



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 92 (Vol. 2, No. 40)

February 13, 1981

Published weekly in English, Spanish, French and Chinese. ISSN 0193-3485

50¢

3 Black Youth Convicted of Murder Despicable Decree Issued on Miami Rebellion

The courts of this mad dog system have handed down a verdict on the Miami rebellion. Through lies, frame-up, intimidation and straight-up terror resting on the force of arms—all the normal methods of the authorities in this “land of the free”—three Black youth were convicted of murder in Miami on February 5: Samuel Lightsey, age 17, guilty on three counts of second degree murder—he faces three life sentences; Leonard Capers, age 21, guilty on three counts of third degree murder—he faces three sentences of 15 years to life; Lawrence Capers, age 25, guilty on three counts of third degree murder—like his brother Leonard, he faces three sentences of 15 years to

life. In a sick attempt to appear “impartial,” a fourth defendant, Patrick More, was acquitted.

One of the defiant youths leapt toward the prosecutor shouting, “I hope you die!” Immediately, all three were surrounded by a swarm of police and dragged from the courtroom. Outside in the hall, a young woman—a court security guard, screamed, “The pigs who murdered McDuffie went free!” She was quickly dragged behind closed doors and away from the TV cameras by other guards. The family and friends of the convicted youths shouted in hatred and fury at the verdict. One of the mothers, who had collapsed and was carried from the courtroom, recovered rapidly and ran back in shouting, “It’s a sham—there’s no justice!”

Continued on page 22

May 1980. Miami patrol car goes up in flames.

GOV'T. OVERRULES SPANISH LANGUAGE

On Monday, February 2, the Department of Education abolished all remaining proposed federal regulations requiring any bilingual education for the 3.5 million school children who do not speak English. In what was hailed in the press as his “first major official act,” Secretary of Education T.H. Bell declared that he wanted to “telegraph a message of change to the American people.” He did, but not single-handedly. The announcement came only days after an equally blatant ruling by the United States Supreme Court which upheld the right—in fact, the patriotic duty—of employers to force

employees to speak only English on the job under threat of firing.

Indeed, a message has been telegraphed from America’s rulers to the masses of people, especially the oppressed nationalities. Case in point: the Supreme Court ruling. The case involved a Chicano salesman, Hector Garcia, who was fired from his Brownsville, Texas job after repeatedly, and intentionally, violating his employer’s rule that only English would be spoken at work. (The local population is 75% Spanish speaking and three out of four of Garcia’s co-workers were Chicano.) Garcia filed a suit against the employer for discrimi-

nation. The trial court ruled against Garcia, and an appeals court upheld this ruling, stating, “No authority cited to us gives a person a right to speak any particular language at work... English, spoken well or badly, is the language of our Constitution, statutes, Congress, courts and the vast majority of our nation’s people... Mr. Garcia was neither discharged because of his national origin nor denied equal conditions of employment based on that factor.” The case went to the Supreme Court, and although the graphic chauvinism of the appeals court was somewhat edited out on January 19, the ruling against

Garcia was upheld.

In fact, this message has been “telegraphed” before, only now it’s being sent with ever more ferocious intensity. It’s an open and quite blunt statement by our imperialist rulers that there is no limit in this country to national oppression, no limit to the forcible suppression and mutilation of the language and culture of the oppressed nationalities. In the past, attacks on bilingual programs have often been carried out by framing the question in terms of “Which way do children learn faster, in

Continued on page 23

Zurich, Switzerland

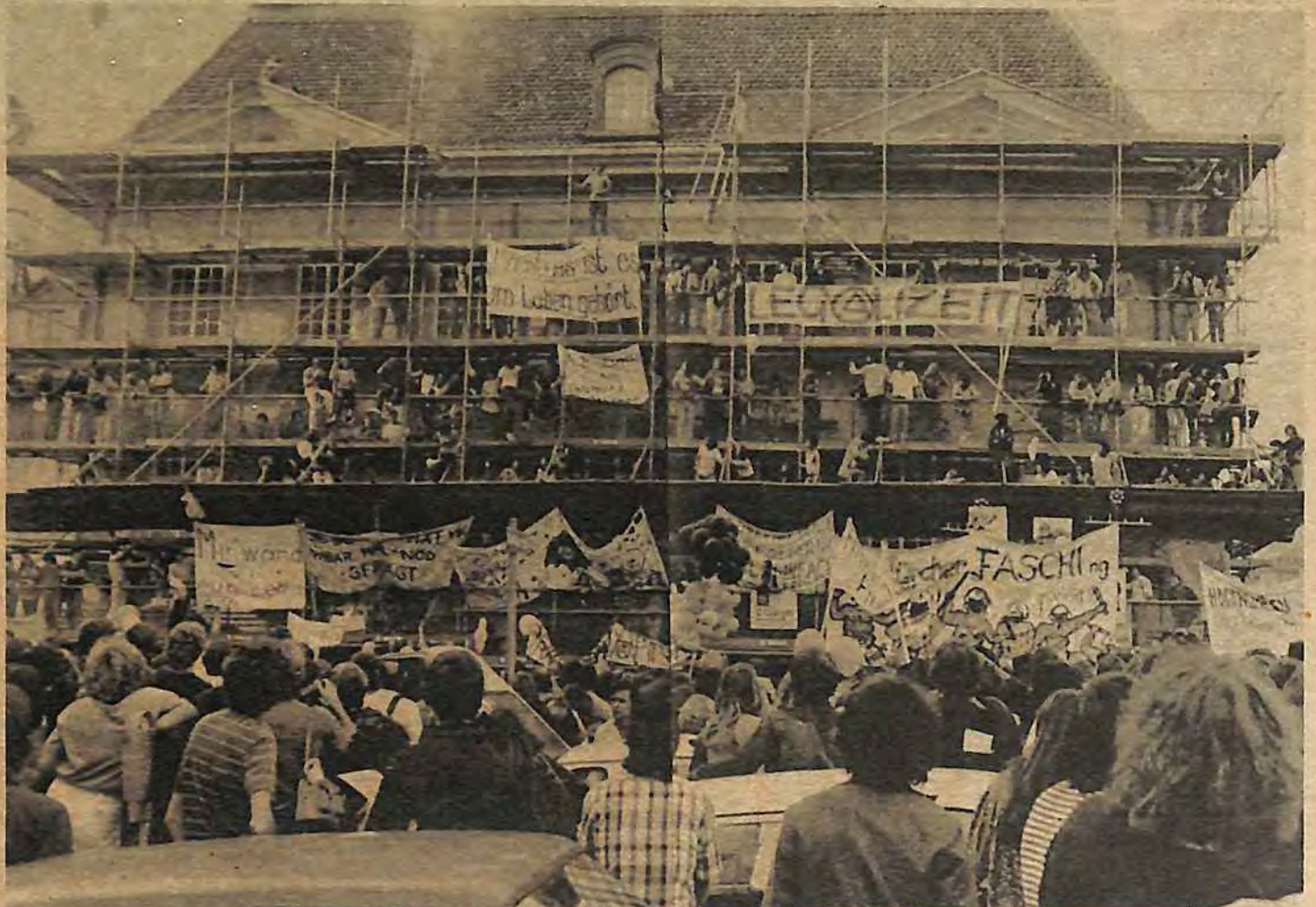
Youth Revolt in Bankers' Haven

If you don't believe that world imperialism is in trouble, big trouble, then check this out...the youth of Switzerland are in revolt! The imperialist bourgeoisie of Switzerland has long taken pride, and breathed easily, in the safe, stale and stultified atmosphere of its "haven." Imperialist Switzerland: a petty democratic republic to house "proper" banks and to obtain profits from bourgeois tourists. Such is the Switzerland and that is being shaken on its pedestals.

Lenin, citing Switzerland as an example, once wrote about "The petty striving of petty states to stand aside, the petty bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity..." He went on to say, "Of course, this striving is reactionary and entirely based on illusions; for in one way or another, imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics." ("The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," 1916, *Collected Works*) A Zurich youth put it this way, "I used to think this town was hopeless. Since we've proved we can raise hell in Zurich, I feel better."

Last week youthful demonstrators clashed again with police in Zurich as they protested the closing by authorities of an anti-government news sheet known as *Boycott* (formerly *Der Eisbrecher, The Icebreaker*), the voice of thousands of Swiss youth who have loosely organized themselves under the banner of what they call the "Movement of the Discontented." It was only the latest incident in a series of protests and hit and run battles between youth and the police that began in Zurich last summer. On May 30, as Zurich's International June Festival was about to open, the city announced it would be spending \$38 million to renovate the opera house. Thousands of young people surrounded the opera house to protest the project and demanded that the city finance sorely-needed alternative-culture facilities for youth, chanting "Everything for them, nothing for us!" The police launched an attack, and since then Switzerland has never been the same as youth protests have continued to erupt in Zurich and spread to Geneva, Basil, Bern, Lausanne and other cities.

After police raided the workshop the youth in Zurich had been using as a center last summer and strung barbed wire around it, the city offered a substitute—an old abandoned building known as "The Red Factory", conveniently located more than two miles from the downtown area so that the police would have advance warning of any protest marches and so run down that even the promised government grant (that has yet to materialize) would be inadequate to restore it. At its opening in October, 1000 youth dressed as "cultural cadavers" staged a march on to the "red factory," a large number taking a detour along the way to protest in front of the city penitentiary where one of the comrades was incarcerated, charged with "attempted murder" for



throwing a police spy into the Limmat River by the seat of his pants at a previous demonstration. ("His blue jeans were too new, that gave him away," said one youth.) On Christmas Eve, hundreds of youth marched out of the Red Factory to the Limmatstrasse and demanded that the abandoned workshop in the center of town be reopened as protesters wearing crash helmets reportedly cut through the barbed wire sparking a confrontation with police. The ensuing battle which lasted until Christmas morning resulted in a number of stores and banks damaged and 64 persons arrested.

In November, the movement staged a national demonstration in front of the federal government building in Bern, calling for the creation of youth centers around the country and demanding an end to police repression. The main demand of the movement has been for "fully self-managed youth and cultural centers." But the government, not surprisingly, is into funding opera house facelifting, and in general fulfilling the bourgeoisie's role as the guardians and upholders of "high culture."

According to the Zurich police's own intelligence data nearly half of the participants in the recurring disorders are young workers and apprentices while the rest are students and unemployed youth—this is in a country that has the highest per capita income in the developed world and is renowned for its

relatively low unemployment rate. (Of course this low rate has been artificially maintained by the Swiss capitalists' use of foreign-born workers—utilizing them for much basic labor, and expelling them when necessary. Of late, their numbers in Switzerland have declined. Still some 400,000 Italians, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Turks and more make up 15% of the total workforce.)

Many working class Swiss youth are employed under an apprenticeship system and are not exactly thrilled with the terms under which they learn their trade—for example, an apprentice in a garage earns about \$257 a month while the customers whose cars he works on are charged \$35 an hour. The patriarchal crap characterizing this system is also sickening.

As in Amsterdam and West Berlin, housing is also a volatile issue. For working class youth and students it is very difficult to move out from their parents' place. Rents are reportedly next highest to Tokyo and subsidized low rent housing is almost unobtainable in Zurich except for those with children or the elderly.

Many of these youth are anti-war and anti-nuke—especially living amidst intensified preparations by the Swiss ruling class and the imperialist countries surrounding them for the outbreak of world war. Though the Swiss imperialists have long practiced the art of making a fortune by remaining "neutral" during inter-imperialist wars, the scenic Swiss landscape is increasingly honeycombed with camouflaged military installations hidden behind portals of fake rock nuclear fallout shelters. Strategic mountain passes, bridges, and tunnels are mined. All to protect this little alpine treasure trove that functions as the world's "international banker" with its notorious numbered accounts. And there are plenty of other outrages as well, such as the conspicuous lack of women's rights in a country where women won the right to vote a mere *ten years ago* and vast majority are prevented from participating in economic or political life, relegated to the role of "housefrau."

But what most characterizes these

Continued on page 18



Swiss youth in revolt—on Zurich's Bahnhofstrasse.

The Revolutionary Worker (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 542 S. Dearborn, No. 906, Chicago, IL 60605. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico, (\$30.00 for institutions; foreign subscriptions are \$80.00 a year airmail, \$40.00 for six months and \$30.00 surface mail.)

Bob Avakian on Why Our Plan Is "Create Public Opinion . . . Seize Power"

The following is excerpted from some recent written material by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA.

Why do we put such stress on creating public opinion and formulate our central task as "create public opinion . . . seize power"? Does this mean that we think we can "win a battle of public opinion" with the bourgeoisie while they hold state power, dominate society, including their monopoly of the media, and exercise dictatorship over the proletariat and masses to seize power? Or is the point to wage such a "battle of public opinion" merely or mainly by propagating the need for revolution, socialism and ultimately communism, in isolation from what's going on in the world, including the struggles of the masses? No, creating public opinion is not a mere "battle of ideas"—though it definitely involves that—but the heart of it, the key link is exposure; penetrating and all-around exposure of the features and nature of this hideous and death-bound system, of the class that rules it and of all the classes, strata and groups in society, not just in this country but the world as a whole, including both those that are enemies and those that are (at least possible) allies of the proletariat. Life itself is the inexhaustible source for such exposure.

With its dictatorship, its domination of society, including the media—and its worldwide plunder—the bourgeoisie can and does carry out vicious repression, bribe sections of the working class and other strata and spew out lies and mystification in a seemingly endless stream. But one thing it cannot do—and that is to make this system and its fundamental contradiction, and the things and consequences this gives rise to, something other than what they are. That is why masses repeatedly rise up, even spontaneously, against it and its continual outrages, and that is also why—with exposure the key link and the newspaper the main weapon now—we can truly and correctly support the protests and rebellions of the masses, transform spontaneity into consciousness, divert the masses, especially those awakening to political life and struggle, onto the revolutionary road, train the advanced as revolutionary leaders and in an overall way direct the discontent and repeatedly erupting anger of different sections of the masses toward the goal of overthrowing the system and, when the time is ripe, lead in an uprising to do just that.

The central task does have two aspects—create public opinion and seize

power—but they are not separated from each other by a brick wall. We are not creating public opinion to create public opinion, we are creating it toward the goal of seizing power—toward the eventual armed uprising of the masses and toward the leading role of the Party to carry it through and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Concretely this means that how much influence of the Party's line is spread and how much progress is made in training the advanced as communists, as revolutionary leaders in the fullest sense—in other words, how wide and how deep the conspiracy around the newspaper is developed—is of crucial importance not only in preparing for and building toward such an uprising but in influencing and perhaps even determining both its actual character and its chances of winning real victory—of actually overthrowing the system, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby taking a great leap in the struggle, together with the international proletariat as a whole, to uproot and finally eliminate all exploitation and oppression, and the basis for them, everywhere in the world.

It is not possible to "win a battle of public opinion" with the bourgeoisie before it is overthrown—nor is that necessary or the point of the central task. The fact is that sooner or later—and it is quite possible that this will happen in this decade in this country—things will reach the point, through the development of the objective situation and the actions of revolutionaries, of various kinds, where there will be the actual attempt by significant sections of the masses to rise up in arms against the system. And it is also quite possible that even if we did not lead things in that direction, such an attempt would occur anyway. But the ability of the class-conscious proletariat to march to the head of that, with the Party playing the overall leading role, and the possibility of carrying it through to a fundamental change in the economic and political relations as a whole—that depends both on the work we do between now and then (whenever "then" actually is) and, dialectically related to that, how well not only the Party but beyond it the class-conscious proletariat it has trained—and continues to train in the heat of the revolutionary situation and struggle—how well they do in actually winning leadership and coordinating the uprising under their overall leadership. □

**Drop All the Charges
Once and For All!**

**STOP
THE RAILROAD
OF BOB AVAKIAN**

**FREE THE
MAO TSETUNG
DEFENDANTS**



This statement drafted by the National Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is now being circulated for signatures and donations and will run as an ad in the Washington Post around March 10, when a legal petition is due at the Supreme Court.

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

We, the undersigned, condemn the continued and escalating government persecution of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In decisions of October 21, 1980 and January 2, 1981, the D.C. Court of Appeals reinstated the previously dismissed and outrageous charges which threatened each defendant with 241 years in jail. With this, the government has unmasked even further the political motivation that has been behind this case all along.

The government's legal vendetta against the Mao Tsetung Defendants originated with a demonstration against the visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on January 29, 1979, which was attacked by police, injuring dozens and arresting 78. Immediate and continuing protests against the police attack and the flagrantly political prosecution which followed have poured into Washington. Yet so determined is the government to carry through this thinly-veiled act of political repression, that every legal mechanism to prevent this political railroad has been closed off except for direct appeal to the Supreme Court. A petition is now being filed with the Supreme Court.

WE DEMAND THAT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HEAR THIS CASE, AND THAT THIS BLATANT POLITICAL PROSECUTION BE DROPPED ONCE AND FOR ALL.

The facts reveal undeniably the character of this case as one of political repression:

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place . . ."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.
- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

The obvious flimsiness of the government's case serves only to highlight more vividly the vicious and openly political nature of this attack.

While Klansmen and Nazis stand acquitted of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers guilty by their own admission of murder are set free, and while the U.S. government steps up its preparations for war, 17 people, the Mao Tsetung Defendants, now face three life terms in prison.

This is not the first time we have seen such political attacks by the U.S. government. **WE WILL NOT STAND BY SILENTLY AND ALLOW THIS BLATANT POLITICAL REPRESSION TO PROCEED. WE DEMAND THAT ALL CHARGES IN THE CASE OF THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS BE DROPPED AND STAY DROPPED.**

MAY 1st IS APPROACHING

TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS!

Jet Fighter Crashes

Gov't Turns New Hampshire Town Into War Zone

"I was at work when all of a sudden they were announcing over the intercom—'There's an emergency at Seacrest—all residents go immediately and get your kids at school.' I jumped into my car and drove over. That's the closest I ever came to what it feels like to be in a war. It was like a war zone. Sirens screaming. The place was crawling with National Guard, military cops. Security Patrol trucks were all over, helicopters in the air. We had to walk in. People were running all over the place, very panicky, some screaming. Guards were carrying M-16s and were yelling at people to clear out."

Friday afternoon, January 30, an FB111-A fighter bomber equipped to carry nuclear bombs from Pease Air Force Base exploded in mid-air and crashed into the nearby Seacrest Village Housing Project in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. One of the wood frame apartment buildings was totally demolished; two others were gutted by flames in the crash. Debris from the plane was scattered over a quarter-mile area. Thirteen families were left homeless. The crash was only a few hundred feet away from a gasoline tank farm and less than a mile from northern New England's largest propane and liquid natural gas terminal.

The official story from the base was that this was a routine training flight that had a freak accident and there were no nuclear weapons aboard—just another unfortunate accident to be quiet about and forget. But the government's response to the crash was anything but quiet and calm. Minutes after the crash, air force patrolmen armed with M-16s were screaming at people to get out, "We've got orders to shoot to kill anyone who goes near the plane." Bomb disposal units were sent to the scene and residents were told by guards that there was a possibility of nuclear weapons on board and there could be a dangerous secondary explosion. One Seacrest resident who was on the base at the time of the crash said that they sent out so many troops it took an hour for them to pass through the gate. Roads were cordoned off, people were told conflicting stories about evacuating the whole project. Children at the elementary school at the project were moved out. Children coming home on busses

were rerouted back to schools. People had to show IDs to get into their homes. Cameras were confiscated. The wooded area behind the crash site was swarming with armed troops.

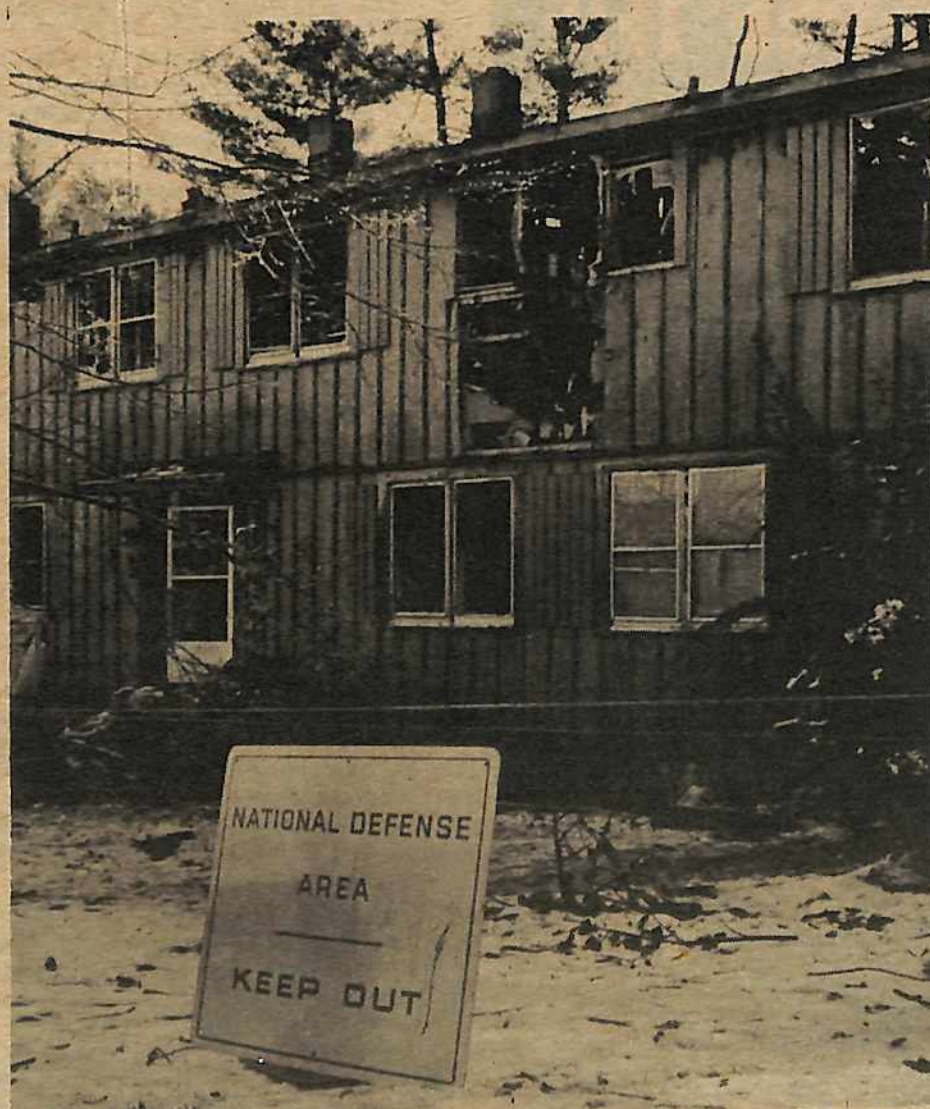
All of this they claim was to protect the community residents. A note here is in order: the government in the past has demonstrated its concern for the people of Seacrest in a variety of ways. The project, built originally as extra housing for the Portsmouth Naval Base, has for years been used as a dumping ground. It houses 1/10th of Portsmouth's population—the poorest, of course, with the

largest concentration of Black and Puerto Rican people in the city. The place is a shambles—plastic and boarded-up windows, no front steps to apartments, walls falling apart, yards of nothing but mudholes and debris. There is no insulation because in a "mix-up", similar but insulated pre-fabs were sent to Portsmouth, Virginia in the late '40s and these tar-paper shacks were sent to New Hampshire. In 1979 carcinogenic asbestos fibers were found to have been dumped under the playground area. And side by side news of the plane crash is news of the

"discovery" that the water adjacent to Seacrest is contaminated with pesticides and herbicides.

However, the government was out to protect something. It seems that Pease Air Force Base was in the middle of the Operation Shield exercise. Global Shield 81 is the largest test of the U.S. strategic nuclear arsenal ever undertaken. It is sponsored by the Strategic Air Command (SAC) as part of a whole series of U.S. war games of which last summer's Autumn Forge maneuvers in Europe were part. The 20-day test involves 100,000 military personnel, 800 aircraft including 430 B-52s, FB-111 bombers and 70 bases in the U.S. and Guam. Also included in the exercises are SAC's 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missile sites. And SAC is joined in this by U.S. and Canadian units from the North American Aerospace Defense Command, and other U.S. Air Force commands as well as U.S. Navy and marine units.

While the government is denying that this particular plane was part of the Global Shield operation (most likely one of their usual lies) they definitely wanted to keep this crash and the events surrounding it as hush-hush as possible. They especially didn't want to have their exercises marred by the outraged people of Seacrest who got bombed by one of their falling planes or anybody else. After all "American citizens" have to learn how to cooperate in such matters of national security. In fact this cooperation is essential for the "war effort" even if it has to be accomplished at the point of a gun. As an official SAC press release put it, "Global Shield will provide readiness training for all participants in both strategic nuclear and conventional deterrent operations under simulated realistic war-time conditions." It continues: "Citizens living adjacent to air force bases with SAC units assigned should not be alarmed by unusual activity, including movement of large numbers of people, aircraft, support equipment and supplies during the exercise period." No, nothing to be alarmed about here, just practicing up for a little "strategic nuclear deterrent"! "You do want to defend this country and everything it's done for you, don't you? Well, don't you?..." □



Seacrest Village Housing Project in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where the FB111-A fighter bomber crashed.

Guilty of "Collaboration"

War Cry Sounded with Garwood Verdict

Guilty! Guilty of collaboration with the enemy. The trial of PFC Robert Garwood had reached its pre-ordained verdict on Thursday, February 5. And in addition to the charge of collaboration, Garwood was also convicted of "assaulting a fellow prisoner of war" (POW). As we go to press, Robert Garwood is staring a possible term of life in prison in the face as he awaits sentencing for his "crimes" during the Vietnam war when he was a POW. But the trial of Robert Garwood, the longest trial in military history, has, and was intended to have, far broader repercussions than the court martialing of one Marine private. Their purpose, gavelled out at the conclusion of their military tribunal, is simple and straightforward—"In our next war, this collaboration, or any rebelliousness at all, will not only *not* be tolerated but will be dealt with!"

In September 1965, outside the city of Danang in South Vietnam, Robert Garwood was captured by Vietnamese liberation forces. It was just 11 days before his tour of duty in Vietnam was over. For the next 14 years Garwood lived in Vietnam; serving as a POW guard, working and fighting with the Vietnamese, and in general siding with their struggle against U.S. aggression. What Garwood did or thought after he was captured is still unknown. But one thing is clear—his sympathies were clearly on the side of the Vietnamese people. At one point Garwood is alleged, in an article that ran in the *Richmond News Leader*, to have said:

"I did not betray the United States, but I betrayed the involvement of the United States in Vietnam. I don't know if you consider me a peace-fighter or not, but I was not in collaboration with the Vietnamese. I was in collaboration with the people of the United States against the involvement of the United States government in Vietnam."

To date, these words have neither been confirmed or denied by Garwood, but they do reflect accurately much of the early disillusionment with the war in Vietnam that was growing among a

broad section of GIs. And Garwood, being one of the first POWs in Vietnam, certainly had an enormous opportunity to be exposed and educated to the views of the Vietnamese people.

For 14 years Garwood lived in Vietnam—four of those years coming after the 1975 victory of the Vietnamese people over the beast of U.S. imperialism. But in 1979 he returned after slipping a note to a World Bank official in a Hanoi restaurant. Perhaps, as his spokespeople claim, he was homesick. Perhaps, after fighting for 14 years to see a liberated Vietnam, he was demoralized at the sight of the tanks and "advisers" of Soviet social-imperialism taking over from the U.S. and aborting the Vietnamese revolution into the miscarriage it is today. Whatever his reasons, he returned to the U.S. to face a court martial and possible death in front of a firing squad.

But for the imperialists the trial of Robert Garwood posed a number of contradictions right from jump street. But more importantly, his trial revealed their desperate urgency to put their military house in order for their global showdown with the equally imperialist Soviet Union and a fundamental weakness of theirs as well. A *New York Times* editorial of September 26, 1980, put it out this way:

"Almost to a man American POWs, no matter how great their will to resist their captors, in the Korean and Vietnam wars were broken and forced to collaborate to some degree... In the late 1960s the military had an unofficial policy of not prosecuting collaborators who made propaganda speeches: too common... the trial is necessary to the military for law and order." What the editorial leaves out is that it was the desertion and collaboration rate during the Korean war—in particular the GIs that stayed in Korea and later moved to revolutionary China—that brought about the establishment of the Military Conduct Code. In fact, the bourgeoisie was so outraged and stunned by what happened they instituted sweeping

changes in the U.S. grade school curriculum to intensify the indoctrination of the youth in the "founding principles of American democracy, blah, blah, blah." Given that the Vietnam war produced even more widespread and dramatic opposition to the imperialist war effort, their schemes had little lasting effect.

But the point of the *Times'* editorial was to say; "Hey look. We've got a problem on our hands and it's grown from Korea to Vietnam... our armed forces *need* some law and order!" And it was precisely within the context of preparing the armed forces for world war, to be servile and willing killing machines, either too ignorant to the true crimes of imperialism or too intimidated to step out of line that the court martial of Garwood was initiated and conducted. In fact, given the way the media coverage had taken place around this trial, it has been the military—present and future—that has been the particular and principle audience for the court-martial and verdict. For try as the ruling class might, they face a fundamental flaw, a deadly contradiction, in mobilizing and sustaining their troops to fight. This was vividly demonstrated in the course of the unjust imperialist aggression launched in Vietnam, and will be even increasingly so in the course of the massive destruction and devastation that will be unleashed in the course of World War 3. In Vietnam, with the troops press-ganged in the so-called "popular draft," this contradiction stood out sharply in the restlessness, rebelliousness and general demoralization and breakdown of the imperialists' army.

Again, this contradiction is spoken to. This time by noted columnist Jack Anderson in the October 26, 1980 edition of the *Washington Post* and on the near eve of the opening of the Garwood trial. "What most Americans don't know is that the level of desertion in the Vietnam War zone was unprecedented in U.S. history. Thousands of deserters disappeared into the Saigon under-

world. According to military sources—extremely conservative—as many as 500 American GIs actively assisted the enemy in Vietnam. About 30 prisoners of war went over to the enemy and played active anti-American roles in the POW camps. And as many as six Americans are believed to have taken up arms against U.S. troops in Vietnam. At least two of these—both Marine privates—are known to have joined in combat with the Viet Cong against American forces... In fact, many of the GI deserters were repatriated, with virtually no questions asked, during the frantic final hours of the American evacuation of Vietnam in 1975. They got off scot-free, perhaps in exchange for information considered valuable by the government—or possibly because their sheer number would have been too staggering an embarrassment to warrant courts-martial. Was it simply Garwood's poor timing—turning up years after the war was over—that got him in his present predicament? Or was his record particularly heinous?"

The imperialists, it is true, consider equally "heinous" all the truly honorable deeds carried out by GIs in their own, internationalist, class interests during Vietnam. As to "poor timing," that is a partial answer—although, ultimately, the times are poor not for resisters, but for imperialism. Garwood came back in the midst of a deepening crisis, of growing preparations by our rulers for World War 3 and for dealing with revolutionary attempts worldwide—perhaps even here—in the decade ahead. A key component of all this for the U.S. is the unswerving allegiance of *their* troops to *their* cause. Any act of rebellion—from just saying get off my case to lobbing a hand grenade into the commanding officer's tent could not be tolerated, much less fraternizing with "the enemy's" forces or the actual taking to arms against "your" army. Garwood's trial is the ruling class's Big Stick method of dealing with the contradictions in their armed forces.

Continued on page 19

Subscriptions

One Year—\$20 Ten Weeks Trial Subscription—\$4.00

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(for Chinese edition, send order to: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108, for French send order to: Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York, NY 10003)

CHECK ONE:

- French Edition (biweekly) 
- English Edition 
- Spanish Edition 
- Chinese Edition 



Polish Revisionists Reshuffle, Desperate for Stronger Hand

The latest round in the continuing upsurge of Polish workers has resulted in yet another shake-up in the leadership of the revisionist Polish communist Party. On February 9, party leader Stanislaw Kania announced the dismissal of Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski and his replacement by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the former Minister of Defense. Also announced was the expulsion of four members of the Central Committee and the resignations of four others. This latest development is, on the one hand, a clear reflection of the fact that the continuing spontaneous upheavals by the masses of workers have posed a serious threat to Poland's state-capitalist rulers and that they are scrambling to keep the situation under their control.

The government shakeup took place as wildcat protests continued in several areas despite the agreement on the five-day week announced by the government and Solidarity leaders two weeks ago. In the southern city of Bielsko-Biala, workers had kept some 120 factories shut down as Pinkowski refused to accept the tendered resignations of the provincial governor and several of the governor's deputies, accused by the

workers of such things as expropriating government buildings for their own use, constructing summer villas on public funds, allocating cars to the secret police instead of doctors and overlooking taxes owed the state by influential friends. Meanwhile, workers in the town of Jelenia Gora and five other nearby provinces threatened a general strike for February 9 unless the government agreed to negotiate on a series of demands which included the removal of Trade Union Minister and party leader there, Stanislaw Closek, and the opening to the public of a posh resort clinic reserved for elite party leaders. Printers in Warsaw were also threatening to close down Poland's newspapers on February 13 unless there was a significant loosening of government censorship. And with the Polish Supreme Court set to rule on the legality of an independent farmers' union on February 10, the spectre of a new upswing of nationwide work stoppages once again stared the government in the face.

In this context, the government made a number of moves designed to undercut the strikers' gathering momentum. In one significant development, the Catholic Church was allowed to *openly*

enter the negotiations in Brelsko-Biala at the request of Walesa. (Though of course, they have always been involved in negotiations behind the scenes.) The presence of the Church (which had engineered an agreement with the government's Council of Ministers beforehand) and its role in ostensibly "convincing" the government to give ground, and accept the resignation of the local officials was meant to bolster the strength of its appeals for calm as well as its role in general of restraining the struggle of the workers. (This role was vividly apparent as Bishop Dobrowski stood in a corner hearing confessions from prostrate workers right in the middle of negotiations!) As the *New York Times* succinctly put it: "Always sensitive to the catastrophic possibility of Soviet intervention, the Church's pastoral letters have often stressed the necessity for law and order, something that the (Polish) government is grateful for and has rewarded by giving the church greater political influence...both Solidarity and the government need the church too much to let ancillary arguments get in the way."

Meanwhile, to offset criticism from

the Soviets and other Warsaw Pact governments for giving in to workers' demands at Bielsko-Biala, the Polish revisionists announced they were launching an investigation into the "anti-socialist" (i.e.: pro-western) activities of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) (even though in recent weeks KOR leaders have also "tried to exert a moderating influence on local Solidarity chapters itching to strike," according to the *New York Times*—an indication that the U.S. would also like to see the situation in Poland calm down at this point in order to consolidate and advance *its own* imperialist gains).

But the Polish government's ace-in-the-hole was the announcement of the cabinet shakeup, the key move being the elevation of Jaruzelski, the fourth prime minister in the last year, on the same day that the general strike broke out in Jelenia Gora where hundreds of thousands of workers took action affecting 450 factories in the region. After rumors that Kania was missing and had been forced to step down in favor of the "hard-line," staunchly pro-Soviet elements in the party leadership which

Continued on page 21

El Salvador

U.S. Exposes Plot to Supply . . . U.S. Arms

Oh, the irony of it all! In its continuing cynical attempts to justify its own imperialist aggression-war preparations by pointing to those of its rival, the U.S. has been forced to admit that it is being hoisted on its own petard, so to speak. The February 6 edition of the *New York Times* carried a front-page article headlined, "Soviet-Bloc Nations Said To Pledge Aid To Salvador Rebels." Reading on, we find that most of the reported aid being pledged consists of M-16 automatic rifles, M-30 and M-60 machine guns, Thompson submachine guns, M-1 and M-14 rifles, and mortars and anti-tank rocket launchers—all of which have "made in U.S.A." stamped proudly on their backsides. The U.S. spy apparatus claims to have uncovered some secret documents written by Schafik Handal, the General Secretary of the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), which reportedly show that Soviet client states are going to be handing out weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas. The two biggest donations are coming from Vietnam and Ethiopia in the form of munitions originally designated to prop up U.S. neo-colonialism but now at the service of Soviet neo-colonialism. Unfortunately for the U.S., its weapons are somewhat less loyal (or more durable) than the lackeys who were meant to wield them.

In the case of Vietnam, the weapons were captured by the then-liberation forces from U.S. and South Vietnamese troops and subsequently came under Soviet control as the Vietnamese revisionists' bourgeois nationalism led them to sell out the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people to another imperialist power. In the case of Ethiopia, the weapons were meant for the use of former U.S. puppet Emperor Haile Selassie, who was overthrown by some of his own military officers in a coup in 1974; the U.S. armed and supported them too, for a while, but they also went into the arms of the Soviet Union.

U.S. weapons being destined for use against the U.S. and more of its neo-colonial puppets—the Salvadoran fascist junta—it's amusing, but it is also further evidence of the Soviet Union's growing influence in the country, and its own sinister attempts to capitalize on the struggle and the blood of the Salvadoran people to serve its equally imperialist goals in Central America—and the world as a whole.

But, of course, the U.S. is not about to be out-classed as a "merchant of death"—let alone by the Soviets spreading around former U.S. arms. As has become the pattern for this sort of thing, the "shocking" revelation of these secret documents on Soviet aid followed close on the heels of an announcement by Secretary of State Alexander Haig at a meeting of the Organization of American States that the U.S. would soon be rushing still more military and economic aid to its junta—the third such announcement in the span of two weeks.

At about the same time evidence surfaced of still another U.S. weapon, which was perfected in Vietnam, now being employed in El Salvador. However, this revelation remained totally unrevealed in the U.S. press. A large number of the Salvadoran peasants have told the El Salvador Human Rights Commission that the junta's Air Force helicopters—donated by guess who—are dropping massive amounts of "jelly-like substance" throughout the countryside that immediately flares up and sets all the fields aflame. Apparently, napalm is the latest "non-lethal" military aid the U.S. has desperately donated to deal with its "foreign policy dilemma" in Central America.

U.S. Ambassador Fired

The U.S. also moved to further reiterate its hard-line commitment to the fascist Salvadoran junta and the most isolated and exposed section of El Salvador's comprador bourgeoisie by removing its ambassador, Robert White, after 11 months on the job. White has been known as a "human rights" actor, and despite increasingly sharp "modifications" of his script, had to some degree continued to add statements criticizing the "excesses" of U.S. puppets in El Salvador. Talk of "excesses" is interesting since overall U.S. policy has included the murder of over 10,000 Salvadorans by junta forces, the consolidation of a strike force of Guatemalan and Honduran troops currently poised on El Salvador's borders, and the tendering of \$10.5 million in military and \$90 million in economic aid to its blood-soaked butchers.

White's particular "human rights" expertise, developed under the Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay and



Youthful Salvadoran fighters. The masses in El Salvador have shown their desire to overthrow imperialism by armed struggle—a struggle that needs to break free from the revisionist strategies of "compromisers."

the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, consisted of increasing U.S. influence and maneuvering among opposition forces by offering them some hope that the U.S. would back their accession to a portion of the neo-colonial power held by the most hated lackeys of the U.S., at the same time that the U.S. continued to prop up those same lackeys. But current U.S. global interests—especially its necessity to tighten up its bloc in preparation for a war with the Soviet Union—require a somewhat different approach in certain strategic areas, and Central America is one of those areas. The State Dept. insisted that White was not being fired because of policy differences, but rather because of "indiscreet public statements" he had made, in particular his calling the junta's "investigation" of the murder of four Catholic

missionaries a "cover-up"—an embarrassing *faux pas*, since the cover-up is being led by the FBI—and saying that the new officials in the State Dept. were "encouraging right-wing terrorism" in their rejection of the old "human rights" ploy in the region.

Since both the murders and the "right-wing terrorism" (read: junta's bloodbath) were already planned, coordinated and carried out under the Carter administration, it is clearly not the basic *content* of U.S. imperialist actions that is at issue here. While there will undoubtedly still be various maneuvers to generate some desperately needed political support for their junta, the U.S. has less and less ability to tolerate opposition, even bourgeois opposition, to its most bloated and decadent compradors in El Salvador.

Continued on page 21

Kent State: The Movie & The Aftermath

Right after the made for TV movie "Kent State" aired on NBC, Sunday, February 8th, outrage swept the Kent State campus in Ohio. Students began running through the dorms shouting that the National Guard had murdered the four students, and about 500 students poured out into the Commons for a spontaneous demonstration. Two students who went to the rally said that the students went into the Commons, "in memory of the students that died and what they died for, and to try to dedicate ourselves to furthering that, and we were chanting 'peace' and we were chanting 'no more war!...' The students sang 'Four Dead in Ohio,' a song written by Crosby, Stills and Nash right after the Kent State murders. Some people joined hands and recited the lord's prayer; others got up and made spontaneous speeches about what the movie meant to them. The next day the campus was tense and there was much debate and struggle. Overwhelmingly, the sentiment was that the movie showed that the students had been murdered unjustly, and the responses to this exposure were as varied and contradictory as the consciousness of the masses. The advanced summed up, as many did at the time—OK, they're teaching us something—Yes—"Political power comes out of the barrel of a gun." A Black Vietnam vet said, "This shows that the authoritarian bourgeoisie will shoot down anyone that disrupts the maintenance of their society which is working their ends and their profits. There's supposed to be free speech, but they couldn't even have a gathering without the National Guard busting through. Yes. It's true, guns do always have bullets." Another student spoke up, "The message is, look how apathetic we are. The man who ordered the National Guard in here ten years ago is still governor of this state. I mean, after something like that when four people got shot, it shows you the nature of people, that they don't really give a damn, and that's the same thing about the draft that scares me. I give a damn, but I'm one of a few people. Most people will go, they'll give their lives and they don't even know what for, for David Rockefeller perhaps." An Iranian student observed, "They show nothing about the higher orders, they just show the governor. Most of the time, even in the case of Iran, the U.S. Army, the Shah, knew that if he and his army attacked the Iranian people they would revolt again. But the point is, they didn't have any other choice." And one student summed up the shooting by saying, "I think this is about the last thing that would keep people from protesting. After the four were shot, a lot of people were ready to die. And if it hadn't been for that teacher (referring to a professor in the movie who begged the students to leave or more would be shot—RW), I imagine they would have rushed the Guard. I imagine myself in that situation. I wouldn't have stopped. I would have been ready to rush the Guard." The president of the Kent State University did not watch the movie.

One radio talk show on WIND, Chicago, the Steve King show, was flooded with calls in response to the question, "Which T.V. movie did you watch tonight, Hooper, East of Eden, or Kent State," and overwhelmingly the callers spoke about "Kent State" protesting the murder of the students and the subsequent cover-up. One man called to say that the students who faced and cursed the National Guard right after the killings and even as the general threatened more was the bravest thing he'd ever seen and he was sorry he hadn't been more active himself back then.

The point of view of the filmmakers is clearly against the Vietnam war, and

this comes out, even though it is not gone into as a major theme of the film. Mainly they seem to have been out to make an exposure of those responsible for the murders. While punches are pulled, this, too, comes out. Governor Rhodes of Ohio is shown giving a rabid speech calling for cleaning out the radicals, protecting property and making an example of the students. His statement was taken word for word from an actual press conference. Then there was the National Guard General Robert Canterbury who, faced with an angry crowd after the killings, ordered his men to shoulder arms and said, "They've got to learn what law and order means." (And many learned just that, but their final answer was not what the General wanted.)

The *New York Times* review of the movie stated that "Events at Kent State would move inexorably forward to the tragic culmination that took place around noon on Monday... Who, then, were the villains?... 'Kent State' finds some blame on all sides." Overall, this is not really true. There is the only slightly hidden theme in the film that behind the killings was some COINTELPRO-type high level conspiracy. The radicals, while not focused on and portrayed in quite a hollow way, are not evil or cowardly figures either. More what seems to come through—and what leaves the film ambiguous and makes it possible for the *Times* to say what they did—is that the filmmakers viewed the whole thing as a "national tragedy." The film's focus portrays the murders at Kent State as the result of powerful forces, beyond any individual's control, in which well-meaning "innocent" people are propelled into a tragic confrontation, where the "voices of reason" are no match for the trigger happy defenders of the status quo. While it is true that powerful forces were involved, the force that was ultimately conjured up was not the "all-powerful state," but the tremendously powerful force of a mass movement—which reached its high tide on campuses nationally after the Kent State killings. Even though the outlook of the writers and directors (and perhaps the hot breath of NBC) prevents this from coming out powerfully in the film, still it does sneak in around the edges due to the struggle that was waged—then and now. In particular the scene after the shootings—with students defying and cursing the Guard at "point blank"—gives a hint of the ultimately powerful force.

Overall the movie was not what the imperialists would have ordered for TV in the 1980s, and right in the midst of their big show of national unity around the hostages and the ascendance of a new imperialist mouthpiece to the War House. (A little tip-off was the network statement at the beginning of the film warning parents that this film showed these students getting killed—well, it's fine for the kids to watch every murdering cop show on TV, but this after all was the real thing, and kids were getting shot by the All-American National Guard—so, mom and dad, watch out—your kids might get some funny ideas about life in the U.S.A.)

The making of this film was reportedly marked by fierce struggle among all parties involved, the network, the producers, the director, script writers and actors. The integrity of some of those involved, their desire to expose what happened at Kent State and their insistence on historical accuracy is perhaps what accounts for the exposure that did come out in the film, and to some extent put the network up against the wall to either put the movie on or face the exposure that the story of Kent State was not fit for telling on T.V. And the film would have to pay some attention to "historical accuracy"

because there are too many people who remember the events and the shockwaves of revolutionary struggle that followed. The film was originally slated for two nights, two hours each, and was finally cut by one hour. The making of the film involved 8 script rewrites by 2 different writers and constant battles between the network and producers on one side and the cast and historical consultant, J. Gregory Payne, author of *May Day, Kent State*, on the other. Actor John Getz told the *LA Times* that at one point the cast members were "so loaded with angry feelings" about the attempts of the moguls of bourgeois culture to rewrite the history and significance of the events surrounding the 1970 murders of four students and the wounding of 9 others that they were considering taking out newspaper ads denouncing the film. Two actors told the *Times* that about 30 cast members signed a petition objecting to key elements of the script, and Getz refused to read a summation voice-over speech at the end of the movie because it was "absolute pablum." But clearly compromises were made, as Payne remarked that the movie does "make the establishment look better than the facts" warranted.

People who were at Kent State in the days from May 1st to May 4th, when the students were shot, told the *RW* that the film was for the most part accurate, but that there were a number of inaccuracies, and more importantly there are things which the film leaves out and description of the events which is superficial and distorted. And it is revealing to examine a few of these points of neglect and distortion which tend to reinforce the liberal viewpoint of the filmmakers.

It is quite true that the events at Kent State were in fact the result of powerful forces, grander and more sweeping than the actions or feelings of any individual, it was not the "tragic vortex of history" which swallowed "innocent youth." Kent State was part of something bigger, the upheaval against the Vietnam war and the struggle against national oppression that swept this country from one end to the other in the late '60s and early '70s, in which overall the bourgeoisie was on the defensive and yes, a terrible force was unleashed—one which heralded the imperialists' own demise—which is of course "tragic" to them. That force was the revolutionary struggle of the masses of people. And during those years, the pigs and the troops shot down many people. Ten days after the shootings at Kent State, two Black students were murdered in cold blood at Jackson State University. But far from putting a demoralized end to the struggle, the murders at Kent and Jackson became a battle cry on the lips of thousands, and students rose up around the country, forcing powerful university administrations to close the schools for the semester. Over 400 college campuses were shut down in response to the mass outrage at these murders, and thousands of new students were initiated into the struggle as campuses across the country became battlegrounds, ripe for revolutionary agitation. At Kent State itself there has been a fight for ten years now over the cover-up and the attempts of the University Administration to build a gymnasium on the site where the students were shot.

While the film, "Kent State" begins with a montage of footage of the '60s, ending with Nixon's speech on the night of April 30th, announcing the bombing of Cambodia, it essentially rips the events at Kent State out of context, and portrays none of the mass response afterwards. And despite the fact that it shows people confronting the Guard after the killings and one of the wounded students giving the V sign after the students are dispersed, the film ends up portraying the masses as courageous but frustrated and defeated in the face of overwhelming odds. This treatment of Kent State as an isolated incident, where "innocents" were killed needlessly, is what bolsters the summation in the movie that once things "get out of hand," those in the right, lose.

While it is implied that there is conscious police provocateur activity and Governor Rhodes, the National Guard General, some of the officers and

troops are portrayed as rabid dogs, it is not clear in the film that this was a move backed by the top levels of the bourgeoisie to make an example at Kent State. There is no mention of reported conversations between Richard Nixon and Governor Rhodes, or the cover-up afterwards in which, according to the historical consultant on the film, and other sources, Nixon was to have told FBI chief Hoover to "find information" that would justify the Guard shooting. This was in fact, a desperate move on the part of the imperialist class, lashing out with their bourgeois dictatorship to attempt to quell the mass struggle. To the revolutionary masses, at the time, it was not a "national tragedy" but an outrage and yet another example of the nature of this system. Like other similar attempts to stop the struggle, it failed.

The film portrays the demonstrations as very much smaller than they actually were. On May 4, for example, there were some 5000 students out on the Commons. And along with this the film downplayed the level of political consciousness on the campus as a whole, the consciousness of the demonstrators and of the student leaders. In particular, the radical student leaders, are portrayed as angry but immobilized by the "vortex" of escalating events in the film. By 1970 at Kent, SDS, which had been banned a year earlier and had many of its leaders jailed did not really exist as a functioning organization at Kent. Yet, the events of '68 and '69 throughout the country and on the Kent campus meant that the level of political consciousness of the campus was quite high. Different radical student groups were formed, based in different dorms, like the Independent Radicals of Tri-Towers Dorm, which had 40 members. After the announcement of the invasion of Cambodia, a group of people made up of several ex-SDSers, several people still considering themselves members of SDS and some newly radicalized students, joined together and called for the May 1 demonstration. They used the name, "World Historians Opposed to Racism and Exploitation." If you take the first letter of each word it spells WHORE, which was their comment on U.S. imperialism. They called for the May 1st rally and issue a list of demands to the university and to the government. They were:

1. ROTC off campus.
2. Liquid Crystals Institute off campus.
3. End the law enforcement training program at Kent State U.
4. U.S. out of Cambodia and Southeast Asia.
5. Troops off campus. (This demand was added after arrival of Nat'l. Guard)
6. Support the Black students at Ohio State University.
7. Free Bobby Seale and all political prisoners.

These demands grew out of more than two years of struggle at Kent State and elsewhere, including the 1968 sit-down at Kent sponsored by SDS and the Black United Students, protesting the presence of recruiters from the Oakland California Police Department on the Kent campus. This protest ended in 250 Black students walking off campus after threats of university reprisals, and the university backed down. Also in 1969, SDS led a struggle to throw ROTC off the Kent campus which erupted in a takeover of the Music and Speech Building at Kent protesting the suspension of several SDS members from campus and literally thousands of students protesting police attacks on sit-down protestors. By May 1, 1970, thousands at Kent had been schooled in struggle, and while the movement continued to broaden, involving new waves of students, with the intermediate and even backward students being won to take a stand against the war, the picture of naiveté presented in the film is rather phony. By the time of the May 1st rally, shown in the film, the campus was covered with spray-painting reading, "Victory to the NLF, Free Bobby Seale" and showing Nixon with a swastika next to him. At the rally, which ended with the burying of the Constitution, students spoke about the invasion, U.S. imperialism, and the

Continued on page 22

Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is now calling on all proletarians in this country, together with all progressive individuals and organizations, to join with us now in forging the initial plans for a series of mass hearings on U.S. imperialism's war crimes against the peoples of the world. At present, there is a high-echelon effort under way to reverse earlier—and correct—verdicts on these crimes in order to commit still more (and more foul) acts. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people, and there are many, many people in this country—foreign born, veterans, and many more oppressed who have rich testimony to offer.

Our Party proposes that, in around a month, a panel would be formed and begin travelling across the country, collecting evidence and testimony in mass meetings from proletarians and others on these war crimes—past and present. It would culminate after around a month's work and publish its findings.

** Representatives of U.S. imperialism would also be invited to attend and defend their views and actions. Former hostages, certainly, would be challenged to appear, since they missed their opportunity for such a trial when they were in Iran.

*** Veterans, foreign born, all proletarians and progressive groups and individuals contact the RCP, USA locally or nationally and assist in making these plans and launching them into action soon.

Vietnam Vet on "Honor" and Yellow Ribbons

"Remember What the Vietnam War Taught Us"

The RW received this taped statement from a Black Vietnam veteran:

My name is Art and I would like to give my opinion on the Vietnam war and what is going on now between the U.S. and the Vietnam veteran. I know when we all came back from the Vietnam war we weren't treated "right." We didn't receive any kind of welcome home, anything. That's because we were fighting a war that we knew was an unjust war, and while we were there we found out it was an unjust war. Many of us learned the hard way that it was an unjust war. And then we learned who was the enemy, and the enemy wasn't the Vietnamese people, but it was this government, this government itself that didn't have us over there voluntarily. We didn't have a choice, we were pushed to be over there.

Now they have these hostages to come back from Iran, known to do different covert actions, hostages that are part of this system, that act the way this system acts, and protect this system in dominating other countries. Here they were caught in the wrong, didn't really get treated bad—not compared to the treatment we get over here, or the treatment this country showed Iran, training the Shah's regime, his special troops, in how to apply torture. But still they come back, presented as heroes, and they didn't do a damn thing. What was so daring that they did?

Here we went over to fight a war in Vietnam, which we found out was an unjust war at that, and that war turned into just another way this country tried to dominate another race of people, and at the same time gain more power by using us as their guinea pigs. A lot of us when we came back, we came back angry, and we demonstrated about it. We did a lot. In the operation Dewey Canyon, some of us, when we returned, threw our medals, our ribbons, right on the Capitol steps in retaliation against this war, and told them that "the next time we fight it will be to take these steps."

But all these years we have suffered—for what? Unemployment, hospitalization, no way to take care of our families, lost the GI Bill, they haven't done nothin' for us. Nothing. They just use us. Now they want to take what they done and try to turn it around, and tell us that, "You must forget this. Now we'll honor you, because you are heroes too." They might even go as far as to put yellow ribbons on us. But at the same time they are trying to present this thing that we did over in Vietnam was an "honor." And we know it wasn't an "honor." They can't get ready to go to another war unless somehow they can cover up from the last war, if they

can bring us all into a patriotic mood.

I would like to relate to you an experience that taught me. One night we went out on a night patrol. There was twelve of us. We got into a field, seen a hut, so two of the guys that was with us who were in charge were gonna go check the hut out and we were gonna give them cover. There was 12 of us—nine Blacks and three whites and two of the whites were in charge. The two that was in charge ran out and was killed when they went into the hut because it was set to detonate. We couldn't give any kind of cover because we was surrounded and trapped ourselves. Now the Vietnamese came out of the woods and they grabbed this one (white) fellow and they slit his throat. Another Vietnamese put his foot on his chest, took his machete and decapitated his head. He held his head up. One of the Vietnamese could speak enough English to convey the thought, and that was we didn't have no reason being there. It was not our war. We, as oppressed people, were fighting a war for the same people that was oppressing us back at home. And we were going to be let go but that if we was caught out there again we would die.

That changed me right there. I realized who was the enemy, and it was not the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese had been oppressed by capitalism. We had always been oppressed here—not just as a race of Black people, but all people in the U.S. have been oppressed beneath this capitalist government.

Now they want to take us and try to lower us to the miserable state of being concerned only with our own condition, chasing after their crumbs, while forgetting what they have done to us. And as I said, they have subjected us to unemployment, prison, national oppression and brutality. This is really part of their system that we fought and died for. Now they want to shift the blame over to the anti-war movement, saying this is the reason why we were mistreated. Now they want us to come rally around them.

But there is a lesson here for all veterans, and all class-conscious veterans, and that is we must continue to expose the war crimes, and all crimes, of U.S. imperialism. We will not fight for this country or any country that oppresses people the way this United States reaches out across the globe and oppresses people. I am saying to all veterans: remember what the Vietnam War taught us. We will not go back into history, we will not go back and be the fools that they want us to be. We will not go back for any kind of yellow ribbon or any kind of honor they want to perpetrate on us. Because they are not going to, and they have no intention to,

change anything on the way we have been treated—and there is nothing they could do to compensate for how we have been treated and not just us, but how they have done mankind all over this world. How they have subjected man to some of the most miserable conditions under the form of capitalism. So I would say to all veterans out there, these are my opi-

nions, but I think there are many other veterans out there who know the real meaning of the Vietnam War, and we will not fall for the game they are trying to play. We will take these steps. But we will not only take the steps, we will take the planet. We will not be the fools we were yesterday. We will not be fooled to fight against people in the name of capitalism any more.

Cynthia Dwyer

The "Innocent's" Plan to "Call the Nimitz"

From what one reads in the U.S. press, it seems that another "innocent American," freelance writer Cynthia Dwyer, has been abused and held hostage by the "lawless" regime in Iran—charged with being an American spy. But according to revolutionary sources there at the scene, there is good likelihood that Mrs. Dwyer was guilty as charged.

Mrs. Dwyer, it seems, was caught by an Iranian ABSCAM: in early May 1980, only days after the aborted U.S. raid into Iran she was introduced to an allegedly anti-Khomeini group, which supposedly planned to stage an armed attack to free five American hostages who had been moved to the northeastern city of Mashad. Dwyer has been described as "sympathetic to the Iranian revolution"; yet according to her husband "she was obsessed with the plight of the hostages." It seems obvious she was more the latter. When told about this group she jumped at the chance to make contact with them, and then like any loyal American, got in touch with the U.S. government. She called Max McCarthy, once U.S. press attaché in Iran, and now the Washington bureau chief for the *Buffalo Evening News*, telling him the plan and urging him to relay it to the State department. "She said they wanted to make radio contact with the U.S.S. Nimitz in the Arabian Sea. She wanted me to get the radio call signals," McCarthy said. And Dwyer also asked another journalist in Tehran to serve as a "go-between to set up links with the American government." This story is backed up by the fact that the night before Mrs. Dwyer's arrest, she called a revolutionary journalist in Tehran, and asked if they "knew anyone in Washington, D.C.," and pleaded with them urgently that "there is a message I have to get through."

It is quite possible of course that Mrs. Dwyer has no official contact with the U.S. government and isn't a professional spy. Our source in Iran summed up, due to her obvious befuddlement, that she was either an incredibly good actress or more probably simply a dumb patriotic liberal, (most likely consciously used by the State Department) whose "patriotic instincts" took command when she learned of a plan to free her fellow citizens. This view is corroborated by the fact that she is now claiming she is no longer sympathetic to the Iranian revolution. As they say, "scratch a liberal..."

It is also true that the Iranian government has and will continue to arrest and imprison genuine Iranian revolutionaries as well as genuine supporters of the Iranian revolution. Such was the case with an American, Laura Brown, a supporter of the Iranian revolution who was detained while in Iran in the spring of 1980. But because she continued her support of the Iranian people, this case was totally blacked out of the U.S. press! No "hostage" stories here! It is also true that the Iranian government has done nothing about some of the most powerful reactionary agents and conspirators of the U.S. in Iran—not surprising, since many of them hold important positions in the government itself. Witness the "rescue mission" in April, 1980: there was obvious collaboration between the Iranian military and the U.S., yet the traitorous generals were never touched.

So in spite of Mrs. Dwyer's probable "unprofessional" status, and the bourgeois and reactionary character of the Islamic government, no tears should be shed for her; she was in fact conspiring against the revolution. Of course as far as the U.S. imperialists are concerned that is no crime. In fact that makes her something of a media celebrity. □

THE SHAME OF SERGEANT LOPEZ

"From the Halls of Montezuma to the shores of...": thus begins the Marine Hymn. It is fitting that this well-known and well-despised hymn to U.S. imperialist exploits around the world would begin by praising the 1848 war of aggression against Mexico when U.S. troops marched all the way to Mexico City and the U.S. government stole 45% of Mexico's territory. And it is equally fitting that the latest All-American Hero, former hostage Marine Sgt. James Lopez, hails from the mining town of Globe, Arizona, right in the heart of this ripped-off area. Sgt. "Jimmy," as the 22-year-old "boy" is affectionately known by officials in his home town, has certainly made a name for himself, bringing his value to the U.S. imperialists up to at least a dozen choruses of the Marine Hymn—he's one of the boys from the "Halls of Montezuma" who saw the oppressor comin' and remembered to grovel.

Aside from his mythical single-handed defense of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, which supposedly allowed a number of precious U.S. government operatives to escape, Sgt. Lopez' main claim to fame is the handwritten sign he supposedly put on the wall of his room when he was a hostage. According to President Reagan and other equally reliable sources, Lopez wrote: "Viva la Roja,

Blanco y Azul,"—"Long Live the Red, White and Blue,"—in Spanish so that the Iranian students would not understand and would therefore leave the sign up. Carrying on the finest American tradition, the president publicly said, "Muchas gracias" to Jimmy, shortly before he announced another attack on bilingual education. This will not affect school in Sgt. Lopez' home town, since there is no such course in Globe, Arizona. "We have no need for it," a spokesman for the local school board told the *RW*. But Sgt. Lopez is somewhat fortunate that his bilingual activity was carried out while he is on the job in Iran and not in the U.S.; otherwise according to a recent Supreme Court decision, he might have gotten fired.

But all that is of no concern to Sgt. Lopez these days. For his pains as willing mouthpiece for imperialism, his hometown newspaper, the *Arizona Silver Belt*, has already raised \$13,266 for the Sgt. James Lopez Educational Fund, dedicated to sending the hero to college. This will of course, set him somewhat apart from other Chicanos in this country, over 95% of whom will never have four years of college, and over a third of whom have less than eight years of schooling. But Lopez may be able to parlay his luck into some kind of white collar job, and if they

ever let him out of the Marines, he might have a chance by bypassing another honor, which is an extremely high mortality rate in the U.S. armed forces. During the war in Vietnam, Chicanos made up 20% of the Southwest's U.S. war dead, while they were only 10% of the population. Lopez, however, seems to have a real attraction to the "front lines."

The *RW* spoke with a long-time Chicano activist, now a communist, who got the point about guys like Jimmy Lopez: "Yeah, the casualty rate, percentage-wise for the Chicano has been extremely high, and some people think that's an indication of a good thing. And I really think that when people make that kind of statement, we should examine what the hell they are saying. What they are saying, and what Lopez is saying, is that it's good that Chicanos die for the rojo, blanco y azul. I understand that at one point, in the slaughteryards, they used to use these Judas goats, the animals whose job it was to pacify the other animals, the ones that went to slaughter, and take them to the slaughterhouse. And of course, what happened to that particular one—since they needed to have somebody serve this function—they let him go off to the sides while the other ones went off to the slaughter.

"It's really a sad commentary on this guy Lopez, because he has to have understood it, living in that state. I know a little something about it, from when I was in the military, stationed at Fort Carson, Colorado, and I was going home on leave. We were travelling through—I think it was even his home town, but certainly that part of Arizona—and I was 17-years-old and had never been out of Los Angeles. But I got a pretty good lesson in what this country is about. We stopped at a restaurant, and I ordered a hamburger and some coffee. The people around me kept getting served, but they wouldn't serve me or my friend, who was also Chicano. At first I thought the waitress just didn't notice us, but pretty soon it became clear that it was no accident that we weren't served. Then the bus driver came in and said, 'OK, you've got five minutes,' and I knew there was no way we could get anything to eat there. I never forgot that, because it was the first time I had ever seen it, I'd never been anywhere where that had happened before.

"And if you go look at the situation today, if you get off the tourist road, there are towns in Arizona that I have been to, some just outside of Phoenix, off the main road on a mud road where

Continued on page 20



"FANATICS!" "It's so good to be away from those barbarians!" "Why, they're still in the Middle Ages!" Thus bemoaned a number of U.S. embassy returnees from Iran. Above (left) former hostage Barry Rosen returns to civilization and is greeted by the esteemed Terence Cardinal Cooke, keeper of the famed St. Patrick's Mausoleum in downtown New York City. Rosen is undoubtedly complimenting the Cardinal on his hat and in general his most chic and up to date attire, circa 1500 A.D. Note, too, his shepherds staff. Especially designed for wayward sheep who have strayed from the U.S. flock. For former hostage Michael Metrisko it too was another fresh and invigorating return to his hometown in Olyphant, PA. Back from the dark ages, Michael (above right), is pictured here holding a



hand-painted religious icon by a local Olyphant church official. While the icon thrilled Michael to his very soul he was heard to remark later: "How come the other 50 aren't depicted in the icon? I thought we were trying to get the American people to pray and kneel down in front of all of us." "It's so good to be away from those fanatics. Don't they know God is on our side!"

More Revolutionaries on Trial in China

Following the recently concluded trial of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, thousands of other communist revolutionaries in all parts of China will also be put on trial. Already in the southwestern province of Yunnan, 7 people, described by the local radio as followers of the "Gang of Four," have been tried for "plotting to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat during the years 1967-1976," and sentenced to 3-15 years in prison. The most well-known among these thousands to come on trial is Mao Yuanxin (Mao Yuan-hsin), Mao Tsetung's nephew. According to an Agence France Press (AFP) report, the *Harbin Daily* indicated on February 1st that Mao Yuanxin, who was arrested along with the Four when the revisionists seized power in October, 1976, would soon go to trial. The paper describes Mao as "a principal culprit in the Chiang Ching counter-revolutionary group." Reports are that Mao would be tried in Shenyang, the capital of the Northeast province of Liaoning, where he was a vice-chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee during the Cultural Revolution.

The revisionists had planned for the trial of the "Gang of Four" to serve as the springboard for further attacks on the legacy of Mao Tsetung in the form of assaults on Mao's line and policies as well as stepped-up repression for the supporters of the Four, like Mao Yuan-hsin. But Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao upset the careful plans of the revisionists, turning the courtroom into a forum for a stirring defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao's revolutionary line and shining a spotlight on the various contradictions pouncing the revisionist rulers. The trials of Mao Yuanxin and others, therefore, are taking place within a rather unfavorable political context for the revisionists. What is most frightening to the revisionists is the prospect of revolu-

tionaries in various parts of the country further stepping up their activities in conjunction with these trials and on the basis of the groundwork laid by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao.

It is already becoming increasingly clear that far from being a calm sea of "stability and unity," China is a boiling pot of political activity. UPI diplomatic sources in Peking have revealed that within the past several months there have been a series of student and youth demonstrations, including a march of 6,000 students in Hubei Province, as well as a series of strikes in Guangdong Province early this year. There have also been reports of a protest by several thousand youth against unemployment, directed at the local party headquarters in Shanghai. The *Changjinang Daily* in Wuhan attacked a "small handful who want to plunge the country into a state of chaos and are planning to free themselves from party leadership to set up so-called free trade unions." According to the rulers' news agency, a February 8th *People's Daily* editorial warned that strikes by students and workers are threatening the stability of China, possibly leading to a chaotic situation like the period of the Cultural Revolution, and that "a small number of people are using petitions, writing big character posters, establishing organizations, issuing manifestos and even carrying on strikes to demand democracy and freedom."

It is hard to say at this point, what role genuine revolutionaries are playing in these activities—in many cases these activities are no doubt spontaneous or even led by opportunists—especially rightists who oppose the present rightists who operate under the mantle of the Party. But the revisionist rulers are very worried by the opportunities that such a situation gives to the genuine, revolutionary communists to increase their activity and spread their influence. An indication of this is the con-

stant references to the Cultural Revolution that are coming from the revisionists themselves. A recent editorial in the Peking magazine *Banyuetan* called on the whole country to "Make a strenuous effort to strike back at those who use the methods of the Cultural Revolution to create chaos, set up illegal organizations and publish illegal publications." (One example of these "illegal publications," a pamphlet printed in Shanghai and upholding Mao and his revolutionary comrades, was sent specially to the *Revolutionary Worker* last month and printed in Issue No. 90.) According to notes obtained by the Hong Kong pro-revisionist magazine *Cheng Ming* of speeches made by top leaders at a Central Committee work conference held last December, Deng Xiaoping said that there are people

calling for carrying out a "second Cultural Revolution," and in fact some are actually carrying it out. Deng told his fellow revisionists that they must practice dictatorship against the activities of the "Gang of Four" remnants. Wang Guangmei, the widow of the revisionist saint Liu Shaoqi, warned in the *People's Daily* that "there are people who still dream loudly of bringing back the 'Cultural Revolution,' to dig up the soil. We definitely cannot underestimate their danger." In a revelation sure to bring tears to the eyes of every genuine revisionist, Wang writes that at the posthumous memorial service for Liu last year, her only wish as she stood before the urn containing his ashes was that "A historic tragedy like the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' will

Continued on page 20

Letter from Colombian Comrade on Chiang Ching

Declaration of support for Chiang Ching:

The reactionary coup plotters who today control the People's Republic of China, as well as their allies, the U.S. imperialists, will not be able to continue fooling the proletariat or the peoples of the world with their pretense of being Mao Tsetung's successors as they restore capitalism and establish the dictatorship of a new bourgeoisie.

Their offensive against the Cultural Revolution under the pretext of correcting past errors, and the trial of its leaders, a farce carried out in the true style of capitalist justice, is not producing the results that they expected, and as the trial proceeds the revisionists are exposing themselves and are being forced to show their true face—traitors to Marxism-Leninism.

They have failed in their efforts to rip away from the Chinese people their revolutionary heritage and the goals formulated by the great leader of the world proletariat, as Mao Tsetung himself foresaw. The class struggle will be unleashed more intensely and the counterrevolutionaries will know no peace until they have been overthrown by the masses.

Comrade Chiang Ching has become a symbol in this struggle. Transforming her defendant's stand in the courtroom into a combat trench, despite everything the revisionists have done to silence her voice and the imperialist press has done to distort her statements, they cannot stop the red flag of revolutionaries throughout the world from waving: not only in defense of Mao Tsetung, his comrades and line, but also in defense of the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and the ideals of communism. In open opposition, the radical struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and revisionism in all its manifestations.

The restorers of capitalism in China will be overthrown and history will absolve Chiang Ching and the rest of the defenders of the proletarian revolution. A single spark will again ignite a prairie fire and the flames will be fanned by the anti-imperialist struggle and its victory over the enemies of the peoples. The reactionaries cannot impose their will for much longer.

The setback in China and the struggle in support of the defenders of Mao Tsetung should give impetus to the tightening of the links of proletarian unity to advance the international communist movement.

In defense of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, workers of all countries, unite!

For proletarian revolution and communism, workers of all countries, unite!
Against revisionism, follow the example of Chiang Ching!

January 26, 1981

Pablo, from Colombia, South America

Why Is Reagan Fooling Around With Taiwan?

A Jan. 17th guest editorial in the *New York Times* by Yuan Xianlu, foreign editor of China's official *People's Daily*, began with a question: "If a friend shakes hands with you warmly, but deliberately steps on your toes over and over, can you long stand it?" Yuan was referring to the recent rough treatment of China by the U.S., and particularly by Reagan. The U.S. has recently been playing around again with a "two-China" policy, speaking of again "upgrading" diplomatic relations with the Taiwan (Kuomintang) regime.

China has certainly been getting its toes stepped on repeatedly. Right after Reagan's election, Ray S. Cline, Reagan's foreign policy adviser during the campaign, made a trip to Singapore and Taiwan during which he made statements calling for an appointment of a U.S. envoy to Taiwan. This in effect would resume diplomatic relations with Taiwan, "officially" terminated since the normalization of U.S.-China diplomatic relations two years ago. Reagan himself called for carrying out the Taiwan Relations Act which was passed shortly after the U.S.-China normalization and which precludes the use of force against Taiwan, treats Taiwan on the same level as any other country except without formal diplomatic status, and approves sale of "defensive weapons" to Taiwan.

On December 18th, the Dutch parliament approved the sale of two submarines by a Dutch company to Taiwan. When the Dutch refused to reconsider the decision despite repeated protests

from China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry declared on January 19th that this "undermines the basis on which China and the Netherlands established diplomatic relations on the ambassadorial level" and reduced relations to the level of chargé d'affaires. A January 17th *Xinhua News Agency* dispatch asks why the Dutch government insisted on this course, saying that "the answer must be sought in the behind-the-scenes support of the U.S.," and warns that "the Chinese people will not tolerate anybody who creates a countercurrent of 'two Chinas,' no matter if they are a small country, a big country, or a superpower." As a further slap in the face, Reagan invited a number of officials from Taiwan to attend his inauguration circus show, while only the ambassador in Washington, D.C. was invited from the Chinese side.

Yuan's editorial in the *New York Times* was a rebuttal to an earlier editorial in the same newspaper by Ray Cline where he argues for "dealing with the two Chinese governments on a *de facto* basis." Reagan cannot "honorably yield" on U.S. commitment to defend Taiwan, Cline insists, and warns that people should analyze "what it means for further peace and stability in Asia if the United States acquiesces in China's claimed right to use force against Taiwan and also provide substantial arms to Peking." Cline complains that he is merely a "lone scholar...singled out personally for vitriolic political attacks by a foreign

government" and, in reference to wire service reports that Deng was even threatening to "review its (China's) currently frozen relations with Moscow" and play its own "Russian card" in retaliation to his statements, he exclaims, "How strange it would be if a few words by an itinerant educator could have such a vast effect!" But Cline's tongue-in-cheek protests only serve to highlight the fact that, as a short explanatory note at the end of the editorial reveals, he was the head of the CIA stationed in Taipei from 1958 to 1962 and is currently executive director of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. This center has quite a lot of influence within the Reagan camp.

In attacking Cline's editorial, the *Xinhua News Agency* called Cline a "scholar turned politician (who) has become so overbearing and prejudiced that he sounds as if an old-line imperialist has been resuscitated to lecture to the present-day public." Cline certainly speaks for the interests of U.S. imperialism, but he is anything but "old-line." Really he's just another testament to the fact that imperialism is alive and as sick as ever, and his opin-

ions represent a major and very modern trend in U.S. imperialist thinking as it adjusts and readjusts to the developing world situation.

Part of these new U.S. moves are just plain old imperialist reminders to the capitulationists and revisionists in China's new leadership of "who's boss" in the imperialist/neo-colony relationship they are developing. But there are also more "global" concerns involved.

In the view of Cline and some others with influence in the Reagan administration, the U.S. was too one-sided during the Carter years in relating to China, taking steps in the direction of a nearly-formal military alliance. Cline argues that "making a military alliance with China would be, to understate it, unwise. Arming the massive but ill-equipped Chinese military forces would take billions of dollars and five to 10 years before the Soviet Union would be in real jeopardy. In the meantime, such a policy would indeed diminish American chances of maintaining a *modus vivendi* (way of living) with the Soviet Union, and would also threaten our non-communist friends on China's bor-

Continued on page 18

BLACK UNITED FRONT HEARINGS— FIERCE INDICTMENT OF RACIST VIOLENCE

"We must do political education classes for our children to assist them in understanding what is happening to Black people in the United States of America and why we have to be security conscious because there is now and there always has been War in America against Black people." This statement, presented as part of a proposed strategy for dealing with the increasing attacks on Black people throughout America, concluded a speech by a Black revolutionary activist from Tallahassee, Florida, a speech that fired the hearts and rage of the more than 200 people attending the National Hearings Against Racist Violence held in New York City on Saturday, February 7th. The hearings, sponsored by the National Black United Front (NBUF) were, according to Rev. Herbert Daughtry, the Chairman of the NBUF, aimed at exposing the rapidly intensifying oppression of Black people (particularly the increasingly sadistic, perverted, racist and violent attacks that have become rampant over the last 2 years) and to "provide not only information but also to give some direction that we can give consideration to as we return to our cities." For more than seven hours 20 speakers, mainly Black activists, from cities and towns in every region of the country (one speaker from England was also present), gave powerful testimony to the brutal oppression preying on the masses of Black people today. Every aspect of national oppression was hit and exposed—from the murderous actions of the police and other official and unofficial agents of the state to the use of the media and courts to justify, popularize and perpetuate these attacks; from what one speaker referred to as menticide against Black people (referring to the systematic and deliberate destruction of minds through the use of dope, prisons, health institutions, and schools and the media) to the suppression and gross distortion of Black culture by the imperialist system. People had come to the hearings to testify and to raise questions and pose answers, to grapple with the underlying causes of national oppression and the

ultimate solution to it.

In the main, reports at the hearing blasted the police and other official keepers of bourgeois order. Their crimes ranged from gestapo terror raids in cities throughout the country to countless examples of blatant murder. Arbitrary beatings were documented, including the beating of a one year old baby during a police raid on a Black family in Jersey City. Police response to the outrage of the masses for these crimes was also brought out. This was graphically illustrated by the example of Philadelphia police who sneeringly dangled a rope and noose from the top floor window of a precinct station in response to a demonstration protesting the police murder of a Black youth in Philly last summer. These exposures are vividly revealed in two accounts presented at the Conference from the New York City area.

In the summer of 1979 Luis Rodriguez, a young Puerto Rican man, was brutally murdered inside the 46th Precinct of the New York City Police Department. Rodriguez had gotten sick in a local grocery store, was thrown out of the store and promptly arrested. Less than 3 hours later Rodriguez was dead. At first, the police passed his murder off as due to beatings received before his arrest (at the hands of unknown assailants, of course) and then stated that his being sick had something to do with the cause of death. Rodriguez' wife didn't buy it and did some investigation of her own. One look at her husband's body on the coroner's slab, coupled with testimony from people who had witnessed her husband's arrest and his condition at the time, gave more than ample evidence as to what had occurred. Pictures of Rodriguez' mangled body were shown in a slide show at the hearings. Gigantic bruises covered his face and torso, cigarette burns dotted the entire length of both arms, his genitals were burnt and bruised and deep cuts ringed his angles from the leg irons he was locked in. Less than three hours after his arrest, Luis Rodriguez had been sadistically and brutally tortured to death. In early 1980, a grand

jury issued a subpoena for 10 of the cops involved in Rodriguez' murder. All 10 refused to testify on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves. As usual, the case was quickly dropped.

More recently, in October 1980 two Black youths were murdered, two critically wounded and three arrested (including one of those wounded) in what has come to be called "The Bushwick Massacre." On Friday night, October 17th, 6 Black youths were at a social club in the Bushwick section of Brooklyn, New York when a fight between 2 men broke out and some shots were fired by one of the men. Everyone began to scramble and more shots rang out. Ricky Lewis headed for his car with 5 of his friends, one of whom had been wounded in the second round of shots. Lewis started to drive his friend to the Greenpoint Hospital and noticed that two men from the club were chasing his car. Suddenly more shots rang out and the back window of Lewis' car was shattered. Unknown to Lewis or his friends, their assailants were undercover cops who had been at the club.

Within blocks the chase developed into a 90-mile-per-hour race through neighborhood streets and had been joined by a number of squad cars. The undercover pigs would at times pull up to the driver's side of Lewis' car and fire their guns at the passengers. Six blocks away from Greenpoint Hospital, Lewis' car was forced to stop. Kenny Gamble jumped out of the car with his arms up and was immediately shot dead, handcuffed, kicked and beaten. The police continued to pump their guns into Lewis' car. Eyewitnesses reported that there was absolutely no move by the people in the car that could even be misinterpreted as resistance, and no weapons were ever found. A few minutes later it was over. Ricky Lewis was dead, his head was blown off in the "shootout." Kenny Gamble was dead, shot as he attempted to surrender. Two others were critically wounded, and the other two (plus one of the wounded) were arrested. According to an eyewitness, a close friend of Ricky Lewis' who had come to the scene im-

mediately after it was over, the cops were standing around congratulating each other on their shooting skills and singing the song, "Another One Bites the Dust."

In the aftermath of the massacre, only one person has been indicted. Lemuel Thompson, the brother who had been critically wounded and arrested, has been indicted for two counts of attempted murder of a police officer in the first degree and one count of illegal weapons possession. The weapons charge stems from the police testimony that they found a shotgun in the car. A neighborhood woman stated that she witnessed the police themselves putting the shotgun in the car.

In addition to the attacks on the broad masses of people, a revolutionary activist from Tallahassee, Florida pointed to the increasing attacks on the ranks of Black revolutionaries. A report detailed examples where a woman's house was burnt down and a message to "stop organizing" was passed on to her. Another revolutionary's house was firebombed and when this failed to stop his activity, he was framed on a "raping a white woman" charge. One woman's child was taken from her home by police and interrogated for hours about his mother's political activity and associates. Also in Tallahassee, the new police commissioner has set up what he calls the "Young Informant Program." Under this program when a Black youth is arrested he can avoid going to a detention center and be rewarded with a salary for hanging around the community observing and reporting what he observes to the police.

Ample testimony was also presented that dealt with the increasing Klan and Nazi attacks throughout the country and an increasing number of individual attacks by "unnamed assailants." In the last 2 years, countless attacks have come down. Cross burnings, the kidnapping and murdering of Black children in Atlanta, the brutal street murders of Black men in New York City and Buffalo. In Buffalo, these at-

Continued on page 18

NOW AVAILABLE—HARDCOVER
EDITION—\$5.00

CHAIRMAN MAO TALKS TO THE PEOPLE

Talks and Letters: 1956-1971
Stuart Schram, editor

A collection of Mao Tsetung's speeches, writings and interviews covering the period from the Great Leap Forward through the Cultural Revolution and the defeat of Lin Biao. Contains speeches never before translated or only available in small sections, including Mao's "Talk on Questions of Philosophy," "Talks With Mao Yuan-hsin," and "Talks on the Lin Biao Affair," and "Talks at the Chengtu Conference." Together in one book, these texts show the broad sweep of Mao's vision and his profound grasp of the need for radical rupture with the past through continuing revolution.



Order from nearest
bookstore:

San Francisco:
Everybody's Bookstore,
17 Brenham Place, 94108.
415-781-4989

Seattle: Revolution Books;
1828 Broadway, 98122.
206-323-9222

Honolulu: Revolution Books;
923 N. King St., 96817.
808-845-2733

Washington D.C.: Revolution Books;
2438 18th St. NW, 20009.
202-265-1969

New York City: Revolution Books;
16 E. 18th St., 10003.
212-243-8638

Cambridge: Revolution Books;
233 Mass. Ave., 01239.
617-492-9016

Detroit: Revolution Books;
5744 Woodward Ave., 48202.
313-872-2286

Chicago: Revolution Books;
2525 N. Lincoln,
312-528-5353

Los Angeles: Revolution Books;
2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006.
213-384-3856

1967 Speech

Chiang Ching on Seizing Power in the

The following speech by Chiang Ching, delivered in the midst of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China gives great insight into the history of fierce struggle on the cultural front, and the political line and method of the revolutionaries, led by Mao Tsetung, in fighting to exercise proletarian dictatorship in every sphere of society.

At a meeting held on April 12, 1967, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "I want to appeal to our comrades to see the im-

portance of the cultural and educational front. We did not sufficiently understand this problem in the past. Problematical cadres whose abilities were not particularly great were put to work on the cultural and educational front, not to mention the millions of bourgeois intellectuals placed under our care. We were thus flooded with large quantities of bourgeois and feudalist things. The conditions in this regard were not very clear to us and we did not realize the seriousness of these things. Although, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, we had a few clashes with them on several occasions, these were isolated skirmishes and the impression they gave us was not as profound as the one we gained this time. Ideology—the cultural and educational front, what a terrific thing it is! The reason is that any class, whether the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, must create public opinion first if it is to seize political power."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "In the field of literature and art during the past 17 years, there have been good and relatively good works reflecting the workers, peasants and soldiers. But the

bulk of them dealt with famous, foreign or ancient things, or distorted the image of the worker, the peasant or the soldier. As to education, the whole set was almost completely theirs, only with the addition of a Soviet revisionist set. Hence in our literary and art circles some mediocre 'veteran artists' were fostered, and in educational circles, there were brought up a number, greater than ever before, of intellectuals completely detached from the workers, peasants and soldiers, from proletarian politics and from production. If the present great cultural revolution did not come about, who would be able to change the situation? It would have defied any effort to attack or move it!"

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "At that time, the Party felt it very strange that Hong Kong-made films should have been dumped in our market here. I had exerted myself trying to push them out. But they all said: 'Why? We should take care of our national bourgeoisie too.' We were really isolated then. In the ideological domain there can be no peaceful co-existence. Where there is peaceful co-existence, you will be corroded immediately. The Premier probably still remembers that at that time they were told: 'The guideline on filmmaking is geared to the overseas

Chinese. So long as you don't make anti-communist films, we'll give you money.' Was it money they wanted? It was thought then that they wanted money for investment. We didn't realize that they wanted to poison us. Later, the films were pushed out, actually pushed out.

"Meanwhile, I was ill for several years. In order to recover my health, I took part on the doctor's advice in some cultural activities to train my hearing and eyesight. In this way I was able in a comparatively systematic manner to get in touch with some of the problems on literature and art. Alas! I found that these were big problems! The things appearing on the stage and on the screen were largely bourgeois or feudalist. Or, they were distorted images of workers, peasants and soldiers.

"The superstructure is a reflection of the economic base. Conversely it either protects or undermines this economic base. As things were, it was likely to undermine our socialist economic base. It was in 1962, I believe, that there appeared heaps and heaps of films from Hong Kong, from the imperialist countries such as the U.S., Britain, France and Italy and from the revisionist countries.

"And numerous were the theatrical



Chiang Ching in 1967 with cultural workers from the People's Liberation Army.

Cultural Arena

troupes! Peking opera, for example, could claim me as a habitual appreciator. But I knew it was declining. Who was aware that through the Ministry of Culture Peking opera was able to spread to every part of the country? In Fukien alone there were more than ten Peking opera troupes. The result was that everywhere in that province there were shows featuring emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties. In my home province, Shantung, the Hopei style of dramatic singing was called the principal stage play when I was young. In recent years my investigations showed that Peking opera had become the principal state play with 45 troupes playing it. This number did not include the black theatrical troupes and the amateur theatrical troupes.

"The Shaohsing opera of Shanghai has also reached every part of the country. Strange things have happened. It doesn't give expression to our workers, peasants or soldiers who have rendered meritorious services of gigantic proportions. It doesn't give expression to the Red Army veterans of the 25,000-li Long March. Nor does it give expression to the war against Japanese aggression. A multitude of heroes has been left alone.

"This problem existed in the cinema too. That was why I gradually came to understand it. In 1962, I brought the matter up with the Director and a Deputy Director of the Central Committee's Propaganda Department and with the Minister and a Vice Minister of Culture, but they all turned a deaf ear to me.

"In Shanghai Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih was asked to help us organize the article that really settled the issue of combatting 'The Theory That Ghosts Are Harmless'. He backed us."

In connection with this matter Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Comrade Yao Wen-yuan took a great risk and, in addition, undertook to keep the matter secret.

"Before the public staging of Peking opera on contemporary revolutionary themes, I made investigation and studied and took part in art practices. I felt that problems also existed in literary and art review. I had some material on the subject but I didn't give it to the Chairman to read for fear that it might tire him too much. One day a comrade gave the Chairman a copy of Wu Han's *Biography of Chu Yuan-chang* for him to read. I said, 'Don't, the Chairman is very tired. The author only wants a fee for the manuscript or a name for himself. Let him publish it. We'll review and criticize it after publication. I want to criticize the same author's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* too! At that time the Chairman argued with me and said that he wished to read it and that he wanted protection for a number of historians.

"I came to know afterwards that it was P'eng Chen's suggestion. He said that I had seen the whole circle of historians in a dark light without any trace of merit. In fact, this was an injustice. I asked the Chairman if I could reserve my opinion. He said I could. At that time P'eng Chen exerted his utmost to protect

Wu Han. The Chairman knew this very well but he didn't say it. Because he had promised me to reserve my opinion it gave me courage to proceed with writing that article and to keep it secret. The secret was kept for 7-8 months during which the article was revised countless times."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing said: "Here is our dictatorship of the proletariat, and they didn't even allow us to prepare an article on literary and art review. How exasperating! After the article we wrote was published in Shanghai, 19 days had passed without seeing its publication in Peking. Then, the Chairman got angry and said that he would issue a pamphlet. The pamphlet was published but it was not released to the public in Peking.

"At that time I felt it was rather strange. Couldn't a Wu Han be brought out for criticism? Would there be any difficulty? Ah! It was only after the Premier had told me that I knew that a whole heap of things would follow if Wu Han were brought out for criticism! That was the difficulty! These people wouldn't release their grip on the cultural and educational system. This amounted to their exercising dictatorship over us.

"Whatever we didn't concern ourselves with, they did. Whatever we really concerned ourselves with, they still tried a thousand and one ways to lay their

hands on. That's why we should grasp things, really grasp them. Had you all grasped them then, it wouldn't have given rise to a situation like that. Of course, when a thing reaches its limit, it will return. This accounts for the emergence of the current cultural revolution.

"It was that gang of people who feigned obedience! They were people who slandered others behind their backs and treated them rough! The Chairman wanted a certain play to be changed to give prominence to armed struggle, but they refused. For this reason the struggle had to drag on and on. Let us ask, 'Without armed struggles could the Chinese revolution have succeeded? Would it be possible for us to sit here and hold a conference?' In my opinion it would be unimaginable.

"In this regard you comrades' impression is probably more profound than mine. Hence the cultural and educational front should from now on be well grasped, well grasped in our own hands. Young revolutionary fighters should be selected for use with courage. You see, if not for them, how could the renegade clique have been ferreted out? They numbered more than 60, all occupying important positions of leadership. What a great meritorious deed these young fighters have done!"

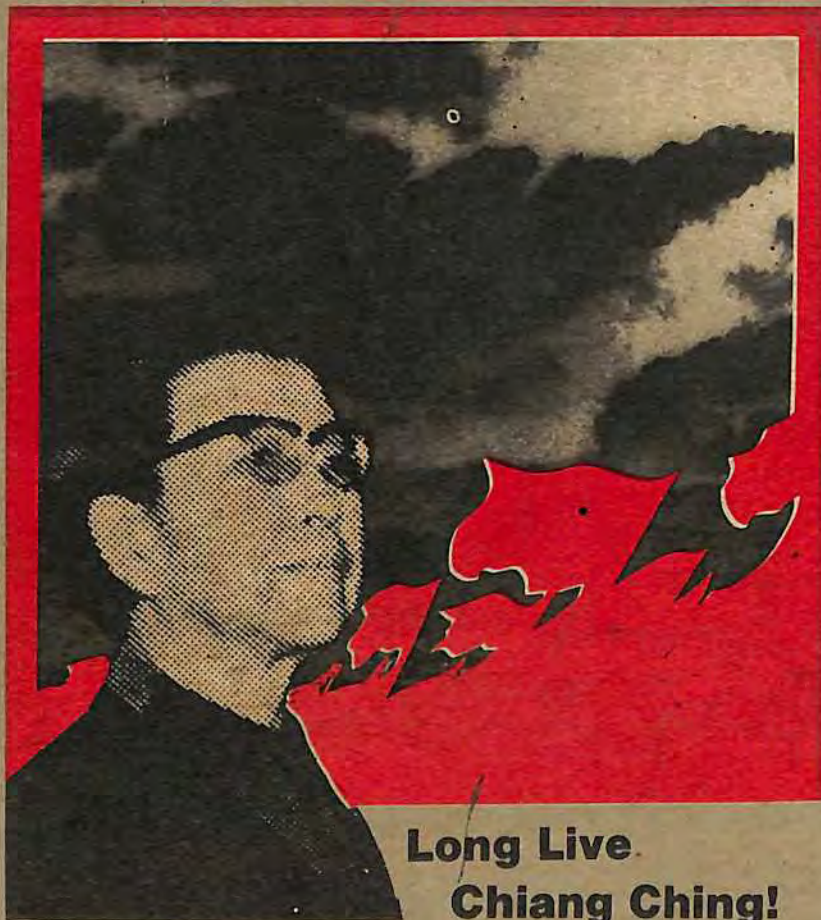
Comrade Chiang Ching added: "I

want to make an emphatic appeal to you comrades. Apart from the Party, politics, the Army and economics, a firm and earnest grip should be held on 'culture.' It is necessary, of course, to carry out investigation and research. And assiduous study is also called for. The reason is that all lines and trades have their own laws and characteristics. But that won't be difficult. So long as the proletarian politics is in command, the bastion can be stormed and captured. Several bastions have been taken in this manner.

"We have scored initial victories over Peking opera, over ballet which is acknowledged throughout the world as being difficult of accomplishment, and over symphonies. There has been no difficulty at all. They will exert due influence on the whole world.

"The bourgeoisie is a moribund class. It gives expression to contemporary life. In a naked way it employs rotten, decadent things to lull and corrode the people. Revisionism camouflages itself to some extent but is abominable. In the last few years, however, it has thrown off its disguise and has been fighting under its true colors. I wonder whether my talk on the processes of my personal understanding and practice will be of any assistance to you comrades in vigorously grasping the cultural and educational system in the future." □

Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women As a Mighty Force for Revolution!



Long Live
Chiang Ching!

International Women's Day—March 8, 1981

Soon to be Available
4 Color Poster
International Women's Day

The design of this poster will be finalized in the next few days and camera-ready art will be prepared and made available in many local areas for individuals and organizations to look over and then make arrangements for local printing and use in connection with various events on and around March 8, 1981, International Women's Day.

Trial of FALN Suspects**Verdict In: Guilty of Fighting for Puerto Rican Independence**

Chicago. The trial of ten alleged members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional), dedicated to the independence of Puerto Rico, concluded here February 11. The verdict delivered by the jury—guilty on all thirteen counts—has been a foregone conclusion ever since the charges were brought by the federal government last December. The ten independence fighters—Elizam Escobar, Alfredo Mendez, Ricardo (Dick) Jimenez, Adolfo Matos, Dylcia Pagan, Lucy Rodriguez, Alicia Rodriguez, Carmen Valentin, Luis Rosa and Carlos Alberto Torres—refused to even participate in the kangaroo court proceedings. Instead they continued to expose the farcical nature of a "trial" where the U.S. courts sit in judgment on those whose goal is to free Puerto Rico from American imperialist domination. They will be sentenced at a future date.

Throughout this trial federal prosecutor Jeremy Margolis worked hard to portray the defendants as depraved criminals with a lust for blood, telling the jury that they "care nothing about human life." While twelve of the thirteen counts they were charged with are for offenses including armed robbery, transportation of a stolen vehicle, etc., this pretense that the ten are nothing but common criminals is contradicted by the highly political charge the government itself has levelled against them—seditious conspiracy. As the indictment reads, the ten were charged with conspiring "to oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States. It was part of the said conspiracy that prior to June 13, 1975, the conspirators would form a clandestine group known as the FALN. Among the stated purposes of this group were the obtaining of independence for Puerto Rico..." The

ten were charged with bombing 29 buildings in the Chicago area, including government and military targets and big banks.

While in the clutches of the authorities and faced with a total possible jail sentence of up to 80 years, the ten remained steadfast in their denunciation of U.S. imperialism. In a statement released at the opening of the trial they said, "Our position remains clear: Puerto Rico is a nation intervened, militarily conquered and colonized by the United States... We are prisoners of war captured by the enemy. Our actions have always been and continue to be in the nature of fighting a war of independence, a war of national liberation... The U.S. interventionist government has absolutely no right, no say so whatsoever in regards to Puerto Rico, ourselves, or any Puerto Rican prisoner of war. The U.S. interventionist government has only one choice in Puerto Rico, and that is to GET OUT! It is our right to regain and secure our national sovereignty. Nothing will stand in the way of achieving our goal..."

The political nature of this attack against the 10 is further revealed by the fact that the seditious conspiracy law has been used almost exclusively for the suppression of the Puerto Rican independence movement, though this

may well change in the future. In 1936 this charge was levelled at Don Pedro Albizu Campos and other leaders of the Nationalist Party during a high point of the mass struggle, and in 1954 it was brought against the four nationalists who shot up the House of Representatives in retaliation for the U.S.'s brutal suppression of the Puerto Rican people.

In the courtroom, Judge McMillen (an ex-military intelligence officer) continued with his "fair and impartial" trial facade, periodically asking the defendants if they wanted to participate in the proceedings. On the second day of the trial, the ten responded with a hunger strike in protest of the degrading treatment they received. All, including the women, were constantly being monitored on camera by male guards, and they were prevented from having any outside contact at all except with one lawyer.

The indomitable spirit displayed by these independence fighters is something the bourgeoisie desperately wants to stamp out but will never be able to. As Dick Jimenez said during his court appearance, "You can imprison us for 80 years, but you will never eliminate the freedom-loving spirit of our people." □

New Facts in Bobby Garcia Murder

New evidence in the murder of Bobby Gene Garcia, American Indian Movement activist, and co-defendant with Leonard Peltier in his trial for escape from a federal penitentiary in 1979, has sent the government authorities responsible for his execution once again into a scramble to cover things up. At the Terre Haute Federal Penitentiary in Indiana, in the early morning hours of December 13, 1980, Bobby Garcia was found hung by a sheet in a "hospital" isolation cell where no sheets were allowed. All other inmates in Garcia's cell block were immediately transferred out of the Terre Haute Penitentiary to prisons around the country.

Within two days, another AIM activist, Standing Deer (also known as Robert Wilson), was threatened by an FBI agent who told him, "What you need is a good lobotomy," and then was immediately transferred to the "Medical Center For Federal Prisoners" in Springfield, Missouri. It now appears the authorities at Springfield have been at least temporarily halted in their attempts to "neutralize" Standing Deer, as he has now been transferred to the Federal Prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

The government has openly admitted that its attempts to "neutralize" Leonard Peltier go back several years, and are now heating up inside the federal prison at Marion, Illinois. Garcia had helped Peltier escape prison from Lompoc, California in 1979, helping to thwart for a time the government's attempts to assassinate Leonard. (Another inmate who helped in the escape, Dallas Thundershield, was shot in the back while attempting to surrender.) Standing Deer had originally been coerced by government agents to help kill Peltier, but instead told Peltier of the government's plot. That information led to Peltier's escape attempt.

Now, prison authorities at Terre Haute are moving against Edward Lawrence, an outspoken AIM supporter and friend of Bobby Garcia and Standing Deer. In papers filed in court, Lawrence has revealed more details of what led up to the execution of Bobby Garcia.

In late November, 1980 a prison official named Robert Purdue told Garcia he was a "dead motherfucker" and "would be dead before a month was over." On December 1, Garcia was transferred from the general population to a segregation unit without explana-

tion. He then passed a letter through Standing Deer and Lawrence to legal counsel in which he said he was "facing certain death at the hands of the prison administrators." On December 12, he was suddenly transferred to what Lawrence called the "dreaded... solitary confinement at the so-called 'hospital.'" The next morning, Bobby Garcia was hung in his cell.

Lawrence, too, has been threatened by prison authorities, who told him, "We have ways of taking care of you smart-asses, you will 'commit suicide' one day and there'll never be any questions asked."

Later, after overhearing a conversation between Lawrence and another prisoner about the murder of Bobby Garcia, Robert Purdue told Lawrence, "Springfield is just a place to take care of sorry fucking troublemakers like you." Lawrence is now being transferred to Springfield and, has made it clear he will accept no "medical treatment" there.

The RW has also learned that while the Terre Haute coroner has now officially labeled Bobby Garcia's death "suicide," he has no explanation for finding ethanol (alcohol) and phenobarbital (a strong "downer") in his body. (Garcia's medication for his asthma was changed three days before his death.) When asked about this, the Terre Haute coroner abruptly said, "Contact the FBI," and hung up. This, together with the previously reported finding of bruises and other marks of a struggle before his death on Garcia's body, are further proof that this was no suicide.

We received a copy of the following note written by Bobby Garcia on Jan. 22, 1980.

It is not easy to accept the sterile word called *justice*—when my heart, my spirit is the same with Emiliano Zapata and Chief Crazy Horse! As a warrior from the Dine Nation my purpose is dedication to the Native struggle! Armed in the cause of Human Rights; and with dedication, we fled to save my brother Leonard's life; so, that he would be alive to return to the struggle. My only crime is to possess the irrepressible free will to keep resisting the government!—and their design to reduce and destroy the Indian Nation, and our way of life.

The Rise of the Thunderbird**For Dallas Thundershield**

This poem was written by Bobby Gene Garcia while he was a prisoner at Marion Federal Prison in Illinois. Dallas Thundershield was murdered after he, Bobby and Standing Deer attempted to escape Lompoc Prison in California with Leonard Peltier. And now, Bobby has also been murdered by our rulers, whose thirst for blood cannot be quenched.

*In the Ironhouse of Greed
we are in chains, in fear but we
have a dream for our people
and we must resist till we are free.*

*My choice is the Song of Truth
while Truth causes my isolation
but I, in this prison have
another song of truth.*

*We are Warriors
there is no fault to be a Warrior
We are men
who are charged to protect our brothers
and sisters.*

*On top of the high Mountain
comes a Thunderbird
With no complaints from his wounds
he laid his head on a rock and died
While his blood flowed
like a fountain.*

*In the Ironhouse of Greed
we are in chains, in fear but we
have a dream for our people
and we must resist till we are free.*

*On top of the high Mountain
an exhausted Deer stands by a tree
Sad with broken hands and legs
his hands and legs are broken
but it is not as painful as his
broken heart on this lonely Mountain.*

*We hate this Woman called Marion
She is prideful, jealous and without conscience
She enjoys and destroys all Men
Oh! Great Spirit there is no fault
to be a Man.*

*Spring and Summer will arrive
Our brother left the Mountain
He returns to our culture for nourishment
He is free*

He is alive.

—by Bobby Gene Garcia 3/19/80

A Special Call to All Co-Conspirators

—Sales Money & Donations—

Money—both sales and donations—is needed every week to publish future issues of the **Revolutionary Worker**. This is a special and urgent need right now to consolidate the leap to 100,000 sustained weekly sales of the paper. To accomplish this we are making a special call to all RW co-conspirators:

1. Collect donations wherever you are for the **Revolutionary Worker** and its leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. Turn in the money in person or by other arrangement to your local distributor, center or bookstore.

2. Make sure to turn in all sales money in the same way.

Note: To be sure of the authenticity of the RW co-conspirator asking you for money—be sure that he or she turns over to you, in exchange, the next issue of the RW (or, far preferably, a whole bundle)!

"50¢ is not enough for such a weapon. Where else could we get this kind of information? Where else could we learn our strengths and our enemies' weaknesses? Where else could we learn to gather our forces to defeat this enemy? Isn't this kind of education worth far more than 50¢?"

A Salvadoran Co-conspirator



IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

Atlanta: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
Baltimore: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
Birmingham: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, ALA 35201 (205) 787-0202
Boston: Revolution Books 233 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
Buffalo: Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
Chicago: Revolutionary Workers Center 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-1140

Cincinnati: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 542-6024
Cleveland: P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
Dayton: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046
Detroit: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
El Paso: P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377
Hawaii: Revolution Books 923 North King St., Honolulu, HI 96817 (808) 845-2733
Houston: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904

Los Angeles Area: Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
Louisville: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (502) 368-8163
New York-New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
Philadelphia: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
Portland: Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034

St. Louis: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 771-5889
San Diego: P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
San Francisco Bay Area: Revolutionary Workers Center 5929 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94605 (415) 638-9700
Seattle Area: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
Tampa: P.O. Box 24983, Tampa, FL 33623
Washington, D.C.: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

From Prison in Cuba to Prison in the USA

Cuban Youth Speaks Out on Life in a Soviet Satellite

The following interview with a young Cuban woman, who recently came to the U.S. gives some insight into the lives of the masses in Cuba and the sentiments of many Cuban immigrants who left revisionist Cuba for the imperialist U.S. The interview underscores the need for further Marxist-Leninist analysis of Cuba, and the need for a genuine revolutionary communist party there, based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

RW: You mentioned that you feel like a slave, you just changed countries that's all, what do you mean by that?

I: In Cuba there was no liberty to speak, to express myself or say what I felt. I saw the revolution as being pretty different from what they said it was. You can't talk or speak out, and there are big political problems because of this. I was a prisoner because of this. When I came here, I knew pretty much what to expect, they didn't fool me. I'm a slave here too—I miss my country, I don't feel happy, what I want I don't have, I didn't have it there, I don't have it here.

RW: Why were you arrested and imprisoned?

I: We got together in a group. We put up posters and stuff, because we weren't in agreement with the system. One day we youth went out, we began a protest, and they arrested us under a law that said we were a danger, and they put us in jail.

RW: What were you protesting, why are youth rebelling in Cuba?

I: We weren't so mature, so class conscious, we were a group of young people. We saw we had no other way of reacting differently... The youth divided in two—there are the Young Communists; they follow the line of their parents who are communists, or officers in the Armed Forces and so on. Then there's the other youth. The ones who are for democracy. They want a voice and rights, a voice in the government, but not communism, they want the freedom to express themselves, to live, not to have to go to the army, that military service be voluntary, not obligatory. There are contradictions among these two types of youth. The communist youth follow the line—they call it communism, but it's Fidel's. Then there are the others, the democrats, those that rebel. They are few, because people are afraid, but there are some that are more daring than others. They hold meetings, but small, they put up posters—"Down With Fidel" "Down With Communism" "Russians Out of Cuba," like that. But now the majority are prisoners. The majority have immigrated here.

RW: What do they teach you about communism, about Marxism?

I: They have classes in Marxism-Leninism. I didn't go to many classes; it was like methodology, what Marx thought, Marx and Lenin and Engels, all that. But it was like something fictitious, nothing more, you couldn't express it afterwards; after a time you

knew all this but if you wanted to follow this line, you couldn't, because the people who want to be Marxists have to follow the line of Fidel, and not have other ideas different from what he says.

RW: They are teaching revisionism, not Marxism. Does the Soviet Union push that kind of stuff in Cuba?

I: The education now is almost all Russian. In Cuba, a fundamental law is that you've got to learn Russian. If you don't learn Russian, you don't pass the grade. They hold up Russia like an altar cloth. They say they're friends, that they're the ones who helped Cuba when the U.S. imposed the economic boycott in 1960; that Russia is the one who's helped us move forward, that we're friends, and they don't tell you the reality, that we're a colony of Russia, they don't say that—they say we're friends and they help us and nothing more.

RW: I heard that a Cuban man can't go without a shirt but a Russian can. Is this true?

I: It's true. The Russians get the best of everything in Cuba. A Cuban, even when it's really hot, can't walk in the street without a shirt, because the police will fine him. But a Russian can! He has the right, they won't do anything to him. It's just like—they make pants, the Cuban people can't buy blue jeans, but we see a Russian just arrived and he's wearing jeans and on the hip pocket it says "Made in Cuba" but we don't have any and they do. They have things, the best cloth, the best food, everything, everything the best. We don't have anything, to buy some jeans, a pullover, and they make them in Cuba! But we don't see them. Just like, in the fields, you go to the country to do voluntary work and harvest pineapples, apples, and the citrus industry in Cuba is the best, but then the people go to buy some fruit in the stores, and it's rotten, and the best they export it to Russia, all the best, for Russia. The people don't have the good stuff, no, the worst, they export the good stuff. Just like sugar. Cuba is the first country in production of sugar. But the people are allowed only 4 pounds of sugar a month, even though we are the biggest producer of sugar. What do they do with the sugar? They export it. Everything is rationed for us. Why? So they can export it. Why do you have to ration things in Cuba? We used to have everything, in the fields, in the industry, but we have nothing, everything is rationed.

RW: That's a fundamental question of every country that's oppressed by imperialism. Can they develop independently led by the working class, or do they have no choice except to be dominated by one superpower or another. What do you think?

I: I think Cuba could exist without the aid of anyone. A free and independent Cuba. We say we are free and independent but we aren't. We are free of North American domination, but we have another domination, equally powerful. I think Cuba could be free without the domination of either the U.S. or the USSR, but first Castro has to fall, or die—there should be a democratic Cuba, where the people govern, where the masses are free and in power; we are an underdeveloped country, but we have everything, we are getting out of that, but what people lack is maturity of consciousness; because our consciousness is that of Castro, everything he says, they are afraid, oppressed; we are dominated by a class that is the government... our consciousness is made by Fidel, he talks in the Plaza de la Revolución so everyone follows him and supports him, but why? Because we have not analyzed this, or if we have, we are afraid to speak.

RW: You speak of being dominated by the class that is the government. How does the Party fit into this?

I: The Party eats up the best men, and who are the best, according to them? The ones that fought with Fidel, his clique now—the minister of foreign relations, the minister of industry, the minister of agriculture, they are the party. That's the Central Committee—because there are two parties, they're from the Central Committee. They say it's the workers' party, but who are they? Directors of factories, people like that, that's who belong. The worker whom they give an opportunity to join the party is the one that cuts cane, that kills himself cutting cane to shut him up—they say, good, here, take a party card. But to get that card? You kill yourself, daily, cutting cane, the worst jobs. And if you have a party card—well, if I have a problem with my house or living quarters, and I'm not in the party, I'm poor, I have this house and it's falling on my head, I go to the office and I'm nothing. But the guy with the party card, he arrives and he's first, even though I'm dying, they put him first—yeah, if I have the card, I'm first for everything, the guy with the card gets the best.

RW: What does Castro and the party say about sending Cuban troops to Angola, and other places?

I: They started a system in Cuba now called "Solidarity." I understand that solidarity among people is a good thing, because it's good to help out a people less developed than we are and that has need. But they send Cuban soldiers to fight in Angola, to fight in Ethiopia, they send Cubans, but they don't send Russians! The same thing is happening in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, it happens in all these countries, they send Cubans to be cannonfodder, but why don't they send Russians? They call it solidarity, but if it's solidarity, then Russians have to go as well as Cubans.

RW: It seems to me the point is that Russia is using Cuba to do in Angola, Ethiopia, what it's already done in Cuba, and they are exposed, internationally, for what they've done in Cuba, so it uses Cuba as a disguise.

I: They are using Cuba in order to get in themselves. It's logical that they send in Cubans but they are the ones who get everything afterwards; definitely, these countries aren't free, like Cuba isn't free—they say it's free, but in reality it's not. This is happening in the other countries. The U.S., too, moves in until they are absolute masters of all this.

RW: I have heard that there is resistance in the Cuban army.

I: No, the Cubans go where they're sent, they're like a machine, they're automatic—then too, do you know why they go? Because when they come back, they treat them like heroes. They give them things, anything they like, they are in better circumstances. When a Cuban goes off to fight in Angola, while he's there his family has all the rights, the privileges, a house, new car, all that. When he returns, they treat him like a hero, different and distinct, others get less so that he can get more. The Cuban becomes ambitious for this, what he looks for is getting more things. He doesn't go because of politics, because he has ideas about fighting against... no, he's almost forced to go, and when he returns, his ambition is to be well off.

RW: Why did you come to the U.S.?

I: I came because I was a prisoner. The penal system—I had been a prisoner for 2 years, without seeing the street. I wanted some other system. I'm young, I wanted another system. I didn't come here fooled—I knew. But I said, "You'll be a prisoner there, but in the streets." And I am a prisoner here, I'll never get out of prison. So I came for

Continued on page 18

Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism." Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

Second printing.
Please make all orders payable in advance to

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



by the Revolutionary Communist Party USA

Reagan's Economics of Desperation

Supplying the Imperialists' Side

"The worst economic mess since the Great Depression!" In his first televised speech since taking office, President Ronald Reagan juggled coins, dollar bills, and charts and graphs designed to illustrate the imminent "economic calamity" faced by "our nation"—a calamity which, Reagan held, could only be averted by "painful sacrifice." Reagan's talk was deliberately short on details—though it is no secret that the new budget, which Reagan will officially unveil on Feb. 18, will call for a massive hike in military expenditures and a further slashing of basic social services in every field. In future issues, the *RW* will more fully analyze the Reagan budget and the various strategies of the imperialists to deal with economic and political crises. Reagan's dire predictions of economic collapse, and his calls for "emergency action" to stave it off, were not just demagogic rhetoric aimed at stampeding the sinister program of the "new right" through Congress and sweeping aside "liberal" opposition. While, up to a few years ago, such apocalyptic predictions were mainly the preserve of crackpot "financial wizards" who pushed their paperback "survival guides" on morning talkshows, today the possibility of an all-out financial crash—including major bank and corporate bankruptcies, runaway inflation which would dwarf even the current double-digit rates, prime lending rates in excess of 25 or 30 percent, and depression-era levels of unemployment—is being very seriously debated not only within the inner councils of the imperialist governing circles, but on the front pages of the *Wall Street Journal* and other "establishment" economic and political organs. Alan Greenspan, one of Reagan's close advisors, worries in a recent article that a crash could be touched off by the speculative over-extension of the real estate market, and Allen Sinai, head of an economic think tank (Data Resources Inc.) with close ties to the Reagan administration, has predicted the strong possibility of an economic and financial collapse "within the next two years."

Whether or not such a chain of events is in fact "close at hand"—or will occur before the two main imperialist blocs headed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union actually unleash the third world war—the global economic crisis is already extremely sharp, and its expressions are already quite glaring. Further, the basic approach represented by the Reagan administration budget program is closely connected to, in fact dictated by, their need to seek a "resolution of the crisis" ultimately by war and the imperialist redivision of the world.

The program which the Reagan administration is putting forward, though, is not exactly what it represents itself to be. It is less a plan for dealing with the imperialist crisis than it is a political offensive and an expression of the deep contradictions which beset their system. This was apparent in Reagan's TV speech. The imperialists tried to give this mouthpiece a few of the trappings of a "scientific" presentation—a couple of charts with blue and red lines. But if you looked even a little closely, you might notice that the charts had no figures—only a dollar sign on one side, but no amounts, and no years on the bottom to indicate when the wondrous remedies he proposed were supposed to take hold. In fact it was little but a none-too-clever attempt to wrap a bundle of contradictions in the pretense of a precise program.

Supposedly this is a program based on "supply side" economics, which proposes that if the government institutes a sharp cut in taxes, the liberation of all that extra money will spark the entrepreneurial spirit and a large push towards new productive investment—the launching of new industrial projects, the retooling and moderniz-

ing of obsolete plants, the injection of new life throughout the economy as the incentive to invest and produce is restored. Thus, "supply side" economics envisions an economic recovery spurt via production, which will create jobs and therefore the effective demand to purchase goods and services. It's the theory of noted supply-side economist Arthur Laffer that it is possible to cut taxes without really losing anything in government revenues due to the new sources of taxable income which would spring up as a direct result of the tax cut itself. This is the "Laffer curve." Actually this new theory is akin in its basic principles to the very old "trickle down" economics common among bourgeois apologists and demonstrated in action, for instance, in Herbert Hoover's administration of 1929-33.

This is what Reagan was illustrating with his ridiculous charts, and provides a rationale for the across-the-board tax cuts of 10% in each of the next three fiscal years. Actually the bourgeoisie will not be able to institute these (a fact they are quite aware of), and the main aspect of this supposed plan is to suck in the petty bourgeoisie and part of the working class with the prospect of a cut in income taxes. To the extent that it is a real program, aside from tax breaks for corporations, it is aimed at inducing those who customarily employ "non-productive" tax shelters as a haven for their wealth to take out their money and invest it. Of course, for the tens of millions who are unemployed, on food stamps and welfare, get a minimum wage, or do "part time" or seasonal work, this tax cut means little or nothing.

At the same time as the Reagan administration proposes a cut in taxes, however, it proposes a \$30 billion increase in the "defense" budget. The U.S. is going all-out in gearing up for a military mobilization to face the Soviets and to protect its rickety imperialist interests throughout the world. In one sense, these two measures go hand in hand. Supply side theory, with all its promise of the rejuvenation of strategic industries, is not really a plan to "re-industrialize America" and restore all-round economic growth. Even the imperialists realize that's impossible. Instead, this is essentially a "quick fix" to gear up industry—especially war industries—to function as part of a war economy.

Contradictions

This combination of tax cuts and greatly increased "defense" spending obviously makes for a big federal deficit—the very thing Reagan is supposedly most against. This obvious contradiction was nicely expressed in the fact that almost the first push by the new administration in relation to Congress was nothing other than to get it to raise the statutory federal debt ceiling. Further, the rapidly growing federal debt is a recipe for further fueling inflation, which is currently running at 13% a year and which the government is desperate to bring under control. The major tool the government has been employing in its unsuccessful attempts to moderate the rate of inflation has been pegging, through the federal reserve, rates for borrowing at record high levels. The purpose in maintaining interest rates at their current level of nearly 20% is to discourage borrowing and strangle new investment in order to "slow down" the economy, reduce demand, and "squeeze the life" out of inflation. The contradiction between this and other elements of Reagan's economic "program" is evident.

According to a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal*, an influential group of economists—including some in and associated with the Reagan administration—believe that such a collision course could lead to disaster. Allen



Sinai, the Reaganite economist referred to above, was paraphrased in the *Journal* as stating that "The biggest risk... is that the Reagan administration won't be able to slash federal spending rapidly enough... to offset a tremendous surge in Washington's credit demands later this year... as proposed tax cuts and bigger defense outlays add to the government red ink." Such a surge in new government borrowing to meet deficits (predicted to shoot as high as \$412 billion this year) will, according to those who comprise what the *Journal* calls "the gloomy set," possibly push interest rates up as high as 28%.

Such a situation in the credit markets, the *Journal* goes on, would have "profound consequences." They state that "some bankers and economists are most worried about a sudden collapse of some big borrowers." "The current unstable economic climate continues to raise the prospect of some financial crisis," another "senior economist" was quoted as saying. "Lurking in the underbrush could be a debt default by some developing country, a major corporate bankruptcy, a real estate price collapse, or some less obvious shock."

Should an interest rate "crunch" precipitate another sharp lurch into recession—leading to further increases in unemployment benefits, food stamp layoffs, etc., then, of course, not only would the "Laffer curve" cave in (if it hadn't done so long before), but the government—which plows into the credit markets and borrows at any interest rate, never waiting for the rate to drop, and therefore, exerting a powerful upward pressure on rates—must plow in still more, further intensifying the credit crisis.

On the other hand, if the federal reserve bank seeks to avert these consequences by easing credit restrictions, in combination with the tax cut and massive new defense spending, the possibility of inflation crashing through the ceiling once again poses itself as a serious threat.

Thus, according to Allen Sinai, Lawrence Kudlow (who just left another financial firm to join the Reagan team) and others of the "gloomy set," the only way to get around these problems—and here they are speaking only in the immediate sense of averting "disaster" within the next 6 months to a year—is to implement huge cuts in "non-defense government spending," in order to reduce the deficit and the government's borrowing needs. The main targets encompassed under this euphemistic heading are, of course, a range of basic aid programs from food stamps and unemployment compensation to social security, which has provided the masses of people thus far with

at least meager cushion against the rock bottom of poverty.

A large-scale assault on these programs, of course, is fraught with heavy political implications for the imperialists. "Social service" and related programs do, indeed, comprise a large section of the federal budget. But this is not due to any charitable instinct on the part of the ruling class. Rather, these payoffs, inadequate as they are, have been a crucial part of the attempt by imperialism to soften class contradictions and attempt to achieve and maintain basic stability in the "belly of the beast." And there is still sharp debate within the ruling class as a whole as to how far they can politically afford to go in making these cuts. These moves, too, will have their own economic implications—which will be dealt with as part of future articles. But even beyond the economic effects, the risk sparking off a new wave of rebellion and revolt, and political disaffection among the masses, just when the ruling class is in grave need of uniting broad sections under their imperialist banner of war and empire, is being weighed by them against their increasingly urgent need to shift a far greater share of the burden of the crisis directly onto the backs of the slaves.

It was this terrible contradiction that caused one liberal columnist, James Wiegart, to agnoize in a *New York Daily News* editorial of Feb. 9 that "... since many of the budget cuts Reagan will propose involve programs aimed at trying to assist the fiscally troubled urban centers and the poor who inhabit them, things are bound to get worse, not better, in urban America... If that occurs, it may well be that the first test of the effectiveness of Reagan's plan to beef up the nation's military strength could come in the streets and alleys of the northern cities instead of in the desert sands of the Persian Gulf."

It is no accident that references to the coming war continually "intrude" in the ruling-class discussions of economic policy. Neither is it accidental that at the same time that the imperialists struggle to ready themselves for war, they are wrestling with the spectre of a possible financial collapse—and, amidst all this, fearfully obsessed with the nightmare of a mass upheaval in in "fortress America." It cannot be said with certainty whether or not an actual financial collapse—or, for that matter, a full-scale revolutionary upheaval—will precede the war. But what does emerge in clear relief is the severity and depths of the world imperialist crisis, the palpable weakness of their rule, and the tremendous revolutionary opportunities which this opens up. □

Why Is Reagan Fooling Around With Taiwan?

Continued from page 10

ders." Robert Tucker, another member of the inner circle of foreign policy advisers in the Reagan administration, also argues against military alliance with China in the latest issue of the journal, *Foreign Affairs*. According to Tucker, "The U.S. should avoid measures which at once strongly exacerbate relations with the Soviet Union and make prospects of future amelioration remote."

Neither Cline nor Tucker, by their urging of "maintaining a *modus vivendi*," or avoiding measures that aggravate relations with the Soviets, are by any means arguing for going back to detente. Contention between the two superpowers is becoming more open and more overtly military, and cloaking contention under detente is no longer the order of the day, although aspects of detente will still be maintained. In fact in the same article Tucker argues that the U.S. should be ready to get down, with nuclear weapons if necessary, in certain key areas, such as the Persian Gulf, and engage in direct and aggressive intervention in Central America. It all amounts to how best to carry out global contention and war preparations under present conditions.

In an address to the Republican Convention last year, Henry Kissinger, the new Secretary of State Alexander Haig's mentor, ran out his views that the Soviets are enjoying a 5-year "window of opportunity" during which they have superiority over the U.S. in opportunities to attack. After that, the Soviet domestic problems will mount, and they will not be in such a good position. The Soviets recognize this, and want to take advantage of this situation. Therefore, what the U.S. needs to do now, according to Kissinger, as it feverishly engages in still more war preparations, is to move "boldly" to cut Soviet "avenues of adventurism," while at the same time trying not to prematurely precipitate an all-out conflict before the U.S. is in a stronger position. It is in this light that forces like Cline and Tucker are opposed to a military alliance with China. Arming China to

the teeth, which as Cline explains would be a very protracted and costly (and therefore ineffective) task, would dramatically threaten the Soviets and force them into taking strong retaliatory steps somewhere, and perhaps an all-out attack on China, which could lead to a big reversal for the U.S.

This kind of development, in the thinking of those like Cline and Tucker, would not be in the best interests of U.S. imperialism, especially considering the instability of China and the possibility of China's pragmatist and capitulationist leaders switching sides to the Soviets. These leaders have thrown away Mao's self-reliant and revolutionary banner and become capitulationists. But *which side* they capitulate to is another matter. A *New York Times* article in June of last year warned about such a possibility: "Even if the Chinese military is significantly improved, what assurance can we get about its ultimate use... What certainty can we all have about the composition and proclivity of future leadership in Peking?" The same paper puts this out more explicitly in another article a month later: "It is not impossible to think that with another turn of the wheel, the Sino-Soviet hostility of today could be reversed tomorrow—as it has been in the past—if pragmatic necessity demanded." Indeed, there are actual forces within the Chinese revisionist clique pushing for improving ties with the Soviets in order to ease the tremendous pressures exerted by the existence of such a hostile superpower poised right on the border. Cline's warnings that a military alliance with China would "threaten our non-communist friends on China's borders" is based largely on the perception of just such a possibility of China becoming incorporated into the Soviet bloc.

Although there are still contending views within the ruling class, the recent high-handed moves by the U.S. against China on the question of Taiwan seems to indicate that they are moving away at present from the situation where, as Cline claims, China began to have ex-

pectations of a full-blown military alliance. But it is hardly the case that U.S.-China relations are now at a point of collapse, as indicated by the trip to China in early January by Reagan's unofficial envoys, Republican senator Ted Stevens and Anna Chennault, vocal anti-communist and prominent member of the China lobby (a group which has pushed Taiwan interests in Washington for 30 years). Stevens, the chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, said in Peking that he "certainly would not rule out" arms sales. These dual tactics amount to a kind of "carrot and stick" toward both the Chinese and the Soviets.

Chennault's coming along on the trip represents an effort by the U.S. ruling class and their newly elected mouthpiece Reagan, himself a long-time champion of the reactionary KMT regime in Taiwan, to bring forces like the China lobby more into line with the new realities facing U.S. imperialism as they tighten their war bloc. The Chinese revisionists, by having to welcome this close support of the KMT regime, an opponent of U.S.-China normalization, are also being forced into more craven capitulation according to the needs and necessity of their present U.S. masters.

For now, the Chinese revisionists do not have much choice but to go along with these developments. As an article in the January 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review* says, "Having made its feelings known about the new moves toward Taiwan, China will probably see little virtue in pursuing them through diplomatic means such as withdrawing its ambassador to Washington. The Reagan administration potentially has too much to offer China, as is subtly implied by the Stevens-Chennault mission." Today, at least, this is true, although, of course, publicly the Chinese revisionist rulers are raising a hue and cry over the inglorious abuses that are being heaped upon them. But, the U.S. moves to push China deeper into its camp may also have the effect of strengthening the case of forces pushing for capitulation to the Soviets.

Easing tensions with the Soviets becomes increasingly attractive as China is forced to kneel lower down on her knees by the U.S. moves.

This point has not been lost on some sections of the U.S. ruling class who disagree with Cline and others' hard-line stand against China, as shown by a January 19 *Washington Post* editorial. This editorial frankly admits that "No doubt it is extreme to say China's current leader Deng Xiaoping has failed in his effort to use the Gang of Four trial to discredit the Mao way of modernizing, the procession by perpetual revolution, and strengthen his own policy of modernization by collective reforms. But certainly Mr. Deng has fallen short. Tough decisions, some experts call them the most crucial since the Communists took power in 1949, are on Deng's calendar this year. They involve the party's ideology, membership, and governing policies. The unanswered question is whether Mr. Deng will be better placed to tackle them after the trial or whether in attacking the Gang of Four head on, he is playing Mrs. Mao's game." The editorial goes on to express fears about what this might mean in relation to China's position internationally. "Therefore, for the U.S. to try to poke its nose in, however discreetly, will be intolerably risky. This is why it is disconcerting that President-elect Reagan is still maintaining a certain ambiguity about the normalization of relations that President Carter negotiated with China. Few charges could be more telling in the internal Chinese power struggle than the allegation that one side has yielded on Taiwan."

Here, the imperialists once again reveal their concern over the stability of the current pack of revisionists running China—and not only in relation to a more pro-Soviet tilt, but also in relation to the revolutionary forces in China. So while the imperialists and revisionists scheme and maneuver, we are reminded once again that there is more than one way their best laid plans can go up in smoke. □

FIERCE INDICTMENT

Continued from page 11

tacks have been accompanied by an energetic racist propaganda campaign including the distribution of printed "Hunting Licenses" for Blacks. Animal hearts have been strewn in public places like the Bethlehem Steel plant, bus stops and the public library. The animal hearts are a barbaric symbol in reference to the two Black men whose hearts had been cut out when they were murdered in Buffalo last year.

The hearings focused on exposures of this nature. The event drew together revolutionary Black nationalist forces whose speeches and reports concentrated the sentiments of numbers far beyond those at the meeting itself. Overall, the speakers stressed the importance of dealing with the increasing attacks in the context of the crisis of U.S. imperialism, and aimed their main

fire at the system. Said San Francisco BUF Chairman Oba T'chaka: "This corrupt system is not structured to produce jobs, this corrupt system is not structured to ensure the lives of our people. There will have to be fundamental changes in the economic, political and social order." And while the actual character of revolutionary change was naturally a sharp question running throughout the hearings, there was general agreement with the point made here by T'chaka.

By the conclusion of the hearing a vivid enraging picture had been painted. Both an overwhelming and particularized sense of the criminal oppression of Blacks under U.S. imperialism and the determined, defiant spirit of resistance and rebellion produced by this oppression had been conveyed. □

Cuban Youth

Continued from page 16

the adventure, but I didn't come fooled. This system you've got here, I know it, I know the sort of situation one lives in here, but I came for a new adventure and besides, my friends all came and I came with them, but I didn't come fooled.

RH: What was it like in the camps where they put you when you got here?

I: I got out of prison, came here, and another prison! I never imagined that—because it really was a prison where I was—that I'd come here a refugee and ended up in a prison again, but in 15 days I got out. I was lucky, so many people there, thousands still are there, and there are rebellions daily. The guards beat people. People mutinied in a plaza there; they pro-

tested something, that they wanted to leave, and the guards beat them, and hit them with water from hoses, and sticks. . .

RH: Is there anything you want to say to the Cubans in the U.S. now?

I: That they unite, and become conscious, in order to change this oppressive regime, take power and return to a real communist country, socialist, or democratic, but that there'd be no Fidel nor that communism. But Cubans have to let go of the hatred, first concentrate and understand the reality about the communism we are living, the real truth, to understand communism in truth, they must study, read, and orient themselves so they can learn the truth. We have been tricked, but here we must become class conscious, and get out of this lie. □

Youth Revolt in Bankers' Haven

Continued from page 2

eruptions is that large numbers of Swiss youth are rebelling against no less than the whole stultifying superstructure of capitalist society itself, particularly hidebound and philistine in Switzerland where the highest aspiration held up before the youth is to become a thriving little burghermeister whose life is run like the precision workings of a Swiss timepiece. In a country where everything is geared toward the conservative tourist crowd and the jukeboxes abound with insipid beerhall music, the youth are demanding cultural recognition and something more to life than that represented by Zurich's main boulevard, the Bahnhofstrasse—an affluent wasteland lined with fortress-like banks, posh hotels and exclusive shops. As one student protester from a well-off family described the anger of the youth: "The drabness of their lives, the prospect of going on like this for 30-40 years, drives them crazy. They just don't want the money bonuses the system offers them to work harder. . . I can't stand the values of my relatives, their bourgeois ambitions. My sister goes around in a white fur coat and talks about a safari vacation in Kenya. . ."

At this point the youth movement in Switzerland is characterized by more than a little anarchism. One of the slogans of the Movement of the Discontented is "No Leaders"—something which particularly irks the authorities since they can find no one to negotiate with. A Social Democrat who is City Commissioner of Culture has repeatedly complained that the youth have "no structures."

The reactions of the authorities are predictable. First come the cops, whose teargassings and beatings have once

again demonstrated the essence of the bourgeois state—even in democratic Switzerland. "Outside agitators!" is their favorite cry. One cop said, "Often, when we have troubles here, we see battered Volkswagens with West German license plates—Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart—parked around town." Ah—the international enemy, the battered Volkswagen.

Behind this front-line force of cops is the reaction of the pompous imperialist banks. Switzerland's "leading newspaper"—the 200-year-old *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*—editorialized, "the hard core of the rowdies is not prepared to renounce violence," and concluded, "Nothing is more wrong than yielding to a child who tries to get what he wants by stamping on the ground, shrieking and violent behavior."

Then comes the "understand the youth" crowd of profound social analysts, psychologists, etc. These learned sorts attempt to contain the "youth problem" in a bourgeois net of explanations such as "identity problems," "emotional needs" and the "Swiss malaise." Meanwhile, the youth continue to create much material in the streets for further study.

In one demonstration last November, youth broke through squads of riot police carrying wicker shields and reached the Bahnhofstrasse, with its citadels of elegance. They spread the contents of overturned garbage cans along the boulevard. That day, wooden planks went up to protect the windows. From a streetcar, a frightened looking middle-aged woman said, "Poor Bahnhofstrasse, the barbarians have come." As a young woman student put it, "Making a mess of the Bahnhofstrasse is a liberating gesture." □

Seattle Woman Shoots Attacker— Guess Who's on Trial?

Seattle. "If I'd been a man, I would have gotten the citizen of the year award for protecting a woman." Instead, Sasha Cady, who describes herself as a feminist and a revolutionary, faces a minimum of 5 years in prison if she is convicted of the charge lodged against her: second-degree assault with a deadly weapon. Sasha's trial is scheduled to begin on March 5.

On November 28, Sasha heard a woman screaming outside her apartment building. Looking out her window, she saw that the woman was being beaten by a man named James Doyle. As Sasha has done on at least eight other occasions, she came to the woman's defense. Sasha was able to get the woman away from the man. Then she took the woman up to her own apartment for protection. In the apartment, Sasha advocated the learning of self-defense, and informed the woman of all the laws regarding self-defense, including what weapons may be used in what circumstances. Sasha added, "Of course, if you're ever caught, since you're a woman, none of this may apply."

Sasha talked about Janice Painter, convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment for shooting her step-son, who had repeatedly beaten her and raped her 9-year-old daughter, as well as threatening the family. She talked about other cases as well. Sasha told us what happened in the apartment. "I was telling her about Yvonne Wanrow (a Native American woman, found guilty of manslaughter for protecting herself and

her children from the attacks of a known rapist) when James Doyle began breaking in my door." Doyle had followed the two women back to the apartment, smashed in the door, and was now attacking both of them. She continued, "The rest happened like the (pre)trial transcript. He punched me and I shot him." She left him injured in her apartment to walk a block and a half to the nearest phone booth to call the police. They arrived at the apartment before she returned. They were waiting on the front steps for her. She was immediately arrested and hauled back up to her apartment. There, she was forced to sit while the five cops took turns inspecting the four walls of her one-room apartment. They paid particular attention to the books on the shelves: Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*, *Revolution in Seattle* (about the Wobblies), and others. They also carefully inspected her leftist and feminist posters. As the sergeant in charge took his turn, he remarked, "The question is whether or not to book you." But Sasha knew what his decision would be. He came to a dead halt in front of her poster, "You Can't Rape A .38." He swung around to face her. "His eyes were just as vicious as the guy's who had just punched me." He gesticulated wildly, pointed to the poster, and snarled, "You're the kind of people we like to get. You're the opposite of a rapist." The police continually used the term "revolutionary" while booking her. She was originally charged with first-degree assault but it was eventually lowered "because they were afraid it

wouldn't stick."

No charges have been filed against James Doyle, as is true in all the other cases of self-defense by women who have been attacked which are now pending in the state of Washington. There are at least seven such cases now pending in this state alone.

It isn't enough for these vultures to bring Sasha to trial. Since her arrest, Sasha has been constantly harassed by the police. One day, she said, they cruised by her apartment every eight minutes for hours, slowing down as they passed her window. Another day, a cop followed her to a bar and waited for her outside. When she left, he called to her by her nickname and tried to strike up a "friendly" conversation with her in hopes of gathering incriminating evidence.

The prosecution has steadfastly refused to turn over any evidence subpoenaed by Sasha's attorney. "First they claimed they'd lost James Doyle's previous criminal record. Then they claimed it was none of our business." When the prosecution, under orders from the judge (all this withholding of evidence was getting a little too blatant), did turn over subpoenaed documents, one critical line from Doyle's medical report had been blocked out when it was copied. It was the line referring to his blood sugar level, which would serve as evidence to the fact that he was drunk the day of the attack.

The prosecutors can't rely on even their own laws regarding self-defense in this case. Everything was "by the letter

of the law": the gun was registered, the supposed victim had broken into Sasha's apartment where he was shot in response to a physical assault on her as well as another woman. But there is a precedent on which the authorities can rely in this case, one as old as class society itself: the exploitation, degradation and pervasive oppression of women.

Sasha explained the picture she expects the prosecution to paint. "They're claiming he was shot in the back in the hall. Supposedly my door was already broken." The police have taken photos of her progressive posters, supposedly to show the dimensions of her room. They also found her personal journal recounting her political development over the past four years. She also expects the prosecution to use the fact that she is a lesbian against her in court.

With a brand of irony entirely conceivable in imperialist America, one of the witnesses the prosecution will call is the woman Sasha was defending. Sasha describes her as one of the millions and millions of victimized women beaten in this country every year. Now she must lie about the incident, and, in essence, defend the assault upon her. Sasha's determined stand has become a rallying point for many outraged people, especially feminists. Her trial is scheduled to begin on March 5, at which time the authorities will attempt to convict Sasha with the only prosecution possible: a defense of the oppression of women. □

The Real Target of California's "Curb on the Right"

California authorities are moving to pass a law to "curb violent groups." This law, promoted by the State Attorney General and cynically disguised as an "anti-Klan, anti-Nazi measure," would make it unlawful "for any group to exist (in California) if it can be shown in a court of law that such a group knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches or encourages the commission of violence which may result in death or great bodily injury to another person." In addition, the law would make it a felony to "advocate violence" or join a group which "advocates violence."

According to Attorney General Deukmejian, once the police had obtained a court order under the proposed law, they could "go in and bust up the group on a local level" throughout the state. "Anti-Klan, anti-Nazi"? Far from it. The law is aimed squarely at

revolutionary forces—although unfortunately, some have been fooled into believing otherwise.

The *New York Times* reported, "Although backers of the proposed law made it clear that the measure was aimed at stemming increased Klan and Nazi activity, Mr. Deukmejian emphasized that it would apply to any group." Moans Deukmejian, "The current laws do not provide law enforcement and concerned citizens with the tools that are needed to stop extremist groups from continuing their war of hate and fear."

Deukmejian's 1980 report to the state legislature on "terrorism" in California provides a clue to what this proposed law is all about. The report was cited by the media as evidence that the legislation is needed. "Extreme left groups...emerged in 1979 as yet another dangerous faction with which

law enforcement would have to deal," states the report. "Steeped in their traditional doctrine of radical socialism and violent opposition to those not in accord...they exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible."

In his report, Deukmejian admits that the Nazis are "relatively ineffective," that they are "trying to attract members without significant success," and are "reportedly experiencing great financial difficulty." He concludes, "the danger, therefore, lies not in their strength, but in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left." In fact, the whole section on Klan and Nazi "terrorism" focuses principally on the counter-demonstrations by "left-wing extremists." As an example of this, the report mentions that on November 11,

1979, members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) were arrested in Greensboro, North Carolina, for "carrying concealed weapons." But nowhere is there any reference to the murders of anti-Klan demonstrators one week earlier! Actually, according to Deukmejian, "The Klan has attempted to shed its image of rough-talking promoter of racial violence, and some of its new leaders are advocates of respectability and of the supremacy of white culture." (It has probably not escaped the attention of the authorities that if they did want to ban groups like the Klan and Nazis for some reason, certainly the number of members of these groups who are also cops would pose big problems in enforcing the law!)

Deukmejian's report specifically targets the RCP, and while the slanderous portrayal of genuine revolutionary forces as "terrorists" is an old trick, the proposed law provides a new twist, legitimizing attacks on revolutionaries under the signboard of outlawing fascist groups. □

War Cry Sounded with Garwood Verdict

Continued from page 5

Garwood's trial began on November 14, 1980, amid little bugle-blowing or flag-waving. Almost from the beginning the trial was soft-peddled, as if an agreement of sorts had already been struck. That this is highly probable is evidenced by the instantaneous way that the Prisoner of War-Missing In Action (POW-MIA) hawks pulled Garwood under their wing. In fact, it was exactly as he was disembarking the jet that brought him to Camp Lejeune that they glombed onto him, giving him advice and legal counsel. The POW-MIA forces have been traditionally even more patriotic than probably some of the Marine lifers that sat on the jury in the trial. These were forces sicced on Garwood by the U.S. Army, and these were the forces that Garwood ultimately chose to base his defense on—instead

of turning to the broad array of forces who had opposed the war. Given that, it was hardly surprising that Garwood's defense ended up based on his mental condition rather than a defense of his actions in Vietnam and an exposure of the army. In fact, the defense never once challenged the claim that Garwood collaborated with the Vietnamese, only that he was driven mad enough to do so.

Obviously some sort of compromise deal had been struck, where in exchange for the dropping of the death penalty and two of the four original charges, Garwood agreed not to raise the political muck of the broader questions of GI resistance and the real crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and around the world in hopes of the brass going easy. But obviously Garwood's guilty verdict reveals that whether you

kiss butt or suck flags, the imperialists will do what they have to do to advance their criminal aims and interests and screw anyone who messes with that!

Interestingly, in what is becoming a familiar pattern, Garwood's defense was based on the contention that he was insane at the time, suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder—or what has become the common tag since the brave 52 arrived from Iran, "Stockholm Syndrome." This strange affliction is where the captives begin to identify and sympathize with their captors. Actually it has become a rather convenient way for the ruling class to explain why so many of their "troops" collaborate—especially in the face of exposure of the crimes of imperialism. It was widespread in Korea, outstanding in Vietnam, and even among some of their politically trained personnel in Iran—it's become a bit too contagious.

But as many psychiatrists as the defense brought in to testify it didn't sway the court or jurors one bit. In fact, whether Garwood was nuts when he collaborated with the enemy or not was never the question for the prosecution. What concerned them was the effects—

particularly future effects if they didn't exercise the clampdown—of the actions of Garwood and GIs like him. Go ahead and be nuts. We'll court martial nuts and we'll lock nuts up in the stockade too. The point is, even if Robert Garwood came back to the U.S. tattooed from head to toe in red, white and blue stripes, he would still have been tried and court-martialed for his previous collaboration. The needs of the imperialists are much too great to allow his actions to go unchallenged. The rulers will draft people at gunpoint this time around and they'll go a lot farther dealing with the slightest resistance than they did with Garwood. After all, they reason, we've got to instill a high morale!

But as Garwood's trial points out, even four years after they've tried so hard to reverse the verdicts on the Vietnam war so as to clear a path in order to go to war, they are up against a fundamental obstacle. War, destruction, and death, in the service of imperialism around the world can never boost morale—neither can the gun or jail cell. This is the real law that will render the final verdict on the Garwood case. □

More Revolutionaries on Trial in China

Continued from page 10

not be replayed." Of course to speak in precise terms, what the revolutionaries in China must build for is not another Cultural Revolution, which was a revolution carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie that has seized state power and is now enslaving the Chinese people and reestablish a socialist state. But in any case the revisionist warnings against a "second Cultural Revolution" reveal the nightmares they must be having of millions of people in conscious political struggle against their rule and led by Mao's revolutionary line.

The revisionists' fear of such a possibility has even led them to "rediscover" class struggle. A *People's Daily* editorial appearing the day after the sentencing of the Four cautioned that "class struggle still exists" and that "the outlook that class struggle has died out must be opposed, because it does not correspond to objective reality." This is nothing but a call for stepping up repression of the revolutionaries. As Mao pointed out, the revisionists always preached dying out of class struggle under socialism but never stopped waging class struggle against the proletariat. Of course the revisionists are quick to add that "class struggle must not be expanded"—that is, to include class struggle by the masses against the revisionist rulers.

Some of the recent activities directed against the revisionist ruling clique have also come from openly reactionary, anti-communist elements. Secret leaflets are said to be now circulating in China, accusing Deng, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Peng Zhen of being the "new Gang of Four" and calling for uprooting Marxism-Leninism from China. At recent elections at Qing Hua (Tsinghua) University in Peking, students who openly questioned or denied the leading role of the Communist Party challenged candidates put up by the party. Similar incidents had also occurred in recent months at other campuses. (Again, since the "Communist" Party is no longer communist and its "leading role" amounts to leading the capitalist restoration, such opposition is bound to include mixed revolutionary and counter-revolutionary tendencies.)

With all this hypocrisy, the revisionists are attempting to lump all opposition with that of the genuine revolutionaries, in order to pose as the "true defenders" of socialism, fending off attacks from both the "ultra-left" and the right. The *People's Daily*

editorial cited above explained that although there is unity and stability, "We must also see that there actually exist elements unfavorable to the unity and stability in our country. This is not only because the remnants of the Lin Biao-Gang of Four factional setups have not been taken care of completely, and the poison spread by the Lin Biao-Chiang Ching clique has not been thoroughly swept away; and not only because in society there is still serious criminal elements and criminal groups... but also because, having received the influence of domestic and external anti-socialist elements and the ideology of the exploiting classes, there has arisen among a certain section of the people extreme individualism and serious ideological trends of anarchism." This is the kind of despicable ploy used by revisionists of all stripes to mask their own thoroughly reactionary, bourgeois nature.

It is true that openly rightist forces pose a threat to the revisionists to a certain extent. Especially among the intellectuals, there is some basis for this kind of blatant attacks on Mao and fawning before the Western-style capitalism to grow and further endanger the tattered "socialist" cloak of the revisionists. The revisionists have shown that they will use such forces to serve their own cause of attacking Mao and genuine socialism, but will also deal harshly with them when necessary, as in the sentencing of the "hero" of "Democracy Wall," Wei Jingsheng, in 1979 to 15 years in prison. But such undisguised attacks against Mao and socialism do not hold much water among the masses of Chinese people, particularly the workers and peasants. In fact at certain times the revisionists follow a conscious policy of letting these creatures crawl out of the woodwork and spew out their poison, in order to clear the way for their own brand of more disguised attacks.

Infighting

As for the contradictions within the revisionists' ranks, it seems that Deng has achieved a temporary consolidation, at least among the top levels. For the first time since last November, Hua Guofeng was finally shown appearing in public. A picture was just published of Hua at a New Year's get-together with Hoang Zan Hoan, a former Vietnamese official who defected to China in 1979. Hua's appearance with this relatively minor political figure, while the other top revisionist leaders celebra-

ted at the official New Year gathering, is a humiliating and symbolic gesture meant to show that he is now a chairman in name only (and soon to be stripped of even that title). The title of the *People's Daily* article referred simply to "Hua Guofeng" not *Chairman* Hua Guofeng, while a title on the same page referred to "Premier Zhao Ziyang". To pile insult on top of insult, a story was leaked out recently in *Cheng Ming* that the phrase "With you in charge, I am at ease," which Hua claims had been uttered by Mao and which Hua used to legitimize his claim to chairmanship is incomplete. It should really have read: "With you in charge, I am at ease. If you have any questions, ask Chiang Ching." To show that Ye Jianying, a powerful revisionist figure rumored to have been opposed to the removal of Hua, had also been won over (or neutralized), the *People's Daily* carried a poem welcoming the New Year written by him.

But while the Deng forces have been able to get Hua out of the way for now, they still face strong opposition within their own party. According to *Cheng Ming*, the biggest opposition to Deng comes from middle-level cadres from military backgrounds who hold such positions as county party committee secretaries. Most of these people do not have modern, technical education, and feel threatened by the upcoming purge which will further replace the old leadership with technocrats and economists.

Adding to the instability is the uncertain situation in the military. At an all-army conference on political work which met earlier this month, the head of the general political department Wei Guoqing admitted that there are "ideological line problems" in the military. People with different opinions, he said, may present them to the leadership according to party regulations but "under no circumstances must they express opposition through action." There have been over 10 such conferences on the local level since the beginning of the year to deal with opposition to the present regime within the army. In addition, Wang Ghen, a high-ranking member of the central committee's military commission, made a trip for the second time since last October to Xinjiang Province, which has a long border with the Soviet Union. Wang reportedly told the troops and commanders that "The danger of war is increasing daily," and that they should increase alertness to defend the border. Xinjiang has recently been the scene of unrest among tens of thousands of educated youth who heeded a call during the Cultural Revolution to go to the countryside and outlying areas for the cause of socialism. Now with the restoration of capitalism and promotion of naked self-interest, former motives are gone

and many youth have been demanding to return to the cities for better paying jobs and less harsh conditions. No doubt the call for the troops to "increase their alertness" is meant not only in dealing with the Soviets but also to quell dissatisfaction among the youth and others opposed to the regime.

Some of the opposition to their ruling regime in the military comes from revisionist big brass who are dissatisfied about the loss of their power and prestige, especially after the trial of Lin Biao's generals. But the pamphlet from Shanghai sent by supporters of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao to the *RW* pointed out that revolutionaries have quite a lot of influence in the army. One source familiar with the military situation in China has also told the *RW* that in the Northeast (Mao Yuanxin's home base), the Four's supporters are quite strong in the army, but the center is unable to carry out any big shakeup because it is an important area industrially and vulnerable to attack by the Soviets.

Some western analysts have compared the instability and inner dissension existing in China to the situation in Poland. One commentary in the *Christian Science Monitor* last December noted that this is "Further evidence of the failure of the communist system whether Soviet or Chinese variety to satisfy the needs of the people and the country... in simplest terms, it does not work well." This commentator almost got it right, but not quite. Poland and China show the failure of revisionism, whether the Soviet or the Chinese variety, to move society forward. Both Poland and China are wracked by internal contradictions of the capitalist system, and more significantly are being buffeted on all sides by the contradictions arising out of the sharpening contention between the imperialist blocs headed by the two superpowers.

But what is different about China is that the revisionist rulers are afraid of a second Cultural Revolution precisely because there was a first Cultural Revolution, a 10-year period during which millions, led by Mao's revolutionary line, engaged in tit-for-tat struggles to expose and overthrow the revisionists. Many, most notably Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, who were tempered by the twists and turns of that period to deepen their grasp of Marxism-Leninism are still upholding that revolutionary line. Many who became disillusioned or were temporarily fooled by the revisionists will undoubtedly be inspired again by the stand of the two revolutionaries, and many more will awaken to take up Mao's legacy as the revisionist rulers attempt to barter off China as cannon-fodder for one or the other imperialist war bloc. □

LOPEZ

Continued from page 9

the Mexicans live, and all the houses are dilapidated, there is no draining, no sewers; when it rains, it backs up into the houses. People have to live like that all the time. The goddamn houses are about to fall over, the schools are inadequate. Look at the drop-out rate for Chicano youth in the high schools, more Chicanos don't graduate than do. Or the tuberculosis rate. Go into the valleys in Texas, the TB rate is the highest in the country. Or the life expectancy rate is cut down tremendously because of all the disease. Where if you get caught speaking Spanish in school, you get punished...."

Then he talked about his friend Manuel G. Aguilar, who was refused service in the Arizona restaurant along with him. After his hitch in the Army (the only time he was assured of a meal) Aguilar got a job in construction, but he ended up laid off and knocking around the streets. He might work for a while, but as soon as his union dues got paid off he would get laid off again. Eventually, he got sick, his asthma got really bad and he had to go into a VA hospital. But he had been without food for too long and his body was too weak, and he ended up dying basically of starvation. Of course, he was no "hero," he would always stand

up to the brass and never got higher than a military rating of Private E-2. In fact, when he was stationed in France, "We were in this cafe and they asked us what country we were from, because they were singing the anthems from different countries. When they got to us, we told them we were from Mexico. I remember laughing at the time. He told me afterwards he wouldn't lick nobody's ears from this country."

The shameful Sgt. Lopez, blinded by the bright lights of imperialist conquest and his new found "heroism," would do well to take note that there are no guarantees for those who play the deadly game, like another Arizona war hero,

January 29, 1981

Dear *Revolutionary Worker*,

I saw in the last issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper where you had a demonstration for Jiang Ching. That's great. This is how they covered it in the *Courier-Journal**. I think there is a reason why they put this picture over the article on "terrorism." They just are trying to cover up who the real "terrorists" are.

Why don't you put in your paper how the so-called "American" banks were holding up the release of the hostages so they could make more \$. I don't care anything about those spies but I thought that was funny. Why don't you write how the U.S. Army tortured that guy with LSD much worse than the so-called "hostages." My

Ira Hayes. Ira Hayes was a Pina Indian, from the Socalton Reservation, not too far from Globe. He was immortalized in the imperialist monument as one of the Marines who planted the American flag at Iwo Jima during World War 2. Put out to pasture, he became an alcoholic, wandering the dusty roads of the reservation. He became a perpetual hostage of the authorities, arrested 51 times in the ten years from the time he left the Marines until he died in the desert of exposure at the age of 33—his parched and broken body a true monument to imperialism and its Judas Goats. □

boyfriend is in prison and most of the prisoners thought the hostages should be "shot." They liked the Iranians.

I like your newspaper. It's the best. All my sisters read it. They thought it was only for Blacks but I told them no. It's for everyone who wants revolution.

I'll just sign this

A reader forever!

J.M.

* The newspaper clipping from the *Courier-Journal* which was sent in with this letter showed the following: Directly over an article headlined, "U.S. may put 'terrorism' label on Iran" was a photo taken of an "unidentified heckler" screaming in the face of one of the demonstrators at the Houston demonstration in support of Mao's revolutionary comrades.—RW.

8th Grader on Hostages

This is about something that happened in one of my classes at school. We were in a classroom and the teacher was talking about the two greatest things that happened in 1981. She said that Ronald Reagan became president and that the hostages were freed. A boy in my class said that if the hostages didn't go to Iran and weren't so greedy, none of this would have happened. He said it's not like the Iranian people came to the United States and captured these people and took them back to Iran. It's like these people went to Iran and were being greedy about what they wanted and spying on the Iranian people. He said and now everybody is doing a big thing on the hostages like they died and came back to life or something. After that the whole class stood up, clapped and whistled. Then the teacher said, well everyone has their own opinion.

An 8th grader in Cincinnati

El Salvador

Continued from page 6

The rhetoric of "human rights" will thus be de-emphasized in the region, while the essential substance of U.S. policy remains the same—only more of it.

White's replacement is Frederic Chapin, another career diplomat who has undergone extensive training in trying to make the best of a bad situation. Chapin was formerly the ambassador to the pro-Soviet regime in Ethiopia, before he was booted out, and has worked at the International Security Affairs office of the Defense Dept., overseeing its link-forging between the Guatemalan and Honduran armies and a large contingent of former Somoza national guardsmen. One of his most notable previous assignments was as the State Dept. coordinator for Nelson Rockefeller's 1969 trip to Latin America, a journey that was marked by massive anti-U.S. demonstrations and a real U.S. fear that Rocky wouldn't get out of the continent alive. Chapin will undoubtedly be called upon to achieve new heights in imperialist diplomacy as he tries to keep the U.S.'s junta in El Salvador alive.

But the growing difficulties of that task have driven the U.S. into some frenzied escalation with regard to Nicaragua as well. On January 30, the Nicaraguan embassy in El Salvador was attacked by "unidentified gunmen," who blew up a car in front of the embassy compound and burned several buildings. According to the Nicaraguan government, the Salvadoran troops who are normally assigned to patrol the area in front of the embassy mysteriously disappeared about half an hour before the attack. Immediately following the incident, both Nicaragua and El Salvador closed down their embassies in each other's countries. In addition, the U.S. has cut off \$15 million in aid it had earmarked for Nicaragua, and government sources report that 4000 former Somoza national guardsmen have been training in 34 encampments on the Honduras side of the Nicaragua border. The Nicaraguan government, where U.S. influence has rapidly declined since the fall of its puppet Somoza and where Soviet and Cuban influence has been on the definite upswing, reported that the guardsmen had already crossed the border in one incident and killed seven Nicaraguan militiamen.

Revisionist Strategy

These U.S. escalations are coming in the face of the Salvadoran junta's inability to defeat the opposition guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and continuing defections from the government. Recently, the Salvadoran ambassador to Nicaragua, the head of the National Coffee Institute, and the vice-minister of economic planning all resigned and went over to the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR)—the very broad coalition of opposition forces, including pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet class forces. But despite the seemingly favorable situation for the opposition, the natural tendencies of the class forces leading it are creating a situation that does not augur well for the goal to which the vast majority of the Salvadoran masses clearly aspire and are presently struggling for—that is, the overthrow of imperialist domination. The leaders of the FDR and the FMLN continue to base their actions—including military actions—on a so-called "diplomatic offensive." This involves travelling from country to country in the U.S. bloc, trying to gain "acceptance" from the various imperialist and neo-colonial allies of the U.S. in an effort to put pressure on the U.S. to "negotiate" with the FDR—and hopefully hand over at least part of the Salvadoran reins to them. In this scenario, the struggle of the masses is used as a pressure tactic to accomplish this end, and the "general offensive" of the FMLN has overall exhibited more of the character of a defensive maneuver; military actions have been clearly geared to the goal of

holding on to some piece of Salvadoran territory in which a provisional government could be set up. The hope of these forces is that some of the U.S. bloc countries would thereby be willing to withdraw diplomatic recognition of the junta and openly support the opposition. Of course, even with the most correct revolutionary leadership, things would not advance in a straight line. But here the strategy is not one of revolutionary peoples' war but is instead all somehow seen as gaining the leadership and leverage for striking a deal with the imperialists—especially the U.S. at the present time—and their best bet for getting installed at the head of a Salvadoran state.

For the extremely weak and flabby section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie represented in the leadership of the FDR, their ultimate goal of exploiting the Salvadoran masses themselves leads them head-long into this type of operation. Certainly, it prevents them from politically arousing and fully mobilizing the masses to boot out the imperialists, many of whom have had long and intimate ties with current FDR leaders who were formerly part of the neo-colonial state apparatus. True, many of these bourgeois forces in a country like El Salvador can be allies of the working class and the masses of people in an anti-imperialist struggle, but they are a vacillating force at best. Forces like these have tended to play their most progressive role when the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution is led by a proletarian party based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and firmly fighting for leadership of the struggle.

However, in El Salvador at the present time, the "Left" is being led by the revisionist line of the pro-Soviet

PCS and various pro-Cuban forces that follow the same general thrust, all of whom have similar class aspirations with the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces in the FDR. This Soviet-Cuban axis is made up of generally petty-bourgeois forces who also aspire to state power. However, as in Cuba, this line can ultimately only lead to the formation of a new bourgeoisie that will be able to exploit the Salvadoran masses for its own benefit. Long held down by imperialist domination and its reliance on the Salvadoran oligarchy, these forces have been unable to develop any really significant private capital, so their best hope for power is the eventual institution of a state-capitalist regime, which they euphemistically call "socialism." Given the same natural class tendencies of opposing the political mobilization of the masses and vacillation before the imperialists, they have been pulled rather firmly in the direction of the U.S.'s main imperialist rival, the Soviet Union, and its chief client state in the region, Cuba. Not all of these forces are as firmly tied to the Soviet goal of Central American domination as is the PCS, and some of them could even switch sides as things develop, but their basic class position, coupled with the desperate moves of the U.S., have led them more and more to follow the Soviet strategy in the region as the best hope for their own aspirations.

The current thrust of that strategy is the "historic compromise"—an attempt to share power with pro-U.S. bourgeois elements for a time (this is referred to as "pluralism" by all the parties concerned, including Fidel Castro), while they work to strengthen their political influence among these forces and the masses as well, until the Soviets feel that they are in a position to

successfully replace U.S. neo-colonial domination with their own brand of the same. This counter-revolutionary strategy is favored by the Soviets in areas where the U.S. has traditionally been the top imperialist dog, and Central America is one area where it is being applied in a very bold and calculating way, as an important part of the Soviet Union's own imperialist war preparations.

But the result of the growing Soviet and Cuban influence in this direction has been to render even more unrealistic the attempts by the FDR leadership to strike a deal with the U.S. As their "diplomatic offensive" continues, even where they manage to make use of some inter-imperialist contradictions within the U.S. bloc, such as gaining a measure of support from the West German imperialists, the U.S. is driven even more frantically to escalate its support for the junta and to present its allies with no choice but to back the most reliable U.S. compradors in the region. Thus, the claims by the FDR and the pro-Soviet leaders in El Salvador that such capitulationist efforts as the "diplomatic offensive" are somehow "buying time" or forestalling a U.S.-backed invasion, are completely fraudulent. In fact, they are only having the effect of demobilizing the masses while the U.S. intensifies its moves toward an all-out bloodletting. While there will undoubtedly be twists and turns in this complex situation, and while the U.S. will still try to maneuver as much as it can, this, in the final analysis, is the direction in which it is forced to push things. The global concerns of this imperialist bloodsucker do not allow for anything else. The Salvadoran masses' revolutionary efforts to overthrow imperialism need to be freed of this death trap of "compromise." □

Poland

Continued from page 6

favor coming down harder on the workers' protests, suddenly up popped the party chairman at a crucial Central Committee meeting with the announcement that Jaruzelski was in. It was an appointment that was dual-edged in more ways than one.

For one thing, the government is clearly hoping that placing Jaruzelski, a well-known figure in Poland, in the Prime Minister post will give Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders more ammunition in their attempts to smooth over the widening rift between themselves and the masses of workers who are more and more impatiently demanding action as well as to woo the masses into maintaining an attitude of wait and see. However accurate Jaruzelski has at least the reputation for being untainted by corruption, an important qualification considering that many of the recent spontaneous outbreaks among the Polish workers have vehemently focused on this issue. The general is a staunch Polish nationalist, known for putting Poland's interests over those of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Jaruzelski is quite an influential ruling figure among certain strata of Poland's small farmers. He is himself from a landowning family and on good terms with the Catholic Church which exercises great influence in the countryside. He is also known to be favorable to the idea of increasing price supports for small farmers, something which has long been a bone of contention between the farmers and the government. What better figure to assume the Prime Minister's post—one day before the expected denial of the farmers' request to form an independent trade union!

The Polish rulers hope that Jaruzelski's past practice will give him credibility in the eyes of the masses. As Defense Minister in 1970, when his troops took up positions to support the police during the anti-government upheavals (and in fact inflicted some casualties on civilians), he suddenly withdrew his support for Wladyslaw

Gomulka. This insured Gromulka's replacement as party leader, thus enhancing Jaruzelski's reputation. In 1976, when riots broke out again, he is said to have resisted using his troops, reportedly telling the Politburo that "Polish soldiers will not fire upon Polish workers." These actions were, of course, merely an astute response to the dilemma the Polish government found itself in then and which it once again finds itself in now. In a situation where Polish troops may indeed be asked to fire on Polish workers, Jaruzelski, with his finger on the pulse of the army, is perhaps more qualified than anyone in the Polish ruling circles to judge whether it is feasible to send in the troops and, if so, what units to use and where.

This brings us to the "other side" of Jaruzelski, and signs that the government could well have in mind a firmer approach to the independent trade union and the small farmers. One advantage this four-star general has in his new position is his long-established ties with local military commanders all over Poland, connections which could prove to be invaluable in insuring the loyalty of the top levels of the Polish command, if the government decides to unleash a crackdown. And, at the same time, while it is assumed that Jaruzelski would do everything possible to avoid Soviet intervention, the fact that he is on a first-name basis with the senior military leaders of the Warsaw Pact would put him in a good position to coordinate joint Soviet-Polish military efforts and mitigate any resistance by rebellious Polish army commanders should the Soviets find it necessary to invade.

The upshot of Jaruzelski's appointment was to bolster, however temporarily, the appeals of those like Lech Walesa to cool things out in the days that followed as strikers were encouraged to wait to see what the policies of the "new regime" would be. After carrying Walesa on their shoulders to the courthouse in Warsaw, farmers were angered by the ruling which, not surprisingly, rejected their demands for an independent trade union, but noted that the case could be taken before the Warsaw city administration which could register the farmers organization as an "association"—a group without collec-

tive bargaining rights. Some in the crowd of 5,000 which had spent many hours standing outside in the freezing temperatures objected, shouting, "Let's not move until we get what we want!" But Walesa's speech carried the day as he claimed, "The court did not reject us. It was really a draw." He pleaded, above all, for "no violent acts—just peace, calm and reason."

Apparently, even the U.S. imperialists were caught somewhat off guard by the Polish government's moves as the Reagan administration scrambled to come up with an official position on the latest turn of events. At first Alexander Haig was reported by NBC News to have said that a Soviet invasion was virtually certain. Shortly thereafter, a state department spokesman said he had been authorized by Haig to say that Soviet intervention "is viewed as neither imminent nor inevitable nor justifiable on any grounds." The same official originally stated that if strictly Polish forces intervened to establish order, this would be regarded as "a Polish matter." Later the statement was changed to "With regard to the question of the possible use of Polish forces in the current situation, we could not be indifferent to such a development."

Clearly, however, the principal aspect of Jaruzelski's appointment is that, as the *New York Times* correctly observed, "In concert with Mr. Kania, he will attempt to direct the turbulent Polish labor movement toward more moderate policies and thus lift the shadow of Soviet intervention." But while, with this latest maneuver, Poland's rulers seem to have won a temporary breathing space in which to convince the Soviets that they are getting their act together, it must be stressed that it is only that—temporary. First, there are the Soviets who are watching the situation carefully and will doubtless make their views quite plain at the 26th Congress of the Soviet party on February 23 which both Kania and Jaruzelski are expected to attend. And then there are the Polish masses who are also watching the situation quite carefully and whose contradictions with their revisionist rulers—and with imperialism generally—are not about to be eliminated by the government's efforts at musical chairs. □

Miami

Continued from page 1

The word spread fast throughout Miami. A sobering effect was added to an extremely tense situation. For five weeks, all eyes had been watching the Metro Justice building, the same hated building which was attacked by a crowd of thousands upon the announcement of another verdict last May: the acquittal of the cops who beat Arthur McDuffie to death.

And just as predictably as the jury in the McDuffie case cried "Not guilty," the jury in this case cried, "Guilty."

The trial of these youth had nothing to do with their innocence or guilt on the charges of murdering three whites during the upheaval in Miami after the McDuffie verdict—it was an hysterical, political trial aimed directly at the Miami rebellion. The prosecutor even boasted of the lack of evidence in his closing argument to the jury: "This case is so different from any other case... You don't have the necessary eyewitnesses. You don't normally have the situation where no one comes forward to testify." A contradiction the state had solved by spending months fabricating evidence for the frame-up.

Most glaring were the prosecution's two supposed "eyewitnesses," dredged up to testify against the youth. The state's star witness was a woman who admitted on the stand that the police had found her a new apartment and a job as a reward for her testimony. But the testimony of this "eyewitness" fell flat, too flat even for the prosecutor who orchestrated her lies. Midstream through questioning, this woman was so exposed that the prosecutor frantically declared her an *adverse* witness to his case! She stammered out that she thought she saw the Caper brothers in the crowd but could not say that she saw them with weapons or hitting anyone. How she saw any of this at all—at night, from a third story window, overlooking a completely dark parking lot, as a crowd of hundreds were in the street—is beyond imagination, or rather, part of her imagination.

The state's second witness was a man who testified that he had definitely heard Lawrence Capers say, "Let's go get four more 'crackers' for McDuffie." This alleged statement, meant to prove premeditation, was supposedly said between 5:30 and 6:00 p.m., although the actual death of the victims concerned was hours later. But even more graphic than this slight time lapse, was this witness' "positive" identification of the defendant. This individual had been *unable* to pick out Lawrence's photo in a deposition last August. Since then, the photo of the youth has been in every newspaper. Thus, a "positive identification" in the courtroom. But like the first "eyewitness", this fool flopped as well. "That's Lawrence," the man said pointing to Lawrence across the courtroom, "he's about 5 ft. 11 inches, and 185 lbs..." The defense attorney asked Lawrence to stand and then read from the police arrest record that the youth is 5 ft. 4 inches, and 135 lbs.

In an attempt to focus the trial away from this opening backfire, the state shifted tactics by admitting "evidence" into the trial which the press was only too happy to broadly publicize. First there were 24, 8x10 glossy photographs of every drop of blood and every tiny laceration on the bodies of the three dead white men. A couple of more pictures were added later on that had been taken *after* the autopsy, complete with medical tubes protruding from every possible opening and surgical incisions—to enhance the morbidity of the incident. On top of that, the Dade county medical examiner testified for half a day, describing in great detail each and every injury he had seen.

Just in case no one had caught on to this game, two large cardboard boxes filled with *every* rock from the parking lot of the scene were dragged in and placed on the judge's bench. There the rocks stayed throughout the rest of the trial. These "bloody boulders" as the prosecutors called them, were held up and waved before the jury several times—driving home the point that a guilty verdict better be returned.

Aside from this blustering, all the state was left with was the testimony of the various and assorted cops who had

arrested the youth and investigated the case. Key among them was detective Jose Fleites, head of the homicide team on the case. Fleites spun a web of lies beginning with a laughable version of the original arrest and interrogation of the youth. He painted a picture of a polite and orderly detention and questioning (everyone knows how polite Miami pigs can be!) after the youth were taken into custody. Two of the youths' mothers exposed this in testimony, describing the *gestapo* like raid the night of the arrests. In fact, what happened was that two of the youths were arrested at home in the middle of the night, taken to the station and terrorized into making recorded "confessions" by the pigs. These fraudulent tapes became the key "evidence" linking the youths to the scene. But as an indication of just how arbitrary these arrests had been, Lawrence Capers wasn't forced to "confess" after being arrested. The trial revealed that police notes stated that Lawrence had "nothing useful" to say!

But this "evidence" was clearly not sufficient for the needs of the state or for Detective Fleites. He simply made up more evidence against the other two defendants—evidence that was flatly denied by even two of his fellow police in a cross-examination. Fleites' "evidence" was also directly contradicted by *his own* notes that were presented as defense exhibits! What became obvious at the trial was that 3 of the 4 defendants were not even present at the incident in question, and that these were not the terms of the trial whatsoever. As if to prove that in this case the state had a much broader target, the prosecutor even lashed out at an older brother of one defendant who had testified that he had forced the youth home that night in May. "Where did you go after you took your brother home, did you go back to 62nd St...?" demanded the snivelling attorney, putting the witness on trial. One of the defense attorneys slammed this right back in their face, "You may as well put all of Liberty City on trial."

At one point, a defense attorney blasted the Fleites' lies. The cop's testimony was reviewed point by point, and every lie was dragged out into the light of day and exposed. As the wild imagination of Detective Fleites was shot full of holes, the state struggled to recover. A large part of the prosecution's closing argument appealed to the "patriotism" of the jurors, as the prosecutor bemoaned the "uninterested professionalism of the police officers."

The families of the victims became a fitting final touch to this "trial." Crying and holding hands in front of the cameras, these willing participants in the frame-up were provided a private waiting room downstairs during the periods when they were not needed. One was even flown down from Tennessee for the occasion, a trip which he admitted he did not pay for. This show was aimed at creating the image of "innocent victims," who were attacked by a "violent, senseless mob"—alluded to by one prosecutor as "wolves" and "wild animals."

But what about these so-called "innocent victims"? Somehow, their car had gotten past police barricades late that night hours *after* the area had exploded in rebellion, and hours after the police had entirely cordoned off the area and stopped all whites from entering. Other cars of reactionary whites were seen shooting and killing Blacks (14 of whom were killed by these and police bullets), cars that also were allowed past the police lines. And while their families (and the official news on police stories) say the men were returning home from a fishing trip—there was absolutely no evidence of that story found in their car, no fishing rods, no fish, not even a single lure. And certainly, if *other* evidence had been found by the cops—weapons, for instance—this would have never been revealed.

Half way through the trial, and in an attempt to stop the self-exposure that was sure to come, the state tried to prevent the *RW* reporter from going back into the courtroom. But the anger burst wide open and people jumped to their feet in protest. "This is it, this is the terms of this whole trial," yelled one man as he slammed his fist toward a

horrified cop. A young woman shouted right in his face, "You don't stop the *Miami Herald* because they print everything the state says. This paper prints the truth." The court was recessed for 20 minutes until the bailiffs scurried back to say that the *RW* could continue to cover the trial. This attack was noted by several other reporters who came up later to offer support. But it was especially noted by the new co-conspirators who had begun to take up the paper in the heat of this battle and who are beginning to see how key a weapon it is. When an undercover cop threatened the *RW* reporter—"There are a lot of Cubans in this town that would like to blow your head off"—people began to protect the notes and the reporter for the rest of the trial.

In Liberty City, people came forward at the initiative of the *RW* and broadly distributed over 1,000 red armbands emblazoned, "It's Right to Rebel!" The armband itself became a focus of sharp struggle. One night on the street, as police were typically harassing youth, a crowd gathered. Youth began shouting "It's Right to Rebel." Well aware of the meaning, the cops quickly fled. People began to attach the armbands to their car antennas. And one day in the courthouse, the prosecutor raised such a stink over the armbands

Kent State:

Continued from page 7

common link between the Vietnam war and the exploitation and national oppression in the U.S.

Another, and particularly nasty part of the film is the portrayal of a token Black student who appears twice in the film—once near the beginning to say, "Let the white students have their party, we're pulling the Black brothers out of here," and then reappearing after the students have been shot to respond to a student shocked at the shootings with, "Guns are always loaded." While such narrow and backward bourgeois nationalism certainly did exist, this by no means characterized the Black students at Kent State, nor the relationship between the Black students and white revolutionaries. As has already been indicated, the fight against national oppression was an integral part of the overall struggle at Kent State. On May 1st, 400 students, mainly Black, held a demonstration in support of Black students at Ohio State and the Black Panther Party. This was consciously timed to take place simultaneously with a May Day demonstration of Black students at Yale. Throughout this period there was a great deal of activity on Kent State campus and other campuses in the area, mainly focused around demands for Black studies, admissions and in opposition to attacks on the Panthers. While it is true that in the events portrayed in the film, Black students did not take part in large numbers, and there was some feeling that Black students would face more severe attacks, the leaders and students were serious in their struggle and had far more political depth than the caricature portrayed in the film. Their attitude toward the anti-war movement was not that it was some kind of party for white students. In fact it is a testament to national oppression in this country that the shootings at Jackson State which were the focus of mass outrage at the time are not only not mentioned in the film but have not been the focus of such attention throughout the country; and this has angered many Black students.

It is revealing that none of the radical student leaders are portrayed in any depth in this movie; while other characters are portrayed in depth, they are not. This is an important device of the film to get across the picture of innocent and well-meaning students being swept into the vortex of history. The film focuses on the lives of the four students shot and in doing so it portrays things through the eyes of the intermediate and even backward students who are won over to some extent in the course of events, by putting them center stage. There are some powerful scenes, particularly those involving the transformation of a student on ROTC scholarship: one where he is talking to

that a local radio station reported that a "riot" had started. Another armband, made by a local Black Student Union, also began to appear all over. It said: "Free Our Hostages—The Convicted Youth."

In case the lesson was not learned this time, the state is rapidly proceeding with its plans to try to smash the spirit of the rebellion again and again. On March 9, yet another bogus trial of two more Black youth charged with murder will begin. And on March 17, the same judge that gave the maximum 15 years to a Black youth framed on manslaughter in December, will sentence Samuel Lightsey and the Capers brothers. To top this off in time to coincide with the first anniversary of the rebellion, the state is going for the death penalty against the youth who has been singled out as the leader of the rebellion.

The crimes of our rulers—focused here on the verdicts against three Miami Black youths—are indeed vast. What they failed to drown in blood during the Miami rebellion they are attempting to destroy now with their system of justice. But try as they will to close the book on the powerful outbreak of last May, the final chapter of the story is yet to be written. □

his father on the phone as tear gas floats into his room from the besieged campus, saying, "We have to end this war dad," and another scene where he confronts a national guardsman with some rather sharp agitation: "You know what I learned in ROTC. Two sticks and a wire. That's all it takes to kill a peasant. Do they teach you that in the guard?" This guardsman is later pictured passing out when the heavy attack on the students begins. But it is interesting to note that the involvement and political consciousness of at least two of the murdered students is greatly downplayed and distorted. Jeff Miller, while not a leader, was very active and not just starting on May 1. He attended the moratorium in Cleveland that April and knew many of the more outspoken and leading revolutionary students. The same is true of Allison Krause.

As to the theory of police provocateurs which is strongly implied in the film, there are still differences among people who were active at Kent State at the time about whether the burning of the ROTC building was the act of a police provocateur. In any case the events unfolded somewhat differently than they did in the film. On Saturday, May 2, at 7:30 p.m. students gathered on the Commons. Shortly after, the group left, marching to the dorms to gather more students. Shortly after 8:00 p.m. they returned to the Commons and went directly across it to the ROTC building. Students hurled flares, rocks, etc. at the building and tried like hell to get it burning but the building wouldn't go up. Shortly the authorities arrived, dashed and attacked the students and drove them off. When the students returned about an hour later they found the building sealed off by police and guardsmen and fully ablaze. The Kent Fire Dept. showed up and were met by students who cut their hoses, pelted them with rocks, etc. and they were unable to put out the fire. Furthermore, while the movie does portray the initial trashing of the ROTC building in a sympathetic light, including the attempts of two radical jocks to bust down the door, there is an ominous feeling when the building is torched by "forces unknown," almost as though, while the students dig it, these "nice kids" wouldn't have gone *that* far.

Thus while the evidence might indicate that the final burning of the ROTC building was done by police, the movie makes a spooky and special case for police provocation. It was widely known that the bourgeoisie used police provocateurs in various situations but this was only one of their *tactics*.

Another point where the question of provocateurs has arisen is on May 4 around the shootings themselves. The most widely held view is that the guards who shot, members of G troop, conferred beforehand on the practice field about firing on the students, and from pictures and testimony on the shootings

Continued on page 23

GOV'T. OVERRULES SPANISH LANGUAGE

Continued from page 1

their own language first or in English from the start?" While many sympathetic to bilingual education would argue that non-English-speaking children could actually learn faster and thus be integrated more efficiently into the English-speaking society if they were taught reading, writing and arithmetic in their own language first, there was always a surplus of neanderthal "educators" who could be dragged out to claim that total immersion in English from the start—known as "sink or swim"—was the only way to go. In either case, the underlying assumption for the bourgeoisie was that eventually the child would end up being stripped of his native language and culture, one way or the other. And while before it was largely unwritten (though widely and chauvinistically applied), now it's the official "law of the land": *Speak English!*

The *New York Times* was correct in noting that the action by Bell was little more than "flogging a dead horse." Congress and the Carter administration had already frozen the proposed federal regulations that Bell announced will now be scrapped. Other news reports of the Reagan administration's order to dump bilingual education regulations have deliberately tried to make the action appear as a reversal of some previous pro-bilingual policy held by Carter, yet nothing could be farther from the truth. The "guidelines" which were scrapped were in fact nothing more than an insidious attempt to scale down existing bilingual programs in the guise of "federal regulations." For example, the existing state regulations in California called for bilingual programs wherever 10 non-English-speaking students were concentrated. Among other attacks, Carter's federal regulations would have raised this number to 25, as well as axing from bilingual programs any student scoring above the 30th percentile in English proficiency tests. Bell's own announcement only shows a leap in the direction our rulers have been moving for some time.

Before the late '60s and early '70s, there were no real bilingual programs in public schools in the U.S. Up until then, school children speaking a foreign language could expect punishment, if not an outright beating. Whole generations of Spanish-speaking youth were forced to learn two languages as rapidly as others learned one, or, as was most often the case, drop out of school. Chicano youth were shoved by the thousands into "special classes" and forced to endure the humiliation of being branded "mentally retarded." In Texas, signs were displayed in school corridors reading: "Speak English—This is America." In one well known incident, children were forced to kneel outside on the playground and beg forgiveness for speaking Spanish.

Temporarily forced to retreat in the face of the powerful upsurges by the oppressed nationalities in the late '60s and early '70s (like the Chicano Moratorium in 1970), the ruling class grudgingly permitted a number of bilingual programs to start, primarily in the large urban areas and in the Southwest (today, 70% of the children who do not speak English are Spanish-speaking). And due to the fact that good numbers of teachers (especially from among the Spanish-speaking population) who ended up being hired to teach such programs had been active in or sympathetic to these struggles, these courses often included education in the true history of oppression and revolutionary resistance of the people. It was not uncommon, for example, for Spanish-speaking students to actively learn something of the U.S. suppression of Mexico and the theft of Mexican territory as well as the revolutionary struggles led by such forces as Emiliano Zapata or Pancho Villa—a history they would never have learned by poring through a typical English-language high school textbook! Also, many programs became forums for the expression of radical and revolutionary ideas about the struggle of Chicano and Mexican people today and

the role of U.S. imperialism around the world.

The second half of the '70s saw increasing attacks on bilingual education. These attacks have made a bad situation worse, as can be seen in a few facts about the Los Angeles school district compiled last year by the *RW* in our September 19 issue. 100,000 students (or 20% of the school district's total enrollment) are classified as "limited-English-speakers." In this district, the drop-out rate among Spanish-speaking students is over 50%. One-fifth of kindergarten kids can't even understand their teacher at all, and 50% of the kids of Mexican descent are in the lowest 25% of all school children educationally by the first grade. 60% of the school districts in California have been officially (if hypocritically) reprimanded for keeping teenagers in elementary school classes because they didn't speak English well enough to keep up. One reason for all this is, of course, the severe shortage of bilingual teachers actually capable of combining two languages in the classroom, a shortage which is itself a product of the lack of bilingual education in particular and national oppression in general. 55% of the teachers in bilingual programs in L.A. don't even speak Spanish; they simply plug in a Spanish-language TV program a few times a week to fulfill the "bilingual" instruction requirement.

Commenting on the Bell announcement, the *Washington Post* complained that some of the programs might still hang on. "The end of bilingual education regulations," the newspaper whined, "does not mean an end, unfortunately, to many local and state actions (or court orders) taken by school districts." But, the *Post* gleefully observed, "Now school boards on both the state and local level will inevitably be able to review their bilingual programs in the absence of any federal order." The beef here is essentially that the attack has not gone far enough. As the Supreme Court ruling shows, the attacks have gone far beyond the schools and the outcome of the federal call echoed here in the *Post* for "local review" is hardly unpredictable. The government is well aware of what will be unleashed in this reliance on the "initiative" of local officials. A glaring example—broader than just education—is provided by a recent incident in Miami.

Prior to last November, Dade County had been officially "bilingual" (which meant merely that public documents, street signs and court proceedings were in both English and Spanish), an exception to the general rule, made mainly for the purpose of creating a little anti-Castro showcase for propaganda purposes as well as making Miami a convenient place for wealthy businessmen and ousted U.S. puppets from Latin America to vacation and/or live in exile. But with the influx of 125,000 new Cuban refugees since last April, many of them not in the least bit "grateful" for being transferred out of one concentration camp into another painted red, white and blue, the authorities suddenly found it necessary to downplay the image of Miami as a hospitable place for Latin emigrés. Moreover, the influx of Cubans was followed by the Miami rebellion in May, and a clever way to shift some of the heat off the backs of officials was discovered. They attempted to pit one nationality against another with claims that Spanish-speaking people were the cause of problems for Blacks—responsible for everything from high unemployment levels to lack of federal funds to go around.

Right after the rebellion, various people like one Emmy Shafer (herself a European immigrant) were promoted widely. She ran the line that immigrants should "learn the language," declared bilingualism "a cancer in the community," and bragged of how she slept each night with a .38 (to protect her from the Spanish-speaking hordes). A proposed new law was quickly drawn up for a referendum, prohibiting Dade County from spending any money whatsoever

"for the purpose of utilizing any other language than English or promoting any culture other than that of the United States." This referendum eventually was passed, in no small part due to its hysterical promotion by the media. (The *Herald* was even so shameless as to trumpet their claim that one-fourth of the people interviewed said hurricane warnings should be in English only!) Naturally, there's nothing surprising in a reactionary referendum passing in a reactionary election, nor in claims that this represented the "will of the people." What probably surprised the authorities, however, is that the majority of Blacks that went to the polls voted against the law.

The highly political nature of these latest attacks oozed from Bell's every phrase—and from the pens of an assortment of hack bourgeois journalists. The *Washington Post* was seconded, by James Reston in the *New York Times* who wrote, "...at least it (the Reagan administration—*RW*) has refused to mandate the teaching of Spanish in the schools and has left the decision to local option where the problem differs from one school district to another. It seems a logical first step, but the battle is just beginning."

A great "first step," says Reston (says Bell, says Reagan, and says the bourgeoisie), but the "battle" to beat oppressed nationalities into submission and acceptance of imperialist slavery by attacking their languages (which by no means includes only Spanish)—this "battle" is "just beginning"!! But there was more than even this to Reston's column, and this warrior should be thanked for the open admission of what is actually at the heart of the matter. Said Reston: "There are also fears that unless the flow of illegals is controlled and Hispanic children are not under pressure to learn English, we may drift toward a separate Spanish-speaking minority and one day face the sort of problem English-speaking Canada has with its French-speaking minority in the province of Quebec... the possibility of a large and growing Spanish-speaking enclave along the border of Mexico, which lost two-fifths of its ter-

ritory to the U.S. in the War of 1846-48 in a settlement which still rankles Mexico, creates some anxiety here among officials looking to the future of an immigration problem now admittedly out of control."

The "anxiety" referred to here is not so much over controlling the "flow of illegals"—the U.S. government has always tightly controlled this, opening or restricting it to suit its particular purposes which, today, among other things, certainly include the fact that allowing a substantial number of immigrants into the U.S. acts as a pressure valve against sharp social contradictions in Mexico, however temporary. What is the "problem English-speaking Canada has with its French-speaking minority" in Quebec? It is precisely the refusal of large segments of this minority to identify with the national interests of Canada and the revolutionary potential—demonstrated in the past—that the oppression of this nationality has bred. And so with the Chicano and Mexican population of the Southwest in particular.

If Reston wants to talk about borders, then we'll talk about borders. There is nothing sacred about national borders: they arose with the development of capitalism and they'll disappear with its worldwide destruction. In the interim, if socialist revolution were to break out in Mexico and the masses of Chicano and Mexican people in what is now the U.S.—that "Spanish-speaking enclave"—decided to rise up in revolt and join this struggle—well, what would be wrong with that?

In any event, there is a tremendous reserve for revolution alive in the Southwest: this is the real message we should receive from Bell's telegraph. It looms "out of control" today, and can only grow more so as the imperialist crisis intensifies. Our rulers are acting as necessity demands. In a period which requires "national unity" U.S. style, they are attempting to bludgeon a little respect for America into the skulls of people who are becoming increasingly conscious of exactly what America means. But, as usual, the effect will be the opposite of what the imperialists intend. □

Kent State:

Continued from page 22

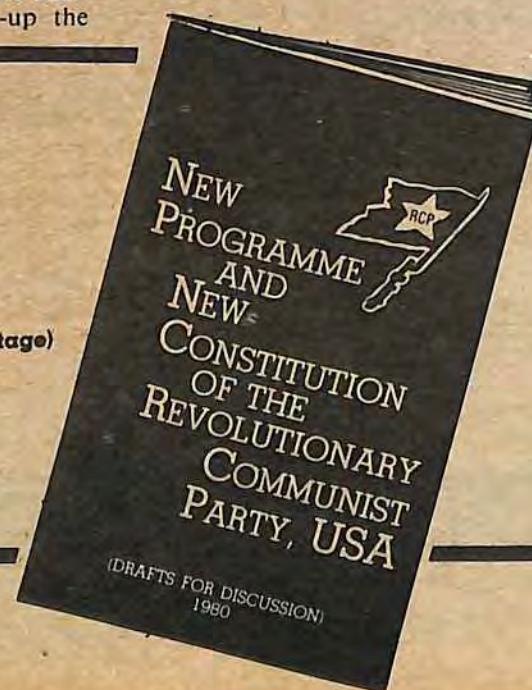
that is very likely true. Right before the guards shot, the pictures show a so-called student pulling out a pistol and aiming it at the Guard. The Guard used this as a partial justification for firing, saying that their lives were threatened. This so-called student held a conference with Cantebury and Del Corso right after the shooting and it is an accepted fact that this "student" was in fact a police provocateur. This only lends more strength to the view that the Guard who opened fire did not "panic" but knew exactly what they were doing and that it was planned beforehand with orders from the top. The Guard suddenly turned and shot in the direction of the parking lot, where there were very few students. It was however, the direction where most of the leaders and the most vocal students were standing. In the attempted cover-up the

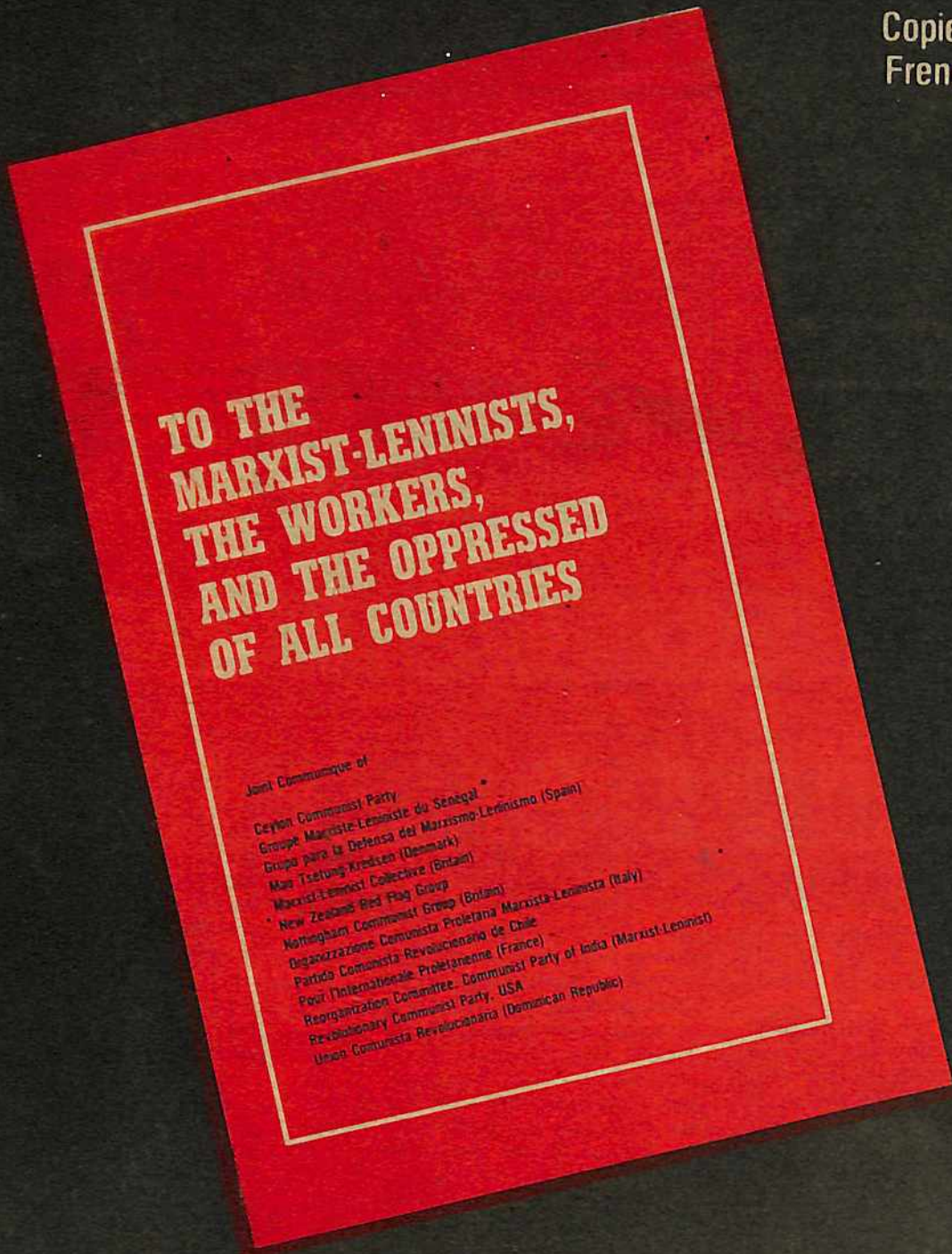
Guard later claimed that they found a gun on Jeff Miller's body. This was immediately discredited as a frame-up and the claim was dropped. Finally, most of those we spoke with who were at Kent May 1-4, felt that the film, while accurately showing the outrage and panic among some students after the shootings, did not capture the tremendous desire of the students to remain on the Commons and confront the Guard.

Despite these distortions, the exposure that the students were murdered by the National Guard and that this had been covered up and in fact justified by the bourgeoisie has sparked widespread discussion over the Kent murders, and despite the overall liberal viewpoint of the filmmakers and censorship by the network, the advanced, revolutionary minded among the masses—because they know some things about the nature of imperialism—read between the lines and summed up some lessons for the inevitable battles ahead. □

Available from
RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486,
Merchandise Mart,
Chicago IL 60654

\$2.00 (plus \$.50 postage)





Copies can be ordered in English, Spanish, French and Danish from:

RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486, Merch. Mart,
Chicago, IL 60654

\$1.00 plus .50 postage.
Bulk rates available.

A Call to RW Readers

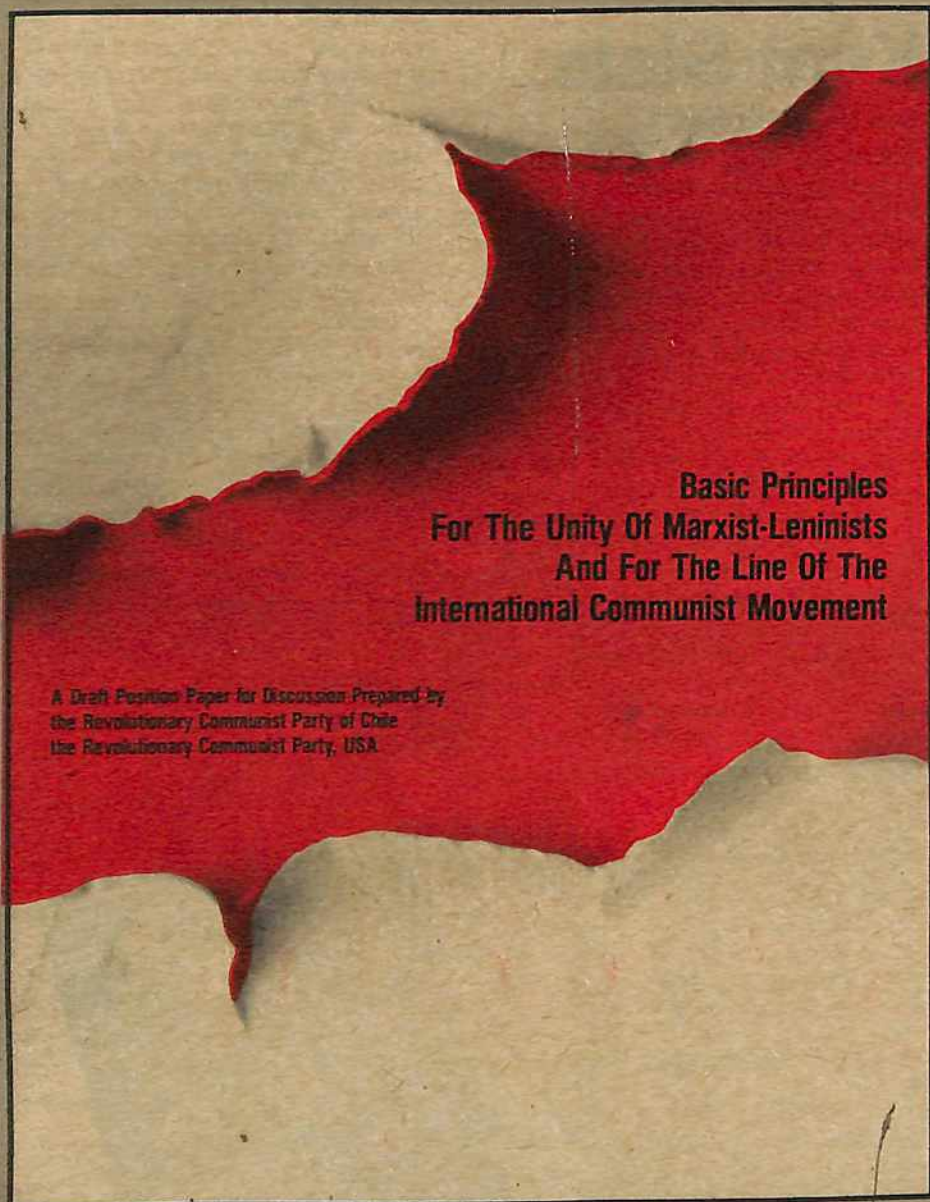
The *Revolutionary Worker* would like to print reader reactions and comments on these two recently published documents. The following note was recently received:

In relationship to the communique run in the 86th edition of the *RW* ("To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"), I myself feel that it is a very inspiring act that revolutionary organizations across the world have given their utmost approval of the question of internationalism, because this is exactly what will be needed to obliterate oppression and exploitation across the world. To all these vanguard revolutionary organizations, thank you for your commitment to worldwide revolution.

Yours in commitment,
An ex-Black Panther

P.S. In view of the different crises and situations occurring not only in the United States of Amerikkka but across the world as people attempt to throw off the yoke of imperialism, wake up mentally and seize the time.

Now Available:



Basic Principles For The Unity Of Marxist-Leninists And For The Line Of The International Communist Movement

A Draft Position Paper for Discussion Prepared by
the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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

Now available in English, soon to be available in Spanish and French.
\$2.00. Include \$.50 postage.
Order from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart,
Chicago, IL 60654