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Poland: Mark of Imperialist Collision Course

As the state of martial law imposed by Poland's revisionist rulers continues to command front page headlines, an interesting twist has been inserted into the heightening imperialist clamor which gives some indication of the direction in which world events are heading. This direction—as envisioned by the imperialist rulers of both blocs—has been rather baldly alluded to in what has emerged as a recurrent theme in Western commentary. As former National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski flatly put it in the course of an interview in which he assessed the Polish situation: if the Polish government does not

rescind martial law, perhaps the U.S. should consider "renouncing the Yalta Agreement."

This angle of "questioning Yalta" has been picked up in a number of different ways. French President Mitterand in condemning the repression in Poland dropped the remark that it was dangerous for the U.S. and the Soviet Union "to coexist on the basis of the division of Europe 40 years ago," and likewise suggested it was time to consider "getting out of Yalta." Numerous

others have commented in one way or another on the current realities of the famous "post-war understanding" and the implications of events in Poland for this. So many, in fact, that noted *NY Times* columnist Flora Lewis last week felt compelled to sum up that events in Poland had "revived the myth of Yalta," a myth which she cried is "bad history" since, according to her,

Western acceptance of any Soviet sphere of influence in Poland or elsewhere was contingent upon the holding of "free elections" in the East European nations.

Yalta refers to the site of the last meeting between the powers allied against Germany in WW2—U.S., Britain, and the Soviet Union—at which certain agreements were made, including concerning the future of post-war Europe, Poland in particular. But all this preoccupation with Yalta is

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Draft Registration Continued

U.S. Announces: Full Speed Ahead With Call-Up Plans

On January 7, the Reagan administration announced the continuation of the draft registration program for 18-year-old males initiated by the Carter administration in 1980. This move, put off for some time, is certainly no surprise except to those who, out of naïveté or other motives, have banked on Reagan ending the draft because he expressed opposition to it during his presidential campaign. In fact, the content of the announcement — which included renewed threats of prosecution for those

failing to register after a 30 to 60-day grace period — as well as the timing of it show just how serious the U.S. imperialists are in stepping up the pace in bringing back the draft full-scale as part of their accelerating overall preparations for war.

"We live in a dangerous world," Reagan explained, citing a report he received from the Military Manpower Task Force which is captained by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. "In the event of a future threat to na-

tional safety, registration could save the United States as much as six weeks in mobilizing emergency manpower." Of course Reagan's statement did add the obligatory: "No such emergency now exists, and registration is in no way a proxy for conscription." The administration was also quick to point out that the announcement had nothing to do with the recent events around Poland, which was in fact an admission that it had everything to do with the Polish crisis. The announcement was on the

one hand a message to the Soviets as part of the U.S. actions in response to the declaration of martial law in Poland and at the same time it was an attempt to take advantage of world events to push through rapid strides toward reinstating conscription, hoping to neutralize some of the massive opposition to it in this country and also win support for it among some sections of the masses. In this way they hope to shroud the draft registration continuance in the cloak of

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Mao Defendants Battle New Attacks

The recent counter-offensive by the ruling class in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is being fought. The defendants are filing a response which sharply opposes the government's demand for an immediate court appearance by all of the defendants, including especially Bob Avakian. Failure to appear would definitely mean the government would move to add new — 5-year Bail Act — charges to those already arrayed against Bob Avakian. The defendants' response exposes the prosecution's demand as a flagrant intensification of the attack on Bob Avakian and an attempt to punish the defendants for exposing the political nature of the railroad and broadly building support for the battle to defeat

it. The ruling class has intensified its attack in order to attempt to change the terms of the battle today. (See *RW* No. 137)

The motion filed by the prosecution on December 28th demands that the defendants personally appear for the next scheduled court proceeding, currently set for January 20th. While the prosecution is pushing for January 20th, its overall demand is that the defendants be ordered to appear at the earliest possible time, either on the 20th or whenever the next court proceeding is scheduled. While the government lists a number of flimsy procedural "reasons" for their demand, what they're really up to is actually quite clear. As the defendants' motion points out, the prosecu-

tion's demand could have been raised at any time since August of 1981, when the indictment against the defendants was officially reinstated, but apparently they just now realized how "crucial" an immediate appearance by the defendants is to their case. Since 1979 it has been clearly stated by at least two judges in the case that there is absolutely no legal reason for the defendants to have to appear at any of the early non-evidentiary hearings in the case, that it would serve no legal purpose to have the defendants appear at hearings not dealing with the presentation of evidence. In addition, both judges that have presided over hearings in the case since August of 1981 have agreed that there was no violation of any law whatsoever in Bob Avakian's presence in France. Now suddenly the government has moved. While a number of questions are involved, part of the reason for this intensification of attack is clearly an effort to take the focus right now off of the issue of electronic surveillance, and all the political exposure generated by the case. In light of this, the defendants' response demands that no order for an appearance by the defendants be issued for January 20th or any other early non-evidentiary hearing in the case.

In part, the government's intensified attack is a reflection of a very pressing dilemma facing them as they prepare to ram their railroad through their courts. Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France threw a major wrench in their works, which they are now trying to figure out how to deal with in order to "legally" proceed in their attack. This was sharply illustrated in the ranting tirade of Judge Ugast during the December 18th status hearing in which he openly threatened to "deal with Bob Avakian separately" in order to supposedly "remove the politics" from the case, or to "order Bob Avakian to appear."

The ruling class is in quite a jam. Their entire prosecution strategy has been carefully constructed for one political purpose — to nail Bob Avakian. On the one side, some "extra creative" use of "aiding and abetting" charges has been used to justify the piling up of felony charge after felony charge on top of the defendants. No evidence of "aiding" in any concrete way is involved; people are charged solely with the "evidence" of being at the demonstration. The only evidence offered by the prosecution to back up these aiding and abetting charges are political statements made by Bob Avakian prior to the January 29th, 1979 demonstration concerning the political importance of exposing and condemning Deng Xiaoping and the U.S. impe-

rialists. In essence what it amounts to is that the defendants are facing multiple felony charges and 180 years in jail for attending a political demonstration. And Bob Avakian faces multiple felony charges — only for "aiding and abetting". In actual fact Bob Avakian's "crime" — and the key link in the prosecution's entire legal case — was giving a political speech.

This is even more obvious when the theory of "joint enterprise" is looked at. Although the essence of this theory is the conspiracy charge, the government apparently chose the more delicate term "joint enterprise" both because of their inability to prove a conspiracy and as part of their tattered "criminal cover." In order to bolster the aiding and abetting charges the government literally created the "joint enterprise" theory. Before this case no such legal term existed, it has absolutely no legal precedent or basis. But, for the ruling class it was necessary, since at the heart of this "joint enterprise" is Bob Avakian, the man who, according to the government, "gave the orders." In actual fact, Bob Avakian is both the focus of the ruling class's attack and the key link in their ability to pull it off. And it's this, together with Chairman Avakian's political exile in France that has the government in such a quandary at the moment.

Electronic Surveillance

In addition to opposing the government's motion for a personal appearance by the defendants, the defendants have also demanded that the January 20th hearing itself be postponed and that no further court proceedings be scheduled in the case until at least mid-February. While the January 20th hearing was originally scheduled to take up the issue of electronic surveillance and other major questions in the case, recent developments have significantly altered its character. Since the government has not been ordered to turn over its material on electronic surveillance until January 15th, leaving only 5 days for the defendants to prepare a response, and, since the government's "complete response" on this issue is undoubtedly going to be anything but complete, the hearing could only serve as an attempt to ram through the government's "complete response" as an acceptable response. This, together with the prosecution's sudden demand for a personal appearance by the defendants has turned this hearing into an even greater farce and yet another avenue for the government to maneuver a continuous attack on Bob Avakian and the other Mao Defendants.



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

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

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

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

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

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

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

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

FLASH

On January 14th the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants was notified that the government's material on its electronic surveillance against the RCP would not be available on January 15th. As an explanation as to why not the Committee was told that it was because January 15th, Martin Luther King's birthday, was a holiday in the District of Columbia. But, much more

to the point and indicative of what the government's "complete response" is going to look like, is the second reason offered up — there's nothing to turn over yet since the Attorney General hasn't released anything yet. As to when the material will be turned over, the Committee was only told that "We certainly hope at least by Monday." □

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More Thoughts on Party Building

Internationalism & the Mass Line

by Bob Avakian

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of *Revolution* magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the *RW*. Previous sections ran in *RW* Nos. 136 and 137.

The line on the party that opposes its Leninist character as evil and undemocratic also goes along with bourgeois-democratic tendencies generally. And it's interesting that especially on the part of people in the imperialist countries this current has as one of its essential currents social-chauvinism because, you see, if you're going to tail behind the masses in imperialist countries then you're going to end up promoting social-chauvinism.

For example there's one group I know which wrote an essay saying, well, if there's a world war, and particularly if there's a Soviet invasion (which already shows you that it's a loaded question) of Western Europe, then the national question will certainly come to the fore and it's not up to communists to ignore the national sentiments of the people. But this is just another way of saying that if there's a world war there'll be a wave of chauvinism which will sweep over these European imperialist countries; that's really what they're talking about. So then the question is posed, do you do like Lenin did and go against that?

Let's face it, Russia was not the leading imperialist country in World War I; it was not the leader of its bloc. In fact as Lenin pointed out, in certain ways it was in

hock to England and even France, and to a certain degree there was even an element of truth (secondarily) that a lot of the fighting that Russia did was in the interests of British imperialism. But it was also, and Lenin never slackened on this, in the interest of Russian imperialism, even if they played a secondary role. Somebody's got to play the role of the leader of the bloc. You could say in this one context there was a qualitative difference between British imperialism and Russian imperialism, but that didn't make Lenin say, well, since we're second-rate, I guess we can defend the fatherland. There wouldn't have been a Russian Revolution had he not waged an untiring struggle against all the major manifestations of this social-chauvinist line, including the idea that, well, the masses want to defend the fatherland and it's not up to us to offend the masses. If Lenin had not been an internationalist, he could not have taken that stand; if he didn't have in mind the overall process in the world and hadn't viewed the proletarian revolution as essentially and fundamentally an international process he would not have been able — not to have the courage in some sort of existential sense — but he wouldn't have been able to have the understanding to go against the wave of chauvinism that swept over Russia as it did over every country, at least every major participant, in World War I at the time.

But of course if you have a line of promoting bourgeois democracy and tailing behind the masses, even in promoting the *form* of that, denying the need for vanguard leadership and therefore denying the need for centralism, you will go along with, even promote, this wave of chauvinism. There is a direct link between vanguard leadership and centralism, not centralism in a bourgeois sense but centralism in dialectical relationship with democracy, that is, with the conscious role of the masses. If you deny the need for a vanguard role, politically and ideologically, you will deny the need for cen-

tralism organizationally and that goes hand in hand with tailing the masses. In imperialist countries it is bound to lead to promoting social-chauvinism.

Oppressed Nations

Here we get into a more controversial area — but that's okay — which is in some of these other countries where there is legitimacy to the national question. To step back a second, I remember for example someone once challenged me when I said that these European bourgeoisies and the bourgeoisies in imperialist countries in general were the legitimate defenders of the fatherland, they were the legitimate bearers of the standard of the nation at this stage. Someone who had an opportunist line on this challenged me and said, well, what do you think about the comprador bourgeoisies in these countries of the third world? Do they have a national character, that is, because they're the ruling classes of the nation, are they the upholders of the national banner and the standard of the nation? But precisely what that question ignored or obliterated was the distinction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations.

Now it's true, we're talking about a *basic* distinction in the world; like Lenin pointed out, an era would not be an era if it did not consist of many different, diverse phenomena. Just because you're talking about general tendencies in the world, you cannot make everything fit neatly into boxes; there are transitional forms, there are things which are more in one category than the other but still have features from the category of which they're not generally a part; there are transitional forms in between and so on. But still there is this basic distinction between imperialist countries and oppressed nations in this era — a distinction which, if anything, is even *more* important than when Lenin first insisted on it around the time of World War I.

The point is, the comprador bourgeoisies in these oppressed nations are national traitors, if you will; they are lackeys and retainers of imperialism. But the reason that it is correct to formulate it in that way and even to raise the question of national traitor is because the national question is still on the agenda as the central question there, whereas in the imperialist countries it is not. The national question, as Lenin pointed out very clearly, is a thing of the past for the developed imperialist countries; whereas it is very much on the agenda now, historically and politically speaking, for the oppressed nations. That's precisely the point and so that question itself revealed at the minimum an ignorance of that whole essential point.

Nevertheless, in these oppressed nations to promote a line of tailing behind the masses will in fact lead you also to promote and foster and tail behind nationalism. There is an important distinction: the national sentiments there have a great deal more progressive character and can contribute to a revolutionary movement, which is not the case in the imperialist countries, where they work against it. But still, even in an oppressed nation, communists are not — ideologically, in their outlook and in their overall stand — representatives of the nation. This is the point we have been fighting for with the article on "National Nihilism" in *Revolution* and so on. A communist is a representative of the international proletariat, of no nation in that sense; a communist is a representative of the proletariat, which is seeking to move society beyond nations, even while recognizing in a practical sense not only that there are nations in the world but that the national question is an extremely important question and the national struggle is an extremely important struggle which can, especially under proletarian leadership, contribute significantly to the proletarian revolution and the advance toward communism. (And even sometimes when it is not under proletarian leadership it can for a time and to a degree contribute to it, although then it will turn into its opposite, meaning it will be once more a question of that nation's subordination to imperialism.) There are tendencies for the colonial mentality to take hold even among the colonized themselves. Fanon talked about this and analyzed it in *Wretched of the Earth* from a bourgeois-democratic (but radical democratic) point of view. Mao, from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, talked about this problem too: the colonial mentality taking hold and influencing even the colonized themselves in the direction of feelings of national inferiority. All that's true but nevertheless, that's secondary in an overall sense to the national sentiments and then the *nationalist* sentiments of broad masses of the people in these countries which are arous-

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On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

**YOU CAN'T
BEAT
THE ENEMY
WHILE RAISING
HIS FLAG**

Beware of Priests Bearing Gifts

The tale of the Trojan horse in the *Iliad* of Homer is well known: unable to capture the city of Troy in head-on assault, the Greek army, at the suggestion of Ulysses, built a wooden horse and presented it to Troy as a "gift" and then pretended to leave. The Trojans dragged the horse inside their walled city, only to discover that the Greek soldiers were hiding inside and the Greek army hadn't really left. Having gained a foothold, the Greek army captured the city and sacked it. Troy was undone. By comparison, the role of Trojan horse for U.S. imperialism being played out by the Catholic Church in Poland is a more protracted, though no less insidious business. Nonetheless, Trojan horsing is exactly what the church is doing in Poland, and a very good example of how closely the actions of the church keep pace with the interests of U.S. imperialism can be seen in the most recent maneuvers of the West's papal agent, Archbishop Jozef Glemp.

It will be remembered that the immediate response of Archbishop Glemp to the imposition of martial law in Poland was as follows: "I shall plead,

even if I must plead on my knees: Don't start a fight between Poles. Do not give your lives away, brother workers, because the price of human life will be too low." Thus with nationalism in the saddle and God at the reins, the Archbishop of Poland rode in step with the U.S. cowboys whose favored scenario for Poland was not a decisive move by Solidarity but a move by the Soviets which would carry with it a high political price, difficulties for the Soviet bloc, and favorable prospects for forging greater unity in the Western bloc.

In the last week, however, there have been reports of a more "critical stance" by the Archbishop, a shift which has been duly noted in the Western press. This "critical stance" is also well-timed to coincide with the U.S. sanctions against the Polish and Soviet revisionists; to apply pressure to General Jaruzelski who held a meeting with Glemp last Saturday; and, in the Archbishop's own words of several weeks ago, to "salvage what can be salvaged" in an agreement between the regime, the church and Solidarity. The Archbishop has spoken out against the internment of prisoners by the regime and against

the demands for workers to sign loyalty oaths renouncing their membership in Solidarity, but with every critical word uttered, the Archbishop has included an entire sermon urging capitulation, repeating his call to avoid bloodshed and tut, tut, tutting, that "revenge is the worst way of righting wrongs." After visiting one detention center near Warsaw, the Archbishop complained that he saw contempt and hostility between female prisoners and a guard: "That division observed on the doorstep of a prison cell is spreading ever wider in society," he said, "and carries with it moral implications... We would not like to see a society divided into authorities, which offer and coerce, and into subjects who are silent and who hate." And certainly not subjects who overthrow! The Archbishop's "critical stance" also included trying to cool out even such protest as a mass movement against the signing of the loyalty oaths, and he indirectly advised people to sign them because, he said, "There is a clear principle, also respected by our civil code, that declarations made under coercion are not valid." Such talk in the face of martial law is not only wildly ab-

surd but reveals once again the complete treachery of the Trojan horse at work. After all this horse is not full of soldiers but priests whose job is to console the average worker and spread the poison of passivity, particularly when it comes to affairs of state. Thus, while the church poses as the good shepherd of Solidarity, the essential thing for the shepherd is that his flock must be full of sheep.

In this light, the recent statements by the Pope last week, which Vatican watchers took as a sign that the church will not go along with attempts to replace Solidarity with some other trade union arrangement, are not in contradiction to Glemp's actions. The fact that every one of Glemp's "critical remarks" is followed by instructions to the Polish masses to capitulate only underlines more clearly that like the Pope, his remarks are meant to be heard in chorus with the U.S. imperialists' political sanctions and should certainly not be misconstrued by any of his "brother workers" as even the most feeble call to action. □

Poland: Mark of Imperialist Collision Course

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hardly a case of Western imperialist spokespersons being stricken with a sudden urge for historical retribution. Rather, the Yalta flap represents a crass and brassy call-to-arms for the not so far-off future.

The current Yalta commentary is an imperialist perversion. First of all, the Soviet Union was a socialist country at that time, and the post-war East European states allied with it were themselves, like the Soviets, the focus of considerable attacks by U.S. imperialism. The only elections satisfactory to the west would have been those aimed at installing pro-western, anti-Soviet governments.

But current commentary is a double perversion because it's not a complaint about how the world was divided *then* (a division which, after all, had the U.S. on top worldwide), but how it's divided *now*. The Soviet Union has been transformed from a socialist country into an imperialist superpower, the states of Eastern Europe into members of its war bloc. This is the real complaint of all the Yalta commentary, and like events around Poland over the last week it underscores the compelling necessity of both imperialist blocs to place another recarving of the world on the international agenda.

Problems in the West...

For all the U.S. handwringing about its "reluctant allies," Secretary of State Haig's remarks after Reagan's speech announcing sanctions against the Soviets were revealing of what is fundamental. He chastised those who are "highly critical always of our West European partners... always highlighting their deficiencies, their shortcomings, their failures to carry the burden," and added: "Let me tell you, after five years of living in NATO Europe, I only wished that we in America had done as much for the defense of NATO as our European partners did during my period there (as NATO commander)." Certainly allied remarks like the one by Mitterand quoted above have done little to alter Haig's assessment.

However, the road to war being anything but smooth, the real—if secondary—conflicts between U.S. imperialist interests and those of the Western European rulers continued last week to grab the headlines. Haig's feigned ecstasy over the latest NATO communique on Poland which he dubbed "a solid success for the alliance" appeared somewhat at variance with its actual content. While the document took a slightly stronger rhetorical stance than previous pronouncements on the ques-

tion of "repression" and "Soviet responsibility," no punitive measures were actually agreed to aside from holding commercial credits to Poland in abeyance and "suspending" negotiations on rescheduling Poland's debt to the West (something that was already in effect given confusion over whether Poland had or had not begun to pay interest charges required to set the rescheduling process in motion). No concrete actions were taken against the Soviets. Instead there were more vague statements about recognizing "the importance of economic measures" to demonstrate Western concern and "identifying appropriate national possibilities for action" in such areas as "restricting Polish and Soviet diplomatic missions," "reducing scientific exchanges," etc., etc.—as well as the scheduling of further NATO meetings.

Marring even this less than intimidating display of "allied determination" was the fact that the communique itself was sprinkled with asterisks indicating, as footnoted, that "the Greek delegation has reserved its position on this paragraph." As Prime Minister Papandreu pointed out, Greece (which sells nearly 11% of all its exports to Eastern Europe) could "not afford" to provoke countermeasures from the Soviet bloc—though the Greek stance was undoubtedly also part of beefing up its bargaining position on pending talks over U.S. installations and military guarantees against another U.S. ally, Turkey. While Haig demurred that "No one has taken the position that the alliance must be in lockstep on sanctions. Each nation in the alliance has an entirely different set of problems...," nevertheless the none-too-subtle strong-arming of the U.S. rulers toward this end (Haig, it was reported, blasted West Germany's Schmidt on his visit here, telling him that Washington was uncertain whether Bonn saw itself as part of the NATO alliance or "a floating entity between East and West") has only served to underline the fact that it is precisely such "lockstep" that is increasingly required if the "Yalta myth" is to be decisively dissolved—on Western terms.

And The East...

The Soviets and Poland's rulers put on a similar show as Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek met with Gromyko in Moscow and issued their own communique "strongly rejecting" the NATO statement and chipping away at Western contradictions with pointed remarks like: "There is no European state whose national interests would not be met by the strengthening and

development of normal and unruffled relations between all countries on the continent." While both parties expressed "the unshakable conviction that relations of friendship and close and comprehensive cooperation" would continue between the Soviet Union and Poland, the actual extent of such convictions was indicated as chief Soviet ideologist Mikhail Suslov called Czyrek on the carpet and grilled him (though no details were announced) on the progress of the "ideological verification" campaign presently being conducted by the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

Obviously, as indicated, the Polish rulers' "internal affairs" are anything but settled, even though by imposing martial law they may have temporarily seized the initiative in preserving their own decaying bourgeois rule as well as their membership-in-good-standing within the Soviet war camp. Last week the efforts continued with the arrests of various intellectuals and the weeding out of "radical" elements with stiff sentences after military trials while acquitting others of the same charges. However, the government's hard line has increasingly been coupled with "soft" pitches in the knowledge that martial law will become more and more untenable over any extended period of time. Last week the Jaruzelski government threw out how it "would like to end" martial law by February and that while Walesa's future is "unknown, he is such a personality that a place will be found for him in any future agreements"—reflecting the fact that the Polish rulers are acting fundamentally from a position of weakness and are hard pressed over the question of "where to go from here."

Interestingly enough, this approach, apparently one of attempting to manufacture a "national accord" with the moderate wing of Solidarity, would not necessarily be incompatible with what the West hopes to salvage of its influence in Poland under the present circumstances. A telling exposure of the U.S.'s real "concern" for "freedom and democracy, etc." in Poland was the remark of one *NY Times* editorialist who wrote: "The terrible truth about the Solidarity movement is that virtually no responsible Western official wants it to succeed fully in its ambitions." This is a rather frank admission of what U.S. strategy in Poland has been all along—i.e., one of counselling the masses not to "go too far" and settling for a gradual destabilization of Poland as a prelude to more decisive moves as the showdown with the Soviets approaches. However, the U.S. has made clear that, given this, the independent trade union "must survive" in some form other than merely a "puppet Solidarity" or else there will be a price to pay.

Politics and Economics

Compounding these political dilemmas for the Polish rulers is the pitiful economic situation in the country. Industrial production has plummeted 25% in the last two years, and not principally as a result of the strikes which, as has been pointed out, account for no more lost time than the average yearly labor disputes in Western countries. Poland is by no means the only Eastern bloc country in economic trouble. And the fact that Poland is defaulting on promised deliveries of industrial products and raw materials to Comecon is only exacerbating the situation. To cite just one example, Czechoslovakia has had to spend \$100 million recently to purchase coal from West Germany due to shortfalls in Polish exports and to introduce weekend work in its mines (sound familiar?). According to Czech officials, a number of other areas of production have been "very, very seriously threatened."

Moreover, the fact that Poland has become "Russia's Chrysler" and that the Soviets have been forced to stave off major dislocations by coughing up \$11 billion in credits and fuels as well as other raw materials means that there will be significant cutbacks in Soviet "fraternal aid" to the other Eastern countries whose rulers have made it clear that their stagnating economies can ill afford the resulting problems.

As one Western economic expert astutely put it: "If the rest of Comecon was performing well, the (Eastern) bloc could probably ride out the Polish crisis. What makes it serious for them is that they are all in at least as big an economic crisis as the West." True enough. The Soviet bloc strategy of the '70s—one of encouraging massive Western investment in the East for the principal purpose of beefing up their relatively weaker technological base for war (as well as creating a "Western stake" in the East and exploiting the accompanying tendency of the West European allies to seek detente at the expense of the U.S.'s bloc-tightening maneuvers)—has begun to turn into its opposite after running up against the worldwide recession—contracting export markets, rising prices of Western imports, prohibitive tariffs, etc. The case of Poland has been a prime example of the consequences. For the Eastern bloc countries, the question is increasingly one of retrenchment, austerity measures to cut back Western debts and keeping its financial house in order to keep Western imports and technology in the pipeline.

For the West, Polish insolvency has also raised a number of questions relating to its own strategy for investing in the East—a strategy which, while taking into account the considerable profitability of such ventures (though for the U.S. itself such investments are relatively insignificant), has been mainly

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MORE FROM THE MUDHOLE

The crisis in Poland has sired some embarrassing exposure of Soviet-style revisionism and, in turn, further significant confessions from the international revisionist mudhole. There is meaning in what parties aligned with the Soviets are saying, but there is also meaning in what they aren't saying.

It is remarkable, for example, that the Cuban government has issued no official statement concerning events in Poland, to our knowledge. Comb as you will through publicly available U.S. government translations of Cuban broadcasts and news reports, through the press of other Latin American countries, and even through *Granma*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and not a single official comment of the Cuban party can be found as of this writing.

It is true that distribution of *Granma* in this country is presently being restricted by the U.S. government, but some issues since the December 13 martial law decree in Poland have been seen; and besides, the U.S. translation services (and press) would have been the first to take note of the Cuban position. But just to be sure, we went to the horse's mouth, so to speak, to get the facts.

First we contacted the Cuban mission at the UN, which refused to say

anything, referring us instead to the Cuban Interests Section in the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, D.C. After evading our inquiries for several days, the press officer of the Cuban Interests Section, Miguel Martinez, finally got on the horn. Was he aware of any statement issued by the Cuban party or government about Poland, about the Soviets, about the revisionist bloc? "Not to my knowledge." Was he aware of any forthcoming statement? "No." To say the least, Mr. Martinez was not too talkative for a press officer, a fact all the more noteworthy when one considers that the events in question—hardly those of a minor matter internationally—have occurred in a country the world generally

considers to be Cuba's "fraternal socialist" ally.

As the better part of valor, discretion has evidently prevented Fidel from officially hailing the martial law decree, in contrast to the position taken by other revisionists in power, especially in Eastern Europe. However, in lieu of any party statement, we must note that Cuba's position is clear enough both because of its status as a social imperialist front-man but also because of some press items which have appeared, though not under the by-line of the bureaucracy. One such item was a *Granma* printing of a TASS report dated December 18 which predictably shifted the question to the U.S., not Poland or the Soviets, and naturally justified the martial law decree.

There were also some off-hand comments along these lines by a representative of the Cuban government visiting Mexico printed in the Mexican press.

But the absence, at least to date, of any public party statement sheds some light on the political role Cuba plays in the world today. It's hard being a revisionist running dog, and there's a bit of a contradiction for old Fidel. Cuba has the assigned role of posing as the revolutionary big brother of the national liberation movements, especially in Latin America, to whom it serves as an international Soviet envoy trying to convince people that the Soviet Union, as Castro remarked in a recent speech, "is vitally associated with the interests of the socialist community and the world revolutionary, progressive and liberation movement..."

Yet especially within the context of the pitch and tenor of the current international situation—wherein the U.S. has received a significant political battering around, for example El Salvador, while the Soviet Union is clearly less exposed—something like Poland glaringly reveals in just what way the Soviets are "vitally associated with the world revolutionary, progressive and

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(Above) Dec. 16, tanks park inside the Gdansk shipyard after smashing through the gates in order to evict workers who had seized the plant. At least 9 people were killed and 300 wounded.

Collision

Continued from page 4

predicated on using the Soviet bloc's reliance on Western infusions to create a powerful mechanism for influencing and driving wedges in their opponent's bloc in preparation for war, as has obviously been the case in Poland. The leverage accumulated in the '70s is now certainly being wielded against the Polish rulers. As one *NY Times* editorial cynically put it: "Aid to Poland from now on will be what it always should have been: a political instrument by which to keep encouraging evolutionary change in the Communist system." As if it wasn't before. Such offers of Western "prosperity" always flowed from the fact that, as Henry Kissinger obtusely noted in his memoirs, "It was our policy to encourage sentiments of national independence (i.e. dependence on the West instead of the Soviets) in Eastern Europe."

But there are now other complications in making good on threats to restrict Western "aid" such as the adverse effects that could be visited upon some of the Western allies like West Germany who have developed a significant economic (not to mention political) stake in Eastern bloc trade. Sanctions and the question of how or whether to reschedule Polish debt are being explored cautiously in this light. At the same time, however, there have been calls for a thorough reevaluation—e.g., last week's well-publicized speech by a U.S. Assistant Sec'y. of Commerce in which he warned that the U.S. must "limit the direct and indirect contribu-

(Below) Residents of Gdansk surround one of the tanks.

tions made by our resources" which are, as he put it, fueling "the engine of the Soviet military machine."

There have been drastic changes since the days of Yalta, one of the most significant being the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and capitalist expansion throughout the countries of Eastern Europe, the tattered remnants of the revisionists' "socialist" cover notwithstanding. And while between the mid-'50s and mid-'60s the imperialist dynamics of the West on the one hand, and of the East on the other, could be said to have developed more or less independently of each other (though even then there was certainly interpenetration), throughout the '70s and especially today these have become more and more intertwined into one world imperialist crisis that has brought both blocs head to head. Thus, today, such previously less-than-cataclysmic factors as the economic health of a country like Poland, in which this inter-bloc competition has now become concentrated, are rife with profound ramifications for both imperialist networks.

All these converging factors as manifested in the crisis over Poland are a powerful example of how the contradictions of imperialism are being drawn into a knot, of how both imperialist blocs are faced with the necessity of breaking through the current established boundaries of the political and economic order—the present world division. Thus, the cynical Western "questioning" of Yalta. □



Gov't Holds Hearing In Peltier Case

The federal courtroom in Los Angeles was packed with supporters as marshalls brought Leonard Peltier into court January 12. For their part, the authorities had their usual extensive security apparatus in place and had worked themselves into quite a frenzy. The hearing on the 12th had been ordered by the Federal Appeals Court (on a request of the prosecution) for the purpose of gathering evidence to be used in their "reconsideration" of the reversal last March of Peltier's conviction for escaping from Lompoc Federal Penitentiary in July 1979 after he had discovered a government plot to murder him.

The general approach of the government was set early on. The judge in charge of these hearings was to be Lydick, the same one who had conducted the original railroad on the escape charges. Peltier's attorneys made a motion to throw him off the case because of the numerous openly racist comments he had made during the original trial. When presiding judge Hauk stormed into the courtroom on January 11 to "hear" this motion (he had already written his order denying it and had even made copies of it to be distributed to the press) the first words he angrily shouted were directed to one of Peltier's attorneys: "The first thing we're going to do is search your briefcase!" When the attorney protested, saying he had privileged papers in the briefcase, the judge replied, "I don't care about 'privileged papers,' I'm worried about weapons." He then threatened the attorney with a contempt citation if he continued to protest, and he had the marshalls make the search. This outrageous, and rather ridiculous, attempt at intimidation was then followed by a ruling equaling it which said in effect, "So what if Lydick said all these racist things, that's no reason to take him off the case—if you don't like it take it to the Appeals Court." Besides, Hauk continued, "You hear these charges about all the judges on this circuit, me included."

When the Appeals Court reversed Peltier's conviction, they sidestepped the fact that he had not been allowed to present as a defense any evidence of the government's murder plot against him. They based their ruling on the narrower single issue that the defense attorneys were not allowed to question FBI agent Wilkins (who helped arrest Peltier after his escape) about his friendship with one of the two FBI agents killed in a firefight at the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975 for which Peltier had been convicted of murder. (This firefight occurred as FBI agents, federal marshalls and others launched an organized assault on a spiritual encampment, killing one Indian, Joe Stuntz, in the attack.) As Peltier had testified before and again at this hearing, when he was captured Wilkins put a gun to his head and said,

"You punk, you killed my friend Williams. I'm gonna blow your fucking head off." Wilkins was dissuaded from carrying out this threat by a sheriff who felt that that was not the appropriate time and place. The defense was not allowed to question Wilkins about all this, and the Appeals Court reversed the conviction on this basis.

In calling for the January 12 hearing, the U.S. Attorney said they were going to put Wilkins on the stand to say he never knew FBI agent Williams (killed at Pine Ridge) and that he did not make the threat on Peltier's life; and that therefore, not allowing the defense to question Williams was a "harmless error." But at the hearing, while denying the wording of the threat, Wilkins actually admitted he had threatened Peltier's life, saying it was standard procedure! He went on to flaunt this at the

end of his testimony, volunteering (in contradiction to his testimony at previous hearings) that with his gun to Peltier's head, he said, "Is this the last thing Williams and Coler saw before you killed them?"!

The State's approach at this hearing goes hand-in-hand with the continued attempts to "neutralize" Peltier. At a press conference, Peltier's attorneys announced that over the past two months, Peltier has twice been brought into the Marion Prison administration office and told death threats have been made against him. The "unidentified source" of these threats can be none other than the prison authorities themselves, who together with other agencies were the very ones responsible for the murder plot necessitating Peltier's attempted escape from Lompoc Prison, and who are also responsible for the murders of Peltier's

co-defendant in the escape trial, Bobby Garcia, in December 1980, and of Dallas Thundershield, who was killed as he attempted to surrender immediately after he escaped Lompoc with Peltier.

Peltier's supporters have begun to release new evidence from the over 12,000 pages of FBI documents detailing many aspects of the COINTELPRO-style attack on AIM and Peltier. On the basis of this new evidence, Peltier's attorneys have announced that a new appeal of his framed-up conviction for the killing of the FBI agents at Pine Ridge will be filed in early February. As discussed in last week's *RW*, this new material provides a glimpse of how the government fabricated all the key evidence used to convict Peltier in that case. The FBI suppressed a ballistics test that proved conclusively that a rifle they associated with Peltier in that trial could not have been the one used to fire a shell casing found at the scene of the Pine Ridge shoot-out. The FBI's ballistics expert had testified that they were unable to conduct that test and therefore used a less reliable test, from which he concluded that the rifle associated with Peltier had been used at the shoot-out. This expert's testimony was the critical piece of evidence used against Peltier, and it has now been shown to have been deliberately falsified by the FBI.

When the first coroner's report on the shoot-out didn't match the FBI's version of how the shoot-out had taken place, they suppressed that report and hired a more reliable coroner, L.A.'s Thomas Noguchi, who prepared a report more in line with the FBI's story and significantly contradicting the first report.

Further, these documents contradict the story told by the FBI at the trial that Peltier's red and white van had been identified as being at the scene of the shoot-out. According to transcripts of radio communications and "all points bulletins," etc., it was a red Scout or jeep that was identified at the scene, and not until days after the shoot-out did the FBI change their description to fit Peltier's vehicle.

Defense attorneys are also hoping to keep Peltier from being sent back to Marion, where there is clearly a murder plot in place against him, and where authorities continue attempts to put him in the infamous "Control Unit."

The Federal Appeals Court will now review the evidence of the January 12 hearing and may be planning a reversal of its reversal of Peltier's escape conviction. Related to the forthcoming decision is the fact that the government is in quite a bind around all this exposure and is facing the possibility that if Peltier is granted a retrial on his conviction for the killing of the FBI agents, he could then be released on bail and be out of prison for the first time since 1976. □

Prime Time Rat Eater

What does it mean when the U.S. ruling class goes ga ga in prime time over the "incredible guts" of one of their own who actually did FOUR YEARS!!! in jail without blabbing (and, oh yes, under the incredible torture of not knowing exactly when his presidential pardon would come)? It means the U.S. ruling class is in big trouble, that's what.

U.S. Plots to Control Libya— A Long Story

In July, 1981, a series of calculated though contradictory U.S. government leaks revealed the existence of a plan aimed at driving Col. Muammar Qaddafi from power. *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*, in addition to floating an "assassination" scenario, claimed that the plan was a three-pronged "classic CIA destabilization campaign": mounting a "disinformation" campaign aimed at creating public opinion for action against Libya and at isolating Qaddafi internationally; launching a search for a viable "Libyan opposition," government in exile, or disaffected faction of the military that could be installed in power upon Qaddafi's downfall and could be counted on to toe the U.S. imperialist line; and organizing a sham "indigenous guerrilla force" within Libya to demonstrate internal chaos within the country.

There is circumstantial evidence showing a possible connection between these projected moves against Libya and the power struggle which broke out within the U.S. government in early August over the top leadership of the CIA. Max Hugel, the Director of Covert Operations, was forced to resign in August, and CIA Director William J. Casey survived only by weathering heavy pressure, including a public call by the Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Barry Goldwater, for Casey's resignation.

Taking action against the Qaddafi regime was reportedly on the agenda during the visit of the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Washington last August. The talk reportedly centered on the idea of planning support for a coup against Qaddafi within the Libyan military.

The August U.S. naval exercises in Libya's Gulf of Sidra, during which two Libyan jets were shot down by U.S. fighters, was planned at the National Security Council level to insure that just such an "incident" would take place, in a deliberate attempt to bloody Qaddafi's nose, demonstrate U.S. imperialist might and create further artificial hysteria over "Libyan aggression" to fuel support for a more decisive action.

A key element in the propaganda campaign against Libya has been to paint Qaddafi as "the patron saint of terror." But wherever the U.S. points to evidence of "Libyan terrorism," the trail leads either to thin air or to the U.S. imperialists' own hirelings. The only "Libyan" assassination ever detailed in the United States turned out to have been committed by a former Green Beret whose defense in court was that he was sent out on the job by the CIA. A report that the "infamous international terrorist 'Carlos'" was in Libya training teams to attack the oilfields of Libya's opponents turns out to have originated with the Phalangist radio station in Lebanon. Moreover, Carlos himself appears to be a CIA creation: according to the Spring 1981 issue of *Foreign Policy*, ex-CIA agent Frank Terpil "boasted he had trained the notorious international terrorist known as Carlos in Libya in 1976." In other interviews Terpil, who apparently played an important role in training "terrorists" in Libya, has said that he doesn't know who he trained. (Terpil, who continued to do business with the U.S. Secret Service and other government agencies even after his December 1979 arrest in New York on arms trafficking charges, served as Billy Carter's interpreter during a September 1979 visit to Libya.)



"... despite Libya's apparent recent drift further into the Soviet orbit, to say that the U.S.-Western imperialist bloc is 'still very much in the game' would be a gross understatement. Libya's commercial, financial and political ties with the West are overall far more extensive and significant than those with the East—and Libya still imports significant amounts of military equipment through both direct and indirect channels from Western Europe as well."

(Left) Qaddafi, third from the left, celebrated his regime's 10th anniversary with envoys from 9 Islamic states and the USSR. (Below) Exxon pipelines in Libya.



No, it is not Qaddafi's support for "international terrorism" that has driven the U.S. up the wall. The flimsiness of the latest fabrication testifies less to the creative bankruptcy of the CIA's disinformation specialists than to the urgency from a *strategic* standpoint of settling the "Qaddafi problem" on terms favorable to the U.S. imperialist bloc. Indeed, a look at the historical development of this "problem" for the U.S.—graphically demonstrates how imperialist freedom and necessity has changed with transformations in the world over those past decades and with the development of the world imperialist crisis.

The Creation of "Independent" Libya

Libya's formal "independence" from colonial rule in 1951 was preceded by a decade of French and British military occupation. Before that, Libya was for three decades an Italian colony; and for centuries prior to the coming of the Italian imperialists, Libya was a province of the Ottoman Empire. While there had been decades of struggle, including armed struggle, in the area against imperialism, Libyan "independence", as it finally happened, was engineered entirely by the Western imperialist powers under the

auspices of the United Nations. A pro-Western feudal prince, Idras, was chosen as king and installed as the monarch of Libya.

Before the mid-1950s, Libya's oil reserves were unknown. The main source of income and security of the monarchy was the presence of large American and British military facilities, including the strategic U.S. Wheelus Air Force Base outside of Tripoli.

On the surface, such an arrangement was of course highly satisfactory to the U.S. imperialists. But the Arab world and Africa were being swept by storms of nationalist, anti-colonialist, anti-royalist and anti-imperialist movements during the 1950s and 1960s, and the stability and permanence of the Idras monarchy was being questioned in internal U.S. State Department memorandums as early as the late '50s. A 1957 Joint Chiefs of Staff assessment of the Military Assistance Program to Libya warned that "The best interests of the United States will be served by taking steps to insure the continuation of a political atmosphere in the Libyan government which will be amenable to the continuance of the present Base Rights agreement... and the formulation of additional agreements on reasonable

terms. In addition, the United States should encourage the orientation of the Libyan government toward the West, and away from Egyptian and Soviet influence. Finally, the U.S. should assist in the maintenance of a loyal armed force to insure the political stability of the country after the death of the king... The Military Assistance Program objective for Libya is to assist in the development of the Libyan army to have the capability to maintain internal security and contribute to the national unity of the country." Both the U.S. and Great Britain ran extensive officer training programs designed to produce a stable, politically reliable pro-Western military elite.

With the initial exploitation of Libya's vast oil reserves in the early 1960s, the stake of U.S. imperialism in that country grew commensurately. At the same time the intensification of the U.S./Soviet rivalry in the Middle East and the growing turmoil in the whole region added to the value of Wheelus Air Force Base and the close allegiance of Libya to the Western bloc. But these same factors all combined to undermine the credibility of the monarchy. The major U.S. oil con-

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Invasion Attempt Foreshadows U.S. "Cure" For Ailing Haitian Regime

On Sunday, January 10, there were reports of an invasion of Haitian exiles who claimed to have taken complete control of the island of Tortuga 5 miles north off the coast of Haiti. The leader of the invasion, Bernard Sansaricq, announced that his band of 36 exiles would set up a provisional government within days. This announcement was made from the Turks and Caicos Islands, a group of British islands in the Caribbean, before Sansaricq and company left for Tortuga. By Monday the Duvalier regime claimed that the government had never lost control of the island and had arrested 3 of a total of 8 rebel exiles. On Tuesday the regime announced that these three had "succumbed to wounds and died." The *New York Times* identified Sansaricq as a 37-year-old Miami filling station owner, but the question is who has been filling his tanks and with what.

While all the cards are not in on the invasion incident, some background history and reports from Haitian revolutionaries and readers of the *RW* indicate a number of things clearly: first, the deepening crisis and precarious position of the Duvalier regime; second, these exile "rebels" are bourgeois forces opposed to Duvalier, not to the nature of the Haitian regime nor certainly to U.S. imperialism; and third, that the hand of U.S. imperialism is clearly at work here. In fact, right now two U.S. senators are conducting a "fact-finding" tour in Haiti, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, and it was reported that they were in Haiti on the day of the invasion, where they would certainly have a close-up view of what went down when the "rebels" hit Tortuga.

Some Haitians in New York, doing a little investigation on where the U.S. stood on the invasion, called the State Department and asked, "Why didn't the U.S. Coast Guard boats patrolling those waters stop the invaders?" Far

from denying they knew anything, the State Department official gloated, replying, "The boats are there to keep the people from leaving Haiti, not to keep them from returning."

Sansaricq & Co.

Sansaricq, who has a long history of involvement in anti-Duvalier battles, is well-known to the U.S. imperialists. He is from a family of big planters, feudal comprador elements who have been involved in repeated struggles with the Duvalier family. In 1964, 13 men including members of Sansaricq's family invaded Haiti and tried to topple Papa Doc. As a result 27 members of his family were killed by the Duvalier regime. In 1968 Sansaricq took part in another unsuccessful invasion. After coming to Florida, he took part in forming a group of exiles and participated in a military training camp in Florida. This camp for a time had the backing of many different opposition forces including Clemard Joseph Charles, whose name has surfaced recently as a possible U.S. candidate to replace Duvalier, and Roland Magloire, a relative of the ex-president of Haiti before Papa Doc and widely known as a CIA-connected man. In December 1980, for reasons not fully understood now, the FBI closed the camp. All the opposition forces except Sansaricq split. He has continued training an army in the area, obviously with the knowledge and consent of the U.S. government. While the *New York Times* quickly reported on Monday that the FBI was called by the State Department to determine "whether the small force attempting to land in Haiti had violated U.S. neutrality laws," this was undoubtedly meant for public, and particularly international, consumption. One has only to remember the remarks made about the training of reactionary Nicaraguan exiles in similar camps by Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary

of State for Inter-American Affairs, to grasp the spirit of such an investigation. Readers of the *RW* will recall Mr. Enders' statement (*RW* No. 137) that it's O.K. to have these military exercises, guys running around the fields with guns or to say, "Uncle Sam, we're ready when you're ready — wink, wink — and here we go."

In the summer of 1981, Sansaricq forces came to New York in full army battle dress and paraded down the streets bragging to the masses that they would soon topple Duvalier. They were joined by a group called the New York Alliance of Haitian Immigrants led by Wilson Desir. The outcome of this activity was the formation of the Alliance of Haitian Combatants. Wilson Desir has his own interesting U.S.-backed history. He is an ex-Haitian navy captain who still has many ties with Haitian military forces. In 1970 Desir participated in an action against Duvalier. Led by a Col. Cayard, three Haitian navy gunboats started shelling Duvalier's palace for three days. They were only stopped on U.S. orders. Then the U.S. escorted them and the ships to Guantanamo, sent the ships back to Haiti and brought Desir, Cayard and the others back to the U.S. and gave them political asylum. (One hardly needs to point out what this demonstrates about the U.S. immigration policy of no political asylum for the masses of Haitian refugees.)

As further evidence that this whole invasion incident was a concoction of U.S. imperialism, last October a plane flew over Port-au-Prince at such low altitude that Haitians there claimed they could see that two of the men aboard were white. This connects with the following report: According to sources who were involved in the Florida camp and later left it, there were at least two white men in the camp, one a mercenary who worked for Ian Smith's reactionary

Rhodesian regime and the other a reactionary Vietnam vet. The plane showered the city with leaflets from Sansaricq announcing his plan to invade. The leaflet called on the army not to attack them and the militia (the Tonton Macoutes) not to fight them. The leaflet also called on the people to support them but in a restrained fashion and not to rebel, saying that they didn't want a "bloodbath," which was both a poorly-disguised threat to the masses and an indication that the "liberators" were worried about whose blood might get spilled in the bath.

Sansaricq reported that he made repeated calls to Duvalier, telling him that he would be in Port-au-Prince by January 1st and that "He would be drinking soup on New Years" (a Haitian custom). One source had it that Duvalier actually changed his phone to avoid the calls, but through some contact Sansaricq was able to get the new number right away. And there are reports that on New Year's Eve in Port-au-Prince, there were none of the usual parties; people expecting a confrontation stayed in their homes.

Then on January 2nd, 1982 at a demonstration in New York against the treatment of Haitian refugees, who should appear but Wilson Desir. Playing to the sentiments of the crowd, he demagogically claimed that fighting Duvalier had to include a fight against U.S. imperialism, criticized people who begged the U.S. to get rid of Duvalier (which was understood by the Haitian masses to be a reference to his one-time and perhaps present allies Clemard Charles and Manigat, a social-democrat), and ended in a chant, "Give us guns! Give us guns!" Desir has openly called on the people to support a New York politician, D'Amato. Mr. D'Amato, who has made statements to the effect that "the refugees are better off in camps here than in Haiti", is circulating a petition to call on the U.S. government to cut diplomatic relations with the Haitian government.

The Ailing Puppet

From what little is known of the scenario of the invasion itself, Duvalier is indeed upright. Particularly indicative of this is the precarious allegiance of his army. Only last summer four top colonels in his army were "retired," all of them replaced by men trained in the U.S., including Valme, known as an infamous butcher and a devoted ally of Duvalier until he made a trip to the U.S. to meet with opposition forces here. In fact, to suppress the invasion Duvalier relied on the commander of the presidential guard, apparently not trusting the army.

Duvalier himself has reportedly moved from the palace to the Leopards headquarters which is his own private army. There has been a report on French TV of an assassination attempt on Duvalier on December 23rd. France has openly been giving the Haitian government the cold shoulder, and at a recent meeting with the French government (a North-South dialogue), they invited both the Haitian government and a representative of the opposition forces — a Haitian exile group in France. And in December, Canada cut off a major aid program to Haiti. Undoubtedly Baby Doc is well aware of the modus operandi of those who have kept his own criminal regime propped up. In the same article reporting on the invasion, the *Times* reported that "normally reliable sources say that President Duvalier is bedridden and very sick with an undisclosed illness, leaving the top levels of government effectively paralyzed" and that, "Government officials refuse to acknowledge or otherwise comment on the reports, although rumors about President Duvalier's health have increased in recent weeks."

Whether this invasion was an attempt to test the waters for an early replacement for Duvalier remains to be seen, but the U.S. imperialists do have quite a legacy of such puppets with health problems and they are clearly maneuvering for a cure which will keep this crucial Caribbean island firmly in their hands. Their problem with such major surgery is that while attempting to cure the illness, they must open other wounds. □

INS To Triple "Productivity" In L.A.

On January 5, the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) announced that it will triple the number of INS factory raids in the L.A. area as part of a new national move to arrest and deport "illegal aliens." The INS District Director in L.A. said that the number of staff assigned to "area control" (raids and sweeps) will be increased from 18 to 40 or 50 by the end of January, hoping to increase daily arrests from 25 or 30 to 100. Large factories at which more than 200 undocumented workers may be employed will be targeted, as well as bus stops and train depots, said the INS director. These moves, the director cynically stated, "will open up more jobs for lawful residents."

Within days after the INS announcement, the U.S. State Department issued a statement that "no mass deportations" of immigrant workers are planned. (Even the Mexican government found this announcement a little hard to swallow and recalled their ambassador to the U.S. for "consultations.") "No mass deportations"? It is true that these deportations will not make more than a dent in the millions of workers, legal and "illegal," on which part of the U.S. economy depends, and whose presence in the U.S. provides a crucial "safety valve" for the explosive unemployment of Mexico. Still, in 1981, with INS sweeps supposedly curtailed for the 1980 census, more than 1 million people were deported to Mexico, the highest total for a single year since World War 2. And U.S. immigration policy and practice will continue to

create an atmosphere of threatened and actual deportation and political intimidation of immigrant workers. These new actions by the U.S. government are intended to step up that intimidation, as a key part of the government's "new immigration policy."

Last October, with its "Iranian Project" (the political surveillance and harassment of 70,000 Iranian students in the U.S. in which thousands were deported) winding down, and the census "moratorium" over, the Director of the INS issued "Fiscal Year 1982 Program Priorities" to all district directors, calling for increased "productivity" in "overall enforcement," with the highest priority being "direct enforcement activities to reduce the employability of illegal aliens." He ordered "major changes in investigative priorities" and commanded that 50% of all investigators be assigned to "area control operations." Or, as one immigration attorney described it, "Keep the revolving door going."

At the same time, "coincidentally," the INS was handed a veritable gold mine of "deportable aliens," hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers who had already given their names, addresses and places of employment to the INS. How this came about, and the INS follow-up, ought to serve as a warning to any who have illusions about imperialist "amnesty" programs for immigrants.

In 1979, a federal court in Chicago ruled, in a suit brought by a Mexican national, Refugio Silva, that since most of the "Western Hemisphere Country

Quota" of entrance visas had been used up by refugees from Cuba and Haiti for the years 1968-1976, 150,000 visas must be given to those immigrants from other Latin American countries, principally Mexico, who had been displaced. The government then announced that anyone who had applied for entrance to the U.S. before January 1, 1977 and who had then entered illegally, could now come forward and receive legal status. Those who came forward and registered with the INS, a total of 290,000, were given temporary residents' permits called "Silva letters" giving them legal status while their visas were being processed. Then, last October, the government announced that 150,000 visas had been given out, and that therefore, the rest of those registered would not be given legal status through the Silva suit. As of December 22, a federal judge ruled, the "Silva letters" would no longer constitute legal residence permits. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away." Only now the INS had plenty of information about these "deportable aliens." In December, the INS began mailing letters to those who held "Silva letters," demanding that they appear before the INS within 30 days. At the same time, the INS announced that about 50% would qualify for legal status through "normal immigration procedures" (often taking two to three years), while the other 50% would have to be evaluated "on a case-by-case basis." In other words, you could appear, knowing that you had a

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Lenin's Non-Stop Revolutionary Appeals

Lenin wrote the following "Open Letter to Boris Souvarine" while living in exile in Switzerland in late 1916. While the letter addresses questions that arose six-and-a-half decades ago, in many respects it's as though these points were written for today, with only a few minor alterations necessary. The footnotes are ours, except for the one referring to the title, which is taken from the Progress Publishers edition of Lenin's Collected Works.

AN OPEN LETTER TO BORIS SOUVARINE*

Citizen Souvarine says his letter is addressed also to me. I take all the greater pleasure in replying, since his article touches on vital problems of international socialism.

Souvarine believes that those who consider "defence of the fatherland" to be incompatible with socialism are taking an "unpatriotic" view. As for himself, he "defends" the view of Turati, Ledebour, Brizon' who, while voting against war credits, declare that they accept "defence of the fatherland"; in other words, he defends the trend known as the "Centre" (the "marsh", I would say), or as Kautskyism — after its chief theoretical and literary exponent, Karl Kautsky. I might remark, in passing, that Souvarine is wrong in maintaining that "they [i.e., the Russian comrades who speak of the collapse of the Second International] equate men like Kautsky, Longuet, etc. . . . with nationalists of the Scheidemann and Renaudel type". Neither I nor the Party to which I belong (the R.S.D.L.P.² Central Committee) have ever equated the social-chauvinist viewpoint with that of the "Centre". In our official Party statements, in the Central Committee manifesto, published November 1, 1914, and in the resolutions adopted in March 1915

(both documents are reproduced in *extenso* in our pamphlet *Socialism and War*, which is known to Souvarine), we have always drawn a dividing line between the social-chauvinists and the "Centre". The former, in our opinion, have defected to the bourgeoisie. With regard to them we demand not merely struggle, but a split. The latter hesitate, vacillate, and their efforts to unite the socialist masses with the chauvinist leaders cause the greatest damage to the proletariat.

Souvarine says he wants to "examine the facts from a Marxist viewpoint".

But from a Marxist viewpoint, such general and abstract definitions as "unpatriotic" are of absolutely no value. The fatherland, the nation are historical categories. I am not at all opposed to wars waged in defence of democracy or against national oppression, nor do I fear such words as "defence of the fatherland" in reference to these wars or to insurrections. Socialists always side with the oppressed and, consequently, cannot be opposed to wars whose purpose is democratic or socialist struggle against oppression. It would therefore be absurd to deny the legitimacy of the wars of 1793, of France's wars against the reactionary European monarchies, or of the Garibaldi wars, etc. . . . And it would be just as absurd not to recognise the legitimacy of wars of oppressed nations against their oppressors, wars that might break out today — rebellion of the Irish against Eng-

land, for instance, rebellion of Morocco against France, or the Ukraine against Russia, etc. . . .

The Marxist viewpoint requires that in each individual case we define the political content of the war.

But what determines the political content of the war?

Every war is only the continuation of policy. What kind of policy is being continued in the present war? The policy of the proletariat, which from 1871 to 1914 was the sole exponent of socialism and democracy in France, England and Germany? Or imperialist policy, the policy of colonial rapine and oppression of weak nations by the reactionary decadent and moribund bourgeoisie?

The question has only to be squarely put and we get a perfectly clear answer: the present war is an imperialist war. It is a war of slave-owners quarrelling over their chattels and eager to consolidate and perpetuate slavery. It is the "capitalist brigandage" of which Jules Guesde³ spoke in 1899, thereby condemning in advance his own betrayal. Guesde said at the time:

"There are other wars . . . they arise every day, wars for the acquisition of markets. This kind of war does not disappear, but on the contrary, bids fair to become continuous. It is chiefly a war between the capitalists of all countries for profits and possession of the world market, and it is fought at the price of our blood. Now, just imagine that in each of the capitalist countries of Europe, this mutual slaughter for the sake of plunder is directed by a socialist! Just imagine an English Millerand, an Italian Millerand, a German Millerand, in addition to a French Millerand, working to embroil the proletarians in this capitalist brigandage and make them fight each other! What would remain, I ask you, comrades, of international solidarity? On the day the Millerands became a common phenomenon, we would have to say 'farewell' to all internationalism and become nationalists, and this neither you nor I will ever agree to" (Jules Guesde, *En Garde!*, Paris, 1911, pp. 175-76).

It is not true that France is waging this 1914-17 war for freedom, national inde-

pendence, democracy, and so on. . . . She is fighting to retain her colonies, and for England to retain hers, colonies to which Germany would have had a much greater right — from the standpoint of bourgeois law, of course. She is fighting to give Russia Constantinople, etc. . . . Consequently, this war is being waged not by democratic and revolutionary France, not by the France of 1792, nor the France of 1848, nor the France of the Commune. It is being waged by bourgeois France, reactionary France, that ally and friend of tsarism, the "world usurer" (the expression is not mine, it belongs to Lysis, a contributor to *'Humanité'*), who is defending his booty, his "sacred right" to possess colonies, his "freedom" to exploit the entire world with the help of the millions loaned to weaker or poorer nations.

Do not tell me it is hard to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary wars. You want me to indicate a purely practical criterion that would be understood by all, in addition to the scientific criterion indicated above?

Here it is: Every fair-sized war is prepared beforehand. When a revolutionary war is being prepared, democrats and socialists are not afraid to state in advance that they favour "defence of the fatherland" in this war. When however, in contrast, a reactionary war is being prepared, no socialist will venture to state in advance, that is, before war is declared, meaning that he will favour "defence of the fatherland".

Marx and Engels were not afraid to urge the German people to fight Russia in 1848 and 1859.

In contrast, at their Basle Congress in 1912 the socialists did not venture to speak of "defence of the fatherland" in the war they could see as maturing and which broke out in 1914.

Our Party is not afraid to declare publicly that it will sympathise with wars or uprisings which Ireland might start against England; Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia against France; Tripoli against Italy; the Ukraine, Persia, China against Russia, etc.

But what of the social-chauvinists? And the "Centrists"? Will they have the courage openly and officially to state that they favour, or will favour, "defence of the fatherland" in the event of war breaking out between, say, Japan and the United States, a clearly imperialist war prepared over the course of many years, and one which would imperil many hundreds of millions of people? I

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Lenin leading the insurrection.

1. Centrists — that is, "socialists" who, in World War I tried to carve out a "middle position" between revolutionary internationalism and open social-chauvinism (socialism in words, support for the imperialist war policy in deeds) and opposed breaking from the latter.

2. Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party.

* This article was written in reply to an open letter by Boris Souvarine, the French Centrist, "A nos amis qui sont en Suisse" ("To Our Friends in Switzerland"), published in *Le Populaire du Centre*, December 10, 1916.

Lenin sent the article to Souvarine who in January 1918 turned it over to the socialist *La Vérité* for publication, together with his preface. The article was to have appeared on January 24, in No. 45 of the paper, but was banned by the censor. *La Vérité* came out with a blank space, over which was the heading "Un document inédit. Une lettre de Lénine" ("Unpublished document. A Letter from Lenin") with the signature "Lénine". Three days later, on January 27, *La Vérité* published the article, with many cuts and with its own subheadings, in No. 48. The full text was published in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia* (Proletarian Revolution) No. 7, 1929 from the *La Vérité* galley.

Japanese-American Woman Testifies at War Crimes Tribunal

The Legacy of America's Concentration Camps

The following testimony was given on December 6, 1981 by a Japanese-American woman at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism. Testimony has been edited by the author for publication in the Revolutionary Worker.

This testimony represents the memories of a 5-year-old girl, memories carried for 39 years and finally spoken out. There may be those who perhaps remember more, who perhaps suffered more mental anguish or material loss. But the degree of human suffering cannot be measured on any fixed scale in the face of the historical violation of basic constitutional rights and utter disregard of universal human rights perpetrated by the United States government against more than 120,000 men, women, and children of American citizenship and Japanese ancestry.

Now nearly 40 years after the camps, the government has set up a commission to determine the extent of loss suffered by the Japanese-Americans who were imprisoned in the concentration camps in order to make some kind of reparations. This is an example of the extent to which this government will go to protect the interests of its ruling class, appearing to confess its mistakes and make amends for this great injustice. In fact, its purpose is more insidious.

First, they want to assure Japan's continuing alliance in the future war so they hope these hearings will allay any bad feelings Japan may harbor about what was done to its people here. Also, the experience of Vietnam, Watergate, the current economic depression—these and many other factors have made the people increasingly cynical and mistrustful of this government. In war preparations, there is a need to bolster the people's patriotism and whip up national chauvinism once again. These hearings are a way to try and assure everyone that this is a government that gives people a fair hearing, redresses its wrongs, and deserves our patriotic loyalty. But the people must not be fooled.

It is an act of appeasing the now vocal Japanese who are finally speaking out on this issue. As they have done with Blacks and Native Americans and other oppressed groups—dead-end reforms, token gestures, broken treaties. I am very cynical about the outcome of these hearings.

For my mother and father, any compensation, monetary or otherwise, comes too little and too late for they are both long dead, victims to the end of the racist superstructure of this country.

At this time, I hope to further expose another in the long list of war crimes committed by this government against the oppressed and exploited people of its own country and worldwide and again, the extent to which it will go to protect the interests of the ruling class in the name of so-called "national security."

In the spring of 1942 my father was 43 years old. He had been living in this country for about 15 years, the son of a laborer from Yamaguchi, Japan. Self-educated at Berkeley, California night schools, he spoke perfect English, had great ability in mathematics, and had the modest ambition to be an accountant. He had worked odd jobs as a young man as janitor and carpenter. At the time of evacuation, he was a gardener which was the best-paying job he could get as a

Japanese alien in the 1930s. As the oldest son in a traditional Japanese family, he held responsibility for the welfare of his four younger brothers and sisters and always seemed to be laboring to pay someone else's bills. He was hard-working, reserved, and rather gloomy with the burdens of his life. He was an alien because Japanese immigrants were denied citizenship at this time.

In the spring of 1942 my mother was 34 years old. She was born in San Francisco. Her father had been a teacher in Japan and came to this country to work on the railroads. My mother grew up in Monterey, California, where she worked in a peach cannery and then moved to the Bay Area where she went to art school. She was a bright, gifted woman of unflinching spirit, the opposite in temperament of my father.

In the spring of 1942 there were three children in the family, ages 9, 5, and 3. We lived in a mixed neighborhood in Berkeley, went to school with Black, Asian, and white friends. Although we went to a Japanese church, it too had a totally American orientation. I was a 5-year-old American girl who happened to look Japanese. That's all I knew about race and racism in 1942.

In the spring of 1942 American racism against Japanese was raging. America's history of anti-immigrant racism is well-known, given the inherent racist superstructure of this form of government, and is as old as its history. However, with the large wave of Asian immigration during the turn of the century, anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese racism became particularly virulent on the West Coast.

The Japanese had begun to dominate the California farmlands. With their age-old skills in agricultural methods and inherent love of nature and things that grow from the land, even though given the worst land to cultivate—under telephone wires, in marshlands—they transformed this land into lush productive fields. Before the evacuation, Japanese farmed 40% of California farmland, highly productive land that was now coveted by agribusiness interests who stood to profit greatly by the elimination of the Japanese farmer. At the time notice of evacuation was posted in early spring, all the hard work of planting and fertilizing was done for a harvest the hard-working Japanese farmer would never reap, and authorities told them that if they did not continue farming in spite of orders to evacuate, destruction of crops would be construed as sabotage and punished as such. Their land was virtually stolen from them, including \$40 million worth of crops in the ground and \$100 million in investments.

The attack on Pearl Harbor now gave military and political justification for kicking the Japanese off the land.

Public racist hysteria was stirred to an irrational frenzy by officials of the government and members of the media. Violent attacks on Japanese persons and property were common. Suspicion and paranoia reached ridiculous heights. A farmer's Buddhist candle-lighting ritual was suspected as subversive light signals at his window, and his one long yellow row of wintering turnips in the midst of his garden patch was construed as an arrow pointing out a neighboring naval base to the enemy.

The loyalty of every Japanese was now in question—immigrant or American-born citizen, men, women, children, 80-year-old Issei, sick and even dying—a

Jap's a Jap was the justification. Get them off the West Coast where they could send signals to the enemy. These Japs, the Yellow Peril, mysterious and inscrutable, untrustworthy—who knows who they would stab in the back? The question of East Coast security and Germans and Italians was something else. As President Roosevelt stated, "Those chiefly affected are American citizens of Japanese parentage. Citizens of German and Italian descent will not be involved except for specific cause."

In the spring of 1942 America was at war with Japan. Along with about 120,000 others of Japanese descent, my family read this notice posted on telephone poles throughout West Coast towns:

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION Presidio of San Francisco, California May 3, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All that portion of the City of Los Angeles, State of California, within that boundary beginning at the point at which North Figueroa Street meets a line following the westerly side of the Los Angeles River; thence westerly and following the said line to East First Street; thence westerly to East First Street to Atlantic Street; thence westerly to Atlantic Street to East Third Street; thence north westerly to East Third Street to Main Street; thence westerly to Main Street to First Street; thence north westerly to First Street to Figueroa Street; thence north westerly to Figueroa Street to the point of departure.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 33, this Headquarters, dated May 3, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, birth born and non-born, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P. M., Saturday, May 9, 1942.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o'clock noon, P. M., Sunday, May 3, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Southern California Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:
Japanese Union Church,
128 North San Pedro Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of visiting members of a family, or in case of grave emergency. The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

- 1. Give advice and information on the evacuation.
- 2. Provide services with respect to the measurement, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
- 3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
- 4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

- 1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Tuesday, May 5, 1942.
- 2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
 - (a) Bedding and linens (see mattress) for each member of the family.
 - (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family.
 - (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family.
 - (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family.
 - (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

- 3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
- 4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
- 5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as irons, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furnishings. The names and addresses of the agencies will be furnished upon request to the Assembly Center or will be authorized to travel by private automobile in a supervised group. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Monday, May 4, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Tuesday, May 5, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DAVITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army

In 10 days we had to sell all we owned. We owned no property since my father was a non-citizen. But we had old records, a phonograph, furniture, all of which had to be sold, to exploiting peddlers who took advantage of our desperate situation. Radios, cameras, even flashlights, all deemed contraband even in the hands of my little old devout grandmother, were confiscated so that we could not send signals to the enemy across the Pacific. We were allowed to take with us only those clothes and possessions we could carry.

As in all prisons and concentration camps, each inmate must be kept careful track of, and identification numbers with their stigma and dehumanizing purpose were assigned to each family. I remember this number well, stamped on big tags

flapping from our coat lapels and stenciled on all the big wooden crates of our belongings when we left the camp. We were then herded like cattle into army convoys trucks and transported across the Bay to the Tanforan racetrack. The idea of evacuation was so hastily conceived that the actual concentration camps were not ready for occupation, so we had to spend some months in these detention centers. The racetrack stalls were made "habitable" by whitewashing the horse stables, white paint over straw and manure stains. Our family of five was housed in one room of a barrack divided by incomplete partitions over which the noise of the neighboring family could be heard. I remember the straw mattresses, made of crude mattress ticking which we filled with straw, and I remember



Photos, clockwise—(1) The Manzanar Project jail, a steel cell block which caged 4 prisoners. It was located within the police station, the site of a rebellion on Dec. 6, 1943. (2) and (3)—Inside the stockade at Tule Lake camp rollcall is held for a group of 155 men who were considered ring-leaders (called "pressure boys") of a rebellion there in November of 1943. Tule Lake was the camp where people of Japanese ancestry were sent who had either refused to take an oath of allegiance, had asked to be sent to Japan, or were suspected of "being dangerous to national security." (4) Guards beating internees at Tule Lake.

very sick. We were all given the same GI doses of vaccine for immunization—adults and children—so we children became ill with minor cases of smallpox. We were all vaccinated in an assembly line, and my mother said that whenever I saw people lining up after that—and there were to be many more lines, for the bathroom, for eating—I used to run away. Tanforan hospital notes were recorded as follows:
"Many cases of German measles are coming into camp as new evacuees arrive—it is almost uncontrollable. Doctor said she asked for an isolation building but none was given. Dr. Harbison of U.S. Public Health Service

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Camps

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told the doctor, "Well, they all have to get measles some time so let them get it." Older people who have poor memories, etc., get up at night and try to get out—Doctor says she has to bandage and sew up heads in the mornings of the old people who try to get through the gates and have been struck on head by soldiers."

We spent almost three months at Tanforan and then once again were rounded up. We boarded old trains, taken out of the mothballs for this historic occasion. They drew the shades down so we could not see where we were being taken, in case we were to take notes and inform the enemy of our whereabouts. These old trains took us through the Rocky Mountains, away from the water and green landscape so precious to Japanese life and culture, into the alien desert of Utah. Topaz, Jewel of the Desert, was its ironic name. This was the place where we were to live for the next three years—a low-lying little ghost of a town, spotted with black tar-papered barracks, barren desert dust everywhere with no greenery to hold it down, except for patches of sage brush and tumbling weeds. And the barbed wire surrounding it all, linked by watchtowers with machine-gun armed guards.

20-11-E. That was our address. Block 20, Barrack 11, Room E. There were about six families to a barrack. Our family of five—soon to be six—had one room, about 20x25 feet. I remember the fresh lumber smell of the place, the walls with their exposed studs, no plaster wall covering, the bare wood floors, the army cots and bunkbeds, and the funny-looking potbelly stove that was to be our only source of warmth in the deathly cold desert winters. Each block of about 14 barracks had a messhall for dining, an unheated community latrine, a laundry center, a bathhouse—all reached by

walking through rain, snow, and thick desert mud, even disregarding the very old, the very young, and the sick.

Fine desert sand invaded everything in the wake of frequent duststorms—eyes, nose, mouth, hair, clothes, through the windows and doors, into food, dishes, beds.

Messhall food was bad, institutional, cooked in big iron drums—thick rubbery pancakes, gluey oatmeal mush, white pasty chicken fricassee, food starched and boiled to death. The messhall lines were long, and my little brother would fall asleep at the table, having waited so long for his dinner. After a while, my father would bring home our food to us in galvanized pails so we would not have to wait in line.

The authorities demanded that children continue with as American an education as possible, to maintain the illusion that they were still living in a democracy. My kindergarten class was at Desert View school; my sister went to Mountain View. It was much like our school in Berkeley, except that my teachers were both Japanese and there were no Black or white children. There was Old MacDonald Had A Farm, graham crackers and milk, and the pledge of allegiance to the United States flag every morning.

I spent my fifth, sixth, and seventh years in Topaz. Who can say what kind of social consciousness I had at that young age? With the security of both parents, shelter, and food, a child adapts very easily to any situation. But even at that young age, I sensed a certain irony in singing about the land of the free and saluting the American flag with glimpses of barbed wire just outside the school-room window. Although congressional lawmakers had demanded that patriotic values continue to be stressed within the concentration camps, for a whole generation growing up behind stockades little could be done to erase from their impressionable minds the all too pervasive evidence that the treatment which cast them as separate and inferior people had to do with the color of their skin.

I was only a little girl, but there were still terrible questions in my mind. The menacing barbed wire all around, the military guardhouses. What were those guards afraid of? Why was that old man shot just because he went under the fence to get his dog? What was it there for to get his dog? What were all those banners anyway? What were all those banners on the windows of old Issei widows—some had two stars, some three, some five stars. My mother explained that these were mothers whose sons had died in the war, two, three, five sons all killed in action. These little banners were delivered to them in the camps, where all rights were refused except the right to join the army and die for the U.S. government.

My own personal loss and pain could only be reflected in the long-term disintegration of our family security and well-being. In the camps my father worked as an electrician for \$16 a month. Unable to save anything or establish any kind of future investment in job or money, my parents faced a future full of fearful uncertainty.

In 1945, after the bombing of Hiroshima and V-J day, my father was released from the camp to go back to California and look for a job. He found a job as caretaker of the estate of a wealthy couple in Oakland, and my mother was given the job of maid for this couple. All our belongings were crated up, stamped with our number. We had accumulated a few reminders of Topaz days, some army-issue blankets, the old army hats, my father always wore afterwards, some Indian arrowheads and flintstones, old fossils and seashells—sad mementos of a bitter three years past.

What was the long-term effect of those years in an alien land on me, on my family, on my mother and father, on the Japanese people?

I myself became an abnormally shy girl and always had great difficulty meeting new friends. I had been outcast from Berkeley into the camps and had accepted

my label as an outcast American. To come from the camps where everyone was Japanese and now to be in a school where everyone was white was a tremendous shock. My eventual adjustment was to become as white as I could. I was proud that I spoke no Japanese, only English. I was proud to have nothing but white friends at school. As another young evacuee put it:

"Again, I saw two worlds. My own world where I had my friends, my Caucasian friends, and my mother's world, her church friends, her all-Japanese friends. And looking back, I had a choice then—to be Japanese, to be part of the Japanese community, or to take up this more comfortable American, meaning white, culture. And anyways, so way back, I see there was a choice. I kind of made a deliberate choice of not pursuing the Japanese part of it."

I became an extremely self-conscious student, afraid of being judged on the basis of my Japanese race, not on the basis of my own personal worth. I felt always that whatever I did, whatever answer I gave in class, reflected on me as a member of the Japanese race and my entire race would be disgraced if I did something bad or gave a wrong answer. Such are the ways that racism warps and stunts our full development as human beings.

My brothers and sister were affected in different ways. We were all secretly filled with self-loathing of our Japanese-ness, the thing that set us apart, the thing that put us in the camps. My brother who was born in the camp felt the stigma of race keenly. Why isn't my hair blond, he would ask tearing at his thick black hair. A truly perverse teacher gave this shy boy a speech assignment she thought very appropriate. President Roosevelt's Pearl Harbor declaration of war on Japan speech ("This is a day that will live in infamy..."). Although very bright with a near-genius IQ, he became truant from school, locking himself in his room. Too sensitive to face the post-war racism of white America, he withdrew further and further into a world of books and introspection. He later found liberation from schoolmates who called him Jap and a world he found too painful to confront; he became a heroin addict at 17 years old.

My father returned to California as a gardener and he died as a gardener. He tried to rise out of this job, which he never really liked, but could not. There were now five children to support, and as a Japanese in the post-war United States, starting all over after a term of prison, your options were few. Bitter arguments reflecting the social pressures of the time raged between my parents, and my childhood memories of the psychological disintegration of my family home life are painful to recall.

Six years after release from the camps, my father died, broken in body and spirit. He had spent three years in the prison of a concentration camp working for \$16 a month, and now he had to begin anew at age 46. But working from 5 in the morning to 6 at night, often six days a week, as a gardener, a job he hated, he seemed to have lost the will to live. He died in 1951 when I was 14. The next year the McCarran Immigration Act was passed, allowing Japanese immigrants to become U.S. citizens.

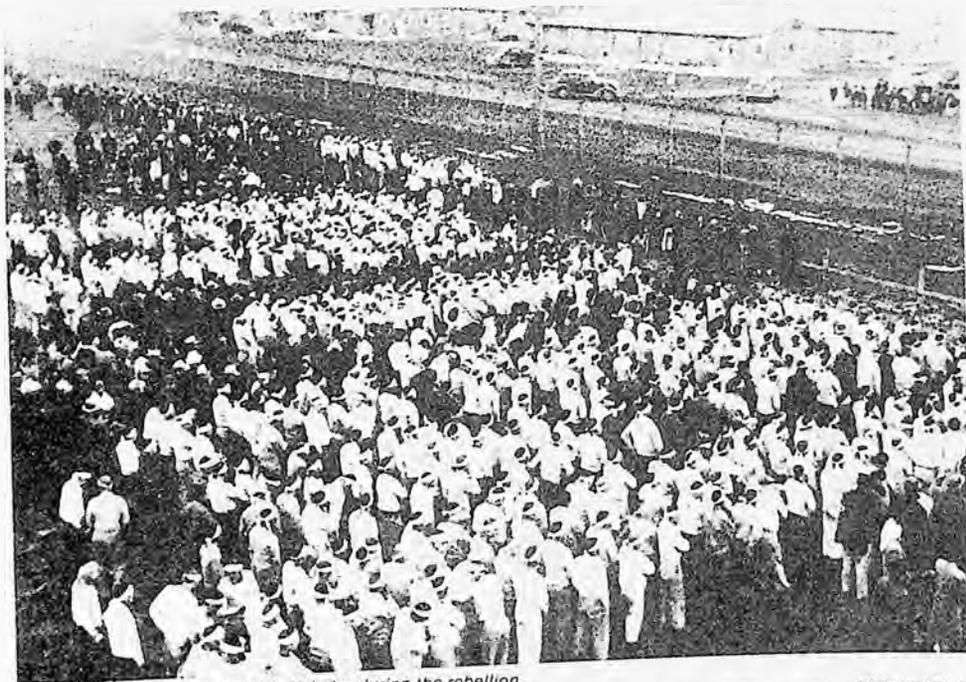
My mother was left a young widow with five children, ages 3 to 18. A bright, gifted, outgoing person, she could only find work as a maid for \$1.25 an hour and was plagued in her last years by the sorrow of a junkie son, her Topaz baby.

As mentioned at the beginning of this testimony, although devastating to me personally my story may seem of only pathetic interest to many in view of some other more dramatic testimony. But the ranks of the exploited victims of government oppression is full of quiet murders, slow deaths.

Through talking with other evacuees and reading personal testimony, I find my family's experience to be no isolated phenomenon. A Nisei describes what happened to his camp friends:

"Fifteen of my friends were members of a scrub football team in Minidoka... Eight of these friends have passed away. The ages of their deaths rang-

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(Top) Mass demonstration at Tule Lake during the rebellion.



(Bottom) This photo, from a 1944 LIFE magazine report on the camps ran with a caption that is worth reprinting as a classic example of imperialist tactics. It read: "Representatives of the Japanese meet with WRA officials on camp problems. Center: Ray Best, WRA project manager. After November riots 'negotiating-committee' members, who had made demands on WRA, were put in stockade. A new 'coordinating committee' was picked to represent Japanese. This group, shown here, supported a return-to-work program."

Statement From Defense Team New Trial Set in Salvadoran Tour Case

Following is a statement released by the Salvadoran Tour Defense Team in Tulsa, Oklahoma, this week:

On Friday, Jan. 8, after three months of pre-trial battle waged in and out of the courtroom, followed by a five-day trial, the jury announced that in six-and-a-half hours deliberation it was unable to reach a verdict on the charge of "felony transport of illegal aliens" which the U.S. government had brought against two members of the Salvadoran revolutionaries speaking tour. Next, in rapid-fire motion, the judge declared a mistrial, the prosecution leapt up and demanded a new trial and a new trial date, and WHAM—the defendants were suddenly facing another trial, only five weeks away, on Feb. 16.

The express railroad of the government is not advancing exactly according to their schedule, and the imperialists' desperation in this case is more and more coming into vivid relief.

Scheduling this second trial is the latest maneuver in the series of vicious and speedy attempts to jail Carol Tsuji and Manuel Campos for a possible five years. Based on the fact that these two were riding in the same car with the two Salvadorans on tour, the U.S. government has all along tried to build its flimsy legal case that this is just a "simple criminal transport case." The real nature of the attack has been increasingly plain, however.

Since the arrests of the tour members in Miami, Oklahoma, Oct. 12, the government has persistently hounded, harried, and harassed the two Salvadorans, and the two charged with "felony transport." It demanded bail amounts which were unheard of for the charges, placed courtroom supervision over the tour schedule, required personal appearances on petty matters at critical times in the tour, and the prosecution through the press even called for a gag order to be placed on the defense attorneys. All this, of course, for a "routine, criminal" matter. Yet from the beginning, it has been clear—from the extraordinary legal measures they've taken, to the involvement of such forces as the CIA, the State Department's "Threat Analysis Group," and others—that the government was after far more than harassment. Now this is clearer than ever. The U.S. government is determined to decisively nail the tour

members, to deport some and imprison others, and by so doing deliver a clear-cut and forceful blow to revolutionary immigrants and anyone who aids or associates with them, as well as the internationalist line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, is nationally sponsoring the tour.

Before the trial proceedings even began, the judge forced the two Salvadorans, whose testimony was certain to rip apart their case, into an isolated room where an attorney "speaking with the authority of the U.S. government" threatened, cajoled, and even tried to bribe them into signing "voluntary departure" forms and abscond them to Mexico. This trump card of the government's—which amounted to blatant tampering with witnesses, if not attempted kidnapping—was torn into shreds as the Salvadorans staunchly rebuffed them. The U.S. government's failure in this maneuver, as well as other blatant trampling on their own laws, and the subsequent exposure of these things in court, may well have had something to do with the government's unusually hasty declaration of a mistrial, and their attempt to sweep some of this under a legal rug. Even so, their hounding and threats against the Salvadorans have hardly let up. Not only have they ordered one of the Salvadorans to appear in court for the next trial, but both continue to face deportation charges with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service—charges which could be set for hearing at any time.

In countering the government's attack, the defense mounted a campaign which mobilized broad support both inside and outside the courtroom. The revolutionary politics the bourgeoisie was trying so hard to suppress with their attacks in the first place, have gotten out even more in the defense's counterattack. Hundreds of telegrams have poured into the prosecutor's office, and the trial itself was attended by nuns, lawyers, Black revolutionary nationalists, youth and others. People anxiously awaited the verdict across the country and even internationally—the results were announced as far away as a Spanish-language radio station in Los Angeles, and individuals, organizations, and press continually called the defense phone number monitoring

the trial's progress.

A number of witnesses called by the defense slashed away at the political nature of the government's attack. A Salvadoran brother facing deportation charges himself in Texas gave very moving exposure of the treatment of Salvadoran refugees and of conditions under the rule of the Salvadoran junta. A philosophy professor from Central State University in Ohio spoke of the value of the tour's appearance at his campus; an expert witness in immigration law testified as did one of the defendants and both of the Salvadorans on tour.

During the trial a picture began to emerge, which obviously influenced some of the jurors: a picture of two Salvadoran revolutionaries, driven from their homeland by the terror of U.S. imperialism and its puppet regime, coming to this country, applying for political asylum and setting out on a nationwide tour to expose the crimes of the imperialists and their junta, placing events there in the context of the coming showdown of U.S. and Soviet war blocs—and a picture too of a revolutionary party and its youth group, determined that this internationalist message gets every bit of the audience it deserves and demands. And the defense also clearly showed exactly what the U.S. was trying to do with this "routine, criminal" case. From the

other side, there emerged a picture of a government determined that such a message be suppressed, and that its spokesmen, and those like them and those who support them, be silenced.

The government failed to carry its attack all the way in this round; its clearly-stated determination to do so in the next round poses a sharp challenge. In addition, stepped-up harassment and petty arrests on members of the defense team in Tulsa have followed immediately in the wake of the first trial. The complete halt of this railroad is long overdue. Defense attorneys have already filed a motion demanding that the judge dismiss the case, and they plan on going to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver. What is needed now is a stepped-up effort to defeat the government's continued pursuit of the tour members and to throw all the charges completely out.

Statements should be sent to:

Judge T. Brett
333 West 4th St.
Tulsa, OK

Contributions for legal/defense expenses, which are continuing to mount, should be sent to:

Salvador Tour Defense Team
c/o RCYB
P.O. Box A3836
Chicago, IL 60690

FLASH

As we go to press, a lawyer for the two Salvadoran revolutionaries has just received an official letter from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) scheduling deportation hearings for these two brothers February 9th in Dallas, Texas. When they were arrested October 12, in Miami, Oklahoma, the Salvadorans were held on INS charges of being "illegal aliens" in this country, and on federal charges of traveling without "proper identification papers." The federal charges were dismissed in December on a technicality as a result of the massive defense campaign launched nationally and internationally. Further, before they left Los Angeles on the national speaking tour, the Salvadorans signed papers with their lawyer to apply for political asylum in the U.S. Despite these applications for political asylum,

however, the INS still announced it would pursue deportation proceedings, although until now not setting the date for these hearings. If deported, the Salvadorans would face certain imprisonment and torture and very likely death at the hands of the fascist junta in El Salvador. While full details are not yet known, this is clearly an outrageous escalation in the government's attack, as the deportation hearings are scheduled despite the fact that the Salvadorans' political asylum claim has yet to be heard. In addition, neither the Salvadorans nor their lawyers have received word regarding their motion for a change of venue from Dallas to where they live, Los Angeles. What's more, the timing of the deportation hearings is one week before the new felony "transport" trial in Tulsa. □

Camps

Continued from page 12

ed from 15 to 46. Two died of gunshot wounds, one self-inflicted. Two died of other medical reasons, and the last four from leukemia. Studies performed by clinical psychologists indicate a correlation in people contracting leukemia in adult life who suffered psychological trauma at an early age. The untold stories of suicides, long-term mental problems, families breaking apart, and other catastrophes will never be recorded in this generation. For some of us Nikkei, it has taken over thirty years to discuss openly the trauma and their effects. Many others will take their inner feelings to their graves."

As Nisei activist Edison Uno put it, "We were like the victims of rape. We felt shamed. We could not bear to speak of the assault." And like the Vietnam veterans with the delayed-action poison of Agent Orange in their bodies, the damaged bodies and psyches of America's concentration camps keep surfacing even after 40 years.

Why was there no resistance to this outrageous government action? I have heard this essentially academic question asked many times. Is it because the Japanese are somehow inherently passive and so law-abiding? Japan's long history of innumerable peasant uprisings belies this stereotype. Today the spirit of resistance is so strong among Japanese that any government injustice in Japan, for instance, from turning farmlands into airports, to nuclear rearmament, brings out emotions and resistance in the masses so fierce and violent that government police must be equipped with shields and ar-

mored tanks. And the courage and bravery of Japanese-Americans who fought for their beliefs has been proven by the record of the 442nd Battalion, the most highly decorated armed services unit in U.S. history, a battalion of Japanese-Americans who volunteered from the camps.

But let's examine the circumstances in 1942: In the face of unchecked racism that was their entire immigrant history from the time they stepped off the boats, these Japanese, like all immigrant peoples, were hard at work trying to assimilate and prove their worth and acceptance into the new society: old first-generation grandfathers and grandmothers, second-generation men and women with small children to care for—do we have any right to reproach these people for non-resistance in the face of armed bayonet guard and 10 days' notice? In fact, there was resistance and revolt, which I will relate later.

But at this time what organizations of any political influence spoke out in their defense in a country where war hysteria and national chauvinism were being whipped up by media and government officials? Although many individuals expressed moral outrage, only the pacifist Quakers of the American Friends Service Committee actively worked on behalf of the evacuees. The Communist Party of the USA deemed this event not politically expedient to oppose, maintaining the anti-fascist united front, siding with the allied imperialist bloc against the Axis imperialists in an inter-imperialist war. Here was the CP supporting the government image as worldwide champion of freedom and democracy even though it was setting up concentration camps right within its own borders.

But, as a reader writing in the *Revolutionary Worker* put it:

"...this struggle was not only over

whether to comply or resist but many times how to resist. Spontaneously people fought back in the only way they could without class-conscious leadership—scattered and without an understanding of the real nature of the system that had put them behind barbed wire. Sometimes this took the form of pro-Japan nationalism or fighting militantly against the incarceration, but still within the confines of bourgeois legality and with heavy illusions about American 'democracy.'"

Within the camps, especially at Tule Lake where so-called disloyal were segregated, revolt began to take shape as unwilling evacuees began immediately to give violent expression to their feelings of discomfort and dissatisfaction with respect to living conditions, food, employment, and working conditions. Strikes, threats, and acts of violence were the tools of this revolt, with formation of groups that aptly referred to themselves as colonists living in the colony.

And with revolt came suppression and martial law at Tule Lake, underground movements and informers, brutal stockades, and mass relinquishment of American citizenship. Joe Kurihara, a real hero of this resistance and a former veteran of World War I, gave his reasons for renunciation:

"...Did the government think we were so without pride to work for \$16.00 a month when people outside were paid \$40.00 to \$50.00 a week in the defense plants? Responsible government officials further told us to be loyal and that to enjoy our rights as American citizens we must be ready to die for the country. We must show our loyalty. If such is the case, why are the veterans corralled like the rest of us in the camps? Have they not proven their loyalty already? This matter of proving

one's loyalty to enjoy the rights of an American citizen was nothing but a hocus-pocus.

"My American friends...no doubt must have wondered why I renounced my citizenship. This decision was not that of today or yesterday. It dates back to the day when General DeWitt ordered evacuation. It was confirmed when he flatly refused to listen even to the voices of the former World War Veterans and it was doubly confirmed when I entered Manzanar...To General DeWitt, we were all alike. 'A Jap's a Jap. Once a Jap, always a Jap'...I swore to become a Jap 100 percent and never to do another day's work to help this country fight this war. My decision to renounce my citizenship there and then was absolute."

The U.S. Commission hearings on the evacuation even now are still asking Japanese-Americans to prove that they were loyal, that they are deserving of reparations. The victims are still on trial, the criminals are the judge.

The future implications of this U.S. concentration camp experience are obvious. There have been government reports on the camps—for example, *The Governing of Men*, by Lt. Cdr. Alexander Leighton—that are clearly an evaluation and analysis written as a primer on how to run a concentration camp in the United States, how to handle internees and insurgents, the mistakes that were made and how to avoid them in the event of future necessity. A handy reference for future use.

Given another government-orchestrated hysteria over "national security," for reasons of race, religion, color, politics, citizens can again be rounded up at the point of bayonets. This is the legacy of America's concentration camps. □

Call-Up Plans

Continued from page 1

a "defensive" step, justified by increased Soviet aggression against "freedom-loving peoples." U.S. gangster logic runs something like this: "See, it's not us who are greedy, warmongering imperialists; the Soviet actions are forcing us to ready the cannon-fodder." It is the same basic scenario that was utilized when Carter was in office and the Soviet imperialists invaded Afghanistan — that's when the draft registration program was kicked off.

Even under such conditions, they have faced difficulties and contradictions in taking these steps. The beginning of registration in the summer of 1980 was met by widespread opposition and demonstrations, some of which were broken up by a considerable show of force. More than one million people (according to the government's own figures) have refused to register. And, even in the face of new announcements by the Justice Department that they have already drawn up indictments on selected resisters (which are designed to target a few in the hopes of intimidating the many and carry with them a \$10,000 fine and a 5-year jail term), registration compliance over the past few months has dipped to only 77%. Which translates that nearly one quarter of

those slated to register have refused! Given the actual significance of such a step in the world situation today, Reagan's announcement that registration would continue, and that for the first time since the Vietnam War youth would be prosecuted for draft violations, tended to be downplayed in the U.S. press. In the following days it played second fiddle to the weather, the dropping of anti-trust suits against IBM and AT&T and other stories and didn't even make the TV news after the first day. After all, as a show of U.S. determination aimed as much at public opinion in the U.S. as at the Soviets, this was fine and good. But the possibility of diverting too much attention from Poland in a way that would target the U.S. rulers and their war preparations was something they were trying to minimize. In addition they hoped to limit recurrence of the anti-draft demonstrations, civil disobedience, and other such activities which have already been called for on the day the first indictments of non-registrants come down.

The government had by no means been sitting idle in the period before this latest decision. All the while the U.S. government was moving full steam ahead to construct and fine tune the machinery required not only for registration, but also for the draft itself. Additional money was authorized for the largely-dormant Selective Service System, and a new director — an active duty officer, Major General Thomas Turnage — appointed. Several thou-

sand local draft boards, which will deal with such issues as draft deferments and overall expedite the induction process once it is put into operation, were appointed across the country and have begun training programs. Several pieces of legislation have been introduced in the Congress to make it easier for Selective Service to obtain names and information on eligible 18-year-olds. And the Justice Department has prepared indictments against an initial group of non-registrants.

The press has recently run a number of articles questioning the adequacy of the All-Volunteer Army and highlighting attempts to gear up the troops' morale for war. Specifically they have pointed out that not only are more bodies needed but also "higher quality" recruits are needed: namely those from the middle-classes whom are staying away in droves. Also articles have appeared pointing out that the draft is being readied for a war far different from Vietnam — this time it is a just war for the very survival of the red, white and blue, "freedom and democracy" and all that jazz. Their intentions here are obvious. An article appearing in the January 11 *New York Times* tries to make the new draft system look appealing to those who have opposed their imperialist wars and war preparations with some very cheap hype. It describes the new draft boards thusly: "Stand-by draft boards established over the last few months have many more female, Black and Hispanic members than the boards of

the Vietnam era, according to the Selective Service System.... The System hopes that if Congress and the President decide to resume military conscription, decisions made by the more representative boards will sit better with those affected." The article then goes on to quote one of these "more representative" representatives who will be processing the cannonfodder for the cause of imperialism at the Danbury, Connecticut draft board. He, who "helped organize" anti-war demonstrations during Vietnam, lays out the rulers' thinking straight-up: "I still believe the Vietnam War was a wrong one, but there are legitimate wars." So instead of some 60-year-old Daughter of the American Revolution bureaucrat signing your ass up, "legitimate" patriotism will come wrapped this time around in anti-Vietnam War reminiscences, or with a Black, Latino or woman registrar to tell-it-like-it-is about the virtues of defending U.S. imperialism's empire. After all, what could be more "legitimate" than a full-scale, inter-imperialist world war!?

Clearly there is an urgency in U.S. plans and preparations; it is an urgency that comes with the rapid developments towards world war to re-divide the globe and their need to be in the best possible position for that. Their stepped-up plans to reinstate the draft are an important part of all this. And their latest moves especially to prosecute draft resisters show both just how serious they are and how significant opposition to these war moves is. □

Mudhole

Continued from page 5

liberation movement" and the means by which this vital association is enforced, should anyone object. Face it, the socialist signboard of Soviet-style revisionism has lost a few letters in recent weeks, a fact unquestionably felt within the movements Cuba claims to champion. Better for Fidel to clam up, at least until things cool down.

On the other hand, there's Castro's northern neighbor, the Communist Party USA which, operating within the Soviets' rival superpower, faces somewhat different conditions in carrying out long-range Soviet interests. The CP continued to openly and vocally support martial law from any number of sordid and reactionary angles. The West Coast CP newspaper, *People's World*,

continued to run stories like one headlined: "Poland: the other side of the story" which typically repeated every detailed "exposure" already run out in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. (This is kind of funny because last summer the same newspaper responded in an editorial to criticism of its pronounced absence of coverage on the workers' struggle in Poland by pleading a lack of news sources. No problem with "news sources" these days is there, Mr. Carl "Good and Welfare" Bloice?)

Pravda picked up on an editorial by Gus Hall, in which he is quoted as saying that martial law was instituted in Poland "when it became absolutely obvious that there was no other way of restoring order, security and calm in the country..." and that events have shown "not the defeat, but the victory of the Polish working people, of socialism in Poland and of world socialism..." etc., etc. The

CP has repeatedly developed this confounded social-imperialist notion, though, understandably, these "communists" have been a little defensive. "The Class Perspective," a piece appearing in the *Daily World's* op-ed page on Dec. 29, warns people against superficiality: "Events in Poland highlight the necessity of viewing complex political and economic developments in terms of class interests. On the surface, it appears that the army is being used to crush a workers' movement. But if the Polish situation is examined from a class perspective the opposite conclusion would be reached: that the decision to call in the army is in the best interests of the Polish—and international—working class."

Listen to them! This should be a real lesson in what these revisionists mean when they talk about communism. And not only is this a shameless defense of bourgeois oppression and murder, but a

frank admission of the nature of revisionist "internationalism," in other words, subservience to the imperialist interests of the Soviet Union and its bloc.

Of course the CP continues to couch its line behind cries of "Remember, Reagan doesn't care about PATCO workers!" and "Remember, Reagan doesn't care about welfare recipients!", ad nauseum. Their posture isn't simply feeble, but designed to appeal to straight out philistinism and to spontaneity and narrowness of various sorts in the U.S., including narrow nationalism.

But Poland (and, though quite inadvertently, the very line and actions of the CP) shows the decisive necessity for genuine proletarian internationalism, the need to view things on a world plane and act on this vision. And a key element of the struggle for this line is relentless struggle against Soviet-style revisionism around the world and in the U.S. □

INS To Triple "Productivity" In L.A.

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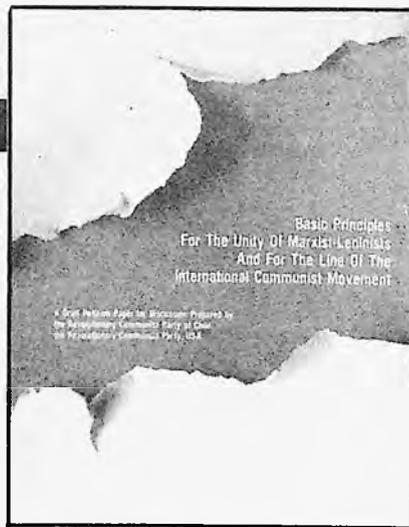
50-50 chance of being given 30 days to get out of the U.S., or you could take your chances by not reporting. One INS official, in a rather gross understatement, said, "I doubt that many of them will show up." And, of course, any who are now deported will become ineligible for "amnesty" under the new immigration legislation pending before Congress which requires five years of continuous residency.

The INS claims that this typical INS dirty trick "only" affects 100,000 people, 70,000 of them Mexican, but immigration activists told the *RW* that the number is near half a million when family members are included. And the State Department assures those with the worse than worthless "Silva letters" that they will "continue to be treated routinely" by the INS. How reassuring! Like the young mother who was called in for an interview after California hospital administrators turned her application for Medicaid over to the INS (as required by a quaint California law), who immediately arrested her, setting the bail at \$3,000. Or like those "routinely" deported to El Salvador to such an extent that the road in El Salvador from the airport to San Salvador has come to be called "El Camino de las Muertes" (the "Highway of the Dead").

The INS has announced that when it "comes into contact" with holders of the "Silva letters," it will inform them "that

the letters are no longer valid." Meanwhile, in announcing the tripling of factory raids in Los Angeles, the District Director oinked, "At any given time we probably have 7,000 to 8,000 pieces of information about illegal aliens in the area— complaints from co-workers, disgruntled spouses, neighbors..." No mention of those handy "Silva letters" here, which include at least 30,000 "pieces of information" about where people work in the Los Angeles area. In fact, immigration attorneys told the *RW* that the INS uses any information it gets when people register to decide which factories to raid. In addition, this INS pig announced that the INS won't "pick on" the garment industry and won't hit any factories unless it has "enough evidence to get a search warrant." Not that the INS has ever worried about such details as search warrants, but with all the information they now have, including that which they got through the "Silva letters," boosting "productivity" should be no problem. And the garment industry, which would obviously go belly-up without the super-exploitation of immigrant workers, will nevertheless continue to be one of their favorite targets.

What the "Silva letters," as well as the 1982 "priorities" show, is that for all talk of "amnesty" programs, the fundamental *modus operandi* of U.S. imperialist "immigration policy" will continue to be terror and deportation. □



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A draft document from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA for discussion in the international communist movement and within their respective Parties. The document was submitted to the autumn 1980 international conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations, which held that, "on the whole, the text is a positive contribution toward the elaboration of a correct general line for the international communist movement. With this perspective, the text should be circulated and discussed not only in the ranks of those organizations who have signed this communique, but throughout the ranks of the international communist movement." □

Police Strike Spearheads Attacks

Milwaukee Authorities Seek Revenge

On December 23 the Milwaukee Police Department carried out a 16-hour strike spearheading a reactionary offensive against the Black masses there on behalf of Milwaukee's rulers. The immediate events leading up to the strike began when a Black youth allegedly shot and killed two Milwaukee cops after being chased into an alley by the cops after an alleged robbery attempt. Robert Collins, a 19-year-old unemployed Black youth, was later picked up and charged with the shootings. Following this a Black alderman, Roy Nabors, made a press statement contending that Collins might have acted out of fear of the police. "He may have acted out of fear rather than any kind of sensible surrender to the police," said Nabors. This mild statement, made by a long-time loyal lackey of the power structure in the city and made obviously as simply a bit of friendly advice to the pigs not to overreact to the shootings, raised howls of protest from the pigs and was seized upon as the pretext for their strike. The supposedly injured and insulted cops walked out, vowing not to return until all due apologies were made.

While some noises of disapproval were made about the "illegality" of the strike, the bourgeoisie itself was at the very least pleased with this move if not integrally involved in planning it (some sources say that actions such as this have been in the works for quite some time). Stung by the mass outrage and active protest against police murders in the city, particularly around the recent killing of Ernest Lacy, the bourgeoisie was most anxious to lash back. The strike provided the opportunity to both unleash a new show of repressive force in the Black areas of Milwaukee and rally sections of the authorities' social base in the city against those who have been challenging them.

On the evening of July 9 three white pigs beat Ernest Lacy to death in front of numerous eyewitnesses. As ten cops gathered at the scene, the three-man TAC squad threw Lacy against the sidewalk, pressed him down and handcuffed him. One cop put his full weight on Lacy's neck by pressing his knee down. The 300 pounds of pressure

crushing Lacy's windpipe into the sidewalk killed him. It was later admitted even by the cops that Lacy was completely innocent of the rape he was accused of committing.

This outrageous murder unleashed a wave of anger and action that had not been seen in Milwaukee for quite some time. During the summer a series of demonstrations of up to 10,000 people—mostly Black, but drawing in all nationalities and diverse class forces as well—put the ruling class on the defensive politically.

A 4-1/2-week inquest into the murder was held last fall. The six jurors unanimously found the cops guilty of murder and homicide charges were placed against them. In addition, other police brutality cases started to come into the spotlight. A month ago a Federal jury awarded \$1.8 million to the estate of Daniel Bell, a Black man who was shot to death by the Milwaukee police in 1958 and whose murder had been covered up. A white businessman was also severely beaten by police and his case is now in the courts.

In early December it was announced that the homicide charges against Ernest Lacy's killers were being dropped despite the voluminous eyewitness testimony about his cold-blooded murder. Although charges against two of the three cops were refiled on January 12, already it seems one killer has been let go. And the reason given for dropping the charges in December simply drips with the twisted logic of the whole justifiable homicide system and gives a clue to just how far these latest charges are likely to go.

The December ruling was that the white officers who killed Lacy had their constitutional rights violated during the inquest because the judge had set a "racial quota" which required an equal number of Blacks and whites to sit on the inquest jury. These poor officers had been victimized by "reverse discrimination," prohibited since the Bakke decision and now being applied in the courts. Perhaps the next step will be to only allow pigs on the juries in police murder cases on the basis that they must be tried

by a jury of their peers. The police story for the trial is that Lacy was psychotic and during his arrest either had a seizure or simply stopped breathing out of paranoia. The prosecutor also has "big questions" around what was "the exact mechanism" that killed Lacy. How far this case will go is clear.

Two weeks following the charges being dropped the police called their strike. And with it came yet another orgy of bald statements justifying the stepped-up repression against Black people and designed to unleash the bourgeoisie's reactionary social base. A few examples only begin to give a whiff of the foul wind emanating from the Milwaukee authorities.

"It should always be remembered that among the 'communities' with which the police must cope are those composed of dangerous criminals and people with homicidal impulses," editorialized the *Milwaukee Journal*, failing of course to mention the homicidal impulses so vividly displayed by Ernest Lacy's killers.

Father William H. Wallaik delivered this homily for one of the deceased cops: "Law is the difference between civilization and barbarism. Law is the expression of fundamental values of a people, the things they hold dear. We cry foul murder at the deaths of two fine men. We say enough when the drums continue to beat incessantly. 'There is police brutality.'" Wallaik's choice of words in referring to "civilization" vs. "barbarism" and the referring to incessantly beating drums were to say the least not accidentally nor carelessly chosen. His message was loud and clear. A good example of what is being encouraged here is an incident that happened the very night of the police strike. Two carloads of white dudes stopped a car with two Blacks in it and beat them with baseball bats. Whether or not this was actually off-duty police or freelance goons is not clear as no one was ever arrested.

In the midst of all the racist hysteria the Common Council, the city's legislative body, bent over backwards to accommodate the cops. The Police Association listed 12 demands. Right off

the bat the Common Council agreed to two of them—amnesty for all cops along with retracting the offensive statement by Nabors—and on this basis the cops agreed to return to work while negotiations would continue.

Two of the other demands are quite revealing and outrageous. The cops demanded that 1) anyone filing a complaint against police be sued for libel by the police union "if they are found to be lying" and that 2) any cop having to go to court for beating or killing someone have his legal expenses paid for by the city. Kind of a "workmen's compensation" for hired guns.

The cop strike, far from "leaving the Black community without police protection" as some politicians moaned, was actually the signal for an even greater onslaught of pigs. During the strike the mayor declared a state of emergency and promised to call in the National Guard in case of any disturbances. The Black community was patrolled by deputies and supervisors from Milwaukee and gun-toting law enforcers from four all-white suburban counties. Immediately following the strike, police stepped-up their repression with a visible show of force, trying to close bars and nightclubs early and threatening anyone with arrest or worse just for walking down the street. As we go to press the police presence has remained heavy for weeks with far more police roaming the streets. "It's like they're crawling out of the walls, especially the Tactical Squad," is how one brother described it.

All of this adds up to a very clear and unmistakable statement that, underneath the bluster and show of force, the bourgeoisie is worried—worried about what happened this summer when public opinion, not only among Black people but among broader sections, was turned against them on the question of police repression, when bars, street corners and factories seethed with anger—and worried about what this could mean for them in the upcoming period. □

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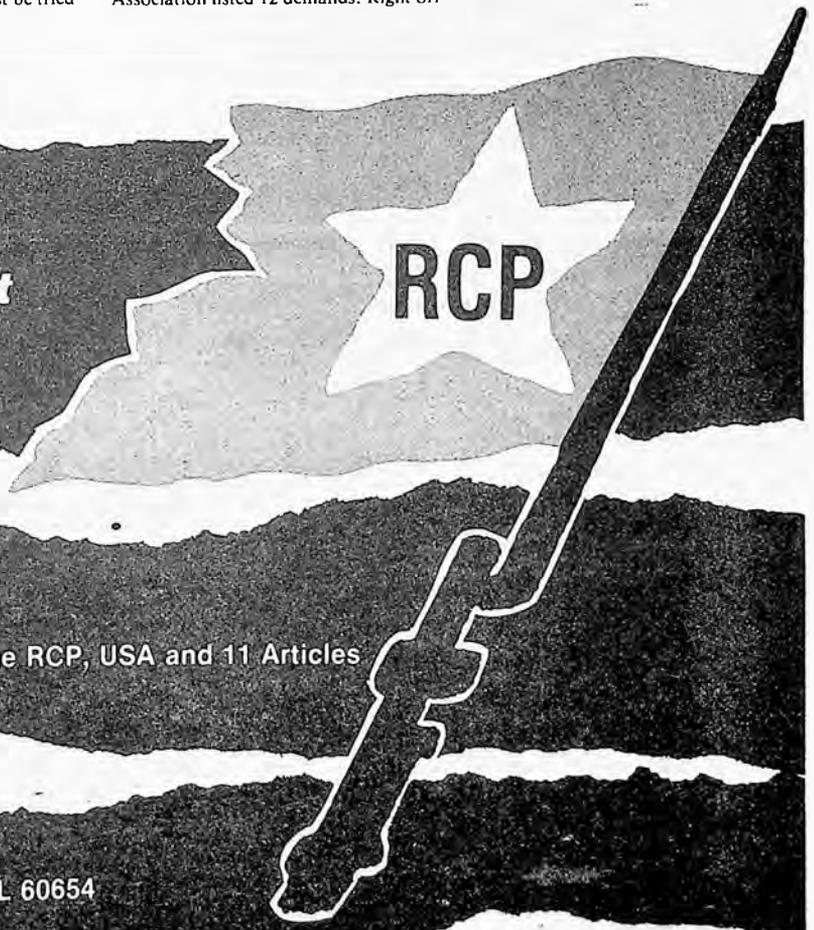
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Libya

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sortiums that muscled into Libya began buying up officials left and right, feuding with one another over concession rights and creating an atmosphere of blatant gold rush corruption that inspired a wave of nationalist revulsion against both the Americans and the monarchy.

The imperialist oil feast had actually begun back in the mid-'50s when Libyan Prime Minister Mustafa ben Halim ceded a section of southwestern Libya to French colonial Algeria. When French prospectors discovered oil, the news spread quickly to the U.S. and American oil "cowboys" rode into town. Lyndon Johnson, then the Democratic Senate Majority Leader from Texas, became locked in a bitter struggle on behalf of the Brown and Root Corporation, which was bidding for oil pipeline and engineering contracts in Libya. While Johnson was attempting to use his political muscle as a sponsor for Brown and Root, his efforts were opposed by the Bechtel Corporation, a competing group with strong CIA connections. Later, Armand Hammer's Occidental Petroleum began lobbying its way into the picture through paying millions of dollars of bribes to Libyan officials. Bechtel representatives tried to poison the well for Occidental by blowing the whistle to the king that Occidental was shipping out unmetered quantities of oil from Libya. The Bechtel official who made these disclosures was then advised by his superiors to leave the country "or risk being killed" by disgruntled employees of Armand Hammer.

All of this wheeling and dealing could not be hidden from the Libyan people, who were strongly affected by the Pan-Arab nationalist movement. Major anti-Western protests rocked Libya in 1956 and again in 1964. But the biggest disturbances took place in June 1967, in protest against the failure of the Idras regime to render more than token support to the Arab side in the 6-Day War. The overriding issue in the political upheavals was the demand that the American and British military bases in Libya be shut down and all foreign military forces evacuated.

The Rise of Colonel Qaddafi

By 1968, the handwriting was on the wall for King Idras; and there is a good deal of evidence that his U.S. and British patrons had already decided that "early retirement" would be the wisest course for him to take.

On June 12, 1969, King Idras left Libya for what was described as "rest and medical treatment" in Greece and Turkey. He never returned. After numerous false starts and delays, a group of young officers led by Col. Muammar Qaddafi executed a bloodless *coup d'état* on September 1, 1969. The British trained and advised Cyrenaica Defense Force was effectively neutralized with the arrest of its commander. Then radio stations and public offices throughout the country were seized without a fight, by a force which totaled no more than several hundred officers and men.

Qaddafi's Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) immediately declared major wage hikes in order to win popular backing. According to *Foreign Policy*: "U.S. acceptance of the new regime, though discreet, was effective. Shortly before the coup, David Newsom, then U.S. ambassador to Libya, and Joseph Palmer, then Asst. Secretary of State for African Affairs, had exchanged jobs. When Shahli (the prime minister of the Idras regime—RW) appealed to both the United States and Great Britain for military assistance to restore the king, he received no sympathy. Newsom, as ambassador, had warned Idras a year earlier that a U.S. military presence in Libya did not mean the United States would protect his throne. John Freeman, then British ambassador to the United States, called on Newsom in Washington on September 4, 1969, about 72 hours after the coup, to discuss whether the new regime should be recognized. Newsom and Palmer, recognizing the thin layer of support for the old regime and uncertain of the orientation of the new regime, argued for giving the new men a chance.

Their reply to the British was clear: America would not intervene."

Diplomatic recognition of Qaddafi's Revolutionary Command Council was extended by the United States within a few days. A few months after the coup, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) warned Qaddafi of a plot being hatched against him within the Revolutionary Command Council itself. Qaddafi had several RCC members arrested and conducted show trials. *Foreign Policy* states that: "Reports spread through the Middle East that the CIA had saved Qaddafi and was protecting him. At about the same time, someone—perhaps a CIA agent—carried out a rather successful bloc propaganda operation against the Soviets in Libya. An Arabic translation of a Soviet book that was highly critical of Islam began circulating in Tripoli. The Soviets were not able to deny the book's authenticity, but insisted that it had never been intended for anything but internal use."

As late as 1971, the U.S. continued to work actively to sabotage attempts by Royalist exiles to engineer Qaddafi's downfall. After discovering a mercenary operation aimed at liberating imprisoned monarchists in Tripoli and launching a military attack on Qaddafi's garrison, the CIA and British SIS agents passed the word that the operation should be scrapped. When elements of the mercenary force continued with a plan to sail to Libya from Italy, the CIA reported the plot to Italian police, who impounded the weapons intended for the assault and detained both the ship and crew.

It is apparent, then, that the U.S. believed they would be able to control Qaddafi in the long run, and that on balance his anti-Sovietism and his freedom from any taint of the corrupt Idras monarchy in the eyes of the masses outweighed his early anti-Western statements and actions.

Qaddafi, indeed, came from just that caste of educated officers that U.S. and British planners had envisioned as the "wave of the future" in a neo-colonial Libya. Qaddafi was a lieutenant in the Libyan service, had graduated from the Libyan Military Academy which functioned under the auspices of the U.S. Military Assistance Program, and had spent a year at the British Army Signal School in England.

Qaddafi made clear right off the bat that he wanted to close Wheelus and eliminate the Western military presence in Libya. But this in itself was not entirely unexpected by the U.S. In fact, mass pressure had already forced the Idras regime into opening the question of negotiations to phase out the bases, and the British had begun withdrawals of some elements in 1966.

The U.S. believed it could live with the loss of its own military facilities in Libya if it could be assured that the Soviets would not move in to fill the vacuum. And in the early years, Qaddafi gave every indication of unrelenting hostility to the Soviet Union, which pleased officials of the Nixon administration. In August, 1971, Qaddafi played an important role in scuttling a Soviet-backed coup against Sudanese president Nimeiry, by arresting one of the coup's leaders and handing him over to Nimeiry to be hanged.

On the other hand, of course, Qaddafi in many ways from the first was a thorn in the side of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and North Africa. But the problem has grown more critical as the inter-imperialist crisis has intensified and as Libya's influence and power—a product of its vast oil wealth and Qaddafi's growing political influence throughout much of the Arab world and elsewhere—has mushroomed. Qaddafi's brand of Pan-Arab, neo-Nasserite nationalism, it should be emphasized, is not at all a genuine anti-imperialism. Libya now juggles extensive relations, both commercial and political, with both imperialist blocs. Nevertheless, especially since 1973, Libya has pursued an activist foreign policy of support, including financial and military support, for various sorts of radical and independence movements throughout the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere. (A 1979 CIA analysis lists close to 30, ranging from West Germany to the Canary Islands.) Especially since 1975, Libya has tilted more and more in the direction of supporting almost exclusively those

movements which are directed against U.S. imperialist interests. Libya cut off its support to the Eritrean insurgency, for example, after a pro-Soviet government came to power in Ethiopia in 1974.

Libya is a vocal opponent of the Camp David Accords, a strident advocate of "hard-line" action against Israel, a severe critic of pro-U.S. client regimes in the region (including Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Sudan), and a sponsor of oppositionist and insurgent groups within the U.S. regional bloc. Libya is active in opposing the U.S. military buildup in the Mediterranean, and has enough oil leverage with Italy and other Western European countries to be a serious factor in alliance calculations.

Libya's so-called "adventurism" in North Africa, and its concerted drive to hamper the revival of French military and neo-colonial activities in the region, poses a severe strategic problem for the U.S. bloc. Qaddafi's ability to use his military forces to decisively affect the outcome of events in Chad, which had been the scene of a decade-long Muslim rebel insurgency supported by Libya, could only be the tip of the iceberg as far as U.S. planners are concerned—especially when Libya's growing "Soviet connection" is taken into account.

In the early years of the Qaddafi regime, as noted above, Libya evenhandedly denounced both the U.S. and the Soviet Union as superpower enemies of the Arab people. In 1973, at a Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers, Qaddafi took the floor to denounce Fidel Castro as a puppet of the Soviet Union and called for the expulsion of Cuba and the East European countries from the non-aligned ranks.

Shift Toward the Soviets

After the 1973 Middle East war and the subsequent consolidation of U.S. imperialist control over Egypt and over regional diplomacy as a whole, however, Libya began to turn to the Soviet Union as a major source of arms. The first major arms deal was signed in 1975, and the weapons have been rolling in ever since: Western imperialist estimates put the total received so far at close to \$12 billion. Libya has also concluded a great number of commercial and "cultural" arrangements with not only Moscow, but East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Soviet bloc personnel staff the bulk of Libya's health services programs. There are an estimated 2,000 Soviet and East German military advisors in Libya.

After the Gulf of Sidra incident, Qaddafi organized on short notice a world conference of solidarity with the Libyan people in Tripoli. According to the *Middle East* magazine, it was attended by "600 delegates from 86 countries, representing 260 organizations, including political parties, liberation movements, trade unions and international bodies." The makeup of the gathering was distinctly tinged by the Soviet bloc and its supporters. All of the East bloc countries, the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, and a representative of the Soviet puppet regime in Afghanistan were in attendance. (Qaddafi had earlier condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and refused to recognize the Karmal puppet regime.)

The Steadfastness Front of "Hard-Line" Arab States and the PLO, of which Libya is a member, met in Tripoli later in September and resolved to seek "closer ties with Moscow to counter the new U.S.-Israeli 'strategic alliance.'" Earlier in 1981, Libya concluded a tripartite military pact with the Soviet client regimes in South Yemen and Ethiopia. These and other indications are causing no small panic among U.S. analysts and policy makers who fear the Soviets may be gaining the upper hand in what amounts to a fierce battle on both sides to line-up Libya for the coming war.

But despite Libya's apparent recent drift further into the Soviet orbit, to say that the U.S.-Western imperialist bloc is "still very much in the game" would be a gross understatement. Libya's commercial, financial and political ties with the West are overall far more extensive and significant than those with the East—and Libya still imports significant amounts of military equipment through both direct and indirect channels from Western Europe as well.

Fifty U.S. companies, including some of the largest oil companies, operate in Libya and are responsible for most oilfield extraction and construction. Qaddafi has cultivated a relatively "good relationship" with U.S. companies, avoiding all-out nationalizations and granting them various other concessions. Until recently, the U.S. imported some 40% of Libya's oil output, an amount representing almost 10% of total U.S. oil imports.

Western Europe is very heavily dependent on Libyan oil, absorbing over 80% of total Libyan output. This is a major factor in European reluctance to openly back any of the Reagan administration anti-Qaddafi plots, for fear they might backfire and lead to a crippling oil cutoff. *Foreign Policy* quotes one "Italian expert" as saying that "Italy could be crippled economically if Qaddafi chose to cut us off."

But it is not oil alone, but the large amounts of capital Libya's oil sales have generated, that accounts for the complex web of relationships between Libya and the West—relations which themselves are tied into "the Soviet connection." According to the CIA's 1979 study, "A major commercial transaction was completed in December 1976; Libya purchased more than 9% of the stock of the Fiat Company, placing 2 representatives on Fiat's 15-member board of directors in the process. The terms of the agreement were so favorable to Fiat that observers speculated there was involvement by the Soviets, who might have acted to help Libya make the purchase so that Fiat could expand its operations in the Soviet Union with the money it received in the transaction."

This transaction may be one of the most dramatic, but it is far from isolated. A March 25, 1979 article in *Business Week* reported on a \$500 million Libyan loan that saved a major Italian firm from bankruptcy. In August, 1981 the weekly magazine *Eight Days* reported that: "Major orders received from Middle East countries has helped the Italian industry for the time being to survive the country's economic crisis. Italy has been particularly badly hit by the rising cost of its products as well as increased European, Japanese and American competition on world markets."

"Of a total of \$3.4 billion worth of orders received between April and July... about half came from the Middle East..."

"In mid-June Italy's business circles received a welcome boost when a consortium of Arab banks granted Fiat a \$250 million loan. The loan was arranged by Abdullah Saudi, Chairman of the Arab Banking Corporation and a member of Fiat's Board of Directors."

Of course the meaning of this should not be exaggerated. This is not an example of the mythical "oil sheikhs using petrodollars to gain a stranglehold on Western economies." This sort of scenario has been cranked out to get the highest possible chauvinist mileage out of the oil price rise of the 1970s, but in fact investments from OPEC countries in general (and from Libya in particular) are only a small drop in the buckets of U.S.-bloc imperialist economies, and they are moreover so intertwined and hedged about by imperialist finance capital that they certainly represent no independent economic power to speak of. What makes the Libyan investments and loans significant is the Soviet factor.

The U.S. has put heavy and increasing pressure on West European countries, especially Italy, to cut back relations with Libya. But *Eight Days* on 10 October reported that: "The renewed pressure on Italy to have it revise its attitude toward radical Arab states like Libya... has not swayed Italian industry from its business as usual position." The piece reported a blizzard of new deals and negotiations, including discussions on "the extensive Italian role in Libya's new five-year plan."

Of course, the complicated phenomenon of recycling capital from the "petrodollar" countries to the imperialist countries is hardly confined to the case of Libya. The relationship of the Western European imperialist countries to Libya is a product of the rapid changes that have taken place in the world imperialist economy since World War 2. At the same

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Internationalism & the Mass Line

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ed by their concrete conditions, particularly the national oppression that does exist. These sentiments are also strengthened by the fact that large masses of the people in these countries are in a petty-bourgeois situation, that is peasantry or artisans or urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and so on.

The Mass Line and Nationalism

But here's where I said we'd get into some controversy: the question of tailing behind the masses. While Mao's contributions on the mass line are genuinely important, real contributions and are linked with important contributions of his in the realm of philosophy, there also is something which has to be called attention to and looked into more deeply. For a good part of the struggle in China the revolutionary movement was going with the spontaneous thrust of nationalism — against Japan, for example. The revolutionary movement did not have to — as it did in Russia — go against the nationalist (and in that case openly chauvinist) sentiment of the masses, especially as it sharply expressed itself in world war. During this whole period of the anti-Japanese war, for example, they had to give leadership to, but they were also able to a certain degree to merge with, the national sentiment of the people to fight against Japanese imperialism. I'm not saying it was wrong for them to do so; that's not the case at all. It was correct for them to rally people on the basis of their opposition to Japanese imperialism and to unite with people on the basis of the desire to fight for liberation of the nation and so on even after that against U.S. imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek. But still, what I'm trying to get at here is that in that kind of situation the need to go against the national sentiments of the masses does not present itself.

Even though Mao was one of the leaders, not only in China but in the whole history of the international communist movement, who most sharply and directly pointed out that truth is in the hands of the minority at the beginning as a law; even though he was the one that brought forth the formulation "going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle" and stressed over and over again that that was the case; nevertheless I'm not so sure that in the area of the national question he saw or applied that consistently there. Again that links up with some of the points made in the talk ("Conquer the World? ... —RW) about what was the character of the Chinese revolution and what things they had to go against the tide of in the Comintern and the international communist movement at the time and what things they didn't.

The reason I raise the mass line is related to this. While I think there is a basic principle of mass line which is cor-

rect, still a lot of questions and concrete circumstances have to be thought through — including when what you're doing in its principal aspect is going with the stream of the sentiments of the masses in an overall sense, as was the case, for example, during the anti-Japanese war. A lot of Mao's writings on the mass line are from that period — at least in terms of what was put into the Red Book which many people are familiar with. When the situation did change in China, for example after the victory of the revolution and particularly in Mao's later years, there is increasing emphasis on his part on going against the tide.

Let me put it this way: when you're fighting a foreign enemy, maybe it's easier to rally 90% plus of the population to your banner. Now whether or not you can win leadership, whether the people are won to your banner is a question too. In other words, there's a class struggle within that, as there was in the anti-Japanese war: which banner exactly is it, what character of warfare, relying on what forces, heading towards what eventual end, what eventual objective after you win the particular stage of struggle or if you pass through it? There is an intense struggle around all this which of course Mao very importantly and successfully waged, but still in another sense you're going with the tide of the national sentiments of the people and you can rally, even unite with, 90% or more of the people in that kind of context. This is not easy, but it is possible to do so. Whereas it may not be possible to do so when you're waging a civil war for example or when you have to carry out revolutionary defeatism in an imperialist country, when you have to go against the spontaneous tide in a much sharper way. Under those conditions your strategic objective should still be to win over all who can be won over to you, that is to unite with or to neutralize the broadest number, and to isolate the real enemies to the greatest degree possible; the united front kind of approach is still correct there. But we've correctly emphasized in the 1980 Central Committee Report, for example, on "Charting the Uncharted Course,"* that a civil war is a struggle between two sections of the people, and we're not going to have 90% with us more or less all the way through.

That was even true in China for example after the anti-Japanese war. They started with the minority of people — at least under their leadership — and they won over broad sections of the middle classes as the struggle advanced and as the Chiang Kai-shek regime really started tottering and then collapsing; then they won over broad sections. That experience also was summed up by Mao and made its impact on the Chinese revolution. I think that had something to do with important preparations for his ability to emphasize going against the tide and that you may start with a minority (while not giving

up on winning over the majority or winning over or rallying the broadest number possible). Even in the anti-Japanese war a minority was under their banner.

But there's a difference here, which I'm trying to emphasize, especially when you compare it to an imperialist country. In particular, you cannot go with the tide of national sentiment, which is a powerful sentiment in today's world. There's a material basis for this in the imperialist countries; people understand with one degree of consciousness or another that they're fighting to defend a certain amount of privilege. Therefore, in such countries, to win over those who rally to the national banner, to win them to their more fundamental class interests, to the interests of the international proletariat, which are their fundamental class interests — this is not so direct and immediate and expresses itself differently.

I haven't thought this through thoroughly and I know I'm getting into an area of controversy, which is fine. The way I want to promote the controversy is in the form of putting the question: How does that interrelate with the question of the mass line? Not that we shouldn't uphold the mass line as an important principle and the developments around that as an important contribution by Mao, but how does that interrelate with the question of the mass line? One point I've been emphasizing over and over again is that it is a perversion of the mass line to promote tailing of the masses in the name of the mass line; it's a common perversion. Mao himself was very clear on this and opposed to it; if you look at what he actually said and systematized in terms of the mass line, it is very clearly opposed to tailism.

Mao was never a promoter of tailism, but on the other hand maybe certain ways in which they didn't have to go against the tide of the national sentiments of the people in the Chinese revolution have to be taken into account when you're in a situation where you do have to go against it. Not that you give up on winning the masses and not that you ignore what the sentiments of the masses are. But it's one thing not to ignore them, that is to take them into account tactically in order to be able to win them most effectively to a correct line, sometimes by struggling against a lot of their very sentiments; it's another thing to "take account of their sentiments" by tailing them and in fact capitulating to imperialism which has rallied them behind those sentiments. One of the common forms of capitulating to imperialism is in the name of the masses; that's what Lenin pointed out about World War I. He said Kautsky was an example of how the worst crimes in the world can be committed in the name of the masses. That was something that Lenin had to deal with very acutely in World War I and to a certain degree that particular aspect of it, in terms of the national sentiments, has been both obscured and to a certain degree distorted, at least since the 1930s. □

(Continued next week.)

*See RW No. 99, p. 12.

U.S. Plots To Control Libya—A Long Story

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time, the current division of the world is, with increasing sharpness, posing a barrier to imperialists of both blocs; and the U.S. imperialist bloc is moving to forcibly restructure economic relations through victorious general war against its Soviet imperialist rival—which is itself moving to accomplish exactly the same thing on its own terms. This financial interplay and penetration between the rival blocs is really a clear illustration of their contention.

Nor are the Western imperialist countries, despite their need to play their cards carefully with Libya in the short run, oblivious to "the Qaddafi problem" and its implications for the Western bloc as a whole. France especially has come into sharp conflict with Libya in North Africa. Under the regime of Premier Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, French intelligence organized a disinformation campaign of its own against Qaddafi, and instigated an abortive coup against the regime at Libya's Tobruk military garrison in August of 1980. Italy has agreed to the deployment of hundreds of U.S. cruise missiles on the island of Sicily; Libya (and Soviet military presence there) is the main logical target of this deployment.

To a lesser degree, the same contradictions that bedevil Western European policy towards Libya has apparently given rise to some disputes within the U.S. imperialists' own ranks. Such "mysterious and unexplained phenomena" as Billy Carter's trips to Libya, the presence of a number of "former" CIA agents working in Libya "for Qaddafi", the involvement of Robert Vesco, the "fugitive financier" now living in the Bahamas, in efforts to secure the release of the embargoed

C-130 transport planes to Libya, and, more likely than not, the "Casey-Hugel" CIA embroglio of last July all point to such conflicts and reflect real objective contradictions the U.S. has to deal with in preparing for war.

But the most recent moves by the Reagan administration seem to indicate that a decision has at least tentatively been made to prepare to move decisively in the near future to replace Qaddafi with a pro-Western regime in Tripoli. The charge that Qaddafi is plotting the assassination of Reagan and other high U.S. officials is transparently designed to prepare domestic and international opinion to justify and publicly threaten such an overt or covert move which the U.S. may be planning.

One objection to just "bumping off" Qaddafi which has been forcefully raised both in the U.S. and Europe is that his successor may be, or feel compelled to become, a more open and more trusted pro-Soviet type than Qaddafi. Here, the decisive role of the Soviets in equipping and advising the Libyan military gives them an edge in determining the outcome of any anti- or post-Qaddafi military power plays. The U.S. has its share of disgruntled Libyan exiles waiting for orders in Cairo and elsewhere, but none of them have a strong independent power base within Libya.

One option which has been frequently considered by the U.S. in the past is a no-holds barred invasion of Libya, spearheaded by Egypt, with direct U.S. support. The Libyan military number only 60,000 men. Egypt has 100,000 troops on the Libyan border alone. If Libyan troops are well-armed by the Soviets, so are the Egyptians by the U.S. The main objections to this approach are that it

could have dire consequences for Egypt's own internal stability, and draw the Soviet Union into the conflict. And if, as U.S. defense planners charge, that \$12 billion worth of arms sitting in Libya has been pre-positioned to equip a Soviet rapid deployment force in event of war, things could get messy in a hurry.

A long piece in *Time* magazine on possible economic sanctions or other milder means of putting pressure on Qaddafi concludes that "the American leverage on Qaddafi is distressingly

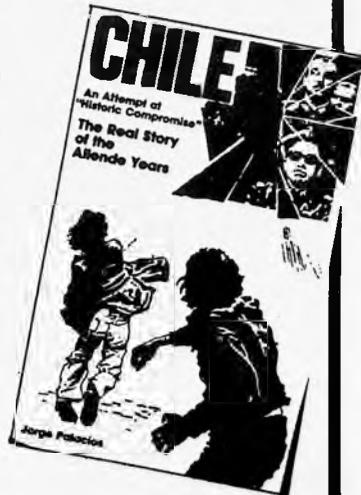
limited." Certainly the U.S. imperialists do not have total freedom of action, and events in the world are whirling along, constantly altering the situation and shifting the relative emphasis placed on various strategic priorities, thus it is difficult to predict with confidence the upshot of U.S. imperialist policy towards Libya. But then, there aren't too many low-risk scenarios available to either superpower as the preliminaries to World War 3 lead steadily up to the main event.

CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT "HISTORIC COMPROMISE"

The Real Story of the Allende Years
by Jorge Palacios

The first book to tell the real story behind the U.S. engineered military coup in 1973. Palacios, a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, poses the crucial question of why—in a country with such a powerful mass movement—the reactionaries were able to deal the people such a swift and stunning defeat. His hard-hitting account nails the treachery of the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Chile, with its efforts to form a coalition government with the U.S.-backed Christian Democrats—the so-called "historic compromise," a strategy devised in Moscow and followed by the French and Italian CP's as well. An incisive analysis of the revolutionary and anti-junta forces in Chile today. A book of far-reaching significance.

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Lenin

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dare them! I am prepared to wager that they will not, for they know only too well that if they make such a statement, they will become a laughing-stock in the eyes of the workers, they will be jeered at and driven out of the socialist parties. That is why the social-chauvinists and those in the "Centre" will avoid any open statement and will continue to wriggle, lie and confuse the issue, seeking refuge in all manner of sophisms, like this one in the resolution of the last, 1915 French party congress: "An attacked country has the right to defence."

As if the question were: *Who was the first to attack*, and not: *What are the causes of the war? What are its aims? Which classes are waging it?* Could one imagine, for example, a sane-minded socialist recognising England's right to "defence of the fatherland" in 1796, when the French revolutionary troops began to fraternise with the Irish? And yet it was the French who had attacked England and were actually preparing to land in Ireland. And could we, tomorrow, recognise the right to "defence of the fatherland" for Russia and England, if, after they had been taught a lesson by Germany, they were attacked by Persia in alliance with India, China and other revolutionary nations of Asia performing their 1789 and 1793?

That is my reply to the really ludicrous charge that we share Tolstoy's views. Our Party has rejected both the Tolstoy doctrine and pacifism, declaring that socialists must seek to transform the present war into a civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, for socialism.

Should you object that this is utopian, I will answer that the bourgeoisie of France, England, etc., do not, apparently, subscribe to that opinion. They would not play so vile and ridiculous a role, going to the length of jailing or conscripting "pacifists", had they not felt and foreseen the inevitable and steady rise of revolution and its early approach.

This leads me to the question of a split, raised also by Souvarine. A split! That is the bogey with which the socialist leaders are trying to frighten others, and which they themselves fear so much! "What useful purpose could now be served by the foundation of a new International?" — Souvarine asks. "Its activity would be blighted by sterility, for numerically it would be very weak."

But the day-to-day facts show that, *precisely because they are afraid of a split*, the "activity" of Pressemane and Longuet in France, Kautsky and Ledebour in Germany, is blighted by sterility! And precisely because Karl Liebknecht and Otto Rühle in Germany were not afraid of a split, openly declaring that a split was *necessary* (cf. Rühle's letter in *Vorwärts*, January 12, 1916), and did not hesitate to carry it out — their activity is of vast importance for the proletariat, *despite their numerical weakness*. Liebknecht and Rühle are only two against 108. But these two represent millions, the exploited mass, the overwhelming majority of the population, the future of mankind, the revolution that is mounting and maturing with every passing day. The 108, on the other hand, represent only the servile spirit of a handful of bourgeois flunkies within the proletariat. Brizon's activities, when he shares the weaknesses of the Centre or the marsh, are blighted by sterility. And, conversely, they cease to be sterile, help to awaken, organise and stimulate the proletariat, when Brizon really demolishes "unity", when he courageously proclaims in parliament "Down with the war!", or when he publicly speaks the truth, declaring that the Allies are fighting to give Russia Constantinople.

The genuine revolutionary internationalists are numerically weak? Nonsense! Take France in 1780, or Russia in 1900. The politically-conscious and determined revolutionaries, who in France represented the bourgeoisie — the revolu-

tionary class of that era — and in Russia today's revolutionary class — the proletariat, were extremely weak numerically. They were only a few, comprising at the most only 1/10,000, or even 1/100,000, of their class. Several years later, however, these few, this allegedly negligible minority, led the masses, millions and tens of millions of people. Why? Because this minority really represented the interests of these masses, because it believed in the coming revolution, because it was prepared to serve it with supreme devotion.

Numerical weakness? But since when have revolutionaries made their policies dependent on whether they are in a majority or minority? In November 1914, when our Party called for a split with the opportunists, declaring that the split was the only correct and fitting reply to their betrayal in August 1914, to many that seemed to be a piece of insensate sectarianism coming from men who had completely lost all contact with real life. Two years have passed, and what is happening? In England, the split is an accomplished fact. The social-chauvinist Hyndman has been forced to leave the party. In Germany, a split is developing before everyone's eyes. The Berlin, Bremen and Stuttgart organisations have even been accorded the honour of being expelled from the party... from the party of the Kaiser's lackeys, the party of the German Renaudels, Sembats, Thomases, Guesdes and Co. And in France? On the one hand, the party of these gentlemen states that it remains true to "fatherland defence". On the other, the Zimmerwaldists state, in their pamphlet *The Zimmerwald Socialists and the War*, that "defence of the fatherland" is unsocialist. Isn't this a split?

And how can men who, after two years of this greatest world crisis, give diametrically opposite answers to the supreme question of modern proletarian tactics, work faithfully side by side, within one and the same party?

Look at America — apart from everything else a neutral country. Haven't we the beginnings of a split there, too: Eugene Debs, the "American Bebel", declares in the socialist press that he recognises only one type of war, civil war for the victory of socialism, and that he would sooner be shot than vote a single cent for American war expenditure (see *Appeal to Reason* No. 1032, September 11, 1915). On the other hand, the American Renaudels and Sembats advocate "national defence" and "preparedness". The American Longuets and Pressemanes — the poor souls! — are trying to bring about a reconciliation between social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists.

Two Internationals already exist. One is the International of Sembat-Südekum-Hyndman-Plekhanov and Co. The other is the International of Karl Liebknecht, MacLean (the Scottish schoolmaster whom the English bourgeoisie sentenced to hard labour for supporting the workers' class struggle), Höglund (the Swedish M.P. and one of the founders of the Zimmerwald Left sentenced to hard labour for his revolutionary propaganda against the war), the five Duma members exiled to Siberia for life for their propaganda against the war, etc. On the one hand, there is the International of those *who are helping their own governments wage the imperialist war*, and on the other, the International of those *who are waging a revolutionary fight against the imperialist war*. Neither parliamentary eloquence nor the "diplomacy" of socialist "statesmen" can unite these two Internationals. The Second International has outlived itself. The Third International has already been born. And if it has not yet been baptised by the high priests and Popes of the Second International but, on the contrary, has been anathematised (see Vandervelde's and Stauning's speeches), this is not preventing it from gaining strength with every passing day. The Third International will enable the proletariat to rid itself of opportunists and will lead the masses to victory in the maturing and approaching social revolution.

Before concluding, I would like to say a few words in reply to Souvarine's personal polemics. He asks (the socialists now residing in Switzerland) to moderate their personal criticism of Bernstein, Kautsky, Longuet, etc. ... For my part, I must say that I cannot accept that. And I would point out to Souva-

rine, first of all, that my criticism of the "Centre" is political, not personal. Nothing can restore the mass influence of the Südekums, Plekhanovs, etc.: their authority has been so undermined that everywhere the police have to protect them. But by their propaganda of "unity" and "fatherland defence", by their striving to bring about a compromise, by their efforts to draw a verbal veil over the deep-seated differences, the "Centrists" are causing the greatest damage to the labour movement, because they are impeding the final break-down of the social-chauvinists' moral authority, and in that way are bolstering their influence on the masses and galvanising the corpse of the opportunist Second International. For all these reasons I consider it my socialist duty to fight Kautsky and other "Centre" spokesmen.

Souvarine "appeals", among others, to "Guilbeaux, to Lenin, to all those who enjoy the advantage of being 'outside the battle', an advantage that often enables one to take a reasonable view of men and affairs in socialism, but one that, perhaps, is fraught also with certain inconveniences."

A transparent hint. In Zimmerwald, Ledebour expressed the same thought without any ambiguity. He accused us "Left Zimmerwaldists" of addressing revolutionary appeals to the masses from abroad. I repeat to Citizen Souvarine what I told Ledebour in Zimmerwald. It is 29 years since I was arrested in Russia. And throughout these 29 years I have never ceased to address revolutionary appeals to the masses. I did so from prison, from Siberia, and later from abroad. And I frequently met in the revolutionary press "hints" similar to those made in the speeches of tsarist prosecutors — "hints" that I was lacking in honesty, because, while living abroad, I addressed revolutionary appeals to the Russian people. Coming from tsarist prosecutors these "hints" surprise no one. But I must admit that I expected arguments of another kind from Ledebour. Apparently he has forgotten that when they wrote their famous *Communist Manifesto* in 1847, Marx and Engels likewise addressed revolutionary appeals to the German workers from abroad! The revolutionary struggle is often impossible without revolutionaries emigrating abroad. That has repeatedly been the experience in France. And Citizen Souvarine would have done better not to follow the bad example of Ledebour and ... the tsarist prosecutors.

Souvarine also says that Trotsky, "whom we [the French minority] consider one of the most extreme elements of the extreme Left in the International, is simply branded as a chauvinist by Lenin. It has to be admitted that there is a certain exaggeration here".

Yes, of course, "there is a certain exaggeration", but on Souvarine's part, not mine. For I have never branded Trotsky's position as chauvinistic. What I have reproached him with is that all too often he has represented the "Centre" policy in Russia. Here are the facts. The split in the R.S.D.L.P. has existed officially since January 1912.⁵ Our Party (grouped around the Central Committee) accused of opportunism the other group, the Organising Committee, of which Martov and Axelrod are the most prominent leaders. Trotsky belonged to

5. In January, 1912, the Mensheviks were expelled from the R.S.D.L.P. at its Sixth All-Russian Conference (held in Prague).

Martov's party and left it only in 1914. By that time the war had started. Our five Duma deputies (Muranov, Petrovsky, Shagov, Badayev and Samoilov) were exiled to Siberia. In Petrograd, our workers voted *against* participation in the war industries committees (the most important practical issue for us, just as important in Russia as the question of participation in the government in France). On the other hand, the most prominent and most influential Organising Committee writers — Potresov, Zaslulich, Levitsky and others — have come out for "defence of the fatherland" and participation in the war industries committees. Martov and Axelrod have protested and advocated non-participation in the committees. But they have not broken with their party, one faction of which has turned chauvinist and accepts participation. That is why at Kienthal we reproached Martov with having wanted to represent the Organising Committee as a whole, whereas in fact he can represent only one of its two factions. This party's Duma group (Chkheidze, Skobelev and others) is divided, with some of its members for and others against "fatherland defence". But all of them favour participation in the war industries committees, resorting to the ambiguous formula of "saving the country", which, essentially, is but another wording of the Südekum and Renaudel "fatherland defence" slogan. More, they have in no way protested against Potresov's position (which is actually identical to Plekhanov's; Martov publicly protested against Potresov and declined to contribute to his journal because Plekhanov had been invited to contribute).

And Trotsky? Having broken with Martov's party, he continues to accuse us of being splitters. Little by little he is moving to the Left, and even calls for a break with the Russian social-chauvinist leaders. But he has not definitely said whether he wants unity or a break with the Chkheidze faction. And that is one of the key issues. For, indeed, if peace comes tomorrow, we shall be having Duma elections the day after tomorrow, and the question will immediately arise of siding with or opposing Chkheidze. We oppose such an alliance. Martov favours it. And Trotsky? His attitude is unknown. There has been no definite indication of it in the 500 issues of the Paris Russian-language newspaper *Nashe Slovo*, of which Trotsky is one of the editors. These are the reasons why we do not agree with Trotsky.

We are not the only ones. In Zimmerwald, Trotsky refused to join the Zimmerwald Left. Together with Comrade Henriette Roland-Holst he represented the "Centre". And this is what Comrade Roland-Holst now writes in the Dutch socialist paper *Tribune* (No. 159, August 23, 1916): "Those who, like Trotsky and his group, want to wage a revolutionary struggle against imperialism must overcome the consequences of émigré differences — largely of a personal nature — which disunite the extreme Left, and join the Leninists. A 'revolutionary centre' is impossible."

I must apologise for having dwelt at such length on our relations with Trotsky and Martov, but the French socialist press refers to this quite frequently and the information it gives its readers is often very inaccurate. The French comrades must be better informed of the facts concerning the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. □

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A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

CONQUER THE WORLD?

The International Proletariat Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

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

Its sections are:

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

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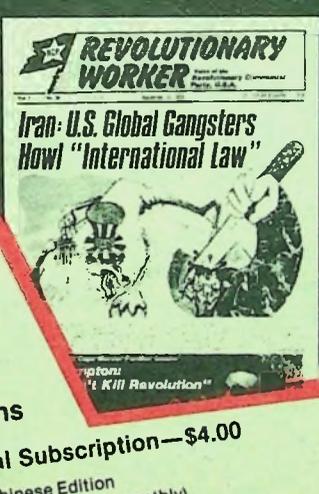
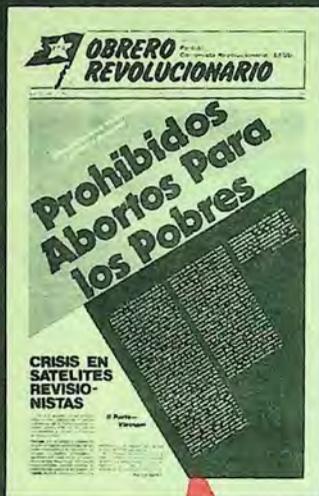
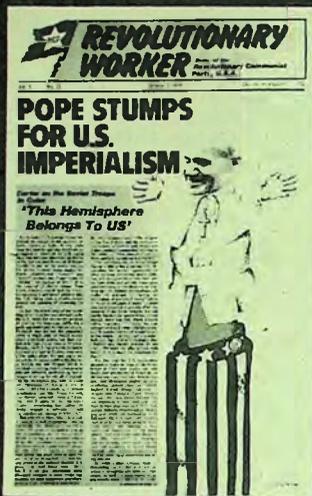


“In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just *that* that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more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

Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Crisis in Poland; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but that do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said, in creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

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