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Miami: In the Language of Nothing to Lose



A "State of Emergency" was declared in Miami. And why? Because the oppressed have risen in rebellion and spoken the language of those who have nothing to lose but their chains. Now when Black people are cut down by gun-wielding pigs every day in the streets of this "land of the free" — then it's *business as usual*. But when hundreds take to the streets in open revolt, when squad cars rise in flames, when the man is in a panic at the sights and sounds of the tables being turned — then it's a *State of Emergency!* The upheaval in Overtown is truly an emergency to the oppressor; but it is fine to proletarians and oppressed people everywhere.

On Tuesday night, December 28, two Metro-Dade County cops swaggered into a popular video arcade which is a hangout for Black youth in the Overtown area of Miami. They singled out 20 year old Nevel Johnson for special treatment. Within minutes, they had jacked Nevel up, drawn their guns, and fired a bullet at point-blank range into his brain. The life of yet another Black man would be snuffed out.

The lies followed as quickly as the SWAT teams. First it was claimed that the cops had gone to the arcade looking for a "robbery suspect" and found Nevel who then "resisted" them. When this was exposed, the cops swore they had seen the "bulge" of a gun in Nevel's rear pocket. When they approached to "disarm" him, somehow a police weapon accidentally "discharged."

Eyewitnesses refuted each and every word of these police lies. Many said that not only was Nevel wearing tailored pants with *no* back pockets and had no weapon at all, but that the pigs *planted* a piece on Nevel after he was shot.

How many others have been murdered while "resist-

Continued on page 13

Hüseyin Balkir is Free!

On December 4 Hüseyin Balkir was released from prison. He has returned to France. Balkir had been arrested last September while on an authorized visit to West Germany and held by West German authorities for extradition to Turkey, despite his political refugee status in France under the UN Convention and the various West German and international legal conventions which forbid the deportation of a political refugee to certain death. During the four months Balkir was in a Cologne prison, France, Balkir's country of asylum, issued several formalistic protests. But an outcry against this crime and an outpouring of support for this revolutionary arose in many

countries around the world, raising the potential political cost to the Western bloc of deporting Balkir at this point to a very high level. Supporters reached by phone in West Germany noted that there was especially strong support from within the "belly of the beast," that head of the bloc, the U.S.

Even with Balkir's release, there has been considerable exposure of West German (and "socialist" French) justice and their imperialist efforts to contain and stamp out the threat of revolution. The West German press, which following Balkir's arrest tried to keep this case out of the spotlight, gave considerable attention to his release. This news was also

widely broadcast in Turkey, where the U.S.-installed junta had made a big deal about getting their hands on Balkir and other revolutionaries.

So far, West German authorities have made no official statement about Balkir's release, not even to explain the grounds on which they decided they could no longer hold him. His release went like this: suddenly and without warning an official told Balkir he was free to go and he was hustled onto the street faster than a hot potato. All in all, things have turned out rather badly for the imperialists and their flunkies and rather well for the international proletariat and its allies. □

**Soviet
Debate Set
for New
York City
May 1983**

see page 8

Hearing in France Set for January 12

Moving Quickly on Bob Avakian



We have just received word of a significant development in relation to Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. A hearing before the appeals commission has been scheduled for January 12. (This is the hearing to review the initial denial of the demand — a denial that was issued perfunctorily and immediately after his papers for political refugee status were filed in March 1981.) This comes as rather surprising news since only recently lawyers representing him in this case had been informed that the commission was still processing appeals for cases that had been filed in 1979! Can it be that the notoriously slow French bureaucracy has suddenly made a miraculous transformation?!

On second thought this latest development is not so surprising after all when put in the context of other recent actions and policies of the French government. As reported in *RW* No. 184, "As the Dust Settles...", the French government recently made a number of far-reaching and major changes in official policy regarding the granting of political asylum and extradition, as phase two of the hysterical campaign to create an atmosphere of fear of the "dark enemy"

labeled international terrorism. "These new measures," as that article pointed out, "give France greater flexibility in getting rid of undesirable elements and in instituting internal clampdowns as these become necessary, and above all serve to reaffirm France's commitment to strengthening the Western imperialist alliance by promoting greater coordination and cooperation between the allied states." As referred to in that article, most significant is the change in official policy which makes it easier to deny asylum and easier to extradite political people by introducing as an official criterion "the type of political and legal system of the state demanding extradition." While the question of political refugee status is technically a different category, determined by criteria set by the U.N. and not the French government, we need look no farther than the U.S. to see how governments apply their own criteria to the question of political refugee status. While France has in the past chosen to present a slightly different face than the U.S. in these matters (both to further its own interests and in accordance with its particular role within the Western bloc) these latest policy changes indicate yet a dif-

ferent face in the furtherance of those same aims.

In light of this, in *RW* No. 184 we also reported on the recent note sent to the appeals commission by the OFPRA (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Country-less Persons, which had originally denied Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status) informing them, rather belatedly, of the dropping of the legal charges against Bob Avakian in the Mao Defendants case last June. Apparently the U.S. is one of those countries where the legal system functions "normally." This is quite consistent with one of their main approaches to this demand for refugee status — to distort the evidence presented in favor of this demand so as to ignore all facets of government repression including massive surveillance, Secret Service manhunts, numerous death threats, etc., except for the legal charges in the Mao Defendants case. Now, the argument goes, these charges no longer stand so Bob Avakian is in no need of political refugee status. (Of course they attempt to ignore the fact that both the government prosecutor and the judge in that case on more than one occasion made it quite clear that the fact

that Bob Avakian had gone to France and applied for political refugee status was a major difficulty in proceeding with that case and was a major factor in the decision of the U.S. government to resolve the case as they did in June 1982.)

While it has been clear from the very beginning that the French authorities have not been favorably disposed toward Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status, it has also been clear that they were presented with a case that, by the terms of the accords on political refugees, could not easily be brushed aside as having little merit in light of all the compelling evidence that has been presented to them. These latest developments, in particular the scheduling of the hearing at this time, signal a further escalation and acceleration in their efforts to deal decisively with the matter of Bob Avakian's demand for refugee status, hoping that the special attention they now seem to be giving this case will go unnoticed as they establish their new policies as "normal and routine." □

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Court Rules in Legal Kidnapping of Mao Defendant's Daughter

A Decision as Cowardly as It Is Vicious

On Monday, December 20, at 4:00 pm, Judge Gerald E. Ragan of the California Superior Court handed down his decision in the hearing for permanent custody of the daughter of Tina Fishman, Mao Tse-tung Defendant and supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party. And the chief distinguishing characteristics of this decision from his Honorable "No Politics Here" can best be summed up: as cowardly as it is vicious. Faced with rather broad and growing outrage at the legal kidnapping of Tina's daughter, which was entirely based on her revolutionary political activity from the word go, Judge Ragan ruled out of one side of his mouth that the so-called state of emergency, ruled by the previous Judge Browning to make a political example of the woman revolutionary and to snatch Tina's daughter away into the clutches of her reactionary father, was illegal. But quickly, out of the other side of his mouth, Ragan proceeded to do exactly what he had threatened in court — "to stretch the jurisdiction law even more" — and he extended the so-called state of emergency for another 6 months until July 1983, while carefully instructing Ted Fishman on how to further pursue his mission to take permanent possession of his property.

The very first sentence of the decision is the classic lament/threat of the liberal called on to fuck over the oppressed in public: "We would like this to be a perfect society. It is not." Especially "imperfect" to Judge Ragan has been the widespread and demonstrated opposition to the kidnapping: "Never before has this court been subjected to such enormous political and emotional pressures, designed to influence a judicial decision." And the judge goes on: "The pressures come from opposite ends of the political and philosophical spectrum. The court repeats its earlier statements, that the content of the philosophy and respective beliefs will have no bearing on the decision rendered. . . . From the testimony of witnesses and the stage whispers from the spectators, it is obvious that the court is not held in the highest esteem by certain factions. . . . Courts are not to be swayed by the passing winds of politics. Courts are not to be registrants of the latest Gallup Poll. From Caligula to Khomeini the tyrants have sought to destroy the independence of the judiciary. That independence must be preserved if individualism is to be saved in this country."

We will now attempt to translate the squealings of this poor stuck pig, who is here expressing great discomfort over the fact that the veil has been torn off this case and the political motives of the state bared for all those with eyes who desire to see (and even some who don't). Very interesting is the judge's assertion that the so-called independent judiciary has been pressured from "opposite ends of the political and philosophical spectrum." Pardon us, your honor, if we beg to differ. The revolutionary and progressive forces exposing and opposing this kidnapping have been quite open and above board about which side of the political spectrum they are on and it has been all too apparent that holding and guiding the hand of Terrible Ted in this kidnapping, the other side of the political spectrum has been well represented by the "independent" judiciary itself on behalf of the U.S. government! We can assure you that the numerous petitions and letters (which you claim not to have looked at) have all come from the supporters of Tina Fishman. So we are certainly interested in hearing it, if his honor would like to fess up to some high level directives or other such "pressures" (phone calls or

telegrams from Washington, D.C. perhaps) from the "other side." Since this sort of disclosure is unlikely to be forthcoming from his honor, we can only say that we understand full well that Ragan's exercise in high school civics only further reveals which side he considers the "tyrants" who threaten that all-American code word for imperialism — the "individualism" the judge is so anxious to preserve. And just in case we didn't know already, the rest of the judge's decision is a fine example that tyranny is indeed the name of the game. (And, we might add, that the tyrants in the judge's corner have certainly distinguished themselves for being far more decadent and destructive than Caligula and far more obscurantist than Khomeini.)

Unhappily for Judge Ragan, this tyranny has been well exposed in this case. Not the least of his problems was the decision by his predecessor from the "independent" judiciary Judge Browning (known for his prosecutions of draft resisters during the Vietnam War and COINTELPRO investigations against the leadership of the Black Panther Party, the Revolutionary Union and other revolutionaries). Readers of the *RW* will recall that Browning issued the original kidnapping order in July of 1981, an openly political decision based on the fact that Tina Fishman faced charges in Washington, D.C. as one of the Mao Tse-tung Defendants. Then, after openly conducting this kidnapping on political grounds, Browning disqualified himself

from the permanent custody hearing, in an attempt to facilitate the final verdict by "depoliticizing" the case. During the final hearings, Judge Ragan played his part well, ruling that politics were not allowed in his court. But he was the one to pick and choose what was "political." It was not political when the ex-husband's lawyer probed into Tina's political activities, her work in support of the RCP in particular. But when Tina testified what was really at stake in this case, the court not only ruled that out of order but threatened to seal the kidnapping if she did not "discontinue her behavior." This is precisely the sort of politics that Judge Ragan has continued in his final decision, but he has also attempted to do this in the underhanded and backstabbing way, which characterized his attempts to cover up the role of the state during the hearings, and to try to cool out the political winds which have exposed his "independent" judicial ass on the hot seat. Thus, Judge Ragan, while fully agreeing with the spirit of Browning's decision, was forced to point out that it was illegal, at the same time as he searched for ways to continue the kidnapping. And before examining his reactionary ruling further, we must point out that this underhanded ploy has done the ruling class a bad turn by dragging this case out for another six months and into other courts — a situation in which the contagion they want to put out will only spread.

In his decision, Ragan finds that according to the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act, no emergency existed

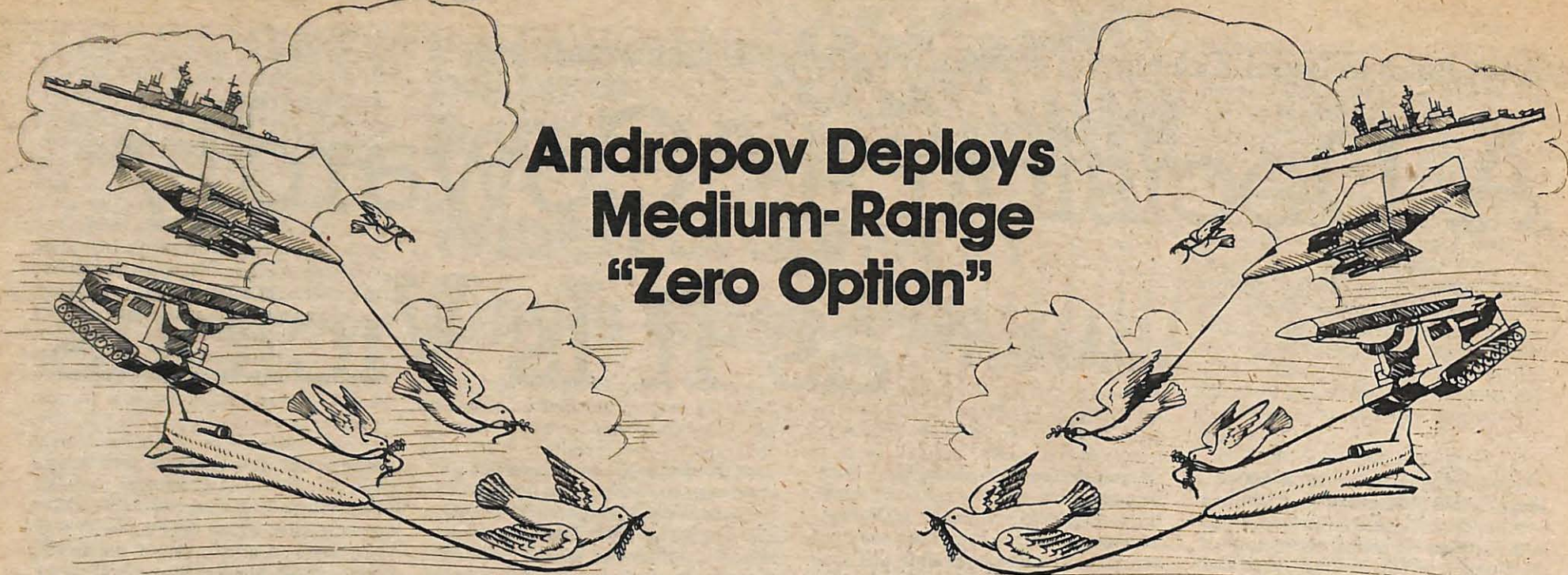
which would allow Judge Browning to claim jurisdiction in California in July 1981. (Where there is no emergency, i.e., imminent child abuse, the law requires a child to be returned to the custodial parent, which is still Tina.) Ragan also finds that Ted Fishman is a liar who wrote to Tina that he would return her daughter Riva, after he had already filed a court action to get this legal kidnapping underway. So there is no emergency, no jurisdiction, and Ted's a liar. Now, here a naive person might imagine that the whole case would be thrown out and Riva returned to her mother. But Judge Ragan is too sympathetic and creative a fellow for such an interpretation of the law. While he finds that Judge Browning erred, Ragan fully sympathizes with his reasons for doing so and hastens to add his own admittedly "imaginative and innovative interpretations" of the law. In this respect, we must delve into another exercise in de-coding, where the political attack on the RCP and women who dare to be revolutionaries is continued under the cynical heading of "the best interests of the child."

Ragan then finds that "it would be a mistreatment of the child by the court to return her to Tina without appropriate lead time" and there is now a new emergency "which requires this court to assume jurisdiction to make temporary orders for the protection of the child." In other words, since the first "illegal" kidnapping has kept Tina's daughter away from her for a year and a half, the court finds that a "rift has developed" between them and what is Judge Ragan's solution? Why, to order that "temporary legal and physical custody of Riva be awarded to Ted" for another six months. Then the judge goes on to instruct Ted how to pursue this legal kidnapping in Riva's home state, Illinois, stating that if Illinois doesn't want to take the case because Riva has been too long in California, that his "court will assume jurisdiction to determine the permanent order relating to custody." Then the judge graciously allowed Tina a ten-day visit with her daughter from December 23 to January 1st or 2nd stating that only "if this visitation is successful," an additional week could be arranged in the spring. Clearly the judge was bending over backwards to mend the "rift" of a year-and-a-half separation. But don't think old "No Politics" Ragan didn't let the cat right out of the bag. Right smack in the middle of all this Catch-22 bullshit, Ragan made it quite clear what his determination would be if it ever came back to his courtroom. He finds that Ted (known to those familiar with this case as a lying Zionist who builds Trident missiles for Lockheed) "provides a stable, safe, religious and orderly environment, in an attractive, comfortable community." (our italics) He then rules that "Tina could provide challenge, development of a fiery imagination, social conscience and an inquisitive mind in a setting that would prepare Riva to be an active participant in the world. Unfortunately Tina has been totally absorbed by a fanatical obsession with a political cause which has blinded her to the true needs of a 10 to 12-year-old child. Tina has become doctrinaire. . . ." (our italics) No politics here. . . only a continuation of the political kidnapping of Tina's daughter and the very same threats which have been used for a year and a half, in an attempt, as Tina pointed out in a press statement, "to quiet the voice of women and through this type of dirty political blackmail prevent them from taking part in the great movements shaking the world today." It is clear that another round in this battle is on the agenda. □



Tina Fishman

Examiner/Fran Ortiz



Andropov Deploys Medium-Range "Zero Option"

Setting his intercontinental peace artillery on maximum peace-warp, new Soviet party leader Yuri V. Andropov fired the Soviets' latest salvo in the imperialist pre-war peace wars on December 21. Andropov's speech is only the first move in what is expected to be a whole round of political maneuvering between the East and West war blocs that is expected to transpire in the coming year as the date for the deployment of 572 U.S. Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Europe nears. The heart of the speech was an offer to the U.S. and its European allies that the Soviets would reduce their medium-range nukes in the European part of the USSR to numbers equivalent to those of Britain and France provided that the U.S. and NATO forego the planned deployment of the Pershings and Cruises. This latest maneuver and the reaction to it from the Western imperialists provides a fine example of the refined art of imperialist double-speak and political jockeying in preparation for global warfare.

Aware that the U.S. and its NATO allies fully intend to deploy the missiles in Europe, Andropov and Co. are trying to get the maximum mileage they can out of it both in terms of exploiting political contradictions within Western Europe and between the U.S. and its allies as well as using the deployment to justify the Soviets' own new missile deployments. Thus the Soviet leader employed the MIRVed approach in his speech in a manner similar to that used by his U.S. counterpart in the dense-pack Peacekeeper speech recently, combining a liberal amount of "reasonable and sensible" demagoguery about "peace" "reducing the threat of world destruction", etc., etc., with pointing the accusing finger at the U.S.'s weapons build-up and tough talk about Soviet resolve to challenge the U.S. on every level. He took full advantage of the recent announcement to deploy the MX and U.S. bellicose nuclear posturing as well as the fact that the Soviets have overall been in a position of playing catch-up ball with the U.S. in the nuclear weapons field both in numbers and sophistication. Why here was a real international peacenik who assured the world that: "The Soviet Union is prepared to go very far. As everybody

knows, we have suggested an agreement renouncing all types of nuclear weapons. But this proposal has come up against a solid wall of silence. . . . So far, the United States will not have it. For its part, it has submitted a proposal that, as if in mockery, is called a 'zero option.' It envisages elimination of all Soviet medium-range missiles not only in Europe but also in the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union, while NATO's nuclear-missile arsenal in Europe is to remain intact and may even be increased. Does anyone think the Soviet Union can agree with this?" Nyet! Nyet! Nyet! The Soviets have a better idea, a real "zero option":

"We are prepared, among other things, to agree that the Soviet Union should retain in Europe only as many missiles as are kept there by Britain and France — and not a single one more. . . . In the case of the USSR and the USA this would be a really honest 'zero option' as regards medium-range missiles. . . ."

As the U.S., Britain and France were so quick to point out, this "honest 'zero option'" and supremely magnanimous gesture would only involve the USSR moving some SS-20s behind the Ural Mountains. Though technically out of Europe they would still be quite able to hit European targets and could even be moved back into Europe should it become necessary. In other words the "very far" that the Soviets are willing to go for "world peace" really meant behind the Ural Mountains with some of their three-warhead SS-20s. Truly a stunning demonstration of pacifist convictions. But even this is not really in the cards. As Reagan so vividly showed in his Peacekeeper speech, arms control and peace talks are simply a necessary part of the process of the deployment of weaponry. Andropov too made this perfectly clear. Speaking to the deployment of the MX he said: "We will be compelled to counter the challenge of the American side by deploying corresponding weapons systems of our own, an analogous missile to counter the MX missile, and our own long-range cruise missile, which we are already testing, to counter the U.S. long-range cruise missile. Those are not threats at all. Any policy directed to securing military

superiority over the Soviet Union has no future and can only heighten the threat of war." After all, as everyone knows, the Soviet imperialists, like the other imperialists, are only interested in their own "national defense" and will stop at nothing in the "legitimate defense of their security and the security of their allies." Naturally this "legitimate defense" means dominating as much of the world as possible and preparing for a world war for its redivision, but such things are better left understated when it comes to peacenicking.

The response of the Western European imperialists and the U.S. to Andropov's proposal was quick in coming. Britain and France were particularly incensed and immediately denounced the offer as an affront to their own "legitimate national defense and security." Britain's Thatcher hissed, "What he (Andropov) is proposing is to leave the United States with zero intermediate-range nuclear missiles. That does not seem to me to keep the essential balance which is required for our security." Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson spoke for *la France socialiste*, accusing the Soviets of trying to turn the discussion away from what he called "the real power imbalance in Europe" i.e., Russian nukes; and he then launched into an impassioned defense of his socialist *force de frappe*: "We're independent. . . . does Mr. Andropov want us integrated into the Atlantic Alliance and that our missiles come under American command? We have never accepted that French arms be included in the calculations at the Geneva talks. What shocks me here is introducing the French nuclear arsenal, which was created in a minimum dimension. If we diminish it, it has no more deterrent value." Well, thank you Msr. Socialiste for your clear defense of French imperialist interests. And like all the rest, you are more than a bit touchy when it comes to those precious nukes, aren't you Msr. Socialiste. Cheysson's independence bit was an interesting twist and a good complement to the British response. Britain straight up defended the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, openly declaring their own desire to have them. France, however, acted enraged at the nerve of

the Soviets to lump French nukes together with those of the U.S., which supposedly France has nothing to do with. How dare they include the *force de frappe* of independent France as part of the U.S.-bloc weaponry, huffed Cheysson. This dramatic posing was, of course, precisely in order to aid in the deployment of U.S. medium-range nukes in Europe which poor insulted French imperialism is fully in favor of and simply itching to have happen. West Germany, where most of the medium-range nukes are set to be deployed, was a bit lower key, saying that it would study the Soviet proposal but that "it must be regarded with skepticism. . . (and would) cement its (Soviet) superiority and turn it into a monopoly."

It was the U.S. role in all of this to provide the baldest response to Andropov. The State Department denounced the proposal as a propaganda ploy. "The Soviets would like to win a public-affairs contest," said a senior official. He added, "We get nothing and they seem to maintain a monopoly." Another unnamed official said, "It looks as though he's going to try to seem more reasonable." And why was the U.S. so concerned about the Soviets winning a propaganda contest? The *New York Times* answered in no uncertain terms, "that might cause problems for the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles in Europe or the MX intercontinental ballistic missile in the United States." Leave it to the U.S. for the best and most naked admissions of what all of this pre-war arms control diplomacy is all about — to lay the basis for deploying more of their nukes. And yes, of course, the freezers in the U.S. ruling class got a word in too. Senator Gary Hart warned that the Soviet proposal should be "taken seriously" because it would "enhance our position in the bargaining process and as serious negotiators, and strengthen our hand with our allies." In other words the U.S. shouldn't allow the Soviets to win any propaganda wars now or in the future. All in all every player in this international peace farce has played his part quite well, but really the whole melodrama is wearing a bit thin, don't you think? □

Imperialist Conservation at its Finest

A stockpile of some 17 million tons of impure plutonium is sitting around in storage tanks across the U.S. literally wasting away. Of course, you would think the main problem the U.S. government faces in dealing with this so-called waste material is that of safe disposal. Why, how many times have hand-wringing officials made such public pronouncements. Not so.

For several years, the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California, the U.S. government's most important nuclear physics research and development center, has been brainstorming and experimenting with methods of purifying this stockpiled impure plutonium so that the waste plutonium can become a highly-pure weapons-grade plutonium and then be used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Why let a good thing go to waste leaking and poisoning the planet for thousands of years when it can be used to nuke somebody's ass. This is imperialist conservation at its finest!

The scientists at the Livermore Labs

have devised a new, and as yet experimental, process of extracting a super-pure grade of plutonium in a procedure called the special isotope separation process. A laser beam is used to knock off the impurities from the low-grade plutonium, all in a shorter time period than it takes to breed the weapons-grade plutonium in the present reactors in operation at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina.

The new process would allegedly save the U.S. government billions of dollars, since the plutonium made at SRP takes eight weeks per cycle, and each 750-pound plutonium target produces only a few ounces of the pure stuff at a cost of about \$9000 per ounce (that is approximately 25 times more expensive than gold). The main problem, though, with the Livermore Lab's plan is that a reactor that can perform the special isotope separation process has not yet been built. To design and build such a thing would take until at least 1985.

So, the competition is on. The scientists down at the Savannah River Plant

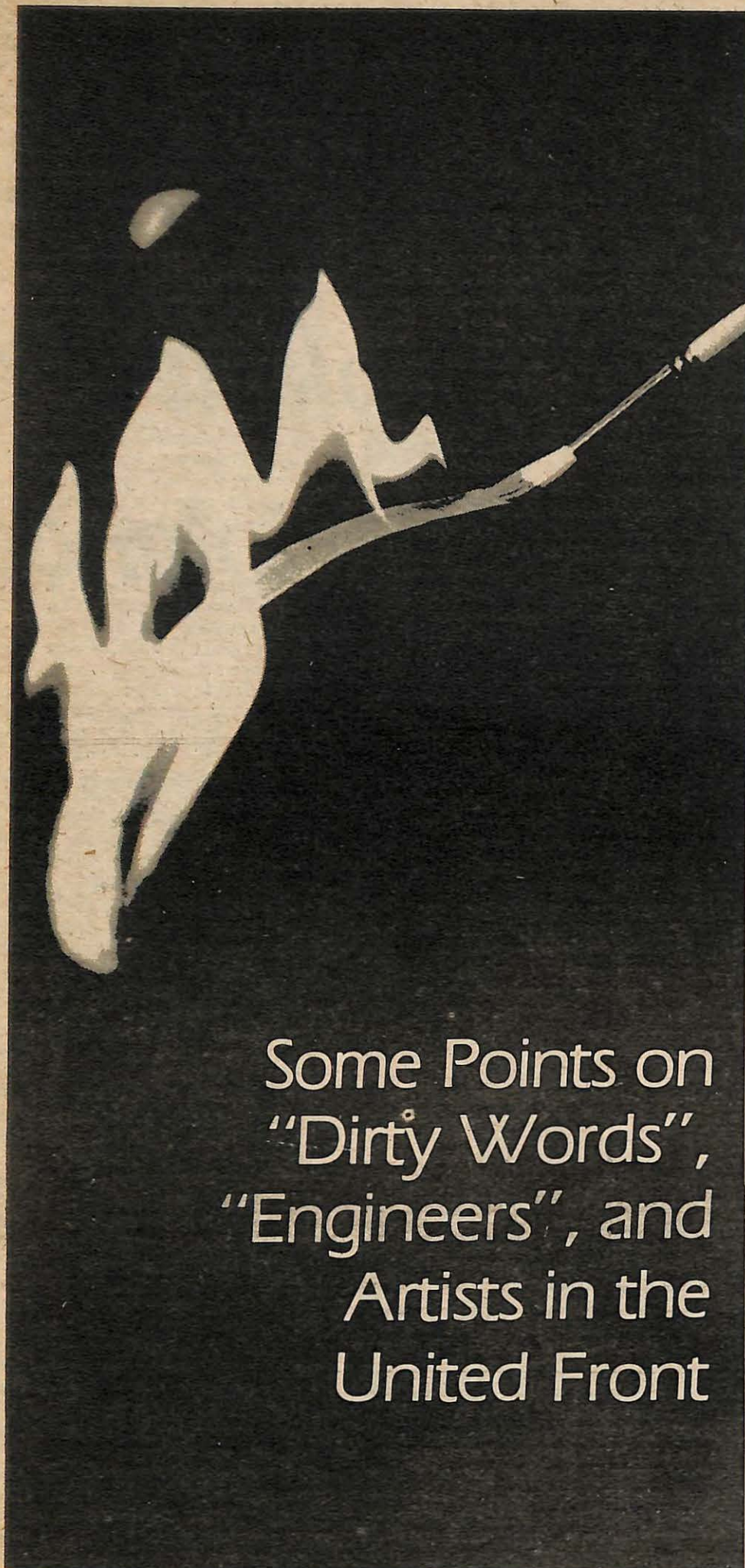
have decided to devise a little plan of their own to both speed up the production of plutonium there as well as to make use of this government-stockpiled waste plutonium. And this new process at the SRP, called blending, has a definite advantage in that it can be done in the already existing reactor. Apparently all that is required is to shorten the subcycle of the regular breeding process, which then yields a super-grade plutonium of higher purity than the weapons-grade variety formerly produced. The super-grade stuff has been blended with some of the impure waste plutonium and, *voilà*, mission accomplished. . . . well, a few kinks have to be worked out, the scientists say. For one, the new super-grade stuff is so highly radioactive that the safety features in the old reactors are not capable of protecting the people who work around it from dangerous levels of exposure. For those workers it is like taking 100 X-rays just to do the job, a dose that far exceeds anything that has been "allowed" to date. But then nobody ever said there

would be no sacrifices, huh. The blending process has been put into full swing already, in at least one of the three reactors at the SRP, and is planned for use in the donut reactor that is scheduled to reopen there in 1983.

The U.S. government's line on their decision to go with the SRP is that they are already living on borrowed time when it comes to such matters as the increase of nuclear weapons production. For them, 1985 and the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's plan are simply too far off and too "experimental," given the pressing need now for more and more nukes. So the decision has been made to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on the SRP, to squeeze as much as can be squeezed out of this.

"You might say it is a bird in the hand versus two in the bush," said the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy F. Charles Gilbert, in the official explanations for this decision.

Or, more apropos — a bomb in hand is worth two on the drawing board! □



Some Points on "Dirty Words", "Engineers", and Artists in the United Front

Following is an interview with A. Pine, a leading member of the RCP in the cultural sphere.

RW: "A United Front Under Its Leadership Is The Proletariat's Strategy For Revolution" to quote directly from the RCP's *Programme*. How does this relate to the party and artists?

A. Pine: Artists are a strata of the petty bourgeoisie and as such they are part of a class that is a strategic ally of the proletariat. Some people say that if they are working in some factory or such, they are not really artists but are "worker/artists" or something like that. But I think that if they are working in some factory or such, unless this is to supplement their income for art, then they are not really artists!! They might be aspiring artists. But the situation will resolve where you will either start making a living with your art or you will essentially give it up. There are "revolutionary" artists who actually *try* to keep working in a factory or such and they think that this is really revolutionary but it is just begging the question.

This is an important distinction because if you take the problem on further down the road of the revolutionary process, into socialism itself, you can see that, for example, there is a big difference between people who are principally workers taking up art, making it and so

on, and people who are principally artists periodically engaging in manual labor in the context of the struggle to break down the mental-manual labor contradiction. There is a big difference here and to cover it over in any way at all is going to lead to practicing revisionism in this regard. There is a division of labor that has arisen on the basis of class society and it's going to be a tremendous and conscious struggle to deal with this. You can't say everyone who is an artist has to also work in a factory because the people want art that meets their standards and you won't have that if they have to work at some other job all the time. And you sure can't say the working class can stop production and engage in politics and art all the time. There's much more analysis and struggle to it than that. Basically, it's going to take actually fighting through to communism to fundamentally alter the division of labor built on the foundation of exploitation and you can't beg that question or do away with the problem with gimmicks.

Artists are part of the petty bourgeoisie. That is what they are and there's no shame in that. It's only if you have a "revenge line," if you think the revolution is about *you getting yours*, (or even "oppressed people getting theirs"), that you think there's shame in it. And I have to say that some workers who are revolutionaries also think that way — and everyone ought to cut it out.

In the Soviet Union they always called

artists "civil servants" as though the word "artist" were dirty. Even among genuine communists, revolutionaries who want to and mainly are struggling to turn the world upside down, you hear this term "cultural workers." They aren't that. They're artists, pure and simple. What's wrong with that?

RW: Do you think there is a "special role" for artists in the revolution?

A. Pine: NO. Absolutely not. Stalin called artists "Engineers of the Human Soul" and I think he was wrong. That is the view that, you know, art, music or a movie or something "gets to you" in a way *nothing else can do*, and that art manipulates people's emotions.

Art does provide something nothing else does, and I am not being facetious, that is ART. People really need art. It's a socially and historically created need. Mao Tsetung was the first to really get at this when he said, "Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." (*Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art.*)

Revolutionaries have had a hard time admitting that this is the case, and so they have turned art into "education" or "propaganda" or "agitation" or anything but what it is.

I think that as an *overall* relationship it's people's politics that determines what kind of art they demand, and not art that determines their politics. Art that typifies characters and/or contradictions that are characteristic of the revolutionary classes and objectively promotes principally the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat "educates" people, it is true, but in a much more profound way than some might think!! When oppressed people, even people who are advanced but not fully class conscious, see something that fulfills their own requirements for art, it makes it even more difficult for them to put up with the counter-revolutionary art that dominates in any capitalist or feudal country. They want to fight for this art also, and for the artists who create it, because they know, or sense that such things are often very dangerous to the ruling classes.

So it is not just a matter of people being "educated," or even inspired, to this or that question or issue in any given work although this happens. To one degree or another, the class relations are a question and this is not so obvious.

RW: Most "authorities" think that art manipulates people's emotions. Could you go more into why you think it doesn't do that?

A. Pine: There are all kinds of devices used in art that are supposed to *make* you cry or laugh etc., etc. And to a certain and limited extent they do. But fundamentally in and of themselves they don't!! Depending on what you've experienced and think about the world, you either won't watch or listen to certain things you don't like, or if you do, you will laugh when you are supposed to cry or whatever. Sometimes I watch things that I know beforehand I'm going to hate, just to do reconnaissance on the enemy. I saw *The Green Berets* on the late show and me and my friends were laughing our guts out at this shit when we were supposed to feel patriotic.

There's a fundamental philosophical question involved here, and I suppose a biological question too, and that is, are emotional, or visceral, responses separate from the thought process of the brain? I don't think you can separate "fear" of fire from knowing it can burn you. I don't think you can separate visceral or "emotional" responses to art from what you know about what is being typified.

RW: Could we go back now to the problem of "Engineers of the Human Soul"?

A. Pine: Well, this is a very lofty sounding phrase but actually, what it leads to in practice is confounding the role of art and artists with the role of education, propaganda, agitation and the party itself. In the process of all that, it creates

an art which I would characterize as "soap operas with socialist content." That is, the artists had to create art about "the struggles of the masses" understood in the most literal and narrow and immediate way.

RW: How does this "confounding" you are speaking of affect the United Front led by the proletariat?

A. Pine: It is one among several major strategic errors that breaks it. If you are going to assign a special role of leadership in the realm of education and propaganda and agitation to artists then you are not only very confused about what art is, but you are very confused about what leadership in the revolutionary process is and what class consciousness is for that matter.

Parties with this line will refuse to unite with artists at all unless there is total political and ideological agreement, or, as is more common, they will *use* artists in the most disgusting way. They misrepresent what the artists really think and are doing, tailing them or jamming them and underneath it all, they are actually contending with them. They are afraid of artists! It gets so ludicrous. I've actually heard people say things like, "Wow, so and so group has an audience of millions and we can't call a demonstration that big." Now I'm not saying that revolutionary and progressive artists don't have any effect on people or on the revolutionary process but this itself must be seen in a much larger context. To put it rather simply and mechanically, when people are sick of bourgeois art, even if rather unconsciously by our standards, they will look for revolutionary art and artists. When people are sick of bourgeois rule altogether, including in the cultural arena, they will look for a revolutionary party which will lead them to seize power altogether! The RCP has understood the need for and is preparing itself to lead a proletarian revolution. We are very clear on this and accept this responsibility. We do not think that *any* artists or group of artists are contributing more to proletarian revolution than we are. We do not think that this is either theoretically possible or an actuality.

But if you call yourself a communist and you think this is possible, much less a fact, then you have lost your strategic orientation, and you will abdicate your responsibilities by capitulating in the face of the real problems and you will at the same time also "use" *especially* revolutionary artists in the most disgusting and sectarian way.

RW: How should the party decide to support artists in the context of the United Front strategy?

A. Pine: First of all, I believe that there are a number of issues and while there is unity on one or more, there will be struggles on others, there will be criticism... and this is not a one way street.

For instance, there is a whole section of artists who view the Soviet Union and the USA and the other imperialist powers, such as Britain, as equally rotten. We certainly have unity with them on this. But at the same time, many of these same people are anarchists. Some are serious anarchists and some are looking for philosophy. In any case, we have not and will not change our position on anarchism for their sake, and so while there is unity, there is also struggle, and *in the long run* one view is going to be proven correct and one view is going to be proven wrong, and basically this is a matter of the development of world history.

Here is another example. Peter Tosh does a song and one of the lines is "I don't want no peace, I want equal rights and justice." Now this is a great song. The typical character in this song, the image you get a picture of, is a real proletarian who is not at all interested in maintaining the status quo. We certainly agree with that orientation. In fact, that is our orientation. But at the same time, Peter Tosh is into the Rasta thing, and so we can't agree ideologically and this too will resolve one way or the other at some point.

We have to understand that life itself is going to push things toward resolution in one form or another and it is for this reason that we have no need to go about attacking people indiscriminately. If an artist is overall doing something worthwhile and helpful to the people, we want

Continued on page 14

Mahatma Gandhi: New Look at the Father of Nonviolence

The following article, which we are reprinting with the permission of the author Howard Ryan, originally appeared in the November 1982 issue of the *Abalone Alliance* newspaper It's About Times. The author does not endorse the views of the RCP, but believes in friendly dialogue between progressives. His forthcoming book, *Nonviolence and Class Bias: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Anti-Nuclear Movement*, will be published by the South Asia Publications, Ltd., New Delhi, and the Folklore Institute, Cupertino, California, in Spring, 1983.

Mahatma Gandhi, the "great souled one." Liberator of the Indian people, father of nonviolence, originator of mass civil disobedience.

In the years since his campaigns for civil rights in South Africa and Indian independence from the British, Gandhi's political methods and motivations have inspired many social movements, not the least of which is today's antinuclear movement. Does Gandhi really deserve such praise and respect? And even if the answer is yes, do his methods deserve emulation?

A careful look at Gandhi's life and political career might surprise those who blockade, sit in, occupy and agitate in his name. Though Gandhi was indeed a social visionary beloved by millions, he did more to liberate the landlords of India than its poor.

As perhaps no popular leader before or since, Gandhi was a man haunted by contradiction. On the one hand, the whole of his being lay firmly with the suffering masses of India and he devoted himself selflessly to their needs. On the other hand, his elitism and loyalty to the Indian ruling class led him to keep the struggles of the Indian people within sharply limited bounds.

The South Africa Years

Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, a prosperous port town in western India where both his grandfather and father served as prime ministers. Like many young Indian men of his background, Gandhi was sent to England for a higher education. In 1893, with a law degree in hand, he went to South Africa.

Gandhi arrived unprepared for the second-class treatment he received as an Indian in South Africa, and refused to tolerate it. Immediately he began organizing to improve the status and protect the civil rights of the Indian community. It was in the course of these efforts that Gandhi developed the tactics of passive resistance, or satyagraha.

The civil rights campaign dragged on for years. Gandhi led large numbers of Indians in demonstrations, marches and mass refusals to register as aliens. Many of them, including Gandhi, spent time in jail.

Finally in 1913, the campaign reached a climax. Tens of thousands of indentured Indian coal miners and other laborers went on strike against a new and

tougher Immigration Bill, and several of them were shot.

At the same time, a large strike by European railway employees was underway, a strike so serious that the government had declared martial law. Here was an opportunity for whites and Indians to break through the race barrier and join forces in a common struggle.

But Gandhi wasn't interested. Instead of offering cooperation, he suddenly cancelled a planned march, saying he did not wish to embarrass the government or exploit its predicament. The South African government was delighted. The office of General Smuts, which had already reneged on several agreements with the Indian community, praised Gandhi for his

"self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry."

The following year, the South African government did agree to some of the reforms the Indians had been demanding. Unfortunately, their overall conditions remained much the same. But Gandhi, feeling his mission in South Africa finished, set sail for India via England.

In Support of World War I

During Gandhi's first years in India, he led struggles by tenant farmers, peasants and textile workers. These were also the years of World War I, and Gandhi became a "recruiting sergeant" in support of the British war effort, believing this would appeal to the hearts of Britain's

rulers and thereby influence them to grant self-rule to India when the war was over.

The contradiction between Gandhi's theory of nonviolence and his recruiting activities was questioned by both his admirers and detractors. Some years later, he answered them: "My opposition to and disbelief in war was as strong then as it is today. But . . . possession of a body, like every other possession necessitates some violence, be it ever so little. The fact is that the path of duty is not always easy to discern amidst claims seeming to conflict with the other."

That Gandhi recognized the need for flexibility and acknowledged that non-violent purity is not always possible might be considered admirable. But Gandhi was ever more flexible in taking up arms on behalf of the ruling classes than on behalf of the oppressed.

Even before World War I, many wealthy Indians realized that they were constricted by the yoke of British colonialism. They had sought self-governing powers by making quiet appeals to the British, mainly through the Indian National Congress. Their appeals were ignored. After the war, at Gandhi's urging, the Congress shifted to mass organizing and protest.

In 1919, the British-run Indian government introduced the notorious Rowlatt Bills which outlawed anti-government literature and most forms of dissent. Marches and protests were brutally repressed. In April, government troops fired on a peaceful gathering at Amritsar, killing 379 people and wounding 1200.

The country was furious. A campaign of noncooperation against the British was launched in September 1920 by the Congress, which put full authority for the movement in Gandhi's hands. Under his leadership, the Congress became involved in organizing nonparticipation in government bodies and institutions, withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, boycotts of foreign goods, and hartals (closing of businesses, usually for one day). Violence was expressly forbidden.

The people responded enthusiastically to the call of the Congress, and India was swept with unprecedented resistance. The British again cracked down in late 1921. Movement organizations were declared illegal, political meetings were suppressed, some 30,000 activists and prominent leaders were imprisoned. In spite of the arrests, thousands more volunteered and agitation continued undaunted.

The nationwide resistance of 1919-1922 was by no means limited to opposition to the British. Economic crisis — inadequate wages and working conditions, rising rents and taxes — had fueled a wave of strikes and peasant uprisings. Gandhi's charismatic leadership of the non-cooperation movement unintentionally gave further inspiration to the workers and peasant revolts.

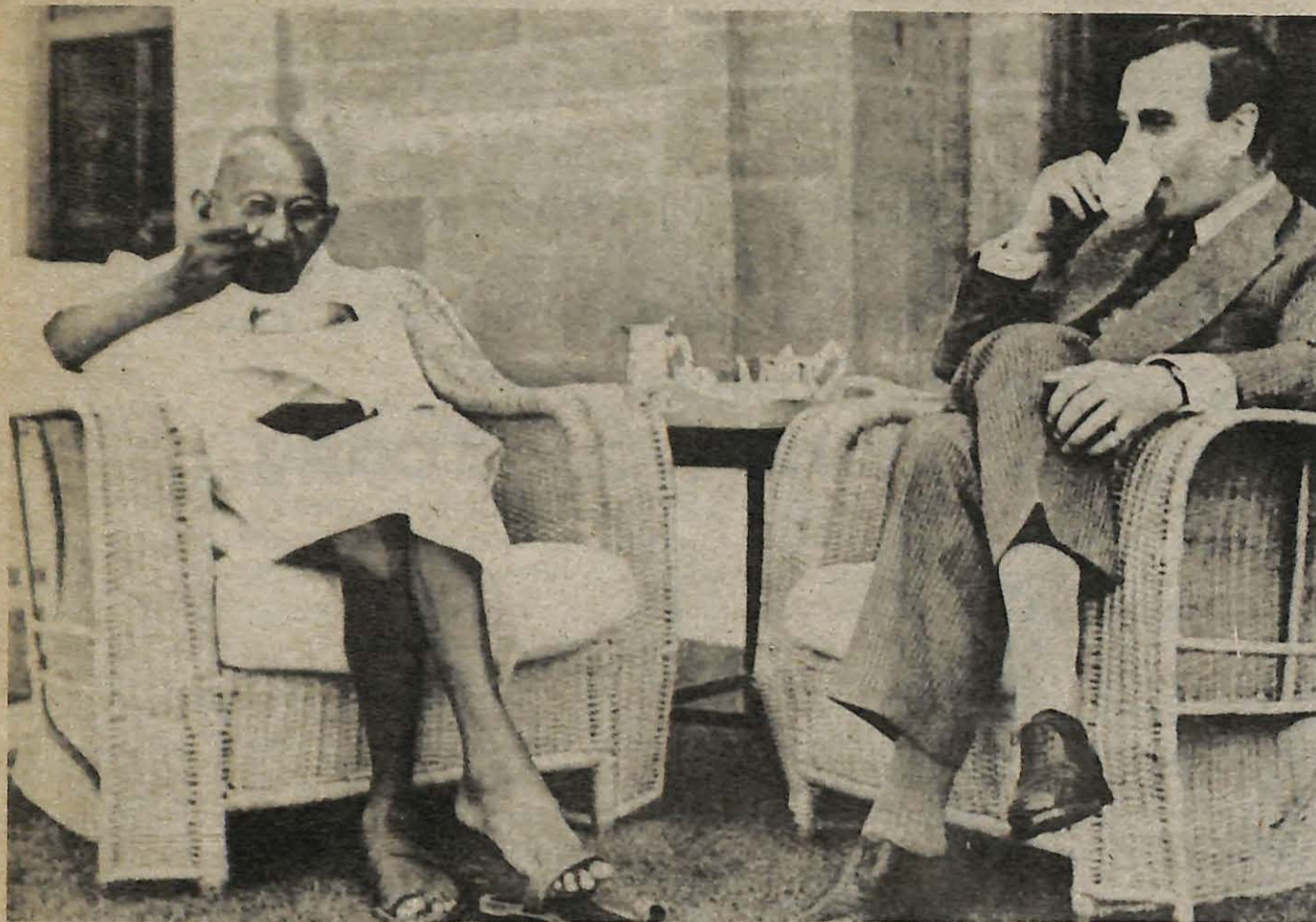
As in South Africa, Gandhi did not seek to strengthen and unite these struggles, nor to connect them with the anti-colonial effort of the Congress. Rather he scowled at the growing strike wave and



Indian troops in action in 1930 against one of the countless instances of mass uprisings.



Gandhi (center) with the Indian ambulance Corps that he had organized to assist the British against the Dutch during the Boer War. He later organized a similar group in South Africa to help the government put down a rebellion among the Zulus.



Gandhi takes high tea with Lord Mountbatten, last British viceroy of India.

tried to contain it. "Strikes are the order of the day. They are a symptom of the existing unrest," he wrote in *Young India* on February 16, 1921. Labor leaders "consider that strikes may be engineered for political purposes. In my opinion it will be a most serious mistake to make use of labour strikes for such a purpose."

Though at various times in his career Gandhi was willing to support and even lead individual worker or peasant campaigns, a mass movement against the propertied classes was not his style. His identity and ultimate loyalty lay with the Indian bourgeoisie, whose aims were to achieve freedom from British rule while preserving their class rule.

The Constructive Program

Gandhi led the independence movement with extreme caution. Several times he postponed plans for mass civil disobedience after incidents of violent protest. Finally, he agreed to begin a civil disobedience campaign, a tax strike, in the small district of Bardoli. Here, Gandhi felt, there was sufficient "non-violent discipline" to act under his guidance.

But even this limited battle was called off after police fired on a procession in Chauri Chaura, a little village near the Himalayas. After exhausting their ammunition, the police retired to their station where they were attacked by the angry crowd. The police station was burned, and the 22 policemen inside were killed.

Learning of the police deaths, Gandhi cancelled the entire program of civil disobedience, substituting a "constructive program" of home spinning, temperance and educational activities. "God has been abundantly kind to me," he wrote. "He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that non-violent and thoughtful atmosphere which alone can justify mass disobedience."

Gandhi's fellow Congress members were shocked and angered by his decision; the country was totally demoralized. "To sound the order of retreat when public enthusiasm was reaching a boiling point," observed Subhas Chandras Bose, a leading figure in the Indian National Congress, "was nothing short of a national calamity."

Gandhi's reaction to Chauri Chaura was another refrain of a theme that sounded consistently throughout his career. Nonviolent resistance was a method of waging conflict while keeping it within "safe" boundaries. This fitted perfectly the needs of Indian business interests who hoped a restricted measure of public protest could pressure Britain into granting independence.

Communal Riots

From 1923 onwards, a series of "communal" riots between Hindus and Muslims shook India. The country had long

been torn by hatred and fighting between the two communities, much to the advantage of their British exploiters. A hopeful union had been achieved through their common struggle in 1919-22, but the movement's abrupt cancellation cut short this unity.

The connection between suspension of the mass movement by Gandhi because of "nonviolent principle" and the later outbreaks of communal violence is suggested by Gandhi's protegee, Jawaharlal Nehru: "It is possible that this sudden bottling up of a great movement contributed to a tragic development in the country The suppressed violence had to find a way out, and in the following years this perhaps aggravated the communal trouble."

The general resistance and Salt Satyagraha of 1930-32 was a repeat of the earlier movement, but on a much broader scale. A campaign launched for very limited demands inspired a wave of upheaval that went far beyond what Gandhi and his colleagues had in mind. Leaders of the Indian National Congress again refused to support the demands of the countless worker and peasant struggles that emerged.

In March 1931, with the country mobilized to near revolutionary proportions, Gandhi called off the movement after negotiating a provisional settlement with the British. The meager concessions gained from the agreement constituted a sorry betrayal of the Indian masses. There was no independence. Beyond modification of the opposed salt laws, there was nothing that would improve the lives of India's poor.

The Second World War

The war years spawned widespread anti-imperialist sentiments, yet Gandhi and other national leaders refused to call for a mass independence struggle. With the country in a militant mood, they rightfully judged that an open fight against the British would turn violent and would likely spark revolts against Indian employers and landlords as well.

Rather than risk that, the Congress pursued negotiations and offered cooperation in the war in exchange for independence. When Britain didn't yield, the Congress launched civil disobedience protests led by Gandhi in 1941. The protests, however, were restricted and largely symbolic, and were easily crushed by the government.

After the war, as Indian leaders continued attempts to negotiate for independence, the people moved forward on their own. The years 1945-46 saw mass agitation for release of Indian National Army prisoners (who made an aborted attempt to stir a nationwide violent revolt against Britain); a dramatic mutiny by the Royal Indian Navy; a wave of strikes in almost every important industry; and a series of

revolts by peasants and agricultural workers, some involving armed resistance.

The country's leaders remained aloof from these events or opposed them outright. Without backing from the national organizations, the protests remained scattered and without a coherent strategy.

Still, this spontaneous militancy had its impact on the British. In addition, communal battles spread across the country in late 1946, touched off by a bloody three-day riot in Calcutta. It was this general state of turmoil that prompted British Prime Minister Attlee's surprise declaration on February 20, 1947 regarding transfer of power to India.

Britain's motivation is suggested by Alan Campbell-Johnson: "India in March 1947 was a ship on fire in mid-ocean with ammunition in the hold. By then it was a question of putting out the fire before it reached the ammunition. There was in fact no option before us but to do what we did."

The Price of Independence

Government power was finally transferred into Indian hands on August 15, 1947. Richard B. Gregg would write, "After twenty-six years of nonviolent struggle under Gandhi's leadership, India won her political freedom from Britain This was the first time in the history of the world that a great empire had been persuaded by nonviolent resistance to grant freedom to one of its subject countries."

The notion that "nonviolence worked in India" has become a standard reference for advocates of nonviolence. But rarely are the nature of India's "freedom" or the conditions under which it was achieved critically discussed.

When Indian self-rule was granted, it was largely on Britain's terms. The agreement with Congress leaders guaranteed that British businesses and investments would be left untouched. Britain's continuing powerful role in the economy of India would be ensured.

Most crucial of the British terms, however, and most devastating for India, was the obligatory partition of the country and creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim state. Some 40 million Muslims made their homes in predominantly Hindu parts of India, while 20 million Hindus lived in the Muslim majority areas to be established as Pakistan. The partition thus promised to exacerbate the already serious communal problem.

Recognizing that a divided India would continue to be easily exploited, Britain had insisted since 1940 on such a division as a condition of independence. The Congress had bitterly opposed it, arguing that the Muslim community should have a separate state if it wanted one, but that this decision should be made freely by the

Indian people and not be a requirement of independence.

But when the carrot of full independence was finally placed before the Congress, there was barely a murmur about the provision for a divided India. Even Gandhi agreed.

The partition gave impetus to communal rage the likes of which India had never seen. In some areas violence between Hindus and Muslims reached civil war proportions. For fear of their lives, millions of Muslim refugees poured into the newly-formed Pakistan, and as many Hindus and Sikhs fled to India. An estimated 500,000 people were killed within the year; untold millions of refugees were left hungry and homeless in the most massive migration in history.

The division of India and the bloodbath that ensued might have been prevented had national leaders sought to pull together the communities in battle against their common oppressors. For example, Hindu and Muslim sailors fought side by side in armed battle against British government forces during a Navy mutiny in 1946. An emerging unity was also visible in the massive demonstrations and strikes in support of the sailors. Gandhi, however, issued a statement denouncing the strikes and violent protests.

As in the 1920s, the anger of Indian Hindus and Muslims against their common exploiters was turned on each other. Gandhi's dogmatic insistence on nonviolence had wound up contributing to a bloody interreligious war.

Gandhi's Last Years

After independence, a growing rift developed between Gandhi and his colleagues in Congress, who seemed to lose interest in the common people as soon as they were no longer needed. The Indian bourgeoisie was quick to see that it had no further use for the Mahatma's charisma and influence with the masses.

Gandhi spent the last two years of his life traveling from village to village, often on foot, holding huge prayer meetings and pleading for communal harmony. His sincerity and concern about common people were vivid in this period.

What had Gandhi's personal influence and nonviolent doctrine achieved for the people of India? Gandhi had inspired them to stand up to their foreign exploiters — and then had sought to contain their militancy for fear of it going too far. He had refused to support violent popular struggle — an abstention that helped stir a bloody sea of interreligious violence (and added a new twist to the pacifist belief that "violence begets violence").

Gandhi had led the laboring classes of India to independence — only to replace the British rulers with Indian capitalists. Those who really gained from independence, whose power and autonomy actually increased, were the wealthy elite of India.

Historically, the method of nonviolent resistance — civil disobedience and voluntary suffering — was developed to achieve certain social reforms while keeping class power and privilege intact. This doesn't mean that the anti-nuclear movement should abandon non-violent tactics. But I do hope to encourage greater skepticism towards non-violence as a general principle and more exploring of the relations between non-violent philosophy and middle-class bias.

—Howard Ryan

The Soviet Union—Socialist Or Social Imperialist?

A Conference and Debate On
the Nature and Role of the
Soviet Union In the World Today



In May 1982, the RCP issued a call for a debate over the nature and role of the Soviet Union. The call was met with great enthusiasm and controversy. In fact, the idea for the debate proved nearly as controversial as the question itself. No one denies that this is a burning question, but could a high level and substantive debate be organized around the two lines — socialist or social imperialist? Would such a debate be a diversion from more accessible or even more important questions? But this wrangling and the general excitement stirred by the call has produced fruitful results. Numerous individuals and organized forces from various countries have come forward with their support, suggestions, and positions. The letter of support printed here is but one indication. The basis for a sharp and timely debate now exists and we urge all those who see the importance and urgency of these questions to build for and take part in the conference and debate which will be held in

New York City, May 1983

For further information and to become part of the organizing committee write:

Soviet Union Conference
P.O. Box 924
Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276
or call (212) 685-3120
Funds are urgently needed
(Checks should be made payable to "Soviet Union Conference")

A Letter of Support for the Proposed Conference on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union Today

Last summer, the Revolutionary Communist Party initiated a call for a conference on the nature and role of the Soviet Union, focusing on the question "The Soviet Union: Socialist or Social Imperialist?"

Few other controversial political topics today so concentrate profound theoretical questions about mankind's future and are so intimately intertwined with basic practical political choices throughout the world. The question of the Soviet Union pushes itself to the fore in any debate over the possibilities for radical social transformation and over the nature and potential of the developing international situation.

Does the state-owned and centrally-planned nature of its economic system mean that it is inherently a social advance over capitalism, or does it simply reflect the encasement of capitalist relations of production in a more collective ownership form?

Is the Soviet Union a progressive force in the world today, or an imperialist superpower, like the United States, compelled by its nature to wage a war of world redivision?

Is it a natural ally of oppressed nations, or is it one more in a series of aspiring exploitative powers?

While we ourselves hold widely differing views on these and related questions, we agree that the development of world events powerfully demands serious investigation and principled struggle over them.

The framework proposed for this conference has the potential for encouraging such struggle. It is planned to engage the energies and experiences of diverse political currents: from academia, from political organizations and mass movements, from among immigrants and circles of political exiles — and to have the conference culminate in an actual debate between major representatives of opposing views intended to sharply bring out the bases for their differences and the implications that flow from them.

This represents a welcome challenge to grapple with the controversies surrounding Soviet society, its nature and its international role, and to do so in a serious and thorough-going way. To that end, we encourage people to support and take part in this conference and its debate.

Initial Signatories

(Institutions listed for identification purposes only.)

Osman Sultan Ali

Editor, Horn of Africa journal

Kassahun Checole

Professor, Africana Studies, Rutgers University.
Director of the Africa Research and Publications Project.

John R. Ernst

Professor of Economics, State University of New York at Old Westbury.
Member of Union for Radical Political Economics and an editor of a recent special issue of the Review of Radical Political Economics on the Soviet Union.

Ikwezi

A Journal of South African and Southern African Political Analysis, published in London.

Raymond Lotta

Author of And Mao Makes Five (Banner, 1978), and co-author of forthcoming America In Decline. Written extensively on socialist political economy and crisis of U.S. imperialism.

Conrad Lynn

Black civil rights attorney. Served as defense counsel for the Puerto Rican nationalists Pedro Albizu Campos and Lolita Lebron, for the "Harlem 6" and for the diplomatic representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Visited Cuba at the invitation of Fidel Castro in the 1960s. Served on the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Commission.

Albert Szymanski

Professor of Sociology, University of Oregon. Author of Is The Red Flag Flying? The Political Economy of the Soviet Union Today (Zed Press, 1979), and The Logic of Imperialism (Praeger, 1981). Editor of Insurgent Sociologist. Written extensively in defense of the socialist character of the Soviet Union in left journals and currently working on a new book on the Soviet Union.

Trident Nein

Nine anti-war activists, members of the Atlantic Life Community. Recently sentenced to federal prison for damaging a U.S. Trident nuclear submarine at the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard in Groton, Connecticut.

Cornel West

Assistant Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Union Theological Seminary. Author of Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity (1982).

Major Juncture Nears in Darnell Summers Case

"This is not a political case — this is a criminal case." This worn-out declaration was again intoned by a judge in the case of the State of Michigan vs. Darnell Summers, at a motions hearing in Detroit on December 17th. It has been repeated over and over again by assorted prosecutors, judges and other officials and has become a major catchphrase in the bourgeoisie's attempts to carry out the political persecution of this revolutionary using the fabricated charge of first degree murder. The authorities have been reciting this dictum more frequently in the recent period, as their raggedy railroad has come under attack and is now heading for a major battering at an upcoming evidentiary hearing scheduled for January 18th. At this hearing, the burden of proof will be on the prosecution to show why dredging up a murder charge that was dismissed in 1969 has not been a violation of Darnell's right to a speedy trial, thus prejudicing (in the legal sense) Darnell's ability to defend himself, and why on this basis, the whole case should not be thrown out of court once and for all. Even though this motion had been filed by the defense quite some time before December 17th there had not yet been any response from the prosecutor. But a response is being demanded of him at the January hearing and it is shaping up as a major juncture point that may determine much of the future course of the struggle to throw this railroad out now and forever.

The very act of recharging Darnell after 13 years puts the question of a political frameup on center stage. It creates some significant legal problems for the state as well; and the judge at the December 17th hearing admitted as much by ordering the new hearing to decide the motion to dismiss for lack of speedy trial. There is simply no legal basis for this case to be sustained and this hearing will be a further and extremely important opportunity to expose the highly political nature of this unprecedented re-run railroad.

The prosecutor already provided some additional self-exposure on December 17th when he opposed Darnell's request to act as co-counsel and specifically that Darnell be able to make opening and closing remarks if the state does manage to force him to trial. The prosecutor said that this was "a very sensitive situation"

and he could not agree to let Darnell speak directly to the jury. But of course, "There is no political motivation" in railroading Darnell, only the fear that he may politically influence the jury. However in an attempt to defuse the "political motivation" question, the prosecutor acceded to a request by Darnell to return to West Germany for the Christmas holiday and to see his family from whom he has been separated for almost a year. This is a far cry from the sensationalist image the authorities tried to create when they dragged Darnell back from Germany in handcuffs last July, claiming he was a "fugitive." (It is also somewhat of an embarrassment to that U.S. imperialist partner, the West German government, which held Darnell in prison for 5 months without bond on the request of the U.S. State Department and will now see him step off a plane for a visit to the same country from which he was extradited.)

But all this suits a purpose. To try to carry out the task of pushing the trumped up railroad under conditions in which the state has been put on the defensive by having had the burden of proof placed on it, the prosecutor was busy trying to change the terms of the upcoming hearing. On December 17th he tried to shift gears by claiming that even if a defendant's defense has been prejudiced by a lengthy delay in prosecution, this doesn't mean that due process has been denied if there was "a continuing investigation." The legal issue of "due process" is separate from the issue of right to a speedy trial and carries with it the question of the "intent" of the prosecution in causing the delay. And naturally, according to the state, since "this is not a political case," then there is no basis to dismiss the case just because of a little old 13 year delay.

But if the prosecution wants to raise the question of "intent" and "motivation" it will not be so easy for them to settle it. The defense is eager to fight on these grounds as well and the bourgeoisie risks exposing even more of its political persecution in the process. Towards this end, the defense has already filed motions to dismiss the charge against Darnell on the basis of bad faith prosecution, as well as motions demanding the disclosure of all surveillance on Darnell by local, federal and W. German intelligence agencies.

These motions show how he was framed in 1969 for being a leader of the Malcolm X Cultural Center in Inkster, Michigan and for being a GI opposed to the Vietnam war, a frameup that coincided with numerous other uses of "criminal charges" against revolutionary Black activists at the time by the U.S. government. The motions described Darnell's continued revolutionary political activity through the '70s and into the '80s, his "crime" of standing with the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism in 1980 during the "hostage crisis," of uniting with rebellious youth and immigrant workers in West Germany, and of daring to help spread internationalist and anti-imperialist politics among the U.S. army troops stationed there. All this, the bad faith motion states, "caused military and civilian authorities no small amount of concern, on both sides of the ocean, as they scurried to tap his phone conversations, plotted to expell him from Germany, and then worked, hand-in-hand with the prosecution herein, to arrest and extradite him upon the long-since discredited murder charge."

To further expose this legal conspiracy the defense requested and got from the judge a court order for the disclosure of all surveillance materials and documents from this comprehensive list of police and intelligence outfits. At the same time the judge warned the defense attorneys that "there is no guarantee that these agencies will release the documents." This indeed seems to be the tactics the political police are using. A number of requests for documents under the Freedom of Information Act have produced replies such as "No files here" from various U.S. Army agencies (which is absolutely absurd given Darnell's history) or "Not discloseable." The Detroit office of the FBI replied that "for appropriate handling" the defense's request is being "referred to FBI headquarters" in Washington, D.C. How thoughtful of the judge to provide Darnell's lawyers with his timely caveat.

In order to carry the railroad this far the authorities have spun a tangled web of lies from the start. The hearing on December 17th was no exception as the prosecutor ran his same lame story that the renewed pursuit of Darnell is the result of "a continuing investigation," and that they never really closed the case in 1969 but were constantly trying to find witnesses with which to bring Darnell back to trial. In putting forth this "history" of the case, the prosecutor conveniently changed reality to further the intensely political aims of the state. He maintained that the case was dismissed on the request of the prosecution in 1969 because Milford Scott, their key witness against Darnell, had suddenly "refused to testify." In fact, Scott, who at the time had already been caught in one earlier fabrication of the accusation that Darnell had participated in the murder of Michigan State Police Undercover Intelligence officer Gonser, had written a letter to the court in August of 1969 admitting that all his testimony against Darnell was false, that he (Scott) had not even been at the scene, and that this is what he was going to testify to in court. The prosecutor's tale also left out that Darnell's defense has been prejudiced by the fact that two key potential witnesses for the defense, Turhan Lewis and Carl James, have died since 1969 and that the car Gonser was driving in has been destroyed by the state along with the above-mentioned letter Scott wrote to the court. The prosecutor further omitted any mention of the kind of pressure that has been put on people to testify against Darnell, particularly on Gale Simmons, who has once again been charged with the same alleged crime as Darnell and was scheduled to go to trial after she publicly said that earlier false statements against Darnell had been made under police threats and she refused to testify against him after he was extradited. (Although the prosecutor did say, referring to 1969, "I admit efforts were made to get her as a witness but we weren't successful.")

If, as the prosecutor declared, "There is no political motivation. The officers

Evidentiary Hearing set for January 18

don't know and don't care about Mr. Summers' political activity. The state police are moving solely because they want to seek justice for the shooting of a fellow officer," then why have they chosen to press ahead now with the frameup when they have the same problems with their so-called "evidence" as they did in 1969—with Gale Simmons refusing to repeat the false "testimony" used to extradite Darnell and with only the same discredited statements of an admitted liar, Milford Scott? If, as Chief Prosecuting Attorney of Wayne County William Cahalan has also parroted, "This is not a political case, this is a murder case," (*Detroit Free Press*, July 22, 1982) then why did he resort to what amounted to fraud in his affidavit in February 1982 demanding Darnell's extradition from West Germany? There, he "neglected" to explain to the W. German government that Darnell had been arrested once before on the Gonser charge in 1969 and the charge had been dismissed. He set forth the concentrated dose of "untruth" that "although defendant Darnell Stephen Summers was suspected of committing the crime of Murder First Degree upon officer Robert Gonser in 1968, the reason for the delay in arresting him was that there was insufficient evidence to arrest him at that time and the eyewitness Gail (sic) Simmons feared for her life. She came forth in 1981 to give her testimony..." Despite all the protestations these questions remain to be answered and will be pressed at the upcoming January 18th hearing.

In ordering the evidentiary hearing for January 18th, the judge remarked to the prosecutor that "I'm concerned about the delay," and that "this particularly puzzled me." This is certainly an indication of the flimsy legal soil the prosecution rests on. However, combined with the judge's statement early on that "This is not a political case, this is a criminal case" and other words of caution to the defense lawyers, the net effect is to weigh the possible grounds for the prosecution to be able to tighten up the railroad on January 18th, first by assisting and shifting the terms of the hearing and then by trying to deny the defense motion to dismiss, based on the so-called "lack of political motivation" by the state. (Another one of the things the prosecutor has continually maneuvered for in order to keep the lid shut on the "Pandora's Box of legal problems" he expressed fears about in an earlier hearing, is to begin the trial of Gale Simmons before Darnell's trial. The state hopes to use this in one way or another to set the stage for railroading Darnell. Gale Simmons' trial is now set for January 5th, but whether it will actually proceed then remains to be seen.)

All their maneuvering serves to drive home that as the authorities become more exposed in their attempts to silence Darnell Summers, their monotonous and croaky chant of "not a political case" is hardly an impotent Buddhist mantra. They wield the state power that makes it possible for them to railroad this revolutionary. The state clearly wants to have its cake and eat it too. It wants to carry out the railroad with a minimum of political exposure and the least political price, and under the cover of "a criminal case." But the imperialists also want the maximum political effect—to use the frameup of a revolutionary activist like Darnell as a threat aimed at all those who would think of stepping forward to oppose them.

As they push on with the railroad driven by this political necessity, they are enmeshing themselves in contradictions which they do not entirely control. Foremost among these is the response of the growing numbers of people, who, far from being intimidated, are making themselves heard in opposition to the frameup. And the more the authorities insist on "staying the course," by upholding their outrageous false front, the more they attempt to weasel their way around the cardinal issues in this case, the more they stonewall and refuse to turn over documents, the more they reveal precisely their reactionary political motives. □

State Dept. Advises Deportation of Dennis Brutus

Chicago. For nearly two years, the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) has waged a non-stop campaign to hound black South African poet in exile, Dennis Brutus, from the U.S. through deportation. On December 21, in response to Brutus's application for political asylum in this country, the U.S. State Department officially informed the INS that it sees no reason why Brutus should not be deported. The State Department's "recommendation" precedes a trial before the Chicago District of the INS now set for January 10. Brutus's status will be determined at that time.

Although Dennis Brutus is well-known as a tireless opponent of white minority rule, from the outset the U.S. government has maintained that his case is just a routine matter, simply another example of someone running afoul of INS red tape and bureaucracy. First arrested in 1964 at a demonstration against the apartheid regime's Olympic Committee, Brutus was jailed in South Africa's infamous Robben Island Prison for 16 months. After being shot in the back during an escape attempt in 1966, he was exiled from South Africa and traveled to

England and later to the U.S. where he is now a professor at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

What happened in Dennis Brutus's case is far from routine. First of all, his attorney told the *RW* that to her knowledge Brutus is the only South African in recent years to face deportation from the U.S. The chain of events leading up to this deportation goes back several years. Though immigration authorities admitted that Brutus was late in filing through no fault of his own, this did not stop them from declaring him "deportable" in November, 1981 for working at Northwestern on an expired visa. This in itself is a pointed admission of the political motivation involved in this attempt to banish Brutus from the U.S. Political constraints — including widespread opposition to Brutus's deportation to either South Africa or Zimbabwe (where a network of South African secret police operate) — led the State Department, with all accompanying benevolency, to suggest deportation to England. Brutus has denounced the State Department's recommendation. □

The Government War Against Indian Fishing Rights

It was early morning of June 17 when dozens of federal and Washington state agents surrounded the tiny Indian fishing village of Cook's Landing on the Columbia River. Dozens of agents brandishing rifles and shotguns surrounded the few houses and sheds while more stormed inside, a plane circled overhead and 3 boats awaited offshore. For those who might have happened to be traveling down Highway 14 that morning it could have very easily seemed an unusual occurrence. Traveling along the Columbia as it thrusts a passage to the Cascade Mountains in a final push to the ocean, it is easy to overlook Cook's Landing on a normal day. You must pull off the highway and cross the railroad tracks to really see the Indian houses, the nets hanging up, the sheds for drying salmon and the boats pulled up on the shore. But on June 17, the seeming serenity was punctured by a small army of government pigs.

In fact, this raid marked only one of the most recent episodes in a prolonged and vicious campaign waged by the government against tribes who have fished the Columbia River for salmon. The June skirmish at Cook's Landing was followed by a federal grand jury issuing indictments against 19 people, mainly Yakima and Warm Springs Indians, on federal charges of "illegal fishing." Well over 60 separate state charges have been filed in Washington and Oregon as well. Rumors of still more federal indictments to come are accompanying the government's new offensive against Indian fishing rights. In February, the 19 facing federal charges are scheduled to go to trial in Tacoma, Washington in what is certain to be an important battle. The government is again taking aim at what has traditionally served as a centerpiece for the economy and culture of Indians in the Northwest.

The "Usual and Accustomed Places"

130 years ago, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, the governor of the newly-created Washington territory and the region's first superintendent of Indian Affairs, arrived with the mission of securing this land for the relentless westward expansion of the U.S. A part of the U.S. plan was to drive the 14 tribes which inhabited most of central Washington onto a single reservation in the Yakima Valley. It was a plan that was first met with suspicion, and soon with open revolt. Although Stevens worked with driving energy in negotiating treaties which gave the U.S. title to all of Washington and large parts of Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, it was not until 1858 — three years after the initial treaty negotiations — before the area was "pacified" by the U.S. Army. As they had everywhere in their westward march, the troops came rounding up all who did not manage to escape or hide and herded them onto reservations, this time to Fort Simcoe, built in the heart of the Yakima reservation as a standing threat to the peoples who were forced to live there.

But as governor Stevens had underestimated the resistance he would meet, he did not underestimate one thing—the importance of the salmon fishery to the way of life of the tribes in the entire Northwest. Salmon was a staple of the diet, fishing a major source of food, and a central part of the Indian culture and religion. The U.S. at that time was not particularly interested in stealing the fish — only the land — and so each treaty with the Northwest tribes specifically reserved the right of the Indians to fish in all "usual and accustomed places," for Stevens and the others negotiating the treaties knew full well that without guaranteeing the Indians' access to their traditional fishing grounds, there would never be agreement with the treaty.

But, typically, this right was no sooner guaranteed than broken. Whites soon crowded into the new territory and often



attempted to interfere with the Indians' journeys to their traditional fisheries. Soon a commercial fishing industry sprang up and the Indians were increasingly looked upon as an unwelcome competitor; by the turn of the century the states were arresting, harassing and jailing Indian fishermen.

For the descendants of those 14 tribes, and for the other Indians with treaty fishing rights on the Columbia, this is much more than just history. David So Happy, Sr., a Yakima fisherman who lives at Cook's Landing (and is a central target of the government's current attack), remembers his grandparents telling how they were herded to Fort Simcoe by the army, and though they spoke no English they knew very well the provisions of the treaty that claimed to guarantee their right to fish. And though most had been forced off their native rivers, the importance of fishing to the life of the tribes still ran strong 100 years later.

Nowhere was this more evident than at Celilo Falls, or Wy-am as it was originally

known. Here, where the Columbia River formed great falls and rapids as it rushed towards the Pacific, the salmon would swim through narrow channels and leap up the falls as they returned upstream to their spawning grounds from the ocean. For centuries this was a major fishing site for tribes throughout the area, which in turn became one of the greatest trading centers on the West Coast of North America. Indians came from the Rocky Mountains, Vancouver Island and California to barter for the prized salmon. And though many things changed, the Indians had never relinquished Celilo; some whose reservations were many miles from the Columbia lived at Wy-am year-round and many others would come in the spring and spend the entire fishing season there. Until 1957.

In that year, the gates to the newly-constructed Dalles Dam closed. Six years later Wy-am was under water. The Dalles Dam was not the first along the Columbia. Many Indian families had conditional fishing sites flooded out when the Bonneville Dam was completed in 1938.

The Bonneville Power Administration, the Federal agency operating the dams, claimed that new sites would be constructed to replace those flooded. Few of these promises, needless to say, were ever kept. Some of the locations which were pledged as Indian fishing sites became state parks instead and boat launches were used for pleasure boats and white sports fishermen. Promised improvements — like hot water and sheds for drying fish — were never built.

All these giant hydroelectric dams along the Columbia — built around World War 2 and after — were constructed principally to generate power for war-related aluminum processing. By the time construction started on the Dalles Dam, the Korean War was underway. The federal government did not even initiate negotiations with the tribes which had fishing rights in the area until after construction on the dam had already begun. Once the negotiations had begun it was predictable that many on the tribal councils would echo the government's

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Fishing Rights

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call to sacrifice in the name of national security and economic progress. Shortly before the dam was completed an agreement between the tribal councils of the four tribes with treaty fishing rights on the Columbia — Yakima, Warm Springs, Umatilla and Nez Perce — was concluded which supposedly compensated the tribes for the loss of their fishing sites. (The leader of the Wy-am-pums, a tribe who lived at the Wy-am year-round, refused to have anything to do with this agreement.)

The flooding of Celilo forced a radical change in the method of fishing: prior to the flooding the most common methods were the netting, spearing or trapping of the salmon as they worked their way up the falls or narrow channels. Now more expensive gear — boats, outboard motors, gill nets hundreds of feet long — were required, and this, too, forced some out of the fishery. Moreover, dams were destroying many of the fish and had completely closed off major parts of the Columbia and its tributaries to the migrating salmon. Logging and pollution were destroying the salmon's natural habitat. The flooding of Celilo Falls offered the government the opportunity to completely outlaw Indian fishery. Washington and Oregon fishing regulations, which have never recognized the fishing rights of Indians, now specifically banned all commercial and net fishing above the Bonneville Dam — where the Indian fishery was located — and allowed it only below the Bonneville and on the ocean where the white commercial fishermen fished. Fish buyers were warned not to purchase fish from Indian fishermen.

Arrests and beatings of Indian fishermen, the stealing of nets and gear — long a part of the state's "conservation efforts" — were dramatically stepped up. A reign of terror was unleashed on the Columbia. One estimate put the number of Indian fishermen left by 1964 at 150, or less than one-eighth the number before completion of the Dalles Dam. But still Indians defied all this and continued to fish. Some were forced to fish under dangerous conditions — at night or during bad weather — when it might be easier to escape the notice of the authorities; and some died as a result. Confrontations erupted. One story that is still told is of an older Warm Springs Indian who in the late '50s held off Fish and Game agents with a .22 rifle until a number of Indians gathered around and forced the agents to leave. David So Happy was one of those who went to different fishing sites on the Columbia, and even west of the Cascades where similar battles over fishing rights were breaking out, to help those who were under the most intense pressure by the authorities. For Indians, salmon fishing had become an underground occupation.

Beginning in the early '60s, this resistance exploded out into the open. While the Yakima and Warm Springs Councils were agreeing with the state's contentions that they had no off-reservation fishing rights, the movement swelled; Indians and others from throughout the country came to the Northwest to participate in fish-ins in defiance of state authorities. Soon, tribal fishermen were being guarded by armed Indians who boldly asserted that the state agents had no business interfering with their fishing rights and they would not be allowed to. The movement began to attract wide support from revolutionary-minded students, oppressed nationalities and others. In late 1968, Sid Mills, a Yakima and Cherokee Indian who had been wounded in Vietnam, went AWOL from the army. He crossed the Nisqually River in Western Washington, going from Fort Lewis to Frank's Landing where Nisquallys and other Indians were regularly fishing in defiance of state regulations. "My first obligation," Mills declared in a public statement, "now lies with the Indian people fighting for the lawful Treaty Rights to fish in usual and accustomed waters of the Nisqually, Columbia and other rivers of the Pacific Northwest, and in serving them in this fight in any way possible...I renounce, and no longer consider myself under, the authority and jurisdiction of the U.S. Army." Only months earlier another

Yakima while on leave recuperating from wounds he had received in Vietnam was arrested three times while fishing around Cook's Landing on the Columbia.

Courts and Hacks

In 1968 the U.S. Supreme Court delivered a unanimous opinion in the fishing rights case which essentially upheld the position of Washington state in prosecuting Indian fishermen. The decision served as a signal for yet another round of stepped-up raids and arrests in the Northwest. In the same period the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) issued regulations which were aimed at clearing the way for evicting those living at Cook's Landing.

But at the same time, the rulers had been preparing a new tact in an attempt to bring the fishing rights struggle under control. Throughout the late '50s and '60s it had been the state governments in the forefront of the attack on Indian fishing rights, and Indian fishermen were being prosecuted in the state courts. The federal agencies and courts had largely tried to stay in the background, and during the height of this struggle some federal agencies — such as the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and federal courts — made noises about being "sympathetic" to Indian fishing rights. The larger strategy began to come to light in 1969 when U.S. District Judge Belloni ruled on two cases — the first a suit by 14 Yakima fishermen, the second filed by the U.S. Justice Department against the state of Oregon. The rulings declared illegal, attempts by Oregon to prohibit the Indian fishery on the basis of the treaty rights of the tribes.

The Belloni decision represented a significant concession, but it also was an attempt by the government to maneuver into a better position in order to carry out new attacks. The court retained jurisdiction over the case, in effect making itself the ultimate authority over the salmon fishery and over the interpretation of exactly what the tribe's treaty fishing rights were — and what they weren't. The essence of this strategy, which was to unfold over the next several years in a series of court rulings and related moves, was to build up a bureaucracy within the tribes and a section of people tied to this bureaucracy to serve as a stronger base of support for the government. This was particularly important because the fishing rights struggle had discredited many of the old tribal officials. There was a big infusion of grants, loans and programs from the BIA, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and other federal agencies. This has reached a point now where, as one Yakima recently put it, "Every aspect of our lives on this reservation is controlled by BIA money."

The Indian fisheries were singled out for special attention in all this. Among other things, the court required prolonged negotiations between the tribes, state and federal agencies, and required a court-approved fisheries management program, fisheries law enforcement program and so forth. The court became the judge of whether the tribes were "competent" to manage their own fisheries or not. This reached its logical conclusion when Judge Belloni ordered a long-term agreement be negotiated between Washington, Oregon, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the tribes over how to regulate the fisheries. In the days of the Celilo fishery the Indian tribes managed to regulate their fishery quite well among themselves, and there were those who attempted to point that out to the good judge. Judge Belloni, however, was not interested in that. The agreement that resulted was known as the five-year plan; it was to cover the period from early 1977 to early 1982.

Under this plan, which purports to protect Indian fishing rights, the fishing season for Indians has been reduced from over 50 fishing days in 1976 to just 9 days this year. The Indian fishing on more than one of the salmon runs has been totally eliminated, and fishing on the remaining runs drastically reduced. Fishing by white commercial fishermen on the ocean has never been limited by the plan at all, while the figures and restrictions are constantly juggled and rigged to reduce Indian fishing. The plan was also filled with pious words about improving the habitat of the salmon and enhancing the runs — with nothing said about how

A Note on the Killing of Norman Mayer

Dear RW,

Just a footnote to the article in *RW* No. 184 on the cold-blooded murder of anti-nuke activist Norman Mayer at the Washington Monument on Dec. 8th:

I was a patient in a New York City hospital at the time and, in watching the television coverage that evening, I was struck by a rather odd development. According to police and other official spokesmen, they had no way of telling whether Mayer was bluffing about having a large amount of explosives in his van. Yet, shortly after murdering him, with the van subsequently flipping over, members of the bomb squad approached the van, went into it and started removing various items. The revealing thing is that these bomb squadders were *not* protected by the lead shielding over their bodies and faces that they *always* wear if there is any danger of explosion. They appeared in fact to be dressed only in regular uniforms.

This certainly raises the question of whether the police and officials didn't know beforehand — or at least had almost certain reason to assume — that Mayer's van in fact had *no* explo-

sives, and that therefore the main reason they gave for opening fire — that they couldn't take the chance of a van full of explosives roaming around D.C. — is itself full of holes. It of course may never be known for sure whether they had such knowledge, but something sure is fishy about it.

Significantly, a nurse and a nurse's aide who I talked with the following morning were struck by the same thing, and while neither was really outraged by the whole episode, both had some deep questions about why it was necessary to kill someone who was protesting the danger of nuclear war. So did a patient across from me, an ex-GI who also wondered cynically why the cops would take the chance of opening up on a van they thought might be full of explosives.

I don't know what others might have learned, but from my limited experience in discussing it with people in that hospital, I would say the cold-blooded murder of Norman Mayer is yet another example of the imperialists picking up a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

A Reader

this would come to pass. Of course, none of it ever did come to pass — it was never intended to. What was intended was that the actual decision as to who will fish and who will not remained firmly in the hands of federal and state officials.

The plan did, however, lead to a massive expansion of the tribal bureaucracy involved in the fisheries. The Columbia River inter-tribal Fisheries Commission, a joint agency of the four tribes with Columbia River treaty fishing rights, was created; its current director formerly headed up the commission's law enforcement section and before that spent 21 years on the Los Angeles Police Force. Literally millions of dollars — coming from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bonneville Power Administration, and others — is spent by the commission and the individual tribes hiring fisheries biologists, setting up elaborate "law enforcement" systems (which have authority only against tribal fishermen, of course), conducting studies, hiring lawyers, etc., etc. This bureaucracy is involved in an endless series of conferences, negotiations, court cases, meetings of boards and commissions — and all of this is supposed to guarantee Indian fishing rights. The end result is an elaborate farce which is billed as the "legitimate" and "responsible" way of fighting for Indian fishing rights. One Yakima fisherman succinctly summarized this whole scheme when he said, "They're too busy off negotiating to worry about the Indians."

It did not take many Indians too long to see through much of this. The Yakima General Council, the general membership meeting of the tribe, voted to withdraw from both the 5-year-plan and the Fisheries Commission in 1977, but the vote was never enforced. The 5-year-plan itself was such a swindle that even the inter-tribal Fisheries Commission and the tribal governments branded it a failure and demanded it be rescinded when its five-year term ended earlier this year. The federal court, however, ruled that the five-year-plan would still serve as the basis of its decision — at least until yet another agreement was negotiated between the states and the tribes. Meanwhile, stories abound of friends and relatives of tribal officials who get jobs with tribal fisheries departments, while those who depend on fishing to live become increasingly desperate.

And these contradictions within the tribes, too, are intensifying as a result of the attacks on Indian fishermen, particularly the current indictments. The law under which the 19 were charged with "illegal fishing" is a law recently amended to make it a federal crime to transport fish or game across state lines in violation of tribal laws or regulations. This gives the federal government the opportunity to attack Indians while claiming to uphold tribal law. And this federal law is currently being used to attack Indians in other parts of the country as well. Interestingly, it turns out that the Yakima

tribal officials were among those who were lobbying Congress to have this new provision passed. Following the raid on Cook's Landing earlier last summer, but before the federal indictments were handed down, the four tribal governments issued a joint statement which said in part: "The governments of our four tribes deplored the unauthorized taking of fish by anyone, Indian or non-Indian...the alleged illegal fishing by tribal members violates not only federal but also tribal law." More recently, the Yakima tribal government at least, has been forced to back down from supporting the federal government's attack and to offer to provide some legal assistance to the Yakimas who have been indicted. The point, of course, is not that all of these officials have suddenly had a change of heart, but this is an indication of the volatility of these contradictions.

The present state of affairs is pushing many Indian families which depend on fishing to the wall. Indian fishing on the Columbia has once again become an underground occupation, while state agents steal nets, arrest and threaten Indians with clubs and cocked guns. A few years ago, three Indian fishermen on the Columbia drowned when their boat was rammed. The next day an Oregon state fisheries boat that had been hit was taken out of the water nearby and sent to Portland to be repainted, and the agents who were aboard were transferred out of the area. They later tried to claim that the Indians' boat had been accidentally rammed by a barge.

Among the fishermen are many who refuse to be intimidated by the years of threats and attacks by the government's gun-toting thugs. A woman with years of experience in the fishing rights struggle said, "I've never in my life seen the 'rehabilitation' of a Native American fisherman... They can't ever do away with us, they can't ever get to us." Along with the fishing rights struggle and the general upsurge among Native Americans in the '60s and early '70s came a heightened interest in and revival of traditional religion, in learning the history, languages and cultures of the tribes.

Over 25 years ago, the government laid plans to completely wipe out the Columbia River Indian fishery; there were visions of expanding the white commercial fishing by stealing the lands that the Indians fish. Today, with the salmon runs in the area already steadily declining as a result of capitalism's cancer-like spread over the Columbia River basin, there is no more talk about expanding the commercial fishing industry. But the resistance of the Indian fishermen represents a force out of the rulers' control, and they are compelled by new urgency to try and bolster the edifice of "law and order" which they have attempted to build up on the Columbia River by once again trampling the livelihood, traditions and culture of Native Americans underfoot. □

Language of Nothing to Lose

Continued from page 1

ing arrest"? How often have "bulges" been the bloody excuse? How many .357 magnums have "accidentally discharged"? How many times, in other words, has a young Black man been shot down — like Nevel — just for holding his head a little too high?

Reaction was swift, furious and righteous. Around the arcade youth spilled out into the streets and began attacking and torching police cars parked nearby. Rocks and bottles were showered on squads of cops who screeched up from every direction. The police were quickly surrounded and outnumbered. When two homicide cops "investigating" the shooting were trapped by an angry crowd inside the arcade, it took an assault by three SWAT teams in combat gear and the entire shifts from the central and south police precincts to free them.

As the SWAT teams and other riot police tried to clear the streets and set up a ten-block cordon, word spread of the shooting and street battle and more and more people poured into the area. One report stated that most "looting" was confined to gas stations and at least one gun shop. Press accounts state that there were a number of weapons taken from patrol and undercover cars and turned against the cops. Police were physically pushed back beyond their original lines.

The very authority which systematizes and sanctifies the murder of Black people like Nevel Johnson was brought to bear — only now one-hundred fold. But the sharpshooters and phalanxes of riot police were greeted with contempt! News footage captured throngs of Black youth and others on foot — and on bicycles — haunting and hounding the cops. Chains had been unshackled if only for a few hours, as the strutting pigs in blue, the trained perpetrators of "justifiable homicide" put their tails between their legs.

By late Tuesday night, Overtown was being described as only a "minor disturbance." Miami was said to be "under control." But by noon Wednesday, crowds had begun to gather in the streets and fighting again erupted as word spread that Nevel Johnson had died. Police moved back into the area in greater numbers than the night before, attacking people, and this time trying to seal off an 84-block section of the city. A long stretch of Interstate 95, the major highway that runs through the city, was closed down as traffic backed up for miles. Later, the official cordon was again extended to cover a 135-block area. (All this annoyed many Americans, unhappy about possible disruptions of

the Orange Bowl parade and football game slated for New Years. They wanted marching bands, majorettes and touch-downs — but they got something else!)

On the heels of the outbreak in Overtown came only a first burst from the poverty professionals, "community leaders," psychologists, and various fire dousers. One expected to see Jesse Jackson on the scene as quickly as he flew to Liberty City in 1980. These experts want to get to the "root" of the problem: "Brother, the struggle is righteous. We can unite. But you're going about it the wrong way." And they cluck to themselves that "these people" just haven't learned the futility of such outlaw stuff, don't appreciate the fine points of anti-Reaganism, got no patience in grass-roots reform, and goddam it, act like they got nothing to lose!

Then there were the predictable demands for investigations. And, lo and behold, by Wednesday afternoon no less than five separate "investigations" into Nevel Johnson's shooting had been launched. How familiar all this must sound in Miami. A local "investigation" brought the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie to trial in Florida nearly three years ago. They were found innocent and set free. A federal investigation reindicted one of these cops ("violation of McDuffie's civil rights"). He was tried in San Antonio and set free. After the Miami rebellion, yet another "investigation" resulted in the trial and conviction of 3 Black youth on murder charges. Needless to say — the cops who murdered 18 people in Liberty City weren't even "investigated" that time around.

But even while the locals and the feds promise investigations, more cops flood into Overtown, and the National Guard is put on alert. Another man was reported killed, but police refused to give any information about his death. They don't restore "law and order" with promises — but with shotguns, teargas and troops. They have proven, for one thing, that the murder of Nevel Johnson wasn't the action of some lone, renegade cops. They brought in a whole battalion to make the point. More, they have shown again that the vicious national oppression of Black people in this country is enforced by the bourgeois state and its detachments of armed bodies. They are trying to teach a lesson, but what they are teaching is that *more* is required (and we don't mean more Black cops!). What is required is mass armed proletarian revolution — and this means revolutionary leadership, understanding, organization and all-around preparation for the opportunities shaping up in this war-threatening world when it will be possible to wage a real struggle for power and win.

As the cold-blooded murder of Nevel Johnson opens up a new year, if you're Black and from Miami, you can walk with some pride, 'cause while more is certainly required, such a rebellion ain't a bad place to start. □

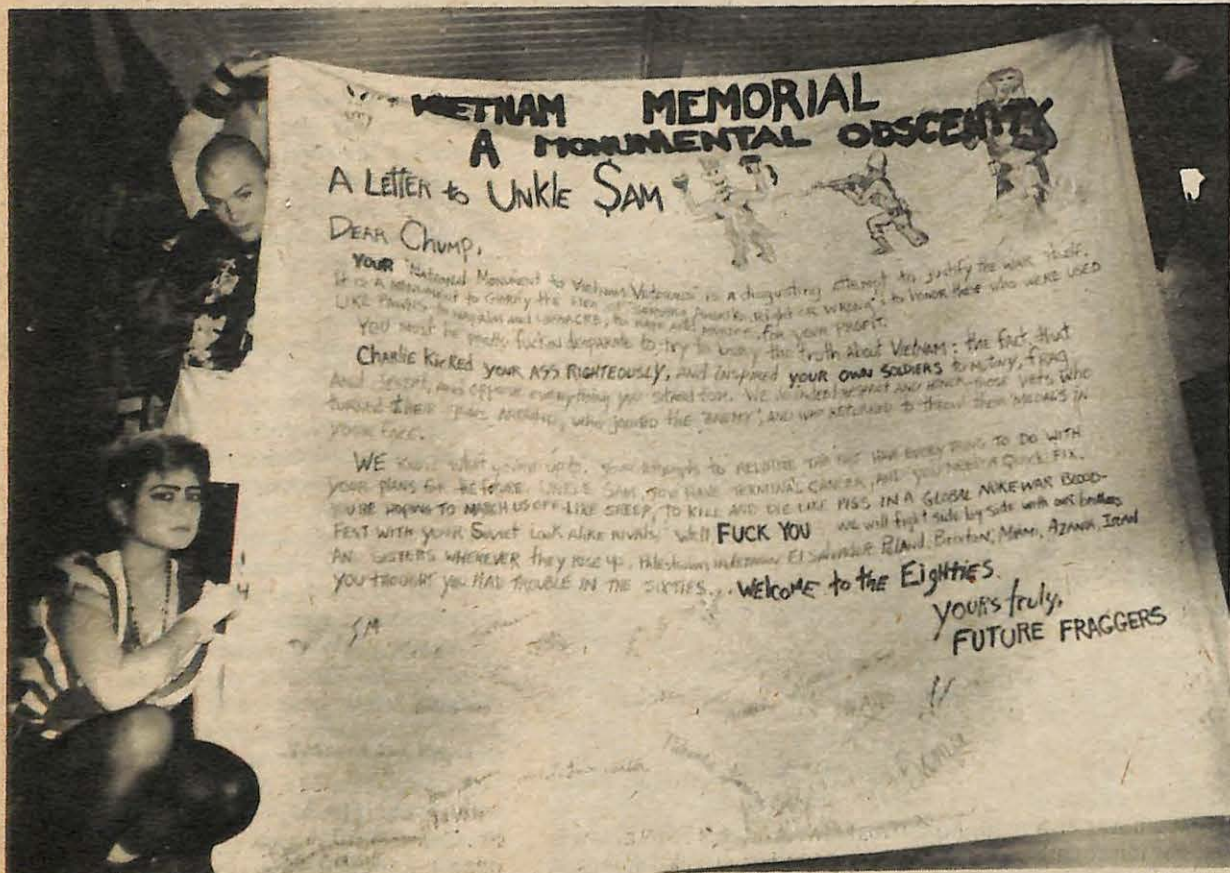


The EPA's Latest Spill

On Monday, December 20, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) released a list of the 418 most hazardous toxic waste dump sites under its jurisdiction. The compilation of these sites and their proposed clean-up are part of a \$1.8 billion program begun two years ago in the wake of the outrage at revelations about Love Canal. As it turns out there are quite a number of toxic dump sites beside which Love Canal's noxious fumes pale. In fact, Love Canal is far down the list — not even in the ranks of the 50 most dangerous sites. Before it appear such poisonous sink-holes as Fridley, Minnesota, where for 20 years a plant producing ordnance for the U.S. Navy dumped trichloroethylene, a suspected carcinogen, several hundred feet upstream from a drinking water intake pipe for Minneapolis. Also high on the list is the site in Atlantic County, New Jersey where chemicals have seeped into the aquifer supplying Atlantic City's water. Or there are the dump sites in the Northern Marianas and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory for PCB — this extremely dangerous mutation-producing chemical is a common ingre-

dient in ordnance production. Though the compilation of the sites was generally hailed as a first vital step in controlling the problem, at this point — two years into the five year program — only three of the 418 sites have been cleaned up. The vast majority haven't been touched, and, what's more, these are only the most dangerous 418 chosen from an estimated 14,000 abandoned toxic waste dump sites containing everything from arsenic trioxide and benzene to radium.

But there's more. In what was practically an aside, the EPA noted that only *abandoned* dump sites are included in its clean-up program. Not a single *active* poison depository is any concern of the EPA's tireless efforts. Nor are any toxic waste dump sites on federal grounds included — especially those containing nuclear waste material. One official estimated there are hundreds and hundreds, perhaps more such sites. The government is not really all that worried about this problem however; as the head of the EPA blithely announced, once funds for the clean-up program run out in 1985, they saw no need at all to renew them. □



"Vietnam Memorial A Monumental Obscenity"

A letter to Unkle Sam

Dear Chump,

Your national monument to Vietnam Veterans is a disgusting attempt to justify the war itself. It is a monument to glorify the idea of "serving Amerika-right or wrong"; to honor those who were used like pawns to napalm and massacre, to rape and murder, for your profit. You must be pretty fuckin' desperate to try to bury the truth about Vietnam: the fact that Charlie kicked your ass righteously, and inspired *your own soldiers* to mutiny, frag and desert and oppose everything you stand for. We do indeed respect and honor those vets who turned their guns around, who joined the "enemy," and who returned to throw their medals in your face.

We know what you're up to. Your attempts to rewrite the past have everything to do with your plans for the future. Unkle Sam, you have terminal cancer, and you need a quick fix. You're hoping to march us off like sheep, to kill and die like pigs in a global Nuke-War Bloodfest with your Soviet look-alike rivals. Well, FUCK YOU... we will fight side by side with our brothers and sisters wherever they rise up, Palestinians in Lebanon, El Salvador, Poland, Brixton, Miami, Azania, Iran, you thought you had trouble in the sixties. WELCOME TO THE EIGHTIES.

Yours truly,
Future Fraggers

This banner, which was taken by revolutionary youth to "The Compound" a hangout in San Francisco's Mission District — had a certain appeal.

On November 18th the political police viciously stepped up its dragnetting of political activists, set into motion in the aftermath of the attempted Brinks expropriation on October 20th, 1981. On the 18th the RICO/Federal Grand Jury in New York City, which has been conducting a year-long spying expedition, returned a new federal indictment. The indictment is aimed at furthering what the political police have been up to all along: silencing and jailing a section of revolutionary nationalists and their supporters. Significantly broadened in the indictment is the number of people directly under attack. Further, it represents an escalation and intensification on the part of the government in both charges being levied—one carries a possible death penalty—and the basis being laid to go after and dragnet even more people.

The RICO indictment was returned against 11 people: Dr. Mutulu Shakur, head of a Harlem acupuncture clinic; Sekou Odinga (Nathaniel Burns) who was formerly one of the Panther 21; Chui (Cecil) Ferguson; Jamal (Edward Joseph); Bilal Sunni-Ali (William Johnson); Silvia Baraldini; Susan Rosenberg; Cheri Dalton; Iliana Robinson; Nilse Cobeo and Dr. Alan Berkman; adding 5 more people to the original federal indictment. Bilal Sunni-Ali, who was arrested and extradited from Belize (see *RW* No. 182) was immediately added to the indictment after being shipped from a Miami prison to New York City. Silvia Baraldini was a legal assistant for the defendants in the state's Brinks trial in Rockland County, New York and is a spokesperson for the May 19th Organization. In addition to the indictments, Baraldini was brought before the grand jury to insure that she not be released in any case since bail is not possible for refusing to cooperate with a grand jury. Dr. Berkman was already in prison for refusing to talk to the grand jury; he, Iliana Robinson, a Hunter College student, and Nilse Cobeo are not charged with participation in any alleged criminal acts contained in the lengthy legal diatribe but are being indicted on the charge of accessory after the fact, a count which carries an automatic 12 1/2 year sentence. The political police have been unable to arrest four of those indicted, though as evidenced by Bilal Sunni-Ali's arrest in Belize an active hunt is obviously underway both in and out of the U.S. And there is every indication that more attempts will be made by the political police to lengthen their already lengthy hit list.

The federal indictment which "grew out of" the arrests made in the Brinks case in Rockland County, New York, is an exposure of what's been involved in pursuing those arrests from the beginning. The purpose of invoking the RICO statutes all along has been to concoct a grand criminal conspiracy in order to round up any number of political activists. In fact a 1981 RICO court decision (*U.S. vs. Purkette*) lays this out quite specifically with the court ruling, "This chapter permits the government to cast wider nets than it could under traditional conspiracy principles." What the indict-

11 arrested on RICO indictments Political Police Widen Dragnet in Brinks Case

ment does is to tie in and tie up various political activists and over an extended period of time. Immediately after the Rockland County Brinks incident "possible links" among political forces, particularly among revolutionary nationalists including the Black Liberation Army, the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Afrika, and former members of the Weather Underground, and "possible links" to the freeing of BLA leader Assata Shakur, were openly floated in the press. Thus it comes as no surprise that a year later the political police have handed down an indictment "confirming" their own scenario.

Count One: The racketeering conspiracy. This is the third time that this indictment has been superceded to enlarge the number of "co-racketeers." Included as members of the "conspiracy" are the 11 indicted. But that is not all. The indictment also names as unindicted "co-racketeers" the 7 people already charged in the state's Rockland County Brinks case. Also included are two other people who are now cooperating with the government and the naming of them as co-racketeers is certainly meant to make sure that they continue to cooperate. Adding to the outrage the government included Mtayari Sundiati as one of the "co-racketeers." Mtayari Sundiati was shot dead by the police 3 days after the Brinks incident.

The indictment charges that this grandiose criminal conspiracy began on January 1, 1976—7 years ago! And in so doing opened the door to draw more links between more people. Already the indictment charges 4 people with freeing Assata Shakur in 1979 from a New Jersey prison. (Note: It is very interesting that the political police have suddenly found "new evidence", as they claim, to support this escape charge. At the time of Assata Shakur's freeing the bourgeoisie was outraged and quite clearly stunned, not knowing how or what had hit them. Police reports at the time gave 3 different descriptions of getaway cars and had them all traveling east and west at the same time. Composite drawings of "suspects" were made and circulated, with the FBI going through their files. The FBI descended upon a former Black Panther Party member, Mr. Hill, who was picked up and held on a million dollars bail. Two weeks later the government had to drop its blatantly phony charges against Hill when 5 witnesses testified that he had been with them at the time of the escape.)

The RICO statutes also hold that the

necessary two acts or threats to commit acts in order to constitute "a pattern of racketeering activity" need only to have occurred within 10 years of each other, which actually opens the possible field of further investigation back to 1966. In press accounts over the past year the FBI, etc., have kicked around possible connections to a number of still "unresolved" incidents. They have cited, as just one example, an alleged conspiracy to blow up the Statue of Liberty in 1968, a conspiracy that obviously never materialized 14 years ago. One of the indictment's counts cites 17 acts or threats to commit acts, with more than half of them — nine — having never happened; a fact the bourgeoisie knows full well. Several defendants are accused of *attempted* or *threatened* crimes. The ballooning of charges, their conspiratorial nature, and occurrence over an extended number of years, has enabled the political police to go after a number of people and, if convicted, to jail them for a long time.

Other significant features of the indictment include: One. The charges carried long sentences, 20-25 years each. But in actuality counts three, four and five of the indictment are multiple charges for the same alleged crime — participation in the Brinks incident in Rockland County. One of these counts, bank robbery killing, carries a possible death penalty. (While the death penalty is technically unconstitutional in New York, the death penalty per se is not: only the previously used methods were deemed cruel and unusual punishment and there are serious moves to restore the death penalty in the state of New York.) Two. Included in count one of the indictment is the far-reaching charge of endeavoring to "obstruct criminal investigations by law enforcement officials into the criminal activities of the enterprise." It should be recalled in light of this obstruction charge that according to the RICO statutes an "enterprise" has a rather broad definition including individuals "associated in fact" and who may not actually be charged with any acts. Three. In an apparent attempt to bolster the legitimacy of the indictment 5 days after it came down, one of the named co-racketeers, Tyrone Rison, appeared under heavy guard in New York City to plead guilty. Rison, who is now cooperating with the government, went on to make statements which coincidentally matched several of the indictment charges. And as Rison obligingly said all the right things, his wife, who had been convicted with him on a separate robbery charge in Georgia, was

released from prison.

The last count of the indictment is a charge which netted in more people but was also by design intended to send out a "don't get involved or else" message. Dr. Alan Berkman, Iliana Robinson and Nilse Cobeo are not charged with participating in any alleged acts nor are they accused of being members of the criminal enterprise. They are charged with accessory after the fact, that they "unlawfully, willfully and knowingly received, relieved, comforted and assisted the offenders in order to hinder and prevent their apprehension, trial and punishment." Clearly the bourgeoisie is worried about the exposures it has suffered and the rallying of further opposition to their moves.

How the bourgeoisie is going to be able to carry through with this indictment and their attack overall remains to be seen. It has taken them over a year to get to this point — and it has not exactly been smooth sailing though they have made their reactionary determination to press ahead and step up these attacks quite clear. One indication of the troubled waters the bourgeoisie is in can be seen in their recent decision to move the state's Brink's trial out of Rockland County. The court ruled to move the trial on the grounds of adverse pre-trial publicity and its effect on potential jurors. Such decisions are fairly rare, even John Hinckley didn't get a change of venue. This decision has, however, little to do with concern about adverse publicity on jurors and more to do with some adverse exposure of the bourgeoisie's hand: defendants beaten in jail, the spectacle of an armed camp courthouse, defiant defendants who turned pre-trial hearings into an indictment of imperialism ordered out of the courtroom, political T-shirts banned, defense lawyers threatened, etc., etc. The defense attorney's request to relocate the trial in New York City was also rejected. Instead the trial has been moved to the predominantly white, semi-rural, conservative Orange County. This move 70 miles north of the city is an attempt to physically isolate and contain the defendants, undercut rallying support, and to keep the legal courtroom lynching somewhat removed from the public eye.

Already in handing down this new federal indictment resistance flared up, foreshadowing more to come: On the day defendants were arraigned in this new federal indictment, scores of supporters were on hand outside and inside the courthouse in New York City, scuffling twice with the police who had attempted to shove them away from the front of the courthouse. Three of five rows of seats in the courtroom were stacked with the police press, U.S. marshalls, FBI agents, etc., with many supporters then prevented from entering. When the presiding judge refused to remove handcuffs from the male defendants, all of the defendants and their attorneys protested, refused to participate in the hearings, and filed out of the courtroom — an indication and continuation of the staunch defiance their attacks continued to be met with head on. □

Artists

Continued from page 5

the people to support that, even if that artist is making serious theoretical errors and some of their work is not so good. But it is true that theoretical errors will in the long run change a good objective effect into a bad one, and so serious errors have to be pointed out, both to arm the masses and to hopefully correct the errors of the artist as well. We also welcome criticism and hopefully we can learn from what is correct and not accept what is incorrect.

Also, there are issues peculiar to the artistic world, questions of method and style in culture, and we have unity with people on some questions and not on others and we have, I would like to say, learned a great deal and are still learning from revolutionary and progressive artists with regard to some major line questions concerning culture.

We don't believe in the concept of "political" and "non-political" art and we think this covers for revisionist art.

We believe all art is political, whether the artist(s) are conscious of this fact or not. We understand all art to be analyzable as either revolutionary, progressive, liberal, backward or reactionary. And there is no such thing as "communist art." What is revolutionary belongs in the political sense completely to the proletariat as a class historically and exists on account of the contradictions in the world.

RW: Is art that communists produce or create not "communist art"?

A. Pine: It would seem that a communist who is also an artist would be able to create art that is correct politically and powerful artistically on a very consistent basis. But I have to qualify that by pointing out something Mao Tsetung pointed out before. He said that "Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics." I think the point there, which should have been obvious but isn't, is that you can be a good Marxist, but if you don't know anything about art, or about physics, etc., you won't be a good artist or physicist, etc.

No. I don't think that you can mix up subjective intent and objective effect.

Communists have also produced a lot of art which is very wrong politically and very bad artistically. I'm not even sure that they were all bad communists. It is possible to be a good communist and a bad artist!! In any case, just because a communist created something, that doesn't mean that it is in fact revolutionary or that it can play that role. Also, as I said before, I don't think there is objectively any such thing as communist art. Perhaps when communism is achieved, there will be "communist art" but I doubt they will call it that!!

RW: Should artists join the RCP?

A. Pine: They are doing so and will do so. As soon as they make the political and ideological leap to become communists, they should apply. Of course, we don't recruit "artists" as such. We recruit communists who are artists if you see what I mean?

RW: What are the prospects of things taking a leap on this front?

A. Pine: There is a real "left" upsurge among artists at this time, and it is not because of the Reagan cuts, but because the major political developments and changes in the world are awakening them

to political life and in this context the question of the role of art in changing the world is posed in an acute way for them. This is even more true of the artists among the youth who are trying to figure out what the hell to do with their lives.

They are grappling with a whole slew of questions, the cardinal questions of the world struggle and the cardinal questions of art and revolution. Really, in this context, I think that the role of the party, and raising its level to be able to meet these interests and requirements, is very decisive.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the strength *politically and ideologically* of the forces coming out of this upsurge will have a profound effect on developments in the next, which could be a very profound upsurge indeed.

The struggle in this arena is "special" in one sense alone and it is that the cultural arena is a regular bastion of metaphysics among not only artists but the other masses as well. Really, the notion that there is "artistic freedom" under the rule of the bourgeoisie is nothing short of a joke, but many people believe it nonetheless, including many revolutionary-minded proletarians. There is general significance in blowing that notion to hell where it belongs. □

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

A call to prisoners in the U.S. imperialists' dungeons:

At this time, in the battle to win refugee status in France for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCPUSA, statements are needed from prisoners documenting political repression and "routine" acts of torture—repeated beatings, denial of food, bedding, clothing, prolonged periods of isolation, administering of drugs, sexual violations, etc.—on the part of police or prison personnel. This testimony will be a vital part of exposing the nature of bourgeois democracy and the torture and terror inherent in the normal functioning of the justice system in the U.S.A.

Please send your statements to the address above. You may want to do this through your lawyer or relatives or friends on the outside. We will notify you that we have received your letter.

RCP PUBLICATIONS
POB 3486
CHICAGO, IL 60654

Dear RW,

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND \$80.00 for the PRISONERS FUND. Coming off the murder of the anti nuclear protestor in Washington DC, it seems clear that while the bourgeoisie will do anything for their almighty god profit, the only thing more precious to them than the profit itself is the truth as to just how they come by it, the extent they are driven to and what this does to the people who are the recipients of these needs and deeds of the bourgeoisie. This man in Washington, according to the bourgeoisie must have committed a crime so grave that they didn't even bother with a kangaroo court—they tried and executed him on the spot. They thought they could keep the truth from us by killing him—maybe for the time being they have, in terms of the exact details of their upcoming war. In trying to keep quiet the detailed exposure of how the law of Imperialism means war will unfold, they exposed another one—the nature of the state in a bourgeois democracy. The fact that he died because he sought the truth is the most hideous of all the bourgeoisie's crimes. The truth that they fear is the truth that we must know.

A reader
Chicago

RW:

A couple of my friends are getting married this month and I would like to donate \$10 for each of them to the Prisoners Revolutionary Lit. Fund for this special occasion in their behalf. Thank you. You will find \$20 check enclosed.

Help "Shine the light of Revolution behind the Prison Walls" contribution.

San Francisco

Dear RW,

I'm writing to you to ask you if you would put a person on your mailing list for the *Revolutionary Worker*. The woman I'm requesting this for is doing a five year number in the Women's Correctional Facility in XX. She's been in the torture chamber for about a year now and I have been writing to her since before she was forced to give up her physical freedom. But, she is not willing to forfeit her mental freedom to oppression or any other dehumanizing tactics which are inflicted on each individual to break his or her spirit to force them to comply with the capitalist system.

I've offered her my views on revolution and to the extent of how deep oppression really is and that we must beat down this system and struggle for and with the people. She has asked me to help her obtain a subscription to the truth and she is very serious and interested to learn what is really lurking in the shadow of the red, white & blue and what must be done to kill the monster. I, therefore am asking you on behalf of this sister to please put her on your mailing list so she will learn the truth also.

Her name is: X.

Thank you
In solidarity,
Sioux Falls, S.D.

Dear R.C.P.

Please find enclosed my statement concerning treatment in the U.S.A. and the Walpole State Prison in particular:

1. I am a prisoner serving natural life.
2. I am currently in the Departmental Segregation unit (herein after referred to as D.S.U.).
3. I was placed in D.S.U. while still waiting trial for murder and armed robbery.
4. The day before my trial I was teargassed, maced and severely beaten receiving large burns from the chemicals on my arms and back, my ankles were cut to the bone by leg shackles, I received a black eye and gouges on my face and numerous bumps and scrapes. I was then thrown, naked into a shower stall and left there until the following morning when I was taken to court to begin the farce that was called a trial. During my entire trial I was kept in Isolation unable to contact witnesses, family, attorneys etc. All of this because I allegedly had a plastic food tray in my cell!
5. I have been in closed door Isolation since Sept. of 1982 and am not scheduled to get out until March of 1983. Closed door Isolation consists of being placed in a cell and having a solid steel door closed over your cell. You receive no yard, no visits, no privileges. I have received the majority of this Isolation for such offenses as "Disrespect to an officer" "Insolence" etc.
6. I have often been denied food and bedding in D.S.U.
7. I have received numerous other beatings in D.S.U. as well as the one outlined above.
8. My life has been threatened many times by the guards of this institution and they have already made one attempt.

I hope this statement will be of some use. For France to send Bob Avakian to a U.S. Prison would be the same as condemning him to a slow cruel death. I truly hope France has more compassion than that. If I can be of any more help please contact me.

In Strength and Struggle
South Walpole, Mass.

Brother,

Just this short letter to inform you that this institution has stopped my letter to you with a Sworn Declaration for Bob Avakian; also enclosed was a letter from a Member of Congress who sent a letter to the Department of Corrections concern-

ing the treatment of prisoner's at this institution.

This letter was never returned nor the documents that I was sending. I was informed that I would receive a '115' writ-up for sending a letter without a stamp. And they say that the letter was sealed. Which is not true. I will be going to a hearing and see what's going to happen. I am really sorry that they have taken the letter for Bob Avakian support. I will be trying to get it back...

This is what my complaint said:

Rules Violation Report = Log No. 1769/111
Violated rule No. 3133(e)/3134
Date = 12/15/82

Specific Act = Falsely Marking a letter for free mailing/mailling a sealed letter that did not Qualify as confidential.

On Monday, Dec. 13, 1982 Inmate X housed in Cell X sent a sealed letter to RCP Publication, P.O. box, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654, the letter was referred to the Institution Investigator by the D.V.I. Mail room. The letter was open by Lieutenant Z and it was then determined the letter did not qualify as confidential mail Per DR No. 3134 the inmate trust office was contacted, and a review of records there indicated that X had \$25.00 in his trust account and did not qualify to send out free mail, per DR No. 3133(e). The undersigned was informed of the above on Thursday, December 16, 1982 and a CDC-115 was submitted at that time X was informed of the information on Dec. 16, 1982, a review of the letter indicates it is the type of mail/letter that could go out under normal circumstances, i.e. in an envelope that was not sealed and if it were not marked to go free...

If possible put this in the next News Paper and send a copy to the Department of Corrections, and what ever else you can think of doing to bring this type of treatment out to the public.

Note: this is a Program Administrator who is making such a fabricated charge.

Tracy, California

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

RE: In support of Political Refugee Status for Comrade/Chairman Bob Avakian

I am presently being held captive as a Prisoner of War in one of Amerikkka's most archaic and oppressive Koncentration Kamps for the poor and oppressed, the Texas Department of Corrections. (See, Ruiz v. Estelle, 503 F. Supp. 1265; 679 F.2d 1115) On December 21, 1982, I was taken before the prison disciplinary committee on a charge of "refusing to obey orders" issued on December 18. This charge stemmed from my refusal to remove from the cell (cage) walls certain portraits and postures of a cultural and political character, in example, K. Marx, V.I. Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung, E. Zapata, B. Juárez, Ché Guevarra, etc. Since there is no rule which prohibits prisoners from placing such items on their cell walls, I refused to comply with this "order" and asserted that such symbols were of an expressional value guaranteed (supposedly) by the 1st Amendment freedom of expression rights, and by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which guarantees (supposedly) Chicano/Mejicanos their cultural rights.. I also asserted a defense of selective enforcement and persecution since other prisoners throughout the unit have such items (non-cultural and non-political) on their cell walls and are never harassed or punished for. In fact, the charging pig had in the past (and continues) to express a personal hatred towards me and my revolutionary ideology which he calls "subversive". For example, on November 7, 1982, this same Gestapo element illegally confiscated some of my Marxist literature in a "routine" cell search of which was never returned to me. As punishment on said charge I was placed in solitary confinement for 15 days and deprived of certain earned "good time" credits.

This statement is submitted in support of political refugee status for Comrade Avakian. The prison system in this country is an instrument of the ruling class (capitalism) for the physical and psychological coercion and repression of the poor working class peoples. Progressive-minded captives are constantly harassed, punished and even assassinated for exercising their rights supposedly guaranteed by the false and hypocritical bourgeoisie laws of this country, in particular if you are a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. The stealing of our land by imperialist robbers (Native-American land rights; Chicano-Mejicano Southwest-Aztlán); the criminal wars in VietNam, El Salvador by the imperialist for the plunder of the land and exploitation of the peoples; police terror, etc., and many other crimes being committed against the poor and oppressed throughout the world go unpunished. The poor and oppressed people will never enjoy true freedom and justice in this country and throughout the world up and until we, the vanguard, overthrow by armed struggle, the vile and baseless dictatorship that keeps us oppressed and suppressed. We must accompany our revolutionary slogans with revolutionary deeds and fight wholeheartedly for the establishment of PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY! To convict and incarcerate Comrade Avakian on political frame-up charges would be the equivalent of signing his death warrant. POLITICAL REFUGEE STATUS FOR COMRADE AVAKIAN! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! FREE THE LAND! LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

In Revolutionary Struggle,
Huntsville, Texas

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

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

MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!



From the time that I was fairly young, I have always felt the need to see a thorough revolution — you know — a complete change from the kind of existence people go through now. In seeking a way to not only think about this idea, but to act to bring it about, I joined the Young Communist League in 1935. One year later, I joined the Communist Party, USA. At that time, I did various political work in organizing workers in the various industries such as the waterfront, warehouse, and restaurants. This Communist Party later betrayed the interests of the proletariat and took the low road of capitulation. I was not very conscious of how this happened, but one thing that made me think that something that was wrong with that organization was that they never trained political leaders from the working class. It seemed like they had things set up so that the masses would be denied the accessibility to being trained in Marxism-Leninism — so that an elite class within the party could run things their way. At the same time that I was involved in the '30s and '40s and into the '50s, there was a group of us in Chinatown who looked to Mao Tsetung as a great revolutionary leader and when people talked about revolution — it was equated with China and the achievements made in creating a whole new society after the defeat of the foreign imperialists which held China backward for many years. But China during the time of the Cultural Revolution was much different from the China of today — which is the same kind of rotten capitalist system that exists right here in the U.S. The Revolutionary Communist Party's analysis of this reversal in China in boldly upholding the banner of Mao Tsetung had at that time, and has continued to this very day to have a tremendous effect on me, and many others not only in this country, but internationally as well. After the arrest of the Gang of Four, I was pretty confused about what had gone on. I heard stories about how revolutionaries had gone into political meetings and never come out. The Four were members of collective party organizations, yet all I heard was that every problem was being blamed solely on them. Already in April of 1976, before Mao died, it seemed that the Right was gaining some strength as manifested in the Tien An Min Square incident. In 1978, I heard of a group of Americans who traveled to China and the first questions that an official representative from the Chinese Communist Party asked them was "What do you think of the Gang of Four?" Later on, I became part of a group of revolutionary-minded individuals who were planning a trip to China. There was not among us, any discussion as to what was the political implications of events that had transpired in China with the death of Mao and the arrest of the Four. However, fortunately I had the opportunity to study, struggle and discuss with the RCP the content of the reversal that was in effect, and was able to reach the correct conclusion that a bourgeois class was indeed ruling China once

again. At this point I refused to go on the trip and it was also at this time that the RCP held public meetings exposing the revisionist takeover and upholding Mao. I was inspired by and moved by the very timeliness of the demonstration in Washington, D.C. against the visit of the traitor Deng. The need to not only expose the reversal in China but how it was fitting into the plans and needs of U.S. imperialism in strengthening itself for global war was an important event. The role that Chairman Bob Avakian, personally played in his political leadership, and presence at the demonstration is something I will never forget. The RCP's analysis and actions concerning the reversal in China were not the most popular stand to take at that time — but a correct line is crucial in order to make revolution and I feel that the RCP was correct and that's why people stand with it. This same reason goes for why the party's press and its distribution broadly among the masses is the correct way to prepare for revolution. The analysis in the newspaper around events going on in the world, does, in fact, *reflect reality* — and people do see it that way and that's why they buy the paper and help distribute it — not because the articles are popular or not. In fact, I know of quite a few people who, on their own go down to the party's bookstore in Chinatown to pick up their copy of the *RW* every week and buy books. One guy buys \$20-\$30 worth of books every month. Even a sailor from China comes in frequently. Like I said before about the CPUSA, they did not train people in this way. I guess sometimes we lose sight of how precious such a weapon is to raise people's sights to what is going on in the world and seriously train people and step up preparations for the final overthrow. In summing up my relationship with the RCP, USA, I would like to say that whether a correct line is being applied to changing the world makes all the difference; we must be able to discern our friends from our enemies, real Marxism from phony Marxism, and advance on a path that is really going to get us there. And it is truly, only this party that has shown this. I would like to encourage all who want to see a complete change to wholeheartedly contribute to the RCP's major fund drive. We cannot just idly dream about such a revolution — but must actively work to make it happen. Perhaps you can talk to your friends about this and like I am going to — and encourage them to look into what the RCP is all about! Before I end, I would like to say one more thing — the imperialists are definitely in deep trouble throughout the world — so we can take advantage of that — but it will be a struggle to defeat them on a world scale. But, we should not get discouraged — "The road is tortuous — the future is Bright!"

Contribute to the RCP's major fund drive now!

A retired Chinese worker
San Francisco

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This is why I am contributing to the special fund drive and becoming a sustainer to the work of the Revolutionary Communist Party:

I have been active in movement politics for 20 years now. The civil rights movement of the early 60s and the racist reaction against it made me realize that our so-called democracy was a myth. I became peripherally involved in the civil rights movement as a student. When the Viet Nam war began to heat up in the mid-60s my anger demanded more than occasional marches and petition gatherings. I became active in S.D.S., draft resistance and other militant movements of the 60s. Since the end of the war I have worked on environmental issues and for nuclear disarmament. Over the years I have taken part in numerous sit-ins, demonstrations and Greenpeace actions and direct actions against the military. And, during those years I have seen numerous Marxist organizations come and go. Most of them were very theoretical and dogmatic and didn't seem grounded in reality. The RCP, however, is different.

I don't agree with all their policies nor do I think the revolution is imminent here in the U.S. But, they are dedicated to fighting and exposing imperialism both here and abroad. Unlike so many other Marxist groups who criticize everyone who isn't a party member, the RCP supports and encourages all progressive groups struggling against sexism, racism, and the war machine. And, their paper is an excellent source for information about struggles both here and abroad.

—Seattle

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