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## Philippines: Haunting Spirits and Transcending Interests

"Maximum tolerance" had been the watchword handed down by Ferdinand Marcos to his military goons in handling the massive waves of marches and rallies that have swept Manila since the assassination of Benigno Aquino. Indeed, the police were keeping a relatively low profile as millions of people poured into the streets. Marcos feared that open use of force would only fan the anti-government sentiments; at the same time, the regime knew that the bourgeois opposition, while riding on the mass outrage to press for political concessions, also had an interest in seeing that things did not get completely out of control.

But on September 21st, the limits of this "maximum tolerance" became very clear when tens of thousands marched toward Malacanang, the presidential palace, and were met by a solid wall of fully equipped riot police backed up by armed soldiers. In the words of the *San Francisco Examiner*, "Night time ushered in war and the end of 'maximum tolerance.'" The police charged and fired on the crowd, and in the end at least seven demonstrators lay dead.

September 21st marked the one month anniversary of Aquino's death as well as the eleventh year of martial law imposed by Marcos in 1972. The opposition distributed thousands of leaflets, signed by Aquino's widow and others, declaring September 21st to be a "national day of mourning." The weeks leading up to the 21st saw a series of demonstrations increasingly explicit in their anti-government thrust. A group called the Association of Businessmen for Aquino led about 20,000 office workers in a march up and down the main avenue in Makati, Manila's financial district where modern high-rise buildings housing major banks and corporations are concentrated. Then there were several large demonstrations through Manila and in front of the U.S. embassy by students from more than 20 colleges and universities. On September 20th, the regime attempted to stage a feeble pro-Marcos rally in Makati. Two thousand government employees were required to attend. But the rally was jeered at by several thousand counter-demonstrators, and makeshift missiles — everything from mops, garbage, telephone directories to flower pots — rained down on the pro-government demonstrators from the windows of the office buildings. The mayor of Manila, who tried to exhort his crowd into chanting "Marcos, Marcos," had to beat a hasty retreat when a water balloon thrown from a nearby high-rise exploded at his feet. The counter-demonstrators then burned down the stage.

On September 21 itself, up to half a million people gathered at Bonifacio Square. Effigies of Marcos and Reagan as well as an American flag were burned. For several hours, people listened to the opposition leaders give speeches demanding that Marcos step down and calling for the memory of Aquino to be kept alive. Then thousands of demonstrators, mostly students according to news reports, began the march along the main street leading to Malacanang. The marchers chanted "Marcos resign" and "Marcos: Hitler, dictator, dog," and there were reports that yells of "Revolution!" could also be heard.

A standoff developed only a quarter of a mile from the presidential palace, as the demonstrators faced the police cordon. Philippine marines, armed with M-16s and .45 calibre pistols, could be seen in the background. The police tried to stop the crowd with watercannon and swinging truncheons, but were met with a barrage of rocks, bottles, pieces of the sidewalk, and homemade explosives. The police finally opened fire, killing a number of people and injuring many

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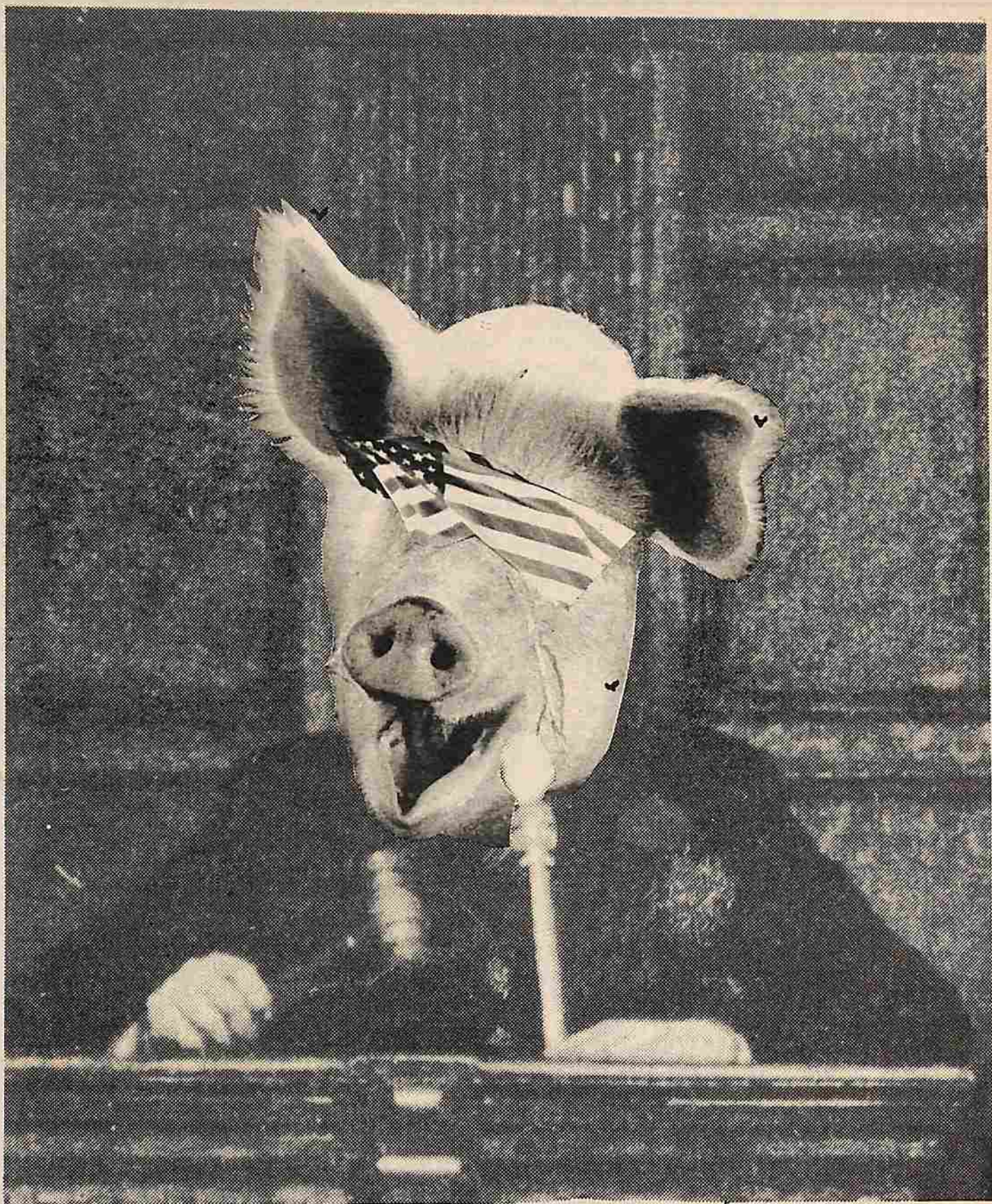
Flash

# State Oinks In Tina Fishman Custody Case

In 1982, when the California courts for the second time extended temporary custody of the daughter of RCP supporter Tina Fishman to her ex-husband Ted, the *RW* summed up that the decision was "as cowardly as it is vicious." As we go to press, the decision handed down on September 22, 1983 by Cook County Domestic Relations Judge Jorzak faithfully follows this precedent and can only be described as: even more cowardly and utterly vicious. For the *fourth* time the courts have extended Ted's temporary custody of Riva, this time for nearly 10 months, until July 3, 1984. By that date, the girl will have been in the "temporary" custody of her father for three years! Jorzak refused to elaborate on his decision, saying only in an expressionless, barely audible monotone that "both parents are qualified" but, based on "the best interests of the child," Ted should retain temporary custody.

In Tina's statement to the press she said, "In the court proceedings that are about to take place, Judge Jorzak will attempt to suppress the two-year history of this politically motivated kidnapping. . . . Thieves don't like to go back to the scene of the crime, and neither will Jorzak. . . . What this so-called neutral arbitrator will have his eyes and ears fixed on is what those two years have sown," which is the very disturbed behavior of 12-year-old Riva who, after living with her father for two years, has developed a new-found "hatred" of Tina which never existed before in the 10 year relationship between mother and daughter.

Politics, his honor was very explicit, has nothing to do with this case. We're here to examine the relationship between this child and her parents and to determine what is in her "best interests." Of course it became increasingly difficult for Jorzak to push through on an award of permanent custody to Ted when *his own court-appointed professionals* made recommendations to the *contrary*. Dr. Helen Morrison, an eminent, court-appointed child psychiatrist, said that to return Riva to California to live with her father would be "destructive" and recommended that custody remain with Tina. Maureen McGann-Ryan, appointed by the court as Riva's attorney in order to bring the child more firmly under the wing of the state, not only said she was at a loss to make a recommendation but had some very disparaging remarks to make about Ted. Undeterred by what his own experts were telling him, and oblivious to the consequences to Riva, Jorzak bulldozed ahead with another extension of temporary custody to Ted. It has become only too apparent what interests are being served under the banner of "the best interests of the child." Further analysis of these developments will be in next week's *RW*.



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On the surface of it, the reopening arms control talks between the U.S. and Soviet Union at Geneva seemed to be a perfect time for the Soviets to gear back into their "peaceful and defensive" mode. (The talks on medium-range weapons opened this month, the START talks on strategic nukes will open Oct. 5.) The time seemed ripe for the Soviets to, as one newspaper speculated, "try and put the black hat back on Mr. Reagan." After a couple of weeks of U.S. shouting over the airliner incident, other ongoing American business had reentered the front pages, business of a more lasting and fundamental nature. There was the "expanding role" of U.S. troops in Lebanon, the heightening military moves in Central America, and a swelling chorus of NATO determination to deploy those missiles "if necessary." Never mind for the moment that these all exist in relation to equally imperialist Soviet moves in these regions; here would seem like a grand propaganda opportunity for the USSR.

The Soviets, however, had something else in mind. Black hat fixed on his head, Soviet Marshall Sergei F. Akhromyev issued a press statement in reply to West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher who had earlier announced a "possible sign of an important new Soviet position" that might break the deadlock at Geneva. Genscher had claimed that the Soviets were willing to consider dropping their longstanding insistence that French and British weapons be counted in negotiating the Euro-missiles issue. (The U.S. has always claimed that the French and British missiles are irrelevant.) Marshall Akhromyev made short work of this idea: "I would say to you that such conclusions are what we call in Russian, wishful thinking." It was the Marshall who also, earlier this summer, made remarks suggesting that the "walk in the woods" proposal — by which the U.S. would deploy only cruise missiles and forego deployment of the Pershing IIs, in return for, among other features, a Soviet agreement to drop the demand about French and British missiles — just might be considered by the Soviets when the arms talks reopened. Therefore, there could be no vagueness of meaning when Akhromyev himself at the press conference laid the "walk in the woods" to rest also. Both cruise and Pershing missiles were equally dangerous, he said.

If someone had yet missed the point, the Soviets also reiterated their threat to deploy new short-range missiles in East Germany if the scheduled U.S. Pershing/cruise deployments commence as scheduled this December. And Andropov himself, who had been carefully kept at arms length from the airliner affair by the Soviets, on September 20 sent quite a double-edged letter to West German legislators. On the one hand, the message contained phraseology familiar from the Soviet "peace offensive" at its height: "The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to stop the slide towards nuclear catastrophe. . . . It is ready for extensive cooperation with all states on this issue of key significance for the future of mankind," etc., etc.

On the other hand, couched in terms of "concern," the letter also contained a little knife-point:

"You do not want the threat of war to emanate from the territory of your country which would be a hell for all mankind," . . . and especially for you, Andropov might have easily, but unnecessarily, added.

#### An Umbrella Of Power

As the Soviets are now showing, and as the U.S. has amply demonstrated time and again, every superpower must at times "wear the black hat" of the cold tough guy, if its umbrella of world power and influence is to remain credible. The Soviets, of course, could have timed their statements concerning the "walk in the woods" and other proposals for later on in the "hot autumn" of missile protest, allowing a freeflow of speculation on their intention. But there are other more basic imperialist necessities right now — after all, a reputation for "brutality" can be an asset in a world where all foreign policy is intimately connected to the use of brute force. Soviet foreign minister

Andrei Gromyko and various Soviet military spokesmen have deliberately sought comments on the KAL-007 airliner incident to get across the message that you don't want to cross the line the Russians have drawn in the dirt. Soviet comments on the Geneva negotiations have similarly emphasized "firmness," as if to deliberately squelch U.S./Western theory that the Soviets might be ready to "go soft" at the negotiating table.

Indeed, the Soviets, even before the KAL-007 incident, have been steadily augmenting the quotient of missile rattling in their propaganda menu. Quite simply, the exploitation of fear of Soviet nuclear might is the major tool of Soviet political influence. The United States has a relatively greater ability, compared to the Soviets, to (while making full use of nuclear terrorism) bring into play other tools, such as economic leverage/black-mail. The Soviets must seek to make up

NATO powers will deploy Pershings and cruises starting in December, but perhaps not if there is some agreement with the Soviets, and afterwards, when the first deployments put the heat on the Soviets, well then, probably. . . ." And so forth. It is the "but" which is getting the emphasis right now, with the aim, primarily, of scoring further propaganda points off of the Soviets' uncomfortable position at the moment.

The main area of U.S. flexibility has been rather modest. . . . but calculated. U.S. spokesmen have floated the idea (but not made a formal proposal at the talks) of counting out of the discussions the Soviet SS-20s deployed in Asia, which are probably targeted on China and Japan. Up to now, the U.S. has been insisting that all SS-20s anywhere be included in any balancing of medium-range forces. In proposing that the Asian-based Soviet weapons be taken out of the picture, the U.S. apparently hopes to be seen

nuclear weapons systems," are connected with a specific point of view in bourgeois-circles embodying military and political strategies differing from that now dominant in the government. It is not out of the question that such a point of view, or aspects of it, become official policy at some point in the future. But at this point, the "freeze" position as advocated by these "important and influential" figures overwhelmingly has value as peace propaganda.)

#### War Buildup — The Bottom Line

However, even in the midst of the peace melodies, the real bottom line of buildup for war, of which this peace talk is an integral part, is clearly discernible. Manatt of the Democratic Party Committee, for example, followed his announcement of support for the Pastoral Letter with a little rider emphasizing the Party's equal support for "the Reagan administration plan to deploy Pershing

## There's A Time To Wear The Black Hat

for what they lack in economic clout by exploiting their geographical position and by losing no opportunity to remind interested listeners, sometimes crudely and sometimes more subtly, that in the one category which "really counts," the USSR is second to none. It has bombs — lots of bombs. The Soviet nuclear complement even lays the basis for its "peace offensives" — after all, the principal reason many Europeans are interested in the Soviet Union's views on the subject of peace is that they are hoping against hope that the Soviets may, indeed, prove peaceful. This, the Soviets hope, can produce an atmosphere in Western Europe receptive to the idea that, after all, to go out of our way to unnecessarily antagonize "the bear" is tantamount to "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face."

A recent editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* makes a further, and valid, observation. Nuclear missiles, it states "play a vital role. . . in bolstering the Kremlin's claim to equal status with the United States as the world's other superpower. Without nuclear missiles, Moscow would not be to America what Sparta was to Athens, Portugal was to Spain, Napoleonic France and then Germany were to Britain." By rattling its missiles, the Soviets appear to be telling the U.S. — "don't push this too far!"

#### U.S. Peace Talk

The U.S. and other NATO powers have jumped at the chance — having partially created it — to don the white hats by launching a "peace" offensive of some sound and fury. An orchestrated din concerning signs of "new U.S. flexibility" in the talks has been in the news, along with a new revival of talk about a nuclear freeze. To be sure, this has been accompanied by an even louder chorus of statements of determination to deploy the U.S. Euromissiles in December. This two-track approach has, of course, become traditional, and has always had something of the following flavor: "The

as making a well-intentioned gesture of peace in an area of the world where tensions have been markedly inflamed since the airliner incident. How hollow is this gesture of peace was amply shown as an enormous series of joint U.S./Japan naval exercises got underway in waters dangerously close to sensitive Soviet military installations. 150 Japanese ships alone concentrated for the maneuvers which were scheduled to end on October 5, the day of the opening of the START (long-range nuclear weapons) talks. . . . so much for U.S. gestures of peace in Asia! In any case, the proposal on Asian missiles does not touch any areas of basic disagreement with the Soviets and in and of itself is a safe, certain-to-be-rejected ploy.

Some U.S. spokesmen have also suggested the possibility of some sort of "preliminary agreement" in the talks on strategic nukes, before the end of the year. As a kind of musical background accompaniment to these proposals, the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops has again made the headlines, having been assigned by the media as the "central moral authority" on nuclear weapons and nuclear war. No less than the chairman of the Democratic Party National Committee, Charles T. Manatt, made a "major announcement" formally expressing general Democratic Party support for the Pastoral Letter, which calls for a "freeze" on nuclear weapons. Earlier in the week, Joe Cardinal Bernardin himself, chief motivator of the Letter, made a trip to Italy during which he promoted the ideas in the Letter. Together with the visit of Jesse Jackson to Europe, who also opposed deployments of some nukes including the Euromissiles, the intended effect has been to build up the impression in Europe, as well as in the U.S., that there are in the U.S. some "important" and "influential" circles who will listen to "responsible" anti-missile protest. (It is also true that the proponents of a "mutual and verifiable freeze on new

missiles in Europe at the end of this year." Likewise, former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, who has been billed as a spokesman for so-called "doves" within the imperialist ruling class, coupled a recent new call for a "renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons by NATO," with the assurance that he would be "quite content to see a go-ahead" in the Euromissile deployment. The consensus for go-ahead on the Euromissile among U.S. imperialists is broad indeed.

In Europe, another supporter of the U.S. missiles took center stage in the person of Bettino Craxi, Italian head of state. A key part of the deployment plan is the 112 cruise missiles to be stationed in southern Sicily, where tumultuous anti-missile protests have erupted in recent weeks. Craxi apparently called on President Reagan to write him a special letter — which the prime minister's office promptly made public — assuring him that despite Soviet brutality, aggression, lies and perfidy, "My deep commitment to reach an accord in Geneva remains unchanged." The *New York Times* commented that "Mr. Craxi's purpose in making most of the letter public is thought to be to deflect criticism in Italy that the United States is determined to station the planned 112 cruise missiles in southern Sicily and is not negotiating seriously with the Soviet Union." But the most significant announcement pertaining to arms control this month came not from Geneva, Bonn, Rome, Moscow, or Washington, but from the U.S. Army Missile Command at Red Stove Arsenal, Alabama. David Harris, a spokesman for the Missile Command, said that the last test flights for the Pershing II had been successfully completed. He said, "The army was receiving components of production missiles and expected to deploy the first missiles in West Germany on schedule in December." | |



Though never having known each other, Ramiro López and Casiano Zamudio's lives had much in common. Both young men left the bitter impoverishment of their homes in different parts of rural central Mexico several years ago on that well-known and dangerous trek through the U.S.A. in search of work. Moving from city to city, both men finally ended up working on the line of a meat-packing plant in tiny Cedartown, Georgia, 60 miles northwest of Atlanta.

López and Zamudio were among literally thousands of Latino proletarians (mainly Mexican, but also Cuban and Salvadoran) who have very recently found their way into many of the small factories and small towns that dot the hill country of north Georgia. Upwards to 60,000 Spanish-speaking immigrants have poured into this area since 1975. The majority, 35-40,000, live in the Atlanta metropolitan area; the rest are dispersed in isolated pockets in the nearby rural counties. Finding only the most miserable jobs and housing, the conditions of life there for these immigrants is not unlike those that immigrants face wherever they go in the U.S. The area of the north Georgia hills, however, stands out as a particularly virulent backwater of American reaction.

It was in Cedartown that both López and Zamudio were murdered in cold blood in separate attacks by white racists. On Labor Day in 1980, Ramiro López, 25-years-old, was gunned down on a backwoods road near Cedartown by three reactionaries who claimed they were out "shooting rabbits." The only man charged with this brutal slaying was later acquitted by an all-white jury. Then last April, Casiano Zamudio, also 25, caught the shotgun blast from a local Ku Klux Klansman who fired at a group of Latino men because one of them had asked his 17-year-old daughter for a date. His trial was scheduled for September 24th.

Throughout the past three years, Cedartown had been the site of a barrage of KKK activity and recruitment in the wake of the immigration of Latino proletarians. The Klan called a strike against "illegal aliens" at the factory where both López and Zamudio had worked. Klan rallies, cross burnings and hooded recruitment drives on the main street have been accompanied by nightriding attacks on both local whites and Latinos who oppose them. And, yes, the media (particularly in Atlanta) has had a field day with these developments, almost drooling

over the chauvinism that has been whipped up.

#### Cedartown

Cedartown, Georgia. The local Chamber of Commerce still proudly honors the town's most famous citizen ever. U.S. Senator from Georgia, William J. Harris, a vocal KKK member who ran for election and won on the Klan ticket back in 1924, was one of the Klan leaders in the U.S. Senate when they held that infamous hooded march with American flags down Pennsylvania Avenue.

And the home district of that ex-Congressman Larry McDonald, who recently met his maker over the Sakhalin Islands, stretches from Atlanta to the nearby Polk County line.

Partly, the climate here is due to the population of the area, only 15% Black. Klan activity has always been more emboldened where things are weighed heavily in their favor. Partly it is due to a quite conscious concentration of political work by the bourgeoisie. Given the atmosphere, it is not surprising to find that many of the youth (Black and white) leave home at an early age and never go

## From Mexico to the Georgia Hills:

### A Murder Story

Back in 1921, across the border in Alabama, one of the most famous Klansmen of them all, Hugo Black, who later became a U.S. Supreme Court Justice, was just making his name as a country lawyer. In one of Mr. Black's earliest political cases, the Klan lawyer won an acquittal for a Methodist minister (also a Klansman) who shot and killed a Catholic priest for marrying the minister/Klansman's daughter to a Puerto Rican. Justifiable homicide declared the all-white jury.

This historical legacy lives on in Cedartown. Presently there is the well-known existence of the nearby Klan paramilitary training camp in Georgia that pops up periodically in national TV news stories. Actually, if you count the same set-up on the Alabama side, Cedartown has two such schools in the offing. Two Klan factions have their headquarters in this area.

back.

Some things, however, are changing — notably the growth of an immigrant population. When a capitalist from Chicago opened the Zartic Frozen Meats and Seafood factory in Cedartown in the late 1970s, he brought a small group of Mexican workers with him. Within a few years, Cedartown was known by word of mouth to be a place where immigrant workers would be hired. By 1980 several hundred immigrants, mainly single, young men, had moved to the town. The jobs are the pits — eleven hours a day, six or seven days a week.

The only housing available to these men is in run-down trailer courts hidden off the backroads of town, where upwards to four or five men are forced to live together. Sometimes each worker is required to pay full rent. Many pay more than \$400 a month for a ten-year-old tin-

can trailer worth less than \$2,000.

For the immigrants, initially, there was some relief from the threat they face in the major cities — deportation. North Georgia is somewhat off the beaten path of immigrants and for that reason the INS is lagging behind. A regional office in Atlanta has only four agents, five if you include the director. Not that the southeast regional INS has no teeth. A highly publicized April 1, 1983 raid in Atlanta of several Mexican restaurants resulted in the deportation of 31 immigrants, but six of the eleven INS goons had to be brought up from Florida for the operation. Still, even before Ramiro López was murdered in 1980, the INS claims to have deported 25 people from the Cedartown area alone. Jerry Patton, district director of the INS, said at that time, "We get a lot of calls from citizens that are out of work because of aliens that are not lawfully here. So now, which one would you rather see starve, some aliens or one of our neighbors."

These "citizens" and "neighbors" — impatient with the INS or in cahoots with it — started taking "action" of their own. Ramiro López was the first victim.

#### Citizens Gun Down Ramiro López

In the early morning hours of September 2, 1980, three white men took their high-calibre rifles out on a shooting spree which they later claimed was "rabbit hunting." The first target these men shot that night was the car of the local Justice of the Peace, who had recently taken out a felony warrant on one of the men for making terroristic threats at him. As far as is known, the second target was a carload of immigrants. The car had run into a ditch earlier that night some eight miles south of Cedartown. The men were still in it, perhaps waiting for help.

According to the court testimony of one of the whites who attacked the car (he turned state's evidence), the whites at first stopped to see if they "could help." When they found out who was in the car they left, but came right back, and one of them, David Richardson, got out of his car, loading a rifle. Within seconds Ramiro López was shot at point-blank range in the chest. Then in a final act of murderous frenzy all three whites completely trashed the Latinos' car.

On the stand at the trial a local detective admitted that he had immediately arrested the three Latino witnesses to the murder for "lying to an officer," even

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## Philippines:

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others. After the main battle had ended, groups of youth roamed the streets of Manila, attacking government shops and setting bonfires.

The continuing and deepening unrest in the Philippines poses difficult problems for the U.S. Much commentary has focused on the U.S. experience in Iran: the ghost of the Shah looms. ABC News, in its coverage of the September 21st events, compared Marcos with the Shah. The specific point being made was that the Shah "left a lot to be desired," but that what followed was "even worse for the U.S. and Iran." The U.S. has no particular desire to prop up Marcos, according to ABC, but it is afraid that "pulling the rug" from under Marcos at this point will lead to even further instability and unforeseen consequences. Thus, even as the police and demonstrators clashed near the presidential palace, the White House reiterated its stand that Reagan still plans to visit the Philippines as part of his trip to Asia in November. In Manila, the U.S. ambassador also denied reports that he had advised Reagan to cancel the trip. But in an indication of some of the pressures being put on Marcos by the U.S., the ambassador pointedly refused to deny rumors he had told the regime that if it did not shape up, he would advise Reagan to chuck the stopover in Manila. Furthermore, in the testimony before a house subcommittee the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs reported without comment the charge that there was at least some degree of Marcos regime complicity in the Aquino killing. The official also expressed dis-

belief about the regime's version of what happened after Aquino was taken off the plane which brought him to Manila. But, said the official, the U.S. will wait for the report from the investigative panel set up by Marcos before reaching any conclusions. In other words, Marcos had better come up with a damn good story — or, since a credible story seems almost impossible, at least something that has a semblance of coherence.

Yet the U.S. is careful not to push too hard on Marcos, since there is no clear cut, viable choice to replace him at this point. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "The consensus of observers in Manila is that the faction most likely to take power after Marcos is a tandem of his powerful wife, Imelda, and General Fabian Ver, chief of staff of the armed forces." Ver's star has been rising of late, in contrast to that of his rival, defense minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Ver, for example, recently added to his powers by replacing one of Enrile's supporters as head of the Philippine constabulary and the integrated national police. Imelda announced that she will quit her political posts next year because of accusations by the opposition that she was involved in Aquino's assassination. She had reached the limits of her "human sensibility," she was quoted as saying. But as the *Monitor* pointed out, Imelda had made several such announcements in the past, "Only to permit herself to ride a 'groundswell' of support to accept a new post." There is, however, another powerful figure close to Marcos who has kept a low profile but is often mentioned as a possible successor — Eduardo Cojuangco Jr., a comprador who possesses a virtual monopoly of the coconut industry.

Among the bourgeois opposition, no leader that might replace Aquino has emerged. According to the San Francisco

Bay Area-based *Philippine News*, "Recently, the leaders of more than 50 loosely-knit political groups opposing the dictatorship formed a coordinating committee of former senators and others to rally all anti-Marcos forces and elements nationwide, excluding the extreme left." In the jargon of both Marcos and the bourgeois opposition, the "extreme left" is the Communist Party of the Philippines and the broad alliance it leads, the National Democratic Front. The *Philippine News* claims that three figures are emerging as leaders of this group: Lorenzo Tanada, the "old man of the modern anti-Marcos faction with which Aquino was aligned"; Salvador Laurel, head of UNIDO, a coalition of 12 opposition parties; and Chino Roces, a newspaper publisher "who strongly opposed the inclusion of communists or leftist groups in the coalesced opposition."

The bourgeois opposition, however, is truly "loose-knit," pulled in several directions by rivalries and divergent political views, particularly in regard to the attitude toward the NDF. In an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner*, Eva Kalaw, another UNIDO leader, said that, "Should authoritarian rule fall and should the NDF prove they represent a sizeable number of people, they would be recognized. We are seriously considering that." On the other hand, Laurel, while raising the specter of resorting to the "sharpest blade," that is the CPP, expressed a preference for some form of alliance with forces in the Marcos military: "The military is split. There are some officers in the army who can deliver. I trust them more than the left. They are not fat generals but young officers with the mean and hungry look. The chances that they will help us have increased ten times in the last few days."

The contradictions within the Marcos

clique and the bourgeois opposition, as well as between these two forces, make for a very volatile situation. A sudden move by one or another grouping to change the balance of forces is possible — e.g., a coup attempt by the Imelda-Ver forces or by an alliance of some in the opposition with younger military officers. Another possible move — by Marcos himself — became apparent on September 21st. During a televised speech, Marcos declared: "I warned the opposition... do not force my hand. Do not compel me to move into extremes that you already know of. If necessary, I will do so." This a threat to officially reimpose martial law, which was lifted in name by Marcos in 1981, and to drown the growing outbreaks in blood. Marcos was also obviously attempting to reassure his U.S. masters that he could bring the situation under control. The ghost looms large here as well, when it is recalled that the Shah shot down thousands of people at demonstrations in the months prior to his downfall.

It is not yet clear which of the above options is favored by the U.S. The general relationship, however, between masters and lackeys — particularly those lackeys who find themselves in rough straits — was summarized by William Sullivan, U.S. ambassador to Iran during the Shah's last days. After commenting on the "rights" of "individuals" like the Shah and Marcos, Sullivan pointedly remarked that "the interests of the U.S. transcend the rights of the individual." Whatever Marcos' particular fate, there is unquestionably some feverish maneuvering underway in U.S. ruling circles, efforts to ensure that the "interests of the U.S." continue to reign in the Philippines. [ ]



# RICO NET CLOSES

On September 3, the verdict in the federal RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) case against revolutionary nationalists and supporters was returned. Defendants in this trial, which included a member of the Republic of New Afrika and former Black Panther Party members, were among those swooped up in the dragnets cast by the political police in the wake of the attempted Brink's expropriation of October 20, 1981. The trial marked the government's first use of the broad sweeping powers of the RICO statutes to go after revolutionary forces, the outcome having been seen as an all-important ground-breaking use of RICO as a particular tool of political repression. Sekou Odinga, a longtime activist in the Black liberation movement, a former Panther 21 defendant, and one who was clearly targeted for his political beliefs as he stated repeatedly in court that he was a "New Afrikan Freedom Fighter," was convicted on two RICO counts — conspiracy and racketeering charges. Sylvia Baraldini, a leading member of the May 19th Communist Organization, was also convicted on the two RICO counts. Chui Ferguson and Jamal (Edward Joseph, also a former Panther 21 defendant) were convicted on accessory after the fact counts — or preventing the government from arresting more "suspects" — and face 12 1/2 years in jail. Odinga and Baraldini face a 40-year sentence for the RICO convictions.

[In a separate State of New York trial in Goshen, New York, Kuwasi Balagoon, David Gilbert, and Judith Clark were convicted on seven counts each of murder and robbery stemming from the Brinks action. This trial, however, will not be discussed here.]

## Government's Appetite

When the verdict was returned, the government's insatiable appetite was not satisfied. They did not get all that they had set out to get and could have gotten, given the elasticity of RICO. In the case known universally as one of the "Brinks Trials," none of the defendants was found guilty of taking part in the October 20, 1981 Brinks action, even though Odinga and Baraldini were slammed with RICO convictions based in part on that action! This alone is a glaring example of the kind of weapon RICO is, and shows the deadly import of the fact that this law was used with a degree of success against revolutionaries; undeniably a vicious precedent for the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the fact that the government got convictions on only six of twenty-eight possible counts means that the government came away with something less than it needed. Ferguson and Jamal were charged but not convicted on two RICO counts. Bilal Sunni-Ali of the RNA, whom the government very much wanted to get, was cleared of all charges — two RICO counts and three separate Bronx robbery charges. A sixth defendant, Illiana Robinson, charged with accessory after the fact, was also acquitted.

There was some public consternation in the bourgeoisie over the outcome. "I'll never understand juries," said Judge Duffy after the verdict, while t.v. and newspapers gnashed teeth over the supposed gullibility of juries who just wouldn't swallow every last bit of the grotesque dish of hearsay, fabrication and distortion cooked up as the government's case. Editorialized the *New York Times*: "Defense attorneys, basing their strategy on a mixture of Marxism and Black nationalism, argued that their clients were being prosecuted for supporting the 'black liberation movement.' 'This case has nothing absolutely to do with politics,' Judge Duffy instructed the jury. Nevertheless, it may have been that the six men and six women whose names were kept secret for security, were nearly as uncomfortable with the conspiracy case as juries were in the 1960s, when politically-tinged trials often resulted in acquittal."

Defendants and supporters were also clearly pleased that the government did not draw all the blood that it wanted. One

defense lawyer called the verdict a "limited defeat" for the government.

In fact, because the verdict upheld the use of RICO for purposes of political witch-hunting, the outcome must be seen as rather a "limited victory" for the government. Fine as it is that the bourgeoisie was not able to fully stock their nets with those whose politics openly oppose them, the reality is that the principal point of the trial has always been to get the RICO convictions. There was that separate lynching party in Goshen to deal specifically with the Brinks incident. And the government will no doubt continue to hound and draw in others with their nets, using the RICO convictions as one justification for doing this. (Indeed, seven people are still in jail for refusing to talk to the RICO/Federal Grand Jury; and no sooner were the verdicts in than the judge issued a warrant for the arrest of Chokwe Lumumba of the Republic of New Afrika, who acted as attorney for Bilal Sunni-Ali and was, in this capacity, cited for contempt several times.) Most importantly, while the government was not completely successful in setting in motion a kind of RICO steamroller — an unmistakable precedent on the law books, in the minds of the public, and of prospective jurors in future cases — the RICO convictions it did get represent a dangerous potential weapon.

## A Political Trial

The outcome in the trial — both convictions and non-convictions — results from the nature of the case. In order to get RICO convictions against revolutionary forces and establish a precedent of using RICO for political prosecutions, the government had to stage an open, visibly political trial ("criminalized," as one defendant put it, with the brand of terrorism). The trial was used as the lever for a wide-ranging political offensive against revolutionary nationalists and their supporters. For a year and a half they spied on and subpoenaed scores of people, tapped phones, subpoenaed phone records, busted down doors, killed one "suspect," carted off reams of political literature, lifted 21 million fingerprints, and carefully selected "evidence" for the trial and targeted people for prosecution. 117 government witnesses were called to testify. An FBI expert, federal agents and cops were flown in to testify. Apartment building superintendents testified about who rented certain apartments.

Moreover, the government deliberately allowed certain political testimony in the trial (even as they severely restricted and censored it to try to twist the content to their own purposes), initiating lines of questioning which were at times explicitly political while all the time attempting to wed politics to "criminal activity." The judge's remarks to the jury about the case having "nothing to do with politics" were, in short, strictly for the record, and had little to do with reality. One exchange with Sekou Odinga spotlighted this. Odinga had previously stated in court: "...I am a New Afrikan. I do not consider myself an American citizen."

Of a piece with these principles, Odinga at one point demanded that he be recognized as a "prisoner of war." The judge promptly denied the demand, of course, but not by dismissing it out of hand, but by calmly replying that, if granted, then Odinga would face charges of "sedition and espionage"; no denial from the judge, therefore, that Odinga was a political prisoner but only the cold explanation that in this case — *different tactics* were being used to try and put Odinga away.

Odinga had also requested that two imprisoned Black activists be allowed to testify for him. Duffy of course could have turned down the request summarily, but instead signed the papers allowing Sundiati Acoli to come and testify. (The other was Geronimo Pratt, imprisoned in California.) We don't think the judge had Acoli transferred from the infamous Marion, Illinois maximum security prison where Acoli is being held, his mail censored, his meetings with legal counsel

bugged, as a gesture of kindness. Acoli spoke of the history of enslavement of Black people and staunchly defended waging armed struggle against the oppressors. He listed name after name of Black youth gunned down by the police. But at the same time, the court carefully and severely restricted the testimony, barring, for example, key political questions put by Odinga and the defense attorneys: DEFENSE: "Is there any difference between revolutionary activity and criminal activity?"

Objection. Sustained. "The Black Panther Party encountered difficulties, for example the repression talked about by Odinga. What were those things?"

Objection. Sustained. "Do you remember internal problems in the Black Panther Party? Explain."

Objection. Sustained. In reference to documentation of the FBI's COINTELPRO dirty work, Acoli's response that they "were secret until made public" was ordered stricken from the record (along with every other reference to COINTELPRO throughout the trial).

Then the prosecution went after Acoli. Spectators had to sit through the utter hypocrisy of the U.S. government, record-holders in the robbery, plunder and execution of people throughout the world, dripping with the blood of Fred Hampton, Malcolm X and so many others "neutralized" under the COINTELPRO program, grilling Acoli: "Would retaliation include shooting?" Had the cops in the Brinks incident ever "killed Black children"? "Were you a member of the Black Liberation Army?" Did this clandestine work need "weapons... financial support... something called expropriations... of various organs of the capitalist society such as banks?" "Didn't expropriation mean taking by force?" The prosecutor also conducted a little bit of a spying-expedition right in court, asking Acoli if he knew Mutulu Shakur, a fugitive defendant; Samuel Smith, killed by the police two days after the Brinks action; and Kuwasi Balagoon, defendant in the State Brinks trial.

The government also introduced drafts of internal political documents seized in "safehouse" searches, which had fingerprints of defendants on them. One was an internal security guideline and code of behavior which had been distributed to all RNA members, the other a draft of a principles of unity for May 19th which was used as evidence against Sylvia Baraldini. The government built a rationale for the "criminal nature" of the documents by trying to pass them off as some kind of bylaws of a mysterious group called "The Family." (The drafts were entitled "To Family.") As a final touch, the documents were tossed in with bags of bullets, confiscated weapons, and so forth. Clearly, the government intent was to paint a picture of *political* gangsterism. Defense attorney Chokwe Lumumba responded by having the prosecutors produce the final version of the documents which they had had all along, but never offered. These were entitled "To New Afrikan Security Family," where the term "family" obviously means political cadres.

In a similar fashion the testimony of informant Tyrone Rison was important. Rison had pleaded guilty to the RICO indictment and in exchange for his testimony he was promised leniency, a sentence on a prior conviction was reduced and his wife was released from prison on a separate robbery conviction.

But before Rison went on to name defendants and others in a long list of alleged crimes, it was the prosecutor who asked him point blank, "What is the Republic of New Afrika?" and Rison went on to define the RNA, "It is a people-appointed government looking for independence from the United States government by claiming five southern states."

## Censor & Distort

Of course, the government moved consistently to censor and distort the kind of politics which were allowed at the trial.

As a whole, while the government used RICO provisions to run out informers' testimony, to introduce political documents as criminal evidence, to bring in hundreds of exhibits of circumstantial physical evidence, the defense was prohibited from exposing the history of government frame-ups and attacks against revolutionaries. For example, while the RNA co-president could testify about their political goals in general and about what their security guidelines had contained in particular, they were not allowed to answer any questions about why the guidelines had been drawn up in the first place and no questions or testimony were permitted which would have exposed just how the government has dealt with people holding their political views either. Chokwe Lumumba, representing Odinga, had obtained numerous government documents detailing COINTELPRO attacks against the RNA, such as documentation of the government's frame-up of RNA co-president Obadele in the 1960s, other FBI forgeries "canceling" RNA meetings, and so on. Lumumba also has evidence of two cops being caught in the process of trying to blow up the home of two RNA members in Michigan in 1980. None of this was allowed to come in. Any exposure of COINTELPRO was banned because it would serve to expose that what was unfolding in court was on the very same order.

## Outrageous Features

Having erected an open — if "criminalized" — political scaffolding for the trial, the government set out to use RICO to the fullest, calling into play virtually all of its outrageous features. And though there was the usual "piling on" of charges and evidence, it seems clear that the authorities fully expected the jury to go for it, or the best part of it. As *RW* readers know, RICO was enacted in order to hit at organized crime "families," coining the legal category of "criminal enterprise" and enabling the government to prosecute by establishing a "pattern of racketeering" as evidence of an existing "enterprise." A "pattern of racketeering" is constituted by a mere two acts of racketeering occurring over a 10-year span even if one of those acts occurred before RICO was enacted or even if they occur at the same time on the same day. For example, the Brinks robbery charges against Bilal Sunni-Ali (of which he was finally acquitted) were made into two counts — robbery and murder. Prior convictions or even acquittals can be dredged up and used again in RICO. One of the acts of racketeering against Chui Ferguson was a prior robbery conviction for which he had *already served* a prison term of four years.

The federal rules of evidence allow for hearsay evidence, which makes informants a key element in RICO prosecution. It was disclosed through the government's own records that the testimony of informer Peter Middleton in prior appearances before the grand jury included admitted lies, each time. It also came out that Middleton had been instructed by the prosecutors to steer clear of his prior "inconsistencies." Nevertheless, RICO allows room even for this flakiest of "evidence." (Interestingly, the government did not want and did not have Samuel Brown, who faces state charges for the Brinks action, testify though his statements to the police had been used as the basis for the arrest of the suspects. Had Brown testified it would have come out that he had been systematically beaten, his head bashed into the ground till his neck was broken, until he signed certain statements.)

The conspiracy section of RICO adds yet greater elasticity to the nets; an official RICO conspiracy investigation is enough to legally justify wiretaps and other surveillance. In this case no less than 5,059 telephone calls were wiretapped. Selected recordings were brought into court with government transcripts of the conversations — with the transcripts produced by agents from the Joint Ter-

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# Bourgeois Contemplations on Surviving the "Unthinkable"

Dear RW:

Over the past several years, in tandem with the shift in U.S. war-fighting strategies — from all-out nuclear war being "unthinkable" to it now being quite "thinkable" and "winnable" — there has been more than a little proliferation of reports and think-tank studies on the question of *surviving* a nuclear war. These have ranged from the cynically philistine pamphlets produced by FEMA (the Federal Emergency Management Agency), designed strictly for public consumption to create the image that nuclear war is nothing that a few band-aids couldn't take care of (for example, their pamphlet entitled: "Special Advice on Tourniquets"); to more serious studies detailing the potential military, economic and social problems the imperialists can expect to be confronted with if nukes descend upon U.S. soil. And, as people may know, there have been numerous articles in newspapers and magazines outlining the rulers' grandiose schemes for ensuring what they euphemistically call "Continuity of Government" or COG. It's clear upon reading these articles that COG — with all its secret underground bunkers, special evacuation procedures and routes, stashes of money and opium, nuclear-hardened aircraft hovering above and directing the carnage below, etc. — is just a straight-up blueprint for the imperialists to save their own asses.

But with all of this, there are a number of think-tankers who still cannot find peace of mind and see little reassurance that simply getting the government functioning again — in the most mechanical sense of the term — will have any real and lasting stabilizing effect on a population they've just led into a nuclear war. Recently, I came across a report reflecting one such type of thinking and thought that it might be of interest to RW readers.

The report is entitled: "U.S. Political Recovery From Nuclear War: Prolegomena To Planning," by a William H. Overholt, and forms part of a larger study that was prepared for FEMA by the Hudson Institute think-tank. The bigger study, called simply "Postattack Recovery Strategies," was issued in 1980 — a period that concentrated U.S. rethinking on waging nuclear war, as the Carter regime sallied forth with Presidential Directives 41, 51, 53, 58 and 59, and all manner of strategic analysis was offered up. To this Mr. Overholt adds his thoughts, outlining what he believes other studies have given grievously short shrift to: "While political issues have not been entirely neglected, discussions of them have tended to proceed on the basis of intuitive concepts of the meaning of survival and on technocratic rather than political concepts of the nature of recovery." Compelled by the very real fear that the unleashing of a nuclear war will thoroughly expose and completely de-legitimize the government in the eyes of millions of people (as opposed to the standard theme of the survivors envying the dead), Overholt offers some interesting insights into the nature and scope of some of the vulnerabilities that will be plaguing the imperialists — things that the class-conscious forces would do well to keep in mind.

In laying out his departures from other studies, the author makes a distinction between what he calls "governmental survival" and "political survival and recovery." This is no mere question of semantics. According to Mr. Overholt, both these aspects are interrelated and influence each other. Check out his five criteria for measuring the extent to which the functions of *government* have survived.

(1) *The possession of a coherent military force* capable of conducting a basic defense of all or part of the national territory, "not only against the original

attacker (which in the current situation would presumably be the Soviet Union) but conceivably also against other potential attackers who previously could have been ignored. One such example which could assume significance, in the event the United States were drastically enfeebled by a massive nuclear attack, would be a massive movement of Mexican population northward, in the manner of the American encroachment on Mexico more than a century earlier, with post hoc support by the Mexican government." Despite Overholt's belief that the masses of Mexican people won't sweep away their own oppressive government in their "movement northward," the Achilles' heel of millions of Mexican and Chicano people re-taking the southwest, once again reveals a trembling within the ranks of strategic analysts.

(2) *The possession of a monopoly on the legitimate use of force.* This, according to Overholt, is "the most basic definition of government" and the thing that "highlights the importance of overall political beliefs in the legitimacy of the central government, of the organizational processes which relate local police and military action to the central government, of symbols of delegation, and of communications which tie the locality to the governmental center." In other words, Overholt is warning that the bourgeoisie ensure that government serving *its* interests possesses the sole right to use force of arms to back up *their* decisions; or, better said: political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

(3) Intimately related to the above point is *the maintenance of order.* In addition to "speedy and decisive intervention" and "swift justice," Mr. Overholt places a high premium on "undercutting any rationale which might be exploited to lend legitimacy to such (anti-government — RW) outbreaks." Citing the New York City power outages and the street-fighting and looting (largely of supermarkets) that followed, Overholt writes: "In ordinary times, there is sometimes a controversial liberal view that certain kinds of routine crime need be understood as an understandable response to social problems; any hint that such a view is an acceptable motive for rioting, looting or other violent behavior in the aftermath of a major disaster as nuclear war would be explosively dangerous." Overholt also hints at the potential problems the imperialists might face in controlling their own reactionary agents like the KKK, Nazis, and "survivalist" types like the Christian Patriot Party. Citing the "long history of vigilante groups" while conveniently omitting any reference to the rulers' long history of using vigilante groups, Overholt apparently sees this as a problem of keeping a tight leash and not some threat to their rule.

(4) *The ability to levy taxes and maintain a viable currency.* More than simply an economic question, in the most crass sense of the term, collecting taxes in the aftermath of a nuclear war "presumes public ability to pay, public willingness to pay... and the survival or creation of some of the national financial records necessary for levying taxes."

(5) *The ability to transfer assets and to equalize burdens.* Offering up images of region vs. region, city vs. city, and town vs. town, the author finds the system confronted with the very dog-eat-dog/look-out-for-No. 1 values it systematically inculcates. "Under conditions of nuclear war, movements of oil from Texas to New England, movements of food from the Midwest to the coasts, and movements of funds from the least damaged to the most damaged areas could create extraordinary strains. Taking food from very hungry people who are not starving and giving to people who

are starving could be delicate." And further, Overholt's governmental survival plan is haunted by the stark reality that money talks and wealth and position beget special privilege: "It is socially acceptable, and often socially necessary, for *degrees of comfort* to be rationed according to the raw standards of the marketplace. It is a source of potentially revolutionary discontent for *matters of life, health and safety decided under the aegis of the government*, to be rationed according to the criteria of the marketplace." A system of government which arose upon the very economic foundations of the capitalist marketplace and in turn serves these marketplace relations, confronts a problem definitely of its own making! (For a proletarian view of rebuilding society and the policy of "raising up the bottom," I would direct RW readers to pp. 70-71 of the RCP's *New Programme*.)

So these are Mr. Overholt's five criteria for "governmental survival." On the face of it, of course, his assertions that the government which has just launched the most barbaric war in history somehow deserves the right to legitimacy is just ridiculous; his assumptions that all of the masses of people — and especially those who have nothing to lose but their chains — would see it his way amounts to little more than a forlorn hope. But there is some real insight here in the recognition that the post-nuclear world would not just be a jungle-like free-for-all, but instead a world in which moral and political views play a dynamic role in shaping the way people are willing to act. In fact, while relegated to "Point 3" in his list, the very understanding people have *now* about "social problems" has everything to do with their understanding *then* that nuclear war is a concentration and an extension of imperialism — an extreme "social problem."

Obviously, Overholt does not touch the possibility of a proletarian *revolutionary* line and organization moving for fundamental change in society, or the *international* impact of such a line. But he does see the inevitability of conflicting and fundamentally opposed ideologies asserting themselves in an extremely complex struggle for power. The thread running through his criteria is the struggle of competing claims to authority, or, the bottom line of who gives the orders and whose orders are to be followed. Within this, Overholt says, some semblance of the imperialists' governmental superstructure is vital and must be erected atop the rubble and the masses of people plugged back in as quickly as possible. How this might be done, according to the author, is summed up in his discussion of *political survival*.

"Democracy is the ultimate cement which holds the United States together," writes Overholt, getting to what he sees as the bottom line. And what is the heart and soul of bourgeois democracy according to him? "No U.S. government can long maintain public support without a democratic mandate. The democratic mandate must be regularly renewed, and the authority of any particular govern-

## ... or Into the Vault Mr. Overholt!

ment structure will be regarded as legitimate only by those citizens who participated in electing its leaders." And Overholt concludes: "Addressing the problem of legitimacy requires actions which are simpler but more subtle than measures addressing the problems of effectiveness. A focus on the problem of legitimacy begins with the extraordinary importance of holding *early elections*. Spending scarce planning resources on election preparations is technocratically frivolous but politically essential."

Did the man say "frivolous"? How about stunningly hypocritical! Imagine it for a moment if you will: campaigns, electioneering, ballots and polling places in the midst of nuclear destruction. Could the shell of bourgeois democracy ever seem as hollow as this? Could bourgeois democracy be more revealed as resting upon illusion and self-deception and, more to the point, upon bourgeois dictatorship — the *real* "heart and soul" of bourgeois democracy? Recall for a moment Mr. Overholt's cries for "decisive intervention" and "swift justice." These are indications of the fact that this hypothetical post-holocaust bourgeois ruling authority would be — and would have to be! — of the most centralized, brutal character. It will hardly be time for trial-by-jury-of-your-peers... as Overholt has spent some time telling us earlier! On the other hand there might be — probably would be — a section of people who hold onto the red, white and blue so tight that they will go for this "early elections" business, and maybe other Americanesque trappings, if they can find some that aren't irradiated. To the oppressed, these pitiful patriots would only add to the farce.

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One final note. It seems that every single night at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., a guard steps up to the display case holding the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The guard then pushes a switch that sends the documents descending deep into the bowels of the Archives and into a 50-ton steel vault. Every morning the ritual is repeated in reverse. This vault was dedicated by former President Harry Truman in 1952 for the express purpose of protecting these parchments from fire, water, shock, heat, and atomic explosion. And why not? Aren't these the very documents embodying the values that have aided and abetted the U.S. in extending its bloody empire around the globe; the very values upon which it stands ready to protect and expand that empire in a third world war; and the very values it deems as "politically essential" in casting its system anew on the ashes of nuclear destruction? Perhaps it will be Mr. Overholt's fate to be the one chosen to raise these things from out of their vault after nuclear war and wave them in the face of masses of people. Or perhaps it'll be the masses of people who seal that foul crypt once and for all before the outbreak of world war. Only the development of the current crisis and the work of the conscious forces will resolve that. [ ]



# An INSIDE View on U.S. Political Asylum



Anastasio Somoza, gives a press conference at his Miami estate.

"Our society is like a candy store with the proprietor looking the other way. We have made it so easy and rewarding for aliens to break our professed immigration laws that they preferentially seek out the U.S. and eschew other countries, thus exacerbating our immigration crisis. Frivolous and dilatory claims (for political asylum — RW), usually while out on personal recognizance with a work permit, have grown to be an increasingly popular method of hoisting Uncle Sam by his own petard because it trades upon our 'Statue of Liberty' ideology and growing reluctance to assert any societal standards we mean to enforce."

A U.S. immigration officer  
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The quote above, which would provoke gales of contemptuous laughter from immigrant proletarians, is from an internal report done by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) last year which was made available to the RW. The report focuses on the matter of U.S. political asylum policy and practice, labeled by the INS as one of the leading problems in the general "immigration crisis" in the country today. Based especially on interviews with more than 40 local and national INS officials, judges, and examiners, and exactly because of its internal nature, the study gives the most detailed inside look at the machinations of asylum procedure yet available, including INS recommendations designed to set off a pig petard of their own against millions of immigrants in the U.S. The politically exposing "findings" which leak out in the study when it discusses how to resolve the contradiction between the U.S. government's political goals and its stated laws are especially stark, if unintended, admissions of the scope and nature of the contagion the U.S. sees itself up against. And while the bourgeoisie rightly worries over the immigration question as a whole, it's no state secret that some of the most revolutionary-minded immigrants are among those applying for political asylum. We will examine some of the plots afoot to deal with this contagion below, but first, some of the study's revelations.

#### Scope and Nature of Asylum Crisis

The INS report cites a number of

sweeping problems in the asylum picture, but is most concerned about two: the tremendous growth in the number of applications involved, and what the INS regards as bad publicity concerning current U.S. asylum policy.

As the figures below make clear, the matter of political asylum has gone from what the government previously regarded as a "non-question" to one involving tens of thousands of immigrants, with the numbers growing daily:

pre-1972	under 500 claims annually
1977	3702 claims filed
1979	5801 claims filed
3/80-7/81	53,034 claims filed
as of 3/82	104,968 claims pending

The reason for the leap in 1980-81 was largely the thousands of Cubans coming in the "Mariel Boatlift." The leap following was mainly due to claims filed by immigrants from El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Iran. (Of claims dealt with by the INS, in the first two years of the 1980s two-thirds of those accepted came from four countries either in the Soviet imperialist-led bloc or under their thumb: Poland, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua.) It should also be noted that these figures do not include the 50,000 refugees outside the U.S. admitted each year, because of "special concern" to the U.S., from among the United Nations-estimated 16 million refugees worldwide.

As to the second major problem that has the INS squirming, bad PR, some quotes taken from interviews done in the study will indicate what's involved. "Asylum is in the public eye; it's a hot item with the media. Today, anytime we turn someone down we get letters saying, 'You accepted so-and-so and why not these folks?' We're in the spotlight and we need more guidance." So said one im-

migration examiner, no doubt relieved by the guidance in the report, which concentrates much more on trying to rationalize why so many "unlikely" candidates for asylum are accepted, rather than on why so many obvious refugees are not. "National publicity about the growing backlog, particularly during 1981 and 1982 as immigration reform legislation was discussed (referring to the reactionary Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill—RW), led to a self-fulfilling prophecy. . . . Many aliens quickly recognized the Service's inability to handle this new case area and filed claims for asylum, often frivolous, as a tactic to delay departure from the United States."

What is a "frivolous" claim in the magnanimous eyes of the owners of the Statue of Liberty? Why, those filed by immigrants from Haiti, El Salvador, the Philippines, Guatemala, Israel, etc. People from these countries, by definition, are "economic refugees," trying to take advantage of Uncle Sam's good nature and come to the U.S. simply for better money. After all, these countries are in the U.S. sphere of influence, and the U.S. can't very well admit to the actual political persecution in these places (and by extension, its own culpability). Thus Haitians do not flee the Ton Ton Macoutes of that country's infamous Baby Doc Duvalier, but are simply ingrates who don't appreciate being exploited by the beneficent U.S. financial kingpins. Salvadorans arrive in Los Angeles and Houston out of a desire to "steal American jobs," not because of the U.S.-trained and equipped death squads scouring their homeland.

On the other hand, refugees from Soviet-dominated countries are by defini-

tion bona fide "political refugees." The U.S. is, after all, a country always willing to cynically use people oppressed by its enemy, the Soviet imperialists.

In a real sense the U.S. is caught in a web of its own spinning. This is true in at least two important respects. First, the tremendous growth in asylum claims in the past few years has its roots precisely in the economic and political developments of the imperialist system itself, including imperialist-sponsored invasions and civil wars, political upheaval in countries dominated by both blocs, and the sharpening rivalry between the imperialist blocs. Millions have been driven from their homelands to the imperialist citadels worldwide. Second, the U.S. and other imperialist countries are not in a position, nor do they want at this time, to prevent all immigrants from coming and staying. As one reason, it has been estimated in the U.S. that such industries as electronics and garment would collapse within days without these "illegals."

The realities of the international situation and the imperialists' political goals in the 1980s are the currency in which they must deal. But they need to carry out their differentiation between refugees from different countries under cover of laws and "international humanitarian obligations." The result is the same, but the poison is sweetened in an attempt to make it go down more smoothly: some immigrants are rejected for political asylum because they are "economic refugees" (and of course the U.S. can't accept everyone who wants to drink the American milk and honey), and others are accepted because they are "political refu-

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# A Very Selective Refuge

As is well known, the U.S. does provide "refuge" to immigrants in specific instances (and, more to the point, for specific class interests). Less known, however, are three specific programs — two of limited duration, the other ongoing — which show with outrageous clarity the politics and interests behind them.

In 1980, immediately after the seizure of the U.S. spy nest in Tehran, the Immigration and Naturalization Service instituted the following policy: for Iranians in the U.S., no applications for adjustment of status (for example, from student visa to some other visa) would be processed unless these Iranians first applied for political asylum. Thus, filing for asylum was not to be a choice open to Iranians, but a decision already made by the U.S. government. The U.S.'s intentions were to get thousands of Iranians to apply for asylum (15,000 did), then turn around and say, "See, no matter how bad anyone says the Shah was, never did this many Iranians apply for political asylum. It just goes to prove how much the masses oppose and fear the revolution there...." The maneuver was transparent in its purpose, except for the small fact that the government's role in forcing so many applications to be filed by Iranians was hid-

den from public view.

The second program is called "extended voluntary departure," and is used to prevent the forcible return of any immigrants from selected countries when "emergency situations" arise. A look at this program in the last two decades is like a synopsis of major international developments and the position of the U.S. towards them. The program seems to have been particularly used to protect middle and upper class, pro-U.S. elements from these countries. The dates following the countries listed below are those in which this program has been used:

**CUBA:** 1960-1966 (After the revolution there.)

**CHILE:** April 9, 1971-May 18, 1971 (After the Popular Unity government came to power. Needless to say, no such program was instituted after the U.S. coup of September 1973.)

**CAMBODIA, VIETNAM, AND LAOS:** 1975-1977 (After the U.S. and its puppet governments went down, but before the masses from these countries began to leave in large numbers.)

**ETHIOPIA:** 1977-1981 (After the Ethiopian regime flipped from a U.S. to a

Soviet client state.)

**IRAN:** 1979

**AFGHANISTAN:** 1980 to present (After the Soviet invasion.)

**POLAND:** December 23, 1981 to present (After martial law was declared.)

The third program is brand new. The *New York Times* of September 22 announced the U.S. has decided to admit as many as 200 Salvadorans as political refugees to this country. What's up? The *Times* explains, "The group that will be admitted will be drawn from 554 former political prisoners plus their families who were released during the summer as part of an amnesty program." In fact it will be 50 former prisoners and the rest are family members. The article goes on to note that by this action, "the Administration has for the first time legally acknowledged that there are dangers of reprisals for at least a group of Salvadorans." A heady and not insignificant move, to be sure.

While we are not privy to the exact identities of the released prisoners, it seems relatively certain that what's going on is the U.S. hedging its bets in El Salvador, specifically by building up and protecting sections of the "legitimate opposition" in El Salvador. This is similar

to the U.S.'s providing a safe home for years for Benigno Aquino and other bourgeois opposition figures from the U.S.'s neocolonies, kept in the ready in case the need arises to implant them quickly into their countries. To double check their loyalties, the government assured the *Times* "they will be screened before being admitted." While no doubt creating potential political/legal problems for the INS through this move, as Salvadoran masses applying for asylum in the U.S. can and will point to this development to press for their being admitted under the same admission of repression in El Salvador by the U.S., evidently the U.S. feels that not to plan in this way for future "changes in regime" there could wind them up in even more trouble in the long run.

And the U.S. is not alone, as other countries are taking up their share of responsibility for Western imperialist domination of El Salvador: Canada has taken 131 of the former prisoners, plus 159 of their relatives, Australia 44 ex-prisoners and 52 relatives, and Norway, Sweden, and Belgium have all promised to take up the slack. □

## An INSIDE View

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gees" (because America is "proud to be a nation of immigrants," always willing to welcome the downtrodden, blah, blah, blah...). International political relations? You won't find those mentioned in the law books, so how can the U.S. be accused of basing its programs on them?

Clearly the U.S. government considers asylum a problem of considerable importance. But just what kind of importance is revealed further by some interdepartmental sniping by the INS against the State Department over the latter's role in adding to the backlog. For it is the State Department which at present issues all decisions on who gets and who does not get asylum in the U.S. The mechanism through which this is done is somewhat covert — the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (BHRHA) is delegated to issue "advisory opinions," but this advice is the kind that "cannot be refused," and never is. The INS report exposes the fact that the BHRHA has only three full-time employees, who each spend an average of 1/2 hour per claim, and then forward the claims to State's Political Desks in charge of the various countries. The number of people assigned may seem incredibly low until it is considered that all the BHRHA personnel do is look at the answer to the question on the asylum application about nationality, and on the basis of this issue their "advisory opinion." The report also complains that at present only three out of a total of 560 hours are devoted to refugee issues in the basic officer training program of the INS itself. Thus, obviously, the government machinery is not set up to deal "expeditiously" with the situation. Although, as we shall see, beefed-up training of INS officers in asylum affairs is one of the study's major recommendations, the purpose of this proposal, not surprisingly, has nothing to do with changing basic policy.

### The "Individual Criteria" Scam

Prior to a 1980 Refugee Act, only those persons from "Communist-dominated" countries or from the Middle East were even eligible to apply for asylum in the U.S. (The rationale behind the first category is apparent; the second was based on U.S. reaction to national liberation movements in the Middle East, as well as nationalism of the Nasser variety, and aimed especially at providing "safe haven" for Jews and Christians from that region.) As part of the Carter regime's "human rights" offensive, and to bring U.S. immigration law more into synch with the UN Protocol on Refugees, which the U.S. had signed 12 years before, the 1980 Act wiped out these so-called ideological and geographical criteria, and adopted, on the law books anyway, the "individual criteria" standard

for asylum used by the UN: "any person outside his or her homeland, unable or unwilling to return or otherwise claim its protection because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion" may apply for asylum inside the U.S. to the INS. But unlike INS protestations to the contrary, asylum is and always has been a question of global, not individual, politics.

Still, the INS can be refuted on its own reputed standards. On the same page of the report which says "the burden of proof is on the applicant to prove individual persecution" (emphasis in original), it quotes approvingly the following from an INS district director: "There is a difference between processing claims by documented, old-line refugees like Poles and Hungarians and the newer undocumented. With the undocumented, it's a much more difficult issue because you're trying to find out if the person is who he says he is and secondly if he qualifies for asylum." (It should be realized that practically no Poles can, or need to, prove anything but their nationality — but then that's the whole point.) There's also an off-hand comment buried in a footnote toward the end of the study: "Although the Refugee Act abolished the country of national origin test for refugee/asylum status, for foreign policy or other reasons the criterion may still be overriding." May be?! The study was so concerned about this point that it never mentions it again.

That foreign policy needs and strategies guide U.S. asylum policy, and in particular the "economic/political refugee" rationale used by the U.S. to reject for asylum refugees from countries it controls, has been exposed in these pages before. Yet never before have we had the opportunity to hear so much admitted straight up by the INS as to the unwritten — but very much enforced — laws on who's allowed in and why. Never before have these scions of the slavemasters' tradition said so clearly that the "individual criteria" standard is irrelevant in practice, and that the INS never has and does not intend in the future to use it except for public consumption. What follows are incidents recounted and statements from INS personnel in the INS study. Keep in mind while reading these the professed "individual criteria" standard that is written law, and see if anything but the politics of world empire and facing off with the Soviet bloc determine U.S. political asylum practice.

● "I never ask a person anything. I just look and see if the person belongs to a nationality group that everyone agrees are refugees like the Poles." (An INS examiner)

● "In December 1981 a week after martial law was declared in Poland seven Polish crewmen jumped ship and applied for asylum in Alaska. Even before seeing the asylum applications, a State Department official said, 'We're going to approve them.'" (And they did.)

● "An immigration judge, although doubting the evidence presented by an Afghan national at an asylum hearing, nonetheless granted the claim 'because of the Soviet invasion not because of a well-founded fear of persecution.'"

● "Upon returning from an inspection trip to Europe, a senior INS official wrote: 'I witnessed the interview of an older Armenian couple with three grown daughters. Since their home community was practically all Armenian, they could point to no persecution there. They said that they had been treated well on their trip to Moscow. They did say that the Russian customs officers who talked to them at their time of departure were rude.... All of the above applications would be approved.'"

● "In practice unless you (an immigrant — RW) can present *Time* magazine articles on your own treatment, or State or the CIA has taken you under their wing, you may as well hang it up." (An INS attorney)

● "I don't believe our people are capable of making independent decisions without input from the State Department." (An INS official)

● "I don't have any opinions. It's just what I do. I get the advisory opinion and then I write up the case. I like the fact that I interview people instead of just shuffling papers."

● "I would never, never overrule the State Department."

But if you want to do more than just rubber-stamp and still do what's good for God and Country at the INS, what's a poor lackey to do? Simple, just follow the example of one officer who "said that when she was assigned to asylum work, she bought a subscription to *Newsweek* magazine to 'learn more about' countries overseas." Now, there's a thorough and impartial source, right? The officer added, "Things change so fast in the world."

Of course there's always the employee who can't even play automaton right. Take for instance the INS agent who sent a Cuban immigrant back to Cuba — "the first Cuban national in more than twenty years to be repatriated." The INS brass was even more burned as they only learned of it in the press after it had occurred. Didn't this agent know that the point is not to apply the individual criteria standard to Cubans — that's just for the record, public consumption, and Haitians, Salvadorans, etc.? Didn't this bumbling bureaucrat know that the U.S. government doesn't like to lose — ever — in their propaganda battle against the Soviets?

A problem cited early in the report — "lack of uniformity in procedures and

decisions nationwide" — takes on a very particular meaning against the backdrop above. On the one hand, there's clearly a high level of unity in basic asylum practice; on the other hand, there's a need for even more, including to guard against potentially embarrassing political incidents.

Should the reader by this time assume a low level of sophistication on the part of immigration authorities in this country, the reader will be only partly correct. To attempt to cover up the blatant differences in treatment of refugees, for those from Soviet-dominated countries a whole new extra-legal lexicon has been developed to go with the economic/political game. First, there's what's known as "presumptive status" for these refugees. Then there's the "clear probability standard" as applied to Poles, for instance. Or if that doesn't seem appropriate, try "members of an articulate and well-organized group." Sure to work with Soviet-bloc diplomats, scientists, ballet dancers, etc. And if none of these seems to fit, why not do what a senior INS official does when he's in a pinch with Soviet or Polish applicants — call them part of "our special immigrant program." That must have been the one in effect during the massive immigration raids in April 1982, called "Operation Jobs." In Chicago, for instance, while Mexicans and other immigrants from Latin America were kept imprisoned for days, Poles arrested and found here illegally were quickly set free on their own recognizance.

With all the other problems they have around asylum, the INS figures that the least they can count on is lots of blue-blooded American support for American interests. But the report angrily notes an enemy within the very borders (other than the immigrants themselves). This enemy is especially responsible for the "filing of mass asylum applications." Who is it? Progressive attorneys and organizations defending immigrants. As a high-ranking INS spokesman said in a speech last year, "I think that some activist and some human rights groups, and some immigration lawyers, bear a great deal of responsibility for this development." After all, mass deportations and their like are one thing, but mass asylum claims are quite another! That all this is done by U.S. citizens who really don't grasp firmly the national interest (or worse, denounce it!) is just too much for the guardians of the U.S. borders, and given that the report is internal and the usual coddling terms found in public INS pronouncements aren't needed, these unpatriotic elements get a good lashing.

### Looking Ahead

Given all these problems in the current asylum situation in the U.S., and the clear need for drastic changes, what then are the recommendations made in the report? How can the U.S. government

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# The Disappearing Witness...

## And The Plot Appears

"Political activists with distorted method of affecting change. Hostile, combative, and uncooperative. Will be part of dangerous program in the future." This description of RCP supporters taken from what would in normal circumstances be a routine Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) arrest investigations report indicates some of the seriousness of the issues involved in a current criminal case in L.A. Eleven people are facing serious felony assault with a deadly weapon charges — most allegedly against cops — with some facing three separate charges, each of which carries a potential 5 year sentence. In this case, as in others in California, the government is clearly moving to get felony convictions here as part of painting the RCP as "violent" or "violence prone."

The charges stem from just before May Day 1982 when the U.S. bourgeoisie unleashed a nationwide wave of attacks against immigrants which they called "Operation Jobs." By the end of the first day of this operation, April 26th, the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) had arrested more than 1,000 people — streets in major urban centers normally filled with immigrant shoppers and workers were virtually vacant, whole garment shop buildings were closed or locked up tight as the immigrants were forced to avoid the crackdown. The "nightly news" and every other news source was filled with the most disgusting chauvinism including the proclamation that "Operation Jobs" was a way to secure "American jobs for American workers."

In the midst of the stifling jingoist at-

mosphere of this campaign the RCP, USA and others building for May Day released a most important and exhilarating breath of fresh air in a counter offensive against this operation. Under the banner "We are all illegal. We're proletarians, we have no country. On to May First" the RCP issued a leaflet that was distributed nationally: "What is of concern is not some myth of 'jobs these people are taking from poor Americans' but rather what these proletarians are bringing to this country — political consciousness and revolutionary experience with the potential for further 'infecting' sections of the population here. That combination is a potential time bomb especially in times when loyalty to the red, white and blue will be absolutely demanded. We welcome these brothers and sisters — let's bring this mother down."

In Los Angeles, one of the government's focal points in this operation, the RCP called for a demonstration on April 28 in front of a federal detention center in Hollywood that had been used to house arrested immigrants. The government lashed back with a vicious assault against this demonstration. Using as a pretext the fact that a few flag-waving America-firsters had attacked the demonstration and been fended off, a large squad of LAPD riot cops charged the demonstration flailing away with their batons, chasing people throughout the neighborhood, at times brandishing their weapons — and eventually arresting 18 people, most on felonies (and setting high bails which added up to a total of \$80,000). This demonstration and police assault were

covered broadly in the media and brought out into the open (in the bourgeois media) proletarian opposition to "Operation Jobs" and also for the first time broke the media silence on the upcoming May Day demonstration. Eleven felony cases remain, which are now in a preliminary hearing (a few misdemeanor charges also remain and are being handled separately in the courts). The LAPD has much reason for concern about the proletarian internationalist response to their "Operation Jobs."

The government's concern in this can be seen not only in the deadly seriousness with which they are approaching this case, but also in some "extra legal" developments as well. In particular is the matter of the "disappearing prosecution witness." One of the flagwavers used as a pretext for the police assault on the demonstration has been brought into the case as an important prosecution witness. Her testimony varies somewhat from actual events. Instead of the real picture of a frothing flagwaver who charged across the street, along with two men armed with baseball bats, charging into the picketline, immediately starting fights — she claims to have been simply curious about the demonstration and went across to politely ask what it was about. According to this witness, for absolutely no reason at all, the demonstrators jumped her. But in fact she and her two friends had been quickly joined by several others when it appeared they were not succeeding at disrupting the demonstration. Once all of these had been fended off, police arrived on the scene better armed

and better prepared for the same purpose.

The day seemed to be ending with this woman's lie shot full of holes, contradicting in some ways the differing lies of a preceding prosecution witness, a cop.

But more significant than the fantastic testimony itself is the fact that in the middle of the defense cross-examination she disappeared! The cop who had arranged for this witness's all-expenses paid trip to L.A. from her home out of state, and who picked her up and dropped her off at her hotel every day, suddenly claimed he had no idea where she had gone. Defense attorneys suspecting this to be some type of government maneuver, questioned this cop about his methods of searching for the witness and about the condition of the room she had been staying in (Did she take all her clothes, etc.). But after conferring with the District Attorney (who himself is something of a "special prosecutor" for the RCP as he handles all of the D.A.'s cases that involve suspected RCP supporters) the cop refused to answer some of these questions.

In explanation of this refusal the D.A. and cop explained they might begin a murder investigation and it might be unwise, said the D.A., to give certain information to some persons who may be involved in that activity! "I have heard," continued the D.A., "and it is hearsay based upon hearsay, about events in the past where members of the RCP committed acts interfering in criminal proceedings, including the kidnapping of a judge!" Defense attorneys raised a storm of objections to these outrageous comments. The D.A. could, of course, produce not a shred of evidence about his "hearsay" allegations, which have in fact never even been alleged against the RCP or its supporters before.

The judge in the case, a noted liberal, overruled all the defense motions for immediate dismissal, or at least the removal of the D.A. from the case, saying he hadn't been prejudiced by the D.A.'s comments and that the information

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## INSide View

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put into place to the greatest degree possible the mechanisms and instruments needed in the period ahead, sure to witness ever-intensifying international developments and even greater numbers of refugees?

One top priority for the present and especially the future that the INS has identified is cutting down the numbers involved and dramatically reducing the delays currently involved in processing asylum claims. Delays in dealing swiftly with any refugees, or even just potential delays, are anathema to the imperialists. In fact, if there are any further delays in passage of the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill now in Congress, the report suggests that "by publishing new regulations the executive branch could change the way claims are processed without new statutory authority." The point, obviously, is that by hook or by crook changes are needed, and fast.

One of the important elements in the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill is regarding asylum, and the changes in law proposed are geared to do exactly what the report calls for. Claiming that the appeals process in asylum matters is terribly overburdened, the Bill aims to wipe out almost all appeals processes now on the books. A closer look (provided by the INS study) puts the lie to the claim of an overburdened appeals process, however. It gives figures which show that: (1) less than 5% of all asylum claims (other than those filed by immigrants arrested by the INS for deportation) are heard in the INS court system (as opposed to its administrative offices), and (2) only 2% of those immigrants turned down by the administrative apparatus of the INS are appealed. Hardly an "overwhelming burden for the INS courts," but then any challenge to U.S. authority is one challenge too many.

The proposals outlined in the report as a whole are designed to unify, streamline, and centralize the very policies now in effect. What's called for is more of the same, only quicker and slicker. Four things are listed as key: make dealing with asylum matters a priority overall within the INS; train an asylum officer corps; re-

visit the asylum application; and develop a monitoring system to review asylum policy and practice on a national scale. (The third item, revising the application, may be quickly dispensed with: it's intended as a sop to those outraged by current INS asylum practice. Only one question out of 45 on the application now even asks about political persecution, and then about half an inch is given to respond. The INS will lose nothing by changing the appearance of the form.)

The key proposal to reduce the backlog and streamline overall operations is that the State Department no longer review any but "politically sensitive and/or complex asylum cases." Very simple: since "all these cases begin to look alike after a while," as one INS examiner said, why bog State down. Left all but unsaid is, "Why force two departments to go through the sham of reviewing the claims when one, if it's spruced up, will do?" While the comment that "all cases look alike" is an obvious exaggeration, what's at play here is the general revamping of the U.S. government's internal division of labor vis à vis immigration affairs. In the report, the INS is stating that it should be trained politically to handle all "routine" matters (apparently reading *Newsweek* is insufficient for the coming period), while State can devote its attention solely to the sticky political cases. Unmentioned in the report, but very much in the new operations manual of the INS, is that all politically sensitive cases involving revolutionary immigrants are to be turned over directly to the FBI (whereas previously the FBI was only supposed to be "consulted" by the INS).

Yet, wait, lest one get the impression that "untrained" people will now have ultimate say (as opposed to the "objective and well-trained" State Department people), there's to be a training program for asylum examiners, and what's more, there's a proposal for them to be trained alongside State personnel. An added incentive is that "Since both INS and State personnel tend to be career employees, the benefits to the Service will be long term, and will encourage inter-agency communication, coordination, and professionalism." Insurance is to be provided by a Handbook "containing actual case studies of denied and approved applications, first person experiences of INS officers in the field, a catalogue of

helpful hints and suggestions, etc." Why, just wait till an INS examiner reads the reports of what happened to his colleague who sent the Cuban back to Cuba — or what would happen if an examiner approved a Salvadoran peasant by mistake!

To achieve more centralization in cases such as these, "A monitoring and quality control mechanism — both locally and nationally — is imperative to ensure uniformity in asylum adjudications within and among districts." This could also help clear up unfortunate discrepancies between INS practice within the U.S. and overseas, for it seems that some Poles, for example, have been getting turned down applying within the U.S., while few are refused applying abroad.

To deal with the vexing PR problems, the Office of Refugee, Asylum and Parole, with the INS Office of Public Affairs, the Department of Justice, and the State Department, "should develop a media information program to highlight the Service's commitment to expeditious processing of asylum claims." To attempt to promote these efforts as anything but cold-blooded imperialist politics seems beyond their ability. Rather, with less refugees around awaiting decisions, the INS evidently hopes (in vain) that some of the furor will die down.

Among other proposals in the study, three are noteworthy. Supposedly today an immigrant can get work authorization after applying for asylum, and before a decision is handed down, if an "economic need" can be shown. (Otherwise, working is illegal.) In practice, for instance in Los Angeles, this is seldom true for Salvadorans and other immigrants from countries in the U.S. sphere. Now, using the excuse that some immigrants with "several million dollars in U.S. funds available" (undoubtedly a common situation!) have taken advantage of the program, the INS is called on to make work authorization even more difficult if not impossible to get for tens of thousands of asylum applicants. In reality, their purpose is certainly not to stop all of them from working but to keep a club over their heads and force these immigrants to take the lowest-paying and most dangerous jobs in society. As another measure of intimidation, the report calls for strict enforcement of fines and jail sentences for filing false information on the asylum application: up to \$2000 and/

or 5 years in jail. Finally, a none-too-veiled threat is made on progressive attorneys when it is stated that they should be "aggressively reminded" that it is a violation of the American Bar Association's Canon of Ethics to file court papers for the purpose of delay. If found guilty of doing this, of course, an attorney can be disbarred altogether.

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### Afterword

The INS report concludes with an "Afterword" putting asylum in an international and historical context. It seems appropriate to close this article the same way. As it states, "What is striking is that no matter what the volume of cases — Australia processes fewer than 500 claims annually; West Germany has more than 160,000 applicants pending — the issues are the same."

Indeed. Although harking back in a moment of reverie to the bible (Mary and Joseph fleeing Galilee to seek refuge in Judea), the Afterword quickly points out that things are quite different if you are in the United States and the time is the 1980s. The situation in West Germany in particular bears a close resemblance to that of the U.S. Just as the U.S. has been making feverish attempts of late to cope with its various requirements in immigration policy, so too has West Germany been making some significant changes in its immigration laws. (For instance, in 1982 all aspects of immigration for the first time came under federal, as opposed to local, jurisdiction there, thus enabling the German bourgeoisie to throw a much tighter noose over immigrants and immigration affairs.)

All this can only be properly understood in light of the imperialists' furious war preparations and their need to bring the immigration situation as much under control as possible now, and put in place the mammoth repressive apparatus they like to believe will rein in immigrants, some of the most disloyal and unpatriotic sections of the masses. The report concludes, "As with other issues, the United States is called upon to play a leadership role, for not only will our policies and decisions impact on the people of our own nation but they will serve as the international standard by which many other Western nations will evaluate their own actions." □



## New Twist In Kiko Martínez Trial

On August 19th the third and last set of framed up mailbomb attempt charges against Chicano activist attorney Francisco "Kiko" Martínez was dismissed in federal court. This, however, does not mean the end of the decade-long legal battle as the U.S. Attorney's office immediately announced its intent to appeal this dismissal — hearings on this appeal are expected in the next few weeks.

Martínez has previously been cleared of two other sets of federal mailbomb charges — acquitted in one set by a Denver jury in November 1982, and in the other a mistrial was declared in January 1981 and the charges dismissed. The state of Colorado also brought three sets of similar charges which had been dropped in 1981 amid scandalous exposure of the backroom maneuverings of judges, prosecutors and witnesses to secure a conviction. This exposure has been behind the dismissals and acquittals all along.

All these sets of charges stem from a 1973 indictment charging Kiko Martínez with mailing bombs to a Denver area cop and to a motorcycle shop noted as a hangout for racist whites in a Chicano

barrio. A third set of charges — the ones just recently dismissed — were filed after Kiko was captured returning from exile in Mexico City in 1980, seven years after the alleged mailing of a bomb to a school board member named Robert Crider. This most recent "Crider bomb" case perhaps best illustrates the nature of these charges. The government has no actual evidence in the case. They say they have a report which says they found Kiko Martínez' palm print on the packaging material of the alleged "Crider bomb." They also have a photograph of this alleged palm print. But they have no bomb, no packaging material, no palm print. All this, if it ever existed, was "accidentally" destroyed in 1974, the police say, after being held in storage for a year.

In spite of this rather limited evidence, and in spite of the fact that Kiko was acquitted in the previous case where the prosecution at least had a piece of paper with Kiko's fingerprint on it that they could at least claim came from a bomb, the U.S. Attorney's office decided to forge ahead with the third trial. Judge Theis (who describes himself as a "fireman," resulting from his work in

such cases as the Karen Silkwood and Leavenworth cases), however, had been brought into these cases to clean up the government's act and put behind them the exposure of the political content of these charges. He ruled only the obvious (given his role) in saying that this report and photograph could not be used as evidence in the trial and that the destruction of the alleged bomb and packaging material so prejudiced Kiko's defense that dismissal of the charges was called for.

But such evidentiary problems were not going to get in the way of the U.S. attorneys (who themselves had been brought in specially from Chicago to attempt to hide the already tainted work of the previous U.S. attorneys) and thus they filed their appeal. After all, the U.S. Attorney's office was never concerned about evidence in the first place (other than, perhaps, its *proper* manufacture), so why worry about it now? The government has gone to great lengths to rehabilitate their railroading of Kiko Martínez already and this appeal is certainly not a frivolous matter. In fact, it now sits before the same 10th Circuit

Court of Appeals that had previously been removed from the cases after being caught redhanded in backroom maneuvers against Kiko.

And while the *exposure* of these maneuvers has created serious problems for the government, the fact that they happened is no problem at all. Last year Kiko's attorneys filed a civil suit against the original federal judge (Judge Winner), the U.S. Attorney's office, key police witnesses and others based on their misconduct. In particular Winner and the others had been exposed for holding a meeting, called by the judge and without the presence or notification of the defense attorneys, during Kiko's first federal trial. At that meeting the judge offered the prosecutors a mistrial anytime they wanted it, but suggested waiting until the defense had put on its case so they would know their strategy. The U.S. attorneys called for and got their mistrial the next day. Despite this and many other examples of blatant "misconduct" the civil suit was thrown out of court based on the fact that judges have virtually total immunity from any civil or criminal action based on their conduct as a judge. □

## The Disappearing Witness...

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defense attorneys were seeking was irrelevant — thereby avoiding the real issue of what the government was up to in this mysterious disappearance and "murder investigation" (although he left the door open to these matters being pursued later).

The next day the prosecution witness, just as mysteriously, reappeared. She had supposedly been arrested by police overnight and returned to the court. Incredibly, she then proceeded, with the apparent assent of the D.A. and judge, to blame the defense attorneys for her disappearance — she just couldn't take any more of the lengthy questioning! The real reasons for her "disappearance" remain hidden for now. Certainly the possibility remains that the whole thing was a set-up designed to allow the D.A. to

put his outrageous allegations on the court record (just as LAPD Chief Gates and others have been doing during the recent developments in the PDID (now Anti-Terrorist Division) intelligence cases where unsubstantiated lies about the RCP have been dropped into various court records intended for use at some later time, again to paint the RCP as terrorist or violent, etc.). But even more could be involved; the disappearance of a prosecution witness in a case like this could easily be used as a pretext for a FBI "investigation" as well as the suggested LAPD "murder investigation." And, of course, even if this witness "disappeared" on her own, the LAPD and D.A. were obviously quick to seize on the opportunity presented.

It is also of note that when it comes to such "investigations" the D.A. and LAPD make it clear that the RCP is in-

deed on trial here. LAPD reports continually refer to all the defendants as RCP members — which they are not. But when it comes time for arguments over what intelligence files, etc., the LAPD will be required to turn over to the defense, the D.A. and LAPD will quickly argue, as experience shows, that this case has nothing to do with politics or the RCP, it's simply a criminal matter.

Each prosecution witness in the hearing so far (all police but one) have contradicted the others on the events at the "Operation Jobs" action. Nonetheless, they all come off with a practiced constant refrain about certain aspects of the incident with a focus on fabricating a strong case on some of the defendants, especially against a number of the women (in the police attack on the demonstration itself it was clear as well that police were focusing much of their attack on the

women). The extent of the involvement of the various "anti-terrorist" police agencies has not yet become a major issue but already it has been learned, contrary to police reports and the testimony of some of the police witnesses, there were LAPD personnel present in the attack from a number of different divisions (not just Hollywood), and also cops from the California Highway Patrol, and from the LA Sheriffs. The existence of this "joint action" helps put the lie to the police story that there was no pre-planning of this attack on the demonstration, that it was merely a routine response to a routine call.

At this writing, the hearing continues, with no date set for a trial. Much more exposure of the dirty work of the bourgeoisie is bound to be forthcoming in the days ahead. □

## Murder Story

Continued from page 4

though the cop said he could not speak a word of Spanish, nor could they speak a word of English. The immigrants were held for the INS, yet because of a fluke in federal regulations (that the INS cannot deport during the census time), these witnesses had been released. However, they clearly got the point and all left the country before the trial.

This trial was a true testament to American justice. Only once did anyone, prosecutor, defense attorney, judge or witness actually call the murder victim by his name. "The Mexican," "that Mexican," "those Mexicans," as well as racial slurs fill the transcript. It was the prosecutor who asked one witness, "Have you ever seen them draw them (knives) and by the time they get them out they have the blade open." Yet no one even contended that López or anyone else had a knife!

As for the work of the Georgia state crime lab, the assistant director, Dr. James Dawson, whose job is to perform autopsies and testify at murder trials all over the state, explained in detail the *first test* he had run on the body of Ramiro López — a blood-alcohol level!

At one point, court was actually recessed so that all present could participate in the Veterans Day parade and ceremony by the American Legion. Shortly after that it was over, and Richardson acquitted.

The exposure that was revealed through the murder of Ramiro López helped to heighten a certain spontaneous polarization, particularly among local whites. Already a number of white youth had begun to make friends with the young immigrants, trying to break the language and cultural barriers. Even in Cedartown there are those few who just don't buy all that racist crap outright.

An indication of this is that as early as 1980 several local women had married Latinos, events that actually broke apart their families, with sisters and brothers siding against the parents. One mother contacted the State Legislator to see if he could block the marriage of her daughter to an "illegal." And a young woman who's been married four years to a man from Cuba told the *RW* she has not talked to her mother in as many years. Many of these local women have reported that they continue to receive threatening phone calls.

Meanwhile, shortly after Ramiro López was murdered, the KKK made national news when it called and led a short-lived strike at the Zartic plant against the presence of immigrants. The picketline of hooded Klansmen drew a handful of Black workers. Pictures of this "unity" were instantly flashed across the wires. Somebody way up there in the big media knew a good thing for the U.S. imperialists when they saw it: Black workers and Klansmen out in nowheresville Georgia in "struggle" against "illegal aliens."

Following intense ridicule by other Black workers who refused to strike for this reason, and the mild-mannered coaxing from the local NAACP leader (who had come to the picketline to "remind" people, "you'll be next"), the picketline remained all white for several days. But soon the whole strike fizzled in a heap of publicity, when the Klan announced they were backing out — they suddenly had bigger concerns in that part of the state.

In Rome, Georgia, 15 miles up the road from Cedartown, a white young woman and Black young man, both high school students, were suspended from school for a sexual act on a school bus. The general response among the youth was, who cares? But this was hardly the response of others. The Klan went wild, holding mass rallies in front of the school, handing out flyers with the Black youth's name and address on them, basically forcing the youth to leave town. He moved to Cedar-

town, though, and the same thing happened all over again. He was forced to drop out of school altogether under a less than veiled threat by the school superintendent.

It was in this political climate, which lingered on for months, that KKK member Dwain Pruitt and a bevy of friends felt the freedom to murder Casiano Zamudio last April. Pruitt even admitted to neighbors that he "shot the wrong man." Apparently it was one of Zamudio's friends who had actually made the fatal error of asking Pruitt's daughter for a date. The Pruitt case has now become a *cause célèbre* for the KKK, which is "fundraising" for the defense. The attacks persisted. The front door of Zamudio's wife's apartment was broken in. Several other assaults on Latinos by whites were reported to Catholic agencies and other organizations in the Atlanta area.

Shortly after Pruitt's arrest, given the obvious comparisons being made to the earlier López murder and whitewash, a few cracks began to surface in the authorities' ranks over how to deal with this case. Within one week, Pruitt's bond was raised from \$10,000 to \$30,000, and the murderer wound up in jail for a month, as the Klan publicly bemoaned its difficulty in raising the bail money. No doubt other cracks will appear as the trial and its publicity begin.

### GBI "Investigates"

Earlier this summer the Georgia ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) and the Mexican Consul in Atlanta asked the GBI, Georgia Bureau of Investigation (the state version of the FBI), to investigate the charges of harassment of Zamudio's wife and others, especially in light of the fact that all three immigrant eyewitnesses to the López case had left town. The GBI promptly sent the supervisor of its anti-terrorist squad, Darryl Adams, up to Cedartown to conduct this investigation.

Mr. Adams was more than frank in remarks to the press on the conclusions of his trip, "I wouldn't assume that everything up there involves the Klan. I don't have to tell you that some people in that area don't like Mexicans."

What this GBI agent did not tell the press about his "investigation" and what residents of the trailer park where Casiano Zamudio was murdered told the *RW* is quite revealing. Mr. Adams took none other than *Klan member and murderer* Dwain Pruitt around with him while he questioned people at that trailer court. "Some people", all right!

In fact the GBI has very long-term worries about the overall situation of this influx of Latinos into north Georgia. In a private speech last June to the Atlanta Metropolitan Crime Commission (see *RW* No. 216, "Grand Dragons of the GBI"), GBI director Phil Peters spoke directly to this point. While Peters' topic was the work of the Anti-Terrorist Squad aimed at some 17 "terrorist organizations" in the state (a list that includes the RCP), it is significant that the speech ended in a tirade against the immigrant masses. "We have a large Hispanic population. They bring some of their problems and problem-makers here. We have got to be prepared to see these problems don't get out of hand. Now Central America is a hot spot. What our President says is true, there is a tremendous communist influence in Central America. Central America is very close to home. It's potentially hazardous for us here."

The workings of the imperialist system drove Ramiro López and Casiano Zamudio from the murderous conditions in Mexico to murder outright in the Georgia hills. The killings expose that there is indeed a "potential hazard" faced by the ruling class, even out in these hills. They've got to "be prepared," according to the political pig above, and the Klan is obviously slated for an important role in efforts to "make sure these problems don't get out of hand." □



## Hawaii

We received this correspondence from a reader in Hawaii.

Nine wells supplying drinking water to 76,000 people were closed down on Oahu, Hawaii, during July because of pesticide contamination. Dibromochloropropane (DBCP) or Ethylene dibromide (EDB), both known to cause sterility (including testicular atrophy), cancer, and genetic mutations (defects that can be transmitted to the next generation), were found in the wells in concentrations from 30-100 parts per trillion (ppt). At the present time there is no federal standard for allowable limits of either in drinking water, where it is ingested in small quantities over a long period of time. Three of the wells closed supply water to Mililani, a suburb of Honolulu where a 3-bedroom house runs about \$150,000. The two other wells serving this area were found to contain 20 ppt DBCP but are still being used because it's the only source of drinking water left for the community of 25,000 residents. Another well on Navy land at Waiawa remains open with 10 ppt of EDB because the Navy felt the Health Department's recommendation to close it was unwarranted. All the wells affected are adjacent to pineapple fields, and Mililani actually sits on land that Dole Pineapple Co. phased out of production over the last 20 years. Official response to the disclosure is mock surprise as they scramble to cover their asses and assure the public that those who drink this contaminated water do not increase their risk of medical problems.

DBCP and EDB have been used for 20-34 years respectively in Hawaii to get rid of nematodes, tiny worms that feed on the roots of pineapple plants. In 1981 alone, 794,801 pounds of EDB were imported for use in Hawaii. EDB's toxicity was brought home last year when two California chemical workers died 72 hours after walking into a nearly empty storage tank. A California health official stated: "Every organ system in their body decayed. They turned bright green. Their skin fell off... they were rotting before they died." These men were exposed to 200 ppm, only ten times the federal standard for maximum exposure for workers handling the chemical. EDB has not yet been banned by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). DBCP came to public attention in 1977 when workers at a chemical plant in Lathrop, California, in the San Joaquin Valley, became sterile. DBCP was officially uncovered in the groundwater there two years later, although company officials had been aware of their unsafe method of disposal as early as 1975. An internal memorandum noted that water from their waste pond had percolated into a neighbor's field and "his dog got in it, licked himself and died." DBCP was banned on the mainland USA after it was found in the drinking water in several states. One-fourth of the 100 communities tested for DBCP in California contained amounts up to 16 ppb (16,000 ppt). The EPA exempted Hawaii from the DBCP suspension in 1979 because of the unique system of supplying water to the residents.

Hawaii does have a unique situation as regards water. A freshwater lens floating on salt water permeates the porous lava rock, providing the only available drinking water besides rain catchment for a population of almost a million. This water occurs in large aquifers about 800 feet below the surface and is separated from the surface by a thick layer of clay that is "relatively" impermeable. A much smaller amount of water is also available higher up but is easily contaminated and generally used only for agricultural purposes. After lengthy hearings weighing the cost and benefit of DBCP in Hawaii, the EPA determined that the "geological and hydrological character unique to Hawaii made contamination of public drinking water unlikely." This conclusion is a direct quote from the *Federal Register*. Ironically, on the same page of this document they give several examples of where



## A "Unique" Case of Poisoning

the groundwater, including wells tapping the deep aquifer, have already been contaminated. A Del Monte pump at Kunia that taps basal (deep) aquifer contained levels of 100,000 ppt of EDB and 10,000 ppt of DBCP in 1977 after an accidental spill. At Waiialua DBCP was found in one well that was "soundly constructed with casing down to more than 800' below the soil surface." They conclude that "therefore, the contamination at this irrigation well could be an indication of DBCP movement through Hawaiian soil for several hundred feet." It must have been some kind of wishful (cost/benefit) thinking that led them to conclude that "contamination of public drinking water (was) unlikely."

The DBCP/EDB story broke when public outrage over another pesticide, heptachlor, was beginning to subside. Heptachlor, another known carcinogen, is sprayed on pineapple to get rid of ants, and the pineapple leaves are later fed to dairy cattle to cut down on feed costs. Heptachlor was banned during the '70s except in Hawaii. The pineapple industry was exempted and allowed to continue its use until an alternative was developed. During the spring of this year the milk industry was forced to recall the milk that people were drinking eleven times because the heptachlor level was over federal standards for cow's milk. Nursing mothers were found to have levels of heptachlor above those federal standards. After months of cover-up and public outcry, it was revealed in *Science* magazine that there was considerable likelihood that Hawaiian residents had been consuming "highly contaminated milk and milk products for a year and possibly longer" before the first recall. Public exposure forced the Director of Health to "retire" early. And letters to the editor still reflect anger at the State and in-

dustry. So, when the DBCP/EDB story hit, everybody was falling all over everybody else to point the blame and assure the public that the situation was under control.

The Director of the Board of Water Supply assured people that if they just boiled the water the chemicals would evaporate, saying "it's been tested and we know it works." But the Department of Health admitted that there was "no reliable source to indicate its safety." An EPA official said that boiling is not recommended on the mainland because the fumes are just as toxic. But, he added, with the houses in Hawaii so well ventilated... Still, public confidence was not restored. The pineapple industry simply said in effect, pineapple is a \$217

million/year industry in this state, if you ban the chemicals we will move to the Philippines where we can do anything we damn well please. The Chairman of the City Council, Patsy Mink, a well-known liberal, took the most outspoken position, demanding a ban on both DBCP and EDB. Adding to her decision, was a slight embarrassment that it was her husband that had provided expert testimony justifying the use of DBCP in Hawaii. The governor appointed a task force. The Department of Agriculture pointed the finger at the Navy that has some underground storage tanks in the area containing gasoline that has EDB in it. The Department of Health pointed the finger at the EPA for not providing standards. And the EPA did what it always does and promised some standards by the fall.

EPA was formed in 1974 to assuage growing public concern for environmental problems. They have banned only four pesticides so far. And although DBCP and EDB have been used for 20-34 years and they have known long-term effects, there is still no standards set for drinking water or overall ban of their use. Even after the gruesome deaths of the California chemical workers exposed to only ten times present "safe" limits, there hasn't been any change of those standards. Not to get into the ins and outs of EPA politics, but suffice it to say their role has been as apologists for industry. An EPA official, John Todhunter, said just a year ago that a single exposure to EDB was 100 times less dangerous than the risk of smoking one cigarette in your lifetime.

Even if they stop using all chemicals on the pineapple now, which they can't do, but even if they could that wouldn't stop the danger. In California, where it hasn't been used since 1977, experts believe that three billion pounds of DBCP is still in the soil where it will continue to leach into the drinking water, because the stuff persists in the soil for long periods of time even under optimal conditions of degradation. After 20-30 years use the chemical build-up in the soil is like a timebomb that will continue to contaminate the water for decades. But wait a minute, let's get our priorities straight. Dr. John E. Osborne, Director of Occupational Environmental Health Service at Pearl Harbor has the idea: "Why do we worry about the theoretical risk of having one excess cancer in 70 years when we really do have much more significant risks that would be much better addressed with money that is being spent or planned for pesticides in water." If you love the good life remember the old '60s slogan: America, right or wrong. During the "heptachlor scare" one Health Department official showed the right spirit. He told the press that he fed the milk to his children and even drank it himself instead of returning the recalled cartons to the store. Now, that's more like it. [1]

## RICO NET

Continued from page 5

rorist Task Force, one of whom sat at the prosecutor's table throughout the entire trial. It came out through questioning by the defense that the government's original transcripts had been rewritten and changed by the time they were given to the jury. For example, a statement that had been transcribed "They are going to lock us up" was changed to "They are trying to see Buck" (referring to a fugitive defendant, Marilyn Buck whose wanted poster has been sent to post offices, health food stores and optometrists all over the country.) Phrases like "last Friday" were altered to "the last robbery." The ability to use phone taps, complete with the government's "interpretation" of them, opens the door to all kinds of fabrications and doctored evidence.

When all this was said and done, the

fact that such outrageously flaky "evidence" is admissible by the letter of RICO — without corroboration by other sources — doesn't mean that bloody U.S. history of railroads and repression is so easily dismissed. The jury, which included eight Black people — did indeed act somewhat like those in the "politically-tinged trials of the 1960s."

However, the fact remains that RICO has now been used with success in a political prosecution for the first time. The decision to do this was made definitely in 1980 when terrorism was added to the list of RICO prosecutions, and this decision is confirmed by a statement from FBI Director William Webster who told a Senate Subcommittee in 1982 that "I believe our domestic security is best understood if they are viewed as another form of criminal intelligence." These vampires having indeed sharpened their fangs on this case, will no doubt attempt to use RICO again to assault revolutionaries. [1]



# AVAILABLE NOW!

## FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

On the "Crisis of Marxism"  
and the Power of Marxism  
—Now More than Ever

By Bob Avakian

"We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas.'" V.I. Lenin

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Death

1983 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Over this past century and more, Marxism has animated and aroused millions. Few can deny that the political landscape of the world today has been profoundly shaped by the struggles and revolutions Marxism has inspired. On the occasion of this anniversary, Bob Avakian has written a landmark essay, *For A Harvest Of Dragons*. Avakian's previous books include a major study of the thought of Mao Tsetung and an analysis of the events leading up to and the significance of the 1976 coup in China. Here he guides the reader through a synoptic history of Marxism.

Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx's investigations — in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx's thought, in particular the relation of Marx's early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the twentieth century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content, and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

This essay appears at a time of a widely proclaimed "crisis of Marxism" — when the validity of the labor theory of value is being questioned, when the applicability of Leninist forms of organization is being debated, when the whole revolutionary experience of the 1960s is being reassessed, and when the feasibility of socialism is being called into doubt. But Avakian's defense of Marxism is no mere liturgical reaffirmation. He stresses that Marxism is not a closed system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening "conventional wisdom" to renounce. Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. Indeed, *For A Harvest Of Dragons* is itself striking testimony to Marxism's continuing vitality.

"In the final analysis, as Engels once expressed it, the proletariat must win its emancipation on the battlefield. But there is not only the question of winning in this sense but of how we win in the largest sense. One of the significant if perhaps subtle and often little-noticed ways in which the enemy, even in defeat, seeks to exact revenge on the revolution and sow the seed of its future undoing is in what he would force the revolutionaries to become in order to defeat him. It will come to this: we will have to face him in the trenches and defeat him amidst terrible destruction but we must not in the process annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves. Here the example of Marx is illuminating: he repeatedly fought at close quarters with the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie but he never fought them on their terms or with their outlook; with Marx his method is as exhilarating as his goal is inspiring. We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor."

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We regret that this book is now available only in English; the Spanish edition is in the early stages of preparation. Due to the time consuming process of translating, and the lack of forces presently available, major publications — urgent and necessary for the political and theoretical arming of the class conscious forces today — have been unnecessarily delayed. Other projects — some recently published, some soon to be — cry out to be translated. Many hands are needed. If you can contribute to translation work contact a local representative of the RCP or when possible write directly to RCP Publications.

