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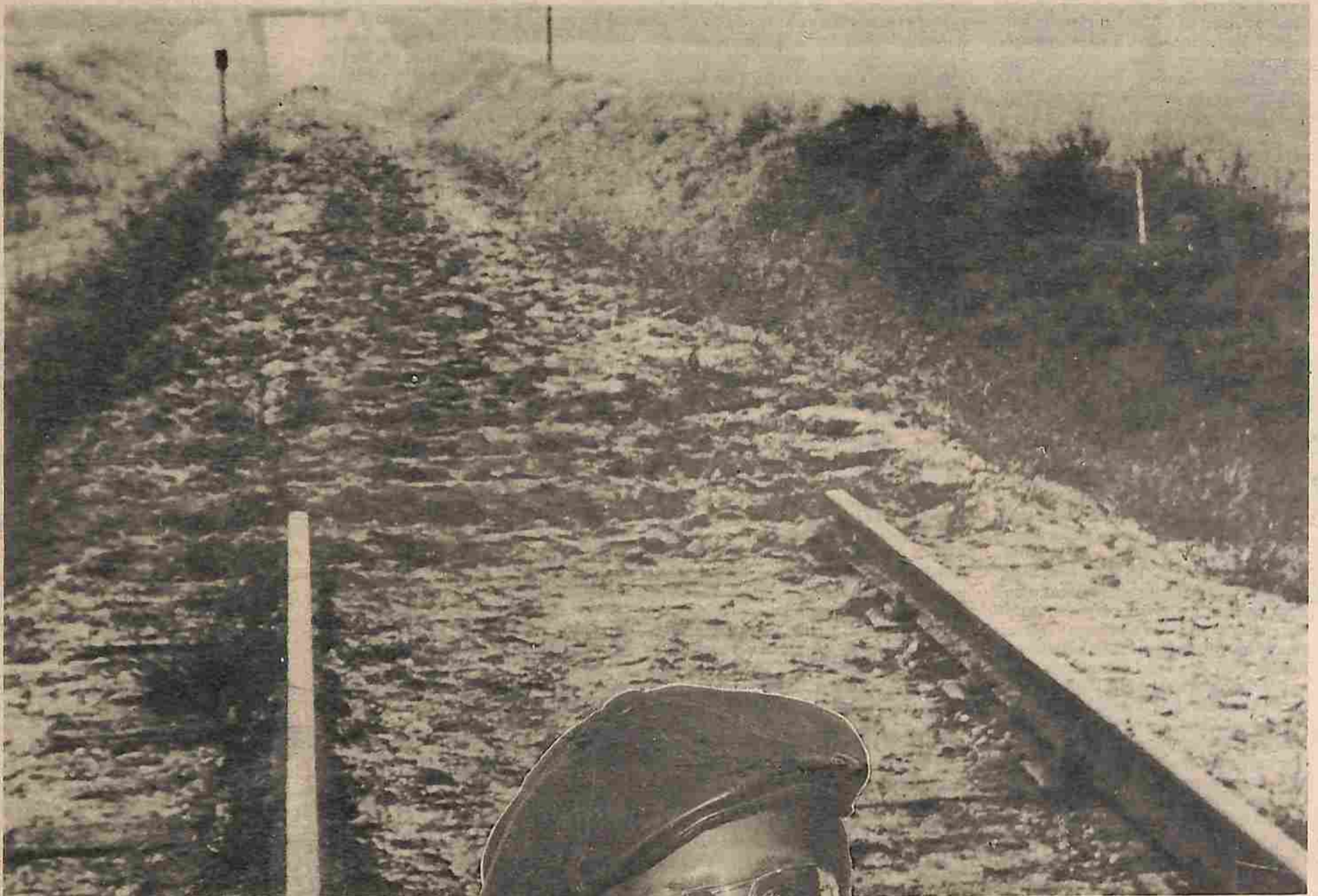
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## Case Dismissed!

# Darnell Summers Railroad Derailed



Wednesday evening, February 22, across Detroit there was some righteous toasting going on. The word was out and making headlines in the major Detroit newspapers, on T.V. and radio and the AP and UPI wires were calling for the story. The railroad against Black revolutionary internationalist and jazz musician Darnell Summers has been overturned! A celebration was in the air and quite in order, as the vicious two-year rerun frameup aimed to railroad Darnell Summers to jail with a 1980s message about "don't dare oppose the system which brings you national oppression every day and is now preparing to bring you World War 3" was abandoned in shambles by the ruling class. In pushing through on this relentless railroad a challenge had been issued. A gauntlet was thrown down. Literally thousands of people in parts of Europe and in this country stepped forward in the face of this outrage. But now Darnell is free on the street and a very different object lesson has been delivered!

February 22, before a very critical and final pretrial hearing was about to begin and as supporters from all over Michigan and as far away as New York were still filing into a packed courtroom, prosecutor John Bianco slipped a motion before

Judge Sullivan asking the court to dismiss the 16-year-old charge of murder — better known as frameup — against the defendant, Darnell Summers.

The prosecutor's motion was meant to "inform" the court that in fact there is not sufficient evidence to go forward with

this case. The motion explained, "a warrant had been issued for murder in the first degree against Darnell Summers based on the fact that the People had reason to believe that Gale Simmons would testify that the defendant participated in the shooting and murder of Michigan

State Police Detective Robert Gonser. On or about July 28, 1982, at Darnell's preliminary hearings, the People were informed that Gale Simmons would not testify." The motion went on to say that now "they have only the uncorroborated testimony of Milford Scott, an accomplice in the murder against Gonser and that after a review of all the evidence in this case the People do not believe there is sufficient quantum in evidence to prove the guilt of Darnell Summers beyond a reasonable doubt."

Finally after two years of exposing this prosecution for what it was, the political punishment of a revolutionary, the state has been forced to back off, admitting what the defense has held all along. They have no criminal case against Darnell. What has been revealed through numerous hearings and the protracted legal battle is that "the great body of evidence" against the defendant was nothing but concocted evidence — the coerced testimony of Gale Simmons (which was later recanted) and the self-admitted perjured testimony of long discredited Milford Scott (presently facing 60-90 years on an unrelated murder charge).

Darnell's lawyer readily agreed to  
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McNamara's Deep Thoughts On "Deep Strikes"

Nuclear Warfighting With A Certified Dove See centerfold

## So Much For Miracles...

## Shouting At, Not About, Lou Vairo

The street corners of Anytown, USA are relatively quiet these days and ticker-tape parades are not in vogue: the frenzied convulsions of four years ago have given way to some nervous head scratching. Meanwhile, the mindless minions retreat once more to *The A-Team*. Indeed, the retreat may have started a little early since ABC-TV had to admit that its ratings were down by 2.5% from 1980. And only 50 people turned up at the Minneapolis airport to welcome back the vanquished U.S. hockey team — nearly all of them relatives of the players. *Newsweek* summed it up like this: "From the moment that American hockey players strapped on their skates of clay through the casual admission by some U.S. athletes that the games weren't really all that important, Sarajevo's Olympics were... short of the grandeur that spoiled aficionados have come to expect of these quadrennial sports spectacles." If Team America's performance wasn't quite a national tragedy, it still was not up to expectations — and considerably below the standards required presently.

For one thing, U.S. sports propagandists had a bit of difficulty using the Games as proof-positive that the American way of life is superior to that of the "enemy." While the U.S. team was never expected to outscore the Soviets and East Germans in medal count, getting creamed by a three-to-one margin by each was not part of the battle plan. It's no wonder that *Time* magazine, which had cried, "Clear the Way for The USA" before the Games began, afterward decided on a more subdued, "At the Olympic Games, results are hard to keep track of because they seem incidental." ABC's Al Michaels, who was hockey's "Believe in Miracles" announcer in 1980, probably played the *compare and contrast* game as well as any in 1984, but it was pretty pitiful. First, he began talking about all the millions of dollars that Katarina Witt, East Germany's gold medal figure skater, could make if only she were lucky enough to be an American. Then, he pointed out, "We still see a lot of Dorothy Hamill (1976 Olympic gold medalist) these days, but how many of you recall that in 1980, the Olympic gold medalist was Anett Poetzsch?" Michaels was really on safe ground here, since the vast majority of his viewers have probably heard next to nothing about any non-American athletes (especially if they are champions from the other side), relying as they do on the U.S.'s free press for their information. On the other hand, one can easily imagine Michaels' counterpart in East

Germany doing the same thing — pointing out Poetzsch's contributions to the motherland while asking how many remember Hamill. Oh, how vastly different are these two ways of life.

But what about the Olympic demonstration of those "uniquely" American qualities of aggressiveness, determination, blood and guts — in short, that indomitable *will to win* that is so important in these times? Here, too, there were serious problems. The basic explanation being proffered for the poor showing of the hockey team, the worst record ever for the U.S. in this sport, is that the youthful and inexperienced pucksters cracked under the intense pressure. Naturally, Coach Lou Vairo, prime quotable for his "We can do anything, we're Americans" pep talks just a few short weeks ago, is now being barbecued by his former worshippers in the media; after all, he was the commanding officer, so to speak, and he failed to prepare his boys for the rough going, failed to instill the necessary determination to overcome any obstacle in their path, and, as one TV analyst said, failed to give the youths "an emotional slap in the face when they needed it." But the fact is that it was "our boys" who had failed to meet the challenge that the rulers had set before them and the squirming in high places was quite visible.

And the hockey players were not alone. In event after event, with the notable exception of Alpine Skiing, athletes who had been put in the pressure cooker as America's "hopes" — symbolic embodiments of an imperialist nation on the make and ready to blow away everything in its way — went down to ignominious defeat. Even figure skater Scott Hamilton, who had been considered to have a lock on the gold medal long before the competition began, faltered under the heat, turning in lackluster and tentative performances in the short and long programs, and squeaking to the gold on the basis of his school figures and overall reputation. Hamilton admitted that the pressure had gotten to him; and while he willingly took an American flag that some anonymous "spectator" handed him after the medal ceremony and skated around the rink with it, the dramatic impact was a great deal less than impressive.

And then there were those athletes from the U.S. who seemingly failed to realize the importance of, or didn't care that much about, their performance on the field of Olympic combat. There were a number of athletes who said as much, but skier Phil Mahre was singled out for some special attention from the U.S.

press. Mahre had said that the Olympics was just another ski race and, what's worse, he just didn't care that much about ski racing anymore; his wife was about to have a baby, he missed his family and he was just plain tired. But he was expected to be a winner for the U.S. When he suffered a "disappointing" (to those in charge) finish in the Giant Slalom, he was raked over the presses for his "ho-hum attitude," while at least one reporter openly rooted for Mahre to "choke again" and wished the skier would go home and let those who really cared compete. However, Mahre was saved from a future of sports-page shame by winning the slalom on the last day of the Games. Not only was he then selected to carry the flag in the closing ceremonies, but his attitude was officially transformed as well. Now, instead of being an uncaring lout, Mahre had become one who skied "for himself," a true *individual* who embodied the Olympic ideal — American version, that is.

Mahre and his twin brother Steve finished 1-2 in that race, bringing the U.S. medal count in Alpine Skiing up to five, including golds in three of the Alpine events. This performance was all that prevented the U.S. Olympic Team's forced march to Sarajevo from turning into an all-out massacre. The Alpine ski team also produced the Games' only authentic American hero, Billy Johnson, who expanded his previous nose-thumbing at all the European skiers to include other representations of the American dream. When asked what the gold medal meant to him, he answered, "Millions." Johnson has received this opportunity due to the beneficence of a judge. When he was 17, he was arrested for stealing cars. If he had been a proletarian youth he'd still be in prison now, but seeing as how he was already a top junior skier the judge sent him to a ski academy instead. Somehow, this example has yet to be mentioned in any hand-wringing about the "leniency" of the judicial system. And it surely won't be — as long as Johnson keeps winning.

Apart from Alpine Skiing, the only other sport in which the U.S. won medals was figure skating, a traditional stronghold for the U.S. The U.S. got three medals here, but this was hardly a rousing success. Four were expected and in addition to Hamilton's poor performance, Rosalynn Summers, despite bringing her two skating coaches, ballet coach, diet coach, friends, family, teddy bear and her own psychologist to Sarajevo so she would feel right at home (apparently deciding to leave her

hometown's McDonalds behind), lost out to East Germany's Witt. However, Summers did manage to portray a combination of Princess Grace, Lady Di and Jacqueline Onassis all rolled into one in her striving to be the epitome of bourgeois femininity.

But after all, this is *ladies* figure skating, as Dick Button and Peggy Fleming continually reminded us. Their commentary ranged from "isn't she pretty as a picture?" to "look at how overweight she is" and "her boots aren't very nice." Summers is described as a "Grace Kelly," Witt is described as a "Brooke Shields look-alike," and America's hope for the '88 Olympics (in the not-so-likely event that there is one), Tiffany Chin, is a "China doll." But it's not just their insipid — and reactionary — comments that define the parameters here; there have been actual steps taken by the International Skating Union, the governing body of the sport, to reinforce this ideal of bourgeois femininity. Foremost among these is a rule limiting the number of triple jumps and repetition that a skater can perform in the free-style program. The statute is known, informally, as the Zayak rule, after Elaine Zayak, a former world champion, who had performed a program of 18 jumps, including seven triples — more than any other skater, male or female — and other skaters were trying to do similar things. Apparently, they were being inspired in the wrong direction — for a *lady*.

As for another type of inspired athletic achievement, namely fraternization among the athletes in opposition to the official chauvinist chorus being sung, if any such activity occurred we certainly wouldn't be notified by the free press. Instead, we got scenes of American athletes sitting together in a tavern, while John Denver sings in his best USO Tour voice: "(It's great to be) back home again." And some of the U.S. hockey players being asked what they missed most about the U.S. (as if they've been on maneuvers for a year), with the most profound response being, "pizza." One would guess that even the U.S. ruling class would have some doubts about the willingness of the populace to be nuked for *Mama Leone's*, but in the absence of dramatic, come-from-behind victories in sports, there's not that much to get feverish about. Painfully aware of the consequences, Team USA's preparations for Los Angeles in July are proceeding at an accelerated pace. □

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Recent developments in the Lebanese conflict include the emergence of a more active and prominent Israeli-Phalangist alliance. With the U.S. now adopting a somewhat lower political and military profile, Israel has stepped forward to provide initial encouragement to the beleaguered right-wing Maronite political community which, by inclination and interest, continues to offer itself as the main instrument for which U.S.-Israel political aims can yet be at least partially salvaged.

Amin Gemayel continues to scramble, trying through Saudi mediation to strike up a deal with Syria. Gemayel has pitifully few remaining "cards" to offer in these negotiations; his primary remaining asset is that, as "legitimately" chosen president, he provides the Syrian rulers with an opportunity to substantially alter the composition of a reconstituted Lebanese state apparatus, without having to completely dismantle it and start from scratch, a prospect which could trigger far greater turmoil over which Syria might lose control. In any event, the Syrian state itself is in a position where for now it can keep its options open, maintaining its dialogue with Gemayel while the situation on the ground continues to develop.

At the same time, Gemayel's apparent willingness to dispense with the May 17th accord between Israel and Lebanon, a gesture absolutely essential to any conceivable deal he might strike with Syria, has prompted an angry denunciation not only from Israel but from prominent right-wing Maronite leaders, including the leaders of the Phalangist "Lebanese Forces" militia. Further, the Phalangist militia is increasingly positioning itself for battle. Claiming to now number about 18,000 troops (a likely exaggeration), the militia is moving to take over positions now held by what remains of the Lebanese army (itself largely reduced to its Maronite hard core element). At Suq al-Gharb, the Phalangists have linked up with the Lebanese army garrison, in anticipation of a final battle there with the Druse militia. A Phalangist force holds a line of positions just south of the Israeli Awali River line, while the "Guardians of the Cedars," a Maronite group which prides itself on being more right-wing than the self-professed fascists of the Phalangist militia, has reportedly sent additional forces south of the Israeli line, sparking renewed fears of possible massacres at the Palestinian refugee camps in the Sidon area.

Certainly the Phalangist forces, even should they enjoy more active Israeli intercession, do not possess the strength to mount anything approaching a strategic counteroffensive against the Lebanese Moslem militia forces and Syria. But the Phalangists, and the Israelis themselves, are intent on demonstrating their residual destructive power and considerable disruptive and terrorist/provocateur potential, bringing this to bear on the developing Lebanese military and political situation.

This is the major point behind Israeli actions of the past week. The Israelis launched a series of destructive air strikes east and south of Beirut to telegraph their signal. Predictably, Israeli officials claimed that the air strikes were aimed at "terrorist (meaning Palestinian) bases." One such target, in the raids of February 19, was the coastal city of Damur, where a woodworking factory was the only local building hit. Israeli spokesmen claimed that the building was occupied by Palestinian guerrillas; the on-site report of the raid's aftermath was of injured factory workers being pulled from the rubble by Druse militiamen. Further Israeli "precision" bombing raids against such "military" targets continued February 21. Also that day, an Israeli armored column and some 80 tanks and vehicles drove north of the Awali River line, reaching a point some 12 miles south of Beirut. Israeli officials sent out mixed signals concerning this foray's intended purpose. At one point in the day, Defense Minister Moshe Arens described the new position as being "semi-permanent"; later the column was withdrawn. In any event, this ostentatious reintroduction of ground forces north of the Awali line was laced with ominous portent.

Such Israeli moves have been widely interpreted as being "merely" warnings that Israel will not tolerate the reintroduction of Palestinian guerrilla forces into new areas, and is prepared to exact a

terrible toll if such should transpire. This has been the gist of Israeli pronouncements on the matter, and there is no question that this is a major Israeli concern, for political as well as military reasons.

Faced with progressively declining expectations in Lebanon, the more grandiose ambitions of its 1982 invasion largely thwarted, Israeli leaders have nonetheless maintained that at least their "minimal objective," that of "securing" the northern border from attack, had been achieved. The Katushya rockets fired over the Lebanese border into northern Israel two weeks ago brought even that claim into dispute, and brought back reminders that, prior to the Israeli invasion, a border ceasefire with the PLO had held for almost a year. All this has only added to the internal discord and rancor within Israel over the disastrous course its Lebanese venture has taken, a political situation which, together with Israel's calamitous economic crisis, constitutes a limiting factor as Israel weighs its current military options.

In focusing on the question of Palestinian involvement, Israel is not only resurrecting a tried and true bogeyman for domestic consumption. It is emphasizing to the Syrians and the Lebanese militia leaders that if they do not themselves severely restrict Palestinian activity, denying them any significant role, then Israel will itself punish all responsible parties. To a large extent, this is a continuation of past Israeli practice — its 1978 invasion into southern Lebanon, its repeated air strikes against civilian targets in the south over the years preceding the 1982 invasion, which alone were to have once and for all removed the Palestinians as a factor in Lebanon.

To some degree, Israel has been successful in this aim. All the major Lebanese opposition leaders today make clear their intent to prevent any major Palestinian comeback on the Lebanese scene. The Palestinian question, once a vital component in Lebanon's national-democratic movement, today rates low on the specifically Lebanese agendas. Still, the situation is somewhat open. The PLO "mutineer" force under Syrian patronage has played a role in several of the military campaigns against the Phalangist militia and Lebanese army, and they are staked to a program of reviving armed struggle against Israel, a program they have yet to show demonstrable progress in implementing (a hardly surprising fact, given their reliance on Syria, whose own strategic designs require strict adherence to its border agreements with Israel). The month long siege of Tripoli, against Yasser Arafat and his loyalist PLO forces, resulted in a sharp drop in the mutineers' standing amongst Palestinians everywhere, lessening Syria's hopes of using the PLO mutiny to embarrass Arafat and limit his maneuverability. In its own cynical maneuvers to wield the Palestinian "card" in its regional and international dealings, the Syrian state has an interest in allowing its PLO "mutineers" a chance to recoup some of their own tarnished credibility. One possible scenario, in circulation since last September's heavy fighting in the Chouf Mountains, has it that Abu Musa and his forces will stage a triumphal reentry into the Sabra and Shatila camps. However advantageous such a move might be to Syria, Abu Musa, et al., in the Palestinian arena, the position of the Lebanese opposition leaders is a strong factor preventing it. In any event, Israel is doing its own part to disabuse Syria of this or any other such notions.

In thus warning its opponents, Israel is no less giving simultaneous encouragement to the right-wing Maronite political community. Throughout the past period, despite recurring signs of strain and tension between Israel and the Phalange, a clandestine dialogue has continued. One example of such surfaced in an early December report from the *Times* of London, which described a secret meeting held November 23 in an East Beirut villa between a senior Israeli intelligence officer and "five leading Lebanese Christians, two of whom have played key mediating roles in Lebanese politics." In the meeting, the Israeli officer announced that Israel was preparing to hit Syria with a "sharp blow" in eight to ten days time (ten days later, in fact, Israel and the U.S. staged their bombing raids over the Chouf Mountain area). The Maronite leaders were appraised of the forthcom-

ing U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation" talks, and were given a "strong impression that Israel had the stomach for a confrontation with Syria." Such talk, of course, occurring as it did shortly after the "national reconciliation" talks in Geneva, served to strengthen Maronite intransigence and refusal to compromise. Maintaining this intransigence, then as now, requires keeping alive and active Maronite hopes in a forthcoming Israeli intervention. This is important not only for the Phalangist faithful, but also to increase the credibility of their appeal to the broader Maronite community, not all of which subscribes to their programme and much of which is in any event more pragmatically inclined (as shown by the departure of tens of thousands of Lebanese Maronites by boat to Cyprus for foreign destinations unknown over the past few weeks).

"This is not the time to think, analyze, or anticipate," Fadi Frem, commander of the Phalangist militia, announced in a major radio address at the onset of fighting in early February. The statement in many ways accurately captures the Phalangist mentality in the current situation. "I must kill many," "We're going to kill them all," Christian militiamen proudly announced to Western reporters — this from a force which has historically run away from open battle, preferring to concentrate on the "easy pickings" of civilian massacres.

The Phalangist creed of a "free, independent, and sovereign Lebanon" is inseparable from their program of Maronite domination. Having failed to impose their rule over Lebanon, even with all the assistance provided by the Israeli invasion, they have increasingly fallen back on their "Marounistan option plan," that is, to carve out the substate which would retain a specifically Maronite character. Such past Marounistan schemes have involved incorporating Beirut into the Maronite heartland in the coastal region to the north of the capital; such visions have inevitably clashed with the realities of the Moslem majority in greater Beirut itself. As reported in these pages last August, right-wing Maronite circles attempted to address this "problem" through launching an open discussion about whether to adopt the "Stern Gang" option or the "South African option." The Stern Gang approach entailed the use of atrocity and massacre to send the Moslems, particularly the Shi-ites, "on the run," in much the same manner as the Israelis had expelled the Palestinians during 1947-48. The South African option involved establishing a Maronite "white minority rule" over Beirut. And in many respects this latter approach closely resembles the actual course taken by the Gemayel government. The Gemayel government and army invariably protected the Phalangist militia, allowing it a wide range of activity even as the army was used repeatedly against the Moslems. Strict censorship was imposed on Moslem newspapers and radio stations, while Christian Phalangist radio practically served as Lebanon's semiofficial station. A nightly curfew, enacted in September, was virtually enforced in the Moslem districts, but rarely in evidence in Christian East Beirut. Electricity was severely rationed in West Beirut, usually only turned on for six hours a day, while full power was maintained for most of the Christian side.

While the United States has posed as having impressed on Gemayel the need for reconciliation and internal reform, the fact of the matter is that as U.S. military and political support for Gemayel increased over the past year, so too did the government adopt an ever more openly Phalangist, sectarian character. U.S. insistence upon the terms of the May 17th agreement only deepened its reliance upon the only major Lebanese political community which shared an interest in maintaining it. Under cover of the "reconciliation process," the U.S. worked feverishly to bolster the position of the Lebanese army, in the hopes that it could expand its control over Beirut and environs, thus securing a more stable "security zone" in between Israeli occupied and Syrian controlled territory. The Lebanese army's offensive of late December and January consisted of a series of aggressive attacks on Beirut's Moslem areas, particularly the Shi'ite southern suburbs, in which the army resorted to increasingly savage bombard-

## Lebanon BLOODY HANDS ACROSS THE AWALI



ment of civilian neighborhoods, killing many and creating thousands of new refugees in the process. The offensive only hastened the mounting political crisis and subsequent collapse of much of Gemayel's government.

The new situation which has emerged, with the army largely disintegrating, and the Moslem militia scoring further advances, has brought the Phalange to an increasingly desperate condition, a condition which incites bloodlust even as their deteriorating position limits their available options. The fact that the Phalange still remains intact is one major reason why the U.S. still finds some ray of "hope" in the developing Lebanese situation, and it is partly for their benefit that the U.S. war fleet remains off the Lebanese shore. And these are the forces to whom Israel is beckoning, providing encouragement, as well as form and substance, for their plans.

## Greensboro Trial

## Whitewashing the State's Dirty Work

On January 9, opening arguments began in the trial of nine Ku Klux Klan and Nazi members on federal charges stemming from the November 3, 1979 massacre of Communist Workers Party (CWP) members in Greensboro, North Carolina. These nine were indicted by a federal grand jury for conspiracy to violate the Civil Rights Act resulting in bodily injury and death, and two (North Carolina Grand Dragon Virgil Griffin, and police and FBI informant Ed Dawson) are charged with conspiracy to obstruct a federal investigation.

In 1980, five of these six defendants were acquitted on murder charges in state court, a verdict which outraged millions. The jury in that trial was blatantly rigged, its foreman a Cuban anticommunist who had been a member of the May 20th organization which conducted the Bay of Pigs invasion, and another juror had participated in Klan rallies as a child. Security was ostentatious, designed to show the force of the state — police snipers on the roof, county deputies searching spectators. The prosecuting attorneys made a great show of proving that they were as much or more "good ole boys" than the Klan and Nazi defense attorneys. The perfect atmosphere for what followed: a "not guilty" verdict — a resounding hand of approval for the murderers, and a loud call for more such bloody attacks on Black people, and on revolutionaries. (And this is true even though the Communist Workers Party is not, in fact, a genuine communist, nor revolutionary organization.)

But the federal trial is something else again. This is no circus, this is Serious Business. Security agents carefully screen jurors, lawyers, defendants and spectators alike with all the thoroughness of an airport check-in. The U.S. Attorneys have done their homework and come armed with high-tech maps, graphs and scale models made in the FBI lab in Quantico, Virginia.

The jury is all white, mainly middle-aged and was picked in secret to "avoid intimidation" and allow the jury to answer questions "in a relaxed manner" (nothing more relaxing than sitting in a back room under the stares of the Klan and Nazis, their lawyers, the judge, prosecutors and a multitude of federal marshals and FBI agents, we're sure). On the other hand, Judge Thomas Flannery recently allowed jury selection to be released to the public, and to look at those portions already transcribed make it a safe bet that there are no outrageous and blatant reactionaries on the jury this time around. In a word, what we have here are the solemn rights of the federal government delivering the final word on the Greensboro massacre.

The indictments in this case were the result of a 13-month session of the federal grand jury billed as the "longest civil rights investigation in U.S. history," in which dozens of Klansmen, Nazis, police, federal agents, members of the CWP and other demonstrators cooperated. In particular, the grand jury was to address the question of the role of government agents in the planning and execution of the massacre, which it answered all right: by finding no evidence of official criminal wrongdoing, and by indicting for perjury (and sending to trial and conviction first) a man who had testified that a Greensboro cop had tried to get him to shoot Nelson Johnson, local leader of the CWP, prior to the massacre.

The prosecution of these conspiracy charges against the Klan and Nazis is providing a vehicle to air publicly the findings of the grand jury and is meant to add the aura of legitimacy to the message of the state trial and to its story of a supposed "shootout" between two extremist groups; and has the special role of not only whitewashing the role of the government in the massacre, but vindicating it and perhaps even more importantly, protecting ongoing operations and networks of government agents carrying on more of the same... quite probably much more.

Central to this is the fact that for the first time, agents are going to speak in public about their role. A newcomer to the known list of agents, Chris Benson,

testified that he became an FBI informant in December 1979. Benson enjoyed a rather meteoric rise within the Klan from the time he says he joined in the spring of 1979. By November 1979 he was the Grand Cyclops (second only to Virgil Griffin), prompting some to recall the boast of the FBI in the early '70s that they had enough informants in the North Carolina Klan to elect an Imperial Wizard. True to FBI folklore, this informant supposedly never committed any wrongdoing and never heard about any planned violence despite his position as second in command in the Klan. He was, we are supposed to believe merely Virgil Griffin's errand boy, running around North Carolina inviting Klan and Nazis to heckle communists and throw eggs.

Also enjoying his first public engagement was Bernard Butkovich, agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF). Butkovich was sent to North Carolina in June 1979 to infiltrate the Nazis and investigate them for arms violations. Butkovich was at planning meetings for November 3rd, helped organize a meeting in Lewisburg, North Carolina, where the United Racist Front was formed and which was attended by Chris Benson, several of the actual killers, and Harold Covington, head of the Nazi Party who has a curious past of his own. Yet all Butkovich heard through all of this was that the Klan and Nazis had decided *not* to bring guns to Greensboro. Oh, yes, he did know about the conspiracy to throw eggs, of course. Butkovich terminated his investigation on November 3, 1979. Why? Because he had found no indication of arms violations!

Of course, such a whitewash can be pretty tricky business. Who knows when the beans might get spilled on some federal business better left hidden, or about some sensitive ongoing operations? For overseeing this, Judge Thomas Flannery is eminently qualified, having handled other sensitive cases for the bourgeoisie, including part of the Koreagate cases. The judge has overseen what courtroom reporters have described as unprecedented numbers of conferences at the bench to instruct the lawyers how to deal with (or not to deal with) certain questions. Among subjects barred from open discussion: (1) Butkovich's full assignment in North Carolina until November 3rd, of which a stint as a member of the Winston-Salem Nazis was only a part; (2) the purpose and discussion at the Lewisburg meeting which founded this United Racist Front; (3) anything at all about Harold Covington, then head of the North Carolina Nazis, who introduced Butkovich to the Winston-Salem Nazis, introduced another BATF agent to the Nazis in Asheville, North Carolina and is, according to the prosecution "an unindicted co-conspirator presently unavailable for testimony."

The most prominent of the government agents involved is Ed Dawson, who was at the center of the arrangements for the Greensboro police to be elsewhere, innocently eating their lunch until two minutes after the last shots were fired on November 3rd. Ed Dawson's image as a pariah to both sides has been quite useful. The Klan and Nazis, as part of their defense, claim that Dawson set them up. The Greensboro police claim that they felt free to take their lunch break because Dawson had not told them about the number of guns and misled them to believe that any confrontation would occur later in the day. (This is only slightly less imaginative than the story that the cops obligingly left when CWP and other demonstrators chanted "Pigs Go Away!" and doesn't quite explain the fact that Dawson's police contact, Detective Gerry Cooper, to whom Dawson reported twice that morning, sat a block away watching the shooting, telling other police over the radio to stay out of the area until it was over.)

Dawson has also been used to float out, through interviews on the PBS *Frontline* special "88 Seconds in Greensboro," which was re-aired on February 20th, and in the reactionary In-

stitute for Southern Studies report, a certain glimpse of government operations in Greensboro at the time leading up to the massacre. Dawson claims that he was first re-recruited as an informant when he was told to attend the October 14th speech of Bob Avakian (described in court by Detective Cooper as the RCP "presidential candidate") by police. Dawson attempted to attend the October 14th speech (while Cooper, by his own admission, was waiting in the adjoining room full of cops), but was sent away when the speech was moved because of the threat of attack. Dawson also tried to attend another RCP meeting but was again turned away. Then, he says, he became dismayed that the cops didn't know that they had two different communist groups on their hands. Much of this had also been stated earlier, especially in the testimony of Cooper, and Dawson's lawyer in his opening statement had stressed to the jury that the RCP was different than the CWP. At the very least the intention here is to smuggle in an older attack that the RCP was responsible for the eagerness of the Klan and the Nazis to attack the CWP and the willingness of the police to stand by during the shootings. Further, this attack is presented in such a way as to sanctify these tales as "facts" with the weight of "duly sworn" testimony behind them. Whether there is even more behind it remains to be seen. In any case, this theme of the state's ineptitude and lack of knowledge about the two organizations is ludicrous given the fact that the FBI had an ongoing investigation of the CWP (then Workers' Viewpoint Organization) which ended one day before the massacre, and that the federal government had multiple felony charges hanging over Bob Avakian, and further, that the 14 arrests in Greensboro of RCP supporters which occurred in the process of building for Avakian's speech were overseen by the FBI.

As a final point, it has been raised by some people who agree that the government conspiracy is being cut out of the picture in this trial, that at least within the parameters of the charges the government, they say, is going after the Klan and Nazis hard. Right before the trial began the government announced their "new, improved" case, largely based on the fact that new witnesses would now testify that the Klan and Nazis had fired the first 11 shots, giving the claim of "self-defense" to the anti-Klan demonstrators. This has some importance since a key piece of testimony in the state trial was that an FBI sound expert, who said he couldn't prove it but, "thought" the third, fourth, and fifth shots may have come from the demonstrators. And since these shots follow closely in time behind the first two shots, the implication was that a nearly simultaneous exchange of gunfire might

have occurred.

In the current trial the government was supposed to produce a "surprise witness," none other than Klansman Mark Sherer, who is shown on videotape firing off the first, signal shot from a black powder pistol (and also is seen later firing into a car). The government said that Sherer now had turned state's witness in return for a plea agreement, and implied that he would now take credit for at least one or two of the shots earlier "thought" to be coming from the demonstrators. When he actually appeared in court, however, he appeared as a hostile witness, tried to withdraw the plea agreement, and ended up testifying that yes, maybe he had *tried* to fire off what would have been the shots in question but the gun wouldn't fire. An unlucky turn of events, the prosecution moaned, but it needn't have acted so surprised: Sherer had testified previously, *including to the Grand Jury*, the very same story about his gun refusing to work, and to cap that, he also claims to have seen a demonstrator fire the first round, justifying his own use of firearms. This cannot be called a rock-solid witness for the prosecution... as it well knew.

An indication of how hard the government is going after the Klan and Nazis could also be taken from the government's own witnesses, Chris Benson and Butkovich, who both, in effect, backed the defense story that the decision was *not* to go armed (other than with eggs, of course) and that each individual Klan and Nazi member brought guns as a personal decision — after all, carrying guns is one of the innocent, fun-loving traditions of the Klan! And of course there is that word "terrorist" which, is, of course, used with abandon these days by both government and media against revolutionary Black nationalist, progressive and other revolutionary groups, but which hasn't been used once here in relationship to the killers. So far, from this trial you would have no idea that both the Klan and Nazis are based on the principle of organized terror against Black people and other oppressed nationalities. These characters are not exactly faced with a vicious political attack by the state!

But the government has reasons for putting these loyal servants on trial, and by no stretch of the imagination is it to break up the North Carolina Klan or Nazi Party. The events surrounding November 3rd gave millions a glimpse of the wide-ranging web of government operations with a scope far beyond the massacre itself. This is not something they ever wanted to completely conceal, in fact they almost immediately revealed the existence of Dawson and Butkovich as part of the message that these kinds of forces were going to be given a long leash. At the same time, this glimpse has

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"Border Patrol Sweep Nets 672 Illegal Aliens," reads the headline from a 2/3/84 *L.A. Times* article. "Most of the illegal aliens taken into custody were crammed into car trunks or into campers and truck beds," the article goes on to report. News items such as these appear daily in the local press. In the fiscal year 1983, the INS (Immigration & Naturalization Service) boasts of apprehending a record 1.1 million "illegal aliens" as part of its crackdown. This year, as part of their preparations for the Olympics and beyond, the INS has called for increased manpower to the tune of 1,000 more Border Patrol-level personnel — a ten percent increase in total INS personnel, or what would be the largest increase in INS history. They are indeed worried about the "disruptive potential," as *Time* magazine (last June) termed it, of the estimated two million immigrants who manage to elude La Migra each year (though these figures are questionable as the INS reportedly inflates the figures to justify increased budget and personnel) and the 3-6 million in the United States estimated for undocumented Mexican immigrants.

With the "crackdown" has come "open season" in more ways than one. Reports of arrests, injuries, deaths and murders appear daily in the local press. For instance, there have been seven reported drownings, in the past two years, of illegal aliens while being pursued by La Migra. The response of the INS official to the latest drowning: "If we're going to continue to enforce the law, which I believe law abiding American citizens want us to do, we cannot say that there will never be another incident like this. It seems to me that any law violator who flees while avoiding the law has to accept the consequences of his own actions" (*L.A. Times*, 1/27/84).

"Besides, these illegals have it easy and they are taking advantage of us," is the message in a recent *L.A. Times* feature article, part of a series on life in a Mexican village. One article in the series focuses on a "typical" mother.

The "adventurous mother," as she is described, decides it's time to visit her son in the U.S. She goes with a girlfriend and enlists the aid of a *coyote*, who specializes in women and children. This man, she reports, is a family man. "The *coyote* did not bother us at all," she said. "He was a fine man." Sure, your friendly travel agent who handles your vacation arrangements, right? The article tells how this woman finds her son, who lives in the San Fernando Valley near Los Angeles, and spends a wonderful three months with him, visiting Universal Studios and Disneyland (where this little fairytale might as well have been written); taking showers two or three times a day, as running water is a luxury; and finally returns home by boarding a jet for the first time

in her life and flying into Guadalajara at 5:30 a.m. and then making it to her village in time for supper!

But there are also cases on official record that tend to reveal the real mainsprings of life in America. Take for instance the February 6, 1984 decision by a federal judge in Tyler, Texas, upholding the enslavement of 19 undocumented Mexican immigrants by three *coyotes*. Of possible 99 year sentences, the judge issued *probated* sentences to the three convicted men as his way of "criticizing the Justice Department for 'flooding the Southeast with illegal aliens.'" Slavery in America, 1984.

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José is a 21-year-old day laborer. When he and his 17-year-old brother Noe first came to the U.S. four months ago, he gathered aluminum cans to survive. He is an ex-student and now is a skilled machinist; but there is no work in Mexico, and here he has found no one who will hire him without papers. His family are agricultural workers in Mexico who own no land. His father drives a truck, his mother is dead and there are nine children. José also has a wife and a young daughter in Mexico. José and Noe came here hoping to be able to send money back to their family, but working only two or three days a week, they don't even make enough to eat themselves. They, like many others like them, are in debt and have sent nothing back.

José spoke candidly of the experience of those who cross the border. At first he hesitated, saying a "real" interview would take too long. But he was soon well into his story and agreed to the interview out of anger and wanting his story to be heard. "Sometimes you have to talk with someone about these things, because they're eating at you, deep inside; the other guys here laugh at me sometimes, but I know how they feel, and I feel for everyone, not just myself. . . ."

"Okay, you arrive at XX. And you go with him (the *coyote*). You don't pay him right then. You say, 'When you get me there I'll pay you; right now I don't have even a five (peso note).' If you pay him right away, he'll just rob you and leave you in the hills. You pay when you arrive. The moment you arrive at the door of your house, that's when he gets his money. They know that."

And if you refuse him then?  
"It's a Mafia. In one way or another, he'll get you. You might not get it right then, but you will eventually. They say, 'We'll beat you up' and they will; I've known friends who were stabbed repeatedly."

"A lot of us are very young; look at my brother, he's 17. I know that some Americans at that age don't dream of working. My brother worked until the police grabbed him and said 'Why aren't

## Welcome to Hell's Waiting Room

you in school?' and he was looking for work, no? He is leaving a part of his youth here because of that goddamned government of ours; I know that my brother could be something else, something better.

"I don't know where he is tonight. (His brother.) He's working. We went looking for work, and I went one way and he went another. I don't even know if some pervert grabbed him. It's the risk that you run."

"Tijuana. Look. The North American didn't contract us directly; there are these guys — I'll call them 'agitators' who go about in Tijuana and find wetbacks, and they are our guide through the hills and countryside. Once we're across the border, we arrive at San Isidro or Chula Vista. In there the North American is waiting."

"The hardest place to pass is XX. That's where the immigration jails you. They caught me twice before I made it in. The first time was at XX. They had us in a Ford pickup, some 12 of us, in the back, in a false space underneath the truckbed. And I think maybe it was a good thing they caught us because the exhaust fumes were asphyxiating us, and maybe two or three of us might have died on that trip. My brother got his back all burned; he was full of blisters. They pulled us out (the Immigration) and they said, 'Hola, folks,' and my little brother gave him the finger. So they grabbed him and shook him. And they sent us back to XX and within the day we were back in the U.S. with another *coyote*."

José especially wanted to talk about the oppression of women who crossed the border, something rarely spoken of, either by men, due to their own chauvinism; or by women out of shame and a feeling that nothing can be done about it even if one were to talk about it.

"The abuse of women is something, well, normal I could say. Nothing unusual. Just like that. Rape is the commonest thing in the world on the border. Nothing more than the *coyote* asks for it, and the women have to. You have to go along with them or it's going to be worse for you."

"We left by a beach in a colonia of XX La Paz. We went down through there and they took us along the beach. We had to pass through the water there, because the immigration was close by. So, we had to take off our clothes — the women too. And at that moment the women were suffering. Then we were put into the trunk of the car, and they (the *coyotes*) put the two women on top of the men. The rest of them put their hands where they shouldn't have and the women had to put up with it, because if they screamed, La Migra would have caught us. They would have sent us all back to Mexico and we would have had to try all over again to cross; and they would have suffered the same thing all over again."

"The *coyote* would touch us (pat our butts) as we walked or ran past him. That's common practice; the women knew about that. You go running and it's the risk, the risk of being raped, of having

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Waiting at an L.A. bus stop — a public bus route, seemingly set up for the sole purpose of transporting women "illegals" from the barrios to the laundry rooms and kitchens of the silver spoon neighborhoods.

# Miami's "Prosecution" of Officer Alvarez and

# ECHOES OF A REBELLION

After six weeks of trial, the Dade County State's Attorneys are winding down to the end of their prosecution of Miami cop Luis Alvarez. The case is already the longest state court trial in the county's history. Next comes the defense. The trial is being heard by a six-member jury panel — five middle-aged and older middle class whites and one young Cuban real estate agent. Cuban-born cop Alvarez stands only charged with manslaughter in the December 1982 murder of 20-year-old Black youth Nevell Johnson during a police shakedown of a popular video arcade. For three days a righteous rebellion erupted in the streets of Overtown in the face of this pig murder.

It comes as no surprise that the sights and sounds of the Overtown Rebellion have echoed in the courtroom from the beginning of the Alvarez trial — a trial that is being televised by courtroom TV cameras with segments aired on every newscast of every day. One local reporter joked about the continuing sharp divisions in the city over the rebellion, "Alvarez has already been tried in the courts of public opinion." And, we might add, the pigs and the state didn't do so hot in that "court."

Which is the problem that has been concentrated once again by the Alvarez trial. For if it weren't for the Miami rebellions, the outcome would be strictly routine. It happens every day in some major city USA. In Miami, things are not so simple.

Yes, both sides in court represent arms of the state, highly skilled in the work of oppressing Black people, among other things. On one side there's the state attorney's office, headed by Janet Reno, who has established a national reputation off of her office's work in precisely this matter. On the other, there is Alvarez, who has come to represent *the police*, not solely himself or even the Miami Police Department. "I support Officer Alvarez" bumper stickers keep being plastered all around the courthouse. And the main group of courtroom spectators continue to be cops — lots of them. Out in the streets there are several hundred other cops conducting (in uniform) a door-to-door petition drive in support of Luis Alvarez.

Still there is a somewhat different political necessity faced by the Alvarez defense and the state attorney's office in this trial. Given the continued volatility of the Black masses in Miami, particularly the youth, the state's public efforts have been geared to leave the impression that the name of the case is the reality, "the people vs. Luis Alvarez." As the trial has progressed it has become clear that the state's tack in doing this is to put on their witnesses and then lay back and let the Alvarez defense team rip. In that way the Alvarez trial has been turned into a trial of the Overtown Rebellion.

A number of hysterical descriptions by prosecution police witnesses (witnesses to the rebellion, of course, and not to the murder) have been backed up by hours of police-band radio transmissions and TV station video broadcasts of street scenes near the video arcade where Alvarez shot Johnson. Scenes of hundreds of fierce and proud youth taking the street, of squad cars bursting in flames, of dozens of police scurrying and ducking out of the way. Scenes that captured both the strength and ferocity of rebellion, as well as the horror of the police at being forced to deal in these extremely unfavorable



Overtown 1982 —  
The Field Force... and the force they fear.

conditions.

The star witness for the prosecution, Detective John Buhrmaster, the lead homicide investigator in the case, was well qualified to deal with these "bigger political issues" and the prosecution-defense maneuvers at the trial. An 11-year veteran on the Miami Police force, the detective had claimed in pretrial questioning that he wasn't even all that nervous the night of December 28, since he'd been through it all before. Not only was the detective one of the first cops to arrive at the arcade after the murder of Nevell Johnson, but also he and his superior officer were the last two cops to leave. They got trapped in the arcade for 45 minutes after every other cop split. This was the first squad car torched. A SWAT team was called in to the rescue, described in court as an "ungraceful exit," "ungraceful exit."

Video pictures of their exit showed a mad scramble with two SWAT cars almost slamming into each other before they could get the hell out. As for the brave detective's mutterings on the stand: "It's hard to describe if you've never been through something like that... I got down on the floor of the car and stayed there until we reached the station."

Under cross-examination by the Alvarez defense team for several days, prosecution witness Buhrmaster explained and described the police-band and video news broadcasts to the court. In lengthy slow-motion, stop-and-start testimony, the sounds of breaking rocks and bottles and gunshots ricocheting off the arcade wall were pointed out to the jurors. Over and over. The Alvarez defense attorney, worked up to a dramatic frenzy by these scenes, started shouting rhetorical questions: "When did the state's attorneys begin prosecution of the people throwing rocks and bottles at the police... burning police cars... shooting at the police... who was appointed in your office to investigate those crimes?" The detective calmly replied, "To my knowledge, there was nobody instructed to do that." He was quite right.

No one had to be instructed to arrest the some 51 residents of Overtown who were charged with those "crimes" — rebelling against oppression. And no one had to instruct the SWAT squad how to

execute on the spot one 16-year-old youth, Alonzo Singleton, who was murdered later that evening. The police know their job and do it well. Besides, that is not the point anyway, which is why the prosecution did not object to these defense questions. *This case is supposed to be the state's best prosecution, remember. References to the others might confuse the issue.*

But the Alvarez defense team was getting to this point anyway — to just how diligently the state had prepared its case. "You told us yesterday that you didn't think there was any political pressure applied in this case. This last year have you ever seen Janet Reno on TV talking about this case?... Did you ever see Miami's City Manager Howard Gary on TV? Did Mr. Gary ever state he was conducting his own investigation in this case?... Haven't you been to Mr. Gary's office at least two times?... " The Alvarez defense attorney barely left time between questions for the cop to get in his yesses.

Or his no's, as the barrage of questions continued: "In your fine career as a homicide detective how many cases have you handled that had one state's attorney, two chief assistant state's attorneys, and two deputy chief assistant state's attorneys on it." "Name another case with meetings at City Hall, at Mr. Gary's office, with the chief of police, two assistant chiefs, a major, two lieutenants and your whole homicide squad"... etc., etc. The prosecution team appeared to be quite pleased by these questions, since they hit at the whole essence of their case. A media orchestrated show, to cover for a most brutal murder. After all, the state did its best. Get it!

It is interesting to note, however, that in all these new defense questions about the state's political machinations behind the Alvarez case one question was not asked: what happened at those meetings? Undoubtedly a lot of careful planning had to go into the state's strategy for this case, besides the fabricated evidence we've already discussed. For one, these trial tactics had to be figured out somewhere.

For when it comes to the concrete evidence against Luis Alvarez, nothing could be more favorable toward an acquittal than the state's case, even before the defense has put on a single witness. Key to this has been the introduction of one state's exhibit, a .22 caliber handgun that both sides in this case state was hidden under Nevell Johnson's sweater.

Over the course of the trial, several new bits of the truth had been revealed about this police throwdown gun, revealed somewhat unwittingly by the Alvarez defense team, and, of course, not reported on by any other media. According to numerous police, including the testimony of Alvarez's rookie partner that night, Louis Cruz, both Alvarez and Cruz supposedly had their hand on this "concealed gun" in Johnson's rear waistband before Alvarez's gun "accidentally discharged." But somehow neither of these cops managed to ever get the gun. Once Johnson was shot and down, both cops ran from the arcade to their police car, leaving the allegedly armed suspect in a room of some 50 other youth, many of them Johnson's friends. One would assume that the cops might have worried a bit about someone else getting that gun, and even using it on them. But they weren't worried about that because

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# Death Squad Revelations

The current situation in El Salvador has given rise to a new flurry of infighting within the ranks of the governments of both El Salvador and the U.S., and to some interesting exposure of their more hidden operations in El Salvador, particularly of the death squads. Part of the occasion for this has undoubtedly been the autumn successes of the opposition forces in the field, and the corresponding widely-reported demoralization of the Salvadoran army, both of which have provoked deep concern as reflected in the Kissinger Commission report.

Also complicating matters for the U.S. is that what was supposed to have been a key element of the solution to their problems may well serve instead to exacerbate things: the upcoming presidential elections on March 25 are in trouble — they promise to bring into sharp relief the conflict between contending U.S. lackeys in El Salvador. For a number of reasons, including that the recent deterioration has taken place when Roberto D'Aubuisson and his cronies from the ARENA party have been at the head of the government, powerful forces in the Western bloc are pushing to tighten the leash on D'Aubuisson and his men and bring back José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democrats. In the course of efforts to strengthen the forces grouped around the Christian Democrats, much has come out about D'Aubuisson and the death squads, including some of their ties to the U.S.

One major source for these revelations has been Robert White, who was U.S. ambassador to El Salvador under Carter. White is quite the liberal ingénue: he systematically defends U.S. policy under Carter, which included the inaugural period of the Duarte junta when thousands were "disappeared" in its first six weeks by the death squads, and proclaims that he himself didn't really learn about the death squads and their connections to the Salvadoran government until "my last week or two in office." As can be seen, Mr. White's revelations will be rather selective.

The key exposure made by White actually came to light sometime ago but has not appeared until now in the mainstream media. White has now stated publicly that D'Aubuisson was personally involved in the assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Romero in March 1980. According to White, a Salvadoran military officer confessed to a U.S. military officer in Panama that he was present at a

meeting headed up by D'Aubuisson at which he and a number of other Salvadoran military men drew lots "to see who would have the honor of assassinating Romero." While not naming the Salvadoran officer, White has insisted on his reliability, stating that his credibility has been established with the embassy over a period of time. Indeed it was. Other sources have named the officer as Captain Eduardo Alfonso Avila, who is from one of Salvador's most prominent families. Avila has an uncle who is a founder of ARENA and a supreme court justice; a cousin runs the local branch of the McCann-Erickson advertising firm, a Madison Avenue agency which handles ARENA's public relations (such as they are); and another cousin has married former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton. Avila, it turns out, was not only involved in the Romero assassination, but also in the Sheraton Hotel shooting of the two American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) agents, both U.S. citizens, along with the Salvadoran head of the Land Reform Agency. The killing of Romero and the two AIFLD men have been two of the three main cases (along with the four American church women) which have been the target of U.S. complaints about the death squads. The public disclosure of the role of D'Aubuisson in them, along with the ties to the U.S. of one of the murderers, was certainly intended to force the hand of those in the U.S. who have been reluctant to tamper with the death squads at all, or to lend their support to Duarte.

Besides White's revelations, significant exposure of the internal workings of the death squads has come from a recent series of articles in the *L.A. Times* and the *Albuquerque Journal*. Two reporters worked together to obtain lengthy interviews with U.S. officials, Salvadoran government officials, including D'Aubuisson, and with a number of past and present death squad members. (Precisely why D'Aubuisson and the others consented to the interviews is unclear.) The articles give a graphic picture of the internal workings of the death squad and the mind-set of their members, and give many details of D'Aubuisson's own grisly role in their formation and activity.

There is, for instance, an account of a plan laid out by D'Aubuisson and others for their death squad terrorism. The

document was captured in May 1980 by the Salvadoran Army Chief of Staff, whom D'Aubuisson was at the time working to overthrow. Though copies of the document have made their way to at least one Latin American solidarity group in Washington, D.C., U.S. officials claim they have never seen it. D'Aubuisson's plan mapped out how to carry out assassinations, kidnappings, and military assaults, and included organizational guidelines for a political grouping, which grew into ARENA. Also captured were names and addresses of military officers involved, payments made for weapons, and the other paraphernalia of death squad origins. If U.S. officials never saw this, it is only because they didn't need to.

There's also an account of the role of various West bloc forces in aiding ARENA and, through it, the death squads. The role of the CIA and its agent, General José Alberto "Chili" Medrano, and the formation of the paramilitary ORDEN group and the "white hand" death squads of the 1960s, is already a public fact, admitted by U.S. officials. By the late 1970s almost two-thirds of ORDEN's leadership had gone on the payroll of D'Aubuisson. But as the civil war erupted in 1979, and Salvadoran society entered the greatest convulsions it has yet experienced, old methods proved inadequate. A number of West bloc forces entered the picture to modernize Salvadoran terror. Those taking part in the more clandestine side included Argentinian counterinsurgency experts, active in the "disappearance" of up to 30,000 people in their own country in the mid- to late-'70s, as well as a group of veterans of the French Secret Army Organization (OAS) who had helped devise the counterinsurgency tactics employed in Algeria in the late '50s. According to cohorts of D'Aubuisson, the French paid particular attention to the organizational structure of the death squads and were instrumental in establishing a network of three-man cells similar to those of the OAS. The Argentinians helped with torture techniques, according to D'Aubuisson and several other Salvadorans who worked with him and the Argentinians. The *Albuquerque Journal* quotes a death squadder: "The Guardia (had been) using all these stupid methods of dunking you in water... and beating you up — the old methods," he explained with a touch of contempt.... The Argentinians, he said, taught their Salvadoran disciples how to temper this brutality with psychology," including the use of isolation cells, good cop/bad cop

Washington-based PR firm, Ian MacKenzie, who numbered Somoza among his firm's clients, was key to convincing about ten wealthy Salvadoran exile families in Miami to set up the Salvadoran Freedom Foundation in 1980. The Foundation was one of several conduits for hundreds of thousands of dollars going to the death squads. Even the very impetus for the formation of ARENA had U.S. origins, according to D'Aubuisson's men. Key to this was a series of meetings in Washington, D.C. with aids of Senator Jesse Helms, along with lobbying support from various public policy groups and contacts arranged by the staff director of the Republican Conference.

This support has been ongoing. Just after the 1982 Constituent Assembly elections D'Aubuisson informed a meeting of ARENA youth that he had scholarships from the Republican Party to send two people to the U.S. for instruction on how to carry on a political campaign, in anticipation of the 1984 Salvadoran elections. The two attended seminars conducted by the darling of the 1980 U.S. presidential elections, Paul Weyrich, including in the use of "phone banks" and "door-to-door" work (presumably to offer respondents a quite immediate choice of the ballot or bullet).

The *Times* and *Journal* reporters detail other means of support for the White Warriors and friends deriving from the U.S., including letters of support from the Moral Majority for D'Aubuisson. Overall, however, their exposure is restricted to Republican and particularly "New Right" forces' roles in this, and will certainly be used, and already has been, in not only the infighting over Salvadoran policy, but also in the politicking of the '84 U.S. Presidential elections. We should put their exposure in quite a different context. The ties of D'Aubuisson and the death squads throughout the Salvadoran government and with important forces in the U.S. are less deniable now than ever. The details of their links with institutions like the CIA remain hidden — but who can doubt that French OAS and Argentinian counterinsurgency experts working in Central America do not have their U.S. "control." The current outcry against their methods — today even D'Aubuisson has become an advocate of "human rights" — has its own imperial purpose too, as was brought to mind once again by a high State Department official quoted in the *Albuquerque Journal*: "I think that we're making some progress in narrowing the universe of people it is okay to kill." The death squads are not to be dismantled, but aimed at the proper targets.

Further, the death squads are not the only or even the most savage weapons in the U.S. arsenal — one quickly becomes a pawn in their game if focusing on death squad atrocities means forgetting the 37,000 armed puppet troops, the tens of thousands more called for by current U.S. plans, much less the more complex counterinsurgency methods in place, the regional militarization of Honduras and Guatemala, and the poison-tipped carrot recently added by the Kissinger Commission. Nonetheless, the picture that emerges from these recent exposures is certainly one of bloodthirsty goons, taught torture by veterans of Western colonial wars, organized politically by American politicians, blessed by American preachers, glorified by American ad agencies, funded by American PR men and kept in place by its aid, and, not least of all, inspired by America's philosophy. □



routines, and electric shock. Truly imperialism has a wealth of international experience to offer a poor, struggling nation.

As for the U.S. role, the articles are generally restricted to the support given to the political formation of ARENA. For instance, the McCann-Erickson ad agency, one of the four largest ad agencies in the world, did ongoing advertising for ARENA and the head of a large



This past winter, Robert McNamara captured headlines after an article in the influential quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, which stated: "Nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless, except to deter one's opponent from using them." This was coupled with a proposal for a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, matching the Soviets who proposed such a zone a couple of years ago.

What's more, this was the second major article in recent years in which McNamara had introduced himself as a virtual Mahatma Gandhi, in nuclear affairs at least. The first article was coauthored with three other "formers" in the U.S. ruling class — McGeorge Bundy, Gerard Smith, and George Kennan. Its stated aim was to oppose NATO's longstanding declared policy that it would use nuclear weapons first "if necessary" against the Warsaw Pact in the battle for Europe. This earlier article, "Nuclear Weapons and the Atlantic Alliance," came at a time of massive demonstrations by the European peace movement and obviously addressed itself to the problems created for the Western bloc by the growing prospect of nuclear war.

One has to credit the gall with which the old warhorse has rehabilitated his image. After all, as is well known, McNamara gave very vigorous leadership to the U.S. war in Vietnam, presided over one of the most rapid expansions of the U.S. nuclear arsenal (prior to the present expansion begun in the Carter administration), and enshrined in the Pentagon nuclear targeting doctrine a plan to destroy one-third of the population and half the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union in a war. McNamara figured centrally in devising the basic doctrines of missile-delivered nuclear warfare (ICBMs were first deployed around 1961) including the "flexible response" strategy in Europe, with its first-use connotations. McNamara's more recent incarnation does not even include an endorsement of the Freeze (he says only that it "called attention" to important issues),

still less a call during the autumn to forego deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles (he supported deployment, though he added "for political and not military reasons").

Actually, his latest article opens with an oblique disclaimer to any bourgeois that might become too worried about his dove reputation. McNamara cites three statements which oppose, vaguely, the use of nuclear weapons. Sound like the peace movement?, he asks, and then grandly reveals that each is attributed to high-level military figures. He even tips the hat to Reagan and the "zero option" proposal, the supposed U.S. policy that peace talks should aim at ridding the world of nukes entirely. The point of displaying the company McNamara keeps is to reaffirm to his *Foreign Affairs* audience, basically, that "I am not a peacenik." We agree.

#### Not Into Plowshares

Strangely, these impeccable imperialist credentials have only endeared McNamara still more to many social democrats and others who hold that the ex-Secretary has had a drastic change of heart, or alternatively that McNamara was always a liberal in the establishment doing his damndest to blunt the *worst* of the warmakers' plans. Why it's just fine, the anti-nuke movement is told in effect, to have someone in the highest reaches of imperialist officialdom promoting "our" views.

As a matter of fact, McNamara's views have to do with warfighting and not with peacemaking. McNamara and the circles of imperialists and imperialist academicians, in both Europe and the U.S., with which he is connected, do have a special axe to grind, but it is one that will not be turned into a plowshare: this is a debate among imperialists over *how* to swing the axe.

In a *tactical* way, McNamara's program does diverge with what appear to be the dominant views among the U.S. imperialists and certainly within the administration at the moment. His *Foreign*

*Affairs* articles are prestige calling cards for a package of ideas and, yes, military doctrines, which are touted as "reducing the likelihood of nuclear conflict": these have appeared in *Newsweek*, on the *Viewpoint* program which followed *The Day After* movie, and elsewhere. The dominant course of action in the administration right now is clearly to prepare for nuclear warfighting at any level, from limited intervention in the Third World to more major conflict in specific areas such as Europe, the Persian Gulf, and Korea, all the way up to and, indeed, mainly fastened on the capability to launch a preemptive first strike against the Soviet Union. The focus on first strike can be seen in various Defense Guideline documents which explicitly call for "decapitation" strikes against the Soviets — the destruction of command and control facilities (which would certainly make limited war impossible) — and in the centrality of MX, Pershing II, and other such first-strike weapons systems in the U.S. force structure. McNamara, on the other hand, claims that he has always held that the U.S. should "never initiate the use of nuclear weapons" and advocates a "second-strike" policy, and what he calls "second-strike" weaponry. Not only does he advocate "no-first-use" of tactical nukes, he calls for "lesser retaliation" at even the strategic level, that is, meeting any nuclear attack with a response of less destructive power; he denounces "decapitation" strikes and opposes the Reagan Space Wars program. McNamara's special concern — and this seems to be the main purpose of the latest *Foreign Affairs* piece — is conventional warfare in Europe, and its relation to nuclear war. To simplify somewhat, McNamara represents himself as advocating conventional in place of nuclear war, or "raising the nuclear threshold," as it is called.

#### If "Deterrence" Fails

Before looking at what this all means, it is important to see what it does *not* mean — and that is, peace. Indeed, what

most basically bothers McNamara is not that war must be avoided at any cost, nor even that nuclear war must be so avoided, but just the reverse, that war appears imminent. "Deterrence," as he puts it in the *Newsweek* article (Dec. 5, 1983), "may fail." In *Foreign Affairs*, McNamara pores over the history of U.S. nuclear policy in Europe, which he himself first articulated as "flexible response." This has been the policy that says NATO will use tactical nuclear weapons early and first, if it so chooses, in any conflict in Europe, while retaining the "flexibility" to respond with conventional forces or nukes at any level necessary. But much has changed since then, McNamara observes, with nuclear parity between the U.S. and Soviets and the underlying global showdown between the two blocs coming to a head. McNamara reviews the flashpoints that threaten to touch off the conflict: "for example, an uprising in Eastern Europe that is threatening to get out of control or a U.S.-Soviet clash in Iran, or conflict in the Middle East." He shows with the perception of a true warmonger how a crisis in an area like one of these would present the imperialists of both sides with a stark choice of risking war, or risking the empire by *not* going to war: "each step of the escalation would create a new reality, altering each side's calculation of the risks and benefits of alternative courses of action. Once U.S. and Soviet military units clashed, perceptions of the likelihood of more intense conflicts would be changed radically. Once any nuclear weapons had been used operationally, assessments of other potential nuclear attacks would be radically altered." McNamara's first and driving point is the fact of the momentum toward global war.

Nor is his point that the war can or should be avoided. Even if one were to take him entirely at his word, McNamara proposes conventional war rather than nuclear war, if even that is possible. "We understand," he wrote in a letter to *Foreign Affairs* last year, "how Europeans (including Russians) must feel at the



## McNamara's Deep Thoughts On "Deep Strikes"

Nuclear Warfighting  
With A  
Certified Dove

These have a range of only ten miles, therefore they have been deployed within that distance of the Central Front, and as McNamara puts it, "it is these characteristics — especially the vulnerability of NATO's nuclear artillery — which leads many observers to predict that the Alliance would use tactical nuclear weapons within hours of the start of war in Europe." Commanders of nuclear weapons would be under intense pressure to "use them or lose them," and in actuality, according to some sources, certain regional NATO commanders have already been "pre-delegated" authority to use the nukes if they see fit. In other words, there is, and *there is supposed to be*, a very high degree of what is called "automaticity" in the NATO military setup, or as Reagan war-planner Colin Gray once phrased it, "a powder trail leading from central Germany to the high plains of the U.S." (where the ICBMs are sited — *RW*). This makes nearly inevitable a very rapid, uncontrolled (automatic) escalation to all-out nuclear warfare — first tactical use and very soon after, first strategic strike.

It's got to be said that any social system that would create such an Armageddon-machine has certainly long ago earned a ticket to the scrap heap! To McNamara, however, what this mainly demonstrates is poor military thinking. Such a setup — his baby, after all! — may have been tolerable during a period when the West principally aimed to defend and extend its empire in the normal, savage, incremental ways. Of course, the U.S. certainly would have, and several times threatened to, use these weapons if it had had to... still, it was not yet faced as decisively with an all-enveloping global conflict and a Soviet military machine fully as strong as its own. It is different, as McNamara reminds his fellow imperialists, at a time like the present when they are about to get down to it.

As a strategy, McNamara's program might be said to reflect some of the military thinking embodied in the principle stated by Mao Tsetung: "The object of war is to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy." Mao made clear that the main point in this is the aspect of attacking and destroying the enemy: "attack is the chief means of destroying the enemy, but at the same time it is self-preservation because if the enemy is not destroyed, you will be destroyed." McNamara and the circles which he represents have not lost sight of this fundamental fact, and their program is anything but defensive, as we shall see in examining especially his proposals for conventional warfare in Europe. On the other hand, McNamara raises the extremely controversial notion in imperialist circles of taking some risks, even incurring some losses; this is clear in the proposal for "lesser retaliation" and "no-first-use" of tactical nuclear weapons (or even "no early use," as he has also recently suggested). "War," as Mao said in the same passage cited above, "exact a price, sometimes an extremely high price. Partial and temporary sacrifice (nonpreservation) is incurred for the sake of permanent preservation" (*Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 156). The Western imperialists, grappling with the problem of waging war without destroying "their" civilization, are lectured by McNamara to take some risks, even incur some heavy losses in order to create the best military and political conditions for war, and above all to actually *win* in some recognizable sense.

## The Propaganda Factor

Here we should qualify that at least aspects of McNamara's writing must be taken with a hefty grain of salt. Taken as a whole, especially his strong insistence that NATO "retain retaliatory capability" of about three thousand nukes in Europe alone, McNamara's own program gives the lie to his phrase "nuclear

weapons are useless." Plainly, this is proposed as propaganda and is not serious. The suggestion for a "no-first-use" policy may be of similar character. On this score, McNamara appears to be addressing even those bourgeois who do not agree with him militarily, saying to them that, whatever they end up actually doing, they should *call* it something different and starting right now. In the earlier article especially, McNamara and the other authors complain that the Soviets have gained a propaganda advantage by seizing the moral high ground of no-first-use. They don't need to remind their audience that, when the nukes start flying, each side will claim that the other fired first anyway, and each will claim merely to be defending the nation and its "vital interests"; therefore why not come out right now and meet the Soviets head to head in the propaganda peace wars? How seriously the no-first-use declaration is meant to be taken ought to be judged against the four authors' statement that "even the most responsible choice of even the most limited nuclear action to prevent even the most imminent conventional disaster should be left out of authorized policy." What is being said here is that NATO should accept defeat and concede Western Europe to the Soviets rather than use nuclear weapons at all. And coming from imperialists like these, such a statement alone should make one awfully suspicious. Actually, read in the context of the complete article, it's fairly plain that McNamara is literally speaking of what ought to be included in "authorized policy" — not what actually ought to be planned. "In a sense I was trying to trigger a change in the environment," as he explained to Robert Scheer. Lately, indeed, McNamara has switched gears, advocating "no-early-first-use," that is, upholding the option of using Euronukes first, but delaying their use longer than possible in current war plans (he couples this with a suggestion that a straightout no-first-use might still be adopted...after five years!).

Significantly, McNamara's no-first-use proposal ran into heavy controversy even on propaganda grounds (much less as a serious military doctrine!). An article by four West German bourgeois figures in *Foreign Affairs* strenuously objected to the no-first-use policy, which they called "astonishing" essentially because it threatened to fold up the American nuclear umbrella, which the West German imperialists count on and mean to be used. U.S. imperialist voices agreed, adding that it would betray U.S. weakness. But McNamara foresaw such objections and paid much attention to the German question in NATO politics, holding out for the position that no-first-use might be a bitter pill for the West Germans to swallow now, but the outbreak of conflict in the near future would mean enormous destruction of German territory and probable political turmoil... a pill that might stick in the throat.

As a whole, McNamara's attention to propaganda points, and peace wars, runs through and conditions the strategic package he is developing. Over and over again, he underlines the need to reinforce the "political will" of the alliance — and this surely includes the mood of the masses — and this extends to his proposed military doctrines as well, which are aimed, in part, at creating better political as well as military conditions — in geography, in timing, and in claiming the mantle of the "defensive" power. Here again, McNamara differs from the main and dominant approach of the U.S. now, which appears to count principally on the *fait accompli* of war, on the shock of actually going ahead and *doing it*, to sweep public opinion into the war effort... or at least off its feet.

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prospect of another conventional European war... (but) we earnestly plead with all who are in the habit of saying that one kind of war is as bad as another to examine the facts about nuclear explosions" (*FA*, Summer '82, pp. 1179-80). It doesn't take much to scrape away the thin antinuclear coating to see blood drip from these words. World War 2 killed fifty million people mainly without nuclear weapons; that's acceptable, that's not so bad, that's a fine sacrifice to make if we see the alternative, the victory of the Soviet bloc! Moreover, McNamara's horror at the "effects of nuclear explosions" does not translate into condemning them: "no more, and probably less than three thousand would be sufficient," he assures us — this is for Europe alone. Sufficient for what? "... for an adequate, survivable, and varied second-strike force," he and the other authors write in *Foreign Affairs*. Ah, we've come a long way from nuclear pacifism in a short time: nukes are OK as long as they can be termed "second-strike" — and are infinitely preferable to defeat at the hands of the Soviets!

McNamara has taken on the job of starkly posing a monumental contradiction facing the imperialists, which is that the Soviets must be taken on, and sooner than later, but that in his words, "if deterrence fails and conflict develops, the present NATO strategy carries with it a high risk that Western civilization as we know it will be destroyed." And he embarks on his package deal of "reducing nuclear risks," coming on as the upbeat champion of Western civilization and the American empire, as if to say: *who says we can't fight a war, who says we can't control it, who says we can't win?* His approach is to try and control as much as possible the use of the nukes, to very carefully define how and when they might be used, to get NATO to try its best not to get into a situation that might get out of hand, and at the same time not to concede anything to the Soviets, indeed to strengthen the NATO capability to jump the gun and take it to the Soviets, but in a way, again, that is at the choosing as

much as possible of the West. This last is, as we shall see, where the strengthening of conventional forces, in McNamara's view, becomes critical. One important sign of McNamara's aims is his proposal, again in the *Newsweek* piece, to strengthen command and control of NATO forces: "We must ensure that under all circumstances our retaliatory capability is assured, and that we are capable of retaining control of our forces regardless of the size of an attack upon them." This is nothing other than a call for protracted, but as much as possible controlled and managed, nuclear warfighting capability.

## Central Europe

McNamara illustrates his point by looking at Central Europe. He shows that NATO has stoked West Germany with thousands of nuclear weapons, and lists them:

Bombs to be delivered by aircraft: 1,039.  
Artillery shells (203mm and 155 mm): 2,000.  
Missiles: Pershing IA, Lance and Honest John: 270 (to these we can now add the Pershing II and Tomahawk cruise weapons — *RW*)  
Air Defense and Atomic Demolition charges: 1,750.

Each of these weapons is incredibly destructive — the effect of a 100-kiloton tactical nuke, necessary on the routine mission of taking out a regiment of Warsaw Pact armor, would destroy everything for 4.5 miles around. And there are six thousand of them altogether. NATO isn't even sure that all of these weapons will work: "Atomic Demolitions Munitions (ADM's) (nuclear mines — *RW*) raise particular concern. These weapons are 25 years old and probably no longer reliable."

What's more, as Henry Kissinger worried years ago, these are "weapons without a doctrine": their main purpose has been to trigger something bigger. Take the 2,000 or so nuclear artillery shells.

# Certified

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## The Conventional Offensive

McNamara, then, proposes propaganda — but not by any means only propaganda. A change in military posture and doctrines is called for, in order both to “preserve oneself” on the part of the Western imperialists, and also to better attack and destroy the enemy rival bloc. The offensive character of McNamara’s proposals is concentrated and best seen in the character of the conventional forces he advocates.

In his *Foreign Affairs* piece, McNamara does not spell out details of his proposals for strengthening NATO conventional forces, neither does he delve very much into the relationship between those stronger conventional forces and the nuclear weapons he calls for in Europe. But there is no shortage of bourgeois think-tankers, strategic analysts and politicians — make no bones about where they are coming from — who cite McNamara, clearly use his thinking and influence, and some of whom are, in turn, cited by McNamara. For example, in the *Foreign Affairs* piece, attention is called to ex-Rand analyst, now professor, William Kaufman; to certain proposals of General Bernard Rogers, current Supreme Commander of NATO; and especially to a report making waves in such circles these days, produced by an ad hoc commission called the European Security Study (ESEC) (“Strengthening Conventional Deterrence in Europe,” St. Martin’s, 1983). This report, to which McNamara devotes the final couple of pages in his article, is an excellent tip-off as to where McNamara is going with the talk of stronger nonnuclear forces in Europe — and that is straight East, just as fast as NATO planes, missiles, and troops will carry them, right at the outset of any conflict.

The ESEC Report amounts to a surfacing and a PR job on certain military ideas which have been percolating in high circles of NATO and the imperialist establishment generally. Its Steering Group includes none other than William Kaufman, as well as McGeorge Bundy (an author of the no-first-use article), Lord Carver (past British Chief of Defense), and other well-placed imperial-

ists. The report is principally a military document, less focused on strategic and political conditions than is McNamara, and despite being prominently advertised by McNamara, probably does not parallel his position in every respect. Still, it is clear that McNamara promotes these ideas because in their basics he does agree with them... and this should help us read between the lines of McNamara’s deceptive program.

The catchphrase for the ESEC proposals is “Deep Strikes.” Though pains are taken in the ESEC Report to picture these Deep Strikes as a form of “forward defense,” in fact what is being offered is a doctrine of bold and rapid attacks against targets deep inside Warsaw Pact territory, right, as the report says, “from the initial moments of a conflict.” Indeed, when aspects of the new doctrines first appeared in military journals during the last couple of years they were openly characterized as bold, offensive ideas. But McNamara and the ESEC have a broader sales pitch to make than the army mags, and are constrained to try and present Deep Strikes with a defensive coloration. Besides, the ESEC advocates a much more extensive and ramified series of military measures than the original Deep Strikes doctrines, some of which have apparently already been incorporated in NATO operational planning, such as the European warfare plans termed Airland Battle, and Airland Battle 2000.

Like McNamara, ESEC sets out to “raise the nuclear threshold” in Europe, and is similarly worried about the unreliability and especially the “automaticity” of the forward-based nukes (FBS), like nuclear artillery. To these it adds a consideration not detailed by McNamara: the fact that, apparently, the Soviets have recently been attempting to develop a way of dealing with the forward-based NATO nukes. According to ESEC, this might involve a very rapid Warsaw Pact thrust without nukes from a “standing start,” that is, without a mobilizing and preconcentration of forces and without previous artillery barrage. It also includes blitzkrieg-like formations, said to be called Operational Maneuver Groups, which would quickly insert themselves behind and among NATO lines. The point of such an attack would be to lock and intertwine Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in battle so that the nukes could not be used without destroying much of the NATO



McNamara and fellow imperialist “doves” Bundy, Smith, and Kennan.

forward units as well; it would also hope to gain a quick edge before the political decision was made to use the nukes. In sum, the ESEC Report chides, in addition to all the other problems with the FBS, the Soviets might be able to deal with them anyway.

### Deep Strikes

On this background, the ESEC makes its case for attacks deep into Warsaw Pact territory that, not so surprisingly, takes a leaf from the threatening new Soviet doctrines. Of course, there is the matter of Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional arms, and the Soviets’ geographic advantages. The ESEC proposes to counter with not so much a full-fledged invasion, but a reliance on air power, mobility and maneuver, powerful

new conventional technology, and most especially surprise. It calls for “deep attacks against critical fixed targets, including river-crossing sites, transportation, logistical choke points, ammunition and fuel depots, airfields and air defense systems, and elements of Warsaw Pact command, control and communications facilities,” and all this would be mounted “right from the initial moments.” The report proposes mass production of new technologies such as the MW-1 submunitions dispensers which disperse an incredibly destructive blanket of cluster-bomblet explosives over a given area, from aircraft or missiles; these are said to be “nuclear-equivalent” in effect. It is suggested that intermediate-range missiles might be equipped with the new sub-

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# ECHOES

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Neville Johnson did not have a gun and they knew it. After cops Alvarez and Cruz got in their squad car, Alvarez called headquarters on his walkie-talkie, which he had with him earlier in the arcade. Alvarez stayed on the air for at least five minutes before the cops ever went back in the arcade. It was only then that all the youth were chased outside, and only after that that Alvarez claims to have taken the “concealed gun” off of Nevell Johnson. It is interesting to note that rookie Cruz was admittedly carrying a second gun on his ankle that night, one carefully checked out and carded to him by police headquarters. Yet Alvarez only had his service revolver.

There’s a fine line between the prosecution and the defense in this trial — so fine that it’s often impossible to tell which is which. Nonetheless, this line divides around the question of “accident.” It is the prosecution which claims that cop Alvarez shot Neville Johnson “accidentally.” Meanwhile, the defense argues straight up that Alvarez knew exactly what he was doing. His job. After all, the pig simply killed a Black youth. Miami is in America!

In the words of chief prosecutor Abe Laesser, describing the so-called “sudden move” of the armed Nevell Johnson, “Luis Alvarez was nothing more, nothing less than startled... he took the natural move that anybody would and the gun goes off. The way that the gun was pointed it strikes Nevell Johnson.”

The Alvarez team jumped at this and took it up from there. One attorney wrote two words in big capitals on the blackboard (JERKED and PULLED), and then argued, “If you use this sentence, ‘to pull the trigger,’ the word

pull indicates action that is conscious, deliberate. Action that is voluntary... The word jerked has the connotation of being involuntary.” The attorney went on to read the words of police investigators from the night of December 8th, “The officer pulled back.” A conscious and deliberate act.

### Measuring Tension

In some circles in Miami, the sentiment about this coldblooded murder as it is being brought out in this trial is more like “a pig is a pig is a pig.” And more than just the police are put in that category. It is a sentiment that is growing through the course of the Alvarez trial, as especially the youth debate and prepare to deal with what may come down.

The high level of tension in Overtown and Liberty City is of great concern to the imperialists as they make their way through all the ins and outs of this trial. And it is not solely scenes from the past that haunt them. Since December, the locally appointed Community Relations Board (an organization that has not fared too well in Miami over the past years in its assigned task to keep the calm) has had people walking the streets to both cool out, but also to analyze the level of tension. These streetwalkers have been compiling a weekly poll of their calculations, and on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being an explosive level, Overtown has been estimated at 9 each week since preliminary hearings in the trial began last December. Liberty City’s rating has gone up from 7 to 9 since the trial started.

It is in this context that splits and cracks have fractured the city’s ruling apparatus over sharply contending tactical differences on how to deal with this rebelliousness. During the first week of the Alvarez trial, the highest Black public official in Miami, City Manager Howard Gary, demoted and placed under house arrest 24-year veteran Miami Police Department Chief Kenneth Harms. A move quite humiliating to the chief and

his cronies. Several hundred cops demonstrated at city hall against Gary with placards, “Miami Held Hostage.” And all manner of hell swirled around city hall for days where many city councilmen and other officials are known to be major backers of the police.

Even Mayor Ferre, who appointed Howard Gary, had to be forced into supporting him. At first Ferre compared Gary’s acts to “Marshal Tito and Pinochet.” When front-page newspaper stories appeared the next day with reprints of secret memos from ex-chief Harms’ safe that claimed Mayor Ferre had been “actively involved in elicit drug activities,” suddenly Ferre declared his “complete confidence” in Howard Gary. The mayor compared Chief Harms to “J. Edgar Hoover and Joe McCarthy.” Following several weeks of these wild charges and countercharges, it has become clear that Harms is out to stay and Gary is in, for the time being. It is still unclear how much continuing instability exists inside the Miami Police Department as a result of this shakeup. City Manager Gary and Chief Harms had come to represent opposite poles in the wake of U.S. Justice Department criticism of the local police response to the Miami rebellions. (The Justice Department has more than 80 attorneys stationed in Miami these days and has recently opened its own community relations service office, one of the few in the whole country.) Not coincidentally, Gary’s views fall more into line with the Justice Department’s suggestions that Black-led “crisis response teams” play a key role in both preventing and especially in quelling rebellions. Gary himself had led these political firefighters into Overtown back in 1982.

Chief Harms (that is when he was still the chief) had announced several weeks before the Alvarez trial started that he was bringing out the Field Force (battalions of 50 cops working together in riot-control formation) to work the

streets of Overtown and Liberty City even during the trial. On at least one occasion, a motorcade of Field Force troops wound its way through Overtown one busy Friday evening. Within days of this announcement, Harms was out.

The official word from the new police chief is that the “safe streets units” patrols have been increased, with the more military formations like the Field Force no doubt in abeyance for now. Starting last week the big news centered on the local Community Relations Board (CRB) and all of its “work and suggestions,” geared to preparing the way for a “reasoned response” to the expected acquittal. The CRB has called upon the news media to lay the basis for this now, still several weeks before the verdict. The CRB is also coordinating their own daily radio talk show to attempt to “squash any rumors” that might cause problems. They went on the air, the CRB explained, because “There is a tremendous degree of rage in the community. Rather than have that rage explode, we’re trying to rechannel it.” The CRB has also called upon elected, religious and business leaders to get out in the streets with them now, as well, to avert what is being politely described as “tremendous polarization.”

This “polarization” is so deep that the CRB has had much difficulty even collecting their information on the brewing tension. In at least one of the hastily called CRB meetings in Overtown the officials had to walk out of their own meeting in order to stop the dozens of youth who had stood to shout them down. The officials hardly got a word in edgewise for several hours as youth after youth blasted the murder of Nevell Johnson, the increased police patrols and the lousy conditions of life that only get worse. Word has it that the CRB has not set up any more meetings like that, as they scramble around the Black neighborhoods and as the Alvarez trial goes into the final stages. □

# Hot Autumn Correspondence

During the summer and autumn the RW featured coverage of the political situation in West Germany around the deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles, including numerous reports from members of the World Without Imperialism Contingent and coverage by our correspondent to West Germany, C. Clark Kissinger; and we will continue to feature articles on the experiences of "Hot Autumn" and the important political lessons to be drawn from these events. The following letter comes to us from a revolutionary feminist from the U.S. who was in West Germany, and we are reprinting it here in the spirit of continuing debate and struggle over these important questions for the revolutionary movement and all those opposed to imperialist war preparations:

Dear RW,

I was in Germany during two weeks in October, including the "Hot Action" week of the 15-22nd. I was sent as a representative of a group of revolutionary feminists in the U.S. Unlike most of the people sending back reports to the RW I was not a member of the World Without Imperialism Contingent. I shared with the Contingent a desire to lend internationalist support to the movement against the Euromissiles and against the imperialist system which spawns those missiles. However, I did not join the Contingent because my method of doing political work and my aim differed from the Contingent's. Specifically, I saw the Contingent dialogue mainly with the left and other progressive elements, and focus upon getting out a statement of the Contingent's line and raising debate around it. Whereas I spent some time uniting and struggling with the people I considered the most advanced, mostly I did investigative work — I spoke with all sections of the masses, backward as well as progressive, and spent most of the time listening.

I chose this method of doing political work because I think a top priority of the left should be to understand where the broad masses are coming from and how to address their concerns in a real way. After all, it's the future actions of the people who are now in the middle which will make or break a revolution: the handful of us on the left can't pull it off by ourselves. And we on the left can't provide good leadership for the masses-turning-revolutionary if we don't even understand what the issues are that are dear to people's hearts. In this letter I'd like to share some of what I learned about the West German masses.

People in West Germany are awake and moving — most towards the left and some towards the right. In general, people there are more informed about world events than are their American counterparts. Having lived through one or two world wars fought on their own turf, many people have an at-least rudimentary understanding of how imperialism works and the toll it takes in human lives, even though they don't call it by the name "imperialism." The fact that the U.S./NATO/B.R.D. governments' deployment of the Cruise & Pershing was in no significant way affected by the 75% of Germans opposed to the missiles has radicalized many, many people. Both major West German parties have supported the missiles while in office; many people are beginning to understand that their "democratic" system is a farce and that the question of missiles is a question not of individual leaders but of an entire system of superpower rivalry and expansion. Connections are more and more being drawn between the installation of first-strike missiles in Europe and U.S. actions in Lebanon, Central America, etc.

Fascism is also on the rise. Many jobless Germans, esp. youths, are joining right-wing groups with the mistaken belief that Germany's economic problems are due to the presence of Turks, Jews, lesbians, etc. (They don't understand that their country's economic ills are due to the international crisis which the imperialist system is undergoing.) Swastika graffiti is a common sight in subway stations, so is the phrase "Türken raus" (Turks get out); recently in Frankfurt a Jewish cemetery got trashed and the women's bookstore

received a "lesbiennes raus" note. Many middle-aged, middle-class Germans are not as far to the right as the fascists, however they do form the main base of support for the missiles and are very nationalistic in their sentiments. Much of the opposition to the missiles is also very nationalistic, going no further in its political analysis than to anti-Americanism. All of this nationalism (whether pro- or anti- missiles) ultimately fuels the fascist forces.

The fascists' build-up around the Germany-Turkey soccer game contrasted sharply with the anti-missile, anti-imperialist demonstrations taking place the same week. Events such as these point to the sharp confrontation underway between the left and the right. All of the young radicals I met were determined that the narrow defeat which the Reds suffered at the hands of the fascists after World War I in Germany shall not be repeated this time around.

One thing which the majority of Germans can agree on is that while the U.S. & Russian blocs talk peace, they are actually preparing for a third world war. Most people in the peace movement can also agree that new tactics must be developed in order to prevent war, because the old ones didn't work the last two times and aren't working now. There is much dispute about just what these tactics should be.

Some "new" tactics are just more of the same old stuff. Some people still have basic faith in electoral politics and have joined the alternative Green Party, whose politics spokeswoman Petra Kelly summed up well as "we're for evolution, not revolution." Many people are taking part in massive, non-violent demonstrations: the last weekend of my stay, between 3 and 5 million people from all segments of society took to the streets. Most of these people are motivated by a genuine concern for peace and the survival of life, but don't understand the nature of imperialism and hence reject the necessity of violent actions to overthrow it.

Other people I met, among them many Turkish immigrants and older Germans, were not taking part in the demonstrations. The main reason why, I discovered, was not apathy but a disillusionment with the mainstream peace movement and (for some) a doubting of the ability of the masses to ultimately win in the struggle against imperialism. But thousands of others, who call themselves "autonomen," are actively challenging both the mainstream peace movement and the imperialist system itself. These people are coming up with some genuinely new answers which may work.

Autonomen are generally young anarchists, with anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, anti-nationalist and anti-liberal politics. What impressed me most about the autonomen was that they refuse to dialogue with the state; in their demonstrations they follow a consistent policy of sharp and unrelenting confrontation with the forces of oppression. My autonomen friends and I discovered many areas of political disagreements, especially around my insistence on the need for a somewhat centralized revolutionary organization, around Russia being just as imperialist as the U.S., and around my opposition to the urban guerrilla line being advanced by groups such as the Red Army Faction (RAF). But these political differences became insignificant at demonstrations when we found ourselves linked elbow to elbow facing off against the police; where people stand once the battlelines have been drawn is much more significant for now than how their ideas sound on paper. The autonomen taught me a lot about tactics for street fighting — a skill which every revolutionary should develop.

I first met the autonomen in action on October 15 at the Bremerhaven demonstration. (Bremerhaven is a port city on the north coast where the U.S. Army maintains a base and ships out weapons to the Middle East and other parts of the world.) At the start of the demo there were about 3,000 autonomen, dressed in black leather and motorcycle helmets, linked elbow to elbow in very organized rows. I hopped into line with everyone else, and we

headed to the south, towards the harbor, splitting off from the more moderate ("bürgerlich") part of the march. These people were heading towards the barracks in the north, and our plan was to avoid them entirely, so as to not repeat a previous demonstration's fiasco in which the pacifists had stood in front of the bank windows which the autonomen wanted to destroy. A police helicopter started to follow us, and demonstrators set up firecrackers to keep it at a distance. We started running, yelling and waving our black and red flags, then we stopped and waited for the lines in front of us to get a few hundred yards ahead, and charged again. We did this several times over the course of the march and it was an effective technique for keeping our energy high and focused. When we stopped, people would cover walls and billboards with spray-painted slogans like "radical & angry," "make war on imperialist war" and "hunt down the U.S., smash NATO." My favorite was "Volkerörder, Frauen schändern, Yankees raus aus allen Ländern," meaning "Perpetrators of genocide, rapers of women, Yanks get out of all countries" to which I'd like to add, "U.S. out of North America." There was a lot of friendly neutrality from the people living in the apartment buildings we passed. And at one point, a 10- or 11-year-old boy ran out to dot the "i" in a message which an autonomen had just spray-painted on his building, and everybody cheered.

When we got to the porn district, every sex shop we passed got its windows totally smashed. A half-mile further on, we got to a more posh district with banks, and each bank was subjected to a volley of paving stones and paint-filled eggs. The 6,000 police in Bremerhaven that day could not stop us, because our massiveness filled the streets from side to side, we moved quickly, and the police had their attention diverted to other parts of the city.

Our demonstration had some serious logistical problems, however. Several blocs of autonomen went to the north first, rather than to the south, due to miscommunication. Our march to the south got split up by the DKP (pro-Russia communists), who deliberately walked slower and slower, trapping half of our forces behind them. When we arrived at the harbor, some pacifists had managed to get there first and were holding a sit-down blockade, so there was no room for us to charge the gates. There were DKP-type forces at the front of the march who kept on walking, foiling an attempted regrouping, so we found ourselves heading the 2-3 miles north to the barracks with tired and diminished numbers. At this point I found myself wishing for the presence of some tactical leaders making good

use of bullhorns, which I've seen at a few May Days.

As we marched down the mile-plus of narrow road bordered by fields which led out to the barracks, we passed thousands of bürgerlich forces heading back, anxious to get out before the real street fighting started. The police were ready for us this time, with full riot gear, water cannons, helicopters and gas bombs. When we arrived at the gates to the barracks, we found that German police had barricaded themselves inside with barbed wire. There were no American GIs to be seen; it would have been too politically exposing to have German masses facing off against their supposed friendly American "protectors." We chanted things like "Bullen, Bullen, plat wie stullen" (translated loosely as "Today's pig, tomorrow's bacon") and people threw bottles and whatever else they could get their hands on at the police. Then an autonomen burned an American and a NATO flag amidst general cheers (a picture of this made the front page of the *International Herald Tribune*).

That was about all the pigs could stand and so finally they turned on the water Panzers and drove us back down the road towards town. A few people were taken away by ambulance after getting knocked down by the force of the jet, but it was nothing like last year when the police were experimenting with the water cannons and had the jet turned so high that one demonstrator lost an eye, another suffered serious liver damage and others got bones broken. The police tried to drive wedges through us on our retreat down the road, charging across with billy clubs swinging. However, we refused to break our lines, and at several points charged with elbows locked together at the waiting police lines, forcing them to give way. Then the police lined either side of the road and "escorted" us back to the original rallying point (we were unable to rally enough to shake them off), where we were joined by more autonomen forces. Although the police had us surrounded, they decided we were too much trouble to contain and let us go.

At the summing-up meeting I went to, people were frustrated at our inability to storm either the harbor or the barracks and concluded that the police had pretty much scored a victory. However, they also agreed that we had learned some important lessons for future demos.

In upcoming struggles in Germany and the rest of the world, I think it will be the presence of young, determined people like the autonomen friends, guided by a clear political understanding, who will help turn the tide and rid the earth of all this imperialist madness.

In struggle,  
A Reader

## the State's Dirty Work

Continued from page 4

prompted outrage and suspicion among many, posing the problem of political exposure. This trial provides the government a method to explain and justify their role in an attempt to address that outrage. To this end, we are witnessing a regurgitation and even an "improved" version of the old theme "blame the victims" for the "shootout between two extremist groups." The volume on this will certainly be turned up when the CWP testifies as they are expected to do this week, as the defense tries to pin them with a plot to attack the Klan, or even worse, to "gain martyrs" to bolster the "communist conspiracy."

Whatever the actual decision of the jury — the fact that the trial is set in these terms has already given the vicious message of the earlier state trial some legitimacy and more play still, and is aimed especially at whitewashing, vindicating, and protecting ongoing government operations.

We will continue our coverage as the trial develops. □

## CORRECTION

A factual error appeared in last week's RW, No. 243 (February 17, 1984), in column 3 of the page 5 article, "Face-painting and Lebanon." The 117 Druse dead civilians found in the village of Kafarmatta had been massacred by the Phalange last September, not last week as the story implied. The badly decomposed bodies found in roads, fields, and homes had been left unburied by the Phalangists throughout their occupation of Kafarmatta dating back to last September, an occupation which ended as the Phalange fled from the advancing Druse militia last week. □

In RW No. 242 (February 10, 1984), the article "Tales From the Trailer Park Substation" contains a typographical error in the first sentence of the opening paragraph. The date cited there is incorrect and should read: April 28, 1982.

# Darnell Summers Railroad Derailed

Continued from page 1

dismiss the case while making a strong stipulation that the case be dismissed "with prejudice," meaning that the state's case be thrown out once and for all and that the trumped-up charges against Darnell could never be brought back. (RW readers will remember that this very same raggedy case was dropped in 1969 on fear of acquittal during the turbulent years where in cities like Detroit intense struggles against national oppression and in support of Black liberation were raging. But the case was dismissed "without prejudice" and the charges were kept hanging over Darnell's head and pulled out of the bag when Darnell's political activity in West Germany brought him to the attention of U.S. and West German authorities in the 1980s.)

The prosecutor was quick to interject that "there is no statute of limitations on a murder charge." And the oh-so fair-minded Judge Sullivan, who had pondered and summarily denied a litany of pretrial motions which exposed this frameup inside and out, was quick to agree with the prosecutor that there was a need to leave the door open for possible "new evidence" being brought forward in the future.

But a common outburst among supporters both in the courtroom and later throughout the city was "let them try" to bring back these charges. After all, how else could they retreat from this outrageous and well-exposed frameup except on these terms. To include a "with prejudice" clause would only further confirm the very essence of what this highly political prosecution has been about all along. At the same time as they admit defeat, just as they did in 1969, they have left the threat hanging over Darnell's head. For the last 18 months this case has been predicated on the testimony of an outright liar in the form of Milford Scott, whom even the chief prosecutor says, "is a person who publicly stated that he would lie to benefit himself; thus his motivation in testifying could be clearly for purposes other than disclosing the truth." And now, in the face of tremendous defeat, this case having been dissected and ripped apart, the state has attempted somewhat of a threatening pose. The defense has already made plans to appeal this blatant but rather desperate outrage and further up the ante of the state's defeat.

Darnell's lawyer also argued that after kidnapping and dragging Darnell 3,000 miles from West Germany to this country

in chains, months of incarceration, separating him from his family, hounding and harassing him, the state should at least pay this brother's way back to Europe. This too was denied with a vague utterance from the judge, "Oh, we can't do that."

Clearly this dismissal before trial is a means of cutting their losses in the face of an abject defeat and once again fear of acquittal at trial when the stakes this time around are quite a bit higher. In a special and very unusual statement that was made to the press early the same morning, the chief prosecutor of the city of Detroit summed it up by saying that "In short there is no factual, legal or ethical justification for continuing a criminal proceeding that has deteriorated to the extent that there is no realistic likelihood it will result in a conviction, notwithstanding the fact that it was originally commenced on a magistrate's finding of probable cause."

Probable cause, indeed! On three levels of the Michigan courts, right in their own sacred legal arena, the frameup of Darnell was torn to shreds from many different angles — that the prosecution hadn't a shred of justification for resurrecting this charge against Darnell after 14 years; that authorities cooperated internationally to extradite Darnell from West Germany in one of the only two international extraditions to Wayne County in ten years; that this extradition was based on an affidavit of lies and misrepresentations of then-chief prosecutor William Cahalan; that they had no new evidence, only the same discredited testimony and the same bribed and coerced witnesses, who had recanted their lies as scripted by the police. The real political motivations behind this frameup were dragged into the light of day, out of the mouths of their own cops and prosecutors, and from their own documents and reports.

Meanwhile, hundreds of workers from Turkey and GIs in West Germany, as well as revolutionaries in Spain and Portugal, sent letters from across the ocean. Youth of every nationality and proletarians from soup kitchens and unemployment lines all over Detroit wore red armbands on May 1st in support of Darnell and in unity with his revolutionary politics. Hundreds of individuals and organizations signed a Statement of Opposition to the railroad which was to have been printed as a major ad in the Detroit press. Progressive clergy, Black and white, among many others, gave financial sup-

port. The Coalition to Free Darnell Summers was forged and included revolutionary nationalities, anti-nuke activists, lawyers, social activists from progressive churches, and others. Volunteers from all over the country came to wage this battle, centered in Detroit, including Haitian, Dominican and Laotian youth. A Black woman who was on welfare and in a wheelchair came all the way from Hawaii. Darnell was welcomed to many political meetings, conferences and symposiums, where support and money to wage this battle were offered. He also toured the East Coast. He was actually able to return to West Germany for periods of time and participate in the struggle against this railroad being waged there. News of this outrageous case was broadcast far and wide through networks of draft registration counseling centers, newsletters of political organizations, and radio shows which featured Darnell as a speaker. The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Lawyers Guild, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and the Bill of Rights Foundation moved to file amicus briefs in the appeals courts, supporting Darnell's request for an interlocutory appeal.

Especially in the last months, the defense pushed hard in attempting to puncture a veritable dam of secret and military intelligence operations and reactionary inter-bloc intrigue, orchestrated at the highest levels of U.S. and West German governments. It's no coincidence that the dismissal itself is coming at a time when the defense is exposing and jamming the enemy on their very networks of informants and their whole modus operandi in relation to political groups, revolutionaries, and volatile sections of masses, which is clearly getting beefed up and even more secured on an international level.

The motion that was to be heard in court on the morning of the 22nd was to enforce a discovery motion that had been signed by Judge Sullivan over a year ago which compelled the government to turn over "all documents, records and files of and/or within the possession of the Michigan State Police pertaining to Darnell Summers, including all documents, records and files in which the name of Darnell Summers appears and/or pertains to or resulting from activities in which Darnell participated and/or groups and organizations with which he associated." These organizations included the Malcolm X Cultural Center, Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Union, Inkster Tenants Rights Group, Republic of New Afrika, Black Workers Congress, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Revolutionary Communist Party, and Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, among others. The defense contended that evidence within the possession and control of certain police agencies indicate and might conclusively prove that Darnell Summers was not guilty of the murder charge.

In the course of pretrial hearings it was proven that what lay behind Darnell's extradition was a highly political need of authorities on both sides of the ocean to silence an uncompromising revolutionary as an example to others. The defense revealed State Department documents from the Law Enforcement and Intelligence Unit containing the signature of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, documents which boasted that they had the extradition of Darnell sewn up — not because of any laws or treaties but because of political consideration. These documents stated that the extradition was sure to be granted because the Federal Republic of Germany had their "own problems with violent militants."

The very thorough legal battle and the political battle in the streets is also taking place in the larger context of intensifying worldwide crisis and accelerating moves towards war between the East and West blocs to redivide the world. As Darnell stated to the press on the heels of his victory, "You have only to look at what's happening in Beirut, Grenada and what's happening in this country, like in the terms of the electoral process — they're trying to get millions of Black people involved in the electoral process. And never in the history of this country has any president done anything for anybody other than, you know, be an instrument

and tool of oppression. From George Washington who had slaves, up until Ronald Reagan and the class that he represents. So if a person like myself who is a Vietnam veteran, a person who is out in the public eye, a musician, a person who espouses revolutionary politics and also a person who's charged with a murder that he didn't commit and who has a number of people who are supporting him — it was definitely not the kind of situation they could readily deal with."

To push this railroad to trial now might be an unwelcomed counterpoint at a most awkward time, the year of the Black astronaut, the year of the Black Miss America, and above all the year of the Black political candidate. Given the broad attention focused on Darnell's case among a wide range of social forces, a continuation of this railroad not only threatened further exposure of the American Dream but also threatened to spotlight the kind of politics which, as Darnell put it, goes smack up against "all that flagwaving, bible thumping, snake charming, gun toting, beer guzzling, nuke 'em while wrapped in the red, white and blue."

This dismissal also takes place in the context of some infighting among local ruling circles in Detroit, which is not unrelated to these broader political concerns. And the last several months has seen a changing of the guard in the chief prosecutor's office. The notorious Prosecutor Cahalan who's hands are covered with blood from the Algiers Motel murder during the Detroit Rebellion and the infamous STRESS program, and who presided over Darnell's 1969 frameup and the resurrection rerun two years ago, was replaced by the new "liberal" chief prosecutor O'Hare last October. Just how liberal the new chief prosecutor is can be read in his statement on the dismissal of the case against Darnell where he laments that "the inability to prosecute and convict person or persons responsible for the killing of a police officer is extremely distressing." More lies... and a not too well concealed threat, in what was otherwise a blatant admission that moving ahead with this trial would be worse than dismissing the case.

In short they've already paid too high a political price and now an acquittal at trial can only mean a total political fiasco.

The Coalition to Free Darnell Summers and supporters now have the important task of celebrating and consolidating this victory by summing it up for all those thousands who helped to expose and defeat this railroad and tens of thousands more on both sides of the ocean who were touched by this case and for whom the object lesson was intended. A major victory party is being planned.

In this light it should be said that through all the terrible political persecution, two times around, Darnell was not broken. He did not capitulate and he did not opt for toning down his politics as the state tried to isolate him from the masses, branding him an international "fugitive" on the run. When asked by a reporter from a major T.V. station as to what happens now, Darnell replied, "What's going to happen now is what's been going on for the last 15 years — I hope that I'll be able to make a contribution to revolutionary struggle in this country and throughout the world, and we're going to keep on stepping."

Eighteen months ago, Darnell's extradition from West Germany raised questions for many about why a Black revolutionary from the '60s was doing political work among U.S. troops stationed in West Germany. Many who were outraged over the railroad were also challenged by this kind of internationalist politics. 400 workers from Turkey living in West Germany were among the first to pick up the gauntlet and inspired thousands of proletarians, youth and others in Detroit to understand the stakes of this case and do the same. Many proletarians and their allies have become aware that the attack on Darnell was an attack on the aspirations of the oppressed internationally to seize as much as possible in this coming period when the situation in many parts of the world will be up for grabs. With the dismissal of this railroad a victory has been won. We should celebrate and step up all-around preparations for the future. □

## Contribute to Consolidating this Victory

A great victory has been won in the battle to stop the railroad of Darnell Summers. As part of celebrating and consolidating this victory we must complete the battle to meet our financial obligations. Over \$12,000 must still be raised to pay off the mountainous expenses of this battle fought and won. To further strengthen the broad unity that has been forged we cannot leave a single debt unpaid that has been incurred through this battle.

One of the "fringe benefits" the bourgeoisie uses to attack revolutionary and progressive forces is to drain and cripple them financially. From the outset of this attack the bourgeoisie employed this method against Darnell. Dragging him back to the States, away from his livelihood, refusing for months to grant him transcripts on the basis that he had a support coalition that was giving him financial assistance, and finally dragging their so-called case on for two years, has been part of the way they sought to

hinder Darnell's efforts to fight against this attack. Indeed on the very day they were forced to dismiss the case, Judge Sullivan arrogantly refused to grant money for lawyer fees or transportation back to his home in West Germany.

At every step of the way, hundreds, indeed thousands, with widely divergent political ideas and philosophies stepped forward donating their time, office equipment and money to beat back this attack. Literally thousands of dollars have been raised in Darnell's defense. The government has paid a tremendous political price for its efforts. That price can and must be heavier still. Make a contribution to the victory and take part in expanding the consolidation of this battle. Send donations and checks to: Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., No. 324, Detroit, Michigan 48211. Tax deductible contributions of \$100 or more can be made by contacting the coalition at: (313) 871-4616. □

## Atlanta Bowen Homes Defendants

## The Phone Call

Question: What is an uninformed loyal judge to do when presented with a courtroom scene that is clearly loaded with political significance? Answer: Adjourn court and go make a phone call.

This was the unvarnished action in Georgia State Judge Charles Carnes' courtroom in Atlanta, February 6, at the second indigency hearing of the four Bowen '81 defendants.

The second hearing was necessary to determine the current ability of the defendants to pay their fine, demanded in an unprecedented lump sum of \$500 each. Just two weeks before, the Federal District Court had rubber-stamped the decision of Federal Magistrate Castelloni who had held the first indigency hearing in July 1983, upholding the conviction and denying indigency status. (See *RW* No. 215 for an account of this hearing.)

The original arrest for "failure to disperse" on Damián Garcia day in 1981 came during the height of the Black Youth Murders when a crowd of tenants in Bowen Homes Housing Projects gathered around to discuss May Day, the murders, and revolution, with the May Day activists. When a "mysterious stranger" and the Tenants Union president, too well-known as a lackey for the Housing Authority, started trying to mobilize backward elements, the police roared in on motorcycles and ordered the crowd, now numbering 150, to disperse. When no one complied, they proceeded to arrest nine May Day activists, conducting a sweep through the project and dragging three people out of the home of a tenant, over his protest.

The court rejected four defendants' defense of selective arrest (charges on five people were dismissed). And on appeal, the Georgia Court of Appeals enshrined the outrageous arrest, upholding the strategy reminiscent of that employed by the Klan, local sheriffs, and the FBI during the '60s when small groups of civil rights demonstrators were arrested in the face of stirred-up racist crowds. This is the so-called "heckler's veto," which calls for the arrest of the minority in a politically charged situation. The

Georgia Court of Appeals (accepting, of course, the police fantasy that all 150 tenants were about to attack the May Day activists) "... in such a situation, we find it permissible for the police to have isolated the smallest, most manageable group, (i.e., the appellants) and requested them to leave in order to defuse the potential danger."

The court's upholding of this "heckler's veto" is one major legal question concentrated in this case. The other involves the penalizing of political prisoners for seeking broad support, and the holding of their defense committees (or related organizations) responsible for all costs of the legal battle, no matter how indigent the defendant or how enormous the costs.

The defendants had challenged their starkly punitive and unprecedented sentences — a total of \$2,000 in fines to be paid in full, or a maximum of one year in jail until the fine is paid. (Having noted that jail is a difficult place to accumulate funds, the court usually breaks down the fines into a payment plan and the defendants are placed on probation until they pay.) In the first indigency hearing last summer the court ruled that the individual incomes of the defendants was not the issue, thereby upholding the prosecutor's argument that the RCP (of which the defendants are supporters) was responsible for these fines because previously the organization had raised money for bail, fines, and lawyers in response to wholesale jailings (i.e., over 200 arrests stemming from previous May Days and the struggle to expose the hand of the state in the Black youth murders). All this has obvious significant implications.

## The Phone Call

Due to a snowfall on February 6 which snarled traffic for some, including the judge to whom this case had been assigned, the most recent hearing was staged at the last minute in Judge Carnes' courtroom. The defendants were testifying about their economic situation and requesting that they be given a payment plan on the fine without having to sit in

jail until the money was raised. At the same time a motion for a stay of bail (while the conviction and sentence are appealed) was filed in the 11th Circuit Court.

As the defendants took the stand the judge asked the kind of questions which anyone not blinded by a fanatic zeal to jail these revolutionaries would have to ponder. After the first lengthy testimony, which included the statement that the man's income was approximately \$100 a month, Judge Carnes inquired of the prosecutor, Duane Cooper (who has specialized in RCP cases for two and a half years now), "How do you propose that I find... not indigent?"

Up until the day of the first indigency hearing all reference to politics and the RCP have been ruled irrelevant and out of order. However, the same prosecutor, who always had stated that the only problem was that the defendants are "petty criminals," now made the political nature of the arrests (and the fighting response of the revolutionaries) the key issue.

He grilled each defendant: "Isn't it true that you have raised money for the appeal on this case, while you've done nothing to raise money for the fine?" Finally the judge wondered out loud why would they pay the fine before now? They've been appealing the case and if they paid the fine it would moot the appeal. But this, after all, was not the point driven at by Cooper and his higher-ups in the County Solicitor's Office, or for Federal District Court Judge Moye, who had just upheld the Federal Magistrate's findings in the previous indigency hearing. Magistrate Castelloni found in part, "The testimony further shows petitioners have not yet made serious efforts to raise money to pay the fines because they are still disputing the Constitutionality of the convictions." (As one of the defendants said on the stand to Cooper, "It's you, not us, who keeps telling everyone we have 'due process of the law.'")

Judge Carnes was beginning to perceive this wasn't going to be an ordinary day in court. He asked Cooper

about the customary way these fines are handled, saying in his experience they are prorated over the time the defendants have to serve, which in this case would amount to \$42 a month. "Why can't we do that?"

At this point Cooper dropped all pretenses. In a passionate five-minute speech he laid out the political picture Carnes had, in fact, been probing for.

"Your honor, if you grant them an altered sentence, they will claim this as a political victory... They are flagrantly flaunting the sentence and the court."

The normally inarticulate Cooper waxed lyrical, expressing the rage and frustration of the authorities that be that the RCP has politically and legally combated this and, in fact, expanded their influence in the face of the hundreds of arrests and jailings. At the same time he was building a legal record against the RCP, which has been part of the long-range strategy of the Atlanta Police Department's "May Day Task Force" and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI), who recently listed the RCP as one of 17 "terrorist organizations" in Georgia. (In the words of Phil Peters, head of the GBI, "These are groups we believe intend to commit illegal acts.")

Carnes got the message. "Court is adjourned. I have to make a phone call." And as he got up to leave, "About another case." Naturally.

Who did he call? Nobody knows for sure, but three minutes later, having "reached out and touched someone," he was back. He asked the defense to put on their last witness and listened impatiently, asking no more revealing questions. Then he declared, "Indigency denied. No alteration of sentence." And he high-tailed it into his anteroom.

The ACLU has taken up the case, including providing a lawyer, and several other lawyers are considering amicus curiae briefs for the 11th Circuit. As of this writing one defendant remains in jail pending a decision on the case by the 11th Circuit Court. □

## Persecution of the Cathay de Grande

Over the past several weeks the Cathay de Grande, a nightclub located right in the middle of Hollywood, has become a center of controversy. Out of the hundreds of clubs in the Los Angeles area The Cathay is the only one to regularly feature punk bands. And that is more than enough to bring down the wrath of L.A. authorities.

"Ironically," commented the *Wall Street Journal* some time ago, "a particularly virulent punk strain thrives in Los Angeles because it isn't allowed to grow." Indeed, authorities in the L.A. area are determined to go to almost any length to stamp punk rock out. An article in the entertainment newspaper, the *L.A. Weekly*, listed some 56 clubs that have been closed for allowing punk bands to play. L.A. police attacks on punk concerts, with scores of riot-equipped cops brutally getting punks outside and inside the concert halls, have earned a national reputation.

Yet despite all this effort, "the particularly virulent punk strain" does indeed thrive in Los Angeles. "It keeps getting stronger and stronger," explains Cathay owner Michael Brennan. "Clubs are shut down, but there's always been another one." The Cathay has been in business some three years now serving as what Brennan calls a "first-level club," a place where bands that were just starting out could play. It didn't take long to figure out that there was a big demand to hear punk bands. Nor did it take him long to figure out what the police thought of it.

In fact, Brennan tells of LAPD cops who bluntly told him he could either quit booking punk bands or be put out of business.

Along with the threats from police that he would be put out of business, and the petty harassment regularly dished out to anyone hanging around the club, came bigger operations when the police would decide to "clear the sidewalk." Cops would meet a few blocks away, then converge outside the Cathay in full riot gear. They would come down the street in formation, shoving everyone on the sidewalk in front of them. When they would go around the corner, beatings were dished out to anyone who could not or would not get away. Just how much the police are itching to really come down on the Cathay can be seen in one incident. One weekend four drunk Marines from Camp Pendleton got into a minor hassle with punks at the club. Some twenty minutes later, after the Marines had left, the police converged outside the club wearing helmets and brandishing shotguns. It seems three of the Marines had lost their friend and the police claimed they thought he was being held hostage inside the club! The missing Marine eventually turned up with a woman behind a nearby building. But the point of this — the police threat of an all-out armed attack on the club — was not lost on anyone.

At times the Cathay would stop featuring punk bands, but finally Brennan decided he had had enough and adopted

what he calls his "Kamikaze strategy" — he decided that punk music would be a regular feature at his club. The police responded by attempting to mobilize neighbors against the club. "The neighbors" are actually businesses that are not even open at night when the Cathay is open, but this didn't stop them from circulating a petition against the club. The viewpoint of these "outraged citizens" was captured in the comment of one businessman who told the press that the punks coming into the neighborhood cost him thousands of dollars of business: "People come here to do business — we make commercials for radio — and they think we're in a slum." Certainly the brutal outlawing of a rebellious subculture in music is acceptable as long as it aids such an important endeavor as making commercials. (We leave without comment the ridiculous contention that it is punks who are responsible for turning the decaying streets of Hollywood into a "slum".)

Finally, as a result of protests from "concerned citizens," a hearing was scheduled in front of the L.A. police commission, which regulates the entertainment licenses. The concerned citizens and their mentors, the Hollywood police, were there in the hope of either suspending the club's entertainment license or putting conditions on the license which would essentially force the club to knuckle under. The strategy backfired. Instead the issue attracted quite a bit of publicity and by the time the hearing

came around a good deal of public attention was focused on it. The Cathay planned to call a whole series of witnesses who would, among other things, document the history of police attacks and harassment of the club. Apparently wanting to avoid the exposure that going through with the hearing and then severely curtailing the Cathay's license would involve, the Cathay was able to keep its license with only minor conditions attached.

It is unlikely that the matter will end here. Authorities in the L.A. area spent years and spared no effort in trying to stamp out the punk scene and the defiant stance it has come to represent. During the hearing police were overheard suggesting other strategies to those who had sponsored the petition — such as contacting the corporation which owns the land the Cathay is on (which happens to be ABC Entertainment). It may also be that the police, who have eased up somewhat on their harassment of the Cathay since the hearing, are waiting to seize on some excuse — or simply manufacture one — to come down even harder and then claim that they tried to give the Cathay "a chance" but the punks were just too irresponsible. In any case, the authorities are sure to have more problems on their hands. "I'm on the streets," comments Brennan, "and I know the (punk) scene is getting bigger. It's not something you can stamp out. They tried but it didn't work."

# Hell's Waiting Room

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your morale destroyed; a woman who comes here to the U.S. is automatically resigned to all this, and she is resigned because in her own country — well, that world has been completely shut off for her. In her own country she has nothing. So they come here, resigned to anything.

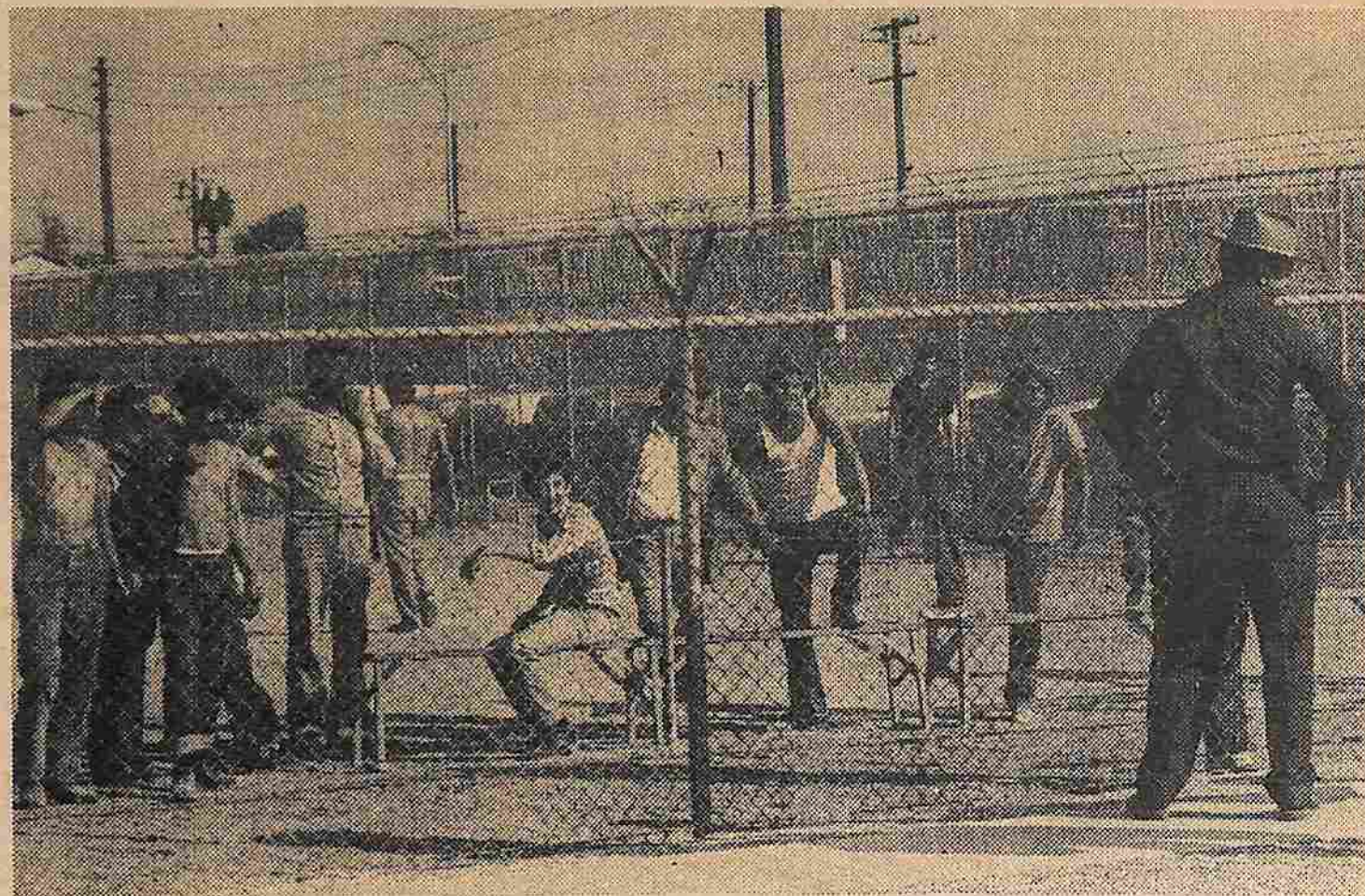
"So we climbed into the trunk of a car. My brother, me and a woman. She was put on top. She was okay, because my brother and I are respectful (unless we touched her by accident), but the other woman, well, she got out later crying. . . . I am sure one of those women was only 18 or so. And, well, they separated the women from the men, and she had come with her two cousins and they separated her, and when I saw her later her eyes were full of tears. . . . It wasn't necessary for her to tell anyone what had happened, we could see how she had suffered. She was holding her belly with her hands. . . . The cousins wanted to start something but you can't say anything there, you don't even know how many of them are with you; there could be four or five of them, and they are capable of killing you right there. They find a lot of bodies in the hillsides near the borders, bodies of illegals.

"Another risk that we all run is that the *coyote*, when he runs "the chickens" as we are called, well, they are fighters. If La Migra gets on our tail, he'll jam the accelerator and the car could crash or something and we can't do anything, we're stuck in the trunk. How would we get out? We're completely powerless if something happens. And the women who come by themselves are 'okay' but there are women who come when they're pregnant, under the illusion that if their child is born in the U.S. they could fix their own papers. These women risk their own lives and the life of their child because we spend the whole night walking, six hours continuously, sometimes we run, sometimes, 'hey, duck, get down, La Migra, here comes the *Mosco*' — the *Mosco* is the immigration helicopter, with its searchlight seeking you out, and when it finds you there's no escaping.

"So, women have to run, have to throw themselves on the ground, are raped and mistreated by the goddamn *coyotes* (who call it 'filling up the race'), and the only thing you get from all this is pure shit, they get you through the countryside like a herd of animals, screaming, 'Get going, you sons of whores' — that's how they talk to you.

"So they caught us again, this time in XX. And we passed the whole day without eating. Okay, they gave us a damned 'sandwich' of two slices of bread (Wonder Bread) and a little piece of pressed (processed) chicken, but that was late at night. And there was water to drink, and the toilets were portable ones, you know? We slept on the floor, and it was horrible. Later, we passed through XX, spent another day jailed; they had us like dogs; they gave us some torn and dirty blankets at night and there they fed us twice, once in the morning — cornflakes and a little carton of milk — and once in the late evening, a burrito. And a glass of water. That's all. And they're trying to get your name, and force you to admit which one is the *coyote*; but you don't dare tell, you know, because if you say, 'That's the one who brought me' and he'll get out (they get out fast) and he's going to get you for that, he'll fuck you for squealing. Or even kill you. The Migra knows who he is anyway, he's the one doing the driving! So they ask you, who brought you, and the *coyote* is saying, 'Look, I just drove the truck, I don't know who was back there!' And the Chicanos or Mexican *coyotes* say, 'A man told me to bring the truck here, I didn't know they were there.' Of course they don't believe it, but they look for that one who is going to say, 'He brought me,' but you don't dare because he'll find a way. . . .

"That second time they arrested the *coyote* and he got some minor charges because nobody squealed. A cop grabbed my brother that time and asked, 'Which one?' Nobody asked me anything. I acted like I didn't know what the fuck was up. But they grabbed my kid brother and he said, like you always had to say, 'I don't



Salvadoran refugees at the detention center in El Centro, California.

know, I was behind, I didn't see anyone.' But they try to pressure you, they separate you from the rest, they refuse to feed you, and they yell at you, 'Cabron, who the hell brought you? We're gonna fuck you good, stupid dog.' That time I was running and getting away, and my brother got caught, so I stopped and let them catch me so we wouldn't be separated.

"They treat you like — well, a dog. The women, when they catch them, they treat with a little more consideration but they pen them up too, with their kids, and without eating, like us; and when they give you your ration they give the kid a *half ration* and, of course, she'll give her ration to the child and go without eating. If she's pregnant she gets the same, and that's not enough for a pregnant woman. . . . and after she's been running and walking all night, she's exhausted. . . . but that's what they do.

"When we passed through the second time a helicopter flew over, and a *coyote* right ahead of us was leading a lot of people (more than 30). Well, they yelled, 'Stop.' We all stopped, but that first *coyote* fled, and we heard shots. They shot at the *coyote*, or else they were shooting in the air to scare us, I don't know. I heard later he got shot, but I'm not sure. They always try to run, they'll just leave you there, lost, or when you're locked up in a trunk they'll leave you too; it's the risk you run.

"In XX, they sent us back to Tijuana. And you know, when they got us there, I said, sarcastically, making fun of him, 'Bye, friend' and he said to me, 'Bye, Mexican, we'll see you tonight.' because they know we'll come back. But the Salvadorans they deport to their country. And they have to pay two *coyotes* — the one who gets them into Mexico from El Salvador and the one who gets them into the U.S. from Mexico. Yeah, about \$1,000 it costs them. If the Migra hears you talking with a Salvadoran accent, they say, 'Where you from?' and the Salvadoran says, 'From Mexico.' 'What part?' 'Vera Cruz,' because all the Salvadorans sound like Veracruzanos. So, then they say to you, 'Okay, Mexican, sing the National Anthem.' And of course they can't and then they're going to imprison you and investigate you, because if you don't want to go back to your country, they think you must be a terrorist or a guerrilla or something. If a good Mexican is with you, he might say, 'He's okay, he's my cousin' or something. When I got caught the second time, we had two Salvadorans with us. One had marijuana — not for sale, just for himself. And when the *coyote* was counting us as we passed (by patting our asses) the Salvadoran yelled at him, 'Don't you touch me, son of a whore!' and they separated him out, and when they got back, both his eyes were black and his face swollen.

"The third time we made it. The *coyote* who got us through this time was a North

American too. He took just my brother and me. We went through XX again, and it was raining, and we spent the whole night walking. We got to XX, and he put us in a garage and said, 'Don't move until I get back.' And we spent three hours there. It was raining and the roof leaked and we were really wet. But we couldn't leave, La Migra was all around. When he got back, he brought his wife, and they were both real well-dressed, him in a suit and tie, her very fine with jewels everything, and they were driving a Cadillac, the latest model. So you see, La Migra wouldn't suspect someone so fine in a brand new car — 'these guys don't need to bring any illegals, they're rich. . . .' So we got in the trunk for \$275 and they got us to Los Angeles, right up to the door of the place we live in now. Then we paid them.

"Look, it's like this, when an illegal comes here from Mexico, he has an address. And someone to pay the *coyote*. You never carry any money, because they'll rob you.

"You've got to go with your pockets empty. You just carry that address. But if La Migra catches you, they grab your wallet, and if you've got money they take it to pay your trip back. So if you're from El Salvador, it goes for plane fare, and if you're Mexican, it goes for the diesel, the bus. And if you have a paper where it says, 'So and so's address' they rip it up. They rip it up with the idea that'll make you forget that number where you're going. You see, a *coyote* says, 'You going to pay now?' And you say, 'No, here call this number.' And they do, and they say, 'Look, I'm so and so, and I'm here in Tijuana who says he's your relative and the guy in L.A. says, yeah, yeah, he's okay, bring him, I'll pay.' So they talk, they assure your money, and La Migra, taking this number from you. . . . well, they take everything. Your comb, money, everything. They take the comb and that stuff because they're afraid we're gonna bring a sickness or the plague or something here. You know, there was a time they were fumagating us! Yeah, a wetback wrote a book about it. So you don't bring in the plague. They make you take off all your clothes and you'd better not have a venereal disease or hemorrhoids or something, because you're stuck then, they'll keep you there till they cure you, because they know you're gonna keep coming till you get in and they don't want you infecting their great race. . . .

"So, in a few words, they treat you like dogs. Look, I don't just say it for you guys, but there are some good North Americans. I've worked with some pretty nice guys. But I'd say at least 75% are well-made shits. They look at you like a leper; you get on the bus, and they look at you, I don't know, like you're not human.

"The way undocumented people live here in the U.S. — if you can call it a life — is the most piggish existence you can

imagine. Look, in our apartment we're six guys jammed into a four-meter by four-meter space. There are only two beds, so four of us sleep on the floor. The manager comes and says, 'Okay, how many?' We say, 'five' and he says, 'that's going to cost you an extra hundred a month.' He ain't interested in sanitation. I guess you could look at us, and say, 'What dirty Mexicans!' and all that — it's the death that doesn't let you die, it kills you bit by bit. These dogs that suck you dry bit by bit, stealing all your energy, your feelings, you lose your morality, your culture, your education, everything. A lot of Mexicans here are robots now, they can't tell between their feelings and pain, they confuse love with shame. They seek escape in wine, in drugs, trying to forget their wives and family far from here. . . ."

RW: A lot of people return to Mexico. What do they say when they get here about life in the U.S.?

"They're egotists. If we were more conscious, more conscientious, I say, more human, all these people who come back telling tales about how the U.S. is a country of marvels — they are egotists. Having found themselves drowned, they want everyone to share their misery. I would share it, but not that way, lying and tricking people. They come back and tell tall tales of the marvels. . . . and how you can make dollars just by sitting in your house! So someone believing that shit comes here and you risk it all. . . . From the moment you leave for the U.S., you leave off knowing how your family really is — and a woman alone in Mexico is a woman alone in a house full of men, a bone thrown in a yard full of dogs. The one who talks the sweetest will win her — or rape her. And you here, finding out the dollars aren't so easy to get, you can't send her money — well, she's got to feed her kids somehow. A piece of bread in Mexico, a biscuit, costs five pesos.

"The majority of Mexicans who return to Mexico, return just like they came. Actually, they are worse off. They have lost the love of their family. They don't care anymore if they're here or there. And arriving here, you can't stop thinking of your family, your children, and it gets in the way of working, so you seek some relief. Look at the bars here, full-up with illegals. So the few bucks you earn you spend on wine, women or drugs, I don't know what else. They come back and the wife is now a prostitute, the son a drug addict, whatever. And they do not become what they could have been, men and women serving all humanity. When they return, they are good for nothing, really, they are weight on humanity's back, and all just to bring back those damn dollars. But when you're here, you know what a big shit it is. . . . You go along day by day, dying a little.

"So you come here looking for a reality that doesn't exist for you, looking for a world that can never be yours! And when

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# Hell's Waiting Room

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it doesn't come, you look for the guilty party, and the only one guilty is you. Your spirit, your conscience, is killing you, and you keep saying to yourself, 'Why the hell did I come here? That's it — why did I come to this place where they heap shit on you every day?' That's all. The only reality for man is his fighting spirit — what else should you live for? Don't go look for a world that doesn't exist, that exists in your imagination. . . .

"They are consoling themselves! It serves them as a consolation to say that they have a good life here, but it can't be. It's as if you went to live in an insane asylum, it's the same, it's a world that's not yours! And they finally ask you, 'Are you crazy too?' And you say, 'Oh sure, I'm crazy too.' Like it's some consolation! But it's just for you. You went looking for something, you didn't find it, and that's the reality of it, so your only satisfaction is to say, 'Hey, I found it.' You can't admit even to yourself your downfall, without money, without morality, without feelings. . . . You can't accept that. The ones who go back to Mexico, go back broken, without money, without morality, and sometimes with a vice to maintain, because some leave here alcoholics, drug addicts, stuff like that.

"Though you go back and you live with your wife, it's not the same. You're just keeping up appearances. Because of the separation your love for her eventually dies and now you just stick around. Everything has gone cold, cold, and once

RW photo



A hiring hall of the streets for the undocumented.

you've been here some time, you can't avoid that. You leave to look after your family's well-being and you end up destroying it.

"I have a friend here, he is sending his wife back. He can't support her here, there's no work, and we keep coming — it's like being in hell's waiting room.

"With La Migra — it's like Hitler with the Jews. We're just not human to them;

they'd kick any Mexican. We shouldn't stand for this. I'm getting ready. One of these days I'll get to the point where I'll be capable of any act. I know I'm not going to change the world by myself nor will my ideals, but I can be a part of something, a grain of something big that will melt entirely this ice that freezes us all, that makes us inert things, robots, able to do nothing but eat, work and procreate,

without knowing why or to whose benefit. You act like that not because you feel like it, but because it has become your daily life. . . . I want to put my grain with all the others so we can end racism, all this inhumanity, the people thrown in the streets, El Salvador. . . . We've got to destroy the United States. . . ."

# Certified Dove

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munitions, or else new longer-range aircraft might deliver them, such as the joint British-French *Tornado* bomber. The doubletalk about the "defensive" character of the Deep Strikes can be seen in the case of the proposed attacks against airbases. These are said to be intended "after the first waves" of Warsaw Pact aircraft are in the air, with the purpose of destroying the airbases and forcing the aircraft back to alternate landing sites which in turn would be more vulnerable to NATO attacks. However, it is easy to see that such attacks would be far more effective before aircraft are scrambled in order to prevent the attack in the first place. Furthermore, Deep Strikes are generally said to be aimed at follow-on, or second-echelon Pact forces, but one possible scenario discussed above, the sudden unreinforced attack from the East, is not dependent in its initial phase on second-echelon forces. The obvious point of Deep Strikes then would be to preempt any offensive by attacking first.

This offensive orientation is made bluntly explicit in a recent essay by Samuel P. Huntington, the director of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. Huntington's article, "Conventional Deterrence and Conventional Retaliation in Europe" (*International Security*, Winter 1983-84), cites both McNamara and the other no-first-use authors and the European Security Study, as well as most of the other sources McNamara relies on in "The Military Role of Nuclear Weapons." Huntington in essence dots the i's and crosses the t's, urging that the key question is not defense budget increases, or even breakthroughs in conventional technology, but the primacy of the offensive in strategy:

"The new element required in NATO's strategy is conventional retaliation. . . that retaliatory component can best take the form of provision for, in the case of a Soviet attack, a prompt conventional retaliatory offensive into Eastern Europe." Such a plan would "capitalize on the uncertainties and fears the Soviets have concerning the reliability of their Eastern European allies. . . in practice, the Allied offensive would have to be accompanied with carefully composed political-psychological warfare appeals to the peoples of Eastern Europe. . . urging them to cooperate with the advancing forces and to

rally to the liberation of their countries from Soviet military occupation and political control. . . .

"... A conventional offensive into Eastern Europe. . . would also be aimed at Soviet military weakness. . . one knowledgeable observer has even argued that, 'If the Soviet Union were poised to launch an offensive, and were preempted in this by a NATO spoiling attack, there is little doubt that in their own eyes, the Soviets reckoned that they stand a good chance of collapse.'"

Notice how the "defensive" figleaf is barely present at all in Huntington's exposition. Indeed, Huntington takes the issue head on: "The point is sometimes made that NATO is a defensive alliance and that a defensive alliance requires a defensive strategy. This argument has no basis in logic or history. . . there is. . . no reason why a politically defensive alliance cannot have a militarily offensive strategy."

Huntington addresses a wide range of questions regarding the military feasibility of a NATO offensive, and even offers maps sketching out potential Allied invasion routes. His "retaliatory offensive," as he stresses, is to be launched "simultaneously" with the Soviet offensive or may preempt the Soviet offensive; and in citing favorable moves and NATO planning and doctrine which complement the doctrine of retaliatory offensive, he mentions plans advocated by NATO's Supreme Commander, General Bernard Rogers, for the deep interdiction of Warsaw Pact second-echelon forces, and the European Security Study. Huntington also devotes attention to the importance of surprise: "If the threat of such an offensive is to serve its deterrent purpose, the Soviets must have good reason to believe that an offensive is possible and little knowledge as to exactly where and when it might occur." Huntington, in a clear appeal to the legacy of the blitzkrieg and wars of maneuver, states, "A force which is inferior in overall strength can still pursue an offensive strategy. . . by massing unexpectedly where they could achieve a brief local superiority and by preserving their initial advantage through relentless exploitation."

Huntington is also an advocate of repudiating NATO's "first use" policy regarding nuclear weapons; and he even has a moral argument, the obvious cynicism of which would jar open the eyes of some who tend to be lulled by the mellow phraseology of some of our U.S. imperialist "doves":

"Given longstanding NATO reliance

on the possible first use of tactical nuclear weapons, and if necessary, strategic retaliation against the Soviet Union itself, it would be rather anomalous for its members to find something unduly abhorrent about a conventional offensive into Eastern Europe. On moral and political grounds, surely it is far more desirable to deter by threatening to liberate Eastern Europeans than by threatening to incinerate Russians."

## ... And Nukes

In light of all this, the phrase "strengthening conventional deterrence" should be seen for what it is, a means to "destroy the enemy" by means of bold and surprise offensives. And the ESEC emphatically does not leave nukes out of the offensive picture. Despite the talk from McNamara, Kaufman, Huntington, et al., about substituting conventional for nuclear war, erecting a "nuclear firebreak," etc., etc., the reality is that these doctrines assume a close relationship between conventional and nuclear war. The ESEC bluntly states that "nuclear weapons will remain an essential component of NATO strategy," and go all the way to support of the first-use policy, opting like McNamara recently for the "no early use" formulation. What the offensive doctrines would do, the report holds, is get the battle rapidly and deeply into Pact territory, and therefore "de-emphasize theater nuclear systems and especially short-range nuclear battle systems." Thus the nuclear artillery and mines which worry McNamara so would be taken out of the picture. Presumably, the new emphasis would be on longer-range systems such as the Pershings and cruises, and on rear-based nukes. This is a proposal which would permit the use of nuclear weapons more effectively and in a more controlled manner.

It is also necessary to consider the possibility of a second, and even more deceitful, nuclear policy or option that could be linked to Deep Strikes: that the conventional offensive might result in forcing the Soviets' nuclear hand, branding it with the political poison of "nuclear aggressor." In an article in *Armed Forces Journal*, historian Trevor Dupuy points out that though the Deep Strikes strategy might raise the nuclear threshold for NATO, it could lower it for the Soviets. The Strikes would, Dupuy points out, threaten Pact command and control facilities as well as their precious nukes and thus turn the tables and put the Soviets in the position of "use 'em or lose 'em." Once the Soviets launched, of

course, it would then be a changed political situation for NATO to use nuclear weapons; this could be pictured as "defensive." Whether this can be figured as part of McNamara's no-first-use strategy cannot be known, but also cannot be counted out of the realm of possibility.

Once again, though McNamara associates himself with the ESEC and Deep Strikes doctrines, this is an attempt to incorporate them into a much more elaborated military/political strategy. Ironically, the same Deep Strikes doctrines can be and no doubt are already used as part of a differing approach. As a form of surprise offensive warfare, these could certainly be utilized as one component in a larger first strike, as some observers have pointed out. Then again, perhaps this isn't so ironic — McNamara and his critics, after all, share a common field, that of attempting to defeat the Soviets in battle.

## The Logic of First Strike

Within the circles of imperialist war-planners, or "strategic analysts" as they like to be called, McNamara's article, and those views to which he calls attention, are now a hot and controversial topic. The fact that they are controversial shows something about the way nuclear war may very well go down, if the imperialists are allowed to get that far. As much sense as the doctrines might make in a strictly military sense, current doctrines are closely built into the current setup. It might not be possible to counter the military and political pressures resisting any change, the most visible objection being the cost of new conventional forces to European governments, which have resisted for years the financial pressures which would squeeze already shaky economies.\* The strategic conundrum of war in Europe may end up being one more argument in favor of cutting the Gordian knot with a stroke, an all-out preemptive first strike.

Still, the very terms of this debate are instructive. McNamara the dove, upon inspection, turns out to be one among many imperialist war-planners, shirt-sleeves rolled up, applying themselves to the hard problems of blowing the shit out of their rival imperialists in a world struggle that is clearly not so far away. □

\* And this is only one aspect of the powerful logic that continues to drive both blocs mainly toward a policy of first-strike, of surprise all-out nuclear attack, as the most "reliable" way to "defeat" the other. McNamara's thinking is, after all, *not* the dominant trend either in the U.S. or Europe.

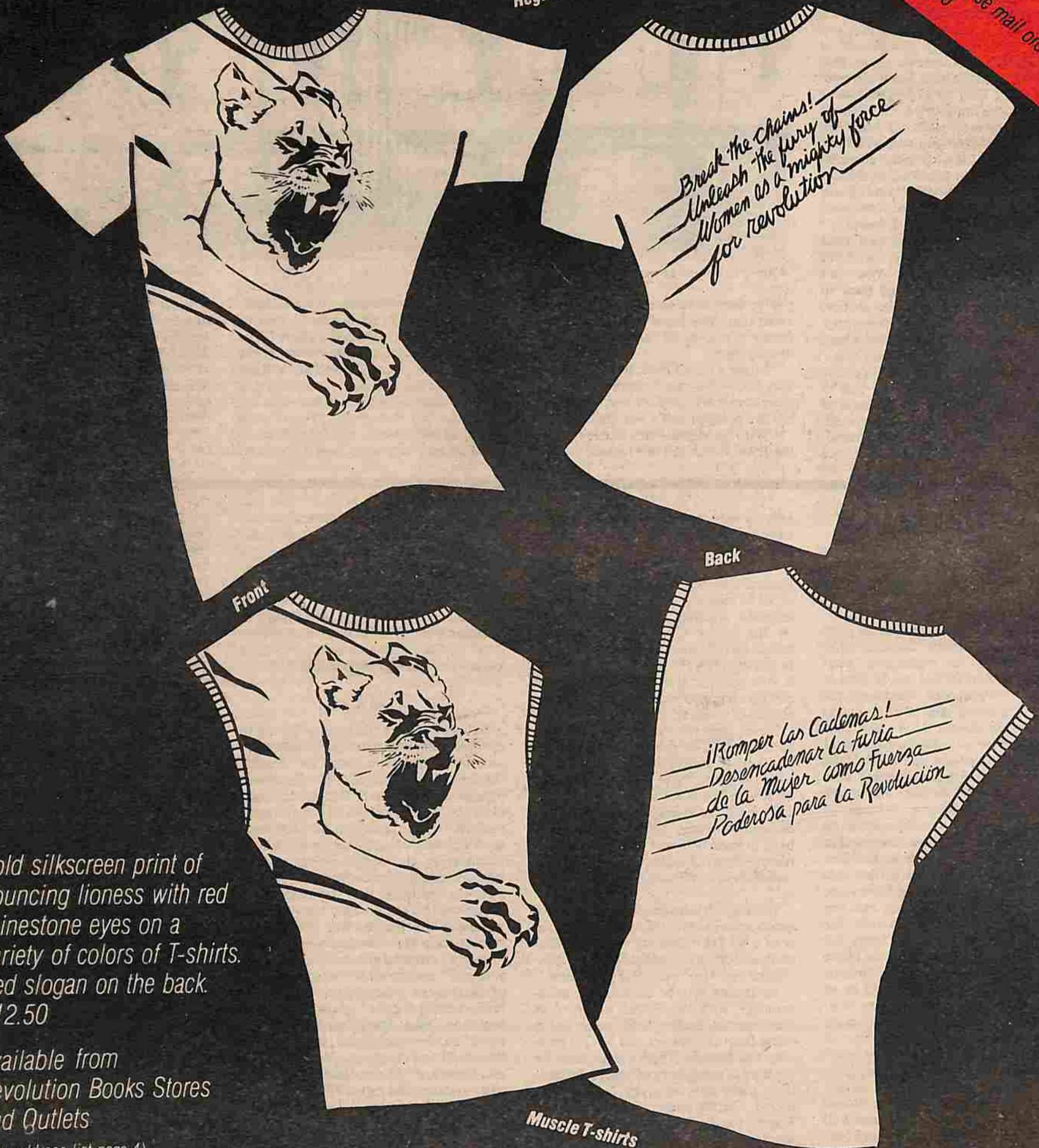
# T-shirts

Order in time for  
International  
Women's Day,  
March 8th

Regular T-shirts

**Special Offer**  
**to Readers of the RW**

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Bold silkscreen print of pouncing lioness with red rhinestone eyes on a variety of colors of T-shirts. Red slogan on the back. \$12.50

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Indicate first, second and third choices in the boxes below. For multiple orders, duplicate the form and indicate choices for each T-shirt ordered. Because of limited supplies, we may run out of certain colors or styles. While every effort will be made to send you one of your three preferences, we may have to send you a substitute color or style.

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#### Muscle T-shirt

- Yellow Large
- Yellow Medium

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#### Regular T-shirt

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- White Medium
- Gray Large
- Gray Medium

#### Muscle T-shirt

- White Large
- White Medium
- Gray Large
- Gray Medium
- Yellow Large
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