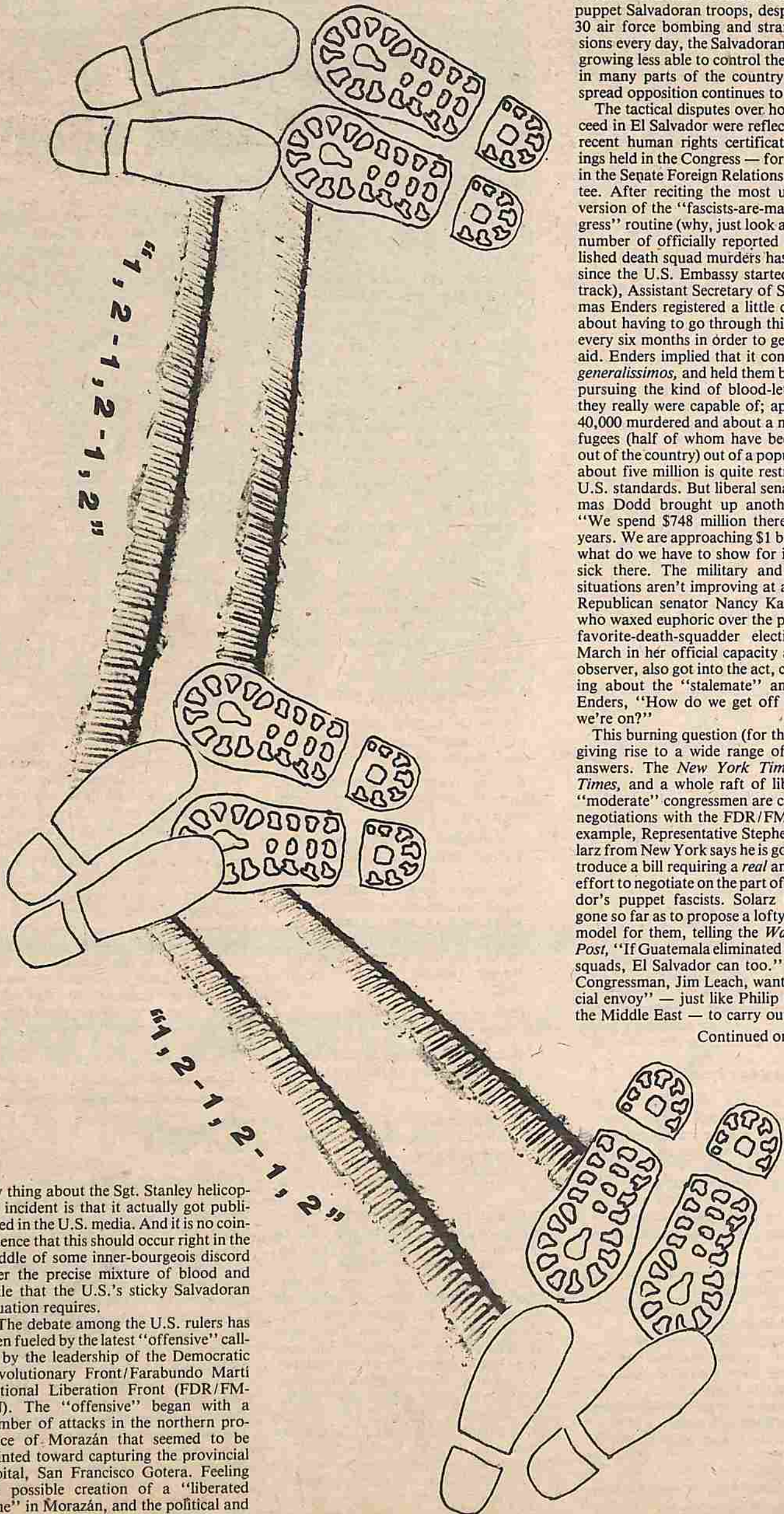
The debate among the U.S. rulers has been fueled by the latest "offensive" called by the leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN). The "offensive" began with a number of attacks in the northern province of Morazán that seemed to be pointed toward capturing the provincial capital, San Francisco Gotera. Feeling the possible creation of a "liberated zone" in Morazán, and the political and diplomatic consequences of such an oc-

currence, the Salvadoran military rushed in all three U.S.-trained battalions and much of the army's fire power. Then, while 6500 troops were tied up in Morazán, a brigade of about 500 FDR/FMLN guerrillas attacked in Usulután province in the central part of the country; this is a critical area for the regime, since most of El Salvador's cotton and a good percentage of its coffee and sugar, the three most important export crops in the country's imperialist-dominated economy, are produced in this province. The guerrillas were able to take over Berlin — a city of over 30,000 people, the largest ever taken by the FMLN — and hold it for 2 days before withdrawing ahead of the oncoming Salvadoran troops. The action showed that despite the massive influx of U.S. matériel and the increased training of puppet Salvadoran troops, despite some 30 air force bombing and strafing missions every day, the Salvadoran regime is growing less able to control the situation in many parts of the country as widespread opposition continues to grow.

The tactical disputes over how to proceed in El Salvador were reflected in the recent human rights certification hearings held in the Congress — for example, in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. After reciting the most up-to-date version of the "fascists-are-making-progress" routine (why, just look at how the number of officially reported and published death squad murders has declined since the U.S. Embassy started keeping track), Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders registered a little complaint about having to go through this charade every six months in order to get military aid. Enders implied that it confused the *generalissimos*, and held them back from pursuing the kind of blood-letting that they really were capable of; apparently, 40,000 murdered and about a million refugees (half of whom have been driven out of the country) out of a population of about five million is quite restrained by U.S. standards. But liberal senator Thomas Dodd brought up another point. "We spend \$748 million there in three years. We are approaching \$1 billion and what do we have to show for it? It's so sick there. The military and political situations aren't improving at all." And Republican senator Nancy Kassebaum, who waxed euphoric over the pick-your-favorite-death-squadder elections last March in her official capacity as a U.S. observer, also got into the act, complaining about the "stalemate" and asking Enders, "How do we get off the dime we're on?"

This burning question (for the U.S.) is giving rise to a wide range of possible answers. The *New York Times*, *L.A. Times*, and a whole raft of liberal and "moderate" congressmen are calling for negotiations with the FDR/FMLN. For example, Representative Stephens J. Solarz from New York says he is going to introduce a bill requiring a *real* and *sincere* effort to negotiate on the part of El Salvador's puppet fascists. Solarz has even gone so far as to propose a lofty new role model for them, telling the *Washington Post*, "If Guatemala eliminated the death squads, El Salvador can too." Another Congressman, Jim Leach, wants a "special envoy" — just like Philip Habib in the Middle East — to carry out all deli-

Continued on page 12



Memory

Continued from page 6

furnish statements of all persons having knowledge of the case, that that would be hard, because there wasn't a person in Wayne County who didn't have knowledge of this case.)

Upon being shown the affidavit which "neglected" to mention that Darnell had been previously charged and that his own office dismissed the charge, which Cahalan had signed under oath, Cahalan testified that he could not remember signing it but that he would have signed it without reading it, as part of his administrative duties. Someone else in his office must have prepared it, he couldn't say who. Later a secretary-paralegal from his office was called to the stand and admitted to typing the thing. Indications are that everyone from the State Department, the U.S. Embassy Bonn, the U.S. Consulate Frankfurt, the Department of Justice, Office of International Affairs, the FBI, the Federal Marshalls, the German Justice Ministry to the Michigan State Police were in on this extradition—but only the secretary who typed the request will admit to it. Obviously, something more than William Cahalan's "amnesia" is being covered up here. The secretary testified that Darnell's extradition was one of the only three international extraditions in Wayne County in the last decade, but that Darnell's was "entirely routine."

Excerpts from an unsigned document addressed to the Honorable William Cahalan, Prosecutor, Wayne County, Michigan, which the defense received in the discovery process of Michigan State Police files and which was entered as a defense exhibit.

"Pursuant to the conference held on Monday, October 14, 1968 at your office, this report is being submitted as a followup to that meeting. It is felt by the officers that have taken part in this investigation that a one-man grand jury would now serve to bring this investigation to a successful conclusion.

HISTORY OF MALCOLM X CULTURAL CENTER.

The entire investigation of this matter centers around the former Harrison Recreation Center on Carlisle at Northland Street, Inkster. Monday, July 15, 1968 numerous militants, along with their leaders (names to follow) appeared at the Inkster City Council meeting. There were about 100 people in all. Their numbers and African-American costumes frightened the City Council. They demanded that the Harrison Recreation Center be turned over to them. Included in this demand was that the center was to be used exclusively by the Black community. In response to these demands the City Council ruled that they would have a meeting with the militants on July 16, 1968 at 7 p.m. and give a decision at that time on the above demand....

HATE LITERATURE:

On August 8, 1968 the center was entered by officers of this department and a large amount of hate literature was confiscated. Included was a large picture of "Huie (sic) Newton", Black Panther leader, written on it was "kill the white racist dog policemen." There were also pictures of deceased Malcolm X.

Questions and answers from the evidentiary hearing:

Attorney: "Do you recall receiving this document?"

Cahalan: I never received it.

Attorney: Are you now familiar with the matters in this document?

Cahalan: Some of them.

Attorney: Do you recall meeting with officers and members of your staff in the Gonser investigation in 1968?

Cahalan: No.

Attorney: Do you recall whether it occurred?

Cahalan: No.

Attorney: In 1968, at any time did you participate in conferences of any nature?

Cahalan: I have no recollection.

Excerpts from an unsigned document addressed to Judge Advocate General, Department of Army, Washington, D.C., which defense had received in discovery of Michigan State Police files which was entered as a defense exhibit.

1. Chief Law Enforcement Officer of Wayne County, Michigan, I respectfully request that the United States Army make an exception to establish (sic) policy and that Darnell Summers be returned to a military reservation in Michigan jurisdiction. This would permit the service of the attached felony warrant charging Darnell Summers with conspiracy to assault with intent to murder. Upon conviction of this charge, Darnell Summers could be sentenced to life imprisonment....

(The document goes on to detail other crimes including arson, murder, extortion, etc., all attributed to the Anarchy of "a group of Black militants calling themselves the Malcolm X Society (sic)." — RW)

Another excerpt from the same document.

c. ANARCHY. It is known that Darnell Summers was a leader in the Malcolm X Society in Inkster. It is known that he made statements avocating (sic) the systematic disruption of law and order in Inkster... There are unsupported statements indicating that Darnell Summers attended meetings of various National Black Power Movements and spoke at some of them...

Again questions and answers from the evidentiary hearing.

Attorney: Who is Chief Law Enforcement Officer of Wayne County?

Cahalan: I.

Attorney: And who was Chief Law Enforcement officer then?

Cahalan: I.

Attorney: Did you write this document?

Cahalan: No.

Attorney: Did you request that someone else write it?

Cahalan: I don't recall. I have no recollection of ever being involved with the military.

Excerpt from the Detroit News, August 16, 1968 concerning press conference held by Cahalan.

"No criminality can be found in the killing by police of a 14-year-old Inkster boy... the Prosecutor's Office announced today... Cahalan's report quoted the Inkster officer who fired his shotgun as saying: "I was scared. My impression was that we had the man who had shot the trooper (Gonser) cornered in a field..."

Back to questions and answers from the hearing.

Attorney: Were you familiar with the investigation of the death of a young man named Jimmy Matthews?

Cahalan: No.

Attorney: Does that name mean anything to you?

Cahalan: No.

Finally, Mr. Cahalan testified that of the approximately 450,000 cases that he dealt with in his 15 years as Chief Law Enforcement Officer of Wayne County, "... I was virtually acquainted with only about 1 of them, when my home was burglarized." In other words, Mr. Cahalan has no recollection of helping to get off scot free, the cops who murdered three Black youth at the Algiers Motel incident during the 1967 Detroit rebellion. Nor does he recall prosecuting to the hilt the supporters of the Republic of New Afrika, after police opened fire on a conference in the New Bethel Church, arresting all 140 people in the church, children included. Nor does he remember the case of the Black Panther 16, which he prosecuted, after the cops laid siege to the office of the Black Panther Party, as part

of at least 16 armed raids carried out against the Panthers in over 10 cities. Nor does Cahalan recall his role in the coverup of police murders illustrated by accounts of victims of Detroit's notorious STRESS program of the 1970s, designed to terrorize and intimidate the Black community and promote racial divisions in society. Neither does Mr. Cahalan recall all the cases of thousands of oppressed and working class people who have been herded through a Wayne County courtroom and thrown in jail for the crime of being poor, being Black or in some way running into the dictatorship of the capitalists. Picture if you will, the chief hyena up on the stand, not so much washing the blood from his hands as displaying it, and trying to rub people's noses in it. His performance just typifies what methods they are trying to put out by saddling Darnell with life in jail, and how, at this time, they are trying to deal with the growing exposure of their raggedy railroad inside and out-

side the courtroom.

Later Judge Sullivan stated again that he "shared the concern" that the defense is delaying things (dig that) because they are reluctant to go to trial (read: reluctant to be railroaded to jail.) The "evidence" from this hearing shows anew both to what blatant lengths they'll go to get a conviction on Darnell and the fierce battle for public opinion being waged which we must now step up to win Darnell from their clutches and to deliver our own verdict! PICK UP THE GAUNTLET! FREE DARNELL SUMMERS!

The Extradition hearing continues on February 23. Brochures on the case are now available at \$5 per hundred, not at the price quoted previously in the RW which was in error. Address:

The Coalition to Free Darnell Summers
P.O. Box 206
Inkster, MI 48141

"Two Track" Tango

Continued from page 11

cate discussions in Central America, including within El Salvador. Needless to say, the growing liberal sound and fury over negotiations is not exactly in contradiction to the continuation and escalation of the "training," weaponry, bombs, etc. that the U.S. provides its neo-colonial military apparatus.

At the risk of seeming redundant, one might still ask, "What's new?" After all, the U.S. has been both talking about and conducting such dual tactics for the past few years in El Salvador. While the military pressure has been intensifying, there have been countless open and secret meetings and discussions between FDR leaders and U.S. congressmen, "lower-level" U.S. State Dept. officials, intermediaries from Mexico, Venezuela and other countries, and Salvadoran intermediaries as well, such as the Catholic Church, for example. Indeed, when the *Washington Post* ran a front-page story on a supposedly new "two-track" plan proposed by Thomas Enders — to combine military support to the Salvadoran government with efforts at negotiations — Enders and a host of other U.S. officials jumped out to reiterate that while they will continue to support their fascist puppets with military and economic aid, they have also always been in favor of "reconciliation" in El Salvador.

"Reconciliation" here means getting as many opposition forces as possible to participate in a "political solution" on U.S. terms, i.e., making certain governmental changes while preserving U.S. political and military control. To make that happen, a way must be found to bring some of the more pro-Western FDR leaders into the regime and reunite them with many of the generalissimos and hack lackeys that many have already served with in previous juntas. As the *N.Y. Times* reminds everyone, "There are democrats on both sides of the barricades." Meanwhile, all manner of political, diplomatic and military maneuvers are and will be taking place to try and surround and isolate all other opposition forces, including pro-Soviet revisionists. The imperialists on both sides of the debate, whether "Reaganite hardliner" or "moderate li-

beral," are very much united when it comes to this — the essence of all proposals for a "political solution."

Within this common framework there are a variety of tactical differences. At times, these differences are quite intense, and one can often hear the accusations and recriminations bouncing off the capitol building walls. Given the stakes involved, that's not too surprising. After all, this is the U.S.'s vital "backyard" — an area of great strategic importance. Of course, nobody in the U.S. bourgeoisie is talking about "getting out" of El Salvador (or anywhere else, for that matter). And for their own reasons, the leaders of the FDR/FMLN have been more than willing to deal on these terms and in this framework and push for a role for themselves in the U.S.-dominated ruling apparatus. The more pro-Western social-democrats and Christian Democrats in the FDR/FMLN leadership have long held such aspirations, and the pro-Soviet revisionists are looking for some "historic compromise" operating room, gaining a share of power and increasing their influence with an eye toward more major moves in the future. To this end, the FDR/FMLN leadership has used armed struggle — such as the recent "offensive" — as a pressure tactic to serve their strategy of negotiations for a share of power. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to try to narrow the FDR's demands and angle for splits and divisions that it can use to its advantage.

This is the essence of the negotiations hoopla, and while it goes on so does the process of U.S. military fortifications in Central America and intensified preparations for the suppression of the masses of people and for world war. A U.S. arms buildup in Honduras, arms sales to Guatemala, joint U.S.-Honduran maneuvers on the Nicaraguan border, followed up by joint U.S.-Panamanian maneuvers — this is the backdrop for El Salvador's "two tracks." And El Salvador is certainly part of the trend. It was recently announced that the strength of the Salvadoran armed forces is about to be expanded to 43,000 men, the largest military apparatus in Central America. □

Draft

Continued from page 3

Boston 18 were the focus of broad support among various forces opposing the draft. All through the spring and summer of 1981 there were a series of benefit fundraisers and events around the case. The 18 themselves remained quite visible and active in the anti-draft movement.

Meanwhile an appeal was in the process of being filed. It was heard in the fall of 1981 and a decision upholding the conviction was not reached until March of 1982. A second appeal was filed a month later, and again was taken under advisement. A decision was expected to be handed down sometime in early March of 1983. However this process was obviously speeded up for maximum impact. The 18 were served notice that a federal order for their arrest would be issued February 14th. All are now serving time. One of the 18, a member of the RCYB, was quickly

denied a request to serve her sentence over an extended period of time and at an in-state prison. This request was based in part on the fact that she is a single parent. Such motions are quite routinely granted in such cases, but not in this one—a further indication of the way the government is dealing with this matter.

The jailing of the 18, who were the first people to be arrested for protesting the draft since the Vietnam war, is definitely a calculated statement of intent on the part of the government. Taken together with the new charges against Ed Hasbrouck and others, these represent a significant attack on the anti-draft movement. But the response to this heightened repression has also been significant. This was nowhere more evident than at the picket line held on February 15th in support of the Boston 18, where amidst the 200 people who had shown up were not only many of those who had been active in the anti-draft movement over a period of time, but also many new faces of youth from the colleges and high school campuses. □



As Vice President George Bush was making the rounds in Europe in early February, Secretary of State George Shultz was traveling to Japan, China and South Korea doing his part to step up the war preparations in the Far East theater. In a signed article in the *New York Times* before the two tours, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser for Jimmy Carter, urged they be seen as "two prongs of a successful global strategy." He stressed that the talks with the U.S. allies must not be mere formalities or quibbling over secondary questions, but must be "strategically substantive," in order to "prevent what clearly is in the forefront of current Soviet Union strategy, a progressive American-European divorce and a separation of China from America." Indeed, Shultz flew into Asia to push back the Soviet overtures toward China which had resulted in the initial round of high-level Sino-Soviet talks, the first in many years, last October. The Shultz trip to China had been announced right at the time of those talks.

The Sino-Soviet talks of October were a result of intensive efforts by the Soviet Union to take advantage of contradictions that have flared up between the U.S. and China during the past two years, concentrated on the controversy over continued U.S. military and political ties to Taiwan, in particular, the U.S. refusal to halt sale of military hardware to Taiwan. The Chinese revisionists are still very much operating as part of the Western bloc. But because of their need to deal with the real threat posed by Soviet military might as well as to maneuver to further their own bourgeois interests, the revisionists are playing around with their Soviet "card," and are putting on a thin make-up of "independence" by criticizing U.S. "hegemonism."

While some such rhetoric from China is expected by — and even useful to — the U.S., the U.S. imperialists are actually quite worried about these developments. Still, they have been careful not to dramatize their concerns and thus intensify these contradictions. As an article in the *New York Times* appearing on the day of Shultz's arrival in Peking puts it, "For the administration, China remains an important strategic anchor, holding almost 50 Soviet divisions on its border."

However, the same *New York Times* article also quotes one "chief administration official" as saying that while relations with China will be further developed, the U.S. "will not pay a high price for it either." The article further notes that in the view of the Reagan administration, the necessary price for such relations has already been paid with the signing of the Taiwan Communiqué last August. That document doled out some concessions to China, namely a promise to put a ceiling on the quality and quantity of arms to be supplied to Taiwan by the U.S. But overall, what the Communiqué represented was the acceptance of continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, and the political tie

of the U.S. to Taiwan was rammed down the throat of the Chinese revisionists.

Trade Sanctions

Shultz, therefore, did not head for China bearing a bagful of goodies to hand out to the revisionists to win them over. This point was hammered home even before Shultz left when talks regarding exports of Chinese textiles to the U.S. broke down in mid-January. China had been pushing for a 6% annual growth rate in its textile sales to the U.S., while the U.S. demanded that the growth be restricted to 2% or under, on a par with the growth rates of textile imports from other countries. China argued that it was entitled to a higher rate since it was running in the red in overall trade with the U.S., to the tune of about \$700 million in 1982. Textile exports make up 25% of China's foreign exchange earnings, which it needs desperately to finance its capitalist "modernization." Moreover, China's textile industry has been hit by capitalist-style problems of overproduction, forcing the revisionists to close less efficient factories, cut clothes prices, and scramble even more furiously to expand exports. Despite pleas by the Chinese revisionists, the U.S. continued to take a hard line, and after the breakdown in negotiations, unilaterally imposed strict quotas on the imports of Chinese textiles.

Once in Peking, Shultz stood fast on the U.S. position of making no further concessions. On arms sales to Taiwan, he would only say that the U.S. would live up to the commitments made in the Taiwan Communiqué of last August — which means that the U.S. will continue to sell arms to Taiwan over China's objections. As for trade issues, when U.S. businessmen in Peking complained in a meeting with Shultz that they were losing important sales because the U.S. was slower in granting licenses for technology exports than Japan or West Germany, Shultz, in what was termed "uncharacteristically tough language," shot back, "Why don't you move to Japan or West Germany?" Obviously, this was a rebuke directed at the Chinese, who have been complaining bitterly that American technology has not been arriving fast enough although China has already been granted most-favored-nation status. The message was clear enough — it's the U.S. that makes and enforces the rules, and China must play by them if it wants to play at all.

Although Shultz himself made no direct, open threat against the Chinese, there has been more than a little behind-the-scenes arm twisting by the U.S. to pull the revisionists back into line. According to the *New York Times*, the State Dept. let the Chinese know about the U.S. displeasures over China's recent flirtation with the Soviets and criticism of the U.S. by making it clear that "Washington would not look kindly on providing new dual-use technology, technology that could have military and civilian applications, as long as Peking maintains an anti-American profile." Chinese diplomats "reacted quickly" by calling out their U.S. counterparts to reassure them that China was only trying to make some points, not making a fundamental shift in its orientation. One Reagan administration official was quoted as saying, "They understand that it's one thing to get our attention, and another to go too far, and that they pulled back somewhat in their public rhetoric." If anyone held any illusions about China's recent show of "in-

Revisionists

dependence," this obedient response by the revisionists to a tug on their leash should have dispelled them rather quickly.

Beefing Up the Bloc

While the U.S. refused to sweeten the pot for the revisionists on the questions of Taiwan and trade, the one inducement that Shultz did bring to China was, to use Brzezinski's words, of a more "strategically substantive" nature — the strength and the cohesion of the U.S.-led bloc, in particular in Asia, which was underscored by Japanese Premier Nakasone's trip to the U.S. in January. The Chinese revisionists have in the past expressed open concern about the divisive contradictions within the U.S. bloc. The revisionists, therefore, welcomed the efforts by Nakasone and Reagan to put the sharp economic contradictions between the two countries in the background and emphasize the need to prepare the bloc as a whole with greater speed for war.

Although political restrictions prevented the Chinese revisionists from jumping with joy at the leaps and bounds in Japanese imperialism's military preparations, they were undoubtedly elated over Nakasone's bellicose declarations in Washington that Japan must become "an unsinkable aircraft carrier" to resist infiltration by Soviet Backfire bombers, defend the strategic straits around Japan to block the passage of Soviet subs and warships, and defend the sea-line communication. A stronger Japan militarily and a firmer U.S.-Japan axis gives the present leading forces in the Peking regime more ammunition to ward off those in China who argue that the U.S. bloc is too weak and unreliable and that therefore China should cast its lot with the Soviets. After all, if China must be a "strategic anchor" (and the revisionists realize full well that that is how the U.S. looks at them), the stronger the warship it's attached to, the better.

Shultz's stop-over in Japan before arriving in China reaffirmed and carried forward the leaps made during Nakasone's U.S. trip. Playing its particular role in the U.S. bloc peace war against the Soviets, Japan repeated its "strong support" for Reagan's "zero option" plan, which includes the elimination of 90 SS-20's in Asia. Shultz replied that the U.S. would never be a party to any agreements on reducing intermediate range missiles in Europe that would adversely affect Japan or other non-European allies. Japan also announced that it was "considering" a request by Shultz that Japan contribute financially to the "international peace-keeping force" in Lebanon. A Japanese daily reported that the Japanese government already has decided to contribute \$20 million a year, enough to pay for a 1,000-man battalion. What's significant about this is not the amount of money but the precedent it sets for Japan to take part in military actions of the U.S. bloc, even outside its own sphere of influence in Asia.

Shultz's arrival in Asia also coincided with the U.S.-South Korea "Team Spirit '83" maneuvers involving about 188,000 combined troops. Here again, the Chinese revisionists cannot come out to openly support such actions, especially since they are contending with the Soviets for influence over North Korea. However, they are not at all unhappy at the strong U.S. presence in South Korea as a counterforce to the Soviets. The revisionists did make a statement on behalf of North Korea to Shultz in Peking condemning the military exercises. It was pointed out that the statement was made away from the main talks held with Shultz, and that way U.S. officials regarded it as a "routine show of support" for North Korea by Peking without necessarily endorsing the protests.

Conflicts Remain

The combination of "strategically

substantive" inducement and subtle as well as not-so-subtle arm-twisting had some effect, though the basic situation remains unchanged. Shultz said upon departing that a new atmosphere of mutual trust had been built which "set the stage for renewed advances" in their relations. China replied that the visit had improved relations "to some extent," and Premier Zhao Ziyang told the American press that, "China attaches great importance to Sino-U.S. relations." Zhao announced that he had accepted Reagan's invitation to visit the U.S., and in turn had invited Reagan to come to China. Although Zhao still referred to Taiwan as "the main obstacle in the development of our bilateral relations," a U.S. official revealed that the assurances given by Shultz that the U.S. would live up to the Taiwan Communiqué seemed to satisfy the Chinese side, at least for now.

Besides Zhao's planned trip to the U.S., the only specific proposal to come out of the talks was agreement to take initial steps to revive high-level military contacts, which had been virtually suspended since Reagan took office. Shultz also suggested a visit in the near future by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. It's unclear at this point what concrete steps will result from these proposals. The possibility of new leaps in China's integration into the U.S. bloc in the military sphere cannot be discounted. However, such a development seemed even more imminent back in 1980 when the then-Secretary of Defense Harold Brown rushed to China in immediate response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and broached the question of U.S. arms sales and high-level military exchanges. But after a brief spurt of activity, including the tour of U.S. defense bases and industries by the Chinese Defense Minister and the setting up of American radar stations in China to check up on Soviet missile tests, further exchanges were scuttled when the Taiwan dispute flared up.

There was almost nothing said publicly during the Shultz visit by either the U.S. or China about the Sino-Soviet talks, due to resume in March. But there can be no doubt that in the private talks, Shultz grilled the Chinese intensely over the details of the first round of their talks with the Soviets and their intentions for the future. The U.S. has recently expressed concern that China was wavering on the three tough pre-conditions for improving bilateral relations that it had presented to the Soviets: withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Soviet and Mongolian territory bordering China, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and an end to support for Vietnamese occupation forces in Kampuchea. Deng Xiaoping was quoted recently as saying that relations with the Soviets could improve if Moscow acted on just one of the conditions. Although not directly related to the question of the Sino-Soviet talks, the official China News Agency's commentary on the Shultz visit implied that China will stand firm on at least two of the conditions by stating that the U.S. and China are "close in their analysis of the current international situation as well as in their views on the issues of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and arms control." But there is still speculation that China might agree to continue the talks if the Soviets pull back the troops from the border.

The Shultz trip opened up some possibilities for new advances in the U.S.-China relations with the proposals for exchange visits by Zhao and Reagan and for resuming high-level military consultations. But many questions were still left hanging in the air. There were no new breakthroughs on the Taiwan question, which still remains a volatile issue that could flare up again and affect other areas of the relationship, like the military contacts, nor was there any resolution of conflicts on the economic front. Uncertainties about China's response to the Soviet overtures have not been cleared away either. These questions and uncertainties are indicative of the sharp contradictions that the U.S. faces in pulling China tighter into the bloc as a crucial part of preparing the bloc as a whole for war; the U.S. can only attempt to cool off these contradictions and prevent them from exploding and shaking up the bloc as a whole, precisely because waging and winning the world war with their rival imperialist bloc is the only way to qualitatively resolve contradictions within the bloc. □

Another "Apparent Suicide"

On Christmas Day a small article in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reported the death of a prisoner, Kelvin Hebert, at the Washington State Penitentiary at Monroe. No big deal, according to the news story, just another Black prisoner dead. It was an "apparent suicide," according to a quick ruling by the Snohomish County Coroner's Office. Another "apparent suicide"!

Kelvin Hebert had known national oppression. He spent much of his life in state institutions, first in juvenile centers and then in adult corrections facilities. Kelvin's whole family has known this oppression. On February 15, 1975, Kelvin's older brother, Joe, was murdered by Seattle police. Joe, unarmed, was shot in the back of the head from a distance of 30 feet. Even as an inquest jury found officer Earlywine guilty of unjustifiable homicide — murder — Earlywine was never even reprimanded. Harassment of the family continued. Kelvin's step-father was harassed so much that he began to carry a gun for self-protection. He was then thrown in jail for carrying a concealed weapon! That spring Kelvin's mother had a party at her house. Uniformed cops smashed in the door, drawing their guns. Mrs. Blesoe was cited for supposedly illegally selling liquor. Her car was towed away from in front of her own house on numerous occasions. At least once the police refused to release the car to her, claiming it was a stolen vehicle.

In the summer of 1981 Kelvin was paroled out of the state penitentiary at Walla Walla, only to be charged and convicted for second-degree burglary and behind the walls of Monroe some 30 days later. By the summer of 1982, officials at the prison had classified Kelvin as a "behavior problem." One fellow prison-

er put it, "Kelvin was such a strong individual. He cussed out the police for a daily pastime." Having been tossed into Block 3, a detention area of the prison, Kelvin and his cellmate took to throwing excrement and urine on the walls and on the guards. They were immediately removed to the Restricted Unit. Angered by the treatment they received, they continued to shower the guards and walls. From the Restricted Unit, they were then locked in the most isolated section of the prison, the Maximum Security Unit (MSU). The MSU is so isolated that the guard of the 10-cell unit must call by phone to the control room to get keys in order to gain access to the cells. (MSU was nominally condemned by the reformatory warden back in 1968.) On a couple of occasions Kelvin and his cellmate negotiated their way out of the Restricted Unit and then MSU by agreeing to clean up the area they'd desecrated. While in MSU, in December, Kelvin agreed to help paint Block 3 as well. The cleaning process took several days. On December 21, Assistant Superintendent of Custody Michael Woods issued a memo stating that any inmate throwing urine or excrement on a guard would automatically go to the MSU. A number of prisoners believed this was a conscious act on the part of Woods to set Kelvin Hebert up in an isolated situation.

Two days later the painting was completed. That night Kelvin was back in MSU for reportedly throwing urine on a guard. There are different stories about exactly what happened the following night. The Snohomish County Sheriff's Department would only state that Kelvin Hebert committed suicide on December 24 at the prison. When pressed for details from their report, the sheriff

retorted, "It was a suicide and it was investigated. What more do you want to know!"

One Officer Evans gave the following summary of events from the log book to several members of the Black Prisoners Caucus (BPC) at Monroe who on Christmas Day pressed for details on Kelvin's death. Evans was not in the vicinity when the incident occurred. He told the BPC members that at about 9:10 p.m. Kelvin Hebert was informed that his Christmas package (consisting of cigarettes, candy bars and the like) would be brought to him the following morning. He reportedly responded that he didn't want his package, that he would not eat until he was released from MSU. Then at 9:18 the officer noticed a piece of white cloth sticking out of Hebert's cell. He then called for an officer to bring the keys to the cell. At 9:33, he, two other officers and a nurse discovered Kelvin's body hanging from the sheet tied to the bars in the cell window, a mere 5 feet off the ground — and Kelvin Hebert was dead from asphyxiation. Supposedly Kelvin had held his feet off the ground for 3 to 4 minutes in order to kill himself. The BPC members were also able to examine the cell before it was cleaned up. They noted a solid left shoeprint on the cell door about a foot and a half off the ground. One plausible explanation of the footprint is that Kelvin used his left foot to try to brace himself from being strangled by a sheet being pulled tight from outside of the cell window.

When the *RW* contacted Monroe's administration, Assistant Superintendent Woods had a somewhat more elaborate, and markedly different, version, perhaps one embellished since Christmas Day. He stated that the first time Kelvin had refused to receive his package was at 8:40 p.m.

and that at 9:10 not only did he repeat this statement but he also added, "Maybe I'll hang myself or something," a rather convenient alleged statement, needless to say. The next discrepancy is that Woods stated that the guard on duty first saw the sheet at 9:30 p.m. and three minutes later the body was discovered.

Nor do the contradictions end here. Following Kelvin's death an official with the Snohomish County Coroner's Office said that an autopsy would *not* be performed on Kelvin Hebert. This statement was repeated in articles in both the local papers, as if to make it clear the case was closed. Yet it turns out that the state actually has a policy that autopsies are performed on any prisoner who dies. So now the Snohomish County Coroner's Office says they did perform an autopsy, but they too refused to release any details of the investigation except to say that Kelvin died of asphyxiation and they consider it a suicide.

Kelvin Hebert had a parole date set for February. While it was a possibility that the reformatory could recommend that parole be delayed on account of "discipline problems," this had not happened. One woman told the *RW*, "For him to take his life two months before he would get out, I can't believe it. . . . I went up (to the prison) for a visit Christmas Day. It was tense there and no one, I mean no Black prisoners, believed he died from what they say he died from." □

Correction

In the article "The Moral Majority and La Operación," *RW* No. 192, the date of the *Washington Post* article mentioned was 1976, not 1977.

Also, the first sentence of the second full paragraph in the fourth column should read: Some of the most outrageous sterilization abuse has been forced on Native American women in Indian Health Service facilities which by the government's own figures sterilized at least 300-400 Native American women in 3 years with no proof of any kind of "informed consent." □

Democracy Strikes

Continued from page 1

himself, it may be inferred that the Phalangists considered themselves under Israeli military discipline.

But all this has been part of a larger "whole process" in the service of a larger, ringleading, democracy. The massacre was one facet of the U.S.-instigated Israeli invasion of Lebanon, in which tens of thousands were butchered. The lovers of Israel don't want to talk about that. The invasion resulted in U.S. democracy striking Lebanon, aided by the murdering Phalangist, Gemayel (and enforced by U.S. and European troops). And now there is the hoped for imperialist "democratic solution to the Palestinian issue" which is to be carried out under the auspices of King Hussein, whose democratic regime oversaw the infamous Black September massacre of Palestinians in 1970. It is really no wonder that American commentary heaps accolades on the commission's report and on the "vitality of democracy" in Israel, since Israel has been and will be the most unswerving deliverer of U.S.-style democracy to the entire region.

There's no doubt that it's hard to be an imperialist running dog, and Israel's role as such is bound to lead to various domestic rifts, especially these days. In the wake of the commission's report, forces both opposed to and in support of Sharon were mobilized; a grenade was even tossed into an action by Peace Now which had been called to demand Sharon's resignation.

Sharon may be a simple foil, or, perhaps, his present difficulties reflect significant divisions within Israel or between some forces in Israel and the U.S. In any event, the Sharon-ites — some of whom were pictured singing what was described as Israel's "most nationalistic anthem" (a line from the ditty runs: "... the Jordan River has two banks and both belong to Israel. . . ." — don't have all that much to worry about. Sharon isn't going far; he will remain in the Begin

cabinet as a "Minister without portfolio," with duties as yet unspecified. "You're still young," Begin is said to have told Sharon after the reshuffle of portfolios. "You still have much to do." Much to do? It was even suggested at one point that Sharon be assigned responsibility for Palestinians on the West Bank!

Nor are there bound to be any more complaints about Sharon's apparent successor as Defense Minister, Moshe Arens, for the last year Israel's ambassador to the U.S. Anyone who followed the "whole process" of the Israeli invasion remembers this Zionist's face. The media hovered about him at the time for the latest defense of Israeli actions. Blood dripped from his every word in interview after interview.

Arens is not untypical of many in the Israeli elite, in that it is almost impossible to tell where the "U.S. imperialist" in him leaves off and the "Zionist henchman" takes over. He was born in Lithuania, but was raised in the Bronx. He served in the U.S. Army in World War 2. In 1948, he went to Israel and joined Begin's terrorist Irgun Zvai Leumi. In the 1950s, back in the U.S., Arens studied at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Caltech, earning advanced degrees in aeronautical engineering. He then returned to Israel in 1957, where he soon took over responsibility for the development of the Israeli aircraft industry, specializing in the fighter bomber program. Long influential in the Israeli parliament, Arens, before taking the critical job as ambassador to the U.S., headed the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Knesset.

Moshe Arens is to replace the "madman," Sharon, but there is certainly nothing in this current cabinet reshuffling to suggest any replacement for the madman, the democratic madman, Israel. The nature of this particular beast has been amply demonstrated in the massacre at Shatila and Sabra, in the invasion of Lebanon in general, and, in fact, throughout the whole of its history. □

Magician

Continued from page 2

cher, a psychiatrist, wrote of their projection of mental energy, describing at length one event: "I handed Steve my Super 8 Camera. . . . When the film was . . . examined, Steve's taking over the camera was immediately followed by frames where there appeared to be nothing that we could recall being filmed; in its place were separate frames and sequences that resembled a woman's torso, breast, nipple, and thigh." Steve's explanation: "I spat on the lens."

Before the two presented themselves to Washington U., Randi had arranged with them to come clean if they were confronted with any charges of trickery or deception but the occasion never arose. Nor did the lab respond to any of Randi's offers in this same period to observe their work in order to weed out any possible con artists.

In response to Randi's press conference, where all this was revealed, the *New York Times* led off with questions, not of *parapsychology's* methods, but of *Randi's*.

After complaining that Randi's "hoax may have produced more heat than light," and that "his techniques ultimately do more harm than good toward raising the rigor of paranormal inquiry," the *Times* goes after Randi more directly. "Indeed, if Mr. Randi were a psychologist, the hoax might have landed him in hot water" — combining a subtle reminder that Randi is *only* a magician and not a *respectable* man of science, with an outright threat against him. The *Times* goes on to quote Dr. David Mills, director of the Ethics Office at the American Psychological Association, "It sounds like something that would be in our domain. Censure is used by the committee when they feel there is some damage." And just what is so important that is being damaged here, that calls for *threats* against a *mere* magician?!

Why are there such strenuous objections to having a magician present at parapsychology "experiments" — and

why does the *Times* so studiously ignore addressing *this* question? Carl Sagan in his book *Broca's Brain*, tells of another magician, Uri Geller, who "is happy to warp keys and cutlery in the vicinity of scientists — who, in their confrontations with nature, are used to an adversary who fights fair; but (Geller) is greatly affronted at the idea of performances before an audience of skeptical magicians — who, understanding human limitations, are themselves able to perform similar feats by sleight of hand."

It is interesting to note that the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the leading general scientific organization in the U.S., has admitted parapsychologists as affiliates since 1969. This kind of thing — along with official university sanctions of "research into the paranormal" — has added a real air of legitimacy to something which more commonly graces the pages of *National Enquirer*, numerous pop science magazines, a raft of nonsensical books, movies and television programs. It is all a conscious education in ignorance; the widespread dissemination of superstition designed to paralyze and shackle the minds of millions, chaining them to the foggy underworld of mysticism.

In a world in which science must battle religion as the explainer of the mysteries of life and the universe, even the most backward and ridiculous obscurantism often goes cloaked in the regal robes of the august scientific method — and a bit of materialist sorcery in the hands of a magician has pissed off a few people. Thus, the *Times* article (which appears, incidentally, in the weekly science section) condemns Randi for "setting back relations between skeptical scientists and those probing the paranormal." Now one should hardly expect the *Times* science section to be hereafter devoted to the "paranormal." But really, what are they squawking about? After all, if they can allow spirits space in their science section, what's wrong with sending a couple of magicians after the spirits?

At the conclusion of his press conference, the Amazing Randi announced that he was not yet finished: already in the works is Project Beta. □

The trail of coincidence that has been hounding Hayden Fisher has taken a new twist, but the tracks bear the same old scent. This time, instead of the physical assaults written about in *RW* No. 189 (January 21, 1983), is a verbal assault in the form of an article in the February 11 edition of the *Los Angeles Times*. But this attack is no less sinister than those that preceded it. In fact, the article is clearly written to both inspire new covert physical assaults on Hayden and to use these as a cover for the continuing gangster efforts of the official political police. The article in question was the *Times*' attempt — published under the byline of one Allan Parachini — to sum up a recent conference held at the University of Southern California called "Vietnam Reconsidered: Lessons from a War." (The *RW* will discuss this conference in a future issue.) A section of the article "profiles" Hayden, who attended the conference. While not a scheduled speaker at this conference, Hayden, representing Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist), spoke out from the floor a number of times during the four day meeting. Obviously, what Hayden had to say had a significant impact on much of the audience and some of the speakers as well — a point the *Times* tacitly acknowledges by limiting their "coverage" of what was, in fact, rather extensive audience participation in the conference to the briefest distortion of Hayden's role, repeating the by-now tiresome rhetoric of the "free press" that typically characterizes penetrating revolutionary exposure as "diatribe" and "shout(s) (of) ideological defiance of the American government system."

But while the *Times* puts on a show of being relatively disinterested in Hayden's statements at the conference, the newspaper seems to have a rather morbid fascination with a certain version of his "life story." The *Times* pays a great deal of attention to Hayden's time in the military, focusing on the fact that he was never assigned to combat. The point that "he never actually fought there — except,

L.A. Times Targets Hayden Fisher

he said, against the Shore Patrol" is repeatedly cited. "It took just three months for the war, or the thought of it to overwhelm him," (emphasis *RW*) the *Times* says, as it talks about drugs, and the threat of a court martial and bad conduct discharge. Then, Hayden got transferred from Saigon to a post "farther south" where, the *Times* notes, "he performed what in Navy parlance are called 'non-essential tasks.'" The *Times* describes a scene where Hayden is chased by the Shore Patrol, neglecting to mention that the goons were breaking up a political meeting of sailors in which Hayden had played a leading role. In the course of the chase, Hayden was injured. The *Times* describes this: "It was as close as he got to a war wound."

At first glance, this would appear to be merely your typical reactionary hatchet-job. If you can't defeat the impact of revolutionary exposure, perhaps you can discredit the speaker. In particular, the *Times* would seem to be operating from a basic intuition that the testimony of a revolutionary veteran is particularly jolting. Some forces at the conference, aware of this "vet's right to speak," tried to spread the rumor that Hayden wasn't a veteran. Since this could be easily disproved, the *Times* was forced to carry it a step further — well, he may be a veteran but he's not a real combat-type, blood and guts veteran. Clearly, this is an aspect of what the *Times* is trying to do here.

But there is more to it. The article doesn't end with Hayden's "war wound" — in fact, that is the set-up and jumping off point for the story of another wound. This one, of course, occurred in an East

L.A. housing project on April 22, 1980, when RCP member Damián Garcia was the victim of a planned execution by the political police, and Hayden was also stabbed in the same attack and required emergency surgery to save his life. Only the *Times* describes it a little differently, actually making the incredible claim that Hayden said "that they were mistaken for members of a rival gang and attacked." And the *Times* continues: "He tells this story eagerly. He recites the story of Damien (sic) Garcia's death and reminds his listener that someone had been wounded with Garcia. 'That's me,' he says proudly. 'I'm Hayden Fisher.'"

Now, the second level of this poison-penned story comes clearly into view. Not only is this an attempt to discredit Hayden and the role of revolutionary veterans, but it is also a *Soldier of Fortune*-type piece — only right in the middle of the respectable *L.A. Times*. To the idle Green Berets, gung-ho mercenaries, hired thugs, "off-duty" cops and all those who "still love the smell of napalm in the morning," the *L.A. Times* is quite blatantly painting a target on Hayden Fisher. The *Times* supplies the fabricated image of a guy who never faced the dangers of the "real one" in Vietnam like they did, "is glad we got our butts kicked," and is supposedly puffed up and thrilled over his brush with a

"gang" in East L.A. If ever there was a call to arms for the bourgeoisie's reactionary social base, this is it. And it just coincidentally comes right in the middle of a whole series of assaults on Hayden made to look like they come from your typical average reactionary. Now, if anything should happen to Hayden, someone apparently is thinking, there could be any number of potential assailants; why, it was right out there in the *L.A. Times*.

This article is no accident. When reporter Parachini began interviewing Hayden, he said he was not familiar with the murder of Damián, the red flag flying over the Alamo, or anything else having to do with Hayden. By the end of the interview, he was asking if Hayden was going to appear at a number of upcoming court cases where Fabian Lazzaraga, the undercover pig who was standing only 5 feet from Damián at the time of his murder, was scheduled to testify. His "knowledge" of these incidents seems to have quite rapidly expanded. Neither was it an accident that the "rival gang" story, that has been fabricated and repeated by political police operations from the LAPD to the Secret Service, once again appears — only this time, attributed to Hayden himself; the worst reporter in the world couldn't make a "mistake" like that.

At this point, one can only speculate as to the exact origin of the idea and the execution of this *L.A. Times* article. Perhaps, it may have had something to do with the burly men in the dark blue suits that followed Hayden around at the conference. Of course, there are any number of agencies that would have a vested interest in this kind of "reporting" — or maybe it was a cooperative effort. □

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
Chicago, IL 60654

Communist Greetings:

Dear brothers of the glorious International Revolutionary Communist Party. These are my reactions to my studies of revisionism which today the Soviet and Cuban leaders are carrying out throughout the world. Revisionism is another way to change the socialist and revolutionary politics of a country in order to establish a new system of exploitation materially in the economy, which is the basis of subsistence of the oppressed and underdeveloped peoples. One vivid example is that the Russians have covered up for a long time the way they carry out the policy of neo-colonial expansion in other continents. For sure I base myself on the point of view that the Russians can never stop being a world power in relation to the Yankee imperialists. Going back a bit in history it has been very vicious in the world we live in, but from a political and ideological point of view Cuba will never stop being part of the Soviet bloc. Through their pawn, the Soviets have drawn to their side many peoples, tearing them away from the Yankees which kept them poor and enslaved. Thus, in this way they expand their political revisionism and will continue doing it until they are opposed and it is learned how in fact international communism must be built and that revisionism's forms of liberty hide many lies. But everyone knows its political character and the role it has played in the past 30 years against the true path to world communism. The Soviets played a very important role in the revisionism in China, because there it is clear that the leader at that time internationally was Mao Tsetung, something that made an example of a true socialist revolution of the Chinese people. And there is where the Russians don't agree with his ideas and try at all costs to establish revisionism, guided by their ringleader Nikita Khrushchev. This resulted in a situation where many Chinese leaders opposed the great ideas of Mao of continuing forward with the process of building a true socialism in China together with the working class, which played an important role in the revolutions won from 1949 to 1966. After his death you can see in more detail the real undermining of his ideas and they established another form of capitalist exploitation covering their faces with the mask of the Chinese Communist Party, but in fact it was a coup led by reactionary revisionists. The Soviets in those times were engaging in imperialist competition with their opponent which was engaged in a bloody war against the Vietnamese people. Concerning the role of the Soviet Union, by studying all its moves after it ceased to be socialist, it is today another imperialist power but its might is extremely powerful in comparison with the U.S. I'd like to say that

the role of the Soviets needs to be studied very carefully in order to uncover its real secrets, because I know about them through serving as a soldier in its ranks and even fighting under its leadership. I hope that this is a good contribution for you on these questions. It's true, like everyone, I need to study more about ideology, since communism is the best system for the working class and the proletariat, since without the communism of Marx, Lenin and Engels, the exploitation of man by man will continue.

Revolutionary greetings to all the members of the RCP and especially to the top leaders of the Central Committee of the RCP.

That's all for now. On to victory. Country or Death. We will win. The revolution will be won with arms not words. The people when they sense the tremblings of injustice, arise to win its goals of revolutionary struggle.

A prisoner in Texas

Dear Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund:

Ever since the founding of the PRLF, I've hoped I could come into a lot of money so I could give some to you. I never have come into money, but maybe this \$10 joined with the contributions of others will come to a substantial amount.

I was in prison in the mid-seventies. Together with some other revolutionary minded women, I studied every left publication I could lay my hands on and a number of Marxist Leninist classics too.

We read and argued over the Weather Underground's *Prairie Fire* book, the Black Worker's Congress' book on the Black National Question, I Wor Kuen's book on the same. Of particular importance were the Revolutionary Union's publications on the Black National Question and Soviet social imperialism (Red Papers Six & Seven).

We followed Mao Tse Tung's last great battle, the struggle against the Right Deviationist Wind. We didn't understand it deeply then, but we thought Chou EnLai somewhat suspicious because of his having something to do with restoring private plots to the peasants. We didn't like the personal attacks on Chiang Ching either. Looking back, it's interesting that *Peking Review* was the publication whose delivery was most consistently held up by the prison administration.

The Revolutionary Communist Party was founded while I was locked up. Through some friends, we were able to participate in discussions of the draft programme. When we got a copy of the programme itself, we compared it line for line with the draft, trying to figure out the significance of this or that change.

... None of this would have happened without revolutionary literature, and it could have happened on a grander scale had literature been more broadly and consistently available. That's why I'm hoping my \$10 will be joined by many more so the PRLF can continue training new warriors.

Shortly after the publication of
"Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will"
by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA,
Comrade Avakian responded to a number of questions
from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle
throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s, and into the '80s.
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Excerpts from this series of questions and answers were published
in the *Revolutionary Worker*. In this pamphlet
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