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Duarte Charms The Congress



José Napoleón Duarte. How could anyone be expected to resist the appeal of this "sad-eyed searcher for peace," a man who if nothing else was "civilized," sincere, or as Representative Long of Louisiana put it, "tested and courageous. You have to respect him. He's a moderate. He's our kind of man."

Indeed Mr. Duarte is their kind of man — better put, he's *their* man, period. Educated in the U.S., installed as head of the "reform junta" after a now-acknowledged U.S. coup in 1979, Duarte's two-year reign then was a reign of terror: the tallies from the now-infamous nighttime savagery of the death squads and the military remain unsurpassed before or after. Duarte is hailed as a reformer and democrat — the success of his reforms and democracy is measured by the graves of peasants, victims of a land reform program which was designed and implemented along the lines of the now-infamous "Operation

Phoenix" counterinsurgency program developed by the CIA in Vietnam.

Of course none of this came to light in Duarte's visit: no embarrassing questions on the death counts under the reform junta, no flecks of gore permitted to ruin the nice clean image required for Operation Duarte — and an operation it was, as neatly planned and implemented as the CIA and State Department are capable of.

Picture Mr. Duarte before Congress: proudly and defiantly rejecting even a hint of Congress attaching conditions to aid to El Salvador. This would be, he solemnly intoned, "a violation of the principles of sovereignty." The congressmen were, to the last one, impressed with the man's "guts" and "independence." That not even a script was needed for this farce indicates how very well the players know their parts. Duarte as upholder of sovereign independence! — who in Congress does not know that

Duarte was not only installed by the U.S. originally, but in the recent elections as well, with even public acknowledgment of CIA funding of his election campaign to the tune of over \$2 million.

Side by side with the much-admired "independence" of Mr. Duarte was the begging for aid: "Please help the Salvadoran people," he wrote in a personal letter to Congress. And, of course: we need military aid fast, "because we are absolutely dependent on the supply of these bullets." Congress was moved by his pleas, went the script: "I think he's sold enough people in the House," proclaimed Speaker Tip O'Neill, along with other erstwhile members of the liberal opposition. And so the real relations of power are stood on their head: Duarte begs his vacillating American masters to go ahead and retain their mastery over El Salvador; they finally relent — convinced by the sound of their own words mouthed by their own personal puppet. The roles

were played with the cynicism and hypocrisy that only experienced American politicians can muster, as bills were rushed ahead to "break the ice," and to shovel down an even more extensive arsenal to wreak mayhem on the Salvadoran countryside, all to aid the beleaguered, independent Mr. Duarte.

Even before Duarte arrived, there had been more than the usual number of "cliffhanger" debates and "tense floor battles" over Congressional aid to Central America. What, after all, is a democracy without debate? As is generally known, the aid bill passed two weeks ago — and better in this case by an inch than a mile. As long as there is an America, there will be Congressmen "on record" against the "short-sighted" policies of worthy opponents. But be honest, oh dissenters — as long as there is an America, will there not also be El Salvadors? Generally *not known* is the

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Peltier Enters Seventh Week of Hunger Strike

As of May 24 imprisoned Indian activist Leonard Peltier along with Standing Deer (Robert Wilson) and Rechaza Lore de Chingatu (Albert Garza), entered the 45th day of a protest fast. The fast was undertaken in April to protest blatant attacks by Marion (Illinois) Federal Prison officials who have confiscated and destroyed all Indian religious articles, denied prayer meetings and contact visits with a medicine man.

Peltier has lost 40 pounds and is reported to be in a catabolic condition where the body begins to feed upon itself and is the last stage before the effects of a fast can be reversed. One of the other men is reported to have lost his eyesight. In an attempt to break this continued defiance, Peltier, Standing Deer and Rechaza have been transferred out of the prison to a federal prison hospital in Springfield, Illinois where authorities will try to force feed them.

In October, 1983 two guards were murdered at Marion's infamous Control Unit. Since then the prison has been on a 23-hour-a-day lockdown. The current issue of the Native American activist newspaper *Akwesasne Notes* published a letter from a Prisoner's Defense Committee which reported that "indescribable terror reigns" at Marion and that in addition to Peltier's fast, one-third of the prison population was on a hunger strike in protest over inhumane conditions at Marion.

On April 21, Peltier, Standing Deer and Rechaza were yanked out of Marion and shipped to the prison hospital where authorities first attempted to force feed them. Lawyers were able at that point to obtain a restraining order. On May 6 the men began drinking fruit juices to be able to keep up their strength and still maintain the fast. After three weeks Peltier and the others were shipped back to Marion where prison officials who had previously been so eager to force feed them now cut off the fruit juices.

Peltier received written notice on May 17 from prison officials that he would be permitted to have religious articles. As of this writing that has not happened; prayer meetings and contact visits with a medicine man continue to be forbidden.

On May 24, prison authorities were able to reverse the restraining order prohibiting force feeding, and on that day, Peltier was once again moved to the prison hospital.

Peltier is currently serving two life



Leonard Peltier

sentences on trumped-up charges of killing two FBI agents during a 1975 shootout where FBI agents, federal marshalls, SWAT teams and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) goons assaulted a spiritual encampment at the Pine Ridge Reservation in which Joe Stuntz, an Indian, was also killed. This conviction has been consistently challenged. Plots by prison officials to murder Peltier have also been exposed. Recently the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a new evidentiary hearing be held in late June. Defense attorney will argue that the government suppressed critical evidence — for one, a suppressed ballistics test showing that the bullets which killed the FBI agents did not match up with the gun the government claimed was associated with Peltier — and demand a new trial.

Leonard Peltier continues to be a defiant and inspiring leader of the Native American struggle and one who is relentlessly hounded by the ruling class. □

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May Day 1984 in Delhi

The following report on May 1st in India was received from Mass Line Publications. The RW will continue to carry news on May 1st actions of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, as the news reaches us.

MAY DAY 1984 IN DELHI

The newly born Revolutionary Internationalist Movement brought new life to the working and oppressed masses in Delhi on May Day. Raising Revolutionary Internationalist Movement slogans for May Day '84, a militant demonstration, over 1,200-strong, marched through the streets of Delhi; at Boat Club lawns it converted itself into a public meeting, when several more scores of people joined. At the meeting, speakers from many Marxist-Leninist organisations spoke, the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was released to the public and revolutionary songs in Punjabi, Hindi and Nepali were sung. The whole programme, lasting for almost the full day, from early in the morning till four in the evening, created quite a stir: the working class and other labouring people warmly welcomed it; the state machine, in particular its police force, felt uneasy about the entire event. The police at first tried to throw its weight around, by arbitrarily ordering the marchers to take an alternate route, but had to hastily withdraw when the latter stood their ground. The police was forced to keep a low profile in the face of the determination and revolutionary spirits which ran high.

The programme had been jointly organised by four Marxist-Leninist organisations — Central Reorganisation Committee, CPI(ML), Revolutionary Communist Party, India, Nepal Communist Party (Mashal), and *Communist Worker* [Organ of Revolutionary Communist Centre, India (ML)]. Preparations for it started well in advance. Leafleting in four languages (Hindi, Punjabi, Nepali and English), poster, holding of small meetings and other programmes were conducted individually and jointly for over a fortnight — the central point stressed was the formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the specific significance of this May Day. Hundreds of workers from several States (Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc.) started to arrive in the early hours; from Old Delhi Railway Station they straightaway marched to Ferozeshah Kotla, the gathering spot. Banners, placards and flags fluttered about turning the streets into a riot of red, and chanting of slogans filled the hot morning air.

All the speakers highlighted the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the growing unity being achieved by the international proletariat. Com. Sagar from Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) was the first speaker. First he explained the real content of this May Day. Today imperialism as well as all other forms of reaction have grown stronger and if an effective fight has to be launched against these forces, the world working class has to close their ranks still more. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's formation is a correct step and a fitting reply in this light, and herein lies the real significance of May Day this year. Further, it was an extremely positive thing that this time it was being jointly observed by genuine M-L forces of India and Nepal. The ruling classes of both countries are connected to one another in suppressing the labouring masses and this is a real danger confronting the struggle for liberation of our peoples. But the working class by uniting together can deal effective blows at this conspiracy and wage struggle successfully, overthrowing these reactionary forces. The comrade also critically referred to the erroneous relationship that had in general existed between the communist parties of the two

countries. He expressed the hope that with Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's formation on correct ideological-political lines, a relationship based on equality and fraternity can and will be established now. Com. Malvinder from *Communist Worker* who spoke next recounted the important milestones traversed by the international communist movement. While great victories have been won, setbacks also were there. The setback suffered by proletarian internationalism with the incorrect dissolution of the Comintern in '43 was a serious one. Even though with the anti-Khrushchov struggle led by CPC under Mao, culminating in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the proletariat made a qualitative advance, the absence of an international organisation continued. Its negative effect was seriously felt in '76 when the Teng clique overpowered the socialist roaders in China. However, the struggle waged by genuine Marxist-Leninists since then has now resulted in an important victory — the formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with a correct political perspective. He also explained that the victory won at the international level can be a

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A Marine Who Wouldn't Go

When he joined the marines three and a half years ago, Alfred Griffin, a Black Muslim youth, never expected to see combat. "I was just like one of thousands of 19-year-olds," Griffin stated, "who joined because he was tired of school, could not find a good job or because Dad was a vet and thought it would be a good experience to make a man of you."

When he enlisted, Griffin requested training in electronics; he was trained as a machine-gunner in the infantry. Later he was assigned to a presidential honor guard where he served for two years. He was nominated Marine of the Month. Outfitted in a crisp, tailored uniform, Griffin's picture graced the cover of the *Marine Corps Gazette*. He was considered a top-notch marine. But on May 16, 1984 Griffin was sitting in a military courtroom at Camp LeJeune, North Carolina, facing court-martial.

What Griffin had never really thought about when he joined the marines became a reality. Last October he was ordered out with his unit to Lebanon and then Grenada. Griffin, out of religious and moral convictions, left the base before the unit left for the Middle East, in effect refusing to go.

Griffin was not alone in his decision. There are reports of a small number of soldiers, both Black and white, who, particularly in the case of the Grenada invasion, either refused to go or refused to fire their weapons. An official fact sheet on the case provided by the Camp LeJeune Public Relations Office reveals that Griffin is the third from his battalion to be tried and convicted for refusing to go, and a fourth (who they refused to name) still awaits trial.

It was on October 18th that Griffin's unit sailed for Lebanon. When he returned to the base on October 19, repeated pressure was put on Griffin to rejoin the unit, now en route. He was told all would be forgotten if he would rejoin the outfit. Griffin refused. Two base chaplains worked overtime to try to get him to capitulate, offering him a chance to return to the unit, even trying to get him to return in a "support role" on board ship offshore, in return for the marines forgetting about the whole thing.

Just prior to the Grenada invasion over 200 marines were killed in the compound bombing in Beirut. Graphic pictures of mutilated bodies of marines were circulated at the base to psych up the troops. For Griffin, a major turn came during a class called "The Rules of Engagement for Combat," where a marine jumped up

and demanded, "Captain, I want to know when we are going to run those ragheads out of there!" Unfortunately, we don't know the answer, but apparently the atmosphere was such that, as Griffin put it, "a chill went down my spine. . . . I would have been behind that machine gun. . . . I would have been a disgrace to myself, a disgrace to my people, and a disgrace to Allah."

Finally came the news that the unit had been diverted and was now engaged in an invasion of Grenada.

In this heightened atmosphere, Griffin was again approached, and told the slate would be wiped clean if he went to Grenada. But still, Griffin refused to go.

Publicity

In most recent instances of soldiers refusing to fight, little mention has been made of them in the media. But Griffin's case has come into the public eye for a number of reasons. For one, Griffin himself challenged the grounds for the court-martial and brought in William Kunstler along with an attorney from the Center for Constitutional Rights to defend him. This helped publicize his case and to activate a base of support.

Further, Griffin is a marine (and at one time part of an elite unit, the honor guard, at that) and his refusal to go to Lebanon and Grenada is not the stuff of which "the few, the proud" are to be made. His current unit is the 2nd Battalion 8th Marine Regiment, part of the 22nd Marine Amphibious Unit. These combat-ready troops play a critical military and political role for the U.S.

Griffin had stated, "I must tell you from the beginning I have loved being a marine. My three and a half years of service has been an exciting and progressive part of my life which I served over two years as a presidential honor guard, which is an honor. My enlistment in the Marine Corps seemed to be one of the brightest parts of my life until my unit was given orders into Lebanon. I did not go. It was a difficult decision for me to make, a major turning point in my life. I made this decision for several reasons. As a child I was raised as a Muslim. Those principles, ideals and beliefs of Islam are still with me today." And the military has responded — being a proud marine is fine, but it isn't enough — you have to *fight* for the interests of the U.S.A. In publicly court-martialing Griffin, the military has moved to take advantage, to drive home the point that a soldier's job is to fight, and to stiffen the resolve among

its troops.

The military has special worries on this account about Black troops, and those of other oppressed nationalities, and this must loom large as a reason for the public court-martial of Griffin. In the events around the court-martial, there have been definite signs pointing to the cause for this worry. Even within Camp LeJeune, where some marines sport T-shirts saying "Lebanon, Granada — we restored pride" and where one can hear comments calling for Griffin to be shot, there are marines who come forward to tell of rampant racism in the military, as well as relating more stories of soldiers who refused to fight. Outside the hearing room, a small knot of Black marines listen tensely to the testimony. The defense also learned that the military had not been able to bring forward a single Black marine to testify against Griffin.

Local Muslim organizations have also supported Griffin. Lance Corporal Teith Benford, head of the Islamic Community at Camp LeJeune, stated after the court-martial, "I think we're all worried about the pressures that might be put on us here at the base because of this decision, but we all feel proud that Brother Griffin stood up for his beliefs, and that alone gives us more courage." During the proceedings, a defense witness, Imam Muhammad, regional counselor for the American Muslim Mission, testified that "I would have advised Brother Griffin to do just what he has done."

Religious Defense

Griffin's case was the first time that a religious defense was permitted by a military court in a case of this nature. But this should not be taken as some kind of concession by the military. The defense strategy was initially two-fold: to bring in expert witnesses who would testify on how the U.S.'s actions in Lebanon and Grenada were in violation of international law and to submit testimony on Griffin's religious beliefs that as a Muslim he could not be an aggressor in fighting, particularly against fellow Muslims. The court refused to hear testimony on the former, allowing only testimony on Griffin's religious beliefs. By doing this the court apparently hoped to keep the focus away from exposure of the U.S.'s actions, and attention trained solely on Griffin.

The trial judge also barred Griffin from answering any questions concerning racist practices inside the marines.

A trial with religious defense now

clearly is meant to set the record straight: refusal to fight on religious grounds will not be tolerated and will be punished. U.S. military actions will not be questioned, not in court nor in the tanks of its soldiers.

Said one of the prosecutors, "Griffin joined the marine infantry with the expectation he would not fight, but he took the oath of enlistment, and he promised to obey orders. He knew of the troop movement, and he refused to obey. He was told and he understood that he was to return on time, and he was told and he understood that he should make the troop movement. He didn't do either. His conduct endangered the safety and the welfare of his unit." The prosecutor's case was kept neat and simple and took less than two hours to present as three witnesses testified that indeed Griffin was not present in Lebanon. The prosecutors also sought to discredit Griffin's Islamic religious convictions by pointing out that he had indicated he was a Baptist when recruited — this it turned out was done at the insistence of Griffin's own recruiter.

Initially, Griffin stated, he looked forward to going to Lebanon where, he thought, he would be part of a "peacekeeping mission," and where he would meet a number of Muslims from another part of the world. *Newsday* wrote: "... In interviews before the court-martial he said he had been increasingly disturbed by the change in the U.S. role from one of peacekeeping to one that appeared to be increasingly aggressive. 'I could not as a Muslim attack other Muslims in an aggressive position.' He said, 'I felt that I could not participate in the Grenada invasion or in the Lebanon situation because we were being the aggressors, and my religion prevents that.'" Also according to *Newsday*, Griffin said that the Grenada invasion "showed no respect for political self-determination."

After two days of courts-martial a decision and sentence were quickly rendered. Griffin was ordered to serve four months in the brig, he was stripped of rank, his pay cut in half and he will be given a bad discharge. In meting out this sentence the military judge made the point that it was to be one of "deterrence."

While the government has every necessity to isolate Griffin, to publicly court-martial him and create public opinion against him, their actions have also brought to light what will be a growing contradiction for them. □

May Day in Stockholm

This photo of the May Day march in Stockholm, Sweden was sent by the "Ayacucho" Study Circle (Ayacucho is the department where the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru was initiated). Inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, a large contingent marched, carrying portraits of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and posters of the unified slogans put forward by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in nine languages, including a Swedish translation and a poster of the Communist Party of Peru. The marchers also carried banners which read: "Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!"; "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!"; "Long Live the Guiding Thought of Comrade Gonzalo!"; "Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!"; and "Long Live Guerrilla Warfare!" □



As the order represented by relatively unhampered shipping through the Gulf has continued to break apart over the past few weeks, a new order — signified by growing military preparedness throughout the Gulf region — is taking shape. Just a few weeks ago, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait's role in the Iran-Iraq war was mainly that of providing Iraq with the billions by which it has mounted its war effort. Today, those countries stand one step closer to direct participation in the conflict. Behind them stands the U.S., eagerly angling to parlay its offers of "protection" into an expanded military presence in the region.

Since February, when Iraq announced its intentions to mount "an effective blockade" of Iranian shipping around its Kharg Island export terminal, 19 vessels, oil tankers and cargo ships have been attacked. And with the sharp increase in the number of attacks throughout the first two weeks of May, the Gulf today stands on the brink of crisis. Iranian exports through Kharg Island have been reportedly cut by over one half. Insurance premiums have become sky high; the MacNeil-Lehrer Report of May 23 carried a report that the number of ships currently in the Gulf ran at about 100, compared to the normal figure of about 800. There have been as yet no substantial changes in the international oil price structure, though repeated fluctuations throughout this period demonstrate the volatility of this situation.

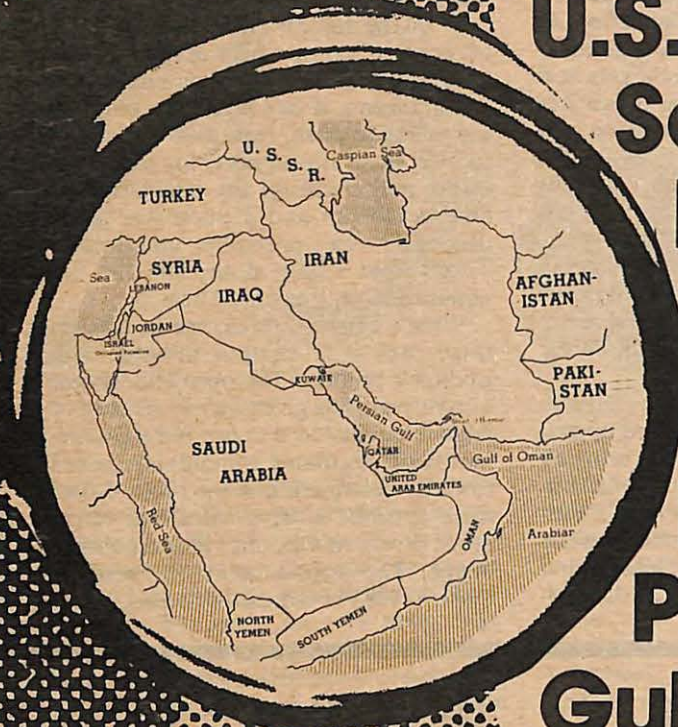
But it has been the entry of Iran into the business of attacking oil tankers that has marked the greatest change. Even as Iraq has adopted an increasingly provocative pose in the Gulf, a number of Saudi and Kuwaiti tankers being hit by Iraqi missiles over the last period, its actions have been received by public equanimity by the Gulf states. Following Iraqi attacks on Saudi-owned tankers in late April and early May, Saudi oil minister Yamani downplayed the issue:

U.S. Seeks R.S.V.P. in Persian Gulf

"The pilot of a fighter plane could not distinguish a ship's nationality from the air." The overriding concern of the Gulf states, of course, in maintaining an Iraqi viability as a front line of defense against a commonly perceived Iranian threat explains such expansiveness of spirit. Similarly, the Iraqi attacks have not occasioned any angular adjustment in the U.S.'s current "tilt" towards Iraq; its much ballyhooed role as "guarantor" of Gulf shipping security notwithstanding, the U.S.'s more pressing interest in this instance is to maintain an Iraqi-Iranian military stalemate.

But the Iranian attacks against tankers belonging to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in areas away from the Kharg Island facility at last matched the issue of Gulf shipping security with an acceptable villain. The attacks, on May 13, 14, and 16, gave rise to a flurry of diplomatic activity in Arab capitals, culminating in an emergency session of the Arab League at which the assembled ministers overrode Libyan and Syrian objections in issuing a condemnation of "Iranian aggression" (in doing so, the Arab League departed from its long-standing tradition of unanimous

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Sit-In At Oberlin

Oberlin College in northern Ohio has historically been identified for the "Oberlin tradition" of liberal education in the arts and humanities, enlightened policies towards oppressed nationalities and women, and student political awareness bred of a free thinking atmosphere. Even during the relatively quiet '70s, campus activism was common on various levels and occasionally dismissed with the comment, "Well, that's just Oberlin."

But there was no easy dismissal on the evening of Wednesday, May 16, as TV crews from Cleveland sped to Oberlin to find hundreds of students rallying outside the college administration building, and 150 students jammed into the president's office, minus the president. The protest was sparked by the administration firing of the campus minister, Willis Ludlow. The intensity of student outrage which led to the occupation took college officials completely by surprise. They responded not by tolerantly allowing the students to "do their thing," but with complete refusal to negotiate the rehiring.

Why was the Oberlin administration so determined to get rid of the campus minister that they were ready to expel large numbers of students over the issue? The answer has everything to do with just how Ludlow conducted his ministry. Much of the political activity at Oberlin over the last eight years has involved the Reverend Ludlow, looked to by most on campus as a political as well as religious leader, roles which he defines as "inseparable." Ludlow has played a catalytic role in challenging students and others into struggle, and his office has been a center of political discussion and organizing. Respected for his open, always questioning approach, and his delight in shaking up the status quo at every opportunity, Ludlow's name has nearly always been preceded in media descriptions by the words "controversial" and "outspoken." He recently taught a course entitled "Left-Wing Christianity."

In 1980, he helped initiate Oberlin Against the Draft, and continued opposing U.S. war preparations by bringing speakers from the women's encampments in Greenham Common and Comiso, Italy to campus. Continually, he has pushed further to grasp what was behind imperialism, and to expose it. In the mid-

dle of the patriotic hoopla generated around the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in 1982, Ludlow wrote a letter which was printed in the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* which targeted the Vietnam war as an aggressive, imperialist war, and called on people not to forget the lessons of that struggle learned by the people of the world.

Ludlow has taken stands controversial among progressive students, as well. Feeling compelled to do more than mildly wring his hands over the U.S.-Israeli invasion of Lebanon, he approached political organizations on campus and called for them to speak out against the invasion. When they did not, he made public statements himself, strongly condemning the invasion as "genocide," in the face of charges of being anti-Semitic.

In February, President S. Frederick Starr announced that Ludlow would not be rehired for "failure to meet the religious needs of the community" and for longstanding refusal to carry out administrative duties, only half heartedly claiming that Ludlow's politics had nothing to do with his firing. No one bought that. Ludlow immediately denounced the firing as a political attack and has remained unrepentant and uncompromising in defense of his activities. "All my social and political activity comes from the conviction that there is a will of God greater than the goal of fitting into the establishment.... If you persistently challenge the establishment — I mean, you could have a week of 'concern' on the nuclear arms race, or a week of 'concern' on race relations, you might have 'values clarification' on such things — but I mean, if day in and day out, you are willing to push, regardless of massive support or of no support, for peace and justice and challenge the establishment, here in Oberlin and in society at large, then you are probably unwelcome. That's what I have done, and I'm not ashamed of it, I'm proud of it."

What's clearly unwelcome at Oberlin these days is a campus minister with Ludlow's politics. The open atmosphere of past years has given way in the view of many students to a more bureaucratic, hardened, regulated atmosphere geared towards "competing in the 1980s." And there appears to be a calculated effort afoot to reverse Oberlin's liberal political image. The appointment of President Starr in 1983 is indicative of this. Starr,

who was chosen after a year-long intensive national search, was chosen for the prestigious job over heavy competition, and commented to a student soon after his arrival that he intended to get rid of "the granola kids."

He is described in college promotional materials as "a Soviet affairs specialist who was the first secretary and founder of the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Smithsonian Institution" where his duties were "maintaining extensive contacts with the USSR and Soviet specialists abroad, and working on the development of outreach programs fostering the development of Soviet studies in the U.S." Judging from his comments in joining the cacophony condemning the Soviet Union for the Olympic boycott, Starr isn't studying the Soviets in such high-level circles in order to become good friends.

Starr's first major confrontation with the students and the faculty, who have traditionally had much power in college decisions, was over the Solomon Amendment which requires students to sign a statement saying they have registered for the draft in order to receive federal financial aid. The faculty voted to oppose the government with a resolution explicitly against the Solomon Amendment, and set up a separate fund so that students who refuse to sign could still get aid. Starr vetoed this, and only with massive student pressure was forced into a compromise so that students wouldn't have to sign, although the explicit condemnation of the amendment was squelched.

Students described Ludlow's firing and the administration's response to it as the last straw in a year of struggle. Eight hundred students — nearly one-third of the enrollment — signed petitions in Ludlow's favor, and letters poured in from around the U.S. in his support. After all the pompous procedures had been followed in a three-month appeals process, committee meetings attended, etc., etc., Starr announced on May 8th that Ludlow was out, period. It was this open slap in the face that touched off the unprecedented student sit-in. The intention to sit-in was announced days ahead of time, and initially 50 students arrived at the president's office to find him gone, having cancelled all appointments. Another 100 students rallied outside. At closing time, the doors were locked, and

Starr strode confidently into his office, arrogantly declaring that once again that Ludlow was out. Offering to meet with two students while the others left, and getting in response a rowdy and definite "NO!", Starr fled, visibly shaken.

In came the Dean of Students, ordering everyone out and threatening suspension. No one left and others began calling the dining halls to alert students eating dinner. As the Dean began collecting names, across campus marched Abuswa, the Black student organization, in formation and chanting righteously. A bucket was lowered out of the president's office window to the crowd 30 feet below, into which students began putting their I.D. cards. In this way, 221 students symbolically joined the sit-in. As the crowd outside grew larger and louder, with chants of "Rehire Ludlow" from inside, up the steps into the office burst eight students who had found an open window and charged security posted to guard the stairs. From then on, spirits and excitement were high, as a ladder was raised to the window and 70 more students climbed inside, along with cartons of symbolic granola bars.

All evening a sort of festival of rebellion continued inside and outside, as students began to feel the weight of the offensive they had taken. Ludlow, briefly climbing up to join, called it "just a marvelous outburst. If somebody was alleging that there is a new Oberlin student who is apathetic and neo-conservative, I think this particular day in May shot that clear out of the water." The role of Abuswa in seizing the initiative in joining the predominantly white sit-in was particularly significant, solidifying the group and encouraging many others to join.

About midnight, the administration announced that 40 students had been suspended and would be severed from the college if the building wasn't evacuated immediately. This essentially ended the sit-in — the students left, but remained outside for hours debating whether it had been correct to leave, and arguing over how to carry things further. There are plans for protest armbands to be worn at graduation on May 26th, and promises of further "disruption" at the ceremony and in the future. Ludlow has left plenty of controversy in his wake, and no doubt further questions will surface over the issues for which he was fired. □

May Day in Delhi

Continued from page 3

real victory only with the application of the views and aims in the concrete conditions of our own country. And an all-India party and programme can be developed only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (in particular, New Democratic Revolution); a tendency to negate this truth is present among the Indian M-L forces — this is to be fought against. We must apply — not copy, since there are differences — the Chinese experience and for this Mao Tsetung Thought is indispensable.

Com. Jagjit from RCPI pointed out the necessity of a new international which was being felt by genuine communists the world over. Especially today, with imperialism as a world system, development towards a world war has become the axis of international politics. If we correctly view revolution as a process, we can see weak links developing in this imperialist chain, even in developed countries. The proletariat has to be prepared to utilise the opportunities coming up, and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement goes a long way in meeting this need. It is at the same time an effective

rectification of the nationalist tendencies which had cropped up in the International Communist Movement, hampering it for a long time now. Referring to the concrete problems facing the Indian revolution, he said a new programme is the need of the hour. All hitherto programmes put forth by Indian communists had failed in uniting the working class. This May Day that we are celebrating is a proof that genuine Marxist-Leninists at the national and international levels are taking correct steps in the forward march of the world proletariat. Com. Murali, representing CRC, CPI(ML) first sketched a brief history of the efforts of the Marxist-Leninists since the Chinese debacle to retrieve the unity of the proletariat. The '80 conference and the 2nd conference held early this year as also the ideological struggle waged throughout this period have culminated in a decisive, though not big, victory on this matter. He said May Day represented internationalism, but this internationalism would be hollow if it is not concrete. For the Indian communist revolutionaries, this means to take the revolutionary movement forward in our country. For this, only one path lies before us: apply Mao Tsetung Thought in the concrete conditions of India. When Mao said patriotism is applied internationalism, and when he spoke of the Sinification of Marxism many had

criticised him of being a nationalist. But history has shown who was in fact the true internationalist. The comrade also pointed out how Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was different from all hitherto-existent communist international organisations: while clearcut differences remained on questions of fundamental importance, various organisations have seen it necessary and possible to unite. Let us uphold the unity achieved and persist in principled struggle to raise this unity to a still higher level.

Com. Syed Nasseem, SAMA (People's Liberation Organisation of Afghanistan) representative in India spoke, spiritedly congratulating the M-L organisations who had organised this revolutionary May Day function and hailed the formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Saying that the struggle being fought out by Afghan people against the new Czars is in reality a struggle against imperialism, he pointed out the genuine anti-imperialist struggle today is one against both the U.S. and Soviet blocs. On behalf of SAMA he extended his deep-felt May Day solidarity between the peoples of Nepal, India, Afghanistan and the whole world.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement Declaration was now released in three languages — Hindi, Punjabi, and English. Com. Sagar who did the releasing explained that the Nepali version was

being released on the same day in Nepal but due to the fascist administration in that country a copy could not be obtained here. He also announced the signing of the Declaration by Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party (of Bangla Desh), since it went into press, which was the reason why PBSP's name could not be included in the list of parties. Greetings from jailed comrades hailing the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement formation were read out. Also, a collection of articles and talks of Com. Chang Chun-chiao, *Bombarding the Capitalist Road*, was released. The day's function formally came to an end with the singing of the *Internationale* in Punjabi.

In the Indian Parliament premises, this was perhaps the only May Day programme held. Not only that, the spirit and perspective pervading the function, the participation of around 150 women and children including babies — braving the scorching Delhi sun — the widespread awareness that similar May Day celebrations were being held in a number of countries on the same common slogans — all combined to make it really a new May Day, setting it apart qualitatively from the routine, drab rituals being held by revisionists and opportunists.

And all the marchers and participants returned with a clear sense that though only a small beginning, it was a new and positive beginning. □

Considering what god's representatives are purportedly capable of, the Pope's most recent foray, to four nations of the western Pacific, was fairly dull. Alternating homilies with tarmac-kissing rituals, he mingled with aborigines in Papua New Guinea, preached to refugees in Thailand, canonized 103 martyrs in Seoul and visited the leper colony of Korea's Sorok Island. However the native peoples were not massively converted, the martyrs did not rise from the dead, and most afflicted with leprosy have already been cured by modern medicine — so the trip was somewhat short on appropriately supernatural miracles. As always with this very modern pope, the most interesting part of his pilgrimage was its politics.

This earthly side of John Paul 2 stood out from the start of his trip, when he met President Reagan in Fairbanks, Alaska. Considering that the U.S. President was just leaving the east Asian arena as the Pope was entering, the encounter had the air of a pro wrestling tag-team huddling between rounds. Little is known of the private content of their discussions, but the public utterances are interesting enough.

The President proclaimed, "Your words, your prayers, your example has made you — for those who suffer oppression or the violence of war — a source of solace, inspiration and hope." To which the Pope, in his speech, answered with a resounding "God Bless America!" Cynics may assume that Reagan's remark was insincere. But we choose to contemplate a different conclusion: it appears to have been quite an accurate summation of the role played by this leader of world Catholicism, and we would like to pose the natural follow-up questions: What kind of hope? Solace toward what ends? And inspiration to do what?

Central Theme: Selective Reconciliation

South Korea, the main papal stop, is a well-known veil of tears. A young worker expressed this in a statement directly to the Pope: "Our working environment is bad, and we do not receive adequate compensation for our work. Our lives are so terrible that our situation prevents us from becoming aware of our human dignity. The news media do not accurately inform people of our real situation and, without labor unions free to present our desires, the lives of workers remain deeply hidden in the shadows of prosperity." A student to the Pope: "Speech and expression have long lost their function of informing correctly. And whenever we assert what we think to be true, some of us are taken to prison, some are forced to enlist in the military, and some are driven more to leftism." These, of course, are the expressions of the faithful among the oppressed who see in the Pope "a source of solace, inspiration and hope," and were reaching out to him. The broader scene in South Korea was a bit more rowdy. All classes were cancelled for two days, and campuses were inundated with secret police and troops. The Western press reported that at least 1,000 students occupied a library at the Korea University, after 5,000 were prevented from taking their protest into the streets. Clouds of tear gas from Sung Kyun Kwan University wafted around the Holy Father who was visiting near-by Taeshin Seminary.

Only stoic discipline prevented him from acknowledging the problem by wiping his eyes. However, in words the Pope did directly take up the questions of oppression, although in keeping with his philosophy and his tactics, these words were (in the expression of one disappointed Korean woman) "more abstract than concrete." To dramatize his theme of "reconciliation," he made a pilgrimage to the very symbol of South Korean rebellion, the city of Kwangju, where an uprising in 1980 starkly revealed the anger seething beneath the republic's vaunted neocolonial "prosperity." The revolt was brutally crushed by troops — hundreds were killed and thousands entered South Korea's prisons. Speaking in the Kwangju stadium to 50,000, John Paul 2 said:

"I am keenly aware of the deep wounds that pain your hearts and souls from personal experiences and from recent tragedies, which are difficult to overcome from a merely human point of view, especially those of you from Kwangju."

Explaining the "grace of reconcilia-

tion," he added: "This part of Christ's saving message is particularly relevant to those who are haunted by the memory of the unfortunate events of this place. By accepting the consequences of our baptismal commitment, we become instruments of reconciliation and peace in the midst of dissension and hatred. In this way, as effective signs of Christ's healing powers working in us, we ease the pain of injured hearts that are filled with anxiety and bitterness. At the same time, we can offer hope to those who suffer from oppression, and thus become instruments of Christian liberation and signs of true freedom."

Translation: First comes "solace" — the Pope hears your suffering and feels compassion. Then comes "hope" — while suffering cannot really be overcome by the "merely human," embrace "hope" in its dogged, transcendental, spiritual form, since with god anything is possible, and the pains of this world are the dues for the next one. Finally comes "inspiration" — in this world, it is to be instruments of "reconciliation" and forgiveness, specifically putting aside the "bitterness" toward the powers that be, toward the U.S. (whose neocolony this is), if not toward their current puppet Chun Doo Hwan.

Pope John Paul 2 studiously avoided directly endorsing President Chun. This is in keeping with the Church's role. In countries like South Korea, the Philippines, and others, Church hierarchs maintain ties with reliably pro-U.S. oppositions, even those that are nominally illegal, and even lend their pulpits for modest liberal criticisms of various regimes. (These and other considerations led to the absence of a papal stop in the

Philippines — the largest Catholic country in Asia.) This is coupled with a concerted struggle to keep *revolutionary* motion firmly suppressed, including revolutionary ideas within the lower levels of the Church. However, on this papal trip, despite tactics which anticipate that specific puppets might prove expendable in the future, it was made clear that swine such as Chun are individuals the Pope definitely wants to see welcomed back into the human fold. This was driven home by having President Chun personally greet the Pope on arrival, amid a smothering show of military might, and by having Chun then echo John Paul's own themes in his speech, in which Chun endorsed "dialogue rather than confrontation, reconciliation rather than revenge, and the path to peace rather than to war." The two met in a tête-à-tête, while attempts by relatives of the Kwangju martyrs to get a papal audience were squashed.

Looking at the world as a whole during this month of papal voyages, there is a wealth of sharply contrasting applications to this doctrine of "reconciliation." While in South Korea, reconciliation means forgiveness of the government and its patrons, and placing hopes in heaven, this was not the case everywhere. In Poland that week, the churches were the staging grounds for massive disruptions of social "peace" in which the government was challenged. Official dispersal orders were drowned out by the hymn, "Fatherland and freedom restore to us, O Lord!" And the Polish Bishop Mazur expressed Catholic doctrine somewhat differently than its South Korean version, saying, "Human undertakings are always condemned to be changed, and

should be changed." (The Bishop's remarks ring a consistent long-run theme, despite "realistic" adjustments recently in the Church's relations with the Polish state.)

Or take the example of the Pope's statements in Thailand, where he flouted the openly expressed wishes of the Vietnamese government by visiting a Vietnamese refugee camp. At this spot he emphasized a decidedly *earthly* solution to the problems of suffering. John Paul startled observers by calling for repatriation rather than asylum for these exiles — a barely concealed call for continued struggle against the current pro-Soviet regime in Vietnam. Such exiles, the Pope said, were "free people who have a rightful place in this world." "They have a right to go back to their roots, to return to their native land with its national sovereignty and its right to independence and self-determination; they have a right to all the cultural and spiritual relationships that nourish and sustain them as human beings." This was in sharp contrast to the Pope's pointed refusal to openly endorse *any* political complaints in South Korea. His challenge to Vietnam was further driven home in a papal message, beamed from Radio Veritas in Manila, which addressed Catholic believers in Vietnam itself. As one priest put it, John Paul likes to show the reach of his church.

Selective Reconciliation in the Realm of Ideology

A parallel, and equally curious, range of doctrinal variations exists in John Paul's approach to the relations between non-Christian philosophies and

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PAPAL DOUBLE VISION



It's Not So Easy To Forget

Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign has given rise to a treasure trove of absurd claims in the attempt to somehow render it progressive and in the interests of the masses of people, particularly Black people. Among the most popular of these claims is the one which emphasizes the difference it makes in terms of alleviating national oppression to actually have Black elected officials in local, state and federal positions. Recently this argument was raised by a speaker at a conference held in Washington, D.C. on May 19 on the political legacy of Malcolm X and the relationship between the Jackson campaign and the goals of Black nationalism.

According to this speaker: "Jesse's campaign has registered thousands of new Black and minority voters and demonstrated clearly the potential power we have here within the American political system. Now this is important and a lot of times we don't understand this here in Washington, D.C., because, you know, we've got Marion Barry, the City Council, a Black police chief and all this good stuff, you know, so we don't really see it. But in small towns in Alabama, small towns in Georgia, small towns in Mississippi and a whole lot of other places across this country where Jesse has gone out and excited the people, registered them to vote and now they're

going to get that sheriff out of there and put in somebody that's going to help them. Now we know that's limited — there's still the system and there's still gonna be problems with the system — but it's better for us to have a Black mayor or a progressive white mayor that we voted for put in there because we utilized the power that we have."

Yes, the masses of Black people in Washington often forget how good they've got it. After all, there's so much to remember. There's Anacostia, a ghetto area of southeast Washington, D.C. just across the river from the U.S. capitol that has one of the highest concentrations of unemployment and grinding poverty in the nation. Then there's the fact that Washington has a higher infant mortality rate than many third world countries and, in just six months — between October 1983 and March 1984 — 29 people were killed by fires in their homes, half of them children and most of them in ghetto neighborhoods. During that same time at least seven people were murdered outright by the police — a number of them already in police custody.

Most recently, a massive eviction drive has been launched in the city and in the first month of this drive almost 1,400 evictions have been carried out. In what has become a common sight in many

neighborhoods, U.S. marshalls armed with pistols and shotguns and wearing bullet-proof vests (sometimes accompanied by D.C. police and their new "Tasar" guns — guns that shoot out a whole slew of little hooks attached to wires and then send enough electricity into a person to knock them out) — supervised the evictions. The evictees' belongings are thrown on the curb, oftentimes lining up the length of an entire block while a new breed of vultures circle the block in vans and pickup trucks waiting for the first opportunity to swoop down and rip off whatever they can.

Recently Marion Barry, himself a major figure in the Jackson campaign, took his police chief along to China with him where the chief, Maurice Turner, spent his time trying to learn methods of crowd control and "undercover infiltration work" from the police of the revisionist regime.

Actually, the reality of Washington, D.C. graphically illustrates exactly what the Jackson campaign is supposed to make people forget. That is, the fact that the imperialist system itself relentlessly breeds and thrives on national oppression and will continue to do so, even more intensely in periods like today, regardless of the will or intentions of any elected officials, until it is overthrown. □

State Dept. Overlooks Own Role At Baltic Confab

When the Soviet Union announced that it was pulling out of the Los Angeles Olympics, it cited "direct connivance" by U.S. officials with the Ban the Soviets Coalition — a collection of groups including the Young Americans For Freedom and a variety of CIA fronts that specialize in East European defectors. The Ban the Soviets Coalition had declared that it was "infiltrating" the L.A. Olympic Organizing Committee to get near Soviet athletes, had set up 500 "safe houses" for possible defectors, would rent billboards and airplane streamers to get its message across to Soviet-bloc visitors and would set up a 24-hour hotline for any potential emigres to call. Even though the FBI, Immigra-

tion and Naturalization Service and local police agencies all had special programs to do pretty much the same thing, including an additional 24-hour hotline controlled directly by the INS (and the official plans just happened to be "leaked" to the press shortly after the Ban the Soviets unofficial plans were announced), U.S. officials insisted that their hands were clean. Groups opposing the Soviets at the Olympics had "no United States government sanction whatsoever," according to a State Department "fact sheet" handed out the day after the Soviet pullout.

However, it seems that certain facts were not deemed worthy of inclusion on the sheet. For example, State Department

spokesman John Hughes reportedly attended a Ban the Soviets Coalition meeting and "did nothing to discourage the group," according to *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Glenn Dickey; this matter was somehow left off the "fact sheet." And so were the remarks of Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams before the Baltic American Freedom League, one of the leading groups in the Ban the Soviets Coalition, delivered as the group's defection campaign was getting off the ground. "I would like to take this opportunity to declare my solidarity, and the solidarity of the Reagan administration, with the people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and to applaud you for your work on

behalf of the Baltic peoples," said Abrams. He also asked the question, "Is it realistic to assume that the sole remaining colonial empire, the Soviet empire, will survive forever?" Of course, certain colonial subjects in Puerto Rico, Guam, etc. — not to mention *neo*-colonial subjects the world over — might have something to say about the remaining empires that Abrams fails to see. But perhaps such poor eyesight is endemic to the State Dept., since they failed to see how any of this involved U.S. government sanction for the unofficial welcomers of the Soviets to the Olympics. □

Letter on The Dinosaur Follies

Dear RW Readers/Supporters:

I'm writing to tell you that your article in RW No. 252 (April 20) entitled "The Dinosaur Follies" was excellent! I read most of the RW most of the time and all the articles are enlightening but this one is exceptional. I personally thought the exposure was very sharp and that the "facts" were well documented and from fascinating sources. It seems that I am not alone in this conclusion; I am a graduate student at a university and several of my friends read the paper regularly (not as avid, or even lukewarm supporters, but because it is "challenging" — this may well be the most I'll ever get these guys to admit — the pressures to be within the political norm, especially in a fairly ritzy graduate program, are numerous). However, although I've been discussing the Olympics with lots of people and up until now they've been no more than amused, this article generated some real debate and controversy. The role of sports, the historical tradition of what the Olympics stand for, and especially the analysis of David Kanin have been dynamite debate-generators! Everyone I've talked to about it are much more self-conscious about their own assumptions about what the Olympics mean and one person in particular has made a "qualitative leap" in a sense. This guy is an avid Hart supporter (he works on his campaign) and a "Kantian moralist" — in other words, we don't seem to have much in common. But especially because of this Olympics article we

have been talking on a much higher level lately. He was especially interested in the Olympics as a symbol of something else (besides just the sports events). A lot of people, even though I know they are being fed all this symbolic bullshit while they watch the games, think the games are just that... sports games. And who else do you cheer for if not the team of the country you "happen to live in"? But now that assumption is being questioned and people (especially this one guy, but also people like, for example, my bourgeois-liberal parents) are taking a new interest in the representation of the Olympics in the press and analyzing the content of Olympic messages. Although the RW has had plenty of articles which pointed out the same kinds of assumptions people have about imperialism (it's a Reagan problem, not a system problem), "democrat" (people who think Jesse Jackson is the way to go) and other issues, for some reason the Olympics article played a special role. Instead of reinforcing or informing people already into the RCP analysis or being "amusing" to liberal intellectuals, people have actually questioned their assumptions and at least in two instances changed their minds about the Olympics. In a sense, the RW has taken on the role of Coca-Cola — the pause that refreshes!

A Reader



The Persecution of the Vancouver Five

"Free the Five!" has become a rallying cry throughout Canada, parts of the United States and particularly in Vancouver, British Columbia where five radicals, active in the loose-knit anarchist and women's movement, have sat in prison and court since their arrest on January 20, 1983. Early this month all were found guilty, although not all have yet been sentenced.

This first in a series of what may turn out to be as many as five trials in all began for the Vancouver Five in September of 1983. What followed was *eight* months of courtroom character-assassinations of the Five by the Crown prosecutor, aided and abetted by the judge and the Canadian press.

Earlier this year, two of the Five decided to plea bargain, but were hit with vicious sentences anyway. On March 16, Julie Belmas and Gerry Hannah pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy to commit armed robbery, illegal possession of weapons and possession of stolen property in exchange for supposedly reduced sentences and in order to avoid any further legal battles. But even this was not enough for the Canadian authorities, and in early April Belmas pleaded guilty to the additional charges of attempted arson of a Red Hot Video (pornography) store and to causing the October, 1982 explosion of the Litton Industries plant which produces cruise missile parts in Toronto. (This explosion caused over five million dollars in damages.) On May 18, Hannah was sentenced to 12 years in prison and Belmas to 20 years.

The judge said point-blank that the severity of the sentences (which are still considered "reduced"!) was due to the "anarchy and terrorism" of the defendants' acts. It is expected that Belmas will appeal her sentence.

Legal Precedent

Meanwhile, the original trial came to a close for Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor, the remaining three, on May 6. At that time Hansen and Taylor were found guilty of all charges which included: conspiracy to commit armed robbery of a Brinks truck, illegal possession

of weapons, and possession of stolen property. Stewart was found guilty of one count of illegal possession of weapons, and sentence was immediately set at one day in jail. The sentencing for Hansen and Taylor will most likely take place at the conclusion of all the trials.

This first case which does not contain the heaviest charges, including causing the explosion at Litton Industries, has been apparently utilized by the state to establish a "precedent of guilt" of the activists as a prelude to finding them guilty of the more serious charges.

Yet the government had to do some fancy footwork to keep this obvious railroad on course. In the long days of the trial, some of the original charges in the case were dropped (it was decided, for example, that it was legally impossible to convict a person of both stealing property and then of possessing that same stolen property in the same trial). Therefore the charges of theft were dropped — at least for the time being. It is still possible, however, that the Crown will add these charges at one of the other trials.

In addition, the charges in the second trial, originally scheduled to begin on June 11, have been switched with those set for a later trial. Arson charges, stemming from the fires set at several Red Hot Video porn stores, are to be heard at a trial scheduled for later in the year instead of during the one coming up.

The crux of all these maneuvers, apparently, is that several members of the Canadian secret police do not wish to be cross-examined by the defense. Therefore, the judge is giving ample time for the prosecution to re-work its railroad for that particular juncture. It now appears that the second trial will not get underway until sometime in July. This trial will deal with a number of conspiracy charges and one charge of causing an explosion at the Cheekye-Dunsmeir Hydro Substation in May, 1982.

Search and Destroy

The arrest and prosecution of the Five is the centerpiece of the Canadian government's sweeping search and destroy campaign against radical

movements in the country. Between December 7, 1982 and January 5, 1983, Toronto police raided the homes of four activists and the offices of three groups active in the peace movement. Each raid was justified as part of a police investigation of the bombings of the Toronto Litton Industries plant which had occurred on October 14, 1982.

Then, on January 20, the Five, driving on a lonely rural highway north of Vancouver, had their truck pulled over by what appeared to be a road crew. Seconds later, dozens of police dressed in camouflage fatigues, waving assault rifles and shotguns, charged the truck, screaming. Firing tear gas, they grabbed the Five, forcing them face down on the road with guns to their heads. The Five have been in prison ever since. Police raids continued following the arrest of the Five, particularly honing in on the anarchist and women's movement in Canada.

As the Vancouver Five sat in jail, bail being denied them time and time again, the Canadian media having already tried them and found them guilty, the Crown prosecution piled charge upon charge. As one defense lawyer put it, "It sounds like they dragged out every unsolved crime to clean up their books." It wasn't until three months after their arrests when the prosecution added the central charge of causing the bombing of the Litton Industries plant.

Headlines throughout this period of time painted an absurd picture of an ever-present network of "anarchists, terrorist cells," justifying the state's brutal clamp-down. And once again in March with the sentencing of Belmas and Hannah, who plea bargained due to what one supporter called "exhaustion," the press has gone to town — simply quoting the judge on "anarchy and terrorism."

A "Free the Vancouver Five Defense Committee" has been active since the arrest. Throughout the eight-month-long trial, supporters kept up a presence in the courtroom and have continued to raise the call, "Free the Five!" □



Photo Opportunities and Reality

It never fails! Everytime someone wants to justify, actually glorify, tailing along behind the most mundane reformism in connection with the struggle against national oppression they attempt to drag the legacy of Malcolm X through the mud. More often than not this takes the form of claiming that politically Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were moving towards unity with each other. Each new reformist scheme that has reared its head has been greeted as yet another step in that direction.

Of course, this has been done with little fear of contradiction since Malcolm has been dead for almost 20 years now. Despite the fact that as late as one week before Malcolm was assassinated he was still referring to King as a "responsible Negro" who "goes along with the government," the myth of Malcolm and King embracing each other persists. After all, those who promote this myth have "proof" — a photograph that they hope can erase thousands of words. This photo — Malcolm and King smiling and shaking hands — has been used dozens of times over the years to prove the point. Fittingly, this photographic "proof" is as much of a sham as the unity it is intended

to prove.

The photograph documents the only time Malcolm and King ever met. In March 1964 Malcolm had gone to Washington to check out some of the filibuster activity against the Civil Rights Bill in the U.S. Senate. King, also present at the time, and very much involved in the legislative process around the bill, called a press conference at the end of the day. While King spoke to the press, Malcolm slipped into the room and took a seat in the back row. When the conference ended King left by one door and Malcolm hurried out another — very purposely crossing King's path. King looked at Malcolm and said, "Well, Malcolm, good to see you." Shaking King's hand, Malcolm grinned and said, "Good to see you." As the press crowded around to capture this "historic meeting," Malcolm looked at King and joked, "Now you're going to get investigated!" Ironically, the photo that would later be used to prove the mythical unity between Malcolm and King was the product of a pointed prank on Malcolm's part and one rooted in the very real differences between the two. □

U.S. Seeks R.S.V.P.

Continued from page 5
consensus, arriving at its decision through majority vote. This development was viewed favorably in its own right by the United States, which has long been urging a similar approach by the Arab states with respect to Arab-Israeli relations and the Palestinian question). More, Iran's acts prompted the Gulf states to give more serious consideration to their own military capabilities, particularly that of the Saudi air force in responding to any subsequent Iranian attacks.

For their part, the Saudi rulers have moved cautiously over the past week, urging continued diplomacy and the exhaustion of "all possible means" to dissuade Iran from mounting further attacks before responding militarily. The Saudi rulers have long shown a reluctance towards playing any direct military role; what's new about the current situation is that the question has been put before them with unprecedented immediacy. The Saudi air force itself remains untested, and for good reason. Despite having spent more than any Arab state on military purchases over the past decade (about 20 billion dollars worth from the U.S., as well as multi-billion dollar purchases from France and West Germany), Saudi Arabia remains the least capable militarily (excepting its weak sisters of the Gulf). About half of Saudi expenditures have actually gone towards the construction of military infrastructure, air bases, etc., on a scale far beyond Saudi Arabia's present or foreseeable capabilities. The rest is heavily weighted towards high-tech weaponry, particularly aircraft; the maintenance and operation of this equipment remains largely in the hands of foreign mercenaries and advisors (American, European, Pakistani, Arab). Such an arrangement translates into a force of dubious military merit. More, it represents a patchwork of loyalties which the Saudi rulers have been hesitant to put to the test.

Still, it appears that the Saudis currently find this a lesser evil than acceding — at this point, at least — to American offers of assistance. While Prince Bandar bin Sultan, meeting with George Shultz in Washington on May 17, sought, and received, American assurances that it would come to Saudi Arabia's aid in the event of dire emergency, here too the Saudis appear desirous to "exhaust all possible means" before acquiescing to U.S. terms for direct protection.

As for the U.S., its "deepest duty" — according to the May 22 *New York Times* in its lead editorial — remains that of keeping "all sides focused on the right outcome of the Iran-Iraq war — a military stalemate, so that no one wins" (for more on U.S. strategic aims vis-à-vis the Iran-Iraq war, see *RW* No. 254). But as strategic, and bloody, as this "deeper duty" has proven to be — over 300,000 Iraqi and Iranian deaths stand in

mute testimony to the fact — it remains but one part of a broader agenda. This has been demonstrated anew over the past period, as the U.S. has seized upon the deteriorating situation in the Gulf to renew its insistent requests to the Gulf states to allow American use of their military facilities as the price of U.S. protection against Iran. The U.S. has pressed this "request" since the latter part of the Carter administration, and the lack of formal U.S. access to land-based military facilities among the Gulf states (other than those offered by Oman at the far southeast corner of the Gulf) has been an ongoing concern, particularly for U.S. efforts to fashion the Rapid Deployment Force (now dubbed the Central Command) into a credible interventionary force and "deterrent" against the Soviet Union.

The Central Command, drawing from a potential force of some 300,000 U.S. troops from the combined armed forces, has often been portrayed as a kind of high-octane Marine outfit, emphasizing the virtue of speed and mobility in responding to third world "emergency" situations. In fact, assuring the staying power of U.S. forces in a prolonged military campaign is a major objective of the Central Command. As Secretary of Defense Weinberger put it in his annual report to Congress (fiscal year 1983):

"Deterrence would be weakened if the enemy were misled to believe that he could easily outlast us in a conventional war. In particular, for a vulnerable and vital region like Southwest Asia, a U.S. strategy that promised our adversaries a 'short war' could be an invitation to aggression. If we were unprepared to sustain the conflict, the adversary might expect we would have to seek a truce by conceding vital territory to his control."

The importance of land-based facilities, in providing "battle-hardened" cover for combat aircraft (such already exist in a number of Saudi military airfields), in providing ongoing logistical support and facilitating supply efforts, goes without saying. Such an arrangement requires the effective cooperation of the host country; for this reason an officer at the Central Command headquarters in Tampa, Florida observed that "an invitation is a military necessity."

So it is that the current flare-up in the Gulf has, in U.S. eyes, provided a "window of opportunity" in addressing this need. President Reagan sent a message to King Fahd last week expressing "at the highest levels" U.S. concern over the matter. In April, an American delegation, headed by State Department official Richard Murphy, visited the Gulf states for extensive discussions on the subject. Later, an unnamed State Department official described the trip's purpose: "The main point was that we wanted to show interest in helping them out. We are willing to help if they want us to help, (Richard) Murphy told them. If they really need our assistance, we are willing to help them." The empty redundancy of the account suggests the threadbare nature of the appeal. For, in exchange for such help, apparently mainly consisting of U.S. air cover for Gulf tankers, the U.S. floated a list of requirements: an unambiguous "invitation" providing the

U.S. with use of military bases and facilities, participation in advance planning for military contingencies, and (according to Saudi accounts) an agreement to hold joint training exercises with the U.S. military. As a U.S. official put it, in his later account of the trip, the U.S. wants "airfields, radar, and warehouses near the head of the Gulf. . . . The Pentagon says that it has to have fuel and spare parts, and Coca Cola and things like that, nearby, and for that, it needs bases in Saudi Arabia."

One can be sure that Coca Cola is not the crux of the problem. As the Saudis are well aware, the Central Command, in aiming to bolster its theater capabilities, is doing so in the service of a global mission. The Central Command's primary focus, the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, is an area in close proximity to the Soviets' southern borders. The expansion of such theater capabilities therefore automatically (and in U.S. designs, fairly deliberately) assumes both regional and U.S.-Soviet significance, among other things. This is underscored by the fact that one of the Central Command's components is a wing of 28 B-52H strategic bombers, designated the Strategic Projection Force (and one of the more alluring features of Saudi airfields under construction is that perhaps as many as four of them will be capable of handling B-52s, a design feature which surely suggests foresight on *somebody's* part).

Such military factors, of course, exist in relation to political imperatives. And, by inclination and interest, the U.S. imperialists have cast any and all threats to the established order as the function of Soviet design. As the Secretary of Defense's 1984-88 *Defense Guidance* document puts it:

"It is essential that the Soviet Union be confronted with the prospect of a major conflict should it seek to reach oil resources of the Gulf. Because the Soviets might induce or exploit local political instabilities, their forces could be extended into the area by means other than outright invasion. *Whatever the circumstances*, we should be prepared to introduce American forces directly into the region should it appear that the security of access to Persian Gulf oil is threatened."

It is not without good reason, then, that the Saudis have responded to the American requests by pointing to the danger of "internationalizing" the situation, and transforming a regional conflict into a U.S.-Soviet one. At the same time the Saudi protests are more than a little disingenuous. What they are holding back on, at present, is more a matter of form than substance. The massive Saudi military build-up makes little sense in purely Saudi terms, and can only be viewed from the perspective of U.S.-Saudi military cooperation and coordination. Last year the leader of the Central Command, Lieutenant Gen. Robert Kingston, spent 5 days in Saudi Arabia, visiting and observing its military installations, as he has in those countries where the U.S. possesses formal access rights to installations. Here, as in other matters, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia hold in common a basically similar set of objectives. It is the

dispute over priorities among these objectives — the degree of U.S. support for Israel, for example, or the stridently globalist American outlook on Middle Eastern regional conflicts — which provides the friction, and intermittent conflict, in U.S.-Saudi relations. And while the Saudis, out of their own political necessity, have thus far refused U.S. requests and prefer at present to keep it at arms length insofar as overt military cooperation is concerned, the question will continue to assert itself. U.S. designs, and even more, regional and global developments, ensure this. Whether the developing situation in the Gulf will lead Saudi Arabia to turn to the U.S. and shout "Uncle!" remains to be seen. But the question has taken on a new immediacy, and if precedents are to be set, they will have far-ranging consequences. □

IN ITS SECOND PRINTING

and including an additional article by Bob Avakian, Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind

COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION

and
Crucial Questions in
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Coming From Behind To Make Revolution

A major talk by Bob Avakian which originally appeared in April, 1980 as a supplement to the *Revolutionary Worker* entitled "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What Does May First Have To Do With It?"

Crucial Questions In Coming From Behind

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PAPAL DOUBLE VISION

Continued from page 7

Catholicism. Here too, some reconciliations are OK, and some are not. In Korea, all Christians (Protestant and Catholic) promulgate a specifically Korean theology in which the *minjung* (the people viewed as a collective body) is understood to be enduring suffering analogous to the suffering of the physical body of Christ. The preachers hold that this suffering (to be endured in a Christ-like way) is a collective rite of passage that brings about the kingdom of God. A creative and timely extension of Catholic teachings by absorbing "indigenous" philosophy.

John Paul also took great pains to "reconcile" with Buddhism. In South Korea, Cardinal Kim expressed "deep distress" when it turned out that the papal ceremonies had usurped the traditional site for celebrating the birth of Buddha, which fell on a date within the Pope's visit. In Thailand, the Pope

himself went further, insisting that Buddhist tradition "provides a fertile terrain for the seeds of God's word," and he sprinkled his Asian homilies with pointed references to "harmony," a central Buddhist concept.

Similarly, the Pope insisted that the animist superstitions of the Papua New Guineans have a home in the Mother Church. He said, "You believe in good spirits, and you fear evil ones," and that such orientations were quite in keeping with the tenets of Christianity.

However, an ideological battle line has also been drawn. This same week, Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo was striking a different tone in Nicaragua. Catholicism may be compatible with Buddhism and animism, but it is *not* to be reconciled with "Marxism," by which, of course, is meant the pro-Soviet revisionist incarnations. Keeping to the Holy See's attacks on "liberation theologies," Archbishop Obando emphasized that San-

dinista ideology and Catholicism represented two quite different and irreconcilable paths. Enrique Bolaños Geyer, president of the anti-Sandinista Supreme Council of Private Enterprise, remarks that "The Church is by far the most important source of encouragement for those of us who don't like what is happening. Monsignor Obando is by far the most important leader we have."

Obviously the Sandinistas, unlike President Chun, are not to be the objects of forgiveness or reconciliation. Can the difference be that Chun, Buddhism and tribal animism all represent parts of Western "pluralism" and are therefore compatible with Catholicism, while the Sandinistas' revisionist ideology is part of the spiritual superstructure of an "evil empire" and therefore becomes a clearly different moral matter?

A final contrast is worth meditating on. Once back in Europe, the Pope again raised his voice against nuclear weapons, endorsing a current plea made by the heads of six "neutral" countries. But on his tour, only a few days before, he had been specifically called on by people at all levels of society during his Solomon

Island stopover to condemn French nuclear testing of weapons in the South Pacific, and the reported Japanese intentions to dump the waste from Japanese nuclear power stations into the oceans. As the *New York Times* diplomatically put it: "The Pope, however, remained silent." Another example of "being abstract, not concrete"? Could it be that vaguely denouncing nuclear weapons in Europe serves one political purpose, while opposing *specific* and murderous use of nuclear instruments might somehow disrupt the divine purposes?

All in all, one can only conclude that President Reagan knows whereof he speaks, on the subject of the Pope. As a compassionate lightning rod offering hope to the suffering and downtrodden, the Pope has placed himself in a position to spiritually channel the energies of the faithful — the will of god, or at least of Peter's heir, is to direct the eyes of the oppressed of the Western world toward heaven, while the eyes of the East are to be turned toward continuing political struggle against their Soviet-led masters. A useful theology indeed! Perhaps he should dye his priestly white robes khaki? □

Migra Stomps in Houston

Last week the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), along with officers from the U.S. Border Patrol, conducted a series of raids in the Houston area. According to their own figures, over 500 people were swept up in these assaults on construction sites and other work places. The proletarians rounded up in this onslaught, mainly from Mexico, were then given the "free choice" of being immediately sent back to their "country of origin" or making the next to impossible attempt to obtain asylum. At least several dozen proletarians from El Salvador who were picked up have reportedly refused immediate deportation and have applied for asylum.

The attacks began Monday morning, May 14th, in Sugarland, Texas, a town near Houston. INS and Border Patrol officials rapidly pounced at one construction site after another, surrounding the workers "like a net," as one proletarian put it, and moving in from all sides to try and cut off escape. One INS officer said their policy is to try to move in quickly because the workers always attempt to run away, since, according to him, "They know we won't shoot." Several immigrants, however, told the *RW* that Migra raids are nearly always staged with guns drawn.

After the first day's assaults in Sugarland were over, Paul O'Neill, the District Director of the INS in Houston, coyly remarked that "We may have some other things later on this week, tomorrow or the next day, it just depends on how things work out." Throughout the week, however, despite O'Neill's feigned lack of foreknowledge, the attacks continued and intensified, mainly hitting at job sites in Houston's outlying areas. Many immigrant proletarians living in the decaying barrios of Houston's inner city work in these areas, where they are driven every morning by the job contractors to work on new office and warehouse complexes, housing developments, and highways. For most, this amounts to a 14- or 16-hour work day, six and sometimes seven days a week. It was these proletarians who were hit hardest by the raids.

The raids in Houston came close on the heels of last month's decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that gave official sanction to work-place raids by immigration police. Since that time, INS activity has stepped up dramatically in Houston, raising the already intense pressure on immigrants from Mexico and Central America to an almost unbearable level. This despite O'Neill's thoroughly hypocritical comment at the time of the ruling that the court decision would have

no effect on INS activity in Houston, since it was made regarding a lawsuit filed in a different federal court district. (In fact, at about that time there was also much-publicized bemoaning by INS officials, as well as by union officials from the Border Patrol union, that deportation activity in the Houston region was soon to come to a standstill, exactly as more immigrants than ever are coming into the area, because some Border Patrol agents were being transferred from nearby Galveston to Laredo.)

Shortly after O'Neill said this, a number of unpublicized raids began throughout the area the week before May First. (The fact that a number of immigrant proletarians actively built for and participated in May First in the face of this situation is quite significant.) Then last week's attacks began. INS officials have been quoted as saying they will strive to "maintain this level of activity all the time."

The raids received very little publicity in the local media, mostly short articles or broadcast items treating the story as an ongoing score card of how many people had been rounded up that day. However, people on Houston's northside, where many immigrants live, have told the *RW* that the raids were not limited to the Houston area, and some said that they

had heard from friends or relatives of raids taking place simultaneously along the Texas coast, in towns like Victoria and Corpus Christi. A local INS official, attempting to downplay the systematic, coordinated nature of these raids, made the transparently hypocritical comment that the raids were conducted only in the Houston vicinity, and only because their office had "unexpectedly" had the services of some additional Border Patrol cops made available to them for that week.

The people picked up in these raids were "processed" at INS headquarters in Houston, and those from Mexico were almost immediately put on buses or planes to Mexico. INS spokesmen have, in the past, denied up and down using any compulsion on people, but immigrant proletarians who have been subjected to this "process" have said that it is routine for them to coerce or trick people into signing "voluntary" departure forms. Those who say they want to apply for asylum, despite the pressure exerted on them not to do so, are sent to a new, specially built, privately owned jail near Houston's main airport. While there, they are not allowed any visitors except those they specifically put on the list or call up on the jailhouse phone. Lawyers from a community group providing ser-

vices to immigrants are denied access to prisoners who don't specifically call them, and many prisoners are unaware of how to contact these or any other attorneys, and are very reluctant to notify acquaintances or family of their imprisonment for fear of exposing others to the INS. Even if they do contact someone, a bail of \$3,500 is generally necessary to be released from jail. In addition to this, INS officials have begun concerted efforts to hold the asylum hearings as quickly as possible, within days of the arrest. The result of all this is that those opting for the "choice" of applying for asylum, generously made available here in the "land of the free," will be returned to face the death squads in San Salvador almost as quickly as their fellow proletarians from Mexico are thrown back to the grinding poverty of Monterrey.

The vicious, hollow cynicism of this "choice" between deportation immediately or in a few days was revealed by O'Neill himself when he said that since April of this year alone, his office denied asylum to 1,111 Salvadoran applicants, while granting asylum to exactly one, and that since October 1983, in Houston, asylum has been denied to 4,480 Salvadoran applicants and given to ten. □



Salvadoran refugees at Port Isabel, Texas.

A Simple Redefinition

The following news item appeared in the *Oregonian* newspaper, Feb. 12.

Human rights abuses redefined

The State Department, in its annual review of global human rights abuses, has decided there is a difference between a "killing" and "an unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of human life."

In previous reports, when the department meant to indicate a person had lost his life because of his political differences with his government it said he had been "killed."

This year, the department has decided that description is "overly broad."

It has substituted "arbitrary depriva-

tion of human life" on grounds that it is "more precise even if it is more verbose."

"Blame the lawyers," one department official explained.

Charles H. Fairbanks Jr., deputy secretary of state for human rights, said some legally trained readers of last year's report complained that "killings" could include legal executions or casualties in war which do not normally fall under human rights violations.

They concluded, he said, "that this rather strange and cumbersome title was the most accurate."

Duarte Charms

Continued from page 1

fact that even had no new bill for aid in fiscal year '84 been passed, aid would have continued to El Salvador at previous rates under a little-known mechanism called a "temporary money bill," a "continuing resolution" of Congress. Also, much of the military intervention in Central America bypasses the public view almost completely. It has recently been revealed that *many millions* of dollars spent on support for the *Contras* and for El Salvador have been diverted to Central America through Defense Department "routine training and operations," not earmarked as Central American aid. These include: ships, planes, guns and "other equipment" sent to the *Contras*; a quarter million dollar improvement to an air base in Aquacate, Honduras, to make it suitable as the main shipment point to the *Contras*; two radar installations in Honduras, used by the CIA to assist the *Contras* and the Salvadoran army; and CIA funds spent on the high-speed boats used to mine the Nicaraguan ports, and

on revitalizing CIA transport companies, etc.

With Duarte, there will undoubtedly be a few petty changes in the Salvadoran military command, and the conviction of five soldiers for killing the four American church women has just been announced. But already it is apparent that the death squads and the entire repressive apparatus in El Salvador will remain intact: Duarte has already announced he is keeping on the notorious and widely hated high-ranking General Casanova, as well as the Chief of Staff. It would appear ironic that people are supposed to be encouraged by the Congressional "assault" launched on a portion, however small, of covert aid, particularly to the *Contras*, at the very time when Congress is moving to massively step up overt aid, economic and military, to bolster the new U.S. "moderation" in El Salvador. But then, this is what moderates are good for. □

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