



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Chile: A "Sour Paradox" for the U.S.A.



What was billed as the Fourth National Day of Protest in Chile, Aug. 11, overflowed into three days and nights of protests and streetfighting. By the light of burning tires and barricades, all the country's bourgeois parties scurried for position. As thousands of youth and others battled the army in the streets, chanting "The dictatorship will fall!" (a prediction later confirmed by all the imperialist prognosticators) — the Christian Democrats, who have formed the axis of the opposition to the junta, finally called for Pinochet's resignation.

The first three of the monthly national days of protest were called in the name of trade unions and confined themselves to general demands for more democracy and higher wages. On the eve of the scheduled Aug. 11 protest, Christian Democrat chief Gabriel Valdés openly took the reins of the opposition movement at a dinner gathering of 2000 leading members of five of the country's political parties to announce the formation of the Democratic Alliance.

But this increasingly open organization of the opposition is being outstripped by the chaotic outbursts among various sectors of the masses. What was unleashed Aug. 11 was more than the nonviolent "March of the Empty Pots" that had been called for.

Jumping the gun on the Christian Democrats' schedule, on the night of Aug. 10 youths in the industrial working-class neighborhood of Lo Hermida dodged machine-gun fire to stone army vehicles on a mass scale. The next day saw

one after another violent battle between students and the armed forces on many campuses, including the elite National University Law School, where student riots against the leftist Allende government ten years ago helped set the stage for Pinochet's coup.

That Thursday afternoon there was the expected banging of pots and pans in Providencia, Nuñoa, and other upper petty-bourgeois and bourgeois suburbs. This is a form of protest developed during the CIA-directed anti-Allende movement to stress the traditional family values of the housewives who banged their casseroles, which were indeed lacking beef roasts in 1973 because the U.S. government had systematically sabotaged Chile's economy to enable the overthrow of a reform government which the U.S. feared might open the way for advances by the pro-Soviet Communist Party. Police, according to foreign press reports, fired over the heads of the marchers.

As the 5:30 p.m. curfew approached, the action spread to the ring of shantytowns on Santiago's southern edge. Barricades were put up in earnest and police gunfire was met with molotov cocktails and occasional small-arms fire. Though the leaders of the Democratic Alliance pointedly left town for a three-

Continued on page 10



On the 1963  
March On Washington  
Commemoration  
Of A Circus see  
centerfold





Guatemala

# “God’s Coup” Yields Broader View

Those skeptics who have been waiting for a sign from the heavens that last week’s coup in Guatemala was really “God’s will” should by now be fully converted, so to speak. It seems that one of His most trusted messengers, a U.S. deputy military attaché by the name of Major William Mercado, was wandering around the National Palace speaking into a hand-held walkie-talkie while the changeover was taking place. Apparently, the major was supposed to be on a secret mission from God but he accidentally got photographed in the act, and as the picture surfaced, the U.S. State Department was required to acknowledge and explain the major’s presence. Spokesman John Hughes insisted that the attaché had only gone to the palace after the U.S. embassy heard that something was going on and was merely keeping the embassy informed on the latest developments. “He was not directing the coup,” Hughes said, and the *New York Times* felt it necessary to add that the statement was made “jokingly.” Undoubtedly, all the reporters present had a good laugh over that one. More seriously, the spokesman insisted that insofar as the attaché was involved, “there was nothing unusual in his actions.” True enough. How could there be a coup in Guatemala without such direct divine intervention?

While none of the principals in this morality play would dispute that the Lord works in mysterious ways, there

have been some more revelations recently as to why the latest Guatemalan miracle should occur at this time. It seems that born-again Generalissimo Rios Montt had much too narrow a concept of “holy land” — namely, limiting it to Guatemala. It is true that he had done much to purify Guatemala’s soil with the blood of the Indian peasant infidels, but he was reluctant to get involved in the Crusade throughout the region, apparently concerned that he might not be able to keep control of the situation in Guatemala if he did so. But the new No. 1 disciple, Generalissimo Mejia Victores, has a broader view. Not only did he meet with his defense minister counterparts from El Salvador and Honduras (and a representative of the U.S. Southern Command) immediately before launching the coup, but he also had some important testifying to do immediately afterward. Praising the U.S.’s current military activities in Central America, Mejia Victores said, “The United States is the only country that can help to combat the guerrillas in the region.” He also called Nicaragua’s Sandinista government “not only a threat to Guatemala but to the whole continent.” Now here is a disciple who refuses to see national boundaries as an obstacle to carrying out the Lord’s work.

But Mejia Victores’ greatest service to his Master may be the reported agreement he reached with El Salvador. It seems that the new Guatemalan regime

has agreed to train thousands of Salvadoran troops in the “beans and bullets” counter-insurgency program that has resulted in the massacre of 10,000 Indian peasants and created about a million refugees — while herding the remainder (those who are not suspected guerrilla supporters and who pledge to defend the regime) into “model villages,” formerly called “strategic hamlets” in the days of Vietnam. Mejia Victores and the rest of the army’s senior officers got their training in the late ‘60s when 1,000 U.S. Green Berets were doing the same thing in Guatemala that they did on a much larger scale in Southeast Asia, and they are quite willing to impart this catechism to troops from El Salvador, where “beans and bullets” goes under the name “national plan.” The Mexico City newspaper *Excelsior* reported that there will be more Green Berets sent to Guatemala to help carry out the training. In exchange, El Salvador will supply Guatemala with weapons and ammunition from its U.S.-supplied arsenal, thereby adding a new conduit for U.S. weaponry — along with Israel, Brazil, Argentina, etc. — to get around the U.S. “restrictions” on military aid to Guatemala. It looks like Roman Catholic Mejia Victores has been called to play an even bigger role than his born-again predecessor in the U.S. holy war in Central America. □

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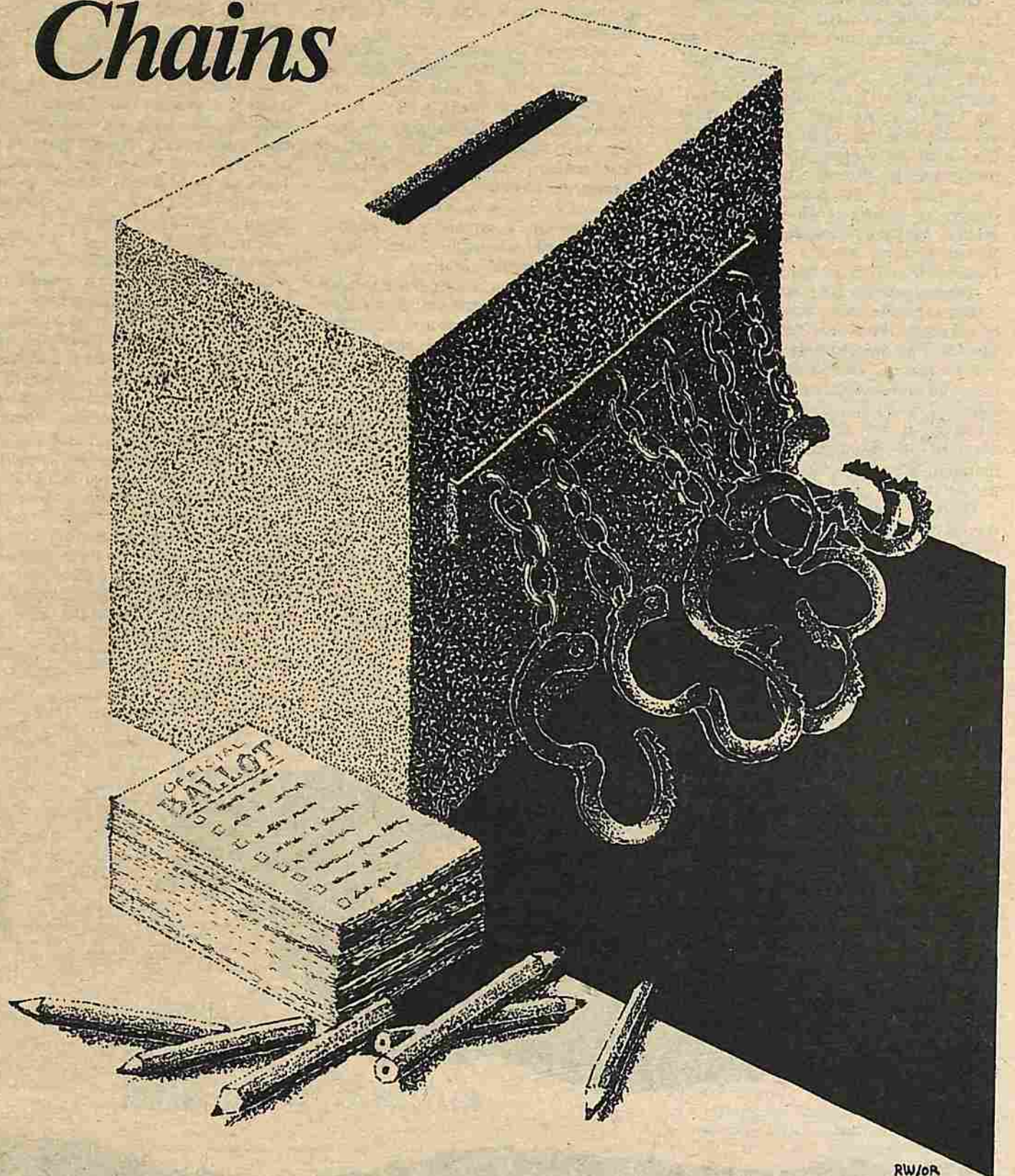
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The Black Candidacy

# Bids, Chips, Rocks — And Chains



RW/or

Ever since that fateful day some months ago when the "Black leadership family" sat down to consider the notion of a Black presidential "bid," even mere attempts to conceal the reasoning behind this "idea whose time has come" have been few and far between. It would be easy enough to survey frequent media commentary to arrive at the conclusion that some monstrous sham is afoot: rarely does there appear an account which is not laced with remarks akin to "...of course, no Black *could* ever hope to reach the White House."

But such a survey isn't necessary at all because the more farsighted "family" members that have come around to supporting the "Black candidate" idea — and their ranks, despite quarrels, appear to be growing daily — are themselves openly explaining the very same thing.

What gives here? Explained by Jesse Jackson and others — in fact, shamelessly advocated by them — has been the truth that in order to "bid," you've got to have a few "chips." Jackson in particular wants to change some rocks (that's what he calls Black people who haven't registered to vote — rocks) into chips. Asked by *U.S. News and World Report* if a Black candidacy might not "insure nomination of a more conservative Democrat," Jackson responded, "A Black candidate in the primaries will expand the party, not divide it. I think we will increase the number of registered voters from 10 million to 15 million." So Jackson's chips are the masses of Black people who are to be hustled onto the voting rolls over the next few months as they get on board his "freedom train," be

it out of illusion, desperation or both.

Oh! But this is *clout* and *leverage*, a product of the "Black political awakening" which has ushered in not only a Black mayor of Chicago, but maybe one in Philly, maybe one in Boston, and now, in the words of *Time* magazine, "...the ultimate embodiment of the American political ideal, an affirmation that every child of the nation, yes even a black one, can someday seek the presidency."

But the strategy — and the point of the whole fraud — has been right out in the open from the beginning. Leading into the primaries, the Black "candidate" will step out to arouse enthusiasm, excite interest (such as it is), etc., as a voice of, in Jackson's words, the "Coalition of the Rejected." A few million rocks are to be recruited in the process. Since Jackson has made it clear he won't campaign independently of the Democratic Party (because, as he said, that would be in the role of "a spoiler" — and Jesse *certainly* doesn't want to spoil anything!), come Democratic Party convention time, the Black "candidate" will yield to a Mondale, or a whatever (unless, for some reason, the Democrats decide they *want* to lose in '84). From that point through *election* time, we will witness the not-so-miraculous transformation of "run, Jesse, run" into "Vote Democratic!"

So where's the clout? Where's the leverage? Where's the entry onto "the '80s agenda" of the "powerful interests" of Black people? Where is all this if the present charade is to be reduced to the pitiful slogan "Mondale for President"?!?

Where is all this? Nowhere. What we have here instead is a perverse, reverse

kind of clout from that being advertised, where the petty careers and fortunes of Jackson and other "family" members — the Black bourgeoisie — are to be enhanced and rewarded based exactly on how much they succeed in dragging the masses of people into the bourgeois "political process."

The features of the trade-off will doubtless become apparent, maybe in coming months, certainly in coming years. It could well be that all the talk about "bargaining in the political arena" — talk which surrounds the "Black candidate" idea — may turn out to signal an agreement by the "family" to deliver over Black people not only to participation in the American voting booth, but to support for and participation in the American military, once the call for mobilization for war against the Soviet Union pops up on the "'80s agenda." Then it won't be Jesse Jackson or the Democratic Party cast in the position of the ultimate guarantor and protector of the interests of Black people — at that time protecting the interests of Black people will "depend" on one thing alone: U.S. victory.

Is that the trade-off? Is it for efforts in that direction that Jackson and family are being and will be rewarded? As Jackson announces he's heading off to Europe to "register the troops to vote" (and to get them to quit using drugs), it is worth recalling that this wouldn't be the first time these general class forces have played a similar role. In fact, it would be the *third* time.

Naturally, the Black "candidate" exudes a vision and promise of an America

which can substitute benevolence for bloodlust, compassion for parasitism, and comfort for catastrophe. Well, what else are they going to do? Promise the people more oppression and a nice imperialist war? Beneath the demagoguery, the talk of a Black "candidate," and all the attendant occurrences, is an international context — world relations and political developments which are approaching the point of explosion. Whatever else the future holds, peaceful times and the gradual improvement of conditions are most definitely *not* on the agenda for Black people.

Jesse Jackson is fond of repeatedly describing the motion involved behind the Black presidential "bid" as follows: "We can move from the slaveship to the championship! From the guttermost to the uppermost! From the outhouse to the courthouse! From the statehouse to the Whitehouse!"

But the reality of this logic is otherwise. Nobody's "going to the Whitehouse." If there's any "championship" to be won, or any "uppermost" slot to be filled, that distinction is to be conferred on a tiny number of people, like Jesse Jackson. For the masses of Black people, this system means that they are forced to stay in the gutter, subjected to misery and horror even in "normal times," enslaved to it, among other things, by the ballot box. As for the outhouse, no matter what happens in '84, a lot of Black people will still be moving from there over to the courthouse all right — and "from the courthouse," straight on over to the jailhouse, as usual!



# Hunger Strike Hounds Turkish Junta

On July 7, over 2000 political prisoners in four prisons in Istanbul, Turkey — Metris, Saltanahmet, Kabokoz, and Sagmalcilar — began a mass hunger strike which has erupted into the biggest prison protest to hit the military junta ruling Turkey since it came to power three years ago in a U.S.-backed coup. By the first week of August the number of hunger-striking prisoners had swelled to over 8000 as the protest spread to dungeons across Turkey, including prisons in Izmir, Ankara, Canakkale, Bartin, Corum, Antalya, Malatya and Diyarbakir in Turkish Kurdistan.

Although details are scant at this time, it seems that the strike was initiated by a broad range of political forces. Demands listed in their joint statement include an end to torture, repression, and executions; an end to isolation cells; rights to legal and family visits and to wear civilian clothing, as well as freedom to move about in the prison; reading and writing material, and full rights as political prisoners.

There has been an all but total blackout on this in the Turkish press. Also not surprisingly, this significant and widespread action, which throws a revealing and embarrassing spotlight on conditions in this U.S.-installed "democratic law and order" regime that forms the strategic

southern flank of NATO, has been conspicuously absent from the U.S. press altogether.

But reports of the hunger strike have filtered out of Turkey, mainly to relatives and friends of the strikers living as immigrant workers in West Germany. As of mid-August, at least five prisoners were said to have died, and several hundred have been hospitalized. Many hospitalized prisoners have defiantly refused treatment and been sent back to prison.

The military commander of Istanbul has ominously warned of "mass death" if the hunger strikes continue.

As before, when similar protests have swept through Turkey's vast network of civilian and military prisons, the ruling military authorities have responded with intensified repression in an attempt to crush the hunger strike and stifle growing support for it in Turkey and abroad. At least 29 members of a delegation representing the families of several hundred striking prisoners which had demanded a meeting with the head of the Turkish junta, General Evren, instead met with arrest themselves. A journalist who wrote a story about the hunger strike which appeared in the Turkish reactionary daily *Milliyet* was also arrested. (This may indicate some disagreements within the Turkish ruling classes.) Apparently

just a bit uptight about the political atmosphere generated by the strike, last week during a political trial in Ankara the martial law tribunal placed the courtroom on a "battlefield footing." While ambulances hover outside prison gates, inside loudspeakers punctuating the constant din of military music repeatedly blare the warning, "Even if you all die, we will agree to none of your demands." The screams of prisoners being tortured are often broadcast over loudspeakers aimed at the hunger strikers.

Since the September 1970 coup thousands of revolutionaries and other political opponents of the regime have been swept into Turkey's prisons under the pretext of the notorious "interrogation law." Once in the junta's clutches, new charges are discovered, and people are suddenly confined indefinitely as military prisoners — heads shaved, forced to wear prison clothing "pending trial" (conviction). Of course there are the standard "investigation" practices: 24 hour a day handcuffs, beatings, various forms of torture and murder. Prison authorities also often beat up prisoners' relatives when they come to visit. Another tactic by these apparently insecure authorities is to steal prisoners' defense documents, making it impossible to conduct their cases. At the same time,

the junta has attempted to ideologically "militarize" the prisoners through a daily regime of military salutes and marches to the tune of a constant loudspeaker barrage of propaganda extolling Turkish chauvinism ("Turkey for the Turks" — which means not for the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities) and the merits of martial law.

However, from their high-decibel loudspeakers to their torture chambers, the Turkish authorities and their Western imperialist employers seem to have failed remarkably at "winning back these prisoners who have erred," as one Turkish newspaper put it. As this strike has spread across Turkey and sparked widespread support there, it has ignited support hunger strikes and demonstrations among hundreds of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants as well as other progressive forces in cities throughout West Germany and in Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain and France, penetrating the Western bourgeois media blockade in parts of Europe at least, and exposing quite broadly why these Turkish prisons are a key focus of revolutionary struggle today in the larger prison that is Turkey itself. □

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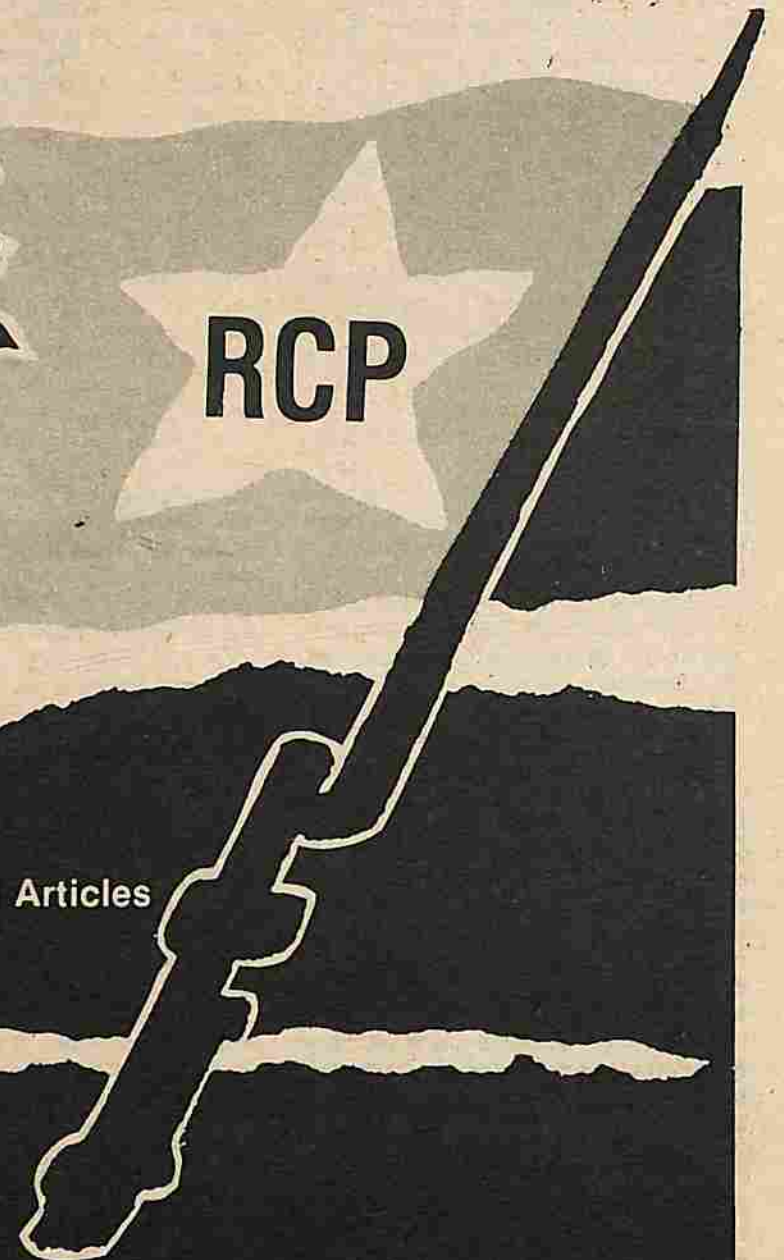
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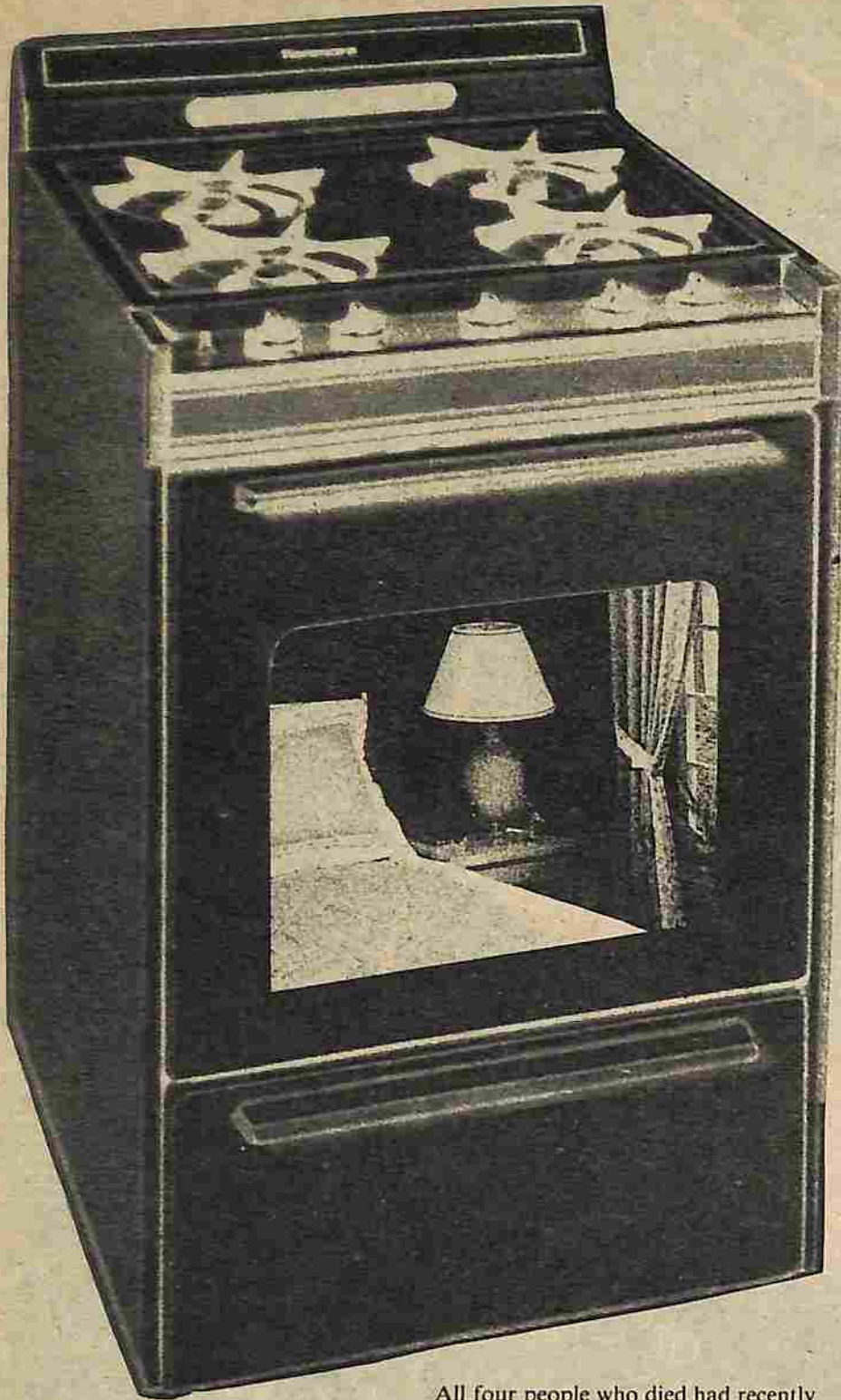
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Chicago

# Death By Heat and Certain Unnatural Causes



"The heat was incredible when I got here," said Claudette Johnson. "I would never bring anyone here. This could happen again." On Friday, July 22, she visited her aunt, Clarissa Hall, at a nursing home on Chicago's West Side, a Black community. Within hours Clarissa Hall and three other residents were dead, killed by heat which an official from the health department said was 105 degrees but was undoubtedly higher. All four people who died were Black and all the nursing home residents were on public aid.

This nursing home, the Center for Human Development, was opened in 1980 by the Christian Action Ministry (CAM), a coalition of seven Black churches which has also run anti-poverty programs on the West Side since the mid-1960s. That this was an institution owned and operated by "respectable" Black churches clearly didn't change the realities of national oppression. In fact, as it turned out, this situation only added a further mean twist to the coverup of the affair.

Nursing homes were once reserved mostly for people from the middle or upper classes who had access to retirement funds. But since the advent of Medicare and Medicaid the character of many nursing homes has changed. Paid out of proceeds from the state, a whole crop of them has grown up whose function is to warehouse the poor, especially older people from the oppressed nationalities. Here national oppression exists in concentrated dosages. Every aspect of life has been quantified, and boiled down to a relationship measured strictly in cash. In homes like the Center for Human Development something called the "time assessment system" is used in which every minute of "care" is computed in terms of future payments from the government. A person's bowel movements and ability to walk are calculated into allotted minutes of "care" and payments received. Many patients are simply strapped down to their beds and given heavy doses of mind-numbing drugs.

All four people who died had recently been transferred from Chicago hospitals to the home, three on the day before they were killed. It didn't really matter that both Clarissa Hall and Hugh Smith suffered from kidney failure, Lillian Giles from leukemia, and Della Byrd from high temperature and congested lungs. This is quite typical of most hospitals which either outright refuse to accept very sick people on public funding, or simply dump them out the door as soon as possible, despite many open beds. This is especially true of people with serious, long-term illnesses who are considered "unprofitable" at most hospitals. Nursing homes, on the other hand, compete for these patients since they are subsidized as the human dumping ground. As the chairman of CAM, Rev. Chetwyn Rodgers, put it, "We had to fill beds. We told doctors that we would take patients, any patients, even if they only had a day to live."

After entering, all had been put on the fourth floor, the hottest. Although the temperature outside reached 101 degrees that Friday and the airconditioning was broken (except in the administration offices where it worked fine), no special precautions were taken for the heat. Not only were the residents not given extra liquids or frequent sponge baths, the nursing home actually had fans turned off in rooms. "They don't give no reason," said Pearle Ware, 68, who lives there. "They just come in and cut it off." On their own, relatives and some other members of the staff brought in ice from outside to try to cool off patients. Windows, however, could not be opened more than a few inches — a "safety measure" enforced by nursing home law "for the protection of the elderly."

People began dying before midnight on Friday, continuing into Saturday, and as this occurred the nursing home administration proceeded to fill out death certificates that completely falsified the cause of death. Mrs. Byrd, they said, had died of cervical cancer when actually her cervix had been removed years ago. Mr. Smith had died of arteriosclerosis, according to his death certificate, when his main medical problem before the heat

had been pneumonia. This finagling with official records presented no problem since it is common for nursing homes to keep blank death certificates signed by doctors on file, lacking only the grisly vital statistics to be typed in at the proper moment: i.e., death due to whatever reason is deemed appropriate by nursing home administrators.

After these deaths a massive evacuation of the remaining 200 residents was ordered by the city of Chicago. On a broiling hot day with temperatures again close to 100 degrees most were shipped on city buses. Slips of paper were attached to their backs listing their destination — much like the way a piece of meat is stamped during processing.

Immediately following the deaths, a furor was raised reaching all the way to the *NY Times* calling once again for "reform of the nursing home industry" and, in Chicago, piously advocating "closer monitoring" of the nursing homes. As a matter of fact, the Center of Human Development is an excellent example of the system working — working and killing people. No deteriorating rat-trap, this home was opened in 1980 according to new "strict" regulations passed by the state only a year earlier. It is to outward appearances a modern, efficient facility.

As for "closer monitoring" that wasn't exactly the problem, either. Health Dept. inspectors had visited the facility in May, finding sanitation and dietary problems, a lack of smoke detectors, holes in walls, fire extinguishers not working, roaches and mice all over the place. After paying a fine of a few hundred dollars and "promising" to correct these violations, the home was allowed to continue operations even though the violations had caused revocation of the home's license. During the entire six months leading up to the deaths, the air-conditioning unit remained out of order, but this was not raised as a problem by city inspectors — there is no law which requires airconditioning, nor one to regulate temperature.

Most damning of all, health inspectors on an annual inspection were in the building all day on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the three days leading up to the deaths. Why, with any closer monitoring of the situation, health department officials might have been sprinkling on the holy water and saying the last rites.

Concerning the health effects of the broken airconditioning — no problem. The maintenance company wasn't even called about it until 1 a.m. Saturday morning, after the first deaths. Nursing homes don't have to be airconditioned by law, nor does the temperature have to be kept below a certain maximum. In the 52-page report they wrote up following this "inspection" there was only one "Class A" (major) health department violation — the stifling heat was rated a "Class C" violation, the lowest category, considered a minor matter.

"It wouldn't have mattered if the health inspectors had been in there 50 times or two times," Carmelita Madison of the Illinois Citizens for Better Care told the *RW* concerning the all-day health department visits leading up to the deaths. "They still would not have put the pieces together and said that if this condition continues for another hour there will be a serious health problem.... The inspectors go in there to check the plant — the building. As far as

dealing with the residents and their conditions, that's not even part of their agenda."

It wasn't long before a blatant coverup began. After examining the bodies the Cook County Medical Examiner originally had ruled it a question of homicide and a grand jury investigation was opened by the State's Attorney. However, on August 4, he reversed himself, announcing that he reopened his investigation "based on new evidence." The nature of this new evidence? Immediately following the deaths a deputy health commissioner had announced that the temperature inside the nursing home at 9 a.m. Saturday morning was 105 degrees. But now it turned out there was no "proof" of this. Instead a health department memo written three days after the deaths said the temperature was only 86 degrees! But the official Weather Department temperature in Chicago on Friday, July 22, was 101 degrees and it had only cooled off to 92 degrees by 7 p.m. There were over 200 people inside those un-airconditioned rooms with windows that barely cracked open; the original autopsies showed heat damage, including bleeding attributed to heat, liver and enzyme changes. It probably still wouldn't have been proof enough if a health official had been standing over these people with a thermometer when they died.

How could this kind of murder of older Black people be going on in the city of Chicago — abetted and covered up by the city administration? After all, this is the city where Mayor Washington has been elected on a "reform program" and has a well-known "concern" for the basic conditions of the masses. Both the acting commissioner of health and the deputy commissioner are Washington appointees.

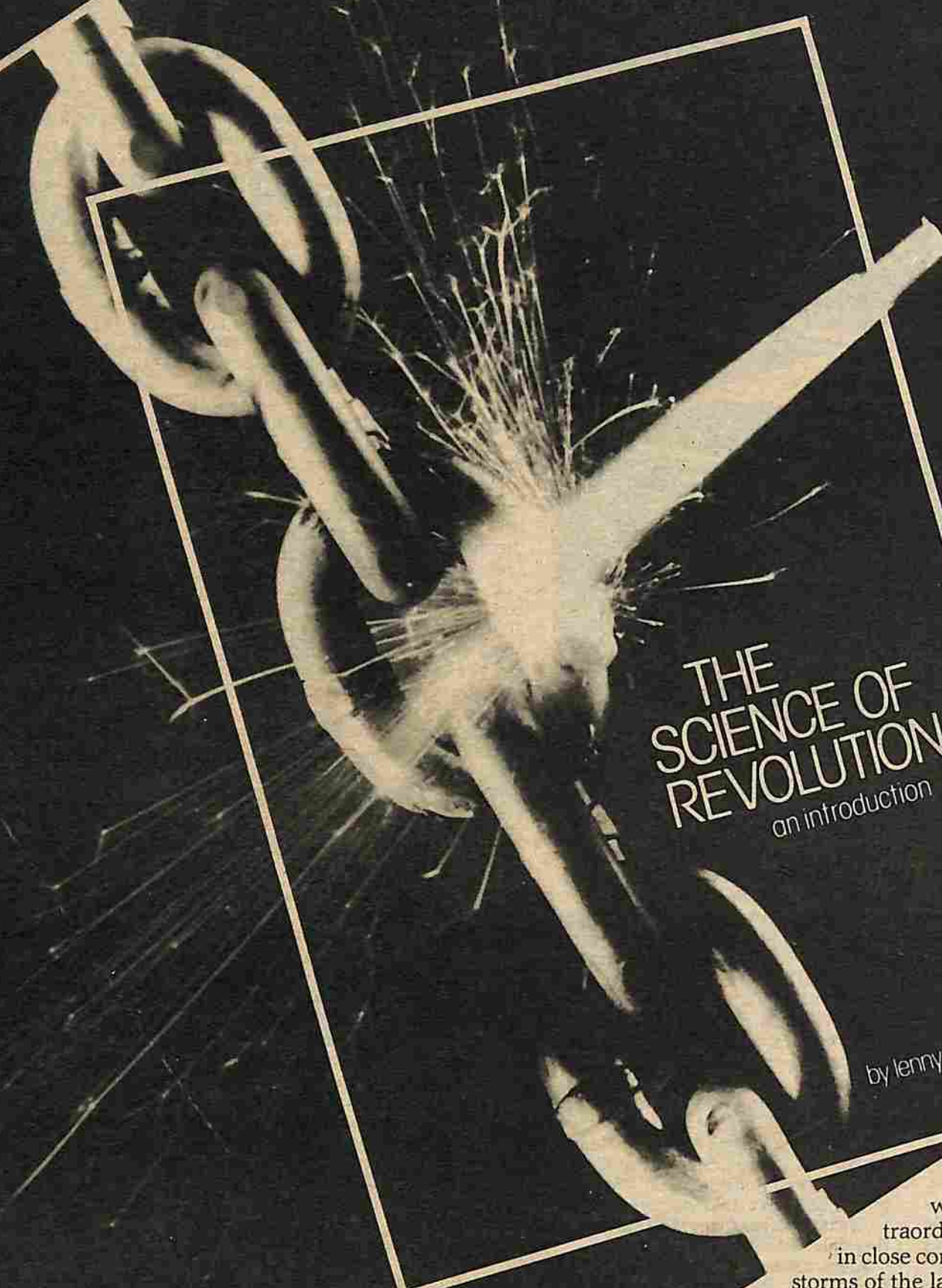
"There's no indication of a coverup," Chris Chandler, Mayor Washington's deputy press secretary, told the *RW*. Besides, the mayor had gone to the nursing home on July 23 to "express his concern" and oversee the evacuation. Any further questions, however, should be directed to the health department because the mayor "didn't get into the details" at the time of his visit and his press department had "no particular knowledge about this."

We also talked with Alderman Danny Davis, an important supporter of Mayor Washington and chairman of a "blue ribbon commission" designed to monitor patient care at the nursing home, which is in Davis' ward. Concerning the reopening of the medical examiner's "investigation" and the obvious coverup in the works, Davis said, "I think that's an indication that until there is a thorough hearing it's difficult to know exactly what took place. You'd have to know exactly what the circumstances were." This, of course, is the same justification given by the medical examiner for reversing himself. And so, despite visits by the concerned mayor and denials of a coverup, the medical examiner's re-examination continues and clearly grinds toward a whitewash of the murders.

It seems apparent that the city administration doesn't want to step on toes here, especially not those of respectable Black clerical businessmen on the West Side who represent an important part of its political base. But what may be good politics for the new mayor remains for the oppressed masses nothing but the same vicious system. □



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



## THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

an introduction

by lenny wolff

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## Tina Fishman Case

# In the "Best Interests" of Reaction

For those who have followed the kidnapping case of RCP supporter Tina Fishman's daughter over the last two years, the phrase "in the best interests of the child" has become a set of code words for the latest vindictive attack or reactionary ruling. But the strategy now being pursued to uphold the kidnapping of Riva Fishman and grant final custody to ex-husband Ted represents the most cynical maneuverings in the name of "the best interests of the child" to date. Seizing upon the extremely distraught behavior Riva has displayed since beginning visitation with Tina on August 3, Ted's argument for temporary and permanent custody, filed before the Illinois courts on August 8, presents a supposedly simple, open and shut case: a) the child hates her mother, b) she is happy with her father, and therefore, c) it is in her best interests to remain in her father's custody.

This document claims that Ted's home has affected Riva's "best interest in a positive and constructive fashion." Various judges in the case have agreed completely and have nothing but praise for the environment offered by Ted, a Zionist and physicist employed by Lockheed. Tina, by contrast, was described by one black-robed guardian of American morality, Judge Ragan, as an undesirable parent because she is "doctrinaire" and has a "fanatical obsession with a political cause."

But the distraught behavior of Riva is thanks not to her relationship with her mother, but precisely to the tutelage of her father, his wife, and their advisors. Over the last two years this all-American family has managed to produce a 180 degree transformation in a child who, while facing all the contradictions that any 10-year-old with divorced parents is confronted with, was basically well-adjusted to her situation and her family life with her mother, while maintaining visitation with her father. This has been attested to in numerous affidavits by Riva's friends, neighbors, her teachers and her babysitter. So when the recent visitation with Tina began, those who have known Riva during the 10 years she was under Tina's care were quite dismayed and shocked at her behavior.

Since her arrival in Chicago, the child has been in a disturbed state of mind. Starting with a temper tantrum as soon as she got off the airplane, Riva locked herself into the bathroom for ten minutes and then attempted to strike Tina. Two days later she threw two more tantrums. After receiving phone calls from Ted and his wife Harriet in California, Riva first began throwing china on the floor; during the second tantrum she leaned out the window yelling, "Help, help, police!" When the police arrived she said Tina had abused her physically, echoing the false charges made by Ted in his petition for custody. After talking with Riva privately and finding no indication of abuse, the cops left. The next day Riva ran away to the police station near the house. Again hurling baseless charges against Tina, such as that she had been physically abused, she refused to return home and was placed in a foster home as permitted under Illinois law.

In the December, 1982 decision of the California Superior Court, Judge Ragan wrote that Ted provides a "stable, safe, religious and orderly environment in an attractive, comfortable, community" for Riva. Peace, tranquility and a house in the suburbs — the American dream! But we see some of the nightmare that is the American dream emerging in this case. There is Ted, for instance, a shining example of paternal behavior who, in the midst of a custody battle, attempts to win by inciting hatred against the child's mother. Hysterics are fine, if aimed at the proper target. What an example of the exploitative nature of the property relations that are reproduced within the family,

with the father playing the role of the bourgeois.

## Role of the State

Of course, the rift that has been produced between Tina and her daughter has been pried open — at every possible juncture — and would have been impossible to establish in the first place — without the aid and assistance of the bourgeois state. In this light, it is interesting to note that the California courts had originally granted temporary custody to Ted based on Tina's status as a Mao Tsetung Defendant as part of an overall attack on the RCP. Prior to this Ted had twice filed for custody and was turned down by the courts. In fact, the very same California courts which accepted and granted Ted's petition for temporary custody in 1981, as the Mao Defendants battle was intensifying, had thrown out Ted's 1976 petition for custody on the grounds that the California courts had no jurisdiction over the matter. In 1977 the courts of the state of Indiana, where Tina then resided, found a "good interaction" between Tina and her daughter and, furthermore, stated that Ted and Harriet had irresponsibly "programmed" Riva to memorize certain lines stating that she did not want to return to Indiana after visiting Ted.

After a tremendous amount of political exposure of this case, the California courts themselves were forced to admit in Judge Ragan's ruling that Ted had basically executed an illegal kidnapping. But did Ragan then follow through and return custody of Tina's daughter? Hardly. Instead he extended the kidnapping for six more months under the guise of allowing for a period of "gradual adjustment" between Tina and Riva. Of course there is no doubt that the real purpose of this unprecedented move was to exacerbate the difficulties of reconciliation between mother and daughter while in the meantime Riva remained under the intense influence of her father and stepmother.

Ragan himself admitted that he "stretched the law" in December, 1982 when he extended the kidnapping; however, this did not stop him from once more extending it for another 30 days last June 28. This was done in total contradiction to his own ruling of a week before when he said that California did not have jurisdiction over the case and there was no legal basis to extend Ted's custody. On August 11, in a very significant decision, the California State Supreme Court denied without comment a writ challenging Ragan's most recent decision. The writ, exposing the chain of decisions that led up to the 30-day extension, zeroed in on the illegal basis for the entire kidnapping. This rubber stamp for the last two years of Ted's custody underscores the government's determination to set a legal and political precedent to not only uphold this kidnapping, but to further encode the persecution of women who depart from the traditional role of wife and childbearer.

The most recent of a long series of actions by the state aimed at hindering readjustment between Tina and Riva is Chicago Judge Jorzak's August 8 ruling that Riva be appointed her "own" lawyer to represent her "best interests" in court. This motion, brought before the court by Ted immediately after the airport tantrum incident, had already been granted in California. Besides the political point being made here that Tina is incapable of acting in Riva's interest, the attorney is a direct channel for the state to influence the child.

After two years of the state upholding the illegal kidnapping of Riva, after two years in which Ted and his model family have had the opportunity to manipulate this child in the most cynical and calculated fashion — now after two years the distraught and disturbed behavior all

this has inevitably induced in Riva is being used as the proof that it is in her "best interests" to remain in the custody of her father.

On Thursday, August 18, Ted will move that Judge Jorzak hear his arguments, although Tina's lawyers will demand a full custody hearing. The fact that the main arguments for a change of custody are being based on the desperate and sick manipulation of a child is an indictment of the reactionary forces at work in this case. At the same time, though, it is an indication that things have not gone well for them in this case. What started out as a seemingly express railroad, with the California courts willingly snatching Tina's daughter away from her

and granting custody to Ted, has not turned out to be such an easy matter to finalize. It has been repeatedly exposed and involved outrage far and wide. Their raggedy legal machinations have hardly covered up the political nature of this kidnapping.

\* \* \* \*

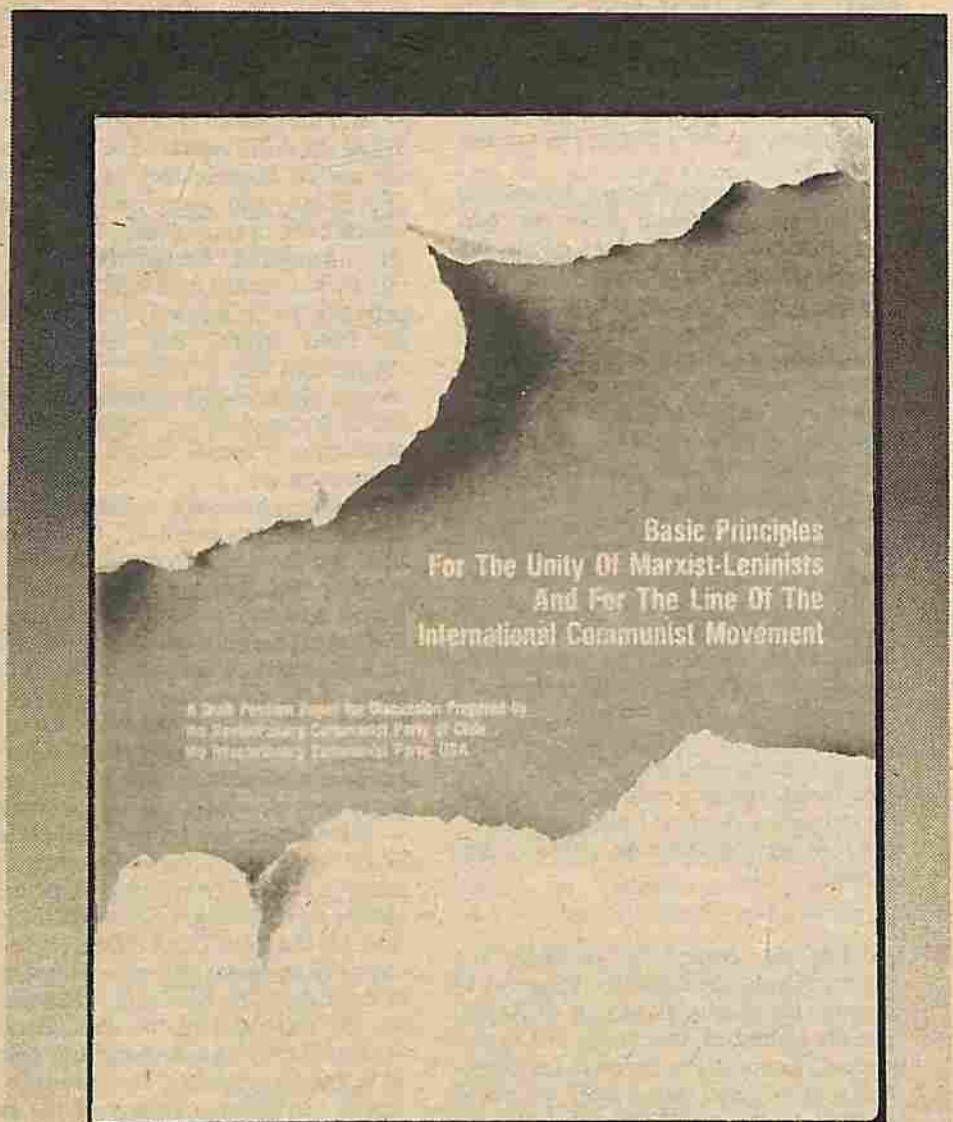
*As we go to press, Judge Jorzak declined to set a date for a custody hearing. Insisting that he could not move on the case until a psychiatric evaluation of Riva has been performed, he set the next court date for a status hearing only on September 1. Future developments will be reported in the RW.* □

*This statement was read at a recent press conference on July 15th in Redwood City, Ca., and forwarded to the RW by the Committee Against the Kidnapping of Tina Fishman's Daughter. The statement was issued by the Berkeley Feminist Alliance.*

The Berkeley Feminist Alliance denounces the kidnapping and brainwashing of Riva Fishman by her biological father and the California judicial system. Riva's drastic change in temperament and attitude toward her mother could not have been caused by Tina. Ted has been previously reprimanded by the courts for instilling hatred in his children; obviously this represents a vicious psychological game in which the child is the victim, more so than Tina.

We demand that the 2-year political kidnapping stop. Riva should be returned to her mother to start to repair the damage created by her present environment. We demand that the court review the outrageous performance of Judge Ragan, and stop the gross injustice he perpetrates.

We join with women internationally in support of Tina Fishman's struggle to be a mother and a political activist. □



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

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On August 27th, an event which Malcolm X once characterized as a circus led by clowns will be commemorated. The New Coalition of Conscience — initiated by some prominent bourgeois Black political figures, including Coretta Scott King, Joseph Lowry of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, and Congressman Walter Fauntroy — has called for a March on Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1963 march on Washington. In view of this upcoming commemorative event, it is worthwhile to look into the 1963 march — what it was and what it aimed to accomplish, since it is unfortunately the case that the revolutionary wit and overall correct assessment of that event captured by Malcolm X does not enjoy much popularity in certain circles these days. But before getting into that, since all such commemorative events invite comparison, it is worth noting briefly the differences between these two events.

The 1963 march occurred in a period of upsurge in the struggle of the Black people against national oppression. Initially the idea for the march took hold more or less spontaneously as a powerful protest against this oppression. But by the time it occurred, its character had been dramatically changed. Orchestrated, financed and politically supported at the highest ranks of the U.S. ruling class and tightly controlled by various "respectable Black leaders" the 1963 march was an attempt to head off the protest and rebellion of the masses of Black people and divert it into "acceptable" channels.

Today, there is not the kind of revolutionary upsurge which developed in the '60s, but as Marx pointed out, the important thing is not the immediate circumstances or what the masses may be doing or thinking at a particular time, but what they will be compelled to do by the development of the contradictions in the world. This is of no small concern to all classes, from their different points of view. In this light, it can be seen that the 1983 commemorative march is more of a question of preparation than immediate diversion. This march is an attempt by some elements of the Black bourgeoisie in unity with various other forces to plant their pole and program today and rally a section of the Black people and other social forces, as the political clout of this programme.

This "preparation" occurs in a context which is also different from the '60s, when the big contradictions of the imperialist system did not come to a head, and when the U.S. imperialists were not facing the kind of profound crisis which is currently gripping the imperialist economy and both imperialist blocs and which can not be resolved short of a revision of the world through war. This preparation/commemoration march is coming at a time when what is on the agenda is exactly the kind of world historic conjuncture when the major contradictions of the imperialist system are brought to a head, and when the possibilities for revolutionary advances, including the possibility of revolution in the U.S. are very favorable for the international proletariat.

For certain bourgeois forces, organizing this commemorative march is indicative of their own preparations for this period; and if the first time was a circus, can the second time be anything but worse?

"The huge assemblage of Negro and white citizens in Washington yesterday to demand equality in all aspects of American life embodied, in concept and in execution, the noblest tradition of our democracy. It reflected their conviction that if enough of the people demonstrate that they care enough, no force in the United States is more powerful than an appeal to conscience and to basic morality."

—New York Times editorial, "Equality is Their Right," August 29, 1963

"It was that 'Farce on Washington,' I call it. . . ."

"The morning of the March, any rickety carloads of angry, dusty, sweating small-town Negroes would have gotten lost among the chartered jet planes, railroad cars, and air-conditioned buses. What originally was planned to be an angry riptide, one English newspaper

aptly described now as 'the gentle flood' . . . .

"Yes, I was there. I observed that circus. Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We Shall Overcome . . . Suum Day . . .' while tripping and swaying along arm in arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I Have a Dream' speeches?"

"And the Black masses in America were — and still are — having a nightmare. . . ."

"The very fact that millions, black and white, believed in this monumental farce is another example of how much this country goes in for the surface glossing over, the escape ruse, surfaces, instead of truly dealing with its deep rooted problems."

The Autobiography of Malcolm X, pp. 278-281

Two radically different perspectives on the 1963 March on Washington, and each, in its own way, providing an indication of the nature and content of that demonstration. On August 28, 1963 more than a quarter of a million people, mainly Black but including a large number of white people, marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial in what was described by the March organizers and the imperialist press as a "living petition" to "their government" around the issue of civil rights legislation. While these thousands of people came to the march because they hated national oppression, and many had prepared to march even in face of dangerous attacks and opposition, behind the scenes the march was turned into little more than a pep rally for the Kennedy administration, its Civil Rights Bill, and for the "American Way of Life." "We march to redress old grievances and to help resolve an American crisis . . ." declared the final organizing manual issued before the demonstration.

Today, some argue that the 1963 March was "progressive," that it somehow represented a tremendous step forward in the struggle of the masses of Black people. Interestingly enough, in 1963 these forces would have been aligned with some of the most powerful sections of the ruling class, whose very system gives rise to and thrives on the brutal oppression of Black people and other oppressed nationalities. All of the major press gave glowing accounts of the march — filled with praise for the "orderliness" and "discipline" of the demonstrators and for the "church picnic" type atmosphere surrounding it. The August 29 edition of the *New York Times* gave it a chunk of the front page plus six full pages of coverage. The *Washington Post* devoted 19 full pages to the demonstration without a trace of a disparaging comment to be found anywhere. The television networks carried live coverage of the entire demonstration, giving the march an air of what the *Washington Post* referred to as a "National Ceremony."

Nelson Rockefeller, then Governor of New York and a man hated throughout the world as a living symbol of U.S. imperialism, sent the march a telegram of support, stating that it was a "truly historic event," and declared that August 28 was "Justice and Equality Day" in New York. Senator Jacob Javits described the march as "an unforgettable demonstration, dignified, extraordinarily disciplined and intensely patriotic." New York City's Mayor Wagner, one of a number of mayors throughout the country who

On the 1963 March On Washington

# COMMEMORATE



offered city employees a day off to attend the march, characterized it as "an all-American demonstration." The very next day after the march, Wagner returned to New York and called out the police to evict civil rights demonstrators from his office.

But most touching of all was the statement issued by John F. Kennedy, then president of the U.S. and the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism's attacks on national liberation movements around the world at the time. One of the main movers behind the march, Kennedy declared that the demonstration had "advanced the cause of 20 million Negroes," and, contrasting it to the wars and demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in other parts of the world going on then, Kennedy praised the "deep fervor and quiet dignity" of the march. He also praised the marchers for demonstrating "their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government."

There were also those who stood in opposition to this march for varying reasons, including revolutionary nationalism. Most notable among these was Malcolm X. Not surprisingly, these forces received little, if any, coverage and recognition in the press. In its coverage of the demonstration the *New York Times* almost mockingly reported that on the day of the march Malcolm stayed in a D.C. hotel where he held an all-day press conference denouncing the march as "seeking favors from the white man's government." An editorial in the Black Muslim newspaper, *Muhammed Speaks*, on September 13, 1963 also criticized the march, summing it up as follows. "What was new in the appeals and pleas and what was new in the response? Actually, the begging requests set forth at the cold feet of the ruling white autocracy were the same placid, passive requests placed again and again for all too many years. That is: to be included somehow in the 'American way of life' when that way of life has been made unmistakably clear for the last 400 years as based solidly on white supremacy and on the slave status of Black peoples regardless of the tokens of integration thrown out for occasional appeasement."

And, there were also some who, like

the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), didn't totally support the politics of the march (although this was contradictory) but participated in it anyway. SNCC was an organization formed in 1960 off of the developing struggle of the masses of Black people particularly in the South and was composed mainly of Black students and youth (although in its early days it also included some white students and youth). SNCC originally upheld the philosophy of non-violence, although as it developed, it did so in a direction opposite to that of King and more towards revolutionary nationalism. SNCC became known as the "shock troops" of the movement — leading and organizing the battle against national oppression in some of the most backward and brutal areas of the South. By 1963 SNCC had already begun to challenge the role, methods and goals of the Black bourgeois leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. SNCC participated in the 1963 March in part because they saw it as an attempt to combat their "isolation" within the Civil Rights Movement and in part because it promised to be the largest mobilization of Black people thus far. Although SNCC participated in the march organizationally, even giving one of the main speeches (which was censored before it was delivered — more on this later), many of its members were very ambivalent about it.

By and large it was the imperialist ruling class, together with the Black bourgeois leaders, who most loudly praised and upheld the march. And, they had every right to since it was the hands of the ruling class, working jointly with the major civil rights "leaders," that shaped and molded the march from its original co-optation to the event itself. It was a task born of some very pressing necessity.

"If You Can't Head It Off, Head It Up"

A period of tremendous upsurge in the struggle of the masses of Black people against national oppression was in process. It has been estimated that in 1963 there were 930 demonstrations in 115 cities in 11 Southern states. More than 20,000 people had been arrested and at least 10 people had been killed in that year



# ION OF A CIRCUS



JFK with the "Big Six" plus four.

alone. This upsurge was closely linked with some important changes in the situation of the masses of Black people in the years following World War 2. In the wake of the U.S. top-dog position among the imperialist countries following World War 2, southern agriculture was mechanized and the plantation system which had given rise to legal segregation began to come to an end. The majority of the Black nation found themselves transformed from sharecroppers to proletarians, freed from the land, but not from the chains of national oppression and exploitation. At a time when U.S. society as a whole was in a period of relative prosperity, and when in Africa and elsewhere there was a big upsurge in the national liberation movements, the discrimination and oppression facing the Black people stood out starkly. A new mood was arising.

For their part, the U.S. imperialists were faced with a situation where not only was the systematic segregation which was important to them in maintaining the national oppression of Black people being challenged, but this was also in contradiction to their ability to carry out neo-colonialism in the guise of a democratic anti-colonial power. On the one hand the U.S. imperialists were forced to make small concessions in order to maintain their system of oppression here and abroad, and on the other hand a significant number of Black people found themselves increasingly in antagonistic contradiction with this system. The character of the struggle of Black people in the U.S. had begun to change. Significant sections of people had begun to look beyond the local authorities in the South and to see the federal government, and in a beginning sense the system, as the source of national oppression.

Non-violence and reliance on the courts and legislation, which had been promoted by the traditional civil rights "leaders" and organizations, had begun to give way to open confrontation and rebellion. In Birmingham, Alabama, massive demonstrations organized by the SCLC and Martin Luther King, Jr. were brutally attacked by police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses. King's headquarters and the home of his brothers

were bombed. And the masses of people exploded, hurling bricks and bottles at the police and burning down white-owned buildings. The rebellion was only stopped through the efforts of King and the SCLC and the dispatching of federal troops to Birmingham by Kennedy. The Birmingham rebellion was preceded by rebellion in Albany, Georgia less than a year earlier and followed by near-rebellion in Jackson, Mississippi after the funeral of the assassinated NAACP organizer Medgar Evers. The events in these three cities were only the most explosive of a whole series of similar outbreaks and struggles all over the South,

out. When the rebellion continued, King and Ralph Abernathy, another SCLC leader, formed the "pool-room pilgrimage" — visits to local pool rooms where King & Co. attempted to cool out those who were not part of their "non-violent army." And, in the midst of all this, these various leaders and organizations had begun attacking and blaming each other for the "troubles" of the movement. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP was particularly adept at this — attacking SNCC, King and the SCLC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) for constantly getting arrested and grabbing the limelight while the NAACP got stuck with the court cases and costs.

This was the situation that prompted the ruling class to act. In June of 1963 Kennedy, who just a few months earlier had stated that he would not introduce any civil rights legislation that year, quickly introduced such legislation into Congress. This legislation focused mainly on desegregating public accommodations, which by that time was, as Black historian Vincent Harding put it in *The Other American Revolution*, "an arena of struggle that many Blacks had already passed by." As far as voting and voter registration was concerned, the legislation offered little more than a few nice-sounding phrases; while it "guaranteed the right" to vote and register, it contained no provisions for enforcement — that is, outside of the court system which was dominated by long-time segregationists, many of whom were appointed as judges by Kennedy himself. The fact that even many of the most conservative civil rights leaders, those who most vehemently backed the legislation, admitted that the legislation was "moderate" was indicative of what the content of the Civil Rights Bill was, and only served to underline the real reasons for their support of it. The whole process that was used to introduce this legislation was itself a reflection of all this. Instead of using other quicker options open to him, Kennedy

"When they found out that this Black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"

Malcolm X

and beyond this, the struggle had also begun to spread to the Northern ghettos.

Within all this, it had also begun to become clear that the movement was quickly outstripping those established and conservative civil rights "leaders" and organizations that were supposed to be leading it. In Birmingham, as the masses of people rebelled, King was scurrying back and forth in negotiations with the Kennedy administration and local authorities in hopes of cooling the situation

chose to introduce the legislation into Congress — which would allow a good old democratic debate as to whether or not Black people should have any say at all in the election of their oppressors, while the Black masses were called upon to support Kennedy. Actually, it wasn't until 1964 that the Civil Rights Bill was passed and 1965 that the Voting Rights Act was written into law — both of which were again more a response to the intensification of the struggle, especially the

urban rebellions.

In a statement accompanying the introduction of this legislation Kennedy cautioned Black people against taking up violence as a means of struggle. But the ruling class was still caught in quite a dilemma. While they had introduced civil rights legislation, they still faced the task of diverting the focus and energy of the masses of Black people into a struggle for the passage of this legislation, and as a crucial part of this, uniting the "Respectable Negro Leaders" and attempting to re-establish their unquestioned leadership of the movement. Internationally the image of U.S. imperialism had taken quite a beating as pictures of the police dogs and fire hoses of Birmingham flashed around the world.

On June 22 Kennedy held a meeting at the White House with 30 white and Black civil rights "leaders," including Martin Luther King, Jr. and Roy Wilkins, with whom the president had had a private conference earlier in the day. Malcolm X described this meeting in a speech entitled "Message to the Grass Roots." According to Malcolm: "It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D.C., to death; I was there. When they found out that this Black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.' " To put it mildly, Malcolm's exposure on this point hit the nail on the head.

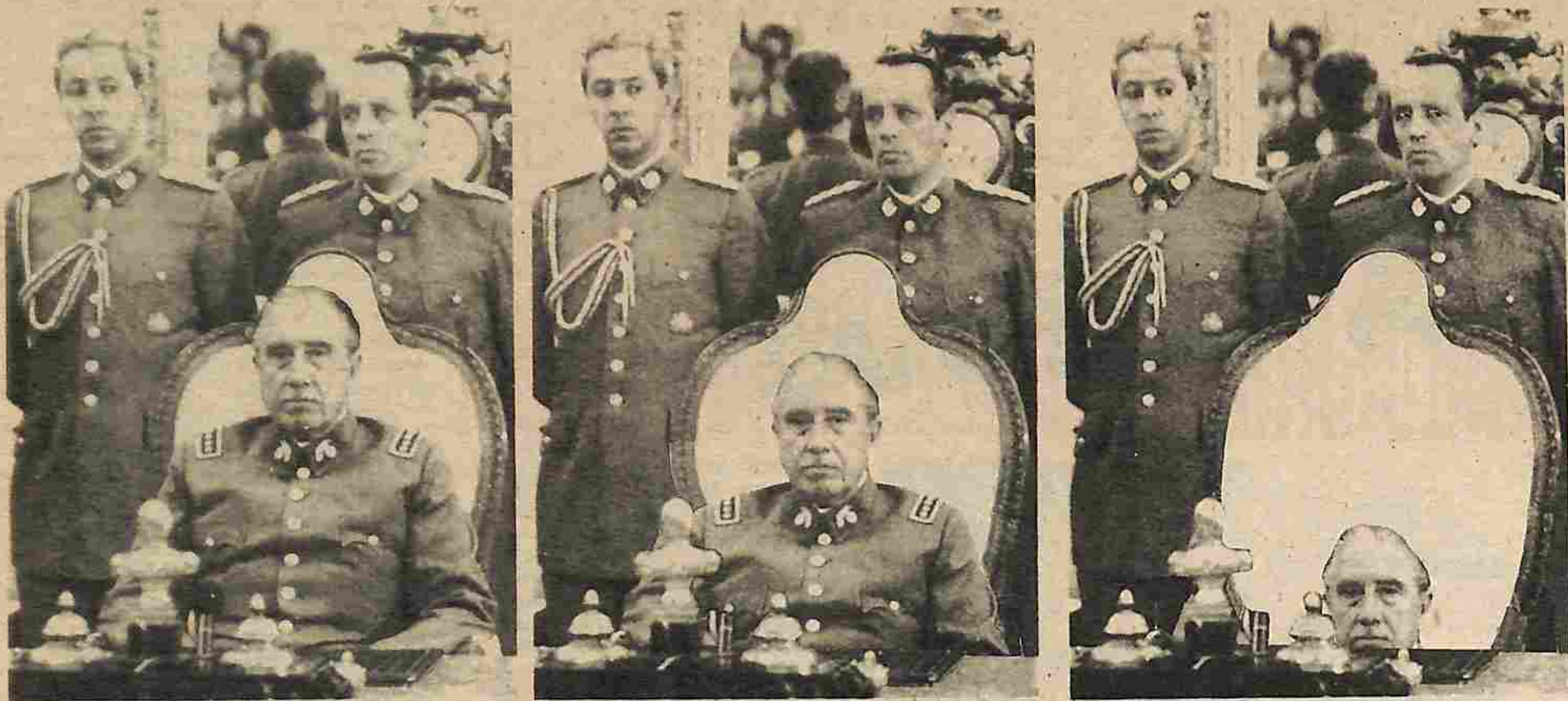
### The "Big 6"

In the spring of 1963 the idea of a massive march on Washington — with mass civil disobedience, including sit-ins, chain-ins and pickets at the Capitol and the White House being a major aspect of it — captured the imagination of Black people all over the country. Spontaneously the idea for a march was taking hold and growing rapidly. For some it was viewed as a way of forcing the federal government to put pressure on local segregationist authorities; for others it was a way of targeting the federal government as a source of oppression. When Kennedy called the June 22 conference, he initially urged the Civil Rights "leaders" not to march on Washington — a move which was motivated by the ruling class's fear that even a march under tight control was potentially too explosive. In response to this A. Philip Randolph, a Black "leader" with a long history of working with U.S. presidents to divert and suffocate the struggle of the masses of Black people, frankly stated that the Blacks were already in the streets and it would "very likely be impossible to get them off. If they are bound to be in the streets in any case, is it not better that they be led by organizations dedicated to civil rights and disciplined by struggle rather than to leave them to other leaders who care neither about civil rights nor about non-violence?" Using this unbeatable rationale, the Kennedy conference ended with the idea for a March on Washington being concretized, only now its character had been completely changed. Instead of a massive demonstration of defiance and determination, the march was now designated as a pressure tactic to nudge Congress around the Kennedy civil rights legislation. As King put it, the purpose of the march was to help the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill get through Congress. Upon emerging from his White House conference, King stated, "If there is a filibuster in Congress, we will have a nonviolent, peaceful demonstration in Washington."

All hints of the defiance which was originally associated with the march when it was an "unauthorized" idea among the masses of Black people were systematically and surely removed from the plans for the official demonstration. Any and all types of civil disobedience were outlawed in accordance with the demands of

Continued on page 14





## Chile

Continued from page 1

day holiday weekend after their Thursday of protest was over, the fighting continued all day Friday, Aug. 12, and well into Saturday as the burials of Thursday's victims sparked new battles. Hundreds of stone-throwing youth, massed within the walls of a cemetery, kept the armed forces at bay until a helicopter was brought in against them.

An indication of the extent of these outbursts is that fighting was reported not only in the capital city Santiago and the nearby port city of Valparaiso, but also in many other cities and towns, including the predominantly peasant regions of southern Chile and even the army town of Punta Arenas at Chile's Antarctic tip.

Twenty-four people were reported killed by the army, air force and police, four of them young children shot dead when police fired into homes in proletarian neighborhoods Thursday and Friday nights. About 1500 were arrested.

Yet despite the murderous gunfire aimed especially at the lower classes, the Pinochet government clearly understood that it also had to wield other weapons. It is common knowledge, including to Pinochet, that bets are being taken in many quarters on how Pinochet will leave office — feet first or head first! Under these circumstances, the junta finds itself limited in the number of corpses it can add to the 30,000 it accumulated in seizing and holding power. So, this regime, which according to its own statistics in 1977 alone arrested 1,112,667 people — 10% of the country's population — has now declared a "democratic opening."

To understand why, it's not necessary to read Pinochet's mind, but simply to read the *New York Times*, in an Aug. 16 editorial entitled "Repression in Chile: Lesson Two." "Repression cannot forever substitute for politics," the *Times* intoned. Lesson One was that the 1973 Pinochet coup was a success when "repressive force eliminated the most radical elements." Lesson Two is that "to respond in the same way to today's broad-based opposition risks an opposite effect, undermining the advocates of peaceful change and enhancing the appeal of the more radical alternatives."

Of course these advocates of "peaceful change," from Pinochet's junta to a Christian Democratic-dominated government, are the same people who organized Pinochet's violent coup in 1973 when that suited their interests — the U.S. and Chile's ruling classes. Just how much the question of massacres one day and bourgeois democracy another is a tactical question was made plain in a recent ruling by Chile's Supreme Court. Only one year ago, this court ruled that it was illegal to even question the junta's authorities about the whereabouts of the thousands of Chileans who've been made to "disappear" or the locations of the hidden torture centers where they've been taken. Now this same court has chosen itself a new chief justice, whose first act

was to receive a delegation of relatives of the "desaparecidos" and to declare that the "state of emergency" under which the country has been run for ten years is illegal.

Pinochet himself cleaned out a few generals from his cabinet and announced that henceforth it was going to be "civilianized." Brought in as the new Interior Minister, to be, in Pinochet's words, "the man of the democratic opening," was a well-known civilian indeed: Sergio Onofre Jarpa, the grand old man of Hitler-loving fascism in Chile.

This was more than just a display of the general's perverse sense of humor. Jarpa does historically have ties with small and medium businessmen who formed an important part of the social base for Pinochet's coup. While the Christian Democrats were organizing the "empty pot" marches against Allende among the women of professional and white collar families, Jarpa was organizing the openly fascist armed paramilitary units which often marched hidden by the surrounding phalanxes of housewives in order to spring out and provoke armed confrontations. After the coup, Onofre Jarpa's National Party and other civilian fascists became unnecessary and were edged out by the generals. Jarpa himself was sent to be ambassador to Argentina. Bringing back Onofre Jarpa now — at a time when the empty-pot marchers are marching against Pinochet — means trying to rebuild that earlier, successful alliance between the avowed fascists and Christian Democratic elements and the class forces they represent. (see *RW* No. 212)

With Pinochet's apparent backing, Jarpa has set out to rebuild this alliance with a vengeance. No sooner had he taken office than he was talking about speeding up the timetable for the scheduled 1990 elections and promising the prompt legalization of political parties. Basically Jarpa's "democratic opening" is an opening through which Pinochet can escape out of the box he has found himself in. Jarpa has hinted that his job is to broker a compromise at any price short of Pinochet's actual overthrow. Just how likely he is to be successful can be judged by the fact that at the same time Jarpa was humbly calling at the home of Santiago's new Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno Larrain to ask for "advice," the old archbishop Cardinal Silva Henríquez was telling associates that he had already bought a bottle of whisky to celebrate Pinochet's downfall. (Perhaps the cardinal had received the Word about divine intervention from up North.) Chile's Catholic Church and the Christian Democratic Party have long been different arms of the same animal.

From his exile in Brazil, retired Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, a Christian Democrat type who was a leading member of the junta until a few years ago, pronounced the following words: "Pinochet wants to die in power." This should be taken as the general's program, not a psychological observation.

### Chilean CP

Interestingly enough, the same thing

occurred to Chilean Communist Party representative in Mexico Eduardo Contreras, who told *People's World* in an interview published Aug. 6 that the U.S. no longer had any use for Pinochet and might kill him at any moment in the same way they terminated Diem in Vietnam. Apparently the revisionists are rather concerned about this possibility, because it might cut off their efforts to form a "true anti-fascist united front" which would split off some Christian Democratic elements from the die-hard pro-U.S. forces and rig up an "historic compromise" through which these pro-Soviet revisionists could gain an important foothold in the U.S. sphere of influence.

So far, the Democratic Alliance includes all the big bourgeois political parties in Chile, including Allende's Socialists, except the CP. This has certain advantages for the CP, since it allows them to disassociate themselves from some of the Alliance's ugly compromises and maneuvers while still supporting it in practice. But as Contreras points out in this interview, the Christian Democrats have to choose between die-hard pro-U.S. forces (such as Jarpa) and the CP, and the CP doesn't intend to let itself be cut out. Aiming his fire at Andres Zaldivar, head of the International Christian Democrats and a Chilean Christian Democrat particularly close to the U.S., Contreras said that Zaldivar "is a man of very changeable ideas" (i.e., that despite his long support for Pinochet he might come into the opposition) but that "if he is thinking of an answer for Chile 'a lá salvadoreña' — in which he plays the role of Napoleon Duarte and becomes the Christian Democratic president of Chile with the support of the armed forces — he'll run the same luck as Duarte."

The luck that Duarte ran was that after leading the pro-U.S. side of a split which ended in a big section of the Salvadoran Christian Democrats going over to the revisionist-led guerrillas, Duarte himself was later forced out of office (at least for now) by the avowed fascist D'Aubuisson. Translated, this is a two-edged threat: we the CP are going to split the Christian Democrats, and you will find that you can't have a Christian Democratic government without us. Or, as the revisionists might put it to Christian Democratic vacillators: it's either us or the D'Aubuissons and Jarpas of this world.

Ironically, probably the main thing keeping Pinochet in power right now is the fear within the U.S. ruling class that this kind of analysis might be right — that a Christian Democratic civilian government cannot survive without some CP support, and that this would give the pro-Soviet forces important leverage.

The problem with the "democratic opening" is that it goes both ways: it is a way out for the U.S. and its compradors and flunkies and a way in for pro-Soviet forces. None of the players in this drama have forgotten that before the coup, the CP was probably the single most important party in the country. Of the five parties now in the Democratic Alliance, the

Socialist Party was a close partner with the CP in the Allende government, which also included factions of each of the other four parties, including the Christian Democrats.

Continuing this same analogy, Contreras reiterated Chilean CP chief Luis Corvalán's threats to resort to arms to force the issue. "There is a real possibility of an El Salvador in Chile," said Contreras. Alliance head Valdés echoed these words himself: "Time is running out. If we do not lend an ear to the country's indignation and create channels for dialogue, we risk a repetition of what happened in Nicaragua and El Salvador." What "happened" — and is still happening — in these countries is that the question of an "historic compromise" and which bloc different Christian Democratic elements will go with is being decided to some degree by the force of arms.

Of course, the pro-Soviet revisionists can be considered a "radical alternative," as the *Times* does, only in the sense of seeking a radically pro-Soviet inroad into the U.S.'s sphere of influence. Although the Chilean CP has blustered about armed struggle for over a decade every time things have gone badly with the Christian Democrats, they still "don't advocate armed struggle today in Chile," as Contreras quotes Corvalán. While resorting to arms in one form or another is not at all out of the question for the revisionists, unleashing the masses' revolutionary initiative is, and they prefer to draw the masses into political life as little as possible to carry out their aims, in order not to throw up obstacles to their attempts to achieve a reactionary compromise with U.S. imperialism in the interests of advancing Soviet social-imperialism. After all, any "provisional government" which emerges without the armed overthrow of the junta can only be one acceptable in some way or another to the U.S. and Chile's ruling classes and to the armed forces which have served them faithfully through both democracy and fascism. Through whatever means, the CP's strategy is still to demonstrate to the U.S. that it can't rule Chile without them.

As the *New York Times* editorial puts it with unabashed cynicism, "What a sour paradox: General Pinochet, failing to recognize changed circumstances and persisting stubbornly in repression, risks leaving Chile in much the same state he found it 10 years ago."

What a sour paradox: 30,000 people dead and still the U.S. has no better grip on Chile than it did before, in a world situation which means even more is at stake than ten years ago.

The Democratic Alliance has announced that its Aug. 11 actions will be followed by a Fifth National Day of Protest a month later — which would put it on the tenth anniversary of the day the U.S. put Pinochet into power.

Pinochet, if he has any appetite at all, will probably have somebody else eat a bit of his cake beforehand in case the U.S. decides to sweeten up this "sour paradox" with a little something. □



# Precision Slaughter — LAPD Style

A *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* headline on August 10th read: "L.A. Shootout Biggest Since Days of SLA." While in reality, it wasn't a "shootout," the killing of four "Marielitos" — Cubans who came to the U.S. in the "Freedom Flotilla" three years ago — in one ambush does recall in some ways that infamous 1974 SLA (Symbionese Liberation Army) incident. Nine years ago on live national TV the LAPD, FBI, and others surrounded a house in the Black community in south central L.A. in which the SLA was hiding out. The police fired hundreds of rounds into the house, reargassed it, set it on fire and watched it burn to the ground — everyone inside was of course killed. It was a dramatic demonstration of the bottom line authority of the state and in particular a loaded message to the Black masses.

On August 9th three men entered a liquor store in Hollywood, and, armed with a single .22, robbed the store of \$90 and left, heading for the getaway car where a fourth man waited. As they left the store they were confronted by several pigs who had suddenly sprung from a van fully armed with shotguns and service revolvers. One man was chased into an alley where, according to the one non-police witness there, "There was a policeman in a taxi that was blocking the alley... I saw a muzzle flash coming from the passenger window... the guy got one complete buckshot pattern in the back. I watched him die." The police say this man was armed with a .357, which is the kind of weapon that tends to grab

one's attention; funny no one from the liquor store reported such a weapon being used in the robbery, funny apparently *no one* saw it but the cops.

A second man ran away down the street, he was cut down by seven .12 gauge shotgun rounds. This fusillade also brought down two unsuspecting joggers with leg wounds.

Two others fled in the car which they abandoned a mile away near the exclusive Wilshire Country Club. Fleeing on foot they were soon trapped by police against an apartment building garage gate. Trapped and unarmed there was nowhere for them to go — the pigs unloaded 11 rounds from shotguns and revolvers at point blank range killing both.

A fifth man was arrested near the liquor store. He was charged with being the driver of a second getaway car and with the *murder of his alleged friends* (based on a California law saying you can be charged with murder if someone dies during the course of a felony you commit, even if you have nothing to do with the death!).

The police were lauded throughout the media for this "precision raid." The vicious murders have gone unquestioned in the media, even the accidental shooting of the two joggers is accepted as a necessary risk. One *Herald-Examiner* article raises questions about these matters but only in order to dispel any doubts about the operation. Written by "a friend" on the opinion page, it summed up, "The police did what they had to do, and I'm glad they did it," and following

this ambush there has been a storm of news reports on the danger posed to America by the recent Cuban immigrants.

This "precision raid" was the culmination of two-and-a-half months of "stalking" these Cubans, police say. It was part of the work of the new Westside Major Crimes Violators Task Force. The Task Force combines cops from the LAPD and Sheriffs with several other police departments, the District Attorney's Office and even the UCLA police department in a program where they identify people they want to go after and then build up a case against them. They don't so much investigate crimes as they "investigate" people. After choosing a target for this operation they set up surveillance, sometimes even planting informants with the target individual or group. Thus, they had been watching this group of Cubans for two-and-a-half months and may have had an informant among the group. This explains how it is that police followed the Cubans to the liquor store and had a van full of cops and a helicopter overhead waiting in ambush.

There was one unmistakable message in all this — that while the LAPD may have been in the middle of much controversy over not just its spying apparatus but also over its cold-blooded killings, *its hands have never been tied*. This whole episode, from the ambush to the media applause, has been a blatant statement of the bottom-line organized force of the state. And it has a particular message directed at immigrants and especially the

recently arrived Cubans who the bourgeoisie views as especially volatile.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau there are 6,000 Cubans in the L.A. area but these are all Cubans who came to the U.S. shortly after the Cuban revolution. The Census Bureau has no figures for the Marielitos but police estimate the number to be only a few hundred. Most of the Marielitos live in the Damián García (nee MacArthur) Park area. One newspaper article following up the "shootout" has a photo of a tenement hotel in the park area and refers to it as, "A bleak preview of the Third World future of Los Angeles." Speaking of the Cubans it says, "They have blended into the Third World landscape of Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans whose haven from economic and political repression in their homelands has been turned into a criminal hell by the last-wave Cubans." Such sudden concern for Latin American immigrants! Of course, it has been the police, and the state generally, making L.A. a "criminal hell" for immigrant proletarians. Most recently there have been the repeated LAPD raids in the park area netting hundreds of arrests each time, mainly of Salvadorans, and which have included the blockading of streets and police sweeps through them. These raids, in the articles on the recent "shootout," have suddenly been transformed into "crackdowns on the Cuban criminals"! Truly there is no end to cynical justifications for the wielding of the full force of the state against *all* groups of immigrant proletarians. □

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To the RW:

I was sitting in the patient waiting room of a local dental college, appropriately bored, and started reading potential-job notices on a pin-up board. The notice I have enclosed for a dentist on Kwajalein caught my attention by its quite blatant advertisement of colonialist relations: privileges, scuba diving, tax shelters, modern dentistry for the "non-indigenous," and "certain emergency dental services for the indigenous."

But by a complete coincidence, when I glanced back down at the book I was reading, the very next pages were from an article by Alex Cockburn and James Ridgeway on the global impact of nuclear weapons systems, starting with a quick impression of... Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands:

"About five hundred miles north of the equator and nearly twice the distance (as the missile flies) from California to Hawaii is the atoll of Kwajalein. Some 90 islands covering five and a half square miles enclose a 900 square-mile lagoon.

"This lagoon lies at the heart of U.S. nuclear strategy: all the plans and scenarios for 'massive response' or 'counterforce' strikes against the Soviet Union rely on the testimony of Kwajalein lagoon, which is at the far end of the test range for land-based ICBMs launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

"The islands scattered along the boomerang-shaped curve of Kwajalein lagoon have a similar historical significance. In the dreadful experience of their inhabitants — even though spared the horrors of some other Marshall Islanders — is etched a living history of the postwar nuclear age.

"The islands were wrested from the Japanese by American troops in 1944, and subsequently employed as a testing site for A-bombs and later missiles. Beginning in the 1950s the military removed the native population from Kwajalein island, the largest and most populous of the island group. Inhabitants from Kwajalein and other tiny islets in the lagoon were made to live on Ebeye, where conditions soon became intolerable. There now are eight thousand people crammed into this hell hole of 65 acres. (Kwajalein island is 700 acres.) There is no grass, few trees. Roads are unpaved. There are no drains and the grey, muddy sand is covered with raw garbage and sewage. The drinking water must be imported weekly to a dock, and carried from there to homes and offices. Because of budget restrictions, there are no coffins to bury the dead. The shacks which serve as homes are so crowded that children sleep in shifts.

"Three quarters of a million cans of beer per year play their part in anesthetizing the inhabitants — half of whom are under 14 years of age — from their misery. Visitors report seeing ten-year-olds too drunk to walk and 11-year-olds working as prostitutes for the U.S. personnel on Kwajalein.

"Kwajalein by contrast is a pleasant place, with well manicured beaches, snack bars, a country club called the Kwaj Lodge, another called the Yukway

# A Glance at "Services" America Gives "The Indigenous"



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"A few hundred people from Ebeye are permitted to come to work in low-level jobs at the base or as domestics for American families. Even when they are educated in the U.S., Marshall Islanders who come back to Kwajalein atoll are not allowed to work at anything but low-level jobs; they are prohibited from living on Kwajalein island; they are searched whenever they enter or leave it; the food which they can buy cheaply in the commissary or snack bar on Kwa-

jalein Island is confiscated when they leave; and when an American marries a Marshall Islander, the couple is not allowed to live on Kwajalein, but must go to Ebeye or elsewhere.

"In sum, the situation is virtual apartheid.

"The relationship between Kwajalein and Ebeye is well evoked by the following account of Dr. William Vitarelli, former trust territory liaison officer for Ebeye. During an epidemic of gastroenteritis, he testifies, 'the Ebeye

hospital ran out of intravenous fluids needed to sustain the lives of the Marshallese children, severely dehydrated from profuse vomiting and diarrhea. I took one Marshallese child who was very ill and put her on a skiff, and motored four miles to Kwajalein where the Americans live. We also needed to borrow some intravenous solution to take back to Ebeye.

"We were stopped at the beach by an American guard who would not let the child enter the island... She was Marshallese. The Marshallese nurse pleaded with the guard that the child was dying, and she could not receive appropriate therapy on Ebeye. The guard did not permit the child onto the island. She died on her way back to Ebeye... I went to the Kwajalein hospital. There I met with an American M.D. and asked for the intravenous fluid that we needed. He also refused my request. I then went to the medical warehouse in Kwajalein and stole several cases of intravenous fluid and took them back to Ebeye."

"Since the days of the Titan II, the Vandenberg/Kwajalein test range has been the only such facility for the Air Force's land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. Every few weeks or months, a missile will arc above the atmosphere on its east-west trajectory, and then plunge down into the lagoon. From the test results are constructed the data which are the currency of nuclear 'deterrence' and 'war-fighting' plans. Thus, when a nuclear strategist refers to the CEP (circular error probable) of a Minuteman III with MK 12A warhead as being .1 of a nautical mile, he is saying that half the warheads from that missile will fall within a radius of 200 yards, with an alleged 70 percent 'probability' of 'busting' a Soviet missile silo. These entirely hypothetical figures are all derived from the evidence of the test range and the lagoon.

"What happens is this: the missile is fired and its course and the performance of its onboard instruments are monitored. The missiles then drop into Kwajalein lagoon after their 5,000-mile flight at varying distances — closely measured and held in deepest secrecy — from the target beacon. This process is regarded as ideal testing for a 'real war' situation."

After reading those pages (excerpted above) I suppose that in a place like Kwajalein it is hard for them to obscure that their civilization, with all its privileges and amenities, everywhere rests on the oppression of "the indigenous" and on the feverish preparation for nuclear war. The very blatancy of the chauvinism in the dentistry advertisement must be a form of "prescreening" to insure that only personnel appreciative and supportive of the most grotesque reaction, get close to this valuable weapons site. I thought this might be interesting to you.

Imagine: "Global Associates," indeed! And if you read the fine print: "An Equal Opportunity Employer." How liberal, how democratic of them!

A reader

## Box Office Report on "Yöl"



I am a theatre worker and art student in the supposed "international" city of Atlanta where recently (after about a year of suggestions) we finally showed the Yilmaz Güney film "Yöl". For me, having the job of answering people's questions pertaining to whatever film we are showing, it was particularly entertaining to have a movie that I could believe in.

After the second day of working in the box office during Yöl I became aware of the fact that many people were coming back to the theatre for repeat performances. When I asked them why, their answers were many and varied: they were deeply moved by the individual characters' struggles to break free of the police state, the antiquated methods of the feudal system, and the ignorance within their own minds. Some people stated that they liked Yöl because it dealt with issues on a direct emotional level. Some people found in Yöl a real "mysticism of life" quality. But whatever the appeal, most people agreed that Yöl was very different from what one usually encounters at the cinema.

Güney's very personal approach to

the problems and overall struggle of his people make Yöl a much more emotionally gripping film than if he had submersed his ideology into ravings. It is the subtlety of Yöl, avoiding the usual bombastics of agitational propaganda, that elevate it to a higher plane of consciousness that we can safely call "art."

Yöl set precedents for many people while in Atlanta.

Yöl set a precedent for the artists here who are trying to find terms to express their progressive revolutionary ideas by offering them yet another possible creative approach. Yöl set a precedent by illustrating to a lot of the revolutionary-type artists that they are wrong for clinging to the elitist idea that "anything popular cannot be too revolutionary." (How soon they forget The Clash, still coming on strong.) And lastly, Yöl set a precedent for the skeptical Atlanta film community by exceeding the "expected sales forecasted" and thereby persuading the theatre owner into holding it over for a second "smash" week.

A reader



# Circus

Continued from page 9

Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League. The Coalition promised the ruling class that there would be no attempt at all to disrupt, or even picket, the federal government. Instead of disrupting Congress, a small delegation of "leaders" would be sent to visit with various senators and congressmen before the march — an idea proposed by then-vice president Johnson as being "the American Way." The conveners of the march issued a formal invitation to Congress to attend the march, "cordially requesting" their presence so that they might "hear their constituents." SNCC, some of whose members had just been indicted by the federal government for their activities in Albany, Georgia, proposed that the march include some kind of action at the Justice Department. This proposal was promptly squashed by the rest of the coalition. Apparently, even talking about the possibility of civil disobedience was ruled out of bounds. King was forced to issue a self-criticism when a member of the SCLC publicly referred to the possibility of civil disobedience during the march. According to the September 2, 1963 issue of *Newsweek*, "King said his man had spoken out of turn on civil disobedience; it wouldn't happen again." And the climate against civil disobedience was even extended to pre-march activities as Whitney Young began to rail against a sit-in going on in Mayor Wagner's office and against demonstrations against Nelson Rockefeller, arguing instead that "persuasion and education" should be used.

A grouping dubbed the "Big 6" was pulled together to plan and run the march. Suddenly the idea for the march was ascribed to A. Philip Randolph. Randolph was pulled in as the National Director of the march. Bayard Rustin, Randolph's chief lieutenant (who later replaced Randolph as the only Black member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council) was made the main coordinator of the march. The group also included Martin Luther King of the SCLC (who by that time had more than proven his worth to the ruling class), James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the Urban League and John Lewis, the chairman of SNCC. This coalition immediately set about establishing the political and organizational parameters of the march and began to do everything possible to ensure that its "orderliness" and purpose would be maintained. The original social base of the march, when it was more an idea among the masses, was drastically changed. Instead of poor rural and urban Black people as the main base, the march now relied on the more stable and better-off sections of Black people to provide the bulk of the marchers. Wilkins and Young demanded that the Coalition itself be expanded to draw in the major churches and trade unions. Four new members were drawn into the "ruling council" — three religious representatives and Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. (Actually, while many AFL-CIO-affiliated unions participated in the march, the AFL-CIO itself refused to endorse it.)

Behind the scenes the ruling class was clearly pulling all of the most strategic strings. Financially, the entire march, and the coalition itself, was dependent upon various bourgeois foundations, grants and Kennedy-connected individuals. James Forman, then a leading member of SNCC, stated in his book *The Making of a Black Revolutionary* that in the months prior to the march some very large amounts of money had been spread around at a series of "civil rights breakfasts." In these early meetings a United Civil Rights Leadership Council was formed to more or less run the march and serve as the vehicle for "leadership" of the struggle after the march. This Council was under the direction of Stephen Currier, a Kennedy cohort and head of the Taconic Foundation. Under Currier's direction, \$800,000 was distributed among the main civil rights organizations as the plans for the march got under way. (SNCC was brought into this group after the march was over and only after they found out that it existed and insisted upon being represented. However, SNCC received very little of the money given out, reflecting the overall strategy

of the other major civil rights organizations — a strategy which called for either co-opting SNCC or, failing that, icing it out of the "legitimate" movement.)

## Still Worried

Even with all of these factors worked out, the situation among the masses of Black people was such that the ruling class still feared that the presence of large numbers of Black people in Washington for a demonstration held a great potential for trouble. Mammoth security measures were worked out by the march organizers and the federal and local officials. Four thousand army and marine troops stationed across the Potomac were put on alert, and helicopters were ready to transport them into the city if needed. Every cop in the city was mobilized, and hundreds of firemen were assigned to the march as a sort of auxiliary police force. Two thousand National Guardsmen and 200 Park Police were also put on march duty. And the march officials themselves developed their own security apparatus, headed up by an off-duty New York City cop and consisting of 1500 parade marshalls. Many of these marshalls were also off-duty cops from various cities around the country. These parade marshalls were directed to work hand-in-hand with the "on-duty" police in the event of any disturbance and to ensure that the march had an air of, as one organizer put it, "dignified protest, not confused anarchy."

Literally everything possible was done to make sure that nothing could alter the official character of the march or its intended purpose. Only signs and banners officially approved by the "ruling council" were allowed to be carried in the march in order to prevent the introduction of any "outside issues" in the march or any attempt to divert the march away from the issue of civil rights legislation. Actually, this also fit in quite well with what the Black bourgeoisie wanted out of the march — using the masses of Black people as political capital in their effort to "get in" and increase their share of the "American way of life." Malcolm X sharply spoke to this "control" aspect in his autobiography. "The marchers had been instructed to bring no signs — signs were provided — they had been told to sing one song: 'We Shall Overcome.' They had been told *how* to arrive, *when*, *where*, to arrive, *where* to assemble, when to *start* marching, the *route* to march. First aid stations were strategically located — even where to *faint*." (And, in an incredibly racist move, D.C. officials banned the sale of any and all alcoholic beverages in the city from midnight of the 28th until the morning after the march was over.) All of this produced a march which moved one D.C. official to remark afterwards that it had "become too respectable and popular and stuffy to spark an explosion." *Newsweek* proudly boasted that "The careful months of planning by the 'Big Ten' command coalition of civil rights, church, and union leaders plainly had paid off in the cathedral solemnity on the mall."

## The "American Dream"

The dominant theses of the march — the assertion of "respectable leadership" for the struggle of the Black people, the diversion of that struggle into legislative channels, American patriotism and national unity, and the cleaning up of the image of America both domestically and internationally — intensified as the march approached. The international ramifications came into sharp focus when less than a week before the march Bayard Rustin issued a public statement discounting any involvement of "foreign interests" in the march. Rustin stated that the civil rights struggle was "an American family quarrel." "This is a problem within our own family. We Americans, Black and white, can solve it ourselves. There is a foreign influence present, but it is that of Mahatma Gandhi and not of Marx. It is the Gandhi of non-violence, noninjury and a willingness to accept suffering."

One day after Rustin's statement, Wilkins held a press conference to denounce revolutionary China. In the beginning of August, Mao Tsetung had issued his 1963 statement in support of the struggle of the Afro-American people. Mao's statement, entitled "Statement Calling On The People Of The World To Unite To Oppose Racial Discrimination By U.S. Imperialism and

Support The American Negroes In Their Struggle Against Racial Discrimination," stated in part: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people." On the occasion of the march itself, a telegram was sent to the marchers by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace. Wilkins and the NAACP promptly and publicly rejected the Chinese telegram. According to the *New York Times* of August 23, 1963, the Chinese telegram stated that the struggle of Black people in the U.S. "has dealt telling blows to U.S. imperialist policy of racial discrimination and rendered powerful support and encouragement to peoples fighting against imperialism headed by the United States." The telegram went on to expose and attack Kennedy, the U.S. ruling class and U.S. imperialism for its attacks on Black people in the U.S. and its aggression throughout the world. During his press conference Wilkins bent over backwards to defend U.S. imperialism and the Kennedy administration. According to Wilkins: "The gathering of white and Negro American citizens on that date (August 28) has been welcomed by President Kennedy in a public press statement and by many government leaders and legislators of both major political parties, some of whom will participate. The demonstration is in support of the civil rights legislation proposed by President Kennedy. It is in opposition to racial practices now in effect in some parts of our country which are contrary to the national government policy of non-discrimination." Wilkins also went on to add a snide little attack on revolutionary China, stating: "We await the opportunity for sending our felicitations to Chinese citizens gathered in a huge demonstration in your nation's capital to protest living conditions under your government and welcomed there by your heads of state." One would be hard pressed to find a more fitting example of the infamous "house-slave" mentality. (Not surprisingly, there is no historical record that Uncle Roy seized on the opportunity to send "felicitations" to the Chinese people during the Cultural Revolution.)

Careful attention was paid to insure that the content of the rally itself was strictly along the lines prescribed by Wilkins and Co. The SNCC speech at the rally was censored outright. As was pointed out earlier, SNCC was sort of the odd man out in the coalition organizing the march. The others had been forced to bring SNCC into the march because of its political influence. However, they also intended either to coopt SNCC or totally isolate it in the course of working together on the march. The original speech that John Lewis, then chairman of SNCC, submitted to the "ruling council" for approval was quickly rejected. The Catholic Archbishop of Washington spearheaded the attack by announcing that unless SNCC revised its speech, he would refuse to deliver the invocation at the opening of the rally. The archbishop's stand was quickly joined by the others in the coalition "for the sake of unity." The passages objected to in SNCC's speech were those that declared that SNCC could not support the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill and issued a call for militant demonstrations in the future. Although the original version of the speech had already been distributed to the press, SNCC revised its speech. The revised version declared that SNCC could not "wholeheartedly" support the Kennedy civil rights legislation and dropped the statement that "We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department nor the Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." Still, this wasn't enough to please the ruling council, and even as the rally was beginning, new objections were raised about the speech. The other civil rights "leaders" toyed with the idea of dropping SNCC from the rally program and threatened to repudiate the speech on the spot unless SNCC again revised it. Meeting in a room inside the Lincoln Memorial, King, Randolph, Abernathy, Rustin and SNCC representatives hammered out still another version. SNCC finally ended up stating that they supported the Kennedy Civil Rights Bill "with reservation."

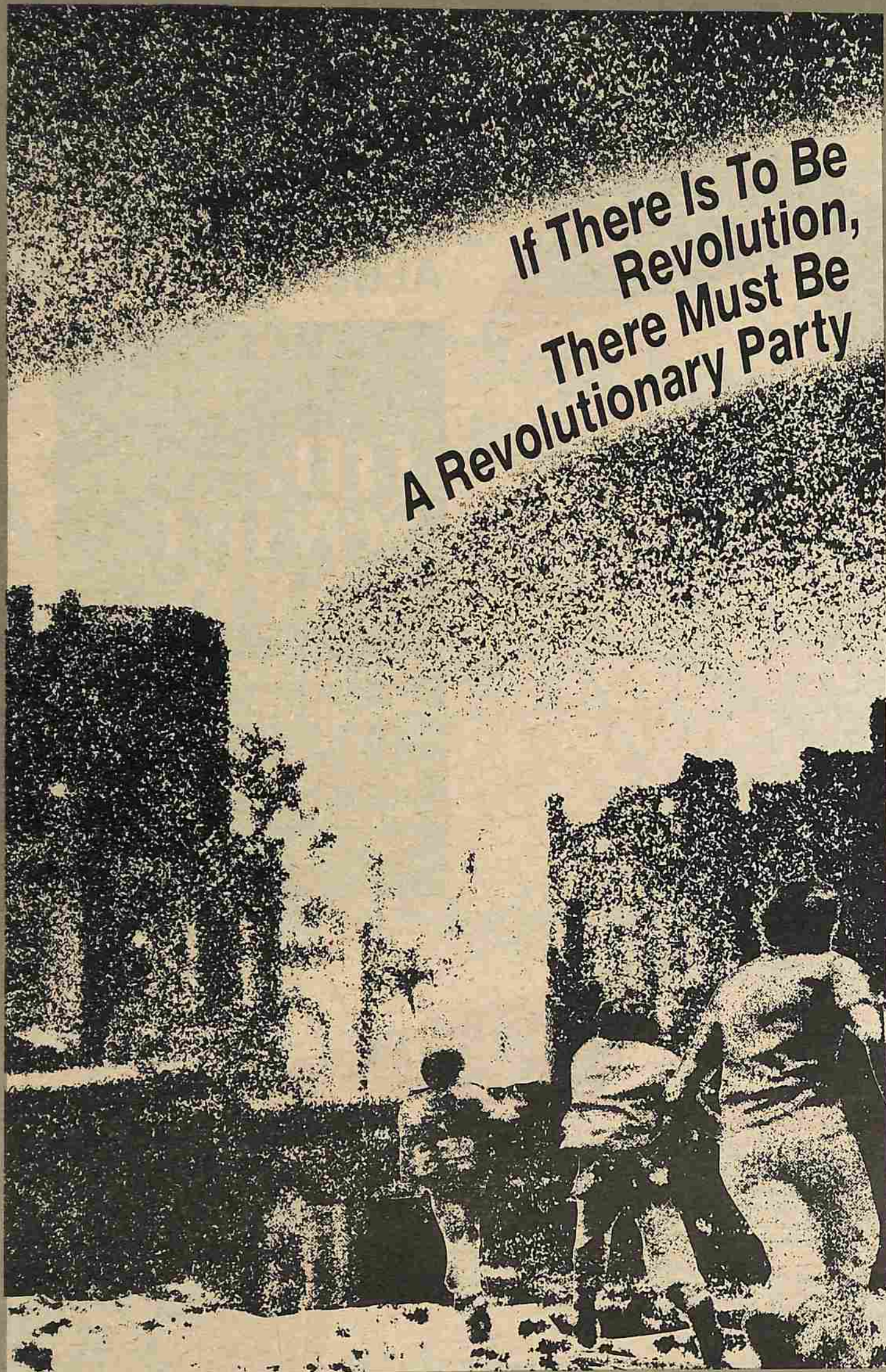
It was onto this carefully prepared stage which Martin Luther King, Jr. stepped to deliver the "I Have A Dream" speech which the leadership of the upcoming 1983 commemoration have taken as their theme. As the bourgeois press put it at the time, King's speech brought it all together. The speech was a good example of King at his peak — in terms of his usefulness and good standing with the U.S. imperialists. King spoke movingly about Black oppression and the dream of equality and an end to divisions between nationalities, a dream shared by millions and millions of people, Black and white as well. This is the part of the speech that most people remember, and without the ability to touch these chords, King would have been nothing. But how was this dream to be achieved — by cashing in the check of the "American dream": "So we have come to cash this check — a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice." He then warns that "those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening..." — in other words, this is a serious problem which the U.S. government had better deal with. But getting to the heart and the most practical part of this message, "there is something I must say to my people": "In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds... again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force... unearned suffering is redemptive" — a rather practical demonstration to the U.S. ruling class that "this is a serious problem, and this is why you need me."

Less than an hour after the march ended, its leaders shuffled into the White House for yet another conference and each was greeted by Kennedy declaring "You did a great job." The purpose of this conference was to begin to map out a strategy for continuing the work of the coalition. Again, all of these "leaders" declared that every effort would be made to advance the legislative "struggle." King joined with Kennedy in stressing that there was much more to do in terms of ensuring that the Civil Rights Bill made it through an unfriendly Congress. King declared that his aim for the immediate future was to begin a tremendous effort to double the amount of Black voters to act as a pressure group for the legislation. Pledges of "intensified cooperation" were made the watchwords of the coalition.

Randolph had stated a few days before the march that it "will improve the image of our country. It's going to do the soul of America good." In the aftermath of the march international coverage, especially in the countries aligned with the U.S., including its various neocolonies, presented it as a glowing tribute to American democracy. The image projected around the world was along the lines of this characterization presented in the *New York Times*. "It was plain that the marchers took home with them a sense of participation. For a day, this was their capital, the seat of their government, and the monuments were the symbol of their freedom. The march became an act of faith, an act of patriotism as personal as a religious witness." The *Kenyan Daily Nation* ran a portrait of Kennedy with the caption "The Modern Lincoln" and declared that it was "the greatest demonstration in support of racial equality the world has ever known." The *London Herald* stated, "It is clear that this demonstration has not been just a success but a resounding, unprecedented triumph." And the U.S. Information Agency made hundreds of copies of a film of the march and rally in order to distribute them around the world as propaganda for the American system.

The euphoria was shortlived. The system was indeed working. Less than three weeks after the march, a Birmingham, Alabama church was blown up and four Black children were murdered. By the following year, the politics of the march on Washington had been seriously repudiated in the streets of Harlem, where King was jeered and pelted with eggs after he was called in to try and cool out a mass rebellion. As the 1960s saw the development of the civil rights movement into a Black liberation struggle, the more aroused and conscious Black masses delivered an historic and correct verdict on the "American Dream" and one which the oppressed of the world heartily agreed with.





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