



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

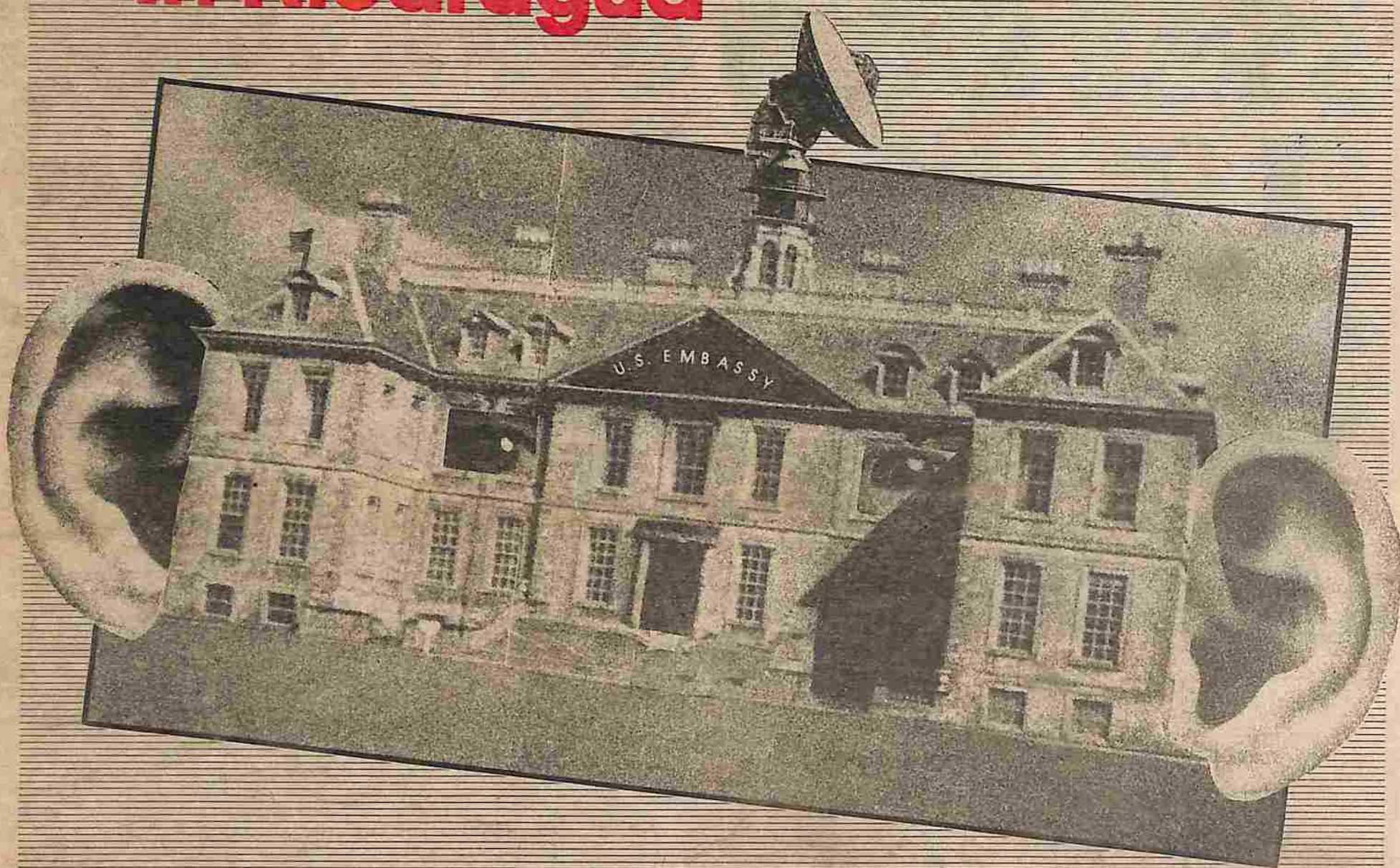
Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

No. 209 (Vol. 5, No. 7) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

June 10, 1983

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

It's Hard To Be A Diplomat In Nicaragua



In most countries in Central America, recruiting for U.S. death squads is a relatively uncomplicated matter. After all, membership in a security force of the state apparatus provides invaluable experience. It's not only that such on-the-job-training enables the recruiter to determine the prospective employee's ability to carry out simple instructions — like torture, murder, mutilation and so forth — and makes sure that the recruit possesses all of the vital skills required of a bona fide U.S. freedom fighter. Even more important is the opportunity to check out and insure the trainees' loyalty — a crucial matter in this field. But alas, as recent events have shown, Uncle Sam's recruiters have a much more difficult task these days in Nicaragua. Many experienced U.S. personnel are just too well known to run around Managua and other Nicaraguan cities, and are often relegated to plying their trade in Miami or Los Angeles, or the more remote mountains and jungles of Nicaragua. And with the proper training apparatus now mainly in the hands of others, today's new U.S. death squad recruits in Nicaragua are not quite so reliable as they once were.

Consider the difficulties and discomfort recently experienced by three U.S. diplomats who operated out of the U.S. Embassy in Managua. The Sandinista regime has accused them of meeting

secretly with a number of prominent Nicaraguans, including government officials, "to recruit, train and supply them with the necessary means for the execution of criminal projects," and has kicked the three out of Nicaragua. Press conferences on June 6 and 7 in Managua produced a great deal of testimony to this effect. One that was decidedly under-reported in the U.S. press featured Mario Castillo, the president of the youth group of the Conservative Democratic Party, a pro-U.S. party made up of some of the old loyal opposition to former U.S. puppet Somoza. Castillo told the press that he knew of a plan, directed by the U.S. Embassy and involving both the leader of the Conservative Democratic Party and a CIA agent, to organize "binary cells" to carry out acts ranging from sabotage to assassination of Sandinista leaders. The agent apparently also recruited a champion marksman from the Sandinista army for the CIA-directed assassinations, but the lieutenant turned out to be loyal to the Sandinistas and spilled the beans. As we go to press, this agent, named in the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, is currently seeking and receiving asylum from the Venezuelan Embassy; he first applied at the U.S. Embassy, but his employers apparently felt that it would be too politically damaging and a virtual confession if he remained there.

The other major press conference featured a detailed account of CIA recruitment and assignment of an employee of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, Marlina Moncada, who the Sandinistas say worked as a double agent. Appearing with Sandinista State Security Chief, Lenin Cerna, Moncada said that she was recruited by a man from the CIA — who she named — when she worked at the Nicaraguan Embassy in Honduras. In February 1982, she was assigned three "contacts" in Honduras, two of whom were U.S. Embassy officials. She named them and gave their phone numbers. Moncada said that in addition to asking her to get information on the Nicaraguan armed forces, including especially the number and presence of Cuban advisors and the shipment of planes from the Soviet Union to Nicaragua, her new employers were particularly interested in the life of embassy officials — wanting to know their schedules, the brand of cigarettes they smoked and coffee they drank, and their comments on the former Sandinista Commander Zero, Edén Pastora, who is currently running an anti-Sandinista commando operation in southern Nicaragua. Moncada also reported that the CIA wanted her to commit some kind of "terrorist action" against the embassy, but she declined because she might

be jeopardized. They then asked her to place a microphone in the embassy, she said, but she was conveniently transferred to the foreign ministry in Managua before this could be carried out.

The spy story continued in Nicaragua, where her new contacts at the U.S. Embassy (she gave their code names) gave her a radio for receiving coded messages, two code books for deciphering the messages, a pair of hollow book ends to keep the code books in, a note pad with edible paper for quick swallowing and the material for making invisible writing visible. Moncada named the frequencies and times of her radio messages, and the name and post office box — in Mexico City — where she was supposed to send her replies. Moncada says she met several times with Ermila Rodriguez, one of the three U.S. Embassy officials kicked out of Nicaragua, and Sandinista official Cerna showed video tape and still photographs to back up her story. (Rodriguez was a second-secretary in the embassy; the other two officials are David Noble Greig, a first-secretary, and Linda M. Pfeifel, a political affairs officer.) Then in April of this year, Moncada says that she went to Tegucigalpa, Honduras, where her old CIA contact — whom she named once again — offered her \$5,000 for the task of poisoning

Continued on page 10

The Worries and Flurries of Chief Daryl Gates and Others

An article in the June 7 edition of the *Los Angeles Times* provides some revelations as to the extent of international coordination — and a glimpse of the international political fear — surrounding certain preparations for the 1984 Olympics. The article is buried on the back page of the *Times*' "Metro" section, perhaps one of the least-read pages in the newspaper; nevertheless, it is in the paper, and its revealing contents — some of which are clearly a product of the continuing *LA Times*/Chief Daryl Gates controversy — are down in black-and-white. Of course, the paper maintains unified propaganda efforts to paint all political opposition with the "terrorist" brush. The article is headlined, "Security Against Terrorists at Olympics Proving Hot Topic," and centers on the recent extensive international travels and seminars

of various political police bigwigs — which, as the *Times* admits, "rarely... come to public notice." We really must thank the *Times* for letting a little more of the normally hidden machinations of the bourgeois state — or rather, *states* — out of the bag.

The *Times* article begins by enumerating a recent flurry of heavy-duty political police consultations, including LAPD officers' trips to Europe and the Middle East, and a visit to Los Angeles by a "retired" Israeli police commissioner who is apparently well-known in the political suppression-and-oppression game. Chief Gates was seen running around West Germany, telling the press that "he maintains close contact with West Germany's elite GSG-9 Police Unit," and that he had paid a visit to the unit's headquarters near Bonn. Whether

this public statement was supposed to improve the reputation of the German or the Los Angeles spy units is unclear at this time. The *Times* went on to disclose other, similar consultations:

The article says that "the LAPD's top Olympics planner, Cmdr. William Rathburn, and one of his aides recently completed an announced two-week trip to Israel, Britain and France, where they consulted at length with security authorities." Rathburn is described in a recent *Playboy* magazine article on the Olympics as being totally inexperienced in "anti-terrorist work," and he is quoted as saying that "the recognition of local autonomy is the cornerstone of our effort" at the upcoming Games. Perhaps this recent trip was designed to educate the rather naive porcine commander.

The *Times* further revealed that

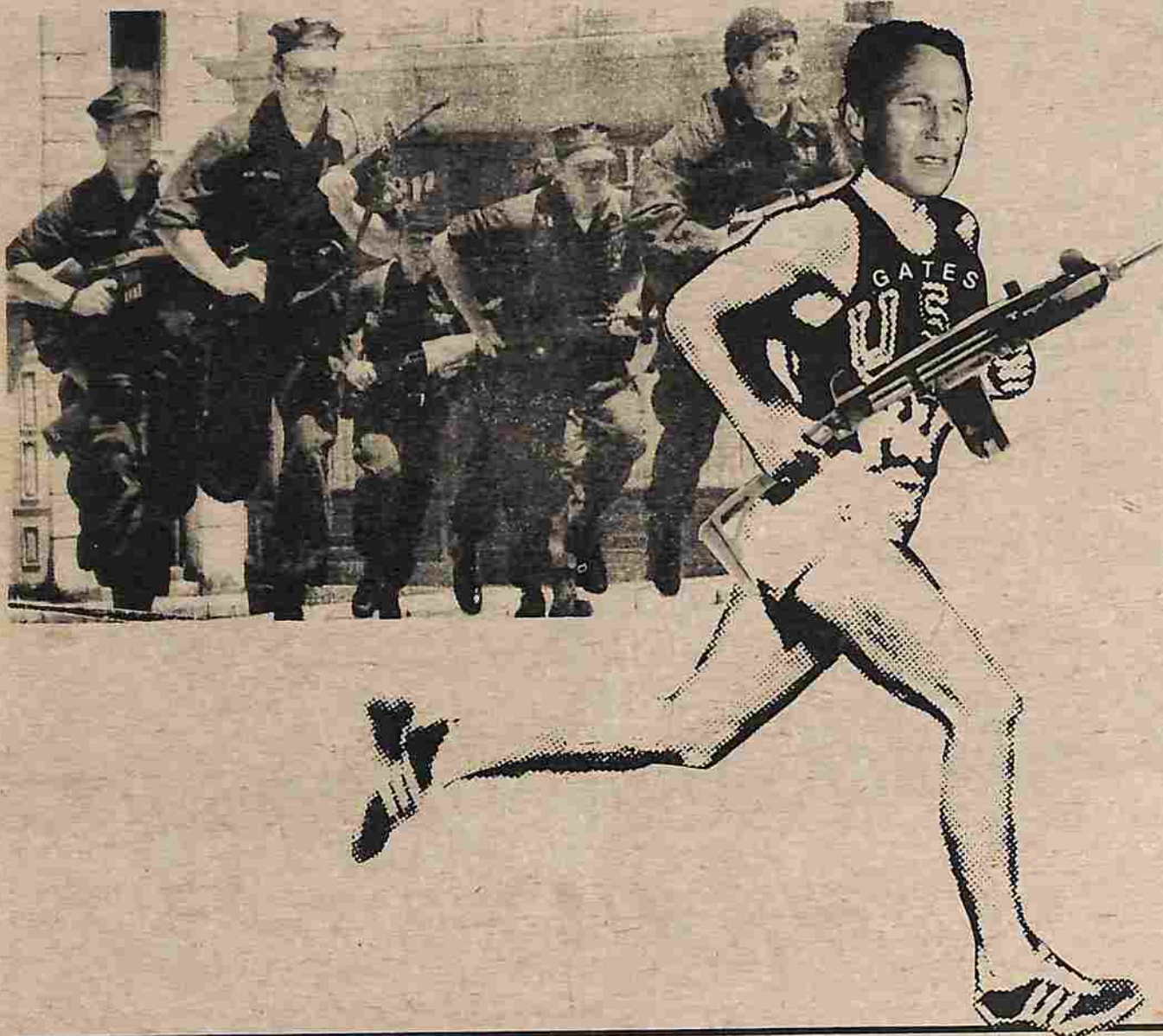
"Shaul Rosolio, a former Israeli chief police commissioner, came last week to Los Angeles where he spoke at the Los Angeles Police Academy and held private meetings for several days with law enforcement and Olympics security officers. Rosolio is chairman of the Jerusalem Research Group, a private firm that holds security and police consulting contracts in Central America and elsewhere.

"The Rosolio visit came at a time when some intelligence experts have expressed concern that the revolutionary conflict in Central America could cause problems for the 1984 Olympics. The Jerusalem Research Group has a contract to help reorganize the police force in Costa Rica and another consulting contract with police forces in Colombia."

"Local autonomy"?!? It seems Commander Rathburn needs more than an education. He needs a complete overhaul of his synapse network. Here open panic is expressed over the potential political reverberations from Central America — and this is just one of the many threats to a "clean" staging of the games. No "local autonomy" is going to get in the way of the fullest experience of national — nay, *bloc* security. As if to stress their wholehearted agreement, six sheriffs from Southern California and Nevada added their signatures to that of Daryl Gates on the invitations to the Israeli spook's seminar at the L.A. Police Academy.

The *Times* also revealed that Rosolio met with Edgar N. Best, the Olympics Security Director and former special agent in charge of the Los Angeles FBI office. Best praised the expertise of the Israeli counter-insurgent but said that he sees "no chance" that Rosolio's firm would be retained by the Olympics "on a regular basis." It seems that the role of Israel is somewhat controversial these days. The *Times* explained: "An intelligence source, who spoke on condition that he not be identified, said FBI officials in Los Angeles had told Rosolio that using an Israeli firm in formal capacity in the Olympic security effort would raise delicate international political questions. However, the same officials were said to have asked whether 'an open telephone line' could be maintained with the Rosolio firm."

Now this really shows a grasp of the contradictions at play here and a more sophisticated approach to the political necessities of U.S. imperialism. One could almost see the *Times* wondering aloud why that bullheaded Chief Gates couldn't be more like these anonymous FBI officials. But alas, the LAPD has charged, head-down, into the fray once again. As the *Times*' last paragraph notes: "A ranking Los Angeles Police Department officer said last week that the department would not use the Rosolio firm. He said after Rathburn's visit to Israel, the department has established strong relations with Mossad, the Israeli Intelligence Service, thereby making it unnecessary to use an outside firm." □



SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$20 (U.S., Canada, Mexico) Ten Weeks—\$4.00

- English Edition Chinese Edition (bi-monthly) \$20
 Spanish Edition French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order Chinese edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133

Order French from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

For institutions: \$30/year. Foreign subscriptions: \$50/year Airmail to Latin America, \$80/year Airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe; \$20/year Surface Mail.

To comply with postal regulations it is necessary to send both the English and Spanish sections together, even though you may desire only one of the language sections. It has also been necessary to make changes on the outside of the envelope containing your newspaper to comply with postal regulations.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- California:
 Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 Los Angeles Area, P.O. Box 26A34, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026 (213) 484-2907
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Georgia: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 627-8311
- Hawaii: Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois: c/o Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
- Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts: Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:
 Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
 NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- North Carolina: P.O. Box 6214, Greensboro, NC 27405 (919) 273-0680
- Ohio:
 Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 398-8865
 Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
- Oregon:
 Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374
 Eugene: c/o RCYB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
- Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567
- Texas: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080
- Washington State: Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
- West Virginia: P.O. Box 1974, Charleston, WV 25327

The Conflict In The PLO

On Tuesday, June 7, Yasir Arafat announced to reporters in New Delhi, India, that the month-old mutiny amongst PLO officers and troops in the Bekaa valley region of Lebanon had been "thwarted." Arafat made the announcement having just concluded a whirlwind tour of Saudi Arabia, Romania, Algeria, and India, and as he was on his way to visit heads of state in Iraq, Qatar, and South Yemen. His statements closely followed reiterations of support for Arafat's leadership from Yuri Andropov in Moscow, where Arafat's top security aide, Abu Iyad, had been holding talks for almost a week.

At first glance, such far-flung diplomatic activity might seem a peculiar way in which to "conclude" the struggle over a seemingly local mutiny in the Bekaa valley, a mutiny which even Arafat loyalists have admitted has come to enjoy some grass-roots sympathy and support among PLO members in the area. And spokesmen for the mutineers quickly refuted Arafat's claims, maintaining that the mutiny was far from over. But the swirl of controversy and activity surrounding the Bekaa valley mutiny has been intensely international in scope from the beginning.

The mutiny was precipitated in early May by Arafat's attempt to appoint two officers to command posts in the Bekaa valley and northern Lebanon. Of the two commanders, one — Haj Ismail — had reportedly fled his command in Sidon when Israel invaded Lebanon last June. The other, Abu Jajim, reportedly has a likewise unsavory reputation as a high-living, ineffective commander. The apparent motivation for Arafat's appointments of these two men lay in their reputed loyalty to his leadership; apparently their appointments coincided with Arafat's having sent more avowedly radical commanders to Tunisia. The mutiny sparked by their appointment quickly spread to the broader issues of Arafat's policies over the past year. The mutineers, led by five senior Fatah officers headed by Cols. Abu Musa and Abu Saleh, protested that Arafat was no longer committed to the armed struggle against Israel. At least at one point, Abu Saleh reportedly was claiming that Arafat had given in to the Reagan plan and was planning to withdraw the PLO from eastern Lebanon altogether.

By May 14, the situation had grown serious enough that Arafat himself came into the Bekaa, marking his first re-entry into Lebanon following last year's evacuation from Beirut. Arafat, along with top aide Abu Jihad, responded mainly by waging a political counter-offensive of sorts. On the one hand, the mutiny was said to be solely the work of Libya's Qaddafi, who, it was charged, had supplied the rebels with millions of dollars worth of arms and supplies. (The Libyan news agency and radio had been blaring for days that a successful coup d'état had taken place within the PLO. Further acrimonious exchanges between Arafat and Qaddafi, each calling the other an agent for the U.S., were to follow.) At the same time, Arafat sought to dispel charges that he had grown soft on the armed struggle. In a speech reported by Wafa, the Palestinian news agency, Arafat told a rally that "an effective war is the only way to redraw the political map of the Middle East," and in his remarks called for war against both Israel and the U.S. Along with making numerous trips throughout camps in the Bekaa, Arafat called several meetings of the Fatah Central Committee to discuss the "reports of dissension" and effect a strategy to stop the mutiny. But a proposed "compromise," whereby the mutineers would be held incommunicado and the two appointees would be placed under the command of a new field commander, was rejected quickly by Abu Musa. By May 19, the mutiny was joined by Abu Raad, who had commanded the PLO's artillery in defense of Beirut last summer, and the mutineers held firm in their demands for Arafat's appointees to be put on trial, and for an emergency Fatah congress to be held to debate the whole question of Arafat's leadership and policies.

Since then, a variety of threats and entreaties have failed to budge the mutineers, who on June 6 reiterated their call

for a new leadership, demanding formation of a new provisional committee equally divided amongst themselves and Arafat's supporters that would supervise PLO affairs until elections could be held. If anything, the mutiny had by that time grown; a group of 24 Fatah leaders announced their participation on May 29; and while an Arafat aide contested their claims to represent 10,000 Fatah members, he did admit that they (the 24 new leaders) "do enjoy wide support among guerrillas in the Bekaa Valley." An effort by Arafat to cut off the mutineers' supplies was countered when they took over six supply depots outside Damascus on May 28. A further indication of the seriousness of the situation was Arafat's decision to indefinitely postpone an emergency session of Fatah's revolutionary council that was to have been held in Damascus on May 30.

Fatah

The mutiny is the first serious challenge to Arafat's leadership from within Fatah, which comprises about 80% of the PLO. It has seriously rent the surface unity of the PLO, a unity which all PLO groups in the last year have carefully sought to maintain in appearance. Yet it was inevitable that strains and schisms would begin to show, for the catchphrase "unity" has come to mean political passivity for the PLO, commensurate with Arafat's needs to maintain maximum "flexibility" in chasing the ghost of a negotiated settlement.

Over the past year, Arafat has sought desperately, within the Arab world and internationally, to exact some leverage vis à vis the U.S. to improve his negotiating position and arrive at an "acceptable" formula in response to the Reagan plan. The Arab League resolution obtained at the Fez summit last fall, and repeated diplomatic efforts in Europe to obtain support for the Fez resolutions — particularly from France and England, whose help Arafat sought in "pressuring" the U.S. — these were prime components of Arafat's policy. That policy has failed miserably, as England's Thatcher refused to even receive the PLO representative as part of the Arab League delegation, and as France's Mitterand, even within the Second ("Socialist") International, continues to favor the Israeli Labor Party over the PLO position. Arafat has continued to hold out, convinced that the situation is ultimately bound to force the U.S. to mediate a settlement over the West Bank that would be "acceptable." In a major interview in the May issue of *Middle East* magazine, aptly titled "The Desirable, the Possible, and the Acceptable," Arafat indicates that — even after the April breakdown in the talks with Jordan's King Hussein — he still remains committed to this essential course. And while many of the factors he points to — the growing contradictions facing Israel, for example — point to real prospects for revolutionary struggle, in fact the strate-

gy Arafat advances is anything but, going so far as to argue that the Reagan plan is "un-American."

"Ideological Cocktail"

Abu Musa told reporters at the end of May, "Simply, we were with everyone. We were with the Americans and the Soviets, the Fahd plan and the Brezhnev plan. So what we have is an ideological cocktail of a policy." Certainly, given the acute and tumultuous developments of the past year, this "ideological cocktail" has grown more demoralizing in its effects. Yet beneath the "cocktail" is in fact a strategy, one which Arafat has essentially held since the mid-70s. This strategy was adopted as the PLO made a decisive departure from an apparent strategy of "people's war" applied to Palestinian conditions, and adopted a strategy that can be called "armed revisionism." This approach, mind you, does in fact comprehend military activity, yet the armed struggle has become ever more subordinate to the process of seeking a negotiated Palestinian "mini-state" solution, to be achieved chiefly through international diplomacy and negotiations. And, lest anyone forget, it was the *Soviet Union* which played the decisive role in helping sell Arafat and others precisely on this approach.

It is certainly understandable that anger, discontent and rebellion have been stirring within the ranks of the PLO. It is now obvious that Arafat's efforts to ram through the withdrawal from Beirut as a "great victory" for the cause of Palestinian liberation were too much to swallow.

But now what is offered up are demagogic appeals to the "armed struggle" from all quarters. The question is not simply armed struggle, yes or no, but to what ends and with what orientation this struggle is waged. The situation cries out for a genuinely *revolutionary* strategy for the overthrow of imperialism and its regional lackeys. What is offered instead is the reliance on and subordination to one imperialism in its struggle against another.

The influence of revisionism, the fact that all the mutineers apparently claim the support of the Soviet Union, is hardly an academic question. The role of other pro-Soviet forces — most directly Libya and Syria — in the mutiny is undeniable. Qaddafi has loudly proclaimed his support and provided arms and supplies. Syria's role is more covert, but not particularly difficult to ascertain. At least one report (carried by the May 27 *London Times*) has it that the mutiny was launched only after the officers had received about 60 tons of military equipment delivered in a truck convoy guarded by Syrian troops. Whether this is true or not, everyone agrees that the mutiny, occurring as it has within Syrian-controlled territory, where movement of supplies and personnel are closely monitored by the Syrian command, could not possibly have gone as far as it has without at least

tacit approval from Damascus. Obviously, Syria and Libya hardly desire to see a "correctional movement" leading to a revolutionary PLO; far from it, their interest in seeing Arafat knocked down a peg or two (if not replaced) is for the purpose of making the PLO a more controllable appendage to the Arab "confrontation front" they seek to revive against the Israel-Lebanon agreement.

On June 1, Assad's Syrian Ba'ath Party announced that an "emergency session" had just been held, from which a three-man committee had been formed to resolve the mutiny, by initiating contacts between Arafat and his adversaries to resolve their differences. Syrian government sources at this point claimed that the mutiny had "embarrassed" the Syrian government, because it could endanger the recently improved relations between Assad and Arafat, and could trigger charges that Syria was encouraging the mutineers. Talk about appealing to "cynical naïvete"! Syria's desire to "mediate" the dispute pretty clearly indicates that they have some cards to play within it. Even as the announcement was made, Assad was in Libya conferring with Qaddafi over building their "confrontation front."

The question might be asked — true, such manipulation by Assad and Qaddafi is both dishonest and cynical, but isn't there some benefit to all this, insofar as it might put the PLO back on a more "rejectionist" path? The answer is amply answered by history, and the present itself. This isn't the first time that Syria has attempted to take over, or tighten its control over, the PLO. Its bloody intercession into the Lebanese civil war in 1976 coincided with a bitter, heavy-handed effort to take over the PLO at that time, largely through the actions of the Syrian-controlled Saiqa group within the PLO. Assad's main concern at the time was to develop sufficient control over the PLO so as to enable him to deliver it to the bargaining table with the U.S., in his hopes at that time of using his bargaining chips in Lebanon to settle Syria's own disputes with Israel. While Assad was angling far more directly for accommodation with the U.S. then, and the Soviet Union publicly decried some of his heavy-handedness in trying to dominate the PLO, the main brunt of Soviet pressure at the time was nonetheless placed on the PLO, to come to terms with Assad and thus resuscitate the PLO-Syrian "alliance."

Today, Assad and Syria are far more enmeshed with the Soviets, and a settlement with the U.S. is not so immediate a likelihood. Indeed, for Assad to be able to negotiate with the U.S. on terms acceptable to him, he must first succeed in torpedoing the current U.S.-mediated "peace plan" in Lebanon. This perilous course requires a fine-tuned brinkmanship on the one hand, and an ability to make the U.S. understand that he will settle if the price is right, on the other. Even

Continued on page 11

No Right to Speak Department

Several weeks ago, in a lengthy conversation with six members of the press, Ronald Reagan said that the Palestine Liberation Organization did not represent the Palestinians because no one elected them. Asked if he was proposing Palestinian elections, the president replied, "I don't know whether you could ever get them together and bring about what — or even do the educating of them . . . I mean the informing of them, so that they could go in with some idea of what it was they were voting on."

No such problems with well-informed American citizens, you bet! So it is that the June 5 edition of *USA Today*, in its "Voices from Across the USA" feature, asked a representative sample of decidedly average Americans, "Do you think that Yasir Arafat continues to serve the best interests of the PLO?" Predictably, 6 out of 7 replied that Arafat should step down, that *then* the prospects for peace might improve. Opines a college student, "The PLO needs a leader with good organizational skills and political clout, which Arafat doesn't have . . . In the past, the

PLO has been unreasonable in any negotiations."

Lest one think that such arrogant know-nothingism and chauvinism is a unique feature of the "man on the street," things get decidedly worse when we move into the media's more high-rent district. The *New York Times*, for example, which following the demise of the Arafat-Hussein talks in April declared the PLO as henceforth being "irrelevant," and called on the Arab states and Palestinian people to repudiate it for its failure to come to terms with the Reagan plan, now suggests that Arafat has grown out of touch with his membership, has not maintained a sufficiently militant posture, etc. According to Thomas Friedman in the June 2 *Times*, "After every Arab defeat at the hands of the Israelis, the Palestinian resistance has taken on a new form." Friedman cites the downfall of Haj Amin el-Husseini after the 1948 war, and of Ahmed Shukairy after 1967. "Now it would appear to be Mr. Arafat's turn."

Across the waters, *The Economist* of

London likewise predicts Arafat's demise — along with Abu Iyad and Abu Jihad — "for all their courage and dedication, their lack of intellectual flexibility has brought the Palestine national cause to a desperate pass."

As anyone knows, Arafat's "intellectual flexibility" led him to bend fully over backwards in his efforts to arrive at "acceptable" compromise with the U.S. over the last period. And while he likely will never stand up straight again, it is the fact that he did not willfully break his back in two for the U.S. that has these gentlemen in a snit. Of course, all the above commentary is not informed solely by spontaneous arrogance; the U.S. in particular is desirous to take advantage of a serious split in the PLO to resurrect its own "peace plan," hoping that with the PLO seriously weakened or fractured, it might pull together a sufficiently malleable group of quislings from the West Bank and Jordan to give birth to that "Palestinian entity" Reagan has been talking about. □

Brutal Sentences for Fishing Rights Defendants



It is "no longer the same old game," announced Judge Tanner, who then proceeded to make it quite clear just how much the federal government was determined to mount a massive show of force in order to suppress the struggle of Columbia River Indians for fishing rights. On Thursday, June 2, at the U.S. District Court in Tacoma, Washington, Judge Jack Tanner sentenced David Sohapp Sr., David Sohapp Jr., and Bruce Jim, two Yakimas and a Warm Springs Indian who have been singled out for their role in leading resistance of Indian fishermen, all to five years in federal prison for the "crime" of exercising the traditional fishing rights of their peoples. Though the defendants will remain free pending the outcome of this appeal, the intent of the government in imposing this heavy sentence was clear. Never before have federal felony charges been brought in a fishing rights case, and such a sentence is unprecedented.

The end of this outrageous sentence — five years for fishing at the "usual and accustomed places" of their peoples, a right supposedly guaranteed by treaties with the U.S. government — was delivered with the same bold, calculating viciousness which has marked every step of the government's persecution of these defendants. From the massive government surveillance and undercover operations mounted against the Columbia River Indian fishermen, to the brutal pre-dawn raid on the Indian fishing village of Cook's Landing, to a public opinion campaign launched up and down the West Coast which painted Indian fishermen as "poachers" who are destroying the salmon fishery, to the Los Angeles trial of these three defendants, and now to these barbarous sentences — each new step has carried the mark of the sinister aim of the government to crush Indian fishing on the Columbia River, and to make it starkly apparent to one and all that this is not "the same old game." For over ten years the courts have whittled away at Indian fishing rights on the Columbia River. Now more decisive measures are being called for, particularly against those, like the Sohappys, who refuse to recognize the court's "rights." This point was made perfectly clear by the government at a hearing in Los Angeles immediately after these three defendants were convicted. There an Assistant U.S. Attorney called Cook's Landing, where the Sohappys live, "a permanent enclave of resistance," and described their so-called crime as

"fishing outside the system." "Crimes that are politically motivated, or motivated by philosophical beliefs," the Assistant U.S. Attorney went on to explain, "are much more dangerous than ordinary crimes committed for monetary gains."

Even in the interim, between the end of the trial in late April and the sentencing, the government's machinations did not stop. The defendants, particularly those living at Cook's Landing, were subjected to constant and obvious surveillance and harassment by state police. To take but one example of this harassment: The first Salmon Ceremony, a traditional ceremony of Northwest Indians celebrating the catching of the first salmon of the year, is usually held at the same time the trials were being held in Los Angeles. Upon their return, residents of Cook's Landing put out nets to catch fish for the ceremony, only to have the Oregon State Police steal the nets — not once, but twice. This, despite the fact that the Indian fishermen had a ceremonial permit issued by the Warm Springs tribal council

which was perfectly valid even under the regulations the state issues. Meanwhile, on Wednesday, May 11, the states of Washington and Oregon arbitrarily ordered all Indian fishing by dip net closed. This was a new and unprecedented step; until this ruling state regulations had never been applied to Indian fishing by dip net. When the tribe appealed the states' regulation closing the Indian dip net fishery to a federal court, the court ordered the fishery temporarily reopened but implicitly recognized the states as having the authority over this fishery, thus opening the door to more assaults in the future.

All of this, particularly the sentencing of these three brothers, and the sentencing of the other defendants in this case (which is scheduled for June 10 and 24 at the U.S. courthouse in Tacoma), forms yet another page in the history of the oppression of Indian peoples, a history replete with lies and deceit, with murders and imprisonment, with raids, round-ups and reservations — a history replete with treaties. □

Ribbon Burning Case Reaches Oregon Supreme Court

On Feb. 9, 1981, during the height of the government-engineered hysteria over the hostages held in the U.S. embassy in Tehran, John Kaiser and Nancy Whitley burned a yellow ribbon at the University of Oregon at Eugene to protest a speech by ex-hostage/spy Victor Tomseth and in internationalist support of the Iranian revolution. As punishment for this bold political statement that dealt a severe blow to the U.S. rulers' campaign to whip up reactionary public opinion against the Iranian people's struggle at the time, both were found guilty of felony arson and this was upheld in a court of appeals. John Kaiser's conviction has been ruled to stand on the outrageous grounds that his sudden and unexpected death from a rare form of encephalitis last January supposedly put him "outside" the appeals process. Then, a couple of weeks ago, the Oregon Supreme Court suddenly decided that Nancy Whitley's case "merited hearing." It was heard last week on Tuesday, June 7.

There is as yet no indication what the court's ruling will be (the court has from 2 weeks to a year to issue a finding). Interestingly, the Supreme Court judge who presided went through some *motions* of grilling the prosecution about the flimsiest aspects of its "arson" case (which was based on the ridiculous contention that the yellow ribbon in question constituted "valuable property" and that its burning possibly "endangered" the crowd in the ballroom where Tomseth was speaking). But while it is unclear exactly what the state is up to at this point, what was particularly significant was the fact that the Oregon Supreme Court felt itself obliged to even hear this case at all—something that reveals the impact of the continuing battle to overturn these blatant political convictions and the extent to which diverse forces have taken up this fight.

This was evident at the hearing itself as a contingent of supporters filled the small courtroom: people from the anti-MX missile Vandenberg occupation, punks who brought their own banner, feminist poets, as well as proletarians and immigrants; statements were read from broader forces, including one from Phyllis Kaiser, John's mother. John Kaiser's seat at the defense table was filled with six red roses, his Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade t-shirt, an *RW* and an account of the memorial held in his honor in Eugene earlier this year. All this was quite unnerving to the state's representatives, to say the least. During the proceedings, Nancy Whitley was prevented by the judge several times from

making a statement. At one point, when she approached the bench with a bundle of letters of support for overturning the conviction, the judge yelled, "Don't come near this bench!" Simultaneously, two RCYB members rose in the back of the courtroom with a banner honoring the memory of John Kaiser. They were grabbed by the bailiff, slapped with contempt of court and fined \$100 each.

This "disruption of the Supreme Court," as it was dubbed, was picked up by virtually all the TV news in both the Portland and Eugene areas and given quite extensive coverage, which included shots of the sign Nancy Whitley held up as she was gavelled down which read: "This is a political railroad." The terms on which some of this coverage was posed were also somewhat revealing. For instance, one station summed things up by asking "...whether the (ribbon) burning was a clear and present danger to people. Or whether the conviction is a dangerous precedent for other political groups."

Clearly there is concern here for the fact that this case has aroused the opposition of many different forces who are outraged by the government's conduct of this "criminal" trial with its wholly undisguised political nature. Local Amnesty International leaders have signed ads in the Eugene papers denouncing the railroad, various ACLU members have given their support, and anti-nuke and anti-war forces have joined in the battle, and so on. For instance, a statement circulated among and signed by people who were at Vandenberg stated: "We, as protesters against 'cold war' animosity and first-strike nuclear weapon preparedness at Vandenberg AFB, Ca., stand together with all peoples internationally in unity with those two who challenged American government animosity against the people of Iran." Even Brian Lewis, the "endangered" student who threw his coat over the burning ribbon at the time and was used as a prosecution witness has provided the RCYB with a statement noting that he now feels "This case is overblown... (it) should be ended with an overturn motion" — a reflection of the widespread public opinion that has been created favorable to the revolutionaries.

While the courts are no doubt itching to uphold the principle of punishment for revolutionary political acts, the distinguished functionaries on the Oregon Court are now in the position of being forced to weigh the political price the state will have to pay for persisting in this highly self-exposing railroad. □

Hunger Strike At El Centro

On June 2, internees in the INS Detention Center in El Centro, California, rebelling against the vicious beatings of two Salvadoran prisoners, launched a mass hunger strike. In the face of INS reprisals and contrary to INS lies, the hunger strike is continuing and has gained national support. The beatings which sparked this strike came after a Salvadoran, Ulieces Antonio Mengivar, paid a prison trustee to do his laundry and then the trustee refused. When Ulieces called the INS guards, they jumped on him — one putting a carotid chokehold on him, the other holding his arms, while the trustee smashed him in the face, breaking his nose, screaming that he hated Salvadorans and threatening to "kill four or five." Another Salvadoran internee who tried to aid Mengivar was then dragged into a restroom and severely beaten by INS guards.

In response, dozens of Salvadoran prisoners, joined by Mexicans and Guatemalans as well, refused to eat, demanding not only the removal of the trustee but formulating a list of ten demands signed by all the strikers. Included are an end to physical attacks by INS agents on all prisoners, an end to deportation of Central American refugees and immediate release in the

U.S. for all, better food and medical care in the Detention Center, better wages and shorter hours for prisoners working in the prison kitchen, less delay in hearing asylum cases, freedom of movement at all hours in the barracks and bathrooms for all prisoners, and that charges be brought against INS agents who mistreat prisoners. These demands themselves say a lot about conditions in El Centro and of U.S. treatment of immigrants, especially Salvadoran refugees. Central Americans are given "jobs" working in the kitchen — 15 hours a day for \$1 pay. Prisoners are cursed and beaten by guards, and are locked in their barracks between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., unable to even go to the restroom. Refugees are unable to raise the outrageous bails placed on Central Americans, generally \$2500 after a "bail reduction hearing," and are kept in this hellhole eight months, ten months, up to a year waiting for political asylum hearings, in overcrowded conditions, with shit for food, and nonexistent medical care. A year ago, a prisoner died of infectious meningitis, a disease which thrives in overcrowded conditions; and the INS response was to clear out the barracks and wash the walls.

The predictable INS response has been

Continued on page 8

Feds Take the Wheel in Richmond, Ca.

After a four month trial, 148 witnesses, and four-and-a-half days deliberation, a federal court jury in San Francisco delivered its verdict — \$3 million to the families of two Black men, Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, murdered in their bedrooms in two separate shootings by the Richmond, California police. The verdict was returned against the two cops involved in the shootings, the city of Richmond, California, the Richmond police department, police chief Leo Garfield, and the assistant police chief. Fees for the families' lawyers, which reportedly could amount to \$1 million, are to be paid on top of the \$3 million. The trial judge, Judge Aguilar, is also now charged with ordering changes in the Richmond police force. The day after the verdict made front page news in papers throughout the Bay Area, another story from Richmond hit the front pages of the major papers — the FBI announced that it had been investigating the Richmond police department secretly since last year, and was considering recommending criminal charges against seven Richmond cops for the murders of four Black men: Roman, Guillory, and two others.

Upping the ante on Richmond even further, the city's insurance company announced that it might refuse to pay the fine, because Richmond had rejected a highly publicized offer to settle out of court in January 1983 for only \$760,000.

The Roman-Guillory verdict is the latest and most intense round in a battle that has been developing for several years. The federal courts, FBI, Justice Dept., and some California government agencies have come into Richmond portraying themselves as caped crusaders, out to protect the Black masses from the evil racists on the Richmond police force. The Richmond city government and police department, for its part, has stubbornly resisted all pressure for "reform," and has continued to whitewash its police murders, which have continued even as pressure on the city has mounted. But what is actually going on in Richmond is no morality play — it is instead a struggle principally within the bourgeoisie over how best to contain the masses of an inner-city area like Richmond in the soon-to-be tumultuous times of the eighties. Far from "protecting" anybody, what the feds have in mind here is what is known euphemistically as "professionalization" of the pigs: which involves *strengthening* the repressive apparatus in terms of command, communications, discipline, surveillance and weaponry, as well as dressing up the cops' public image somewhat, especially to the middle-classes; and along with this is the question of who is to control these burgeoning forces.

The NAACP, the ACLU, and a group of Black Richmond cops called Guardians for Social Justice, and also the behind-the-scenes presence of the CPUSA, have been a significant part of this whole affair, joining hands eagerly with the federal government, filing lawsuits, trying to gain influence in the Richmond City Council, organizing an occasional demonstration or candlelight vigil. The CP's newspaper has paid close attention to the Richmond case, although the specific aims of this particular force of opportunists has yet to become clear.

But whatever the individual aims of the revisionists and the reformist groups, their actions have helped the government in one further goal in the Richmond maneuvering: to defuse the danger posed by Richmond as a spark to the anger of Black and other oppressed masses in the San Francisco area as a whole by portray-

ing the trial as a genuine response to mass pressure.

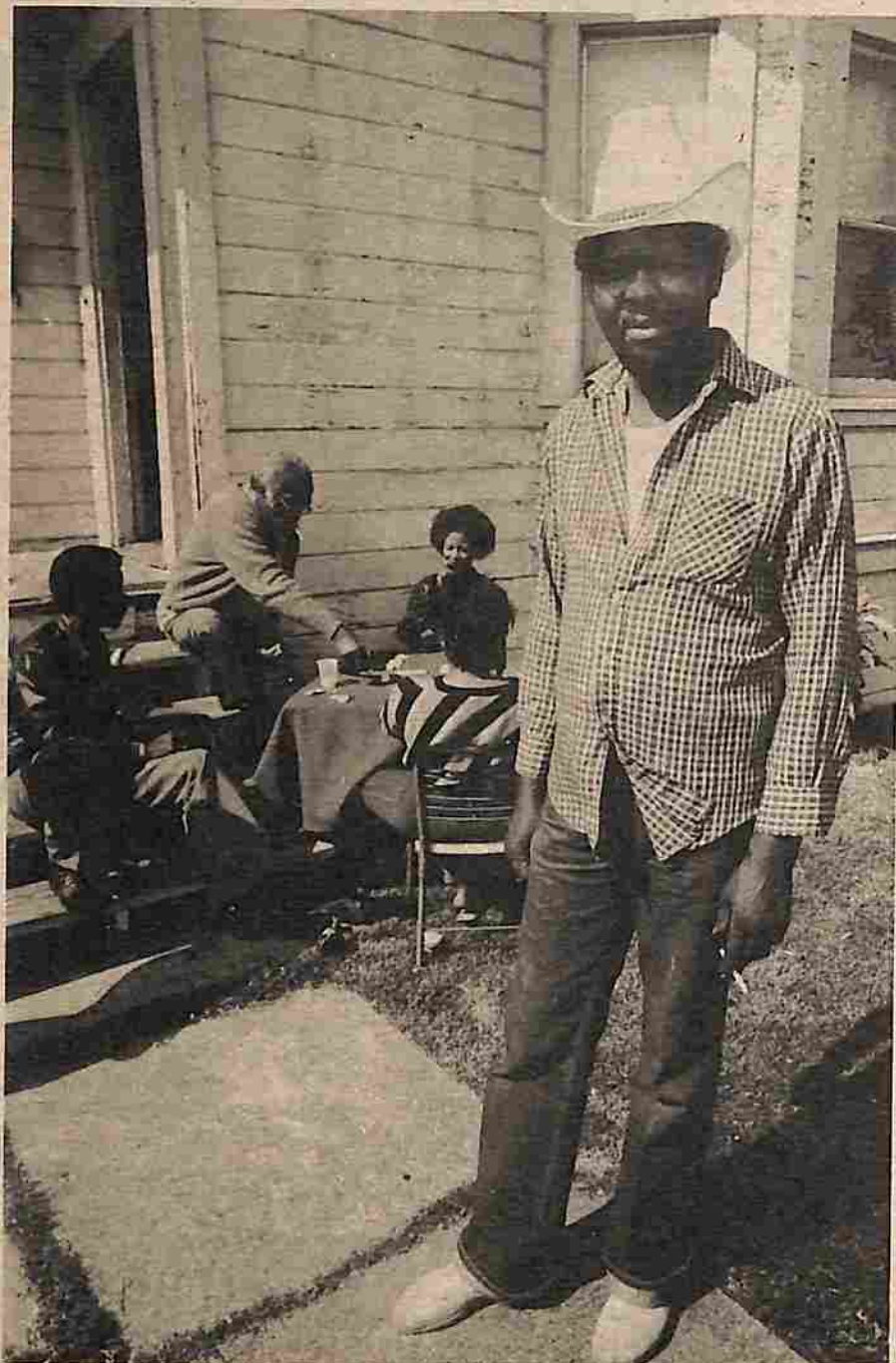
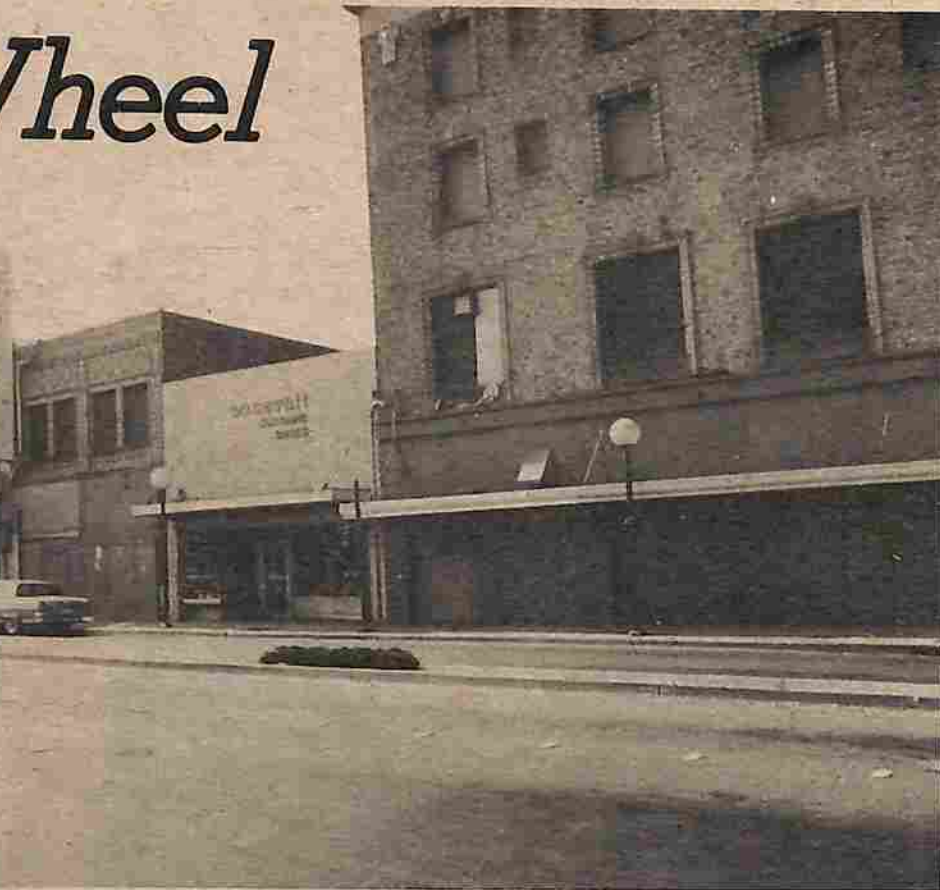
There is much about Richmond to cause worry in the bourgeoisie. The conditions of life of the Black masses in Richmond through the '70s and into the '80s have been particularly stark, and today, anger and rebellion are closer to the surface than in some other areas of Black concentration in the region. Over half of the 75,000 people in Richmond are minorities, mostly Black; today there isn't a single chain grocery store or drug store, and the same buildings are boarded up today that were shuttered in 1972. Life in Richmond, in other words — including the oinking of the Richmond pigs — is notorious. It is worth recalling that the first mass actions of the Black Panther Party in the mid-sixties were in Richmond — it was from there that the Panther influence spread to Oakland. Perhaps this kind of potential accounts in part for the interest of such forces as the *Oakland Tribune*, the only daily paper in Oakland and now Black-owned, which has editorialized on the Richmond affair. A major airing of grievances against the Richmond police is thus meant to have impact on a much wider area.

Overall, the Richmond trial is part of a nationwide pattern, and a look at how the bourgeoisie is operating in Richmond gives some idea of its aims elsewhere in the country.

Expert Pig vs. Street Cop

In the course of the trial, the contrast between the testimony of Charles Gain, former police chief of both Oakland and San Francisco — sophisticated, experienced on the stand, witness for the plaintiffs as an expert on police administration — and the next day, Leo Garfield, police chief of Richmond, speaking slowly and perhaps in just a little over his head, offered a glimpse of the forces fighting it out. Gain particularly emphasized his efforts as chief in Oakland from 1967 to 1973 to bring the Oakland police force "under control" — something that, in his opinion, hadn't happened yet in Richmond. In his testimony, he placed particular emphasis on internal affairs, and he stressed the need for tough disciplinary measures against officers who go against the authority of the chief and department policy. Here was the expert on the way a modern police force needs to be run — after his experience in San Francisco, he had summed up, "The principles of management that apply to private industry are just as applicable to police work, with the exception of the profit motive." Of course, the aim of police work is not profit, but the maintenance of the profit system by armed force. But that will be a lot more difficult in the eighties than it has ever been, something that Gain (and his well-placed sponsors) do recognize; a more centralized command will be necessary for military reasons and simply in order to make the broad changes which are necessary.

Professionalization also requires better public relations, specifically towards those parts of the population that are not



so oppressed, and still tend to support the system. For this reason, Gain has been a big advocate of "civilian review." He boasted that while chief in Oakland he had reviewed every internal affairs complaint filed by citizens against the department, explaining: "People who've complained have faith in the system. If you don't believe, you don't complain."

Hanging between Gain's words was the apprehension of mass rebellion — how the pigs may move most effectively and viciously against the oppressed masses, while (they hope) eliciting support from a social base of their own.

Chief Garfield strenuously defended the Richmond police. The police force is under control; it is the people that are the problem. And as for all these reports of police brutality, well, "If he (the suspect) picks the wrong officer and the officer is bigger, stronger, taller, and a better fighter and he gets in a punch and breaks the guy's jaw... perhaps it's one of those unfortunate things that happen." But, as

he warmed to the subject, and his blood got going, perhaps not so unfortunate... "I kind of pride myself on being an old-line street cop in a lot of ways, and I think when you have a beef going — a fight going — and the adrenalin is pumping, sometimes there's that final blow that maybe somebody shouldn't have struck and you know, when that happens, somebody is going to have to pay for it." As for reports of beatings of people in custody and in the jail, and the widely publicized strangulation death of Willie Drumgoole, choked by four cops in the Richmond jail in the fall of 1982 — "There's nothing more dangerous than a just-handcuffed prisoner."

Chief Garfield, who came up through the ranks in Richmond, and who knows in his bones that getting all pumped up and crushing the windpipe of someone like Willie Drumgoole is part of the reward for being a cop, told it like it's always been in Richmond — and how it

Continued on page 10

Child custody cases in court today reveal some vicious attacks on women — sometimes more disguised, but often blatantly punitive to women who depart from the traditional role of homemaker and childbearer. The custody battle now being waged by RCP supporter Tina Fishman has clearly shown the role of the state in conducting a highly political court case, all in the name of the “best interest of the child.” While courtroom phrases and pious briefs were whipped out to claim that “politics are not being considered here” — barely below the surface lurked the real message. As the *RW* reported in December, after the judge ruled temporary custody in favor of Ted Fishman (see *RW* No. 186), it was made quite clear what politics were behind the ruling. The judge found 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.” He then ruled: “Tina could provide challenge, development of a fiery imagination, social conscience and an inquisitive mind in a setting that would prepare Riva (her daughter) 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 . . .” (our emphasis). As Tina pointed out in a press statement at the time, this was a continuation of the attempts “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.”

Such blatant political punishment by the bourgeois state has also reared its head in the anti-nuke movement where women have faced their children being taken away from them if either they or their children are arrested. At the recent demonstration at Vandenberg AFB, it was announced by the police that anyone under the age of 18 who was busted had to be picked up from jail by their parents, or they would be kept in juvenile hall or even put in foster homes. This threat was made where the government knew full well that some kids could not be picked up by their mothers because the women were in jail themselves. One woman at an anti-nuke demonstration told how she had lost custody of her children in the '60s because of her political activities: in the courtroom it was charged that she had slept with Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, whereas in reality she didn't even know either one of them.

While such cases have been quite stark and revealing in the highly political nature of the child custody courts in translating the so-called “best interest of the child” into an outright attack on women active in revolutionary or progressive political movements, there are literally thousands of custody cases that reflect, uphold and *enforce* the exploitative relations between men and women in society. And today there is a definite and increasing trend in the courts to punish women who depart from traditional roles, who work or have “outside interests,” by taking their children from them in custody disputes — all in the name of the “best interest of the child.” At the same time that the rate of women raising children alone is skyrocketing, where fathers *choose* to contest custody of their children the courts are increasingly ruling in their favor.

In a paper to be published soon, by Nancy D. Polikoff, titled “Gender and Child Custody Determinations: Exploding the Myths,” it is pointed out that in California 63% of all fathers who requested custody in court cases were successful. This figure is compared to 35% in 1968 and 37% in 1972. Other sources cite that 15 years ago only 2-3% of mothers lost custody battles, whereas today estimates are closer to 15%. Other studies show that in some states from one-third to one-half of contested custody cases are being awarded to the father.

The figure that 90% of custody cases are awarded to the mother is frequently used by the so-called “father's rights movement” to refute this trend. But this 90% is more indicative of the fact that many fathers don't even want to take the children — and also that there is an increasing trend where fathers may initially contest custody, but only as a

THE SILENT CUSTODY WAR

bargaining chip to get the mother not to demand child support in exchange for “letting” her have the children. It is also interesting to note that while the percentage of fathers asking for custody in the courts and the percentage of fathers being awarded custody in the courts has risen, according to *Ms.* magazine July/August 1982, overall the number of men raising children on their own actually *declined* between 1970 and 1980.

The point here is not to criticize all fathers who want custody of their children — or that the solution is by any means saying that mothers should have custody of their children in all cases, and whether they want to or not. But there is an underlying ideological and political offensive that is reflected in these trends which is an attack on women in general and an exposure of how the courts are used in custody cases as one more club of women's oppression.

“Catch 22—You're A Woman!”

Even a brief look at a number of recent custody cases (cited also by Polikoff in another paper, “Why Are Mothers Losing? A Brief Analysis of Criteria Used in Child Custody Determinations”) gives a picture of the bourgeois guidelines that are used to determine “best interest” and are subsequently used against women. For example, many times one of the major things considered is financial ability to raise the child. Right off the bat, most women are at a disadvantage here, especially right after divorce. It is a stunning indictment of the position of women in this imperialist society as a whole, as well as the state of relations between men and women, that while the majority of women are working, according to *Psychology Today* magazine, almost half of all mother-child families live below the federal poverty guidelines; and as the number of female-headed households (which rose by 81% in the 1970s) continues to climb, it has been predicted that if the current trends continue, almost all of the impoverished people in the U.S. by the year 2000 would be women.

Where divorced women are out seeking work for the first time, with little experience and education behind them after devoting perhaps years to staying at home and taking care of kids, they may be forced to relocate in a “less desirable”

neighborhood than the one during the marriage and may be trying to work as well as go to school at the same time. A recent *Newsweek* article quoted sociologist Lenore Weitzman who found that, based on overall family income, a divorced woman's income declines by 73% in the first year after divorce while a man's income increases in that same time by 42%. So the woman who has spent a significant amount of time being a housewife and mother may find after a divorce a custody battle which uses the very fact that she has been the main parent taking care of her children as evidence to take these children away from her and give them to the father, who almost always is earning more money.

In one court case, *Porter v. Porter*, a mother who had been a full-time mother for her three children before she separated from her husband had temporary custody. She got a job as a waitress working four to five hours a night and during this time left her children with a babysitter. The mother testified in court that she didn't want to work during the day because then she would not be home when the children got home from school. She also said that she had found another part-time job cleaning apartments in the afternoon on a trial basis and that she would quit her evening job and return to it only if she had to. In spite of this the judge still awarded custody to the father, who was an Air Force Captain, because “he would be able to spend evenings with the children and because he was better able to support them.”

In another case, *Dempsey v. Dempsey*, the wife left her husband because he spent so little time at home. In this case, not only had this woman been principally responsible for raising the children, but the youngest of the three children needed therapy for epilepsy, which only the woman knew how to give. The trial court judge, who so generously reserved a ruling on the obligation of the mother to pay child support, suggested that she might fill this duty by serving as a regular babysitter for her children! Later after the divorce the judge said he was very impressed with the father's increased participation with the children, consisting of making breakfast and school lunches and even buying groceries! He then proceeded to award custody to the father, noting

that the mother had developed personal interests outside the home.

In other words, women are penalized in the custody courts for thinking that they can have their children and still expect to work or have any sort of outside interests (one judge told a woman who lost her children, “you can't be a law student and a good mother too”). Judges may cite a father's increased interest in the children (like in the case above) as a basis for awarding him custody, meaning he now spends *more* time than he did before the divorce. But this might mean *more than hardly anything*, as one study revealed that middle and upper-income fathers of children under one year old spend an average of 38 seconds per day with the child. At the same time, taking the child away from the mother may be done on the basis that she is working and not spending *all* of her time caring for the child. In one case the judge referred to the father's ability to “spend a normal working father's time with the children.” What this meant in this case was that he spent a “normal” amount of time to be expected from an oil company president! The judge then noted that the mother's work gave her little time with the children. Of course there is no “normal working mother's time” because the “normal mother” is expected not to work and to spend her time at home. And this logic does not flow from any ignorance on the part of the court that most women work.

In the case of *Gulyas v. Gulyas*, a six-year-old girl was taken away from her mother based on the fact that she had been in a two-month day care program and spent eight hours a week at a neighbor's until her mother came home from work. The judge ruled against the mother, stating that “the wife's career and need for obtaining a livelihood heretofore has diminished her manifested ability to care for the child other than in day care . . .” In the five-page opinion that the trial judge wrote, he mentioned the mother's working status 11 times and began the opinion by saying that the case had a background of complaints by the husband regarding the wife working. In a revealing comment, he noted that “the marriage was normal until the wife felt compelled to go to work to help support the family.”



Polikoff points out that in a custody award, using financial ability as a major factor is "not only an obvious burden upon most mothers seeking custody, but it is also a departure from the customary concept that, first, custody is decided according to the best interests of the child and then, to equalize the financial burden, child support payments are ordered." And with the statistics of a census bureau study which show that judges order fathers to make support payments in some 60% of divorce cases, but only one-half of

those make full payment (after the first two years, 89% of all child support orders are unpaid in whole or in part), even child support to supposedly reduce financial prejudice against the mother is many times nothing but a cruel joke which adds further burden on the mother.

Another factor used against mothers seeking custody is a double standard in looking at employment status. Polikoff points out that, "The flip side of penalizing mothers with limited financial resources due to sporadic or part-time employ-

ment is penalizing mothers who are in the full-time work force for not being sufficiently available to their children. As men are expected to be full-time workers, fathers do not face this disadvantage. In fact, a man with a full-time job who provides assistance in childrearing, however small, looks like a dedicated father, while a woman with a full-time job who still does primary, but not all, caretaking, looks like 'half' a mother, dissatisfied with the childrearing role."

The courts' view that the "best interests

of the child" is served by the traditional stay-at-home mother is also revealed in the courts' attitude towards the divorced parents remarrying. In the case of the father remarrying, it may be a major factor in winning custody because here a new woman — perhaps one willing (and more obedient) and able to devote more time to childrearing, is used as a deciding factor in the father's ability to care for the child. On the other hand, women who remarry are not given this same consideration because

Continued on page 8

Custody

Continued from page 7

a stepfather doesn't provide a new stay-at-home mother.

The catch 22's involved here are numerous — and quite viciously and legally used to deny "non-traditional" mothers their children. If a woman has a job she is accused of neglecting her children and not placing primary importance on raising the children. If she doesn't work and stays home to take care of the children, she is accused of being a parasite on welfare or living off her ex-husband. If she goes to school, she may most certainly lose out compared to her ex who probably has already completed school and has a steady job. If she doesn't go to school she is penalized for not being educated and financially able to provide for her children. If she has a man in the house she's accused of being a bad influence on her children, but if she doesn't have a man in the house — or more preferably a new "head of the house," then she's accused of not providing a proper male model for her children.

Authority of the Father

That anybody could attempt to prettify this picture with the whitewash of "best interests of the child" certainly ought to qualify them for the insane asylum, but when this legal jargon is decoded to comprehend "best interests of the imperialist state," madness reveals method. In particular, there is a conscious trend in the divorce courts to bring into play the authority of the father and the division of labor between the lord and master of the family, and the big daddy of the bourgeois state among the petty bourgeoisie and upper strata of the working class. A recent *Newsweek* magazine article on the "complexities" of divorce cases now confronting the courts, moaned, "In earlier days, the family was held together by the moral forces of the church and the social customs of local communities; the law was only a very junior cooperating partner. When that coalition began crumbling in the 1960s, the law was left standing alone . . ." In this light it is revealing to look at the so-called fathers' rights movement which has offered to play the rightful role of caretakers of the bourgeois family, and "correctors" of wayward women and children in the best all-American tradition — all under the signboard of "equality," of course.

There has been much publicity about the various "father's rights" groups which claim men are discriminated against in custody cases and that women are taking their children and "draining them" for child support. One organized

group of divorced fathers states that a male parent "all too often becomes a banker, provided by the courts and at the mercy of every whim of the former wife." The "Fathers United for Equal Justice" places as one of its major goals, accountability of child support payments because, after all, "she could be spending the money on ski weekends, a swimming pool . . . or supporting a live-in boyfriend." This same group places priority on getting the church more actively involved in divorce settlement.

While some of these groups claim they are not against "women's liberation," and that they are really just trying to "take equal responsibility," in reality the father's rights movement is imbued with the reactionary view that women are not fit to keep their children if they reject (and even kick out!) the patriarchal head of the house, and "stray away" from their homemaker role to boot. Basic to the capitalist family unit is the notion that women and children are the property of the father and he sets the terms for their care, which the woman is then delegated to carry out. If there is divorce, then the mother must continue to carry on her traditional role, or else she must pay for it by giving up her children — many times to the new wife of her former husband who will accept this role. This movement has been widely promoted, and has led to an 80% increase in the number of fathers contesting custody in the divorce courts, and being duly rewarded for their efforts — a property settlement in the best capitalist tradition. And it is by no means the sole province of Reagan ideologues like George Gilder, author of *Sexual Suicide*, who openly argues for patriarchy. Why none other than the arch hypocrites of the *New York Times* have joined the bandwagon, prattling in 1977 that "men are demanding nothing less than equality in their fight for custody. Ironically, they have on their side the changing role of women. Economic necessity and the women's liberation movement have encouraged an increasing number of mothers to pursue careers outside the home and leave the daily care to bring up baby to day-care centers, housekeepers or grandmothers . . ." This is just a dressed up, cynical way of saying that if women are not going to play their assigned traditional role, then why can't fathers have their children and a housekeeper, grandmother, or new wife, too. And this liberal bullshit has absolutely nothing to do with the outlook of those who have no stake whatsoever in the exploitative relations between men and women and who really do hate the way things are between men and women and parents and children in this archaic, man-

eating system.

The thinking behind much of the "father's rights movement" is expressed in a 1968 book (cited in Polikoff's paper) entitled *Divorce and Custody for Men*. It offers the following viewpoint: "Our children must be taught values that are essential to the development of normal citizenship. . . . The training of children demands respect for family law. . . . The father who is the head of a household is best able to demand the respect that makes teaching possible. He is the traditional symbol of authority. His traditional authority was not given to him by women. It has been earned in political corridors, on battlefields, through the profits of industry and the intricacies of the arts. As the chief provider and defender of homes, he is . . . rightly the symbol of authority." Metz also holds that "even absent from the home, (the father) can supply love and guidance through a good housekeeper. When he does come home, his competent presence is all the more valuable. No child needs to be in contact with a parent twenty-four hours a day." Another publication in favor of paternal custody argued in 1975: "How is teaching love, respect and discipline possible in the broken home? The traditional . . . authority by the Father is involved. . . . Any judge should agree it is far better to have a situation where the child is in the custody of a full time, loving, warm conscientious father, than a piece of a mother, who finds her role in childbearing unrewarding."

This view accords well with the iron-fisted rulings in the custody cases cited above, in which the courts are clearly putting very high price before women who show the least inclination to be merely a "piece of a mother." The state is increasingly eyeing these women as unreliable in raising the children with the proper American values. The current rulings show that judges are quite blatant in condemning mothers who appear the least bit rebellious, reluctant (or often financially unable) to raise their children in a "nice middle class, god-fearing environment." And at the same time, judges are known to favor business executives, army sergeants, and such who will impart the proper values. One woman who lost her children said, "I know if I move back to the suburbs where my ex-husband lives and adopt a middle class life, I could get my kid back, but I'm not willing to do that."

The Child Removal System

The statistics of court contested custody cases only begin to uncover the depths of what is happening to women who are threatened with "child removal." Many custody battles never even make it to court, especially for the majority of women who get divorced and can't begin to pay the tremendous costs of hiring a lawyer and going to court. Legal costs usually range anywhere from \$5,000 to \$15,000 and higher. And among proletarian women, it is commonly heard that a woman has gotten a "working class divorce," or "ghetto divorce" — which simply means that she and her children have been abandoned, many times never hearing from the husband again, let alone receiving any financial help.

Custody of children in many cases, perhaps most cases, is decided outside the court system — and usually in circumstances that outweigh the woman's ability to have any choice or say in the matter. Abandonment by the husband is only one way this happens. Then there are a whole myriad of government institutions and bureaucracies that constantly threaten to wield the stamp of "unfit mother" to take children away. The welfare system is frequently used in this way, and even if a woman's child isn't actually taken away, there is the constant reminder that being on welfare makes a woman's life an "open book," susceptible to being branded an unfit mother by the state — so she better not step out of line and risk losing her children.

The Massachusetts Childbearing Rights Alliance found on investigation that the "child removal system" is consistently biased against impoverished people, non-whites, single mothers and lesbians. They found in Massachusetts that 80% of families losing their children are on AFDC, even though AFDC families comprise only 14% of the state's population. 60% of these families are headed by women. They also found that

almost 30% of families losing their children are Black, while Black families comprise only 15% of the state's population. Outrageously, over a quarter of all Native American children there have been taken from their homes by public agencies, and the overwhelming majority placed in non-Native American foster or adoptive homes.

In one case of state institutions being used in Pasadena, the police department successfully took four Black children away from their family. This family had several members who had criminal records, so the police snatched these children on the racist justification that they were trying to end a "cycle of crime that is transmitted from generation to generation."

And for women prisoners, they may face a battle just to get their children back after they get out of prison. Some cases have been reported where women have lost their children based on the legal technicality that they "abandoned their child" when they went to prison!

The recent fight of Kathleen Blackburn in Atlanta is also an example of how government institutions and courts are being used to penalize women for stepping out of line — this time for being a white woman and having a child by a Black man. Five weeks after Kathleen's daughter was born her ex-husband's parents came with a court order and sheriff and threatened to arrest Kathleen if she did not hand over her first child to his white father. Later in one of the court hearings to determine custody the judge stated, "I don't know of any better way to prove a person has been doing things she ought not to other than showing that she became pregnant while she was unmarried." As the *New York Times* faithfully reported, the father's family "pinned much of their hope for custody on proving that the mother was leading an immoral and promiscuous life, as evidenced in part, they said by the out-of-wedlock birth of her daughter. . . ." The fact that this child's father was Black was hardly overlooked here. As Kathleen pointed out, they had ruled her unfit to take care of a white son (because she had a Black child) but said nothing about her ability to take care of her Black daughter.

Child kidnapping is increasingly becoming a major way that custody is decided. And in these cases it is common that the mother whose child is stolen has no way to fight it. Of the half a million or more children who disappear in the U.S. every year, child-finding agencies estimate that at least 100,000 of these are stolen by one parent in defiance of court ordered custody arrangement. In these child snatching incidences, 65% of the time it is the fathers taking the child away from the mother. And the odds in court overwhelmingly favor the parent who takes the child.

In one case in San Francisco, a woman's 11-year-old son was snatched by the father after not having any contact with the child for 7 years. The father fled to Oklahoma with the child and petitioned a court for legal custody. Custody was granted to him despite the fact that the mother was given custody in Arizona where the divorce was granted and also in California where she then lived. The court's reasons for granting custody to the father was that "a boy of that age 'needed' to be with his father."

In one kidnapping case in 1980 the government was explicitly involved in the kidnapping and keeping of the 9-year-old son of Donna Ruffalo. The father, Mr. Ruffalo, had been involved as a low-ranking soldier in a crime syndicate. He then worked for five years as an FBI informant inside the organization. When a contract was put out on his life by the syndicate he asked for the Justice Department program which protects Mafia witnesses with new identities, secret locations, etc. He kidnapped his son from school one day and disappeared. A few days later "somebody from Washington" called Donna Ruffalo and told her that her son was all right. The government then hired a private attorney to represent Mr. Ruffalo and proceeded to blatantly violate every court order that required Mr. Ruffalo to relinquish the boy to the mother and give her full custody. Even when the judge ruled Mr. Ruffalo in contempt of court and ordered him to serve jail time for ignoring court orders, the government would not reveal his whereabouts and the son continued to stay with his father — a prize for services rendered. □

El Centro

Continued from page 4

to deny to the media that there even is a strike, while unleashing vicious repression against the strikers. The INS director of the jail, Douglas Hunter, tried to tell the media that the strikers are eating at least one meal a day; "I don't call that a hunger strike, I call it a hunger protest." He went on to say that the main demand of the "protest" was to "go home" — be deported! "We got travel orders for some of them," he smirked, "we cleaned up our docket and sent most of these people home."

"Go home"?! If Salvadorans wanted to "go home," they wouldn't even be in the INS Detention Center in El Centro. What Hunter is getting at is that many Salvadorans arrested by La Migra, who have already left their relatives and birthplaces in El Salvador and paid an average of \$800 to \$1000 to "coyotes" to get to the U.S., still choose to sign "voluntary departure forms" and go through it all again rather than face paying outrageous bail and attorney fees or spending months in a place like El Centro while applying for political asylum — especially since, as of the beginning of 1983, the U.S. government had granted political asylum to only 65 Salvadorans out of 5000 cases decided. These refugees then, having already "voluntarily" agreed to deportation, understandably resent being thrown into El Centro for a week or more just to wait for deportation.

Nevertheless, the main demand of the strikers is for political asylum for all Central American refugees, and an end to deportations. The INS, by clearing its

"dockets," was only able to deport about 20 of the strikers, leaving 43 still on strike. These are almost all people who are demanding political asylum and are unable to raise bail. At any time, they could be "freed" from El Centro (deported, that is) by simply waiving asylum proceedings, but they won't because like many of the more than 22,000 Salvadorans who are currently applying for political asylum in the U.S., they fear for their lives if deported to El Salvador. The strike committee has taken the name Santana Chirino Amaya, in memory of a Salvadoran refugee whose murder by government agents in El Salvador after being deported by the U.S. has been well documented. And one striker told the *RW* that he left El Salvador because his name showed up on a government death list after he joined a religious committee which distributed food to the poor.

Of course, Director Hunter's lies were just for media consumption. Inside, it's different. The beaten internees have been placed in the center's clinic with no communication to the outside. Hunger strikers have been forced out of the barracks into the 110-degree heat of El Centro. Three leaders of the strike, including one Mexican, have been especially targeted, hit with phony charges of assaulting INS guards, and removed from El Centro to a San Diego jail with \$10,000 bail. Two other strikers have been thrown into isolation cells. And the only "negotiation" by the INS has been insults, including one official who screamed, "It would be best if they do kill you back in El Salvador!"

This is the third major hunger strike at El Centro in the past two years. □

From the New Programme of the RCP, USA, we are reprinting below that part of the section, "The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Power, Will Immediately Take Up The Transformation Of Society," which deals with the question of education.

Education

In recent years in this country many studies have been done and things written around the theme—"why can't Johnny read?"—why does the educational system consistently fail even to give most people basic educational skills? These studies and all the furor that goes on around them generally end up blaming "Johnny" and/or his parents and ignore the essential fact—"Johnny" is *not supposed to read*, beyond a very low level, in a society such as this; education for the masses of people in capitalist society is not supposed to do anything more than prepare them for a lifetime of slavery for the capitalist class—with just enough basic knowledge to run a machine or some similar task—or a short life as a soldier in the imperialist armed forces. And even more fundamentally than this, capitalist education is education in capitalism, in its outlook and principles and the notion that these and the society that they serve are eternal and unsurpassable. Such an educational process—turning history and reality upside down, reducing the masses to a blind mob if they appear in the picture at all and revolving everything around a few "great men," geniuses, monarchs, presidents, etc., sympathetically portraying the worst tyrants and oppressors as heroes and models to be emulated and, of course, blotting out the class content of all important events and actions in history and the world today, preaching idealism, metaphysics, pragmatism and all manner of nonsense and poison—this is a crucial weapon for the bourgeoisie in maintaining its rule over the masses of people and its death-lock on society.

By the same token, completely revolutionizing education, in theory and practice, is a crucial question for the proletariat in building socialist society under its rule and advancing to communism. In no way can the proletariat leave the educational system and its basic principles and methods as they were under capitalism, or education will be a key weapon of the forces working to restore the old, capitalist society.

The proletariat in power will immediately take up the question of overcoming the very real problem of illiteracy and lack of even basic education among broad masses of people in this country. But beyond that, and of much more fundamental importance, it will completely change the educational system at its foundation. Marxism, the revolutionary science of the proletariat, will be applied to guide education in every aspect.

The old "tracking system" so common in capitalist education—where a handful of children, overwhelmingly from the upper classes and with all sorts of privileges and advantages denied to the masses, are selected and groomed for positions of "leadership" and authority in society, while those of the broad ranks of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities most of all are doomed to be "tracked" into a lifetime of drudgery and agony—such a system, which makes a principle out of the division between mental and manual labor and plays a key part in perpetuating this division and class divisions in general, will be thrown on the scrap heap where it belongs. In its place, and in place of the whole educational "theory" and structure of which it is a crucial link, will be applied educational policies and practices that serve the objective of overcoming such a division of labor and class distinctions generally. From the very start, the educational system of the proletarian state will combine rather than separate mental and manual labor, preparing the millions and tens of millions of the new generation to be able to carry out and integrate the two, linking study and experiments in the laboratory with practical application of the principles studied and summation of the results. It will promote and train the masses in the scientific outlook and method of dialectical materialism. Further, this will all be carried out in close connection with the work and activities of the masses of people as a whole, in factories, neighborhoods, the farms and rural areas and so on, so that the stu-

From the New Programme of the RCP On The Revolutionary Transformation of Education



dents—and the teachers and other leaders in the educational institutions as well—gain a real and overall understanding of how society runs—and more than that, how the proletariat and the formerly oppressed masses in general are transforming society in every sphere.

At the same time, the self-seeking competition, both petty and vicious, that bourgeois ideology in general and bourgeois education in particular extols and instills in the youth, along with everyone else—even down to the way in which it sets them against each other in the pursuit of grades and rewards—this, too, will no longer be a guiding principle of education, and more than that it will instead be an object of continuing criticism. Abolished as well will be the absolute authority of the teacher in the classroom and the educational hierarchy above the teacher, and also criticized will be the whole notion of blind obedience to authority and convention in general. Teachers and others responsible for giving leadership to education will be exactly that—leaders—but not people "whose word is law" and whose opinions must be treated as infallible truth, or obeyed in any case. The socialist educational system will work to break down, not uphold, the divisions between teachers, administrators, etc., and the students—and the masses of people in general.

The educational policy of the proletarian state will fundamentally serve the cause and be guided by the aim of bringing up successors to the proletarian revolution. The students will be educated in the principles of Marxism and led in applying them to all questions. But even more than that, they—and the teachers, administrators, etc.—will be led in plunging themselves, together with masses of people, into political struggle and into the ideological battle between Marxism and bourgeois-reactionary philosophy in various forms throughout society. The proletariat, as a crucial part of maintaining its rule, continuing to revolutionize society and advancing toward the abolition of classes and the backward ideas that correspond to and serve exploitation and class division, must not only educate each successive generation in these basic principles and outlook but must thoroughly imbue them with the spirit and method of Marxism—including its scientific, critical struggle for the truth, its challenging of tradition and the "force of habit" and its daring to rebel against any power or authority, even those claiming the mantle of Marxism itself, that seeks to enforce the old and reactionary. In all this, the educational system of the proletarian state, guided by the principles summarized here, must and will play a key role and will be a decisive arena of class struggle.

Another very important problem which this new educational system of the proletariat must and will take up is the exposure, criticism and repudiation of the lies and distortions of the bourgeoisie and especially its propaganda and miseducation that serve to divide the masses of people within this country—between different nationalities, men and women, and so on—and to separate them from

and promote chauvinist hostility toward the rest of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. In direct opposition to this, the educational system in this country, once it is in the hands of the proletariat, will consistently educate the young people in proletarian internationalism and promote the revolutionary unity of the masses of people in this country among their own ranks and together with the people of the world.

This it will do not through the pious and hypocritical sermons of the bourgeois liberals, that "everybody should get along with everybody else," but by deeply and in an all-around way exposing the class basis and class interests behind racism, chauvinism toward other peoples and nations, the notions of male superiority and all the rest of the bourgeoisie's ideological arsenal—showing that these are rooted in and fostered by the very nature of the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie, and exploiting classes generally, and in turn serve to perpetuate them, and that in opposition to this the proletariat not only has no interest in clinging to and promoting them but must strike at, shatter and finally destroy them along with their material basis of discrimination and national oppression. This will be done not only through study and general discussion, including classes educating all students in the real history, scientifically understood, of the various oppressed peoples and nations, inside and outside this country, of the oppression of women in class society, etc., but also by bringing out from the experience of the masses themselves, and through debate and struggle among them, what the concrete effects of national oppression, the oppression of women, and similar crimes of capitalism are and whose interests they and their ideological expressions of racism and chauvinism serve. And this will not be carried out by the students alone, in isolation from the rest of society and the masses of people, but by having representatives of the masses, including even workers and oppressed people from other countries, come into the classrooms and give the students a living understanding of these questions, and by having the students go out broadly among the workers, the formerly oppressed nationalities, women and others, and hold discussion and struggle with them on these decisive questions.

And in general, the socialist educational system will work to break down the separation between the broad masses as a whole and the students, especially those who are enrolled in colleges and similar "institutions of higher learning." It will be necessary for such institutions, involving only a small minority of the people, to exist for some time, and in particular to train scientists, engineers, technicians, etc., from among the ranks of the masses as part of breaking the domination over these spheres by intellectuals trained, not only technically but ideologically, in the old society; but, from the very beginning and increasingly, the socialist educational system will take concrete steps to combat the tendency for such students in par-

ticular to be fashioned into an "elite," standing above and lording it over the masses.

An important part of this is the transformation of the educational system itself, including at the college level, along the lines already discussed. But, in addition, part-time colleges, connected directly with factories and other workplaces and enrolling increasing numbers of the workers themselves, will be developed and spread. Beyond that, the criteria for admission to colleges will be based first and above all on the demonstrated devotion to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, as determined through discussion among the masses under the leadership of the Party. And further, as soon as possible, in conformity and in tempo with the consolidation of power by the proletariat and its first major victories in establishing control over and undertaking the socialist transformation of the economy, the policy will be adopted of sending all high school graduates to work in the factories, in the rural areas or in some cases into the revolutionary armed forces, with students for the colleges chosen from among the masses, old and young, according to the principles and criteria outlined already. At the same time, colleges will be increasingly established and function in close connection with the factories and neighborhoods where the masses work and are organized politically, including special attention to the rural areas, as another important step in breaking down the "ivory tower" atmosphere of colleges. And more than that, representatives of the masses themselves, chosen according to the same basic criteria as those for selecting students, will be organized to take part, together with the teachers and other full-time educational personnel, and with representatives of the students themselves, in giving leadership in the schools and struggling to see that these principles and methods of the socialist educational system are upheld and actually implemented.

Overall, the struggle to revolutionize the educational system will be a crucial battleground in the new, socialist society, exactly because education plays such a central role in serving and perpetuating one kind of system or another. The proletariat will have to wage a protracted and intense fight against the forces of reaction, and of tradition and habit, to establish and develop an educational system that furthers the socialist transformation and transition to communism and trains, in theory and practice, successive generations of class-conscious activists in the great movement of the international proletariat. Thus, while the students will be led to grasp and develop knowledge and bring forth creations and innovations in all fields, from technical and scientific to artistic and cultural, a continual battle must be waged for this to be under the guidance of Marxism and in the interests of the proletariat. And therefore their central and most important subject, in accordance with the principles of socialist education, will be the class struggle—proletarian revolution. □

Richmond

Continued from page 5

really is and has to be between the street grunts and the proletarian masses anywhere in the U.S. But the problem, in the eyes of Charles Gain and those he represents, is first that Garfield is the chief, and he's blurring all this stuff; and, second, that the old-style pig terror-tactics — though "useful" — are limited and not a little anarchic.

By way of knocking down Garfield, the federal court ran out testimony from victims of the Richmond police that went back 13 years — and the stories printed in the press outside of Richmond during the trial emphasized the more prominent victims. A congressman's aide and a Richmond community relations officer testified to being brutalized — the community relations officer was chased into his house and beaten one week before the Roman-Guillory trial started. Typical was the testimony of Emilio Gallegos, a research chemist at Chevron USA. As he took the stand, he rolled up his shirt, revealing deep and ugly scars on his arm. On the night of January 19, 1980, Richmond police pulled Gallegos and his wife over, for allegedly running a stop sign. (His wife is an active member of the Housing and Community Development Advisory Committee in nearby El Cerrito.) Gallegos was ordered out of his car and instructed to take a sobriety test. The week before, he had had a hernia operation, and he was not able to move as quickly as police wished. When Mrs. Gallegos got out of the car to assist her husband she was confronted by a second officer, screaming at her. Mrs. Gallegos was knocked to her knees, Mr. Gallegos was cuffed, and a back-up unit called in; a German Shepherd police dog was unleashed, which jumped on the handcuffed Mr. Gallegos, and tore out muscles in his arm.

Another aspect of the viciousness of the Richmond police that emerged is its links to the Klan. Richmond is surrounded by suburbs to the north and east that have been concentrations of Klan activity in recent years, and there has been an open Klan presence in Richmond itself — the only city in the Bay Area with a significant Black population that has developed Klan activity. The friendly ties between the Richmond P.D. and the Klan are notorious — one of the first skirmishes in the current battle over the Richmond P.D. came in 1981, when after an upsurge of Klan activity, the State Commission on Fair Housing & Employment held hearings on organized racist activity in

Richmond. One Richmond cop testified that the attitude of the department's top administrators towards the Klan was: "The Klan's not bothering us; we don't want to hear about that." His testimony also tended to make the police the center of organized terror over Blacks: "Police brutality within the Black community has been passively encouraged by command personnel. . . . A growing element exists within the department which prides itself on perpetuating and instigating violence against Blacks." This officer was recently awarded \$25,000 in a separate suit against the department because of its failure to promote him.

In Richmond, the lesson learned off the '60s that Black faces in the local government and on the police force were an important part of cooling off the cities with large Black populations was not applied to any significant degree. This has become one aim of the current maneuvers of the federal government; a 1981 lawsuit, the result of 27 police brutality victims combined into one action, resulted in a court order forcing the Richmond police to hire two-thirds minority applicants for openings on the force.

The new section of Black cops have become a significant instrument in the infighting over the Richmond police. They have testified repeatedly to systematic brutality against the Black masses, and agitated for their own promotion inside the force. In the Roman-Guillory trial, six Black officers, all members of Guardians for Social Justice, testified. Much of their testimony centered on a group of white cops known as the "Cowboys," who were photographed wearing cowboy boots and waving the Confederate flag. Sergeant Hanratty, the leader of the Cowboys, it came out, frequently briefed his officers to provoke street skirmishes, and emphasized, "The only good arrest is a bloody arrest." Such testimony has not gone without retaliation. When one officer Fletcher testified, he was transferred the next day to the shift where the Cowboys ride herd. Judge Aguilar intervened, ordering that the transfer be rescinded — but the message from the "old-line" was clear. For weeks after his testimony, Fletcher's radio transmissions while on patrol were jammed — making it hard for him to radio for help should he run into trouble. . . . from, perhaps, other officers?

The Gain Career

The past career of Charles Gain, while he was police chief in Oakland in the '60s and early '70s, is helpful in clarifying just what the feds are up to in Richmond with all this. Gain came into office in 1967 in a city the *Wall Street Journal* had predicted

in 1965, "would be next" to burn. He began to carefully cultivate a new image for the Oakland police, particularly in East Oakland, where other federal agencies were also setting up various programs. He established a "community relations" program where Black masses could air grievances against police. In July of 1968, after six Blacks had been murdered by police in six months, including the police assassination of 17-year-old Black Panther Bobby Hutton, Gain issued an executive order to his department restricting police from "discharging" their service revolvers during an arrest unless they had been fired upon. He moved to break up the hold of "old-line" officers over the force and used selective promotion of Blacks as one key way to do this.

Perhaps it is obvious, but it should be stated that holstering the pig revolvers was not the aim of Gain's program, although perhaps for some months the bourgeoisie thought it best to be more careful about deadly force since the pigs were receiving a lot of it in return — and because of the clear danger of setting off massive outbreaks at that time. But later on in the seventies the "professionalized" Oakland police became notorious for a rapid string of cold-blooded murders as per routine — the only difference being that these acts were accompanied by great expressions of concern and special public meetings about police conduct on the part of the city government. Gain's community relations program was exposed by two Black officers on his force in a 1970 press conference at Oakland city hall: "Community relations are nothing more than a pacification program designed to keep Blacks in their place." They continued, that for the Black police officer it was really a matter of "spying" on "your own" people. The community relations practiced by these officers went a bit too far for Gain at the time, and he immediately slapped a gag order on them. Gain, as Oakland chief, also received large-scale federal funds for expansion in the development and use of sophisticated technology, particularly for purposes of crowd control. Oakland received two helicopters, and helped pioneer the use of the embryonic "Blue Thunder" as a strategic eye-in-the-sky which could serve as a base from which to dispatch police cars, vans and "other" police vehicles. Police cars were hooked into a computer system, and command structures changed — all to facilitate a quick, flexible, and centralized response to any explosive situation.

Gain's changes in the Oakland P.D. in the 1960s and early '70s were a small part of a larger, nationally coordinated effort to pump in some aid to the cities where

political tensions between Black people and the system were particularly acute, in an attempt to defuse these tensions. In fact, Oakland was a model of such changes, and the ruling structure of the whole city was revamped, along with other changes. Today, there is a Black mayor in Oakland, and the vestiges of the Black Panther Party help get out the vote. Moreover, in the '60s, the U.S. overall had the resources to make changes even in the economic situation of a section of Black people. Today it does not. In Richmond, such changes are not being spoken of. The battle has been squarely concerned with repression, and how to carry it out most effectively, and resources, including plenty of money, will be found for that.

Chief Garfield and the "old-line" in Richmond are not the type federal authorities want to see wielding such a ballooning apparatus of repression in Richmond. As one article in the Richmond paper noted after the verdict in the Roman-Guillory trial, "The jury's verdict may have cost the city more than its reputation and a great deal of money. Richmond may have lost direct control of its police department." Chief Garfield was silent. Five days later, he resigned, finishing with a final warning to his "old boys" in Richmond, and to other small cities near the Bay Area with concentrations of Black people: "There is more to come — both here and in other cities."

All indications are that, indeed, the infighting is far from over. At last report, the Richmond City Council was leaning toward appealing the verdict in the Roman-Guillory case. The *Oakland Tribune*, on the other hand, editorialized: "The only sure way of guaranteeing a new direction in the police department is for Richmond to go outside the city for a chief trained in modern police administration and capable of reforming the department's methods. Oakland achieved such a transformation by hiring an outside chief and so have other cities. Richmond should follow in their footsteps." So far, one name has been floated out by the NAACP as a suitable replacement for the chief: Charles Gain. Gain modestly told the press that he was willing to help in any way he could. "I guess total reform is needed," he said. "Although the tenor of the testimony was against the officers' conduct, I empathize with the officers because they need help."

Yes—"helping" the officers, and "helping" remold the entire police apparatus — for more efficient brutalization — is precisely what the Richmond affair is about. □

Diplomat In Nicaragua

Continued from page 1

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. She said that her CIA contacts in Nicaragua had always been particularly interested in D'Escoto's tastes and habits, which is apparently how they got the idea to put thallium, a poison that causes liver and nerve damage and bone destruction, in a large bottle of Benedictine. After returning to Managua, Moncada says she received a radio message directing her to the spot to pick up the bottle (the Sandinistas showed video tape of her doing so). Together with the bottle, she found a note with directions, a copy which was also displayed at the news conference. Instead of delivering the poisoned liquor to D'Escoto, she gave it to the Sandinista government which decided to expose the story at this time.

There was an initial round of mocked shock by U.S. officials that such "absurd charges," in the words of the U.S. Embassy in Nicaragua, could possibly be made; the uproarious belly laughter that such comments provoked around the world threatened to cause a new round of earthquakes. State Department spokesman Allan Romberg threw in some more judicious comments. He referred to the assassination attempt charges by saying, "we have consistently denied such activities" (as if that would convince anyone. . . .), and further added, "we reject the Nicaraguan allegations that our personnel were engaged in non-diplomatic

activities. . . ." — when, of course, everything that the Sandinistas had accused the U.S. of doing was well within long-established norms of U.S. diplomacy. Former Senator Frank Church, who headed up a Senate investigation in the mid-'70s that publicly admitted a small number of the most notorious CIA covert actions, including assassination attempts, in order to maintain the cover-up of the rest and present an image of U.S. house-cleaning (as in "we don't do that kind of thing anymore"), laid out some of the difficulties. He commented on ABC's *Nightline*: "The problem is that even if this is a hoax — a set-up — many people will believe it in Latin America because it is a known fact that the CIA did involve itself in assassination attempts in the past. . . ." And he went on to enumerate some of the most infamous, such as CIA involvement in attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, General René Schneider in Chile and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic — the last three of which were successful. Church's "in the past. . ." comment could have been changed to "in the past week" since less than a week prior to the Nicaraguan exposé, some Congressmen had "leaked" to ABC News the information that the CIA had recently wanted to institute a coup to overthrow the government of Surinam, which is friendly with Cuba and the Soviet Union, but was supposedly prevented from doing so by the "responsible" Congressional committee. Of course, it could only have been a peaceful coup — anything else would be "absurd."

The U.S.'s shocked denials took a turn towards practicality, however, when anonymous State Department officials

began pointing out that D'Escoto, a Maryknoll priest, was one of the least objectionable (to the U.S.) and least powerful Sandinistas; indeed, D'Escoto was mentioned in a recent *Newsweek* article as "perhaps. . . thought to be salvageable" in the current U.S. efforts to try and break up the Sandinista regime and isolate the pro-Soviet revisionists in leadership from the more bourgeois nationalists and social-democratic forces that are still in the government. However, this is hardly proof of U.S. innocence, since the death of D'Escoto would remove one important "moderate" from the revisionist-led coalition; D'Escoto's significance to the revisionists lies in the fact that his political distance from the pro-Soviet elements helps maintain the "pluralistic" image of the Sandinista regime, and gives broad forces — locally and internationally — a stake in the regime's survival. There would also be the possibility of the U.S. blaming an assassination on the revisionists, or perhaps take the credit themselves as a warning to other forces aligned with the revisionists in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America. This would fit right in with the U.S. policy of applying great amounts of pressure to break up the historic compromise alliance in Central America. At the same time, however, the revisionists have been doing their all to try and counter this policy, and it is conceivable that they would fabricate the assassination charge, once again trying to make use of the widely exposed position of the U.S. to advance their own pro-Soviet imperialist schemes. And it is no coincidence that this story broke right when the U.S. ruling class is actively debating the usefulness of its exposed

covert operations in Central America, with the liberals particularly centering on the points that the Soviets are scoring from the exposure. It was a perfect time for some further bourgeois maneuvering by the revisionists.

In any case, the U.S. was clearly stung by the Sandinista reports and hit back immediately, shutting down all six of the Nicaraguan consulates spread throughout the U.S. (in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, Miami and New Orleans), and ordering all 21 of the consulate officials to leave the country immediately. U.S. State Department officials made some noises about "intelligence operations" being run out of the consulates, but that was obviously not the issue here. The consulates have been used by the Sandinistas to try and promote more favorable political dealings in the U.S., as well as more trade, so the closures were designed to add to the U.S.'s political and economic pressure on Nicaragua. At the same time, some of the leading consulate officials are known to be more pro-U.S. forces, and the U.S. is clearly hoping to coerce some into applying for political asylum rather than going back to Nicaragua, in hopes of further destabilizing the Sandinista alliance. One complied — the Consul-General in New Orleans, who has lived in the U.S. for ten years.

Of course, given the interests represented here, it is impossible to determine whether or not there really was an attempt to assassinate D'Escoto at this time. However, there is no doubt that the U.S. has already recruited thousands of death-dealers throughout Central America to do its bidding — which includes the murder of tens of thousands already. □

Press Conference Exposes LAPD

"The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California has observed the film that you have just seen and it is our feeling that this is the kind of thing that is seen in such places as Poland and other countries where the right of demonstrators are not protected." With this comment, R. Samuel Paz, president of the Southern California ACLU, summed up a brief excerpt of the video tape news coverage of May Day 1983 in Los Angeles, and opened an important press conference on June 3rd to condemn the police attack on the demonstration. The president of the National Lawyers Guild of Southern California joined with the ACLU in this condemnation and demanded that the LAPD's police commission investigate the attack, and what the ACLU referred to as an LAPD "campaign of street justice against the RCP." The RCP also distributed a statement to the press. The press conference was heavily attended by the media, and several TV stations ran stories on it, as did the major newspapers (but not the *L.A. Times*).

The LAPD attack on the May Day demonstration *this year* resulted in 23 arrests after vicious beatings on the street. As the ACLU statement pointed out, "For several years now the police have reacted to RCP demonstrators in the same way — violently." As to this year specifically, the ACLU summed up, "Television films indicate that the police charged the group when there was no apparent provocation and then beat individual demonstrators for no apparent reason." The video segment used at the press conference showed, among many assaults, five or six cops suddenly grab a man carrying a stack of *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers across the street and then work him over, throwing him up against a cement wall and handcuffing him.

As the ACLU said, there was "no apparent reason" for this arrest (and beating), but the LAPD report on the May Day demonstration (given out to the press by the ACLU for comparison to the video tape) says that this person and one other were "apparent RCP spokespersons... (who) repeatedly shouted at the RCP members and others in the crowd to take up their cause and join in the revolution and pick up rocks and bottles to use as weapons against the imperialist pig." Such ridiculous police fabrications would

be good for a laugh but they are quite serious attempts to justify the various ongoing (overt and covert) operations against the RCP and its supporters.

In fact these first two arrests were carefully chosen by the police as examples to the masses. The man who was arrested, a Chicano proletarian, also spoke at the press conference where he pointed out that what could not be seen in the video tape was the pigs attempting to break his wrist *after* his hands were cuffed, while another pig said in a low voice (so as not to be picked up by the camera crew) "Now that we've got him, let's do him in!" while still others pounded him in the stomach. This same man has been targeted by police in a number of other situations as well (originally charged with "illegal possession of a bullhorn," this was later changed to "inciting to riot").

After these first two arrests the LAPD launched a second assault with pigs on foot and horseback where all escape routes were cut off and then people were beaten and some arrested. Those beaten included at least one young child and a baby holding a red flag resting in her mother's arms. One punk rocker was being beaten by several pigs, one of whom could be heard yelling, "Die! Die! Die!" Many of those arrested were charged with serious felonies which were then dropped to misdemeanors *after the felony bail had been posted*. In one typical case a man charged with felony assault with a deadly weapon on a cop (\$7,000 bail) posted bail and then had his charges reduced to "obstructing a sidewalk"! Still, of the 22 still facing charges, most are for serious misdemeanors including assault and "inciting to riot" charges (one woman arrested before the demonstration began for carrying mace without a permit — even though she had her permit — had her car impounded along with the red flags and large Damián Garcia Park banner inside it. While the charge against her had been dropped, all of this material is gone — the police claim they never saw it).

Both the video tapes and the police report used at the press conference were obtained by the defendants from these May Day arrests in their court cases. Needless to say the state is pursuing its attacks on this legal front as well. At one recent hearing the prosecutor tried to get all pre-trial hearings *and the trial itself* set for the same, very immediate, day saying

they want these cases decided "within three months since these RCP cases drag on and on and we want this resolved before next year's May Day incidents occur." This city attorney was no doubt selected for this task for his ability to think ahead and for his consciousness of who the target is. (Of course, this case no doubt will also drag on and on as the prosecutor and LAPD follow their usual practice of delay after delay, attempting to avoid turning over to the defense their secret documents and other evidence which would expose the nature of their attack on May Day and other attacks as well.)

In these cases (and in others recently) the prosecutor and judge have been making a point that anyone who defends the people arrested at May Day or other demonstrations involving the RCP will pay a price for doing so. When a defendant cannot afford to hire a lawyer, the court will appoint one. It is normal practice that when such a defendant has an ongoing or past relationship with a particular attorney, the defendant can have *that* attorney appointed to the case. Yet all such requests have been denied in these cases. And not only this, but the judge and prosecutor (who is not supposed to have any say in such matters), have accused on the court record at least two attorneys of, essentially, "chasing ambulances," that is, the illegal practice of hanging around courthouses trying to pick up cases. This could be grounds for disbarment as well. Yet both of these attorneys have represented the particular defendants who requested them before. As explanation of his rulings in this matter, the judge said that whether the defendants get the lawyers they request or not "is being decided elsewhere," and no doubt, from higher up.

The ACLU's press conference does complicate things for the police. When he was shown the tapes by reporters, Commander William Booth, LAPD spokesman, claimed immediately that LAPD's Internal Affairs Division will investigate the charges; in fact, he claimed they've already begun one based on complaints by other, unnamed parties. Talk of such an investigation is not only cheap — as it has proven to be in the past — but where the LAPD is likely to take this investigation is exactly to further justify their own criminal activity. Booth's manner, however, was decidedly low-key,

avoiding the standard rabid lies and attacks which have been the hallmark of Chief Gates' remarks on the RCP.

As reported in the *RW's* coverage of May Day in Los Angeles, the *L.A. Times* article on the demonstration with its *almost* accurate account of the police attack implied a criticism of the LAPD's handling of things. This was also true of the LAPD attack at the City Council meeting where 27 people were arrested while demanding that MacArthur Park be renamed Damián Garcia Park. There is debate within bourgeois ranks, not over the need to attack the RCP and its supporters, but over how and under what conditions to do so, and there is a lot of concern in some quarters over the reaction of such forces as the ACLU and National Lawyers Guild to these attacks. All this occurs in the context of the still-raging controversy over the "intelligence" or "anti-terrorist" operations of the LAPD and others. While Booth may have nothing to fear in his own Internal Affairs Division investigation, there is another, entirely different and quite threatening, investigation going on to further uncover the role of the LAPD and others in the murder of RCP member Damián Garcia in relation to Carole Garcia's lawsuit against the LAPD for his murder. All of these recent LAPD attacks have forced the issue of Damián's murder back into the broad public eye (and with this, the exposure of LAPD undercover agent Fabian Lazarraga, who was at the scene of Damián's murder, and whose main target was Damián).

At the press conference itself, the ACLU was grilled by a few reporters "asking" if the RCP didn't have a "policy of confronting the authorities" or at least "forced this confrontation" or "incited to riot" by "agitating the crowd." The ACLU spokesman responded "absolutely not," and repeatedly attempted to redirect the focus to the conduct of the police. The police report on May Day is also full of buzz words and phrases like "inciting the crowd" and a number of media reports on the ACLU press conference contained descriptions of the RCP such as "having a history of confrontations with authorities." All of this is quite important for the authorities' justification for its continuing attacks on the RCP; and, in the parlance of the now deceased Public Disorder Intelligence Division and the newly born Anti-Terrorist Division, for establishing which groups are "legitimate targets" of police operations. □

PLO

Continued from page 3

as Assad jockeys to accumulate bargaining chips — within Lebanon and in the Arab world — puffed up by Soviet "aid" to emerge as a serious military contender in the region, he is certainly formulating his negotiating terms vis à vis the U.S.

Increasing control over the PLO is crucial to Assad for three major reasons. One, to make use of the PLO guerrillas to further "destabilize" the Israeli-occupied territories within Lebanon, harass Israeli troops and contribute to the escalating political price Israel pays by staying in Lebanon. While the PLO has a number of ways of getting around the Syrians, there is no question that Syria will attempt to keep such activities on the shortest possible leash — to be turned on and off at their behest. Two, the enormous political prestige of the Palestinian cause is extremely important to Assad in legitimating the continuing Syrian presence in Lebanon in the eyes of the Arab world (and not inconsequentially, amongst the Syrian population and troops as well). Three, to the degree the Syrians can wrest significant control over the PLO, Assad accumulates a possibly valuable bargaining chip vis à vis the U.S. (and some leverage with the Soviets as well). The fate of the PLO-Syrian "alliance" — should Assad prove ultimately able to come to terms with the U.S. — should be clear enough.

The Soviets

As for the Soviet Union, developments in the Middle East are certainly looking better than a year ago. The Soviets' conspicuous inactivity during Israel's barbarous invasion of Lebanon, while the PLO and Arab masses suffered grievous losses, was far less a failure of heart, and much more a question of "calculated dis-

interest," based on the premise that the U.S.-Israeli victory would be short-term, that the U.S. could not consolidate its gains, and that more favorable conditions would emerge. And while the fortifying of Syrian military power, coupled with an expanded Soviet role in Syria, has afforded the Soviets an important point of "re-entry" into Middle East affairs, their connection with the PLO is politically no less important.

While recent attention has focused on the growing confrontation over Lebanon, the question of the occupied territories, especially the West Bank, is no less acute. This remains a central question throughout the Arab world, and is directly linked to the future of Jordan, with its majority Palestinian population and nervous king, as well. The Soviets have for long cultivated their connection with the PLO in the expectation that it would afford them entry into this arena. And several recent statements from King Hussein, that the Reagan administration's exclusion of the Soviet Union from the "peace process" has been an impediment to the implementation of the Reagan plan, is for them a small but encouraging sign.

The Soviets are cynically maneuvering to capitalize on the mutiny within the PLO. While the Soviets have long argued for the PLO to adopt a "realistic" approach to a negotiated mini-state solution, they always insisted that this could only be achieved through Soviet influence and clout. Arafat's actions have indicated a willingness to sidestep the Soviet middleman and deal directly with the U.S., basing his negotiating position on real or imagined contradictions within the Western bloc. That he has failed in this course puts the Soviets back on front street with the PLO. Certainly the Soviets can take satisfaction in seeing Arafat catching flak within the PLO for having become too "friendly" with the U.S.

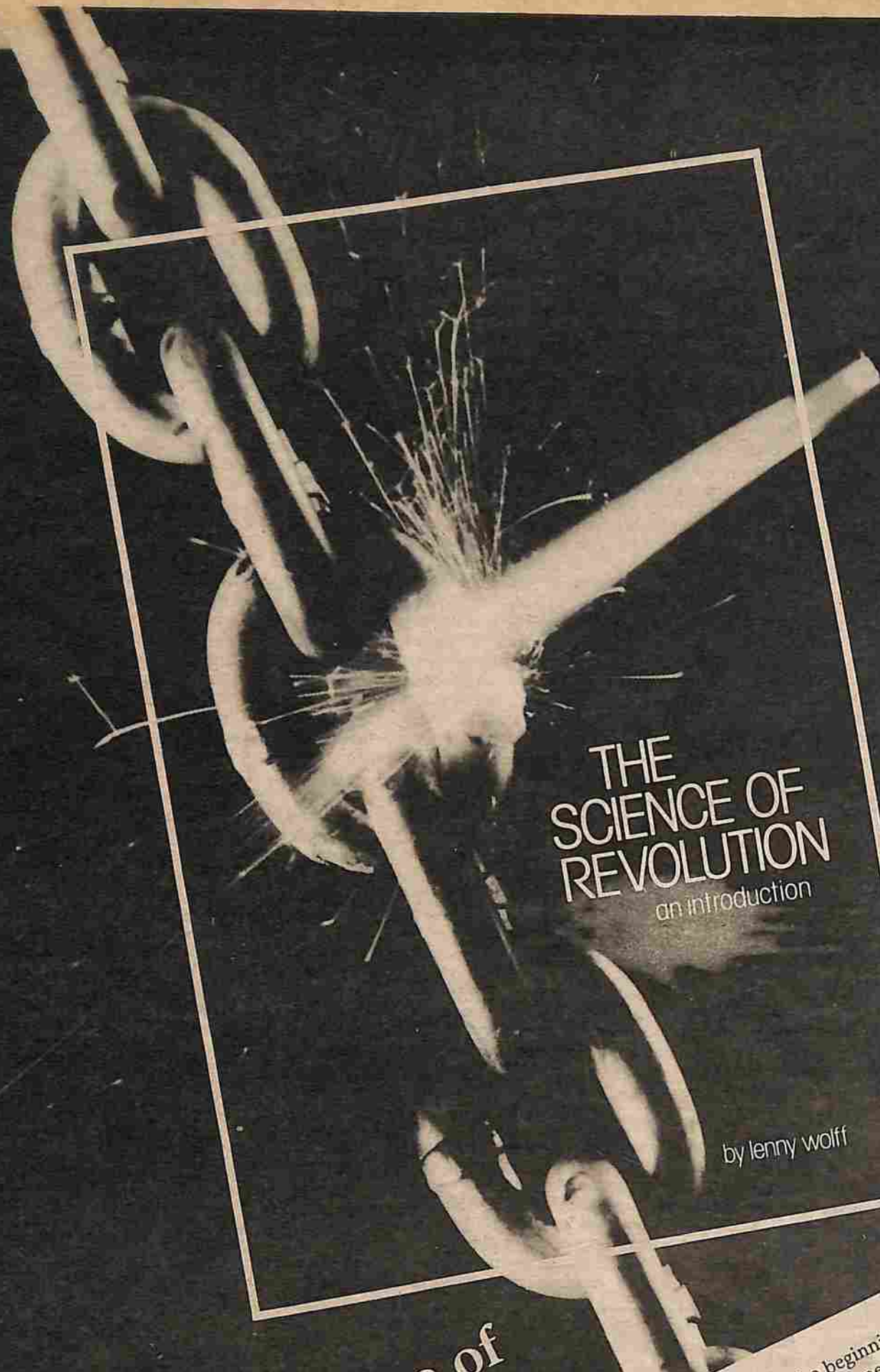
But the Soviets do not therefore want to see Arafat deposed from leadership; such a move, they know, would exacerbate the already strong centrifugal forces acting upon the PLO and threatening to pull it apart. The Soviets don't want a Syrian take-over of the PLO; that would make Assad an even more difficult-to-manage ally. As it now stands, PLO independence from Assad places certain limits on his calculated options. And the substantial influence of the Soviet Union within the PLO gives it, in turn, some additional leverage over Assad. Finally, everyone — the Soviets, Assad himself — value Arafat's numerous ties and cultivated influence throughout the Arab world, with the Saudis in particular, not to mention his remaining prestige. In matters of power brokerage and bloc-building, he's a valuable man to have in your corner. The Soviets' main quarrel with Arafat would be over his having become too free-wheeling in his search for options, and they are calculating that the effects of the mutiny are likely to change that, bringing about a decisive shift towards the Soviets and Syria. Thus the carefully worded statement from Andropov on June 4, stressing the importance of a "strong and unified position, based on the relationship between the PLO and Syria, as well as Palestinian unity under its legitimate leadership, headed by Chairman Arafat."

As for the U.S., it has been closely monitoring events. The *New York Times* reports that "Mr. Arafat's troubles" were the topic of Congressional discussion during early June, and that "Washington may yet discover a silver lining in the situation." Noting that Secretary of State Shultz has, ever since the collapse of the Hussein-Arafat talks, been calling on the Arab states to strip the PLO of its status as "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, the *Times* speculates: "If the organization remains sty-

mied and starts to fissure, King Hussein and the West Bank mayors may eventually feel more confident stepping out alone... The likelihood of such a scenario will undoubtedly be on the agenda this week when the American Middle East Ambassadors meet in Washington with Mr. Shultz and Philip Habib...." You can be sure that the U.S. will be trying any number of means to increase the "likelihood of such a scenario." Riskiness notwithstanding, the U.S. faces some real necessity in pushing this course.

As for the mutiny in the Bekaa, the Andropov statement points the way towards a likely resolution of the current dispute. It certainly undercuts some of the political stance of the mutineers, inasmuch as they have declared their own adherence to the Soviets in their public statements. It is likely that increasing pressure will be brought to bear on them, and the process of "correction" — such as it will be — will be brought under top-down control. In this respect, the remarks of Abu Iyad, made right before his departure for Moscow in early June, are illuminating. Iyad, one of the top Fatah leaders behind Arafat, expressed sympathy with the mutiny, acknowledging that Arafat had made serious mistakes, and that he should have "a serious pause with himself to define what is right and wrong." At the same time, Iyad upheld Arafat as the vital "symbol" of the Palestinian movement, chastised the mutineers for "playing into the enemy's hands," and concluded that "any Palestinian leader under the circumstances would have done the same, given the prevailing political waters in the Arab world."

Given the many-sided, growing swirl of contention and confrontation in the Mideast, the situation is certainly fraught with great danger, difficulty, and opportunity — but only if the limits of the possible are no longer determined by "the prevailing political waters." □



THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

an introduction

by lenny wolff

To break the chains — the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism

The great teachers and leaders of the international working class developed an extraordinary body of theoretical work in close connection with the revolutionary storms of the last century and a half. Ushered in by Marx's monumental exposure of the mainsprings of capitalist society, developed by Lenin's groundbreaking analysis of imperialism and the role of a revolutionary party, further extended by Mao's contributions on the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat, this revolutionary science has led hundreds of millions in the struggle to transform the face of the earth.

There has been a crying need for a work that concisely yet rigorously brings together the fundamental revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Now, for the first time in a single volume there is a unique guide and bridge to the body of Marxist theory.

An essential work for the

Revolution, as opposed to mere resistance, demands a scientific world outlook and analysis. "The difference it can and does make lies in just what that resistance will accomplish: whether the slave chains will merely be rattled, or really shattered; whether the fortress of the old order will only be shaken, or new ground seized for the cause of emancipation; whether people will fight blindly (even if fiercely, for a while), or with head up and eyes fixed on the furthest horizon, prepared to win."

experienced activist, the beginning student of Marxism, or anyone seeking an understanding of the swirl and chaos of our time.

252 pages

\$7.95 paper — ISBN 0-89851-036-8
\$15.95 cloth — ISBN 0-89851-035-X

RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

NOW AVAILABLE!

Special offer on cloth edition
\$12.00 until August 1st
(include 75¢ for shipping)