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## U.S. Gov't Shadows and Threatens

# SALVADORAN REVOLUTIONARIES' TOUR BEGINS

Last week we reported on the arrest in Oklahoma of four members of the nationwide speaking tour by Salvadoran revolutionaries. Now, despite a week of rapidly intensifying attacks, and despite declarations by high-ranking INS officials that deportation of the Salvadoran revolutionaries was "imminent," the two Salvadoran brothers are out. Their release was the result of a massive outpouring of anger at their arrest. Telegrams from hundreds and hundreds of people flooded the authorities, and bail contributions mounted into the thousands of dollars. The government had been kept from proceeding with instant deportation

and, under the circumstances, had decided against the blatant escalation that refusal of bail would have represented. But the charges remain on these revolutionaries and they must return to Oklahoma for a court hearing in the middle of the tour in November.

The government continues to hold the other two members of the tour, the Chilean-born translator and the woman tour facilitator, on exorbitant bails of \$7,500 and \$2,500. They have also placed restrictions on their bail conditions which would prevent them from taking part in the tour at all. Threats of death and of deportation to Chile—which would certainly mean torture and quite possibly death at the hands of the U.S.-sponsored junta there—have been made against the translator.

As we go to press we have learned of two late developments. First, the tour has begun—with a meeting at its first scheduled stop, St. Louis. Second, bail was able to be met on the tour facilitator, leaving the Chilean translator the only

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### Cancun Conference

## Desperate Dilemma of the Empire of "The North"

"The road to prosperity and human fulfillment is lighted by economic freedom and individual incentive." Thus said Ronald Reagan as he flew off to Cancun, Mexico, pure bottled *American* drinking water safely on board, to attend the 22-nation "North-South" conference on world economic development.

Reagan promised that the above would be the main U.S. message to the conference. The same empty theme has been sounded in several recent speeches by Reagan on the subject of the economic disparity between the imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc and the "less developed" countries under their domination. These speeches have touted free enterprise and the "willingness to believe in the magic of the marketplace" as the path for the underdeveloped world. Or, as he put it in his most inspirational style:

"In its ultimate form, development is

human fulfillment—an ability by all men and women to realize fully their full potential, to go as far as their God-given talents will take them.

"Free people build free markets that ignite dynamic development for everyone."

What is Reagan talking about? The U.S., which arose through the genocide of Indians, the hunting down and enslavement of Blacks, the forced labor of Chinese work gangs, the theft of land from and subjugation of Mexicans, and the exploitation of European immigrants in the 19th century, and then rose to its present pinnacle of "greatness" through extending the

principles of genocide, enslavement, subjugation, murder, torture and exploitation throughout the world in this century? Indeed, this is the imperialist vision of "human fulfillment"—the imperialists realize *their* "God-given" potential to subjugate others, and those whom they oppress are simply fulfilling *their* potential to be enslaved. And in fact Reagan is quite accurate. This is what "free people building free markets" is all about. This is the essence of the freedom trumpeted by the bourgeoisie, for it's the freedom to beat out your neighbor, the war of each against all, a scramble to subjugate others.

Of course Reagan's remarks were not meant simply to give a philosophical disquisition on capitalism, but had a particular political purpose. In these speeches Reagan flaunts the wealth of the imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc ("a mere handful of industrial countries that have historically coupled personal freedom with economic reward," he calls them) and implies that countries under the domination of imperialism are poor because of "government regimentation" and failure to put their "financial and economic house in order." The message is that the "third world" should expect times

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## Leninism As The Bridge

by Bob Avakian

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# Fight Back Under Fire

On Tuesday, September 1, the Berlin morning newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel* carried a page 3 article entitled "New Variant in German Terrorism," submitted to the paper "From Our Correspondent (Horst Zimmermann), Wiesbaden, August 31." It appeared in the wake of a bomb attack on the U.S. Air Force Base in Ramstein, West Germany. The article was full of old standard tales about such events, but soon enough the so-called "New Variant" they were speaking of became despicably clear. After listing a number of attacks on U.S. military installations in West Germany since February of this year, and after running the appropriate quote from West German intelligence officials linking the actions to "revolutionary cells," possibly even from the fractured remains of the 'Red Army Faction,'" the next paragraph gets to the reactionary heart and purpose of this "news item":

"Outside of the attack against the helicopters, 'revolutionary cells' claimed responsibility for all of these actions. Reasons such as 'Fight against U.S. imperialists' and 'Solidarity with the interned RAF-comrades' (Red Army Faction—*RAF*) were given as motives for the attacks. 'Revolutionary cells' also took credit for four assaults that occurred in Frankfurt, Giessen, and Garlstadt in the years between 1976 and 1978.

"In connection with the attacks of this year a new name has come onto the scene which has the experts in the investigating departments puzzled. The 'revolutionary cell' which named itself 'In the heart of the beast'. As a result of this the suspicions of the security authorities have increased that the assailants have at least contact people or informers within the American armed forces at their disposal. In this connection a group with the name 'Fight Back' has come under suspicion, since it supposedly is made up of GIs from American units. Up until now however American authorities have not been very successful in finding any concrete clues about this secretive group."

A spokesman for *Fight Back* (a revolutionary U.S. GI newspaper in Europe) condemned the calculated attacks contained in *Der Tagesspiegel* on every front, as quoted in a press release from that group:

"The article that appeared in the September 1 issue of the *Berliner Tagesspiegel* attempting to paint *Fight Back* as a 'mysterious' organization

with ties to the RAF or other alleged terrorist groups is not only a complete set of lies—it is a transparent effort to discredit *Fight Back* politically and more importantly to set us up for trumped up criminal charges and force us to cease publication. It is well known to the authorities that all of the allegations made about us in the article are false. We have been in continuous publication in West Germany for 9 years. They can hardly deny knowledge of this as the illegal bugging of people associated with *Fight Back* by both West German and U.S. military authorities is well documented. In fact the U.S. Army just settled a lawsuit arising from these bugging incidents and paid \$150,000 in damages. The obviously deliberate nature of these lies only more clearly reveals their political character."

The spokesman further characterized the article, "as but one of a continuing series of 'ColnTelPro' style attacks on our paper by the political and military apparatus. Last year a similar article appeared in *Die Welt* (another German bourgeois newspaper—*RW*). It is a well known tactic of the political police to plant false 'facts' in the newspapers and then use these 'facts' to launch investigations and make arrests etc. It only shows how desperate they are to eliminate any genuine revolutionary voice. This is especially true as they prepare to launch a 3rd inter-imperialist world war with their Russian led rivals and they are unable to tolerate anyone who dares to expose the predatory and imperialist nature of this war. We, however, refuse to be silent."

In addition, *Fight Back* demanded a complete retraction be printed in *Der Tagesspiegel* and given equal prominence to the original slander. They also wrote and demanded publication of a letter to the editor, which was sent not only to that paper, but to many news sources in Germany and internationally. This letter states, in part:

"Contrary to the lies in your articles, *FB*, does not and has never had any connection with any terrorist or alleged terrorist organization or organizations including the *RAF*. It is a well known fact that we are completely opposed to 'terrorism' as a strategy for revolution. Such a strategy, which completely denies the ability of the masses of people to become politically conscious and active and through grasping the objective laws governing the development of society take the making of history into



their own hands, can never lead to revolution...

"In particular, in regard to the scurrilous charge in your articles that *FB* is supplying information to the *RAF* we would comment on a meeting held in Hannover to form the coalition that sponsored the demonstration. (A demonstration against the Autumn Forge '80 war maneuvers that rallied over 2,000 people to march on the maneuvers' headquarters in Hildesheim last year and which *FB* played a major role in initiating—*RW*). Over 200 people from all over West Germany attended this meeting representing numerous political organizations and viewpoints. Prior to and during the meeting, forces politically sympathetic to the *RAF* publicly charged *FB* with being CIA agents. This disgusting lie was further spread and promoted by the pro-Moscow revisionist DKP (German Communist Party—*RW*) and it further appeared in the pages of the newspaper the *Tagesspiegel*. The reason for this attack was that *FB* proposed that the political basis for the demonstration be one of opposing the maneuvers because they were (and are) concrete preparations for a 3rd imperialist world war and that this world war will be one in which both sides (the Western Imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. and the Eastern Imperialist bloc headed by the USSR) are equally blood soaked and reactionary. Those politically sympathetic to the *RAF* wish to perpetuate the myth that the state capitalists ruling the USSR and the other countries in its bloc are 'socialist' and 'revolutionary'. Unable to defend these ludicrous views in an open debate and in an attempt to stop the demonstration they launched these charges to disrupt, confuse and split the coalition. Their efforts failed. "Our views were further made public in an open letter that was published in

the September 29, 1980 issue of the *Tagesspiegel*. We are fully confident that this meeting in Hannover was attended by undercover agents of the political police and that all that transpired was dutifully reported to those responsible for enforcing 'democracy.' For the authorities to now imply that we are somehow working with the *RAF* or other terrorists when they know full well (and it is a matter of public record) that our political views are diametrically opposed, only more clearly reveals that these statements are part of a conscious plan to crush our organization. *The Berliner Tagesspiegel* can take pride that they are now aligned with the *RAF* in attacking our newspaper. For our part, being attacked by political representatives of both imperialist blocs can only mean that we are meeting at least some success in unmasking all forms of imperialism—be it the more traditional western style or the newer state-capitalist variety now practiced in the East.

"Finally, we would like to point out that it is a tried and true method of all reactionary ruling classes, in their efforts to isolate and crush progressive and especially genuinely revolutionary organization, to paint them with the brush labelled 'terrorist.' Not only is this now being practiced on a world scale by the U.S. imperialists, who label every national liberation struggle against their neo-colonial empire as being 'terrorist' (while of course being careful to avoid pinning this label on struggles directed against their Soviet rivals), but we even have such prominent West German politicians and bourgeois spokesmen as Herr Strauss calling the squatters and the mass anti-war demonstrations 'new forms of terrorism.' We can only wish you and your colleagues every failure in your slander campaign..."

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Bob Avakian

# Leninism As The Bridge

Bob Avakian recently gave an informal talk ranging widely over a number of historical and present questions of the international proletarian revolution. Periodically over the coming weeks the Revolutionary Worker will carry short excerpts. The entire text will be published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. The first excerpts appeared in RW No. 125.

By "Leninism as the Bridge" I mean that in today's situation Leninism is the key link in upholding and applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. To put it somewhat provocatively, Marxism without Leninism is Eurocentric social-chauvinism and social democracy. Maoism without Leninism is nationalism and also, in certain contexts, social-chauvinism and bourgeois democracy. Now those may sound like nice little axioms but they apply, and it is, in my opinion, a summation from experience of some phenomena that exist in the world and around which there must be deeper struggle.

Now, having said that, by way of a rather sharp and provocative introduction, I want to say a few words more on the question of revolutionary defeatism in terms of its opposite, social-chauvinism. Just a brief comment in passing on reading over a particularly outrageous point in *Sooner or Later* and an article from an Australian group which puts out a bulletin where they're having a debate on this very question of social-chauvinism and the "three worlds" theory. This Australian group is generally supportive of Mao and against the Chinese revisionists but dividing sharply between Leninist internationalist policy and social-chauvinism, three worldism.

In one of the articles upholding the three worlds theory, as in the *Sooner or Later* pamphlet, one of the most nauseating things to read is this completely sophistic version of internationalism. It says that it would be extremely narrow and nationalist of us just to struggle against our own bourgeoisie and not think about the whole world situation and the whole world struggle, which translated means: "It is narrow and nationalist of us to fight against and try to overthrow our own imperialism, our own bourgeoisie; to be internationalist we should support and prop up our own imperialism and our own bourgeoisie."

And in this Australian article it came out rather sharply because they went into a whole nauseating, syrupy argument about how, "Well, here we are and we're being exploited and oppressed by U.S. and Western imperialism and we could easily forget all about the people in other parts of the world who are being exploited and oppressed by Russian imperialism and the fact that it's posing the greatest danger to the people of the world, and we could just think about ourselves and the fact that our imperialism is exploiting us—that would just be nationalism." Immediately what leapt to my mind is that the real problem these people are focusing on is that Russian imperialism is not giving us any of the benefits of its plunder in the

world, but our imperialism is, and this translated and boiled down to its essence, is the internationalism of these people. But moving on...

I want to say a few words about national nihilism and national pride. Here again is an example of where it's a fact that Lenin went against Leninism, even though we didn't say so in print, and some people did point out the contradiction. They dragged out this article by Lenin in 1914 called "The National Pride of the Great Russians" in which, instead of saying they don't and shouldn't have any, he went into this whole attempt to combine two into one, frankly. You can see the pressure was on him, the war had just started there; not only was there severe repression against the revolutionary defeatist position, but, more important, Lenin was clearly trying to respond to the wave of patriotism and chauvinism which was sweeping the country at that stage of the war.

Now he doesn't go against the revolutionary defeatist line, he upholds that line but he basically does two into one in the sense of saying basically that "It's because we have national pride that we can't stand to see Russia play this imperialist role in the world and be under the domination of these reactionary classes." Frankly, it's almost down the line the very arguments that he refutes, and rather powerfully, when they are put forward by Rosa Luxemburg under the pseudonym Junius, as exemplified in his article on the "Junius Pamphlet" and, also, very powerfully and slashing in the *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. But in this article Lenin actually goes against the overall thrust of Leninism on this crucial question.

There is Leninism and there is Lenin, and if Lenin didn't always live up to Leninism, that doesn't make Leninism any less than what it is. And this, in a certain way, harkens back to the point referred to earlier on the general line put out by the Comintern, because this very article, "The National Pride of the Great Russians," and this very point were singled out and harped on by Dimitroff and used to build up this whole line in his report and the whole formulation of the united front against fascism to single out the fascist states as the main enemy.

In the imperialist country, the national banner is held firmly by the imperialists. This is a very important question of Marxist-Leninist political economy. Imperialist capital must operate on an international plane; it requires this as a condition of its reproduction. And it does at times, as Lenin pointed out, speed up economic development in some of the backward countries. But this occurs in the framework of domination and oppression and, closely related, for all its "internationalism," imperialist capital remains profoundly national and anchored in its national market and thus has a profound material stake in defense of its national interests. This is a crucial point analyzed and developed in a thoroughgoing way in the forthcoming book *America in Decline*.

I think that the line put forward in the article in *Revolution*, "On the Question of So-Called 'National Nihilism,'" is not only correct but extremely impor-

tant to grasp and to deepen. There have been serious problems on this, even among the best in the international communist movement, and there needs to be further destruction and radical rupture. It's a process we've only begun and we have to forge further ahead under the glorious banner of "national nihilism." Now that's a central point about which a lot of people, either from the direction of so-called Marxism and so-called Maoism, not only disagree but will openly often attack Lenin for, saying that Lenin is now passé or that this doesn't apply any longer.

Similarly with the phenomenon of economism, imperialist economism in particular, which is a phrase Lenin used a little bit differently but with basically the same central point in mind. He used it from the standpoint of addressing people who denied the right of political independence to oppressed nations, particularly the colonies. These imperialist-economists tried to bolster their arguments by pointing to the truth that no country unless it was really socialist (and we can see now more clearly that not even in an absolute sense is that true) but no country could be free of the entanglements and the domination of finance capital and imperialism, at least in a qualitative way, unless it was socialist. From this truth they made the opportunist leap to saying that there was no use in talking about political independence and national liberation.

Lenin called this "imperialist economism" and said these people were incapable of grasping the dialectic between politics and economics and how in fact the question of the struggle for national liberation, in the colonies particularly, was extremely important and couldn't be negated on the basis that ultimately it was impossible to be really independent without breaking completely with the domination of finance capital in the economic sphere. But here we're using the term, (and I don't want to go into it further since other things are being discussed and written about this) in a little bit different light, particularly with respect to those people who downplay the role of politics and internationalism in the imperialist countries.

Let's face it, economism is bad enough in any form, and even where the masses are suffering desperately, where the economic struggle takes on a much more acute form and becomes the struggle of people for bread, for fuel and literally to survive and has much more potential to become a sharp struggle and become part of a revolutionary uprising or revolutionary movement among the masses and to contribute to that movement, even in those conditions, which existed in Russia when Lenin was struggling against economism, all the things that Lenin stressed about economism are true.

But it's so much the worse when you're talking about it in an imperialist country with not only a powerful labor aristocracy, but broad, thoroughly bourgeoisified strata, where it would be stretching it to even describe a lot of the so-called economic struggle as struggle, and certainly stretching things to call it any kind of significant struggle. In that context, to preach

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## Leninism As The Bridge

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economism to the workers and to focus their attention on the narrow sphere of their relations with their employer, or even frankly on the narrow sphere of their relationship with their own bourgeoisie, without focusing their attention on the world as a whole, is what I call *imperialist or chauvinist economism*. Such imperialist economism not only limits the movement to reformism but leads it into the service of counter-revolution, particularly the more so if it's a conscious policy.

In fact, if one takes the standpoint of the nation, especially in view of what was said earlier about lopsidedness and international production relations, it might be better to remain imperialist. But if one takes the stand of the proletariat—which can only mean the international proletariat—it would be better to make socialist revolution and turn an imperialist country into a base area for the advance of world revolution and the advance to communism. The point is not to blame the workers, even the backward ones, but the communists who tail behind this and who promote this in the name of the working class and socialism and communism.

And here's just a side point. Lenin, you know, raised the point in *What Is To Be Done?*: what is there in common between terrorism and economism? And Lenin was very clear that communists oppose the methods of individual terror, assassinations, etc. And genuine communists do oppose that, but they oppose it not because these things are super-revolutionary, as their adherents sometimes insist and as their bourgeois opponents sometimes claim, but because, in fact, they are not ultimately revolutionary, do not lead to revolution and are not a strategy for revolution. It's not a question of condemning them, it's a question of recognizing and struggling against them as tendencies,

because they are not a strategy for revolution and can't lead to revolution. This is true even of those variations that attempt to take on an additional dimension and link up with anarcho-syndicalist tendencies and try to talk about the transformation of society broader than just simply the military sphere, but which have in common with the economists, whether in capitalist or in socialist society, the fact that they leave aside, or at least significantly downplay, the crucial question of the superstructure, of politics, ideology, world affairs and internationalism.

And as I said, there are those people who sometimes from the terrorist side and sometimes from the economist side (or often a combination of both), even if they talk about revolution in all society or even the world revolution at times, reduce things to the narrowest sense of how to transform production relations and how to control, even sometimes literally, a single factory and who leave aside precisely and downplay the critical question of politics, ideology, world affairs and the superstructure—which is where these questions are in fact concentrated and fought out in a concentrated way.

That's a side point but an important one because this question of where do you concentrate the attention of the workers, as I said, is important in all countries. Economism is bad anywhere. But especially in the imperialist countries, downplaying the question of the superstructure, politics, ideology and focusing the attention of the workers narrowly on the sphere of their relationship with their own employers or even their own bourgeoisie and their own state is in fact a recipe for turning the workers against the rest of the international proletariat. Whether that's done with revolutionary rhetoric or even acts which in the form of terrorism take on a revolutionary appearance, still, at the essence and at bottom, it is a question of nar-

rowing the workers' sights and turning them, not only away from revolution in general but against the rest of the international proletariat.

I want to briefly touch on the question of the party, which is a much and, I would have to say, continually underrated point down to today in our own history. In concluding I will return to it in a little more depth. Now what I'm attempting to do here is sketch out some of the key points of Leninism that in fact make it the bridge, and what I mean by the bridge is precisely the bridge between Marxism and Mao Tsetung Thought, what gives Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought its overall integral character and synthesis as the science of revolution and the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat.

It's in this context that I'm leaping from the point of revolutionary defeatism versus social-chauvinism and the question of focusing the workers' attention on the question of politics and world affairs in opposition to economism, in particular to imperialist chauvinist economism. These are crucial points around which people who claim to be Marxists, claim to be Marxist-Leninists, even claim to be Maoists frequently coalesce and make a stand in opposition to Lenin in one form or another, and often openly. After all, this is an area where Lenin's contributions and the Leninist line have been a qualitative advance in Marxism and the struggle of the international proletariat.

From the angle of the "Marxists," a lot of them reject the Leninist party and see in it, as I'll point out a little bit later, the germ or the seed or the basis of the whole degeneration of the revolution in Russia, they see in it a dictatorship of the party and of a handful of bureaucrats. On the other hand, there are those so-called and pretended Maoists who think that because of the experience of the Cultural Revolution in China the basic principle of the Leninist party, of democratic centralism and so on, has been superseded and surpassed and is no longer correct and applicable, and that some new form, that is, a new bourgeois-democratic form, can be found in which to eliminate in fact the role of the party. You will notice in that quote I read earlier about the Paris Commune, Mao makes the point that we have to have a party; even though he says sarcastically, "I don't care if it's a communist party or social democratic party," he is talking about a communist Leninist party and that's clear, and we can say that without fear of being confused with Enver Hoxha!

## Reagan on the Shah and Other Lost Causes



Part of the 7 1/2 million people who participated in anti-Shah demonstrations in a number of cities in Iran on Sept. 7th & 8th, 1978. On Black Friday, Sept. 8th, government troops opened fire on one of the demonstrations, killing an estimated 10,000 people.

In a statement that was on the surface ridiculous and at the same time another rabid revelation of the fanged and clawed nature of imperialism, Ronald Reagan offered his summation last week of what went wrong for the U.S. in Iran. Apparently the problem was that the Carter administration was somehow too soft, too weak and indecisive in supporting and encouraging the butcher Shah of Iran in his efforts to drown the struggle of the Iranian people in blood. Reagan said, "I don't believe that the Shah's government would have failed if the United States had made it plain that we would stand by the government and support them in whatever had to be done to curb the revolution. . . I have been told by someone very knowledgeable and involved at that time that there was a point at which the revolution, so-called, could have been headed off with the arrest of 500 individuals, just the arrests."

In light of the towering crimes and slaughters perpetrated by the Shah in his final days alone, such remarks as Reagan's seem like the ravings of a fool. Give us a break! 500 arrests was a drop in the bucket for the Shah. For the benefit of our readers let us offer a few examples of just how soft the U.S. and its dog-of-dogs were in trying to crush the Iranian revolution:

- Hundreds of thousands of people were jailed and tortured by SAVAK in prisons throughout the country. The torture techniques were taught to SAVAK by its creators and trainers the CIA and included almost every form of brutality imaginable. Thousands died.
- Thousands of opponents of the Shah's fascist dictatorship were executed outright by SAVAK.
- August 1978—800 people were burned alive by the Shah's agents at the Rex Theater in Abadan.
- September 8, 1978—On Black Friday 10,000 unarmed demonstrators were massacred by the Shah's U.S.-armed troops in Tehran. Shortly thereafter President Carter called up the Shah and personally congratulated him for

his firm commitment to "democracy." —January 1979—U.S. Air Force General Robert Huyser (and second-in-command to Alexander Haig in Europe) flies to Tehran to take up direct command of the operations of the Iranian army, which continued to shoot down demonstrators in the streets of dozens of Iranian cities. Huyser's other mission was to try to stop the accelerating disintegration of the U.S. armed and trained military, which ended in utter failure within weeks.

All this is, of course, common knowledge by now and Reagan's statement was certainly not intended to hide any of this. More to the point, this typically brazen no-more-mister-nice-guy declaration was a message to the world of how the U.S. sees dealing with the seething opposition and uprisings around the world against its loyal puppet regimes. It is a call for blood. Particularly Reagan was referring to U.S. intentions to prevent the fall of its Saudi Arabian monarchy by any means necessary, but the remark was meant to be a more sweeping warning. The imperialist arrogance expressed here by Reagan is thoroughly astounding—all we had to do was arrest 500 individuals and things would have been cool. Unfortunately for the imperialists, the fall of the Shah has proved that arrests and torture of hundreds of thousands, the murders and massacres of tens of thousands, and whatever other atrocities they employ cannot only *not* prevent their downfall but in fact only accelerate it. This was so vividly and powerfully demonstrated in the streets of Iran just a few short years ago, not to mention other parts of the world. This is a lesson that imperialism will never be able to learn. For all its real teeth, its ability to commit the most savage crimes on a mass scale, it has been shown over and over that imperialism is a paper tiger. All the arrogance in the world will never change this fact. "It could have been headed off with the arrests of 500 individuals"—ridiculous isn't it? Ridiculous in the extreme. □



Lu Hsun, the great revolutionary Chinese artist, was born September 25th, 1881. This year marks the Centennial of his birth. In the words of Mao Tsetung, Lu Hsun "was the greatest and most courageous standard bearer" of the revolutionary cultural force that emerged in China following May 4th, 1919, a period which opened a new chapter in China's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. This period ushered in a great upheaval in China's culture, and within this sphere as in others, the proletariat mounted the stage, and Marxist ideology arrived as a decisive, contending force, "full of youth and vitality, sweeping the world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt."

Mao Tsetung said of Lu Hsun: "The Chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

Lu Hsun scaled previously unprecedented heights as a revolutionary artist. In respect both to the creation of art and the role of art in the revolution, Lu Hsun solved many problems in practice that had previously been unsolved.

During his lifetime, and following the liberation of China in 1949, his stories and essays were translated into many languages and widely popularized throughout the world.

With this being so, and considering that the great revolutionary communist leader Mao Tsetung (whose Red Book outsold both the Beatles and the Bible internationally in the '60s) had such a high political evaluation of his role, how can it be that today Lu Hsun's name, and especially his art, are virtually unknown in the Western hemisphere?

The rich legacy of Lu Hsun's life and work has been denied to the revolutionary

masses by the bourgeoisie, and also by revisionists of all stripes. To a degree and in a way that they've been unable to do with such other revolutionary artists of world stature as Gorky and Brecht, they have tried to literally cut Lu Hsun out of the picture. How they must fear him! How they must despise his works and his role!

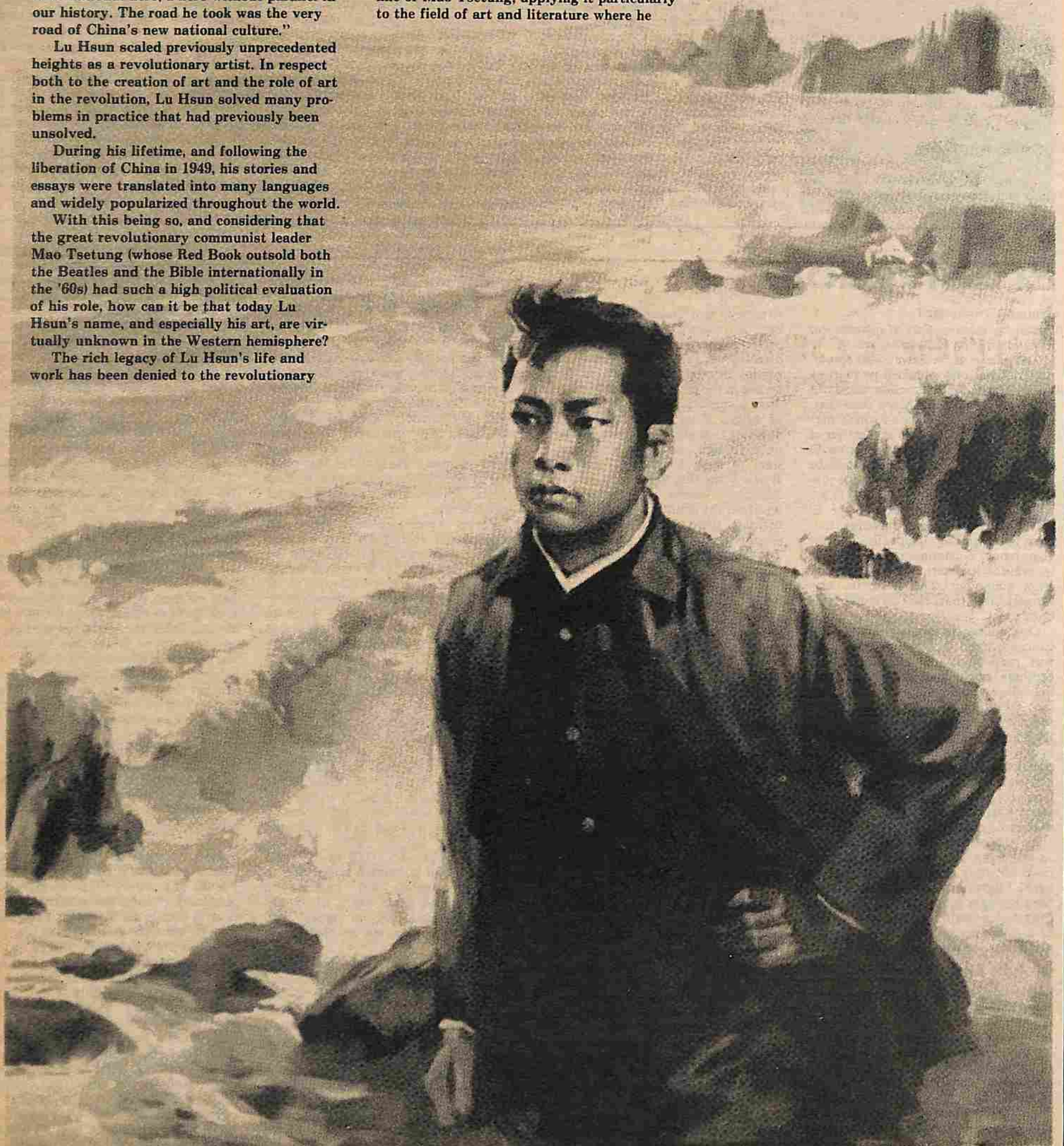
In 1925 Lu Hsun wrote a short story called "Regret for the Past." This story embodies, in allegorical form, Lu Hsun's stand that the ideas of the great philosophers of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Europe would only lead to utter defeat and demoralization for China if not rejected by the Chinese people. And yet today, claiming the mantle of Lu Hsun, the revisionist rulers of China are trying to turn the man Mao Tsetung called "a revolutionary who believed in communism" into nothing but a nationalist and a bourgeois democrat like themselves.

In 1931, Lu Hsun did battle with many of these self-same bourgeois democrats become capitalist roaders. During an intense and decisive struggle within the Communist Party of China concerning the strategy for the Chinese Revolution, Lu Hsun supported the line of Mao Tsetung, applying it particularly to the field of art and literature where he

fought for the slogan and practice of a "literature of the masses for national revolutionary war." On the other side stood Chou Yang and others influential then and now in that Party, advocating a line of the proletariat tailing the national bourgeoisie in the anti-Japanese united front. Their slogan was "a literature of national defense."

Though temporarily the machinations of bourgeois and revisionist forces might accomplish some damage, in the scope of history, they will never succeed. It is up to the revolutionary masses, and particularly revolutionary artists, to take back this legacy, to learn from the life and work of Lu Hsun, in opposition to the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, and to carry forward and apply what is theirs, in consciously struggling for revolution throughout the world.

It is therefore fitting that the *Revolutionary Worker* should undertake, over the course of this entire centennial year, a series of articles encouraging study, correspondence and discussion on Lu Hsun and the vital lessons to be learned today and for the future. □



— Lu Hsun as a young man. —



# The Latest Campaign in the Medfly "Wars"



In the early morning hours of October 22nd, a Medfly Eradication spray helicopter tripped a power line and plunged into a home in Fremont, California, killing the pilot, injuring at least 17, and setting a string of fires in the crash area. A woman living in the demolished home had fallen asleep in her living room and this way escaped death.

In a completely disgusting—and typical—display of the politics of the Medfly "wars," a flight of 6 helicopters had been sent up in a veritable suicide flight amidst dense fog. Of these, only two completed their spraying run, 3 returned to base in San Jose, one made an emergency landing in a Castro Valley supermarket parking lot, one hurtled into the Fremont house and exploded.

The next day there were no smooth-talking imperialist spokesmen proclaiming the "safety" and "harmlessness" of the chemical malathion, used in the aerial spraying. First reports were that the choppers' load of malathion had been dumped into a nearby intersection; city officials declared the neighborhood a "major health hazard." (Later in the day, some officials claimed that the pilot had jettisoned his load of chemicals well before the crash. However, eyewitnesses we spoke to insisted that they could intensely feel the chemical: their eyes and lips and faces were burning,

and some became sick for sometime afterward.)

People in a three-block area were immediately evacuated to an elementary school—but for some it was too late. 17 people were reported treated at Washington Township Hospital, some for burns, but others for injuries which the hospital refused to describe, while *East Bay Today* newspaper reported that at least 3 people were treated for malathion poisoning. Pacific Gas & Electric reported that power to some of the thousands blacked out by the crash could not be immediately restored: "We have two men on the scene but they can't get into the area because of the malathion," one PG&E spokesman said. Police had trouble coping with crowds at the scene because, they said, they had to stay upwind of the chemical spill. Today, there were no Medfly Project officials willing to follow the example of the official three months ago who publicly drank a glass of malathion! After all this, there was no use pretending malathion is somehow "harmless."

But even as the bourgeoisie was more sharply exposed by this latest incident, officials have become that much more heavy-handed in their commitment to carry through the aerial spraying come hell or high water. Previous *RW* articles have pointed out how the very anarchic, cutthroat workings of the imperialist system, in particular their "pesticide habit," has brought the U.S. im-

perialists to the point where, in order to eradicate one insect pest, they must carry out the insane policy of dumping chemical poisons on an urban area of millions. With the stability of an important and influential sector of U.S. agribusiness at stake, in these very unstable times, spraying will be made to continue at all costs, even on a night of pea soup fog. To make it crystal clear that nothing will stand in the way of spraying, Medfly Project directors called a press conference the morning after the crash announcing that, even though more fog was expected for the area that night, spraying would continue anyway!

The scene of the crash is an area of stable, industrial and white collar workers, some from the GM plant in town. It is a stark contrast amidst these neat streets and greenery, to suddenly come upon a half-burned out copter, still smashed into a charred home, streets lined with cops encircled by a yellow ribbon reading "Keep Out, Scene of a Crime." A group of youth stand amid the hundred' or so in a crowd; "That's just like they did with Agent Orange" says one. "The money they lose on crops is just not worth anything compared to the damage to the kids," says another. White bread and mayonnaise land is certainly being dragged—crashed, sprayed and shoved—into the '80s... □

## El Salvador

Continued from page 1  
remaining captive. Special government targeting of him has continued.

The release of the Salvadoran revolutionaries was only obtained by meeting the unheard of immigration bonds of \$25,000 and \$10,000. More than that, the political refugee status which they have applied for is denied as a matter of government policy to anyone from El Salvador—after all, how could there be political repression there, when the junta is a "friend" of the democratic U.S.? All in all, the stakes around the El Salvador revolutionary speaking tour have been raised dramatically, and the government is continuing to maneuver to prevent its internationalist message from going out. The battle to carry through the tour has certainly only begun.

One college newspaper editor from Chicago, upon learning of the arrests, was particularly outraged that these brothers might be sent back to El Salvador where they would probably face execution, but was inspired by the risk they took in "going public" about the nature of the Salvadoran struggle and what it is part of—the "internationalism of their actions." The "Alternative Press" newspaper out of the University of Buffalo front-paged the story "Official Kidnapping" and extensively told the story of the tour, the arrests, the need for funds and support. In attacking the tour, the bourgeoisie have not only brought into play their hated Migra, but more fundamentally have brought more sharply into focus their own notorious role in El Salvador as a prime example of what their rule means for the world's people.

### The Government's Attack

For some time following the government's arrest of the four members of the tour as they were driving through the toll gate at the Oklahoma-Missouri border on Monday, October 12—just three days before the first program—the government authorities feigned complete ignorance about just what was going on. Why all the fuss about two Salvadorans who "were just bumming a ride from L.A. to Chicago," innocently inquired the U.S.

Attorney, Ben Baker. What we have here is "a routine arrest by an experienced border policeman who can detect what suspicious characters are passing through," Baker stated. Why, no one in the car was white—how much more suspicious can you get in the eyes of Migra thugs? Their hounding of anything that smacked however slightly of a foreign, un-American character went to such lengths that the *Tulsa World* wrote that the woman, who is of Japanese descent, "appeared to be legally in the country." No doubt some officials spent hours trying to find whether there were still any World War 2-style concentration camps where she could be sent.

The true-blue American principles being applied here are blatant. The Salvadorans accused of being "illegal" get the highest bail; a Chilean "resident alien" gets the next highest; perhaps if the fourth person had been white and had been the employers of the others, she would have gotten nothing but a polite slap on the wrist.

But the immediate actions of the government indicated that they knew full well that this was more than just one more routine case of their brutal harassment of immigrants. Not only did they conduct high-pressure interrogation of the two Salvadorans in the absence of legal counsel, especially concerning possible affiliation with the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade is sponsoring the tour along with other forces, but they did this knowing full well that the two Salvadorans were in the process of applying for political asylum.

When one of the four objected to this threatening interrogation, the Border Patrol agent shouted, "Yes, they do too have to answer my questions. This is different from you. They're illegal aliens and got no rights, so you mind your own business." Bail was quickly set at \$3,500 each for the two Salvadorans who were charged with a federal misdemeanor of entering the U.S. illegally and with the immigration charge of "illegal status" in the U.S. The other two were charged with felony transport of illegal aliens; bail was set at an

outrageous \$10,000 each.

The battle swiftly mounted to free the speaking tour—telegrams and money poured in. But just as contributions neared the bail figure set by the courts, the government moved to keep the members of the tour in its clutches. They completely revoked bail on the two Salvadorans and threatened to do the same on the other two. The Director of the Southern Region of the INS, William Chambers, when asked about this, said, "Any time deportation is imminent it serves no purpose to release them on bond." He said that they planned to transfer the Salvadorans to Port Isabel, Texas, which is near the border with Mexico.

There were repeated delays in scheduling a hearing for reinstatement of the Salvadorans' bail and, when the hearing was finally held on October 16, the prisoners were not allowed to be present. At the hearing, conducted by telephone before INS Judge Boyes in San Antonio, it was suddenly revealed by the INS trial attorney that it was the Washington, D.C. offices of the State Department itself that had "requested" that the Salvadorans be held without bail. This was—and was intended to be—an unmistakable message for both an international and domestic audience that the highest U.S. authorities were taking a hard political line against this kind of revolutionary statement. The INS judge made a point of noting that of course he would not be influenced by these "requests," and then he promptly slapped a \$25,000 bond on one Salvadoran and a \$10,000 bond on the other. A bail bondsman stated that in years of dealing with immigration cases, he had never heard of an immigration bond set at more than \$5,000, much less ten or twenty-five thousand.

Deportation of either the Salvadorans or the Chilean-born translator would quite possibly spell death. But the question "Why wait for deportation?" seems to have crossed the minds of a number of the U.S. authorities holding the members of the tour. On Sunday, October 18, the translator was prevented from seeing his attorney, the reason given by the jailers was that he had been subject to death threats. Just who these death threats were from became a little clearer when the translator finally was able to talk to his

attorney. It turns out that on Sunday he was moved from the city to the county jail. Instead of handcuffing him to only one other prisoner as is customary, he was handcuffed between two others, at which point the Sheriff's Deputy escorting them stated, "If any of you try to run for it I'm going to shoot the one in the middle."

And despite his "legal residency" status in the U.S., the threat of deportation against the Chilean-born revolutionary was very real. Ben Baker, the U.S. Attorney handling the case, was overheard on the phone saying that "I think your service (presumably the INS—*RW*) should take a very close look at this bastard and begin proceedings to deport him to Chile. He's mixed up with all these revolutionary communists and my office has been inundated with telegrams and phone calls from all of them. The Secret Service has them in their computer as a possible threat and I think you should reopen his file and think very hard about deporting him." And in the bail reduction hearing the following Monday, the judge went after him repeatedly, asking whether his real home wasn't in Chile, wouldn't he go back to Chile when he was let out, and other such nonsense.

### The Counter-Attack

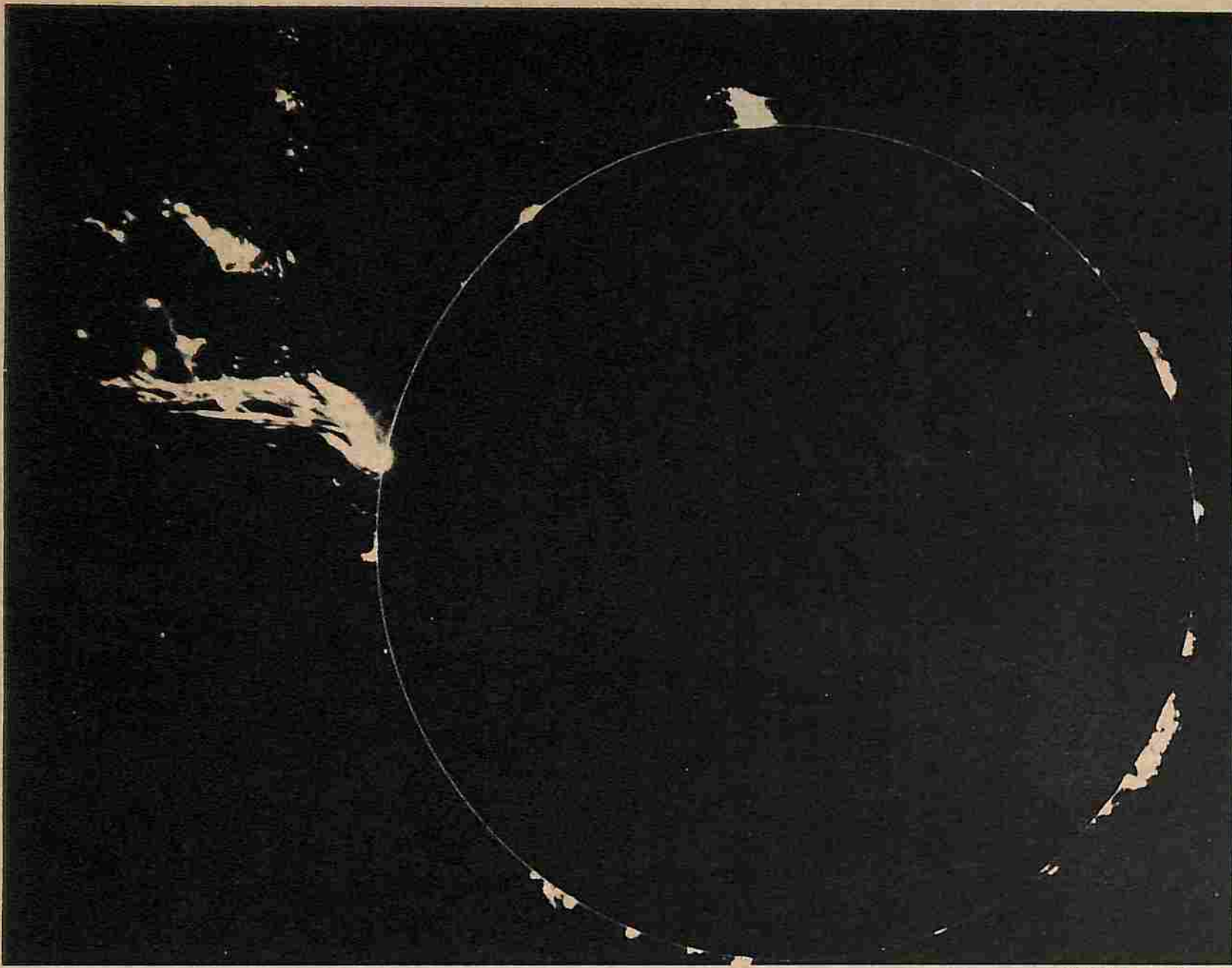
In a series of rapid-fire moves, then, the government had repeatedly raised the stakes of the battle—but they had been forced to pay a major price. On Monday, October 19, they determined to make their temporary and partial retreat. Upon the posting of the Salvadorans' bail, they finally released them. The list of those who sent telegrams or personally phoned the authorities' offices in Oklahoma or Texas runs well into the hundreds (see separate box).

Thousands of dollars poured in as well. U.S. Attorney Ben Baker, arguing vehemently for even higher bail for the translator and tour facilitator in a bond reduction hearing, angrily stated that these people have an *endless* supply of money, look how they're bailing out these two Salvadorans with their \$35,000 bail. He then demanded even higher bail for the other two. Setting aside the blatant hypocrisy of a representative of the wealthiest imperialist government in history, whose bloated weight was brought heavily to

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# Correspondence on Carl Sagan's COSMOS



Massive eruptive solar prominence, photographed on March 1, 1969, extended 375,000 miles above the sun's surface.

## On the Two Opposing Conceptions of Development in Sagan's Cosmos

*The following was submitted as part of the continuing discussion and debate in the RW on the scientific and philosophical questions raised by Carl Sagan's Cosmos. We welcome this contribution and encourage further response, especially to points raised directly by the Cosmos TV series, but other related questions are also welcome.*

I agree with what I took to be part of the point of the letter in *RW* 114 that the struggle over *Cosmos* should be joined in connection with struggling to gain a deeper understanding of the actual social meaning of the whole phenomenon.

Sagan is not a voice in the wilderness, nor do I believe that he is merely raising a few questions because he is "into" science. He is not a form of extraterrestrial life that just happened to land on PBS-TV and come into the cosmic range-finder of communists. There has been a struggle against blatant and pseudoscientific obscurantism going on for a while, in which Sagan has played an important role, and with the current general social polarization this struggle is intensifying.

On the one hand, there is the hardly insignificant section of scientists who have taken stands on different questions, often relating but not limited to the perversion of science in the service of imperialism. There is also the movement in a number of fields to break with old scientific dogmas, and to consciously fight for materialism in science—and some revolutionary breakthroughs in various fields. While there is not a one-to-one correlation between the scientists that are active on both fronts, and while it is possible in the sphere of natural science for a political reactionary to make a contribution, on the other hand the link that exists between these two trends is fairly important and real.

One particular area where these two strands intertwine is popularization of science. It is not as if the bourgeoisie abandons *this* realm to the proletariat,

or is content to merely suppress Sagan (or promote Cronkite—though both of those are important). Besides the blatant but nonetheless significant garbage put out by Shockley & Co., there is for example the "new field of sociobiology," much of which is devoted to proving a supposed genetic basis for social institutions and to mythologizing DNA into a weird sort of mechanism (almost a soul, but a biologically determined one) which somehow uses the people "it inhabits" to propagate itself. The DNA molecule, says some of this school, wants us to decide all questions on the basis of what will give us the maximum propagation of our own DNA. The way in which this particular trend—currently being pushed very hard and treated very seriously in academic and broader circles—"converges" with the political needs of imperialism right now is pretty obvious.

At the same time, as some of the previous correspondents have pointed out, there are a number of progressive scientists besides Sagan who are joining the questions of the day. And with the new developments concentrated by the creationist offensive (as part of the larger "rise of the right" phenomenon), these questions have become more broadly taken up, the scientists going against it more active, and the struggle around it (including the counterattacks exposed in the letter in *RW* 114) much more intense. While I have no real basis on this point to speak from anything more than some partial experience and impressions, it would seem from the testimony printed by the *RW* from some scientists in the war crimes tribunal, or from what I understand has been some of the interest in the Sagan debate so far, that there is already an increasing basis for the line and orientation and general thinking and approach of the Party on these questions to take root more powerfully.

All that is by way of introduction to the particular scientific/philosophical point I want to focus on—which is the conception of development put forward in *Cosmos*. Actually, perhaps it would be more accurate to say conceptions, for Sagan actually lays out two opposed

conceptions of development, one more tending toward materialist dialectics and the other more stuck in metaphysics. And to the extent that he falls into the more metaphysical outlook, his view concentrates some baggage that is very current and has a bad effect not only among scientists, popularizers of science and their audience, but within the revolutionary movement as well. At the same time, these views are themselves the object of intense debate and struggle within the scientific circles that are generally taking a stand on the side of the masses and materialism, and against imperialism, idealism, pseudo-science and obscurantism.

### Evolutionary Gradualism

The problems I want to address are most sharply concentrated in the second installment of the series, "One Voice in the Cosmic Fugue." This episode begins strongly, discussing the random nature of the development of life and exploring the possibility of life on different planets and more than that the incredibly diverse bases for what could be called "life" and in fact the relativity of the very category "life".

And, to show the tremendous variation within relatively stable species, the tremendous basis for change even "in normal times," if you will, he discusses some of the more striking results of human intervention in evolution and development—for example, the development of maize over a few centuries by the Native American Indian peoples of Central America from a weed bearing a single kernel into a plant yielding rows of kernels (but which can now only be reproduced through planting by humans).

Unfortunately, Sagan analogizes from there to the evolutionary process generally. "But if humans can make new varieties of plants and animals," he says, "must not nature do so also? This related process is called natural selection. That life has changed fundamentally over the eons is entirely clear from the alternations we have made in the beasts and vegetables during the short tenure of humans on Earth, and from the fossil evidence.... If artificial

selection can make such major changes in so short a period of time, what must natural selection, working over billions of years, be capable of?"

Well, this is a risky approach to explaining something as important as evolution. The problem is that the tremendous qualitative leaps—literally epochal in their significance—that have marked off natural evolution on earth thus far have *not* been just gradual development going on over billions of years, but a process marked by radical breaks, discontinuity, and periods of massive destruction and chaos which have marked the *qualitative* transformation of both the species inhabiting the earth and the planet itself. Especially in a setting where metaphor and argument by analogy are critical to the understanding of the audience, he is putting out a model of a rather gradual and purposive process (artificial selection) to get people to understand something that is radically discontinuous and *not* purposive. *Here* is where I would agree that this episode leaves the door open to a creator: changes in plants and animals caused by man are similar to changes in everything on a huge scale caused by... who? (Although I don't believe that this is Sagan's intent here, nor principally either a question of bad teaching methods, but more that the accepted—and metaphysical—wisdom of evolution itself has landed him in this bog. More on this later.)

The changes wrought by people in the domestication of various plants and animals, while tremendously significant when viewed from the standpoint of the contradiction between humanity and nature, are—when viewed from the standpoint of the evolutionary process of the planet as a whole—mainly quantitative change (although they contain within them elements of what will indeed be a leap, when the contradiction between humanity and nature reaches a qualitatively higher spiral of struggle and synthesis).

The episode then states that the secrets of evolution are "death and time... time for a slow accumulation of patterns of favorable mutations."

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## "Sooner or Later" Debate

# WAR, REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM

In RW No. 115, we reprinted excerpts from the booklet "Sooner or Later" by the Communist Unity Organization and called upon our readers to respond to it. This call was made to encourage readers to correspond on the most decisive political questions of our time, in particular how to respond to a situation in which very real preparations are being made for a world war between rival blocs of imperialists led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The cutting edge question is whether to take a position of revolutionary defeatism toward one's "own" imperialist rulers, or to adopt some form of alliance with one or another bloc as a "lesser evil" against a "main enemy." This question involves both analysis of the present world situation and of history, including the positive and negative experience of the international communist movement during this whole century. The following are letters in reply to our call. We welcome these contributions and also wish to point out that they certainly do not exhaust the subject and we encourage further correspondence of any sort.

We received the following letter from a reader in Australia, who suggested that some excerpts (which follow) might be useful in the "Sooner or Later" debate.

The following is an attempt to pick up some of the questions that you have raised on international matters, 3 worlds, nationalism, WW3, etc.

(a) 3 worlds. Your critique (*Revolution* 1978) is not thorough, it has very big gaps in it. The REM (Red Eureka Movement, an Australian organization criticized elsewhere by this reader,

which, while opposing the present Chinese revisionist rulers, upholds the "Soviet main danger" line as well as the Three Worlds Theory—RW) presentation of 3 worlds did not present that theory as revolutionary in itself but as an integral part of a revolutionary theory on international affairs that was based on 3 factors: proletarian internationalism, 3 worlds and the Soviet main danger line. REM based itself strongly on the position developed by the Chinese Communist Party in the period 1971-76. But you seem to take the CCP 9th Congress (1969) as authoritative and skip over the 1971-76 period. For example, you say that the "3 worlds" analysis was first presented by Teng at the UN in 1974 (p. 3, 3rd column, *ibid.*)!! This is way off the mark. The third world was referred to (as a new significant force in world affairs) repeatedly in the *Peking Review* (e.g. throughout 1972) at the UN (in Chiao's speeches—who was purged with the Four) and at the 10th Congress in Chou's report. Moreover you don't even mention (and so don't refute) the slogan "Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution" (we have a paper here in which Chiang Ching uses this slogan) which when linked to "revolution is the main trend in the world today" (Mao) put the emphasis on the last part of the 3-part slogan and represented the CCP position overall in the period 1971-76. It seems to me that what you are actually refuting in your article is the actions of the revisionists in China (because they throw revolution out the window). But you clearly disagree with the Chinese policy in the 1971-76 period but you do not even attempt to refute it.

In your article about the Libyan conflict (*RW* 118) you refer to Qaddafi's

bourgeois nationalism and the fact that not only the U.S. but also the Soviets are against his defence of territorial integrity. Yet you clearly support Qaddafi in his actions here, as do the masses in Libya. Does not this fit into a '3 worlds' conception where the 3rd world governments are playing a progressive anti-imperialist role?

There are many other aspects of your *Revolution* 1978 article that I am unhappy with, too numerous to go into now.

(b) This raises the whole question of your conception of the world as 2 blocs (the U.S. bloc and the Soviet bloc) which stresses the links between the U.S. and their allies and the Soviets and their allies. The conception of the 3 worlds which stresses the differences between 1st world and the 2nd and 3rd world and proposes the building of an international united front against the 1st world consisting of the people and 3rd and 2nd world governments is an opposite conception. It seems to me that both theories represent an aspect of the truth (and hence both are one-sided).

But I don't think that the CCP was wrong to raise and push the question of democratic rights for countries in the era of imperialism (Lenin raised this in his polemic against the imperialist economists), that is the struggle for more equality between countries based on the 5 principles. Raising democratic rights does not necessarily negate proletarian revolution.

(c) You divide the world into "imperialist countries" and "developing countries." The Turkish article (*RW* 120) points out that this is far too rigid. But as well as subdividing the developing countries are there not transitional forms between developing countries

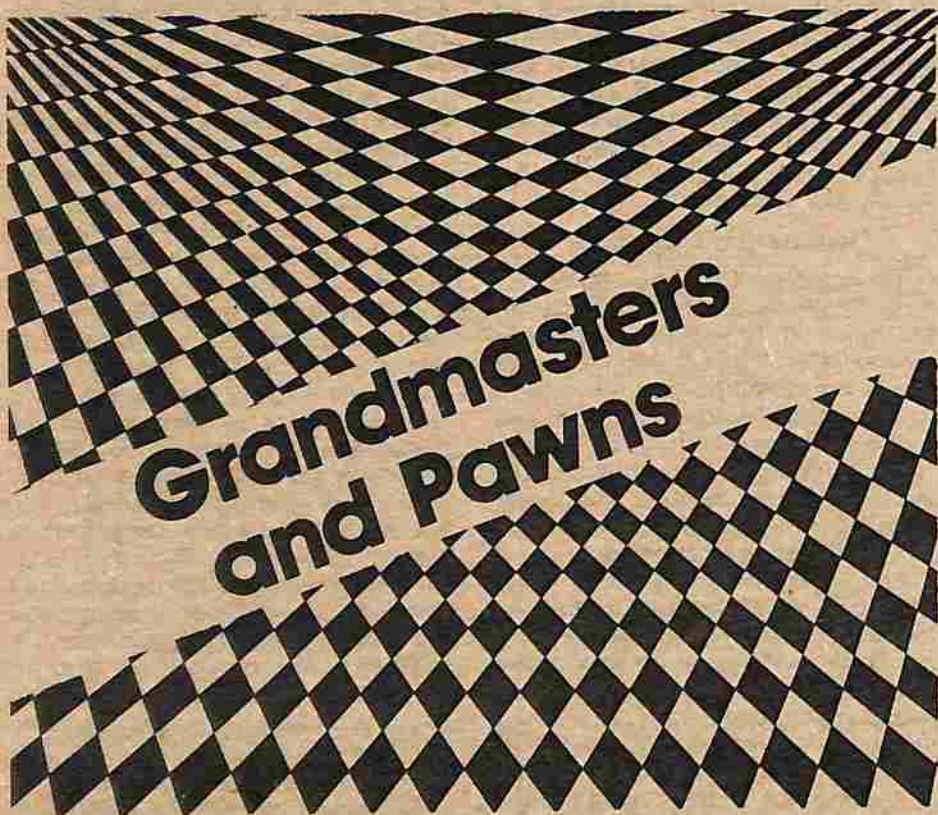
and imperialist countries? Are not Ireland and Poland clear examples of economically developed countries ("imperialist"?) and also nationally oppressed by imperialism? (e.g., Soviet imperialism certainly feels itself threatened by demands in Poland for "free elections," a democratic not a socialist demand). In one of your anti-Hoxha articles you say that in Eastern Europe "the national question... no longer has the same importance" (*Revolution*, Sept. 1979, p. 34, Col. 2). In another article you say that Mao was perfectly correct when he said in the 1930s that "capitalist countries... in their external relations... are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations." (*Revolution*, June 1981, p. 30, col. 2). But isn't Poland a clear example where the national question is a thing of the present and isn't Poland a clear example of a capitalist country that is oppressed by another nation, the Soviet Union?

The "3 worlds" theory places the whole second world as a transitional form between the "imperialist" countries and the "developing" countries (without denying the imperialism of the second world countries). I think this is overdoing it but isn't there at least an element of truth in it? But once you admit that transitional forms do exist then you will have to admit that at least an element of national struggle is introduced into the revolutionary movement of these countries which are themselves (lesser) imperialists. Given your whole position on "so-called national nihilism" are you prepared to do this?

(d) You oppose Stalin's call for communists to pick up the national flag in Europe in 1952. But at that time the U.S., through the Marshall plan, through financing certain parties to come to power, through covert actions by the CIA (the film "On Company Business" points out many examples) did interfere in the national independence of these countries. You say that communists should not carry on with Gaullist twaddle about the "grandeur of France." True. But if communists don't oppose blatant interference and violation of sovereignty by the Superpowers then doesn't this leave the field wide open to the Gaullists and their type? This is not to say that this is all communists ought to do.

In Australia we have experienced interference and manipulation of our internal affairs in which CIA involvement has been proven (e.g. before Nov. 11, 1975, the CIA interfered regarding the

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World Chess Championship, Merano, Italy. Chalk up one win for Viktor Korchnoi, the Soviet defector now residing in Switzerland; 0 for Anatoly Karpov, Soviet citizen and current champion.

The above tally does not represent the actual number of games won and lost during this tournament (Korchnoi trails), but then there are probably only a few befuddled chess enthusiasts who have failed to grasp that there is much more to this contest than who checkmates whose king. As the championship opened the U.S. media machine had set the stage for the real battle—another

confrontation between Western "democracy" and Soviet "totalitarianism." How different the systems! Right?

The tournament opened to widely publicized charges by Korchnoi that the Soviets were attempting to sabotage his concentration by refusing to allow his wife and son to emigrate out of Russia. Korchnoi's son has been sentenced to prison for three years for refusing the draft.

Such eminent newspapers at the *Chicago Tribune*, which sent a reporter all the way to the Soviet Union to interview Mrs. Korchnoi, charged in a recent front-page headline, "Korchnoi's Wife

Becomes Pawn in Russian Game." But while painting the Soviets as the grandmasters of manipulation, recent U.S. moves in the Walter Polovchak case show they are hardly novices when it comes to the maneuvering of pawns. On October 18, banner headlines in Chicago proudly announced, "Walter Wins U.S. Residency." This "big step toward citizenship for Soviet teen" was of course hailed as a blow for democracy. But underneath the gilded veneer, all the legal machinations in Walter's case amount to a political kidnapping of the boy by the U.S. government.

Walter, it may be remembered, is the 12-year-old kid whose parents emigrated from Russia to the U.S. last year but, finding only lousy jobs and a hostile environment, decided after six months to return to the Soviet Union. It didn't take Walter's father, Michael, long to figure out that the "land of the free" was the same grind as the Soviet Union.

On July 14 of last year, when Walter's sister Natalie learned that their parents wanted to move back to the Soviet Union, she took him and ran away to a cousin's house. Walter reportedly wanted to stay in the U.S. because of his "new friends, nice school, and bicycle." When Mr. Polovchak finally found his son at the police station, he found that a big-time reactionary lawyer from Chicago's Ukrainian community had already intervened. Michael Polovchak's plans to return to the Soviet Union, arch enemy of U.S. imperialism, had enraged local patriots, and they seized on Walter as a golden opportunity to make some political hay.

Instead of turning Walter over to his father at the police station, they whisked him away, and shortly thereafter the U.S. State Department granted him

asylum in the United States. In the meantime, Juvenile Court ruled that Walter should be taken away from his parents and made a ward of the state. Without even bothering to go through the formality of establishing the Polovchaks as "unfit" parents, the boy was turned over to a Ukrainian foster family where he was kept under guard by his lawyer and special security guards.

Walter became an overnight sensation. His love for the American Way—its souped-up Corvettes, ice cream, stereo speakers and gadgets of every kind was widely broadcast. The Polovchaks, frightened and shaken by their run-in with American justice, left the U.S. in August with their 7-year-old child. The custody battle for Walter continues with the American Civil Liberties Union representing the Polovchaks.

Apparently the latest trick Walter's lawyers have up their sleeve in the custody case is a finding by two psychiatrists who examined Michael Polovchak under the order of the Juvenile Court judge. Both doctors noted "possible paranoia" in the father. Dr. Nabolotny noted that the poor deluded Mr. Polovchak is "very near paranoid as is his distrust to people." Yes, according to these "learned" prostitutes for the state, Mr. Polovchak must be paranoid—after all, how could anyone in his position think somebody, least of all the government, was out to get him? After all, we're talking about the land of the free here. Mr. Polovchak must be paranoid. Hmmm... shades of "Soviet dissidents placed in mental institutions"...? As the Korchnoi and Polovchak cases reveal, in their global game of chess, neither the U.S. nor the Soviets are averse to madly manipulating pawns in service to their preparation for the final attempt at checkmate. □





Carl Harp.

At 9:00 on the morning of Wednesday, October 14, in the basement of a tiny building on Poplar Street in Walla Walla, Washington, the inquest "into the manner of death of Carl Lowell Harp" was convened. From the start, the purpose of the inquest was starkly obvious to everyone in the room. It was the latest government move to buttress its tottering attempt to cover up the murder of revolutionary prisoner Carl Harp. Opening an inquest was not a task they relished, but neither was it one they could avoid. The course of events over the past several weeks had made it imperative that something be done to revive their attempts to portray Carl's murder as "suicide." And so for the first time in recent memory an inquest was being held into the death of a prisoner at the Washington State Penitentiary. And by the end of their hearing their attempts would lay in shambles and the bloody hand of the state would be revealed more clearly than ever.

In the 38 days between the murder of Carl in his prison cell and the inquest, the authorities scrambled to stem the outrage this deliberate killing provoked. Carl's body had barely been removed from his cell when the official accounts of his "suicide" were broadcast across the state. But few who knew Carl—a staunch revolutionary fighter throughout his life in prison—believed it, and the glaring contradictions in the state's story were obvious from the start. The news provoked protests around the world, and within days it was announced that an inquest would be held to, as the Walla Walla County Prosecutor expressed it, "clear the air," to dissipate the stench of lies, deceit and terror which hung heavy in the air.

Stephen Ames, the Walla Walla County Coroner, was determined from the start to place every aspect of the inquest under his tight personal control. Other inquests in the county had been presided over by a judge, but Ames was to run this one himself. The Deputy Coroner, who just happens to be Anne Ames, the Coroner's wife, was the only one allowed to question the witnesses. The lawyer for Carl's widow was neither allowed to question witnesses nor to have any say on which witnesses were called. Stephen Ames, too, hand-picked the jury well in advance of the hearing, selecting people who he thought would be, as he put it himself, "reliable."

Given the extraordinary lengths the authorities went to in order to maintain their hold on the inquest proceedings, a verdict of "suicide" was, of course, assured. But this was hardly enough. The entire hearings had to be carefully staged, the evidence all reviewed beforehand to make sure nothing unplanned would slip out. If a witness

did not provide the proper answer, Anne Ames provided the answer herself, as in the case of the prison nurse who, when she stated she wasn't sure of the time she had arrived at Harp's cell, was simply told when she had arrived.

The most noxious part of this prepackaged arrangement were the efforts to portray Carl as demoralized and suicidal, an attempt aimed not only at justifying the "suicide" verdict, but at discrediting Carl's revolutionary example as well. From the hundreds of pages of letters and journals confiscated from Carl's cell, excerpts were carefully selected and "edited" in advance in order to portray Carl as depressed and disillusioned. No attempt was made to conceal this blatant rigging of the "evidence"; at one point, a Walla Walla detective read a passage from one of Carl's journals after saying to the Deputy Coroner, "I believe we discussed this prior to court. I'll pick up reading here..."

What was missing from the hearing was in many ways more revealing than much of the testimony presented. The guard who at the time of the murder was in charge of the wing where Carl was held was not called as a witness at all. The results from the toxicology tests (for drugs in the blood and urine) were not available either. It was, Anne Ames assured all present, "in the mail." But, she continued, she had personally talked to the person who made the tests, and was told that no drugs were detected. The more blatant holes in the state's version of Carl's death simply were passed over without mention, such as the announcement the authorities made that Carl had slashed his own wrists by "unknown means," followed days later by the announcement that two razor blades had been "discovered" in Carl's cell the night of the murder.

Not everything, of course, could be passed over in silence. The supposed "suicide" note was there, as were examples of Carl's handwriting, and one would have to be blind in both eyes to say the handwriting was the same. But no attempt was made to explain the difference; instead a report from the state crime lab was read, saying they "did not find any significant difference" between Carl's writing and the "suicide note." (The fact that both the Coroner and Deputy Coroner used to work in this same crime lab makes this arrangement particularly cozy. Among others who worked in this lab is a "fingerprint expert" known to drink abundantly who "misidentified" fingerprint evidence used to frame defendants in a number of criminal cases, including one of the cases which originally sent Carl to Walla Walla.)

The cover-up was so blatant that many were reluctant to be too closely

associated with it. The doctor who conducted the autopsy would not be pinned down on a number of points and refused to comment at all on the supposed results of the drug test, despite Anne Ames' repeated attempts to press him on this point, because he had not seen the report. One of the handpicked jurors revealed his own wariness of signing the inquest verdict by pointedly asking Stephen Ames if he was planning to sign his name to the inquest jurors' finding of "suicide."

#### Protest at Inquest

But the squeamishness of some of the players in this sick performance was the least of the problems facing the directors of this monstrosity. Signs of protest punctuated the hearing. Spectators wore T-shirts bearing Carl's picture on the front and the quotation "A few moments of struggle are worth a lifetime of being a slave" on the back, provoking stunned stares from jurors. Outside the courtroom, a banner proclaimed, "The spirit of Carl Harp cannot be silenced." Those passing by received leaflets exposing the inquest and extras to distribute to others. Interest in the exposure of Carl Harp's murder was particularly keen among youth who were at a juvenile delinquency program nearby. In this way, the controversy and anger sparked by Carl Harp's murder was intensified right in the heart of this prison town, forcing its way onto the front page of the local paper and into papers all across the state.

At the afternoon session, John Bosch, a former cellmate of Carl's who had worked with Carl on the *Anarchist Black Dragon* newsletter, testified, one of only two prisoners allowed to do so. Before Bosch took the stand, both the coroner and a Walla Walla police detective went to great lengths to explain how he had come forward "on his own" to testify at the hearing. Their implication was obvious: here is some-

one who shares Carl's political beliefs, but because of his integrity will now tell us that Carl did commit suicide. After a full day of slander and lies, the state was obviously counting on Bosch's testimony as the coup that would make their case.

Asked his name, Bosch's tone was defiant: "John Bosch, 263269, POW" (prisoner of war). Anne Ames looked up, her mouth half open; obviously this was not what she expected. She continued to ask the prearranged questions, but the answers were anything but prearranged. John told of the attempts of prison guards to hire someone to kill Carl, of how Carl attempted to check into the prison's protective custody unit only to have the administration refuse to allow him to stay. "The administration carefully engineered it," he stated firmly. The coroner's eyes rolled. Anne Ames and the Walla Walla police detective nervously consulted. What about suicide, she asked, wasn't Harp demoralized? "There was no thought of suicide in Carl's mind," he shot back. The police detective, holding his head in his hands, stared dejectedly at the floor. John recounted how guards had beaten Carl and forced a nightstick up his rectum in 1979; the prison guard who had brought John into court squirmed and looked away. Then, from a manila envelope, John pulled out copies of the *Anarchist Black Dragon* newsletter, explaining that a friend had sent these copies from the outside after guards stole copies in his cell. Holding the newsletters up, he proclaimed, "The motive was the work he did for the *Anarchist Black Dragon* newsletter. Carl was a great writer, a great man, and a hell of a fighter."

At the end of John's testimony, as he was being led out of the courtroom, his legs and hands still shackled, one spectator jumped to his feet and waved a

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# State Unmasked at Carl Harp Inquest

## Statement of Outrage

*We recently received the following statement initiated and signed by several dozen inmates—Black, white, Hispanic and Asian—at Danbury, Connecticut. They asked it be printed in the RW and forwarded to Carl Harp's widow.*

We the undersigned are prisoners at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury. We were filled with vehement outrage when we heard of the cowardly and brutal murder of Brother Carl Harp at Walla Walla.

Carl represented an irreversible, vibrant voice of revolution that will increasingly come to life in the turbulent Eighties. The authorities were frightened by his rebel vision of the unity of all oppressed standing up against this miserable system. They could not contain or intimidate his confident voice. In desperation, they killed him.

Indeed, his assassination has not destroyed his vision nor uprooted the example he has been. Instead his death has affirmed our resolve and opened the eyes of many more. □



Atlanta Tribunal

# Puerto Rican Testifies Life and Rebellion Un- Yankee Imperialism



The following testimony was submitted to the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in Atlanta on tape by a Puerto Rican brother. This tape was transcribed by the Tribunal and has been slightly edited by the RW for clarity.

Ladies and gentlemen, members of this tribunal, before I go any further in giving my testimony to this tribunal, I would like first to give my most grateful and sincerest thanks for giving me this opportunity to express my testimony which I really feel that I should do personally, but for security reasons and a few other reasons, I cannot appear in person even though I feel that it should be my duty to do so. Secondly, I like to express my most sincere admiration and respect for you gentlemen and ladies of this tribunal, for your courageous and glorious effort that you are trying to bring to the conscience of the people of this country and to the peoples of the rest of the world. Before I proceed in giving my testimony, I want to make sure that you gentlemen and ladies of this tribunal know that no one forced me and no one incited me to do so under any other circumstances but I am doing so by my own free and conscious feelings besides it being my duty. Gentlemen and ladies of this tribunal, this is my testimony:

I was born somewhere in the western region of the island of Puerto Rico in the year 1931. My father was a carpenter. As I remember he was mostly unemployed. My mother was a seamstress. She worked at home sewing dresses and wedding gowns for the community in which we lived. She did this type of work as a vocation and at the same time to contribute to the needs of the family. I have an older brother and one sister. We were brought up in an extremely poor neighborhood in that particular region that I mentioned before and I can say that we were better off than most of the people that lived in

that community, and we were extremely, extremely poor. At the age of about 8 or 9 years old, in the year 1937, a few members of the community who were struggling for the independence of Puerto Rico went to a nearby city named Ponce to demonstrate, to manifest their ideological and political reasons for the independence of Puerto Rico. At that particular time Puerto Rico was governed by an American governor who was assigned by the President of the United States of America. During this demonstration—the demonstrations were going on for several years before, but growing continuously—these people that were manifesting their reasons for independence on that particular day, on Palm Sunday in the year 1937, they were massacred by the police under the direction and leadership of the American superintendent or the Chief of Police. Four of the people who were killed on that miserable day were from my community. I don't exactly remember their names at this moment but it became part of me. I remember clearly, when all of the neighbors heard the news, how the women placed their arms over their heads and cried, and were making comments of how terrible it was. Among these four people was a young man, the son of one of the great patriots, that got killed that day. The young man must have been at least 15 or 16 years old. And I remember at that age of 8 or 9 years old that I used to see him participating in political activities, talking to the neighbors and that it had a great impact on me. When my mother found out about it she also put both of her hands over her head and she exclaimed, "Oh, no! It can't be! Oh! such wonderful people." And when I asked her why these people got killed she told me they were independentistas; they were nationalists, nationalists. They wanted the freedom of Puerto Rico. At that

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Puerto Rico is literally covered with U.S. military bases. Roosevelt Roads, located on the east coast of Puerto Rico is one of the biggest naval bases in the world. (left) 1945, American sailors in Puerto Rico, (center) the U.S. Navy in Vieques—the "inner target

range" of Roosevelt Roads. The helicopter is flying low, attempting to swamp the boats of the Vieques fishermen in one of the many confrontations between them and the U.S. Navy in which the Viequeans have attempted to prevent the Navy from using their

## New York Tribunal:

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal will culminate in its final hearings in New York City, on December 4th, 5th and 6th, 1981.

The War Crimes Tribunal has been a forum for vivid, compelling and all-sided exposure and has shattered any belief that U.S. imperialism's horrendous actions are scattered or accidental. One very sturdy thread that has run through the hearings is the common experience of the masses of people of the world that if they happen to be in the way of expansion of the U.S. empire or defense of "its vital strategic interests" they are expendable. Henry Kissinger put it quite bluntly in reference to the Bikinians of the Marshall Islands, "There are only 90,000 of them. Who gives a damn?"

The New York City hearings provide a tremendous opportunity and challenge to all those throughout the world and this country who rejoice at the thought of putting U.S. imperialism on trial to help make that thought a reality that will affect and unleash millions and that will tear like a tornado through the U.S. imperialist's current pre-war propaganda offensive. New York is potentially extremely favorable terrain for the War Crimes Tribunal. New York is already sharply divided—the home of Wall Street and the headquarters of the U.S. propaganda machine, on the one hand. More importantly, New York is the home of

millions of the oppressed, many who come from every corner of the earth and who have been driven here due to the political repression and economic misery the U.S. brings everywhere it goes.

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal is of truly historic importance.

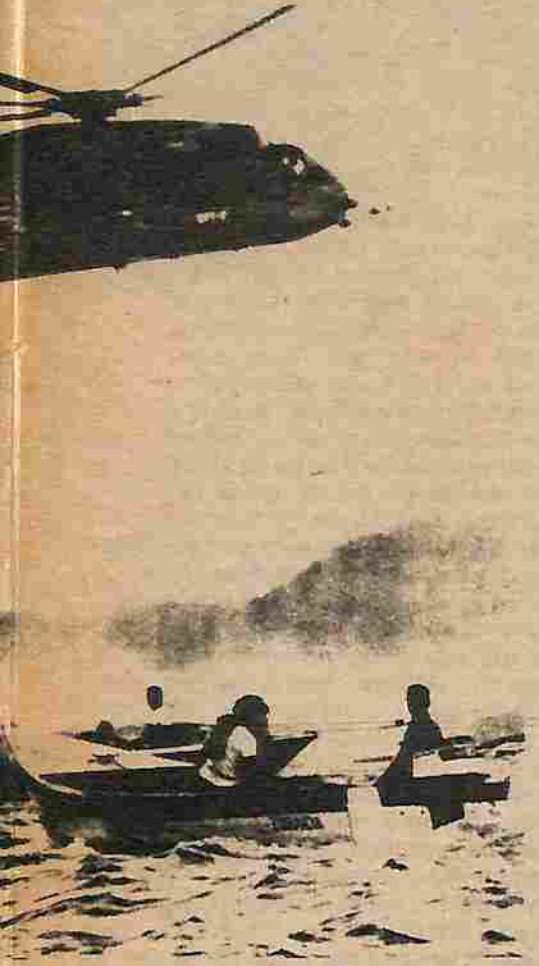
A particularly important focus of testimony in New York will be testimony representing the millions of Creole, Spanish and English-speaking people from the Caribbean. On the heels of the Reagan administration's orders to "shoot to kill" Haitians, fleeing the vicious dictatorship that is Haiti under Duvalier, under the threat of deportation or incarceration in refugee camps or prisons, Haitians will testify about U.S. plans to build a military base in Haiti to replace Guantanamo; they will tell of rebellions that have taken place in the Krome refugee camp and elsewhere and will expose Duvalier's total subservience to U.S. interests.

Veterans of the revolution of 1965 in the Dominican Republic will tell of the savage suppression of that uprising by the U.S. Marine Corps and the continuing domination of the Dominican Republic by the U.S.

The outrage of Puerto Ricans at almost a century of U.S. colonialism will be heard as a new upsurge of struggle centered at the University of Puerto Rico unfolds. The U.S. attempts to



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island for bombing practice. (right) March 11th 1971—the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan, one of the centers of Independentista activity. A fight between ROTC cadets and Independentistas developed into a fierce rebellion.



## An Historic Event

completely subjugate the revolutionary struggle and aspirations of the Puerto Rican people with a Jayuya and other massacres to protect their economic, political and military interests will be exposed.

Palestinians—and Israelis—will testify against the U.S. attempts to annihilate the Palestinian people, to wipe 4 million of them off the face of the earth, saying they don't and never have existed. They will show how the U.S. and other imperialists invented and imposed self-serving borders in the Middle East, creating the state of Israel to play the role of their regional gendarmes, and incarcerating the native peoples, the Palestinians, in concentration camps.

Half way across the world, from within U.S. borders itself, the Native Americans will bear witness to the fact that the very origins of the U.S. sprang from the bloody extermination of Native peoples. From the day the U.S. oppressors handed smallpox blankets to the Native Americans, to the first and second massacres at Wounded Knee, up to today, the U.S. regime has always been a reign of terror for millions.

The New York hearings will take testimony on the U.S.' role in World War 2 including its role in the slaughter of 350,000 civilians in Dresden; the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and the internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps. All

this will go smack up against the U.S.' brandishing of the MX missile and their shameless celebration of the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings with the announcement of the neutron bomb, as well as their disgusting attempts at "reparations" to solicit the loyalty of Japanese-Americans (and Japan) in the upcoming war they are feverishly preparing for.

From Azania (South Africa), world renowned symbol of imperialist domination in Africa, to the Horn of Africa where the masses are fighting both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to free their land from imperialist domination, liberation fighters will address the Tribunal.

The crimes of the U.S. imperialists in El Salvador and all of Central America will be brought out clearly and sharply from many forces, despite the U.S. government's attempts to suppress it. The kidnapping of two Salvadoran revolutionaries, originally scheduled to open the New York hearings, only weeks after Duarte was promenaded throughout the U.S., has only increased their determination to bring forward this testimony.

Everywhere the Tribunal has been it has heard from veterans of the Vietnam war. The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal calls on veterans to continue to step forward and expose the vicious crimes of U.S. imperialism against the people of Southeast Asia. This is of par-

ticular importance now at a time when the imperialists are trying to reverse the verdicts of Vietnam, hoping that a whole generation will forget the profound lessons learned through that struggle. As one vet said, "I will not forget, like I will not forget two young Vietnamese girls who had the flesh blown off their bones in a war of imperialist plunder. And I will not forget the slimy imperialist bastards who are responsible." To all those who have not forgotten, there is a platform from which to speak at the New York hearings.

Through all this and more, a picture will be created of the monstrous oppression U.S. imperialism leaves on the backs of the world's people. However, it is clear from the testimony that this oppression, no matter how terrible, has always brought forward resistance and resisters.

People born in the U.S. and who have lived in the relatively peaceful times here of the last 40 years will hear first-hand testimony revealing why the battle cry, "Yanqui go home!" is such a broad sentiment throughout the world. Of tremendous significance, with a particular effect on the foreign born, will be to see the force that exists within the U.S. of all nationalities, from all walks of life, that has stepped forward to expose these crimes, including even scientists who have been educated and trained to create and deploy all the U.S. instruments of

death.

The Tribunal hearings must take the weight that this understanding and knowledge has been off the backs of those who have had it and turn it into ammunition against the criminals. Never have the imperialists needed to deceive the masses of people more. Never have they needed to cover over their crimes and hide their nature more. To all those who've seen and felt the actions of U.S. imperialism first hand, the New York hearings are the time and the place to take all this individual experience and knowledge from everywhere throughout the world and turn it into exposure on a grand scale of all the hideous features of U.S. imperialism. Let the imperialists dare to defend themselves. The truth is a powerful force that they will never be able to suppress. □

### Work is needed in the following areas:

- Testimony—soliciting and collecting testimony;
  - Publicity—press and speaking engagements;
  - Money, and
  - Volunteers—in New York or to come to New York to: poster, leaflet, type and transcribe testimony.
- Contact the national office at: 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York. Telephone—212-674-7820.
- Friday, December 4th, Saturday, December 5th, Sunday, December 6th 1981. Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place (near 18th St.), Manhattan.



# Tribunal

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time, of course, I didn't know any difference about these things. But just knowing that this young man and his father and 2 other neighbors were killed, that really registered in my mind until this day.

Later on as years went by I became more conscious about the independence of Puerto Rico. While we were going to school I learned about the struggle for the independence of what is now called the United States of America, when the 13 colonies went into a revolutionary war to win their independence. They won their economic and political independence from England. And then, of course, I was fully confirmed that we, the Puerto Rican people, should do the same. But yet, now in 1981, the same country, not exactly the same, but this country of the United States of America, is using all the methods, all kinds of methods to stop us from doing the same thing. We have tried to do it peacefully through the United Nations, even the armed struggle, like what happened in 1950 when the Nationalists revolted and even before that period of time in San Juan and Rio Piedres and just recently—every so often the people, the patriots, of our country are struggling to find ways on how to convince this country. (It's not really this country but a few individuals who run this country, people whose economic interests are threatened by the struggle in Puerto Rico; for economic reasons these few people want to control the whole world for their own benefit. And they are making life miserable for a lot of people, including myself. Terribly, terribly, terribly miserable, preventing us or trying to prevent us from gaining our economic and political independence.)

Soon after, when I became 14 years old, my father died of tuberculosis, the only person that used to bring the bread home. That was in 1943. . . . My mother had a sister living in the Bronx, New York. She wrote to us after she found out that my father died and encouraged us to come to live in the U.S. where my mother, my brother, my sister and myself would have better opportunities in education and cultural opportunities. My mother sold her house, an old wood house. She sold it for \$800.00, also including the furniture, pots and pans, and what have you. That money was used to buy the plane tickets for all of us and to buy us some winter clothing because that was during the winter months. I remember that clearly. And we finally came to the great land of opportunity—the Bronx. I noticed immediately that my aunt was living in a very old, run-down brick building, on the second floor. Her apartment was all full of cockroaches and mice. At least in Puerto Rico we were poor but we didn't have so many cockroaches and the rats, they stayed out of the house. At that early age at 14 years old I started to wonder, "Is this the land of opportunity? My God!"

In the following few days we were taken down to register for school. I noticed that the people were mostly white people and they were entirely different. Some of them tried to talk to me and my brother. We couldn't talk back because we didn't know how to speak English and I remember very clearly how they used to laugh and make fun of us. We used to feel so inferior. I used to feel like I was nothing. To make the story short, time went by and the year 1952 came. That was during the Korean War. I was about 20 years old and I registered for the armed forces of the United States of America 'cause they told me it was my duty to defend democracy and freedom for all of the people in the world and to maintain peace. So then at that time I was in the stage of feeling macho, a macho man. I didn't think much of the army so I volunteered for the Marine Corps. In February in the year of 1952 I became a Marine in the U.S. Marine Corps.

I was told while training there that we must fight to keep democracy going, the freedom and peace of the people, and while I was stationed in Camp Lejeune I felt that I was a Marine and a Marine is trained to fight and kill. So

what's the sense of being in the Marine Corps if you didn't do any killing. So I volunteered to go to Korea. But now I considered that I was lucky at that time; a few years after, the peace treaty was signed and the so-called Korean conflict was over. Now, of course, I resent all of these mistakes of ignorance that I made.

After I was discharged from the Marine Corps, I got married and I found a job from which I was laid off a few years after. I got myself into a lot of debts buying furniture, TV, trying to live like or pretend to live like a rich man. I was in debt all of my time and to this day. During the period of 10 years, my wife and I, we ended up having four children, a boy and three girls. Then things started getting very bad in New York, particularly in the Bronx, the crime rate—not to the extent that they are now, but they were very bad.

So I decided to return to Puerto Rico, my homeland. As a Korean veteran I went to school and took advantage of the education opportunities and I became an architectural draftsman, mechanical draftsman and structural draftsman, which we used to call at that time a commercial draftsman. Then when I got back to Puerto Rico in 1972 I found a job with an American company. All the American companies are there; everything there is American. 85% of what is consumed in Puerto Rico comes from the U.S. We are a captive market.

While then in Puerto Rico I became involved in the political struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico because it was there in me all of the time. I went to rallies and I read their newspapers, magazines, books. Then I became an ardent reader. I was reading all the time. I was trying to make up for all of the time I lost in New York working, trying to give my family a really superficial, upper-class climate. So I tried to make up for all of the lost time.

So I read and read and there I started learning more about the history of Puerto Rico, the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence. I became really involved in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. Then as I became more involved in the Puerto Rican independence I started noticing certain things that were affecting me such as the police taking pictures and American agents taking pictures of the marches. I started becoming convinced of what I was reading about, about the repressions against the independentista people. It developed into something politically or rather ideologically deeper and I started reading about socialism and communism. Then, of course, I became more involved. I felt it was my duty. I joined the Puerto Rican group. I don't want to mention their name for security reasons. I started selling their papers in the streets. I noticed people tried to kill me with their cars.

The police used to come in their patrol cars and make insulting remarks to me. Many of the police really stopped me and told me when the hell was I going to get out of Puerto Rico and go back to Cuba where I belonged. They thought I was Cuban because of my light skin. It's unbelievable, Puerto Ricans can't even tell—but it happens; they have been so brainwashed, they can't even tell their own people. As they oppressed me I became more aggressive in my political activities. I became a member of a study group. Then I started reading and studying Marxism. Of course, after studying Marxism and the whole struggle of the working-class people of the world you become aware of many things you weren't aware of before, such as people out in the streets begging, so many beggars. It was unbelievable. I noticed so many sick people in the streets all over the island because I used to go around all over the island. People sleeping in the parks, on the benches, sleeping there. The Puerto Rican people were even sleeping on benches, on the floor, in the San Juan area, the Ponce de León Avenue. I noticed so many people were sleeping under the store fronts. And young people and children begging for a nickel. I was confused because I was told all of the time, particularly in New York, how well Puerto Rico was, how much they had improved economically and I also noticed so many people unemployed. You see so many people out in the street

hanging around in corners at 2:00 in the afternoon, 10:00 in the morning. I saw so many people taking leftovers from the garbage behind restaurants. That really hurt me. It made me more conscious and more aggressive in my philosophy and my ideas. I kept telling myself this has got to stop. This has got to stop. It was my duty to struggle more.

As I became more involved in this misery of my people and got more involved in political activities in a very conscious manner I started telling my children all these things that were happening. Instead of taking them to the movies, I used to take them around to see what was happening in Puerto Rico—the land of the free, the cradle of democracy in Latin America, the island of progress and all of this garbage they are still saying. Then, of course, I became more active. I used to go around telling the people about these things, the discrimination. I noticed in the place where I worked—it was a big office building and there were no Black people working there. No Black receptionist. No Black anything. The only Black that you saw there was the janitor, the guy that cleaned up the place. All these things were in contradiction with what I'd hear on the news and in the newspaper. So, then I started selling a leftist newspaper for the party that I used to belong to. Then more repression came. I was watched by the Puerto Rican police 24 hours a day.

I had a friend who lived above me in the building where I used to live, a young man who sympathized with the independence movement. We used to talk and discuss all of the things that were happening in Puerto Rico. One time he told me "You have to be careful." From the hall from our building, he showed me, "You see that white car up there. That is the police and they are watching you." I asked him "How do you know that?" He told me, "Because they have approached me and they told me that they have seen me talking to you and they offered me a job to inform them of everything you do and everything you say. They offered to pay me \$100.00 a week. I told them I don't know you. I told them that we just talk about stupid things." Then I became conscious of this car that was there for 3 or 4 weeks; during the night I'd come maybe 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning and the car was there. They were so stupid they didn't even notice I'd left the house. Then when I left the house, when I went to other parts of the country they used to follow me. In many instances I knew they were following. I stopped in a place and went over to them and said, "Thank you for your escort." And they told me, "What are you, a wise guy?" Again they told me, when am I going to go back to Cuba? They actually believed—it was established in the police department of Puerto Rico that I was a Cuban infiltrator in the Puerto Rican independence struggle.

I started to do political work in this particular housing project near the place where I used to live. I was there talking to the people, finding out their problems, trying to organize them politically. There I discovered so many things. It was unbelievable to me how at that time (and I'm sure they still have it now), they had a paramilitary group of people that go around actually killing people. I remember very clearly this particular man who was a cadre; he was a neighborhood leader of the New Progressive Party which is in power now. At that time it was in power also. This is the party that intends to make Puerto Rico a state of the union of the United States of America. This man used to walk around with a gun under his belt all the time. He didn't know I was a leftist. He used to brag about all of the things that he did. He used to get drunk, have a few beers and he'd start saying so many things. In one particular case he mentioned about how he and some police sergeants of the Puerto Rican police grabbed this young man who was 16 years old that I happened to know, not well, but I knew who he was. They used to call him Gueniento. Gueniento means "little banana" because he was very small. He used to walk barefooted with no shirt and just cut-down pants, you know, short pants. He was a bad boy. He used to ask people for money and if people didn't give him

money he'd pull a knife and force them to give him money. He used to snatch purses from women. He even tried one time to snatch my wife's purse when she was coming from work when she was employed. This man from the Progressive Party, this leader and this police sergeant, according to what he bragged about, he took this young man, got him drunk and took him to dinner to eat seafood at a place called Las Vescas in some part of Puerto Rico. They took him to nearby mountains and killed him. They killed him, just like nothing. Nobody missed him. I think the only one who missed him was me. . . .

He started bragging about this other young man that was sniffing thinner they use to thin paint. He used to go to the store and buy a pint and pour some of it into a handkerchief, a napkin, and he used to snort it, get a high on that stuff. He must've been about 14 years old. This fellow I knew of also. One day the police sergeant picked this young man up. They dumped him right over the hood of the police car. While one person was holding both of his hands and one police officer was holding both of his legs, he poured some of the paint thinner on his stomach and on his chest and they just put a match to it. And it all lit up. They let him go and he ran away all burning. They thought it was a lot of fun. They thought that would teach him not to sniff paint thinner any more. Later on I discussed it with some of the neighbors and they thought it was a lot of fun. Then I asked them, I would like to meet this young man. They took me to his house and he didn't want to talk to me because he thought I was a police agent. It took me a little while to convince him that I was not. I was only interested in finding out if this was the truth. He told me this was the truth. I told him, "I can help you do something so this won't happen to other young men or maybe so it won't happen to you again." He refused to tell me. He said that someday he will grow up and he will get even. He knows all of these people. And someday he will grow older. He will get even with them.

In this same neighborhood in this same housing project, it's called Ramos Antonini, on every Friday for people in the community, as a matter of fact, all over the island, it's customary to celebrate Social Friday. That's when everybody gets dressed and has a good evening, a party. They put on their best clothing. They save money during the week just for that particular Friday. They have Viernes Social, Social Friday. In this particular housing project, I'm sure this was done all over the island, the police used to come about 10:00 at night. They used to come in unmarked cars, beat-up Chevrolets, Buicks and what have you. This particular night about 7 cars came with about 15 police agents all in civilian clothing, with shotguns and .45 magnums. Everybody was gathering, everybody in each corner, talking in little groups, showing off their clothing. The police came and said, "All right, everybody go to sleep." So the people there used to obey the law and slowly, walking slowly, go back to their respective housing units or apartments. On this particular night I was there. I was sitting on the hood of my car. The chief of these agents, a tall Black man about 6'6", I figure he must have weighed about 240 pounds, he came over to me and told me to go to sleep. I told him, "I don't feel like sleeping now." He said, "I'm ordering you to go to sleep." I said, "I don't feel like sleeping now. We are in a free country and you can't force me to go to sleep. If you feel that I'm violating the law, you should arrest me and take me before a judge for him to decide whether I'm violating the law or not." He told me, "What are you, a wise guy?" A few friends came over and told me, "Don't argue with them. Listen to them and just come with us and forget about it." But I insisted. There must have been about 15 of them, as a matter of fact more than that all in civilian clothing, with double-barreled shotguns, and they started chasing everyone away. Everybody was peeking from their particular windows. I refused to leave and told them to arrest me if you want to. If I'm violating the law, arrest me. He just walked

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# Tribunal

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away. He called all of them and they got into their cars and they moved away. Little by little all the people who were there before started coming out. They told me, "You're crazy. You're out of your mind. You shouldn't horse around with these people. These people are bad, man, they can kill you." Then I became aware. I was really afraid after that. I had believed that I lived in a democratic country, a so-called democratic country, of course, where I had freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and so-called rights we are supposed to have in a so-called "democracy."

... While I was selling the newspaper for the party that I used to belong to, the leftist party I used to belong to, one of the fellows who worked in my field saw me selling the paper. But I didn't see him. That was on a Saturday morning. Monday when I came to work the boss calls me and tells me, "You're fired." I told him, "Why? What did I do wrong?" He told me, "I don't have to tell you anything. We don't need you any more." He gave me a letter in which I had 5 days, within 5 days I'd be out of a job. In the letter it explained that I was being laid off due to lack of work. Now, how did I find out that a worker saw me selling the paper? Well, the receptionist who was a very close friend of mine, she made a remark which I tried to inquire more about. She told me, "Oh, you are with the communists! Somebody saw you were selling the communist paper." And this is how I came to the conclusion that I was fired for political reasons. It wasn't for economic reasons like they said, lack of work. So I lost my job.

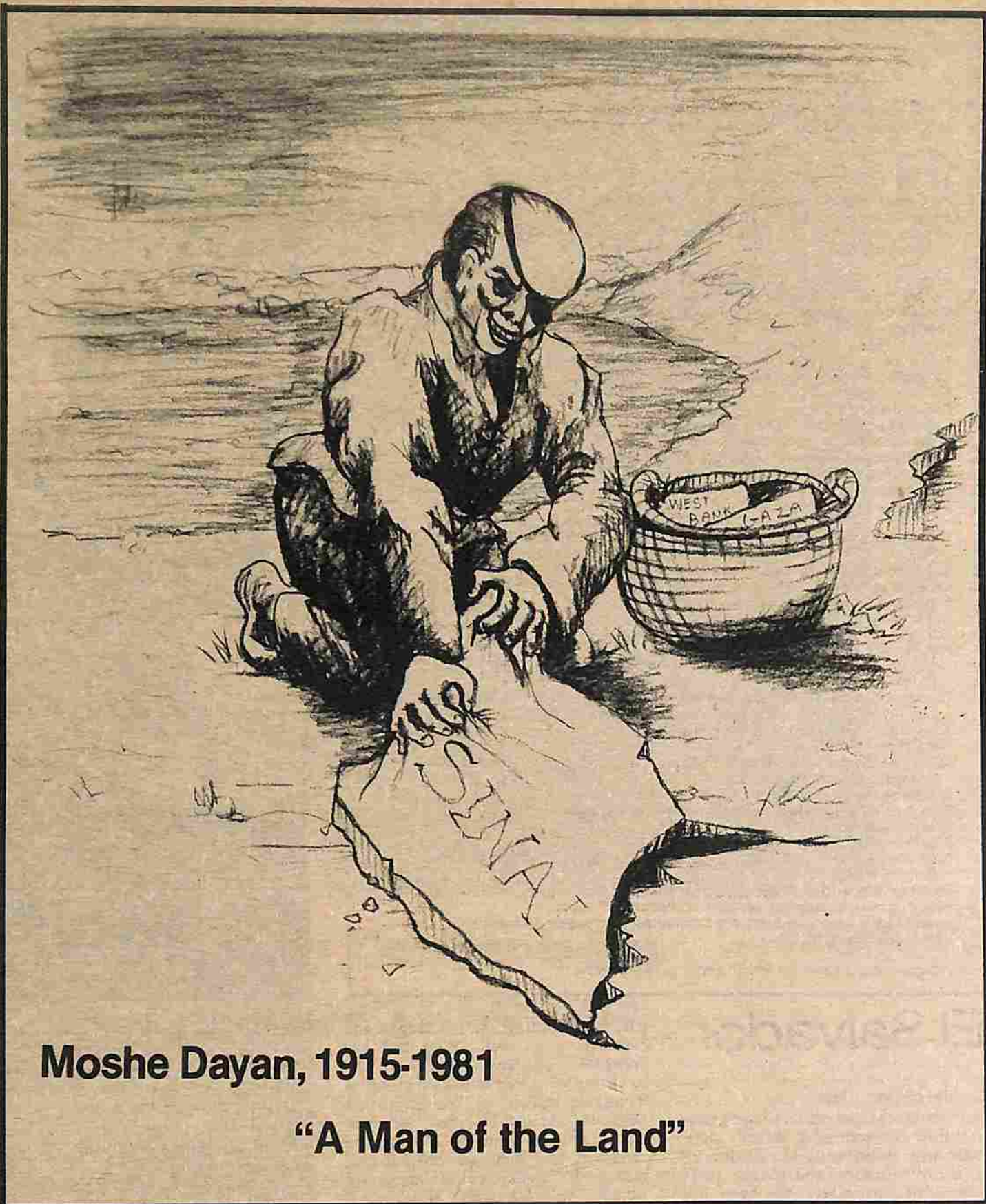
I went to the Department of Labor of the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and tried to make a case out of it. It was all a waste of time. They said, "Well, they say that it's a lack of work and you can't prove that it's a political firing. So, you have to forget about it." Of course I had no other alternative than just to forget about it.

Then I was unemployed for all this time. I tried to find a job here and there and everywhere. I was blacklisted. They told me, "I'll let you know," and in a week I went in to find out about the job, and they told me, "I'm sorry. We already hired somebody."

Time went by and I spent about a whole year in Puerto Rico without a job. How did I live? By doing manual work. I'd work doing tune-ups, mechanical work for cars for friends, some people I know used to give me some money. I worked in a friend of mine's restaurant serving the tables, cleaning the floor, toilets and what have you. That kept me on until I decided that I couldn't take that anymore. My wife and my family couldn't take it any more. I just couldn't find a job. Life was terribly miserable. Then we decided to come to the States.

We didn't go back to New York. We came to another part of the country. Here it took me about 6 or 8, about 7 months to find a job which had nothing to do with my field because I couldn't find it in my field. Right in this particular area they discriminate against Latin people and Black people. Even though I'm light-skinned, when you fill out an application and you put down you were born in X town in Puerto Rico and they figure that you are a dummy. You're stupid. You're nothing. Then I decided to put New York as my birthplace since my English was not that bad. My accent is more New Yorker than Puerto Rican. I used that as an excuse, as a gimmick. I said I was born in New York. And then I changed my name. Instead of X I put Y. But I translated into English the meaning of my name from Spanish to make it sound American-like. And then for the number of children I just put down none. Finally, I got a job.

Somehow you just can't help these things, talking and discussing politics. And soon they discovered that I was anti-imperialist, anti-capitalism, I was against exploitation of man by man. I started calling the attention of many of



**Moshe Dayan, 1915-1981**

## "A Man of the Land"

the workers there about exploitation. But I was doing this as far as I could. It was in a nice, quiet way. But they always find out. There's always someone that tells. So, I lost that job, again.

To make the story short, since I've been in this part of the country, I've lost about 3 jobs already. At this present moment I'm unemployed and living a real miserable life in this "land of plenty."

Let me continue about some of the instances of repression and violation of people's civil rights. While living in this part of this country, the United States, I felt it was my duty to make all kinds of propaganda in favor of the independence of Puerto Rico. I decided to write down slogans in certain parts of the city or the town in certain strategic areas, to write down slogans on the walls in reference to the independence of Puerto Rico. As I was doing one of these tasks all by myself in this particular area, the police caught me spraying the slogans on the wall. The slogan that I was writing said, "Free Puerto Rico Now" and then in Spanish, "Libertad para Puerto Rico Ahora". The policeman caught me and arrested me. He charged me on the ordinance of defacing public property. I was arrested. I was handcuffed, taken to the police station, booked. I was put in a detention cell. It was actually a bathroom. I would say it was about 5' by 6' and 8' high, a very small room. Right there I was with 6 other persons. They were mostly Black people. They were there, arrested for robbery, assault, shoplifting, and one of them was there because he shot a police officer.

I refused to give my name, my address. I asked to have Legal Aid. I wanted to have a lawyer to represent me, orient me about the law. They just

kept me there all this time and they told me, "If you don't give us your name and your address, we can't continue the proceedings. You have to stay there." This happened about 10:00 in the evening. About 6:00 in the morning—people were coming in and out of this small room with just one toilet and that was it, people were coming in and out while I was staying there all this time—I just couldn't take it any more. I kept asking them to get me a lawyer. They never got me one. Because I believed the garbage that they say, that you have the freedom to maintain yourself in silence until you get a lawyer to defend you and all this garbage. I thought that it was for real. Then I realized that it was all garbage. I decided to give them my name and my address. They took me to another place. I was asked to take all my clothing off. I was bare naked. This officer or guard, whatever, in the jailhouse, he searched me. He searched me through my hair, my ears, my mouth, opened my buttocks and with a glove he searched my anus, in between my testicles, what have you, my toes. Then I was told to dress again and I was taken to another room. Before that I was photographed. I was fingerprinted twice; one was for the local police, another one was for the FBI. All that. It's unbelievable in this so-called free country.

... At the trial I pleaded No Contest to avoid any more embarrassment or punishment to my wife and family. I was fined \$125.00 and that was during the time I was unemployed. I had to borrow the money from friends; sold a few of my belongings to gather the money. The Salvation Army was my sponsor. They were willing to sponsor me until I paid the fine. But then they told me that I had to pay them \$10.00 a

month as a fee, as a charge, a so-called contribution. So that's when I decided to sell a few things, borrow from friends to pay the fine in full so I didn't have to pay the Salvation Army. They're supposed to help you. They're terrible people, too, terrible people. I always had the impression that they were out to help people and that is not so. They're all out to make money for themselves. That's another saga, things that you have to learn in this system.

After that experience I spent about 6 months in this particular area here in the United States...

Then I decided to go back to Puerto Rico hoping that everything was cool and everything was forgotten...

While I was there in Puerto Rico the second time I continued my struggle but in a very quiet way, in a clandestine way. Meanwhile I discovered how cruel, how terrible this government of Puerto Rico (is), the police, how brutal they were. They seem to be living in the early 1700s. It is very hard to explain. During that period of time I was there, the last time, very good friends of mine, very serious and dedicated people were also arrested with fabricated cases. A young man who was a barber by profession and this other young man, he was a musician. The barber was called Felix. The young man is married, he's got a child, a very young wife, a man dedicated to his job, to his profession, a very good friend and a good patriot. He was arrested by the police. And so was the other young man by the name of Jorge, a dedicated man and a good musician, also dedicated to the struggle of the liberation of Puerto Rico. This other girl which I never met but I heard about, Rita, they were (all) arrested for a fabricated case for assaulting or stick-

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## Support!

The following is a small part of the list of individuals and organizations who sent telegrams to denounce the government attack on the speaking tour:

Catholic Worker House, Detroit  
 Chokwe Lumumba, Detroit  
 Eleventh Hour Battalion, San Francisco  
 Progressive Student Alliance, Kent State University  
 39 Immigrant workers, Houston  
 28 people after a play by a Guatemalan theatre group, Houston  
 University of Wisconsin, Madison, Student Government  
 L.A. Feminist Women's Health Center  
 Archie Fire Lame Deer, spiritual advisor to Leonard Peltier  
 Iranian Students Organization, Supporters of PEYKAR, University of Oklahoma  
 Eugene Boyle, founder of Catholic Committee for Social Justice\*  
 Dick Gregory  
 Harvard Peace Alliance, Harvard Univ.  
 Palestinian Human Rights Committee, Chicago  
 240 garment workers and people from the South Bronx, New York City  
 National Lawyers Guild, Seattle chapter executive committee  
 Daniel Berrigan  
 Students Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador, student task force of CISPES at the University of Washington, Seattle  
 Triad Citizens Concerned About El Salvador, Greensboro, NC  
 Central American Solidarity Committee, Dayton, Ohio  
 Central American Students for Peace, American University, Washington, D.C.  
 Committee for Justice for El Salvador, Tampa, Florida

The following is a partial list of local co-sponsors for the El Salvador tour:

Stephen Goldstein, President, San Francisco Art Institute\*  
 Laura Brown, Director, Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center  
 Eleventh Hour Battalion, San Francisco Bay Area  
 Jim Garcia, Public Affairs Consultant, San Francisco  
 Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft (BAARD)  
 People's College, Chicago  
 Departments of History, Philosophy and Foreign Languages, Central State College, Ohio  
 Theodore Newcomb, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Founder, Institute of Sociological Research  
 Allan Wald, Professor of English, UMAA  
 Phil Carroll, Ann Arbor  
 Maria Guardiania, Director, Senior Citizens Center of Latin American Social & Economic Development\*  
 Rod Reinhart, Mobilization for Survival,\* Detroit  
 Effie Ambler, Department of History, Wayne State University, Detroit  
 Resist, Kalamazoo  
 Tom Weisskopf, Department of Economics, UMAA  
 John Warner, Randy Schwartz, Harry Reichert, Department of Math, Washtenaw College, Michigan  
 Professor Steven Boggs, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii  
 Washington University Social Action Collective, St. Louis  
 Head of Latin American Solidarity Committee, Washington University, St. Louis  
 Father John Laidl, St. Louis

(\* Organizations listed for identification purposes only)

## El Salvador

Continued from page 6

bear on the two Salvadoran immigrants and their two comrades, Baker's statement was undoubtedly the product of genuine frustration and shock, as he saw their maneuvers to keep the Salvadorans jailed swept aside. What there was an endless supply of, (never included in government accounting) was the fury and growing awareness of thousands around the country as they learned of this vicious attack. In the San Francisco Mission District, a couple of RW co-conspirators learned of the events and promptly set off, returning a few hours later with two hundred dollars in contributions from among immigrant workers.

Some other people in the Mission District have assembled and sent off packets of information on all these events to Salvadoran support groups in West Germany.

Significant support came from better-off strata as well. In Wheaton, Illinois, a white suburb of Chicago which is billed as the evangelical capital of America, religious-affiliated forces sent telegrams and contributions and then requested that the tour come through there, stating that they wanted to "raise the consciousness" of middle-class people.

Harvard has been a focus of attack and counter-attack on the tour. In the midst of the controversy around the arrests, as many in the area sent telegrams, the Harvard administration moved to deny the tour access to a campus building. That same day 6 groups held a press conference on the campus: the RCYB, the Harvard-Radcliffe Peace Alliance, Committee on Central America, South Africa Solidarity Committee, the Democratic Club and the Tufts Political Action Committee. They denounced the attempts to thwart the tour and deport the revolutionaries to "the hands of the ruling junta" and stated their intentions to see the tour through.

### Why This Tour

The government's attack on the tour

gave rise to outrage, and to struggle and controversy as well. Why had the bourgeoisie attacked *this* tour, and why so viciously? A response by a group of immigrant workers in Houston gives a glimpse of the answer. A co-conspirator placed articles from the RW on red cardboard and went out with a friend, getting 39 signatures of immigrant workers on a statement which read, "We will not tolerate this outrageous robbery from the international proletariat. We demand freedom for these fighting comrades in Oklahoma." At the heart of the tour is its internationalism. El Salvador is a country seething with revolutionary unrest against U.S. imperialism, torn by the intrigues of both superpowers. The tour's analysis of this situation from the standpoint of those determined to carry through the struggle to completely overthrow all the imperialists offers vital lessons to people everywhere. It is this that the U.S. authorities are seeking to prevent through their attack, exposing as it does their precious bourgeois logic that the U.S. may be bad, but revolution means Soviet domination.

But the arrests themselves have widely raised these very questions. While the dangers in the situation are real enough, also real are the opportunities to expose the imperialists and force them to back off their threats and to carry on the tour on a far broader and deeper basis than before. The U.S. imperialists in particular are in an increasingly vulnerable position in Central America. They are extremely isolated and face a driving necessity to try and stabilize that turbulent area as part of tightening their war bloc and containing revolution. This vulnerability has a lot to do with why they were forced to retreat when the counter-attack mounted against them. At the same time, this very vulnerability also drives them to attack even more fiercely, in particular those who would further arouse public opinion against their positions.

### CP Role

Many of these questions were particularly sharp within the ranks of the existing movement around El Salvador. In some places, revisionist and some social-democratic forces around this

# IEL SALVADOR!

## National Speaking Tour



### THE PEOPLE

What are the tasks confronting the masses of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation?

### IMPERIALISM

What is the U.S. doing there and why? The Soviets (and the Cubans)?

### WAR AND REVOLUTION

How does all this relate to what's shaping up worldwide?

Nationally sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. For more information write: RCYB, Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690

### Tour Schedule

- October 28**  
 Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Memorial Student Union Tripp Commons Room, 7 p.m.
- October 27**  
 Madison, Wisconsin
- October 29**  
 Chicago, Illinois: Unitarian Church (near University of Chicago campus) 5650 S. Woodlawn, 7:30 p.m.  
 Columbia College, 600 S. Michigan, Room 323, 1:30 p.m.
- October 30**  
 Chicago
- November 1**  
 Detroit, Michigan: LASED Community Center, 4300 W. Vernor, 2:00 p.m.  
 Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, Michigan Union, Assembly Hall, 7:30 p.m.
- November 2**  
 Michigan
- November 3**  
 Wilberforce, Ohio: Central State University, Weley Auditorium, Noon  
 Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Law Building, 7 p.m.
- November 5-6**  
 Ohio

### Further Dates & Places To Be Announced

This is only very partial; not only was there disruption requiring rescheduling, but new possibilities are opening up from around the country.

movement went to the lengths of standing alongside people who were trying to gather support to free the speaking tour and telling everyone that these "were not official representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)." How true—another case of innocent as charged. For this tour will be speaking to a vital international question: how the U.S. imperialists—and their Soviet counterparts as well—must be driven completely out by the mass revolutionary struggle, a position opposed by all the various wings of the leadership of the FDR. And as the government's attack came down on the speaking tour, the true colors of these forces were displayed more prominently. Members of the FDR in the San Francisco Mission District argued that once the Salvadorans were in the hands of the Migra, there was nothing that could be done—and besides, if these guys were true revolutionaries they shouldn't be afraid to die. In other words, let the

bourgeoisie kill them—and more, let the government smash this revolutionary line which is such a threat to the revisionism with which they pervert much of the excellent popular sentiment against the U.S.'s El Salvador maneuverings.

A number of people active in this El Salvador movement in the U.S. eagerly took up the fight to free the speaking tour, and many remarked that they had long been thinking about whether the source of the oppression of the Salvadoran people was a particular (Reagan) policy or a whole imperialist system and just what that means, whether the Soviets could be counted on to aid that struggle, and many other points which revisionist influence for too long has swept under the rug. These are questions that the tour will address head-on.

### No Safe Turf in Tulsa

The story of the arrests hit the front pages of the major newspapers in  
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## Tribunal

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ing up a Wells Fargo truck with food stamps and millions of dollars.

Just previous to that they assassinated these two young men at Cerro Maravilla. You probably heard about the case, I'm referring to Arnaldo Doris Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, two young independentistas. They were assassinated by the police with the knowledge of the government, previously prepared and an actual entrapment. This, of course, would take more details to explain and I just can't simply go into this because it will prolong this taping which I think is already too long, taking too much of your people's time. Also, I'd like to mention the murder of a compañero, Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal, who was assassinated in the federal penitentiary in Tallahassee, Florida, not too long ago. Also I'd like to mention the assassination by the police of this woman by the name of Marileña Avaljina Villanueva, a woman who was trying to protect her home and the police came to evict her because they were living in a land lot that was invaded or taken over by all the people in the community. They picked this particular family to serve as an example. She stood before the police to defend her right to a piece of land and she was assassinated by the police.

I don't want to go into other compañeros, camaradas, Puerto Rican patriots, that are in jail now just for the simple reason of struggling to liberate our Puerto Rico. All these people that are in jail now I think they are there to replace our national heroes that spent more than 25 years in federal penitentiaries. I'm referring to Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel-Miranda. I'm afraid that due to this fascist government that we have now in this country, the repression is going to continue even further. This is one of the reasons why I cannot appear in person in this tribunal and bring out all the things that I have said, because I'm 99% sure that there is going to be more repression of the Puerto Rican people and the American people also and people all over the world because the imperialists are in a desperate moment and when the imperialists are in a desperate state they do cruel and the most terrible things. They tend to go back to the barbarian times. We have to be extremely careful in what we're doing in our struggle, not only for the independence of Puerto Rico, the political and economic independence of Puerto Rico, but the economic and political independence of all countries in the world. We must be extremely careful because this government that we have now, like I said before, they're

## El Salvador

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Tulsa. There were many in that area who perceived what was actually going on and stepped forward to fight for the release of the tour. Forces who took part in some way included revolutionary Black nationalists, ACLU lawyers, people from the Catholic left and others active in the '60s.

Local authorities leaned on supporters, including some who came into the area. There was blatant surveillance, etc. Two of the state's major newspapers, the *Tulsa World* and the *Daily Oklahoman*, reported that the tour members were traveling in a car "registered to a member of 'Prairie Fire' when that vehicle was stopped near the Oklahoma/Missouri border. 'Prairie Fire' was described as an 'above ground' association of 'Weatherman', a well-known radical group." This story is a complete fabrication and an attempt to wave around the old "terrorist" label. This has become an all-too-familiar tactic employed by the media defenders of history's all-time biggest terrorists, the U.S. imperialists.

As the battle in the courts has progressed, the government has ever more ridiculously tried to maintain the courtroom facade of this being a basically typical case of smuggling aliens across

fascists. They are worse than Hitler and Mussolini put together and again we have to be extremely careful. This is why at the beginning of the testimony I called you people courageous and you are courageous, sacrificing your existence to bring out all these cruel things that this system is doing at this stage of life on this planet....

Ladies and gentlemen of this tribunal, what you have heard in my testimony is practically nothing compared to other things that I could be telling you about the discrimination, exploitation and other abuses against the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico as well as here in the United States. Before I finish this tape, this recording, I would like to have the opportunity to read to you an article that was written by a young woman who is very close to me. This young woman was at a university somewhere here in the United States and she had access to a newspaper, a university newspaper and she wrote an article after some people gave a talk there about the island of Vieques which is also a municipality of the government of Puerto Rico.... I hope you bear with me these few minutes because I've been saving this article for all this time. I have made copies of it and have spread it all over the place where I'm living now, in this region, this part of the United States....

The article is entitled "Navy Bombings Threaten Island Residents." "The United States Navy is endangering the lives of 9,000 people with daily training exercises that take place on the small Puerto Rican island of Vieques according to two residents of the island, Carlos Zenon and Nelson Delgado. These maneuvers which include practice bombings have taken place for over 30 years. They will, according to the Navy, continue in the future despite the opposition of the island's inhabitants. In a slide show called *Vieques: Target for United States Bombs*, Zenon, who is the president of the United Vieques Fishermen, and Delgado charged that the Navy activities are disrupting the lives of the islanders and destroying the island itself. Since 1941 the Navy has expropriated more than 72% of the island. This has forced the Viequesens to either leave the island or move to crowded civilian areas. Zenon and Delgado maintain that the bombing practices cause unstable social and economic conditions in the Viequesens' lives. Evidence of this is the fact that over 65% of the people are unemployed. A great many of the island's inhabitants depend on the fishing industry. But the inaccurate notification by the Navy of daily bombing plans makes it difficult for the fishermen to avoid targeted areas."

The article continues, "Expensive fishing nets held by ropes and clearly marked with buoys are frequently cut off by careless Navy boats. This leads to the loss of nets, food and ultimately

to the livelihood of the islanders. It can also cause the fishing traps to fall to the ocean floor. Last year 131 traps were cut off, resulting in the death of 5,000 pounds of fish, said Zenon. Fish are also killed in large numbers by explosions detonated by the Navy. Low-flying aircraft practice bombing areas of the island, sometimes in civilian areas. Live ammunition are discovered across the island. In a one-month period 2100 tons of live ammunition were found on the island. Many Viequesens have been killed or maimed when they stumble on the ammunition about the island. This creates terrifying psychological effects on the 9,000 people cramped in this 13 square mile island. Bombings cause irreparable damage to the coral reef, bays, and the beaches and fresh water lagoons. Zenon and Delgado listed the main damages caused by the bombings: Some species are found in danger of extinction; the destruction of sea turtles; cattle are being used as targets; and the loss of richly vegetated land. They estimated that 50 to 70 cattle were killed last year by 2000-ton bombs. The United Vieques Fishermen have joined together several times since February. With a flotilla of about 40 small boats they successfully halted the United States Navy operation called Springboard. Springboard, according to the speakers, consists of the Navy renting coastal waters to nations such as Australia, Argentina and Brazil. For \$1,200 an hour they can practice maneuvers and play war games. The Vieques people get none of the money. The present governor of the island, Carlos Romero Barcelo, has filed a suit in federal court requesting an injunction to stop all maneuvers in Vieques." Let me add that after this the suit was dropped. They just didn't pay any attention to this puppet. The federal court, the Boston Circuit Federal Court, just ignored it. The article continues: "He has written to President Jimmy Carter for his support. The fishermen have also filed suit against the United States Navy asking for Vieques to be demilitarized and all land returned to the people. They also have asked for \$100 million in damages"—this, of course, never happened—"A document was discovered that exposed Navy propaganda and influence begun after the start of the court case which Zenon obtained from undisclosed sources. The document titled *Vieques Community Action Plan* revealed the Navy's intention to fill the airwaves with its propaganda about new activities that were going to begin being organized on the island, a list of activities such as organized sports activities for the Viequesens, mobile medical and dental assistance and providing new jobs. According to Zenon these activities do not work to gain the people's favor. The same document shows that the Navy had a set of procedures to threaten the public and to blackmail the

governor. Procedures such as canceling cattle-grazing permits... and investigating the funding for the Vieques Fishing Association with the intent of repossessing group-owned boats were also additional Navy tactics. The Navy planned to blackmail the governor, according to the document, by pointing out to him that if the Navy does not have ground tactics in Puerto Rico, then statehood is not justified. The governor has long been a staunch advocate of Puerto Rican statehood. This revelation has infuriated not only the Viequesens people but thousands of Puerto Ricans on the island who joined together in solidarity to eject the Navy from Vieques." That is the end of the article.

Ladies and gentlemen of this tribunal, the testimony that you just heard is not all of it, it's only a small fraction of my experiences. Before I close this testimony I would like to give permission to all progressive publications to publish all of the contents of this testimony or fractions of it.

And now to end this recording, I would like to give my respect to this tribunal and I would like to have the opportunity to express my solidarity and my affections, but please allow me to do it in Spanish. This is my natural language in which I can express my feelings in a natural manner.

¡Qué viva los tribunales proletarios populares sobre crímenes de guerra del imperialismo yanqui! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores de Vieques! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores de todo Puerto Rico! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores de los puertorriqueños en los Estados Unidos! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores del pueblo de El Salvador! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores mexicanos en los Estados Unidos! ¡Qué viva el pueblo patriota y luchadores de todo Centroamérica y América del Sur! ¡Qué vivan todos los pueblos del mundo!\*

Thank you, thank you very much. Today is the 28th day of September of the year 1981, somewhere in the United States of America. □

\* Long live the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against Yankee imperialism! Long live the patriotic and fighting people of Vieques! Long live the patriotic and fighting people of all Puerto Rico! Long live the patriotic and fighting Puerto Ricans in the U.S.! Long live the patriotic and fighting people of El Salvador! Long live the patriotic and fighting people of Nicaragua! Long live the patriotic and fighting Mexican people in the U.S.! Long live the patriotic and fighting people of all Central America and South America! Long live the peoples of the whole world!

the country (with maybe a "few unusual features" on the side) in order to obscure the nature of their attack on the tour. At the same time, what they are actually up to has come out in a number of ways. On Monday, Oct. 19, the judge lowered the bail to \$7,500 for the translator and to \$2,500 for the tour facilitator, but then imposed certain conditions if they were released on bail. First he asked where they would go if they were bailed out, clearly concerned about whether they would continue with the tour. At that point he ruled that, were they to be bailed out, they would have to agree to being restricted to northeastern Oklahoma or the district around their home towns.

The following day, in a preliminary hearing on the charges being brought against them, the question of this outrageous restriction was again raised by the defense attorneys. Another judge, this one attempting to appear much more cooperative, noted that he was aware that the two were on a speaking tour and that this was just fine with him. If you want to speak in Chicago this or that day, he said, that's just fine—all you have to do is provide the court with official proof of where you will be speaking and when, and how to get in touch with you at each location. The only reason he wanted this, claimed the judge, is so that the court would be able to find them; after all, he added,

you might end up in jail in some other city. At this point the U.S. Attorney, Baker, couldn't help breaking out in laughter.

This not so subtle attempt to have themselves appointed supervisors of the speaking tour, able to dictate every move—and determine that the conditions have been "violated" at their discretion—only reveals more clearly that the government's aim here is to prevent this tour with its proletarian internationalist message from taking place, and to keep up their attacks on the two Salvadoran revolutionaries and the other tour participants through the various channels available to them. They have already scheduled a court date for the Salvadorans in early November, in the midst of the tour. At another point in the hearing, when he thought that things might not be going his way, U.S. Attorney Baker jumped up and grabbed an item of evidence saying, look at what this tour is (he was reading from an affidavit from the University of Michigan that the tour was scheduled prior to the arrests), it's sponsored by the RCYB and its (RCYB's) purpose is (reading directly from the RCYB campus registration form) "to propagate Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Well the government certainly isn't bent out of shape about this not happening."

Baker is of course not just accidental-

ly confusing the full program of the RCYB with the particular purpose of the speaking tour. But more to the point is his unusually candid admission here of the government's willingness to use its courts and jails to repress *political activity* which it doesn't want to see happen.

The government has made its intentions—and political motives—perfectly clear. It is up to those who are determined to see that the Salvadoran revolutionaries' views are heard and are not suppressed by the imperialists' attacks to respond to these attacks, to force the government to release the translator and tour facilitator, to drop all the charges against the tour members, including all deportation proceedings against the Salvadorans, and to intensify the work to make this tour a more powerful and influential force than ever.

\*\*\*\*\*

Telegrams should be directed to: Ben Baker, U.S. Attorney, 333 West 4th St., Tulsa, OK 74354.

Funds are still urgently needed for bail and for other legal and political defense expenses. Funds are also needed to support every aspect of the tour. To send funds, and/or to co-sponsor the tour or bring it to your area, write to: RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690.



# Desperate Dilemma

Continued from page 1

of austerity and cutbacks or at least little or no expansion of the various sorts of U.S.-bloc imperialist "foreign aid." It is striking how similar both the rhetoric and the program put forward by Reagan here for the U.S. empire are to what this administration puts forward domestically: austerity and budget-cutting; cutbacks in social programs (and increases in military spending); and increasing the scope for "individual initiative" by getting all those free-loaders off their dependence on "government hand-outs." This rhetorical collection of imperialist chauvinism, capitalist clichés and generally decaying garbage is indeed nauseating. But for all Reagan's swagger, U.S. imperialism is in deep trouble and his remarks are precisely not a sign of strength but in reality an admission of weakness—an admission that they are no longer able to dole out "foreign aid" strings to the extent that their hearts desire.

The U.S. is stretched to the limit all around the world in every aspect of its activity. It faces a crisis in the global accumulation of capital, which is what imperialism is all about. During periods of expansion (as for instance during the 1960s), imperialism cannot only "afford" what they call foreign aid, but needs it. For "foreign aid" is simply another form of capital export, and interacts with private capital exports (foreign investment) to generate and protect the superprofits, control of raw materials, etc., on which imperialism lives. Capital exports by the imperialist state ("foreign aid") help provide the economic, social, political and military infrastructure (ranging from dams to schools to police and military bases) which provide the necessary environment for the extraction of surplus value and the continuation of U.S. dominance, and the whole business is one process of imperialist capital export. The crisis of capital accumulation has meant, however, that the whole process runs into internal contradictions and begins to turn back on itself. The economic crisis of the 1970s throughout the empire has meant not only that private investment has run into trouble both at home and abroad, but that state expenditures throughout the empire have turned from helping the overall expansion of capital into a drag and a hindrance to the process. Such vital expenditures cannot be ended, either domestically or overseas, but they must be cut back and applied more selectively in accordance with the political and military necessities facing imperialism. Thus these cutbacks are not a sign of strength, not of increased greediness (and even less a personal crusade of Reagan's based on his conservative philosophy), but a sign of the crisis of U.S. imperialism and the necessities it imposes.

The imperialists would love to be in a position to expand foreign aid, because, first, this would mean they were in an expansionary period. Even now they need to expand it, but they cannot. This is because they need it more than ever for political purposes, to prop up their tottering empire. The fundamental crisis of capital accumulation forces them toward war for the redivision of the world, for imperialism has run up against the limits of *this* division of the world and it is only through changing it that new conditions of profitability and accumulation can be created. This in turn necessitates not only greater military expenditures, but greater use of political-military-strategic considerations with regard to economic "aid." Both military and economic "aid" must be found for a country like El Salvador, even though no immediate economic benefit flows back to the U.S. The same is true, in varying degrees, in country after country around the world, from Egypt to Somalia to Bangladesh. The fact that Egypt is the largest recipient of U.S. "foreign aid" this year is less a sign that the imperialists are paving the way for economic expansion there than it is of its political and strategic importance in a vital area of imperialist contention.

This dual necessity—on the one hand to squeeze the countries they dominate

harder, on the other to prop them up—explains much of the terms of the debate around the "North-South" question in imperialist circles. (The North/South terminology is often used to refer to the differentiation of the highly industrialized countries of both U.S. and Soviet blocs, located mainly in the northern hemisphere, and the underdeveloped countries found predominantly in the southern hemisphere.) Thus while Reagan obviously puts forward the hard-line imperialist position, the Cancun conference itself has its origins in a "soft" or liberal, but equally imperialist, position. This conference is a result of the recommendations of a commission on international development headed by former Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany (hence usually called the Brandt Commission), which included representatives from several U.S.-bloc imperialist countries as well as several comprador representatives of the "South," and which painted an extremely gloomy picture of the global future from which it's worth quoting:

"Current trends point to a sombre future for the world economy and international relations. A painful outlook for the poorer countries with no end to poverty and hunger; continuing world stagnation combined with inflation; international monetary disorder; mounting debts and deficits; protectionism; major tensions between countries competing for energy, food and raw materials; growing world population and more unemployment in North and South; increasing threats to the environment and the international commons through deforestation and desertification, overfishing and overgrazing, the pollution of air and water. And overshadowing everything the menacing arms race.

"For these trends to continue is dangerous enough, but they can easily worsen... The 1980s could witness even greater catastrophes than the 1930s." (*North-South: A Program for Survival. The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues Under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt*, pp. 46-47.) Supposedly these dangers can be avoided by adopting various reforms proposed by the commission, which were to be launched through a "summit of world leaders." The idea for the conference was taken up by President Lopez Portillo of Mexico and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria, with the latter pushing for a "global Marshall plan" to deal with North/South differences.

This contradiction in tactics among the imperialists reflects real underlying material contradictions which they must deal with but are unable to resolve. First, there is the contradiction referred to above, between their need to squeeze the countries under their domination harder and the need to prop them up. Second, there are contradictions among the U.S.-bloc imperialists themselves, who do not cease their contention with each other even as they primarily collude in preparation for war with the Soviet bloc. With the uneven development necessitated by capitalism, many of the U.S.-bloc imperialists show a relatively greater dynamism than the U.S., and expand in various areas of the "third world" through the usual forms of capital export—governmental "foreign aid" and private loans and investment. Thus, for instance, Japan is not only the major source of private investment in many of the countries of southeast Asia, but by 1978 was supplying 70-80% of the "foreign aid" received by Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore, and 40% of that going to Indonesia and the Philippines. West Germany, to take another example, has taken the lead in providing aid to shore up the regime in Turkey over the past three years. Now on the one hand this represents a certain division of labor within the bloc, with others doing what the U.S. cannot, but all within the context of cooperation within the U.S. bloc against the Soviet bloc. But there is also a very real element of inter-imperialist contention within the bloc, with each power striving to advance its own imperialist interests at the expense of the

Cacus was a Roman mythological figure who stole oxen by dragging them backwards into his den so that the footprints made it appear they had gone out from there. After quoting Luther's account of the story, Marx exclaims, "an excellent picture, it fits the capitalist in general, who pretends that what he has taken from others and brought into his den emanates from him, and by causing it to go backwards, he gives it the semblance of having come from his den."



Recent Newsweek cover illustration on the Cancun Summit, put in its proper perspective.

others. (For more on this topic, see "Pink Panther Hunts in El Salvador," *RW* No. 121, 9/11/81, on the French moves in relation to that country.) The same is true with regard to "soft line" pronouncements about "development assistance" by junior imperialists of the U.S. bloc: on the one hand they are almost a "good cop/bad cop" routine among the imperialists designed to set the limits of permissible debate and make it appear that whatever the South is "given" is a concession wrung out of the "bad imperialists" by the "good imperialists." But on the other hand these debates are also an arena for contention among the imperialists, as each seeks both to expand its own sphere of influence at the others' expense, and to influence the overall direction of the bloc and its movement toward war in the way most advantageous to itself.

Thirdly, there are certain contradictions between the comprador bourgeoisie in the countries under imperialist domination, and their imperialist masters. The imperialists must be concerned with the overall state of their empire, and this may be in contradiction to the interests of particular compradors in particular countries, even though these compradors have a total lackey-like dependence on imperialism. In addition, these lackeys face the political necessity of trying to appear independent of imperialism. Thus if they simply and obviously obey U.S. calls to tighten up and bear down on the people harder, this will expose them nakedly in the eyes of the masses and touch off a tremendous wave of resistance against them. Hence their necessity to appear to resist U.S. demands and to present harsher measures as the result of "independent action" or "the best result that could be gotten." Yet even some of their supposed "militant stances" expose their comprador nature as thoroughly as if they'd kissed Reagan's foot. Thus President Shagari of Nigeria could be heard

at the opening session in Cancun saying, in rebuttal to some U.S. remark: "It's all very well to talk about giving us lessons in how to fish, but what if we have no fishing hooks or nets?" This sort of "militant" begging from the imperialists is a reflection of the comprador's position in the relations of production of imperialism and is, among other things, a plea for more booty to fall his way.

Even these contradictions with their own compradors offer great problems for the U.S., for the imperialists' need to enforce harsh measures undermines the compradors. But harsher measures are what lie ahead. Despite contradictions, maneuvers and supposed concessions that may arise out of this or other conferences, the "hard line" which Reagan enunciates is the line that not only the U.S. but its whole bloc *must* try to enforce. The main aspects of imperialist relations with the "third world" at present are political/military consolidation in preparation for war and intensified exploitation. This is not because the imperialist powers "want war," but because they cannot expand economically in the way they need to in order to maintain imperialist "health," and *must* go to war for a redivision of the world.

Because the U.S. is in the position of having to bear down hard, while at the same time desperately needing *not* to touch off mass struggles and revolts within its empire, but rather needing to consolidate its bloc and rally it round an anti-Soviet banner—because of all this the U.S. has seen possibilities of gaining little and losing a lot through this "North/South" conference, and has dragged its feet every inch of the way. The final list of participants—including only 14 countries from the "South"—appears to have been selected with extreme care. On the one hand it is safely packed with U.S. puppets, such as Marcos of the Philippines or

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## Defeatism

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ALP (Australian Labor Party—RW) exposure on the Pine Gap military base) and we have seen the use of colonial hangovers in our constitution (that the Governor General, a government appointee that is approved by the Queen of England, is formally head of the armed forces, etc.) to overthrow an elected Government by a semi-fascist coup. But you say that because Australia is an "imperialist" country (which is true, but to lump us with the U.S. or Soviet Union is again a one-sided look at reality) and so almost by definition it seems the struggle against U.S. interference in our affairs and for extension of democratic rights is some sort of plot by our own monopoly capitalists to deceive the people. There is a trend in Australia to liquidate socialism and communism in the name of the "independence struggle". It is true that by and large our independence was achieved in 1901 with Federation. Hence the main emphasis here must be on socialism. But to completely negate the independence struggle here would not be right because we are not a completely independent country.

(e) It seems that you want to put the "2 reliable currents" on a par, whereas Mao clearly thought that for the time being at least the contradictions were

focused in Asia, Africa and Latin America (the third world). The Turkish article makes this point too.

(f) On the relationship between the national and class struggles throughout the world. You have opposed the trend by the Chinese revisionists to merge these struggles into one national struggle (in the 2nd world and the 3rd world) and you have opposed the trend by the Hoxhaites to merge these struggles into one class struggle where they negate the 2 stages in the developing countries. But I feel your response has been to make a too rigid demarcation between "imperialist" and "developing countries." To make progress on this it would seem necessary to look more concretely at the actual situation in various countries of the world. Your line of having nothing to do with American independence in America seems correct for your country but I have strong reservations about imposing such a line onto the Australian situation, as explained in (d).

(g) So far it may appear to you that I am uncritically going along with the REM version of the "3 worlds" theory. What I am actually trying to say is that I think you have not refuted the REM version and that there are gaps in your view of the world. My own understanding at this stage is that both concepts of the 3 worlds and the 2 blocs are helpful together in trying to understand the world and that it would be a mistake to stress one at the expense of the other. The world is complicated and doesn't

really fit into the straightjacket of either theory.

(h) The "3 worlds" as a "great strategic theory" is wrong (i.e., at best it may point to temporary allies in some governments, not strategic long-term "friends"). Also the view that is supported by REM that both "The peoples and countries (meaning governments) of the Third World are the main force in the fight against imperialism and particularly against the superpowers" is wrong. Some 3rd world governments are an unreliable ally against imperialism (e.g. Qaddafi as mentioned in (a) above) while only the people in the developing countries and the proletariat in the developed countries represent reliable revolutionary forces. But at present the people of the Third World are the main force; this was Mao's position. Supporting the growing trend in the 1970s and 1980s for medium and small countries to show independence from the 2 Superpowers (i.e. supporting their democratic rights against Superpower control and bullying) does not necessarily lead to negation of revolution in these countries.

(i) Finally, you have raised the "cutting edge question" of what attitude to take to "defence of the fatherland" in an inter-imperialist war. Certainly a very important question. I am not convinced that you have yet made a sufficiently concrete analysis of all the similarities and differences between WW1 and WW3. E.g., it could be that inter-

imperialist war is the main aspect of WW3 but that just national wars (e.g. of annexed former imperialist countries) will play a much more significant part during WW3. Lenin opposed "defend the fatherland" in Belgium at the start of WW1 but supported it after Belgium was annexed by Germany.

The mass movement developing in Britain (e.g. within the British Labour Party with their "unilateral disarmament") and Europe (1/4 million marched in West Germany on Sun. 11th Oct.) has a strong streak of pacifism in it (although the recent upheavals in Britain were far more revolutionary). It is impossible to predict the course of events in WW3. But the "3 worlds" scenario that the main danger is that the Soviet Union will annex large parts of Western Europe does not sound at all crazy to me. In such a case it would surely be correct to support national movements against the Soviet occupation forces.

None of all the above is all that definite but it gives you some idea at least of some of the ideas we are throwing around here. If you want to print extracts of this letter as part of your "Sooner or Later" debate then feel free. The debate seems rather one-sided so far; again, to refute the Chinese revisionists is one thing, to refute the Chinese policy of 1971-76 is another.

Fraternally,  
A.C.

## Carl Harp

Continued from page 8

clenched fist, and another applauded and yelled, "Right on! Give 'em some truth!" "That's what it's all about!" replied Bosch. The coroner, still dumbfounded, didn't even bother to call for order. Those who consider themselves masters at breaking the resistance of the oppressed, who imagine that none can withstand their threats and terror, suddenly found themselves set up and knocked down.

Sue Harp, Carl's widow, was the last to testify. The state's game plan had been that after Bosch's testimony, anything she said would be discredited. Instead, the opposite happened; Bosch's testimony strengthened and reinforced what she had to say. In reply to the state's attempts to use small

fragments of Carl's writings out of context to discredit him, Sue read in full a letter he wrote on September 5, the day of his murder. In it, Carl spoke again of the plots of the prison administration on his life, and he expressed both his love for his wife and his determination not to back down in the face of the threats he was facing.

By the time Sue finished reading the letter, the state's case against Carl Harp had been demolished. The jury's verdict, already a foregone conclusion, came in less than 35 minutes. But far from being the decisive rebuke it was intended to be, it was only spitting in the wind.

The case of Carl Harp's murder is still far from being closed. Many people, on the inside of the prison and the outside, continue to investigate the murder and are determined that the truth be exposed. A friend of Carl's in California has offered a \$1000 reward

for information about the murder. Just after the inquest closed, two people from the Criminal Justice Staff of the United Church of Christ in New York arrived in Walla Walla to do their own investigation into the circumstances surrounding the killing, and there is a good chance they will publicly announce their findings in the next several weeks. Others have gone to the *Seattle Times* to confront Erik Lacity, a reactionary columnist who has openly been whipping up support for Carl's murder, branding Carl a "murderer" and an "animal" in his column. At the meeting, Lacity denied what he had already told Sue Harp, that these columns were written on instructions from *Times* editors; apparently this fact was a little too revealing of the forces at work in this murder.

At the same time that outrage over the murder of Carl continues to mount, a few forces have been immobilized and

others have outright refused to take a stand on the murder in the face of sharp political questions which this murder concentrates, as well as the confusion being sown by the prison administration and the bourgeois media. But as events are showing, these political questions and the demands they place on those who are aware of the situation are not something that can be evaded or ignored.

Memorials to Carl are planned for October 24, and these will undoubtedly serve to focus even more the exposure of the murder and the anger it has triggered among broad sections of people. Even more importantly, they will serve to deepen the influence of Carl's revolutionary vision and example, an influence which the bourgeoisie has proved unable to stamp out and which grows with each desperate move they make. □

## Desperate Dilemma

Continued from page 16

Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia, while on the other hand there are several countries which, while definitely within the U.S. orbit, can give a certain appearance of independence, such as Yugoslavia or China (in its first attendance at an international economic conference outside the framework of the United Nations.) It is known that Cuba was denied an invitation at U.S. insistence. The U.S. has made sure to send the President himself (rather than the Secretary of State), and Reagan, despite his warm-up free-enterprise lectures, has said that he is going primarily "to listen and to learn." The conference will not even try to issue a joint communique (let alone come to any decisions), but will let President Lopez Portillo try to summarize the discussions for reporters. But the U.S. still finds not-too-subtle ways of showing who holds the whip. For example, Reagan kept all the other heads of state waiting a full 14 minutes at the start of the opening session; aides offered the excuses of "a crowded lobby" and "slow elevators," but the message was clear.

Certainly Reagan *et al.* will continue to throw their weight around at Cancun. Nonetheless, U.S. imperialism is in deep trouble. It may have orchestrated this meeting as best it could; it may be preparing to bear down viciously on the masses of people around the world; it may be preparing (along with its rival the USSR) to launch a world war of unprecedented devastation. But all this re-

## News Item . . .

The following article is reprinted as it appeared in the October 22 Chicago Sun-Times:

### California Candidate Says U.S. May Need "Good Coup"

Los Angeles (UPI)—State Sen. John Schmitz, a John Birch Society member who is running for the U.S. Senate, says a "good military coup" may be necessary if the United States wants to avoid war or internal decay.

The onetime presidential candidate, who is challenging Sen. S.I. Hayakawa's bid for re-election next year, said in a TV interview Monday night that a coup would be needed to save the country if Congress fails to enact President Reagan's economic programs.

Schmitz, who represents conservative

Orange County, said his knowledge of history and politics has convinced him "that we're getting to that stage where a military coup, or some other type of waiving of certain constitutional traditions, might be the only way that we could survive."

By way of comment, we can only offer another reprint, this one from the Opening Remarks by Bob Avakian to the 1979 Central Committee of the RCP, USA:

"The imperialists are in a lot of trouble, they're in a lot of trouble... you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility, and they're starting to talk about it more—and act on that understanding too." □

flects not strength, but weakness. Imperialism is beset with a deep structural crisis of capital accumulation, and forced to launch a war for that reason. It faces the precarious task of attempting to hold things together until it is ready to go to war. It is forced into a series of stopgap measures as crisis after crisis breaks out, yet each temporary "solu-

tion" only exacerbates the underlying contradictions, and prepares the conditions for new, and worse, crises. This conference is but another illustration of the deep dilemmas and contradictions facing U.S. imperialism. Probably the best the U.S. can hope for from it is that it doesn't make things worse for them. □



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# Cosmos

Continued from page 9

This is much too static. You get a picture here of "imperfectly adapted" life-forms on the one hand and an unchanging environment on the other, with a resolution through the gradual change (toward perfection?) of the imperfect organisms. What this view tends to negate, among other things, are qualitative leaps in the entire environment and its interaction with its various elements or parts, and the emergence of qualitatively different epochs—and here I mean "qualitative" not in the sense that dogs are qualitatively different than jackals, but in the kind of distinction between, for example, the entire environment of the earth, including the plant and animal species, climate, geology, etc. during, say, the period of the dinosaurs, and today.

Actually, Sagan himself points out shortly later that "99% of the earth's atmosphere is of biological origin"—that is, that the rise to dominance of photosynthesizing plants transformed the atmosphere of the earth from hydrogen-rich to oxygen-rich and that this development gave rise to "a supreme crisis in the history of life, and a great many organisms, unable to cope with oxygen, perished." Here is a sharp example of "imperfect" organisms *changing* the environment qualitatively, in turn making possible the emergence of qualitatively different (and higher) forms of life, which in turn gave rise to new changes, and on and on. Sagan also refers to the other sharp breaks that have punctuated the history of earth—for example, the Cambrian explosion, a brief period (in geologic terms) during which a never-since-equalled amount of diverse species formed. But what is left out is what preceded this explosion—which many think was some form of huge destruction of the algae then suffocating the earth. Nor are things tied together to reveal that the pattern of earth so far has been one in which new leaps have been preceded by huge extinctions (mass wipe-outs of species). The extinction preceding the rise of mammals, for example, knocked out 50% of the species then existing, including the dinosaurs. But these sharp breaks are more or less just put out there, and the main coherent model that is developed is a gradualist one.

Some of the shortcomings of this overall view get concentrated in one of the more compelling graphics of the show, a sped-up cartoon review of the evolution of life from one-celled organisms up to people. What you see is a rather smooth transition from one form to the other, emphasizing the continuity between them (which indeed is an aspect of evolution). This sort of thing can be useful in arguing the case for evolution against those who do not see any basis of similarity between one species and another and who cannot imagine the possibility of transition from one-celled organisms to people. But really, the problems here outweigh the advantages. Not only does it again tend toward a view of uninterrupted progress and absolute continuity, it really doesn't *explain* evolution—in fact, I don't really think that evolution ultimately "makes sense" without an understanding of transition through rupture and destruction, and their relation to synthesis on a higher level. This has to be "given life," made concrete, to be really grasped—but such a task is far from impossible, as Sagan strikingly and powerfully demonstrates later in the series. While this is a graphic which doesn't actually appear in the text of the book, I feel that it's necessary to discuss and criticize it because *Cosmos* is principally a TV show, and the graphics, metaphors, dramatic re-inactments and reconstructions are extremely important in what actually gets across to the viewers.

My point is not to take this one episode and pretend that the problems in it mainly characterize what Sagan promotes on the conception of development. However, it does, I think, sharply concentrate what is metaphysical and—in the context of where things are at today—backward in the series. And it's extremely important to see that the

errors here are not Sagan's so much as they are an accurate reflection of the mainstream views of the scientific establishment, views which until the last ten years or so were relatively unchallenged. Darwin himself hewed to the wrong dictum that "Nature does not make leaps" (a view which some in his circle criticized at the time). This doesn't negate that Darwin was indeed one of the great scientists of all time, nor that the later proponents of Darwin's gradualistic view have taken this secondary aspect of his theory and gone out to lunch. It's only to show that what Sagan is being criticized for here has a huge basis as "received wisdom" from the (true) giants, and is very tenacious and very widespread.

One of the really important advances in the last ten years has been the development of a theory in opposition to gradualistic views of evolution—the theory of punctuated equilibria formulated by Stephen Jay Gould and Niles Eldredge (Gould is also a leading figure in the struggle to popularize science and combat the reactionary trends promoted by the bourgeoisie). This theory, much of which I found extremely helpful in understanding the shortcomings of the *Cosmos* episode in question, explicitly opposes the axiom that "Nature does not make leaps," and marshals much concrete proof and illustration to maintain instead that periods of relative stasis in species' development are punctuated by sudden leaps and breaks in which qualitatively new species emerge, and formerly dominant ones are extinguished. (This whole school of thought is richer than can be characterized here and should be studied—and critically summed up—in its own right.)

Back to *Cosmos*, however—overall, despite the problems in this (and other) episodes, Sagan promotes a much more dialectical conception of the development of the universe, especially in the later shows. This is particularly striking in the episodes "The Lives of the Stars" and "The Edge of Forever." Of all the episodes, to me these were the most breath-taking, the ones that really took off and flew. Here is where Sagan presents from many different aspects a universe in constant flux, marked by explosive change and tortuous spiral development from lower to higher levels.

### The Spiral Development of the Stars

Sagan begins with the divisibility of matter, quantitatively and qualitatively. "If you cut an atom," he says at one point, "you transmute the elements."

Then he continues: "But suppose we go farther. Atoms are made of protons, neutrons and electrons. Can we cut a proton? If we bombard protons at high energies with other elementary particles... we begin to glimpse more fundamental units hiding inside the proton." Then, following some discussion of quarks, he asks, "Are quarks the ultimate constituents of matter, or are they too composed of still smaller and *more* elementary particles? Will we ever come to an end in our understanding of the nature of matter, or is there an infinite regression into more and more fundamental particles? This is one of the great unsolved problems of science." (By the way, I believe that the whole thrust of this episode makes clear where Sagan stands on this "unsolved problem"—sometimes, his way of posing certain controversial questions should perhaps be seen as some necessity that he perceives to "not take sides" on some questions still up for sharp struggle within the scientific community as a whole.)

Then Sagan moves on to the evolution of chemical elements. Apparently, in the "first generation" of stars and galaxies following the Big Bang, the only elements in the universe were hydrogen and helium. "Might the other chemical elements have somehow evolved from hydrogen and helium?" He proposes that the synthesis of new elements takes place in the high pressures and high temperatures (tens of millions of degrees) that are common only in the insides of stars.

Then analyzing the sun as a particular example of "star life," he shows how the sun itself was born, how its current "stable" state is one of constant conversion of hydrogen into helium via huge thermonuclear reactions (with the attendant release of gamma rays), and how the very transformation

of hydrogen to helium characteristic of the sun's stable state for the last 5 billion years is itself transforming towards a different process in which other elements will be generated and come into play, in which the sun will undergo qualitatively different reactions and possess qualitatively different properties, and which will eventually result in the extinction of the sun.

But the destruction of the stars, Sagan shows, has been an important part of the spiral development of the universe. Supernova explosions, for instance, "violently eject much of their stellar mass into space. The atoms returned are, naturally, those most readily made in the thermonuclear reactions of stellar interiors: Hydrogen fuses into helium, helium into carbon, carbon into oxygen" and so on into the most complex elements. Consequently, "the nitrogen in our DNA, the calcium in our teeth, the iron in our blood, the carbon in our apple pies were made in the interiors of collapsing stars."

This is a pretty sketchy and rough summary of these richer and more challenging episodes of the series. Here the unity, struggle and transformation of opposites as the essence of all processes (e.g. the Sun), the unity between massive destruction and construction on a higher level, and the qualitative leaps in the level of differentiation and development that occur through that is powerfully brought out.

Sagan presents a model of development of the part of the universe we now know in which there have been two or three "generations" of stars, each generation ending in violent explosions and transformations giving rise to a new "generation" of a qualitatively different character, including a new chemistry (obviously, the generations here more than anywhere are really very approximate and conditional dividing lines). The point is that spirals can be ascertained in the development of the universe!

This I feel exemplifies the "dialectical side" of *Cosmos*, and Carl Sagan's materialism. And I think that numbered among the series' accomplishments should be that it does partially promote at least the raw material of a dialectical conception of development.

As stated earlier, the metaphysics in the series do not belong to Sagan alone. I would suggest that the struggle around these questions has importance beyond the *Cosmos* series, and beyond the struggle around questions of natural science generally. The gradualism and quantitative method of analysis that permeates the conventional version of Darwin's theory has had a considerable impact on the communist movement ever since its inception. Conceptions of the universe and developments in natural science have always had a profound effect on the content of philosophy, and hence ultimately politics, at every point. As Engels pointed out, with every new discovery, materialism changes its form.

The philosophical underpinnings of evolutionary gradualism are not too distant from the mechanical and very gradualist "theory of the productive forces," which was the conventional wisdom (until Lenin broke with convention) and which holds that a certain pre-ordained level of development of productive forces is necessary before society can (more or less smoothly, by implication) move to the "next stage"—and that every "pre-ordained stage" had to be accomplished before the next was undertaken. Another example might be the wrong view of revolutionary work as essentially consisting of the quantitative accumulation of forces under the revolutionary banner against the backdrop of an essentially static "environment" (even one with a "general crisis") which has a certain similarity to the view of the development of species outlined in the "One Voice in the Cosmic Fugue" episode. Negating the mutual transformation of opposites, neither can ultimately account for (and in its political manifestation, *prepare* for) sharp breaks. (This is not to say that vulgar Darwinism "caused" the philosophical and political deviations—only to point to certain links.)

### On the Question of Agnosticism

Before closing, I'd like to touch briefly on the letter in *RW* # 99, "On the Limits of Carl Sagan's Materialism."

The writer here targets Sagan's belief in an essentially orderly universe as the principal, or at least most noteworthy, manifestation of metaphysics in the series and as ultimately promoting agnosticism. I think this misses the main point, and has a certain one-sidedness to it. I would more say that there are two contradictory models of the universe at odds with each other in *Cosmos*, one more tending to materialist dialectics and the other more pulled back towards metaphysics and ultimately idealism.

One problem that I see in the writer's criticism overall is a tendency to one-sidedly emphasize chaos, randomness, etc. to the extent that I think in his/her essay the *spiral* development of the universe essentially gets lost (even if mentioned once or twice) and the overall hit you get is a universe in which there is struggle but no synthesis, circles but no spirals.

While it is critical to deepen the break with the notion of pre-ordained and/or typical motion of spirals, on the other hand there *are* after all spirals which *do* have their (particular and conditional) laws that must be discovered and acted upon (and in accordance with). In my experience it is not a huge leap from a very mechanical and pre-ordained view of development into a "doubt everything, there are no *real* laws anyway" form of agnosticism.

While the writer criticizes Sagan's agnosticism, I think there is a problem when he/she sums up that "the knowability of the real world is based neither upon an intrinsic orderliness (although relative order does exist) nor upon the experience of 'altered states,' but rather the knowability of the real world which flows from man's continuing social practice in the arenas of class struggle, economic production and scientific investigation." All *knowledge* is indeed dependent on practice; but this is not the same as *knowability*—that is, the statement cited above and the letter overall do not fully come to grips with *why* it is that the world is able to be known through practice. The world is knowable because it exists objectively, and the motion of all matter is determined by the development of its underlying unities of opposites. These contradictions actually exist and manifest themselves in the world, and through experience (direct and indirect) people are able to abstract what is *essential* about these properties. This, to me, is the meaning of "laws," and no more. And this is why Mao says in "On Practice" that "Logical knowledge is capable of grasping the development of the surrounding world in its totality, in the internal relations of all its aspects." What I take this—and specifically the word "totality"—to mean is *not* that every bit of the objective world can be accurately reflected, but that the principal essential contradictions underlying the appearance, and the overall direction of development of a process can be grasped. And this relates as well to why Mao, in the same essay, cites Lenin to the effect that correct abstractions "reflect nature more deeply, truly and *completely*" (than perception).

Part of the problem with the letter lies in the paragraph directly preceding the one cited earlier, in which the writer (correctly) says that "man does possess a significant measure of absolute truth which is compounded from relative truths," but omits the opposite—that there is absolute truth *within* relative truths, that absolute and relative truth mutually interpenetrate. If this is lost sight of, there is the danger of merely equating many truths as equally relative, of considering all practice as equally worthy, and of then tending to confound appearance with essence and to deviate towards relativism.

My point here is that in the criticism of Sagan's agnosticism, I think that some of his materialism got hit too; and that the way in which it was criticized at least strongly tends toward agnosticism itself.

In sum, I think that while the metaphysics and idealism in *Cosmos*, as well as the movement of which it is a part, must be more thoroughly criticized, I also feel that the materialism *and* dialectics of the progressive developments in natural science should be learned from and deepened, and the struggle around them more fully joined.

V.W.



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