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Who Holds the Leash on the Killer Dogs?

The death toll of missing and murdered Black youth in Atlanta continues to rise with each passing week, twenty-one bodies now having been found in locations strung out over a 4-county area. Three others are "missing." Two more 15-year-old Black youths have disappeared in the past two weeks. One Black male was last seen in

a shopping center near his home, a location from which other youth had been abducted and murdered. His case is only now under investigation by the Task Force assigned to "investigate" these murders. On Tuesday, March 10, the very day that a letter written to the *Atlanta Constitution* boasted that another child would be abducted, a witness saw two men drag a Black girl into their car. The witness' descriptions of the girl's clothing matched the description given by the girl's mother, who had also contacted police to report her as missing. Her case is not under investigation at all.

These hideous murders come at a time of intensified attacks against Black
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Gov't Tries to Lock Up Exposure of War Moves

UN 2 Jailed

The United States Supreme Court, in a desperate and despicable move, has ordered the UN 2 to federal prison. On Monday, March 9, the Supreme Court ruled against a motion filed by attorneys for the UN 2 to continue their conditions of bail while an appeal of their conviction is being prepared for the Supreme Court. This decision, unanimously rendered by all nine justices of the Supreme Court after being passed back and forth like a political hot potato from New York Judge Robert Ward to Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall in Washington, D.C., also followed hot on the heels of the conviction of the Plowshares 8 in Norristown, Pennsylvania. This decision has exposed the desperate necessity of the ruling class to move against any and all opposition to and exposure of world war. It has

shown just how raw the nerve is to opposition and how deadly serious the ruling class is about putting out its message that opposition will not be tolerated. Before defense attorneys had an opportunity to contact Justice Marshall's office in Washington, D.C. to find out the Supreme Court ruling, the decision was already being broadcast over the CBS radio station in New York City and had gone out over the AP and UPI wire services from their Washington, D.C. offices.

It was almost one year ago that the UN 2—Glenn Gan and Steve Yip—captured the admiration and inspired millions of people throughout the world, when on April 30, 1980, on the eve of May Day, they entered the chambers of the Security Council of the United Nations and doused the U.S.

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Plowshares 8 Convicted

The trial of the Plowshares 8 in Norristown, Pennsylvania ended abruptly on Friday March 6 as all defendants were convicted of burglary, criminal mischief and criminal conspiracy for their actions in sharply exposing the U.S. rulers' war moves by destroying two nuclear missile nosecones at the King of Prussia GE plant. As Father Carl Kabat, one of the 8, said: "The verdict was expected." The Eight, including Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, could be sentenced to as much as 30 years in jail, unless the courts are forced to reverse their decision on appeals.

From the start, the Plowshares 8 refused to limit the scope of the trial to the legal charges stemming from their action. "We are not here to quibble about the minor points of law. We are here because of the powderkeg we are living in," said Elmer Maas, in his open-

ing statement. The 8 continually brought out the reasons for their action at GE, to the point where they had all been cited on additional charges of contempt of court by the end of the trial. Ironically as the trial was drawing to a close, even the prosecutor in his closing statement was forced by the defendants' uncompromising stand to address the larger questions they had forced to the fore: "I don't think any one of us is for nuclear war or for the nuclear arms race, but that is not what's on trial here. They were not arrested for their beliefs. They are not charged with protest against nuclear warfare or nuclear weapons. They are charged with violating the criminal code of the State of Pennsylvania, under which all of us are required to live... this is a case that strikes at the very heart of a democratic

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"Thank You Canada!" A Fitting Welcome for Reagan

Officially venturing outside U.S. borders for the first time as president, Ronald Reagan and his entourage of foreign policy coaches got a fitting welcome in Ottawa, Canada on March 10. As he tried to return Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau's "warm welcome" in front of the Parliament building in Ottawa, Reagan could hardly be heard above the hundreds of booing voices of angry demonstrators. Canadians from all around Ontario and the neighboring province of Quebec came to the capital to denounce the crimes of U.S. imperialism and to heckle and jeer at its chief executive. The demonstration swelled in size to several thousand by the end of the morning's meetings with Trudeau. The sea of placards and chants mainly targetted U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Reagan's support to the Salvadoran government, as well as the "acid rain" pollution of Canadian lake waters from U.S. factories in the east and midwest. (Sulphur dioxide smoke given off from factories and coal-burning power plants mixes with water vapor to form the acid-like pollutant falling on Canadian farms and waters.)

At one point Trudeau became so blustered by this un-servile welcome from the people of one of the U.S.' most neighborly junior partners that he openly appealed for some respect: "Come on you guys, I'm not treated this way when I go down to the U.S.—How 'bout a cheer for President Reagan?" The applause of several busloads of schoolkids waving Canadian and American flags was countered with more boos and shouts. Later, when the Trudeau and Reagan motorcade passed through the crowd to leave, an American flag went up in flames as the size of the demonstration reached its peak. And while the two lunched on quail and lobster and then recited poetry to each other over at Trudeau's, still more protestors tore up another American flag outside.

This first official presidential jaunt was billed as a good will trip to air grievances and settle differences, which of course do arise when an imperialist country is aligned with a weaker one. Chief among these for the Canadian government, besides the acid rain pollution, was the U.S. Senate's refusal to ratify fishing treaties negotiated two years ago that mark off new boundaries in the North Atlantic—in other words, the U.S.' continued overfishing of the area, depleting stock in Canadian territorial waters. Reagan's main demand of Trudeau, on the other hand, was that he not implement the new Canadian national energy policy, which calls for partial divestment of Canadian oil properties, nearly 75% of which are foreign-owned, mostly by the U.S., and which gives tax breaks to Canadian-owned companies.

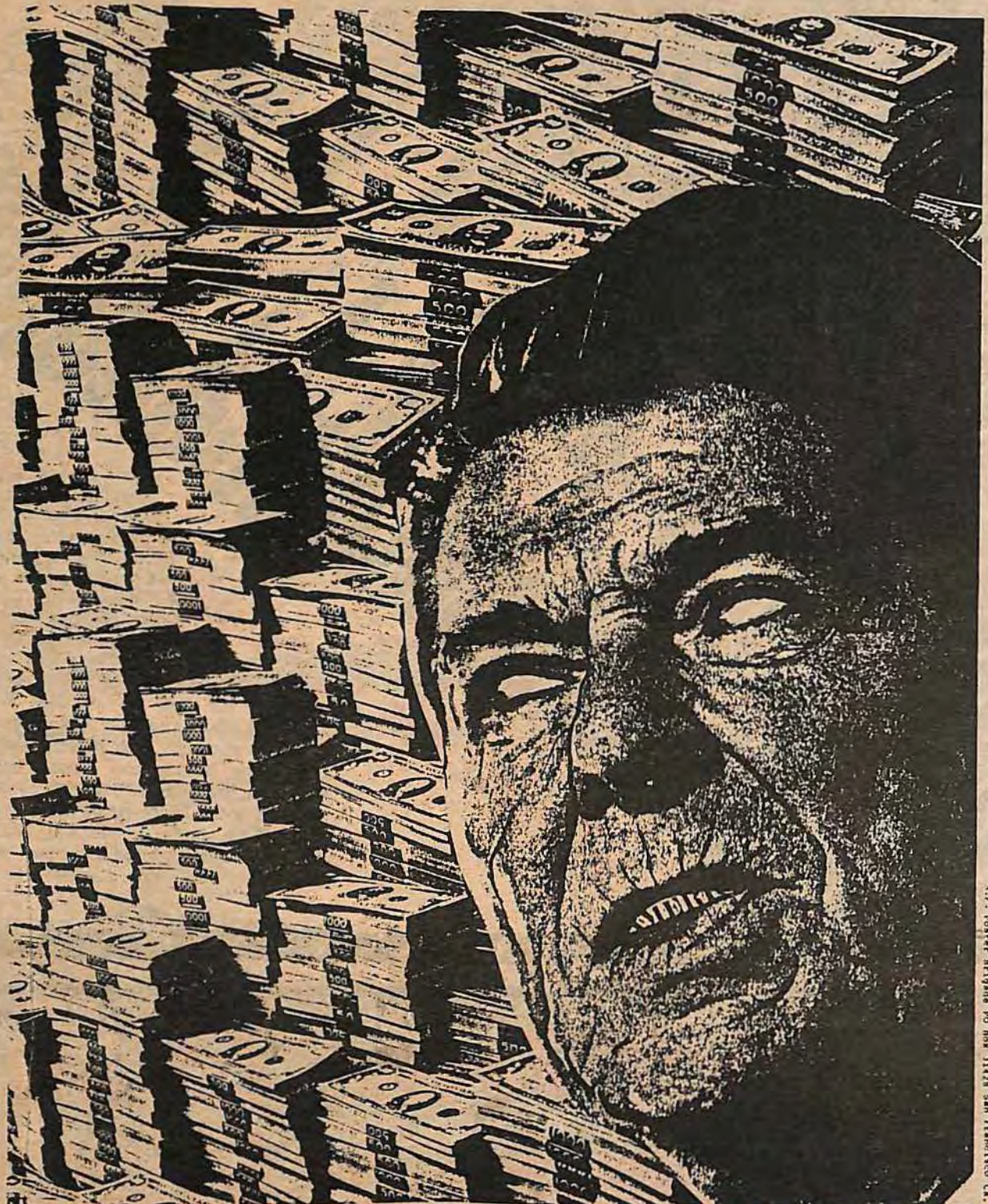
But real as these contradictions are, the deeper common interests of the two

imperialists was more captured in the pre-arranged renewal of their NORAD air defense pact, on El Salvador, even though Canadian officials maintained their public position of supporting a "political solution" there, they did little or nothing to dispute the U.S. policy of militarily drawing the line in El Salvador." Alexander Haig, who undoubtedly didn't go along to discuss pollution or read poetry, spoke to the Canadian parliament about how the U.S.' "modest" support to El

Salvador would be continued, dismissing with a chuckle Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mark MacGuigan's statement of Canada's "official" opposition to any arms shipments to the junta. In his speech to parliament, Reagan put it right out: "We must stand together for the integrity of our hemisphere," build up our "defense against imported terrorism...and be freed from provocations triggered from outside our sphere for malevolent purposes...We must

stand together against the unacceptable invasion into Afghanistan and against continued Soviet adventurism across the earth."

While the Canadian government will offer little argument to this statement, the thousands of demonstrators who made Reagan, in his words, "feel at home" show that the southern part of "our hemisphere" isn't the only place the U.S. is running into problems. □



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Bob Avakian: On the Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism

This week we are presenting further thoughts on philosophy excerpted from a letter written by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP in response to a letter he received. For more excerpts from this letter see RW No. 95, last week.

What is the correct way to understand the principle that "the fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal," as Mao says in "On Contradiction"? (I. The Two World Outlooks). Mao immediately indicates the answer in the concluding part of the same sentence (from which the above is taken): "... in the contradictoriness within the thing." This means (among other things) that, first of all, the thing is *able* to change (and is in fact constantly changing) because it constitutes (it is) a contradiction, "hence its motion and development"; that, further, it changes in certain ways and not others because of its internal contradiction (the particularity of it—for example Mao points out that an egg, given the appropriate external condition, temperature in this case, can turn into a chicken but a stone cannot); and that external factors, while they may be the specific "stimulus" that induces change, do not establish either the ability of the thing to change (or, to put it better, its continual change and its "changingness") or the character of such change—that, as Mao puts it, "external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes." Thus, internal causes are in fact principal over external.

As applied to China, this means that, first of all and fundamentally, changes within China (and the possibility of revolution in particular) were (are) owing to the internal contradiction in China, and that *the way* in which that change came (comes) about (that is, the *character* of the revolution) is also determined by that internal contradiction. If there were no internal contradiction in China there could be (and would be) no change, no possibility of revolution; if the particularity of the internal contradiction were different, the character of the revolution would be different.

In developing this fundamental point, in "On Contradiction" and elsewhere, Mao struck a real blow against metaphysical thinking and tendencies, which view the basic (or even the only) cause of things as external; and the application of this principle in China was crucial in the fight against dogmatism (and what we have come to call "dogmato-revisionism"). But, to a certain extent there was the tendency to conceive and apply this principle itself metaphysically, which was linked to a certain amount of nationalism in the Chinese party, including among the genuine Marxist-Leninists, even Mao. In fact, this tendency was in opposition to another principle stressed in "On Contradiction": that "Because the range of things is vast and there is no limit to their development, what is universal in one context becomes particular in another," and vice versa. This means that what is internal in one context becomes external in another, and vice versa. China, for example (or the U.S., or any other country) has its own particularity, its own particular contradiction; and in one context, the rest of the world (and struggle and change in it) is external (to China, or the U.S., etc.). But it is also true that, in another context, China, the U.S. and the rest of the countries in the world form parts of the world (of human society) as a whole, with its internal contradiction and change, determined in an overall way by the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch, between socialized production/private appropriation.

This means that in an overall sense the development of the class (and national) struggle, the development of revolutionary situations, etc., in particular countries are more determined by developments in the world as a whole than by developments in the particular countries—determined not only as a condition of change (external cause) but as a basis of change (internal cause). In my opinion, this was not so before the advent of imperialism—or before bourgeois society (and to put it that way, the bourgeois epoch) became dominant (qualitatively) in the world, and changes in societies throughout the world became integrated in an overall way into a whole (single) process. (It might be raised: extending the principle that what is universal in one context becomes particular in another, and vice versa, couldn't it be said that each country in the world, and changes within

it, have always been part of the world and world relations—and changes in them—or even that going further, the world is after all part of the solar system, the solar system part of a galaxy, etc. But it can—and must—be said that the difference between the solar system and the world, for example, is of a *qualitatively* different type than the difference between one country and the world, *in the context we are considering things*—which is precisely the context of *changes in human society*; and the same for the relationship between different—more or less isolated—societies in the period before the dominance of the bourgeois epoch and then in the period of that dominance, because before, changes in particular societies were not part of a whole—single—world process in the way they are now.)

All this does not mean that internal contradiction in a particular country is not after all the basis of change there, as discussed earlier. But it means that this is *relative*. To deepen this, let's look again at the question of the internal contradiction of a particular country determining the particular character of the revolution there. This is relatively true—and true in one context—but not absolutely so. For example, is it impossible to conceive of circumstances where the revolution in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country could be a direct, one-stage struggle for socialism (more or less—this, too, is relative, not absolute)? What if the great part of the world were already socialist, or major, strategic parts of it were, and/or proletarian revolutions were winning victory in strategic parts of the world at that same time? (Actually, Engels raised a possibility of this kind, in an essay I can't seem to find now, where he pointed out that if the world situation were somewhat favorable, and if experience in advancing to socialism had already been acquired, it might be possible to build—more or less go directly to—socialism even in a backward society. This, by the way, lends weight to a criticism of the '79 Central Committee Report where, in the last part of "Outline & Summary," it is said that "for socialism to be built, the productive forces must be developed enough that there exists in the country at least some large-scale means of production and a modern proletariat working in a socialized way on this basis... Further, how rapidly the ownership of the means of production can be socialized, and what intermediate and lower stages (besides state ownership) this must pass through, will be fundamentally determined by the level of development of the productive forces..." These statements are not entirely untrue, but they do tend to make an absolute out of a relative truth, they do tend to be mechanical and could encourage nationalist tendencies.)

It is with this viewpoint that we must grasp that, despite the fact that Mao's contributions, especially the theory and line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, are truly immortal, and that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the highest pinnacle yet reached by the international proletariat, still these things were treated a little bit as "things unto themselves," too much apart from the whole, world-wide struggle against imperialism, reaction and all exploiting classes. The comrade, in his letter, mentions studying over material from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with this question in mind, in particular the 9th Congress Report of the Chinese Communist Party. In that Report a truly internationalist stand is—in the main and overwhelmingly—reflected. Specifically in the context of speaking of the great victory of the Cultural Revolution, the Report quotes Mao saying that "According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." Again, this—on the whole, even overwhelmingly—is a very good, a genuinely internationalist, stand; but within it are indicated certain errors that run counter to this as well.

It is not only, or mainly, "the final victory of a socialist country" that requires

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NOW AVAILABLE!

"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead" is the text of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered on November 18, 1979 in Washington D.C. at a rally of over 800 people at an important juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, arrested on charges totaling 241 years each. The government had been forced to retreat and maneuver, temporarily dropping all charges in the case in the face of broad and very active support for the defendants all across the country. Since that time the decision to drop the charges has been overturned in federal appeals court and the government's railroad is back on track.

Comrade Avakian's speech, delivered at a crucial turning point in the battle sums up what the government was up to at that particular point in the case and goes deeply into why they are going after the RCP and why they came down so viciously on the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington D.C., which the charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants stem from. Even more significant is Comrade Avakian's profound and sweeping presentation on the objective situation today facing revolutionaries and the masses of people, the real necessity and possibility for making revolution in the period ahead and urgently preparing to do so today. Finally, he speaks powerfully for an uncompromisingly internationalist and revolutionary stand in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, who had just delivered a body blow to U.S. imperialism with the taking of the U.S. Embassy and hostages in Tehran.

Contains the text of "Iran It's Not Our Embassy!" previously published as a separate pamphlet.

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

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Pontiac Brothers Trial Opens

Chicago. The opening shots were fired in the largest U.S. death penalty case in 60 years as the trial of the Pontiac Brothers began on March 4. The State of Illinois is ready to perpetrate one of the most vicious frameups in years in order to send 16 Black prisoners to the electric chair. Each is charged with fifteen counts of murder and attempted murder in the death of three white guards and the injury of two others during the 1978 Pontiac prison rebellion. By railroading the first group of ten Pontiac Brothers on trial now the state hopes to lay the best basis for the conviction of the second group of six whose trial is scheduled for June 1.

On the day the trial began the courtroom was packed full with 70 people representing revolutionary nationalist groups of Blacks and Latinos, religious activists and other progressive individuals who have built support for the Pontiac Brothers. More supporters waited outside, unable to fit into the courtroom which was purposefully chosen by the state for its virtue of having the smallest spectator's section of any courtroom in the building.

Assistant State's Attorney Algis Baliunas led off with the prosecution's opening statement. The state has concocted the absurd theory that the uprising was inspired solely by orders from vicious gang leaders to kill the guards. Baliunas claimed that the "tension" at Pontiac stemmed from a stabbing that occurred the day before the July 22nd rebellion. He said that supposed gang chiefs David McConnel and Joseph Smith (two Pontiac Brothers who face the additional charge of conspiracy to commit murder) then negotiated with other gang leaders and came to the conclusion, "Why are we fighting among ourselves? ... Why don't we move against the administration? Why don't we get the guards?" This directive then allegedly filtered down through the ranks to the defendants on trial who, the state is trying to "prove," then murdered the three guards and attempted to murder two others. In fact, all the prisoners at Pontiac appeared to the authorities as one big gang, especially during the height of the revolt. Any and all were to be held accountable for puncturing the murderous order maintained behind those walls.

The defense counterattacked with opening statements from three of the twelve attorneys. Jeffrey Haas described the conditions leading up to the rebellion—the intolerable overcrowding in the penitentiary, the racist harassment of the more than 85% Black prisoners by white guards, the arbitrary and harsh use of discipline, the beatings and mactings, the filth and stench. Haas also described what happened in the aftermath of the upsurge. Under the guise of "conducting an investigation" as to who murdered the guards, the state imposed a virtual reign of terror aimed at crushing this brief prisoners' revolt completely. A deadlock was clamped down immediately meaning that for three months there was no movement outside the cells allowed—not for food, not for showers during the sweltering summer heat, not for visitors, not for exercise or a phone call—for nothing but a trip in chains and handcuffs to an interrogation session with an officer from the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement (IDLE). The IDLE claimed this was necessary for the security of the investigation, but then why were the inmates of the West Cellhouse, who hadn't even participated in the rebellion because they were locked up at the time, kept on the very same deadlock?

This was a period in which all 650 prisoners from the North Cellhouse where the stabbings occurred knew they were potential suspects. The men serving indeterminate sentences (5-15 years,



Demonstration in Chicago supporting Pontiac Brothers during jury selection last fall.

for example) knew that how much time they actually did in the joint would be decided by whether or not they played ball with the investigators. The whole point of this so-called "investigation" was to create an atmosphere of suspicion and terror where anyone could arbitrarily be charged with anything depending on their degree of cooperation. The IDLE records show that during prisoner interviews scores of inmates were named as responsible for the killings. After three months the deadlock was only partially lifted and continued five months more until the indictments came down.

Attorney Leo Holt went on to describe the methods of this witchhunt which exposed that far from an investigation into the deaths of the guards, its real purpose lay in intimidation and arbitrary selection for punishment. For example, IDLE agents claim to have "lost" a list that was turned over to them of inmates who did not participate in the rebellion because they had chosen to remain locked in their cells that day instead of going into the yard for exercise. Holt also revealed that once the IDLE had made its choices for indictment it certainly was not about to let the detail of a fingerprint found on one of the injured guard's wallet stand in the way of getting their handpicked scapegoats. The IDLE checked only the prints of those under indictment to see if they matched those on the wallet. When nothing matched up the investigation went no further. All this goes to show how, despite the state's rantings to the contrary, the deaths of the guards have little to do with the state's motives in this case.

Holt also described how investigative methods such as threatening prisoners with the electric chair and offering rewards and bribes, were used to elicit statements. This is documented in the court record during hearings on a prisoner law suit to lift the deadlock in February, 1979. Here are some examples of the interrogation methods used, submitted to the judge as sworn statements by prisoners:

"We have evidence you were present when Officer _____ was stabbed. If you don't cooperate, we are going to charge you. Even if we can't convict you this will hurt you before the parole board." (When the prisoner refused to name others he was told he would be indicted.)

"We're going to fry you in the electric chair by June."

"We will help you if you will just testify that _____ is the leader of _____, and that he gave the orders."

The bountiful generosity of the state bestowed upon cooperative prisoners is also recorded in the court record. During a seven-week hearing on defense attorneys' pre-trial motion to dismiss the charges based on investigative misconduct, the state turned over many documents that show the "consideration" paid to state's witnesses. The records show that 43 of the inmates were immediately given 90 days off their sentences just for talking; 33 got another 90 days off for giving helpful information; 28 were released from deadlock and sent to other prisons; and one man, Johnnie Cross, received executive clemency from Illinois Governor Thompson. Thanks to special favors, 25 had been paroled by spring, 1980. By last fall, the IDLE's own records admit to heaping \$50,000 on inmate-witnesses as an expression of the state's gratitude, and this is probably only the tip of the iceberg.

In its itemized account the IDLE recorded such expenses as the following: payment of \$1,800 for family traveling expenses for the relatives of Randy Hill who was transferred to the federal penitentiary in Springfield, Missouri; \$4,109 over an eight-month period to witness Gregory Smith for living expenses after parole; \$12,000 to Perry Murphy for "living expenses."

Prosecutors Breen and Baliunas defended this outright bribery. They said it is "quite ordinary" procedure for the state to offer favored treatment to those who turn state's witness. Judge Ben Miller agreed, denying a defense motion to dismiss the charges based on investigative misconduct. Previously, some former prisoners who had made statements came to the defense attorneys to recant their testimony but hesitated to do so publicly for fear of having their parole revoked. To enable them to testify in the pre-trial hearing without reprisals, the defense made a motion for the judge to grant them a protective order against retaliation. This too was denied by the judge, along with 500 other defense motions in the pre-trial hearings, as Miller has unswervingly kept this railroad on a straight track.

One more final outrage in this totally

fraudulent sham of an "investigation" is the testimony of one of the injured guards, Danny Dill. Dill has identified so many different prisoners as responsible for stabbing him that it is difficult to keep track of all the contradictions in his story. According to another guard who first found him after he was stabbed, Dill positively named inmate Rufus Tyson as the one who assaulted him. Tyson is not indicted. After carrying out lengthy negotiations with the state over job security and other benefits for himself and changing his story repeatedly, Dill himself admitted during a pre-trial hearing that he first decided to name the defendants on trial only three hours before his grand jury testimony. How uncoincidental that his memory should be restored instantly just after he finally made a deal with the state.

Already in the first few days of the trial the unmistakable stench of a frameup drifts through the courtroom. Most of the testimony has been the gory details repeated over and over again that yes, indeed, the guards were stabbed. This has been testified to by an ambulance driver, a doctor, a paramedic, two guards and, of course, the wives of the three guards. Already the contradictions and cracks in the state's case have appeared. The first witness, Louis Lowery, chief of security at the time of the rebellion, testified that he had turned over the list of all the inmates from the North Cellhouse who were locked in their cells at the time of the uprising. This is the list the IDLE claims to have "lost." The first fingerprinting at a defendant also proved to be an embarrassment to the state. John Costello, head of a disciplinary committee called Program Team, testified that after the rebellion was quelled he saw defendant Ernest Jackson with a bleeding wound in his hand (the implication being that Jackson was wounded by other prisoners while all were stabbing the guards). But under cross-examination by the defense, Costello admitted that he had prepared a memorandum for the warden describing all the "matters of importance" he had seen at that time, and that the wound of Ernest Jackson was not included. The transcript of Costello's interview with IDLE officers also shows that he never mentioned one word about Ernest Jackson.

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More Aid and "Advisors" Sent

U.S. Plunges Deeper in El Salvador

Another bloody escalation of the U.S. imperialists' direct military role in El Salvador has been announced. On March 10, the State Dept. issued a new budget request to Congress for an additional \$25 million in credit for weapons and counterinsurgency equipment, \$1 million in military training, and \$40 million in economic support funds for the continued U.S. domination of El Salvador. This came only eight days after a \$25 million-250% increase in military aid to the Salvadoran fascist junta and a big influx of U.S. "military advisors." Assorted "diplomatic sources" well known to the U.S. media, not to mention frantically pleading junta officials, have made it clear that these desperate escalations will in no way be sufficient. In fact, the El Salvador aid requests, part of an overall \$6.8 billion "security assistance" package to U.S. client states all over the world, were accompanied by a request for a special \$350 million slush fund that Secretary of State Alexander Haig would have available for any "emergencies" to U.S. domination worldwide. And you can bet that a sizable chunk of that will be thrown into "pacification programs," "free-fire zones," "search and destroy missions," etc., in El Salvador.

While much has changed in the world since the Vietnam war, the current U.S. war moves in El Salvador do indeed bear a striking resemblance to that example of desperate imperialist invasion—from the flimsy propaganda facade to mass murder. Once again, the U.S. is using an influx of its "military advisors" to lead the counterinsurgency war, backed up by continuous comments in the bourgeois press as to the "primitiveness" of the puppet troops. Of course there are some transparent attempts to portray this aspect of the scenario differently; the U.S. troops are

now called "instructors," they supposedly never leave well fortified military enclaves where they can be fully protected, and the press is quick to remind people there are only 54 of these "teachers" officially in El Salvador. However, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) has reported documenting over 200 U.S. "advisors" in the country, and there are reports of a big influx of Americans checking into two major hotels in San Salvador—100 at the Hotel Presidente and another 80 at the Sheraton.

To begin with, if we believe what the U.S. government is saying, that the advisors are limiting their activity to training the U.S. trained and equipped puppet troops in more advanced counterinsurgency techniques (read: war against virtually the entire populace of El Salvador), this in itself is sufficient indictment of U.S. imperialism. Supposedly, training these U.S. puppet troops in how to use U.S. combat helicopter gunships for murderous search and destroy raids is very innocent and benign activity. But obviously, much, much more is going on and has been for quite some time. U.S. advisors, instructors, CIA agents, peacekeeping forces or whatever the government chooses to call them, have historically been limited in their activities to only one thing—pursuing U.S. military objectives to the maximum possible extent. And after all, the U.S. does have somewhat of a reputation in Central and South America since they have ruled the region in the most vicious manner since Teddy Roosevelt declared it U.S. property with the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine.

What the U.S. and its junta's troops are actually doing was sharply revealed in a series of articles written by Alex Drehsler, a reporter for the *San Diego Union*, who recently returned from a

visit to the province of Chalatenango where the guerrillas control nearly the entire area. Drehsler reports that from a mountaintop near the Honduran border, he was able to see more than a dozen pillars of smoke every day from fields being burned by government troops and paramilitary organizations. This "scorched earth" policy has forced 25,000 peasants to flee Chalatenango for makeshift refugee camps in Honduras, camps which the Salvadoran troops regularly invade, paying particular attention to raping the women and abusing the children who make up the vast majority of the refugee population.

This is merely one of a whole raft of counterinsurgency "techniques" that the U.S. perfected in a losing effort in Vietnam, and is now wielding against the Salvadoran people. Drehsler also talked to a former Salvadoran soldier who was captured by the guerrillas. The soldier reported that he had been ordered "to kill children, women, old people—anything that moved." Undoubtedly, the results of this typical imperialist butchery has something to do with the fact that while the junta has revived the old Vietnam-tested method known as the "body count," they now refuse to exhibit the bodies to the press. Piles of dead children, women and old people don't present a very good image.

In fact, beneath their propaganda smokescreen (portraying their actions as a response to Soviet and Cuban intervention in "our hemisphere," etc.), the U.S. is being increasingly frank about their objectives in El Salvador. According to *Newsweek* magazine, at a closed door session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Haig said that the U.S. "mistake in Vietnam was its preoccupation with winning hearts and minds; in El Salvador the United States would concentrate instead on helping the government win a military victory." Now we think this statement should indeed make clear exactly what the U.S. imperialist intentions are in El Salvador. They are stepping up their military moves with one objective as they have openly stated on a number of occasions—To win!—to crush all opposition to U.S. domination. Unfortunately, for them, it is not so simple or so easy, as a host of liberal spokesmen are quick to point out between their doses of valium. Actually, Haig doesn't think it's so simple either; he is merely setting the tone for U.S. policy in El Salvador.

The U.S. finds itself in a very bad situation in El Salvador and Central America as a whole. The various arguments now raging in the Congress and elsewhere over the increased military involvement in El Salvador are a reflection of this and perhaps more importantly are attempts made to try to deal with the widespread opposition in this country to U.S. military moves in the area. There are no differences in objectives among these various spokesmen. They agree that the U.S. should back the fascist Duarte junta to the hilt, try to militarily wipe out the guerrillas, and employ every overt and covert means possible to maintain their grip on El Salvador. All agree the situation for the U.S. is deteriorating rapidly. All agree that Central America must remain U.S. property, which means both crushing the struggle of the masses of people in various countries there and preventing the influence of the Soviet Union and

its Cuban frontmen from spreading. For example, one prominent liberal spokesman Robert White, the recently ousted ambassador to El Salvador, made the following statement, reprinted in the *New York Times*:

"The ultimate enemy of Western civilization and of the U.S. in El Salvador is a Marxist-Leninist group dedicated to the overthrow of the Government by force, and the elimination of all U.S. influence from the region. When I went down to El Salvador one year ago, there was not one intelligence analyst in Washington who said there was a prayer of the present Government lasting more than a month or two. The only question was, how fast I would return and the leftist government would be installed..."

"We have, over the last few weeks, seen a great emphasis on the enemy without. I applaud this Administration for emphasizing that danger and for sealing off El Salvador from this influx of arms—from Communist and Communist-related countries."

What White and his ilk are afraid of is that "emphasizing the military component" too much will only cause the situation for the U.S. to deteriorate ever more and set up a situation where even further and more drastic action has to be taken which would only make things worse—intensifying the struggle of the Salvadoran masses as more and more join up with the guerrilla forces and take up the armed struggle, and creating more troubled waters for the Soviets and their frontmen (Cuba and the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS)) to fish in. And they fear even more what is at stake here. Large scale U.S. military moves in El Salvador risk drawing the whole of Central America into the fray as a good many of the puppet regimes in the area are themselves beset with serious internal crises. And even more, such large scale military moves would have serious "geopolitical" repercussions in the context of the overall heightened contention between the two superpowers worldwide. They would accelerate the development towards world war, cause more turmoil in the NATO bloc, put the U.S. at a disadvantage in being able to portray its war moves as actions in the interest of world peace, and certainly cause widespread and active opposition among the masses of people in this country.

These worries are indeed real for the U.S. imperialists and are shared by all of them, but the problem is they really don't have the freedom *not* to "emphasize the military component" in Central America though they will certainly utilize diplomatic means within a general military build-up. The fall of the junta in El Salvador, would be virtually certain if the U.S. did not continue to step up its military efforts. This would not only cause the loss of an important country to them and the strengthening of the Soviets, who have a significant influence in the leadership of the opposition to the junta, it would also accelerate similar processes in other countries in the area.

In light of this "damned-if-they-do-damned-if-they-don't" situation, the administration is, to the extent possible, trying to pursue various diplomatic avenues and attempting to dress up its fascist junta in as pretty a democratic dress as they are able.

This is a job of enormous difficulty.

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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 a panel would be formed soon 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.



The First Time the Proletariat Seized Power

This month marks the 110th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the first time the working class not only rose in rebellion but smashed the bourgeois state and established its own political power—the first proletarian dictatorship in world history. While the Commune was crushed by force of arms within a few weeks, its significance as a glorious step in the advance to worldwide communism is never-fading. As Marx wrote at the time, "With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of worldwide importance has been gained." What follows is a brief description of one battle during the fight for the Commune.

An eye-witness account

The women and children were swarming up the hill-side in a compact mass; the artillerymen tried in vain to fight their way through the crowd, but the waves of people engulfed everything,

surging over the cannon-mounts, over the ammunition waggons, under the wheels, under the horses' feet, paralysing the action of the riders who spurred on their mounts in vain. The horses reared and lunged forward, their sudden movement clearing the crowd, but the space was filled at once by a backwash created by the surging multitude.

Like breakers, the first rows of the crowd came crashing on to the batteries, repeatedly flooding them with people.

The artillerymen and cavalrymen of the train were holding their own with brave determination. The cannons had been entrusted to them and they made it a point of honour to defend them.

At that moment the National Guard arrived; they had great difficulty in breaking through the crowd who were obstinately clinging to the wheels.

The women especially were crying out in fury: 'Unharness the horses! Away with you! We want the cannons! We shall have the cannons!'

The artillerymen could see, beyond the ocean of people, the gleaming steel of the bayonets; in the face of such resistance all advance was impossible, but they still did not falter.

Soldiers who had deserted their regiments shouted to them to surrender, but they stayed in the saddle and continued to spur their horses on furiously.

A National Guardsman who had managed to reach the scene of the action climbed on to a milestone and shouted: 'Cut the traces!'

The crowd let out a great cheer. The

women closest to the cannons, to which they had been clinging for half an hour, took the knives that the men passed down to them from hand to hand. They cut through the harnesses.

The same National Guardsman now shouted: 'Open up the ranks! Spur on the horses! Let them through!'

The manoeuvre was carried out amid joyful laughter and cheering.

The artillerymen were carried off by their mounts and found themselves cut off from the guns and surrounded by groups of people inviting them to fraternize.

They were offered flasks of wine and meat rolls.

They too were hungry and thirsty. They were soon won over to the side of the rebels.

The cannons had been retaken. The cannons were in the hands of the people.

The General must have realized the battalion was unreliable, so he came to take command of it himself.

The crowd of women and children massed at the entrance of the Rue Muller saw that the General was about to give orders to fire. They gave way to a spontaneous movement and, instead of fleeing, threw themselves in front of the infantrymen, shouting, 'Don't fire!'

The General, his voice resounding clearly above the noise, ordered: 'Make ready to fire!'

The soldiers obeyed. The crowd halted.

'Shoulder arms!'

Rifle-butts were pressed against shoulders, barrels were lowered. A

shiver went through the crowd, but no one moved.

A brief but profound silence, then the shout: 'Fire!'

An agonizing suspense. The Federals made ready to avenge the crowd should the troops fire. But the soldiers refused to obey.

One rifle was raised, then ten, then a hundred, as though the shadow of death that had been hovering over the crowd had suddenly flown away and spared them.

The General sternly rebuked the infantrymen; he pointed a revolver at them and threatened to blow the brains out of anyone who refused to fire.

The Federals saw him and heard his words. He repeated the order to fire three times. He was even overheard to say the following words: 'Fire at least once for the sake of honour!'

Nothing could move the soldiers or provoke them to action; they remained impassive.

The General was beside himself with rage. 'Are you going to surrender to that scum?', he cried contemptuously.

A soldier then replied in these very words: 'That is exactly what we want to do.' And he threw down his rifle.

At that point Lalande, the Federal Captain who had come to parley, placed his hand on the General's shoulder and said: 'It is you who must surrender!'

Supposed eye-witness account of the events in Montmartre on 18 March 1871: d'Esboeufs, *La Vérité sur La Commune par un ancien proscrit*, pp. 232-40, abridged.

3,000 "Trespassers"**Seizing Houses in Philly**

"Take a right here." A solid block of abandoned houses. Two blocks later, "Take another right." Another block of abandoned houses. Driving north or west from center city, the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos of Philadelphia shoot out like cracks in glass. The signs of life are everywhere as hundreds of thousands of people are jammed into the countless two- and three-story row homes that line the narrow streets. But more striking are the signs of rot and decay, as hardly a block exists without at least one abandoned house. An abandoned house, a 2-story shell with hard cold sheets of metal covering its windows and doors, metal nailed down and posted with "No Trespassing" signs. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there are approximately 80,000 vacant homes in Philadelphia, with at least 22,000 of these categorized as officially abandoned and concentrated in the Black and Puerto Rican ghettos. According to housing activists in Phila-

delphia, there are at least 35,000 homeless people in this city, totally homeless—the lucky ones being able to double or triple up in the homes of relatives, while others find temporary shelter in empty box cars and missions.

Of course the authorities have "plans" to deal with this situation. According to one housing official, "The houses are slated for sale, some as is and some after extensive rehabilitation. We also rent out a number of our units." Basically all these plans amount to is cashing in on the massive profits to be made in inner city real estate speculation and the currently widespread "gentrification movement" of white professionals into previously ghetto areas. The various housing authorities, from the Dept. of Housing & Urban Development to the city Housing Authority and big real estate companies, buy up the abandoned houses, sit on them for a number of years, and then sell them for 10 times or more

what they paid for them. "They drive the people out," states one local housing activist. "Drugs are brought in like never before, trash isn't collected for months at a time, bus lines are cut, redlining is practiced, social services are cut, rent is raised, mortgages foreclosed—and then they offer housing assistance in some other area. So the houses start to be abandoned and sit that way for years."

He continued, "The biggest owner of abandoned houses in Philadelphia is the Philadelphia Housing Authority and the other government agencies. HUD even marks the houses, brands them by sending out a special team of guys to scorch all the woodwork and doors in a house and then close it up. Then they sit and rot. A few years later, big renovations start, and before you know it, brand new houses are being sold, or old houses are bulldozed and condominiums are built and sold. Look at the Spring Garden area. Years ago, that

was one of the biggest Puerto Rican neighborhoods in the city. Look at it today. Yeah, there's still a lot of Puerto Ricans, but look at what's happening. There's fewer and fewer homes for them. You'll find blocks of abandoned houses, houses that were built for \$1500 five years ago, but even more, you start to find whole blocks of new townhouses with stained-glass windows and little gas lights, renovated houses selling for \$30,000 or more. But you won't find any Puerto Ricans living in them, the Puerto Ricans are forced out."

One HUD official, after explaining their "plan" to the *RW*, begrudgingly admitted that in fact most HUD sales were being made to "upper income bracket" families, since after all, "nobody else can really afford to buy a house today." Another city housing official stated, "What do you expect, some of these houses have \$50,000 of rehabilitation work done on them." Of

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Imperialists Hound Supporters of Puerto Rican Independence

Last month, in a vicious political attack against the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and national liberation, as well as against the revolutionary struggle generally, the U.S. rulers convicted ten suspected members of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) on charges of "seditious conspiracy," railroading them into prison for terms ranging from 55 to 90 years. Throughout this trial the authorities cynically claimed that it had "nothing to do with political issues or philosophies." But the defendants' courageous stand in relentlessly exposing the political nature of this trial and shining the spotlight on the limitless crimes of the U.S. imperialists against not only Puerto Rico, but the peoples of the entire world, galvanized widespread support throughout the U.S., Canada, Mexico and Puerto Rico itself and has given a powerful impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the Puerto Rican people. In the wake of this "non-political" trial, the bourgeoisie has clearly been forced to intensify their campaign of repression against supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

Since the conviction and sentencing of the FALN suspects, the authorities have wasted no time in unleashing a number of attacks. On the very morning of the sentencing on February 11 three people responsible for arranging rides to a demonstration to be held outside the courthouse were busted. In a gestapo-like raid, plainclothes pigs armed with a shotgun burst into the homes of Eddie Negron and Felix Rosa around 7:00 in the morning and picked up Roberto Caldero on the streets around the same time. Roberto and Felix were placed in a line-up and charged with armed robbery; Roberto was released that night.

The police claimed this was just another arrest of a "common criminal" but had difficulty explaining the strangely coincidental timing of picking these men up on trumped up charges the day of a political demonstration, for some robbery which had occurred nearly three months earlier on November 19. The lame excuse offered by the authorities for the delay was that they "did not want to jeopardize or prejudice the federal prosecution of the 10 FALN suspects." These same authorities arrested Felix Rosa on another trumped-up armed robbery charge last December, again with strangely coincidental timing, just after



Picket line at Tuley Middle School supporting Eddie Negron, who was arrested in the current wave of attacks and harassment in the Chicago Puerto Rican community.

the indictment of the ten was announced.

Of course the authorities really have no intention of hiding their stepped up repression of FALN supporters with these transparent lies, but in fact their attacks on Felix Rosa and Eddie Negron are intended to instill fear in other Puerto Rican activists. Felix is the brother of one of the FALN suspects, Luis Rosa, and Eddie Negron is the husband of Carmen Valentin, also one of the ten political prisoners. Both men are members of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. An exorbitant bail totaling \$50,000 was placed on Rosa and Negron in an effort to keep them in jail. But the \$5,000 necessary to bail them out was raised in the streets of the Puerto Rican community in one evening, showing the strong support for the liberation of Puerto Rico.

Immediately after his arrest, Eddie Negron's employer at the Tuley Middle School took a first step toward firing him by transferring him out of his job as a bilingual teacher and into a desk job at another school. This immediately sparked protest in the Puerto Rican

community and a picket line of 50 students and adults was held in front of the school on the morning of March 2. Wild reports were broadcast on radio and TV linking the demonstrators with two high-powered rifles and shotguns found in a building near the site of the protest. There was, of course, not a shred of evidence connecting the rifles with the protesters; and, in fact, by the next day the media had to admit that there was no connection.

Around the same time, reports appeared in the media of a supposed attack of gunfire aimed against a Latino army recruiter in northern Illinois which occurred during the FALN trial. In all the reports it was implied that the FALN was responsible for the alleged shooting. No evidence was ever presented that the FALN actually had anything to do with this incident. All military recruiters were recently warned to take varied routes driving to and from work and to keep a full tank of gasoline in case they have to give chase to elude an ambush.

While these hysterical news accounts of FALN activity are broadcast far and wide, the FBI blood-

hounds have come sniffing around the Puerto Rican community. They have visited the homes of scores of people known to support the FALN and the independence of Puerto Rico, asking questions about who is involved in what and showing photographs for identification. But they haven't gotten any cooperation from the people. The FBI attempted a similar invasion of the community back in 1977 during a grand jury investigation into the FALN and met with a similar cold shoulder.

This offensive against Puerto Rican activists and supporters of Puerto Rican liberation and independence is, of course, all part of the government's so-called war against "international terrorism"—a campaign by these imperialist butchers to discredit as "terroristic" all the burgeoning resistance to their imperialist rule in Puerto Rico, El Salvador and countless other countries where they murder and oppress. Clearly, in this case, the caretakers of the U.S.' empire are acting out of a desperate knowledge that the struggle of the Puerto Rican people to break the U.S.' stranglehold over that country is growing stronger by the day. □

Poland: The House Is Not "In Order"

In the past week it has become apparent that the tenuous truce between Poland's revisionist rulers and the masses of Polish people is already developing cracks and fissures that could split wide open at any time and that the Jaruzelsky government—hailed as the country's "salvation" by both the Polish revisionist party and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa—has arrived at the end of its precarious "honeymoon." For all the government's rhetoric about "setting Poland's house in order" and its pleas for a 90-day "cooling off period" without strikes in order to achieve this, so far there have been no dramatic announcements about how all this will be accomplished and unrest has already begun to erupt spontaneously in a number of cities. On March 4, local union spokesmen in the city of Plock announced that workers were considering a strike to protest censorship of a union publication and in Nowy Sacz, in the southeast, a dispute was growing over workers' demands that buildings belonging to the Ministry of Interior be turned over for use as health clinics. Two days later, workers at a machine tool factory in Skarzysko-Kamienna held a two hour "warning strike" over a series of local demands.

These developments took place in the context of an increasingly "hard-line" stance by the government. No sooner had the Soviets 26th Party Congress adjourned in Moscow than Polish Party leader Stanislaw Kania and Prime Minister Jaruzelsky were summoned to an emergency meeting at the Kremlin on March 4th, where no less than

Leonid Brezhnev laid down the law, flanked by a phalanx of high level Soviet heavies including Foreign Minister Gromyko and KGB head Yuri Andropov. The meeting resulted in a joint statement declaring that "imperialist and internal reactionary forces were hoping that the economic and political crisis in Poland would lead to change in the alignment of the forces of the world... For these reasons it is particularly urgent to give a firm and absolute rebuff to all kinds of such dangerous attempts." Along with this, the statement that "The Soviet people believe Poland has been and will be an infallible link in the socialist community"—with its conspicuous omission of the present tense—was, as western analysts pointed out, clearly a Soviet signal that they consider Poland's present situation quite "fallible" and that they are expecting the Polish rulers to hold the line against any further concessions and to move decisively to bring the deteriorating political situation under their control.

Not surprisingly, within 24 hours Poland's rulers launched a number of moves designed to convince the Soviets that they were indeed dealing with "anti-socialist" elements (i.e., pro-western "dissidents") as ordered. Jacek Kuron, a well-known leader of the Committee for Social-Self-Defense (KOR) (and a leading advisor to Solidarity), was detained by authorities for seven hours and informed that he was under investigation on charges of having "slandered the Polish state." The following day police in Wroclaw attempted unsuccessfully to serve

another leading dissident, Adam Michnik, with a summons to appear before a prosecutor on as yet unspecified charges. Warsaw Radio also announced that the government has formally charged four of seven dissidents presently imprisoned with attempting to overthrow the state, raising the possibility of a public trial in which the government might attempt to demonstrate its "resolve" to the Soviets. These four clearly are "anti-socialist", in other words, pro-western forces. They are all members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, a nationalist and openly reactionary grouping. It is interesting that the attack has been focused on forces like this, and not directly against Solidarity. This is an indication that the government may be hoping to get some mileage with the Soviets without kicking off another devastating round of protests by the workers.

This ploy, however, almost immediately began to unravel as the local Solidarity chapter in Wroclaw announced that it was placing Michnik under a "workers guard" and the following day the independent unions national commission held an emergency meeting in Warsaw amid signs of a growing crackdown. Here it was revealed that there have been a mounting number of police actions (without the public fanfare) against union activists, students and protesting farmers from the officially unrecognized farmers union, including numerous detentions and searches, a number of beatings, and two abductions by the secret police, as well as at least one mysterious death.

The overriding concern of Poland's rulers is to both demonstrate to the Soviets that, indeed, there is no basic threat to "the alignment of forces in the world" as concerns Poland and that they are capable of maintaining some kind of stability in the country. This latter task is proving hard to accomplish. They know it, the Soviets know it, and so does the U.S., as illustrated by recent considerable discussion in U.S. policy journals of the "costs" the Soviets would be forced to pay in the event of massive military intervention.

These are speculated to include the economic burden of mobilizing Soviet troops, the financial burden of getting Poland economically back on its feet, the possibility of attendant unrest among the estimated one million Poles who live in Russia as well as the various oppressed nationalities that inhabit Soviet border areas, etc., etc., etc. There is also abundant speculation on the costs to the Soviets if the Polish crisis continues and they don't invade, such as the possible spread of the so-called "Polish disease" to other countries in the eastern bloc. The *NY Times* recently reported in the last few months that there have been at least a dozen protests and factory strikes in western and central Rumania against food shortages—the same issue that sparked off the upheavals in Poland last summer.

Western analysts are hard at work examining the possible military contradictions the Soviets would face in the event of an invasion as well. For example, the Rand Corporation recently released a report titled, "If the Soviets Invade Poland." This is a review by one imperialist power of the strengths and weaknesses of its enemy and is probably generally accurate. For one thing, the Rand study points out that an invasion and the ensuing occupation would require a commitment of around 750,000 Soviet troops which in turn would have significant implications for Soviet military capabilities elsewhere. (Soviet military strategy calls for "overwhelming local military superiority." The Soviets used half a million Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968.) This could possibly limit Soviet options of sending additional troops into Afghanistan, affect the scope of operations in the Persian Gulf if things should heat up there, and necessitate drawing on a number of divisions stationed on the critical Sino-Soviet border. And, if a number of the 20 Soviet divisions in East Germany were utilized, Soviet capabilities for use against NATO would also be reduced. The Rand study makes a particularly interesting point as regards possible use of the East German army in Poland. It envisions a "violent emotional reaction" by Poles to the Germans whose "field grey uniforms would recall the Nazi invaders of World War 2." But more importantly, it inadvertently hits on a contradiction faced in any imperialist army: "Although the East German army is often regarded by western analysts as the most reliable of the Warsaw Pact armies, even its utility in a Soviet invasion of Poland is questionable. While the officer corps may be reliable, recent unrest among East German youth and the frequent references by the East German media to 'pacifist attitudes' in the army may be indicative of a morale problem among the soldiers." (This, of course, is seen as an advantage to the U.S., but things may turn out different in the long run.)

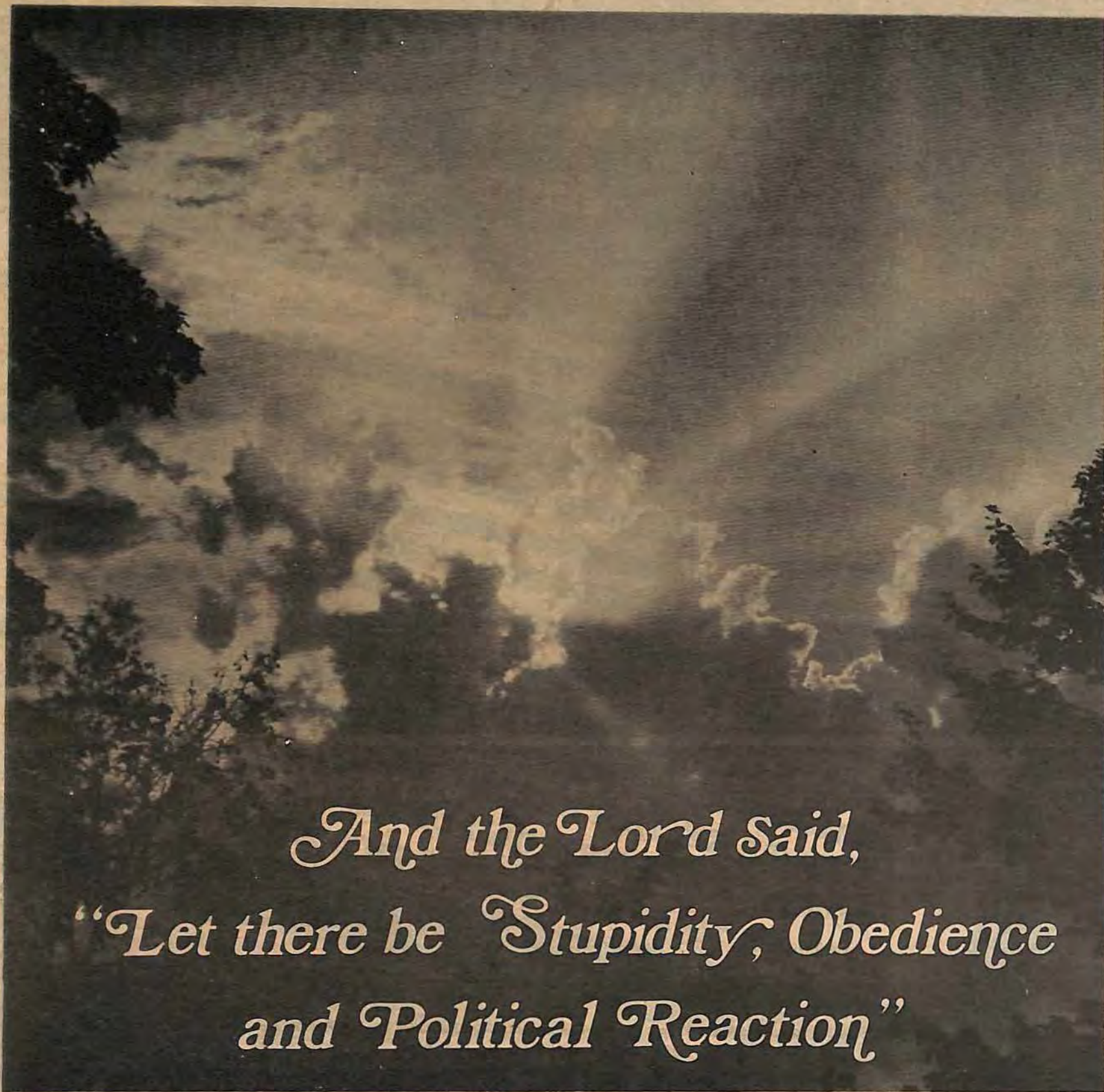
In addition there is the problem of the effect an invasion would have on the Polish army. While the reliability of the 400,000 man Polish army—described in the report as "the most competent and best-equipped in Eastern Europe"—in helping to suppress the

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Thousands Protest Murder by Fire in South London



London—Between 6,000 and 10,000 people, overwhelmingly Black people from the West Indies, demonstrated on March 2 to protest a police coverup after a suspicious fire in South London in January killed 18 West Indians. The demonstrators pointed to the substantial evidence that the fire was the work of white racists, who have been mounting increasing attacks—with the direct and indirect assistance of the authorities—on the large West Indian, African, Indian, and Pakistani immigrant communities in Britain. In the course of the demonstration, fighting repeatedly broke out with the "bobbies," resulting in the arrest of 23 demonstrators and 17 injured cops.



And the Lord Said, “Let there be Stupidity, Obedience and Political Reaction”

In the past several weeks the bourgeoisie has devoted considerable attention to very systematically and calculatingly promoting the efforts of its corps of Christian fundamentalist shock troops to give equal time in school classrooms to the teaching of so-called “creationism” (that the Judeo-Christian god created the earth, the “heavens”, and all life including man in 6 days about 10,000 years ago, etc.) vs. evolution. The focus of this reactionary ideological campaign has been on a lawsuit in California brought by some moral majority types who head up an organization called the Creation Science Research Center (CSRC). The suit was brought against the State of California school system and contended that the religious freedom of Kasey Segraves (the son of a co-founder of the CSRC) was violated because his teacher in school insisted that he was “descended from an ape.” (Certainly the boy’s behavior and that of his parents and mentors provide ample and current evidence that the teacher was absolutely right.) Initially the suit was widely billed as “Scopes II” (after the famous Scopes trial in 1925) and given a tremendous amount of national press. Reporters from as far away as London flocked to the courtroom for what was expected to be a heated showdown—a courtroom debate over evolution which the bourgeoisie in fact wanted to avoid and was able to prevent.

Realizing that they have a lot of opposition to the teaching of Genesis in the schools, at least in the significant urban areas of the country, the creationists and their backers have adopted the tactic of calling for equal time or getting “the camel’s nose under the tent” as one scientist put it. They have attempted to file court suits on the basis that their freedom of religion is being violated by the teaching of evolution exclusively. In many parts of the country,

however, evolution has never been taught and in a number, the “dual-model” (teaching evolution and creation side-by-side) is already practiced. Already 15 States have bills pending to require this approach and in a majority of States Creation campaigns are under way. California has been seen as a key State and one important reason is that 10% of the textbooks used in the U.S. go to California. Changing the curriculum there would essentially require all the textbooks in the country to be rewritten with the story of Adam and Eve in them. The maneuvering to get creation into California schools is not a new thing at all. The 1970 edition of *Science Framework*, published by the California Board of Education to provide guidelines for teachers and textbook publishers, was amended three times between 1970 and 1974 at the urging of creationists appointed to the Board by then Governor Ronald Reagan. Changes favorable to the creationists were added over the strong objections and protests of scientists and educators who developed *Framework*. In 1978, in the new *Framework*, a few mild sentences that said directly that evolution was in fact true riled the neanderthals.

And so the stage was set for the recent “Scopes II” trial—a trial that was handled very slickly by the bourgeoisie toward its political ends. After a big to-do around the opening of the trial with the big billing as a showdown à la the original Scopes trial, the framework for the proceedings was radically restricted to very narrow and foggy limits. On the night that the trial began, Carl Sagan appeared in a televised debate with a creationist on the Nightline program and wiped the floor with him. Sagan called the efforts of the creationists “an attempt to validate a cosmological view which was current during the era of the

Babylonians in 600 B.C.” He ended his very sharp and satirical presentation by saying, “I’d like to stress that what we’re talking about here is a way of viewing the world which is exceptionally dangerous. It says, don’t open yourself to the way the universe really is, but go to an authoritarian text. This is extremely dangerous...” This debate no doubt gave the creationists and the government as well a taste of what they were up against and would encounter in a courtroom debate and helped prompt a change in tactics in the case.

The next day under the guidance of the judge, Irving Perluss, the CSRC (represented by a former Reagan aide) changed its case from demanding that California stop teaching evolution as the only theory of man’s origin to demanding only making modifications in a single paragraph of the science teaching guidelines. The CSRC now only wanted the guidelines to recommend that teachers qualify statements about evolution with phrases such as “most scientists believe” or “scientists hypothesize.” At the same time Perluss refused to allow any testimony from the 30 scientists, including Sagan and Nobel prize winner, Arthur Kornberg, who were scheduled to testify against the creationists. This maneuver was designed to confuse the opposition and to prevent any big debate around evolution that would have surely resulted in making both the Christian crusaders and the government alike look like the ridiculous and reactionary fools that they are. After a few days in court the judge ruled against the CSRC’s original suit but agreed that the teaching guidelines should be changed according to the creationists’ wishes.

Thus the much heralded Scopes II turned out quite the opposite from the 1925 Scopes trial. In that case while Scopes (a teacher charged with the

crime of teaching evolution) lost and was fined a small amount, the teaching of evolution spread widely across the country. Fundamentalist William Jennings Bryan was soundly trounced in the courtroom debate by Scopes’ lawyer, Clarence Darrow. At that time the bourgeoisie overall had an interest in spreading evolution fairly broadly in order to promote its interests, namely to more rapidly promote a certain amount of scientific enquiry necessary for technological development. In the latest case, just the opposite was true—nominally creation lost the court decision, but gained ground. The opposition was blunted by the prevention of debate in the courtroom.

All of this political maneuvering obviously came from high places in the bourgeoisie. Ronald Reagan, for example, has made his support for the teaching of biblical creationist dogma in the schools public on a number of occasions. In a recent statement he said, “if it (evolution) were going to be taught in the schools, then I think also the biblical theory of creation, which is not a theory but the biblical story of creation, should also be taught.” It seems that even a little knowledge about the way the world really is and how mankind evolved is a very dangerous thing to U.S. imperialism. As one CSRC leader exclaimed, “(We can’t have kids learning) that what they think is right without any Ten Commandments or any law of God. In fact, children are being taught there is no moral order, that what society wants, society can have.” For the rulers of this country, ignorance and adherence to a world view popular in 600 B.C. must be given a chance to spread further among the masses. If that isn’t the mark of a system long since ready for a forceable extinction, we don’t know what is. □

MAY 1, 1981

A MAY DAY IN WHICH WE:

**BREAK OUT, BREAK FREE—
TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS**

DECLARE OUR FIRM OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM

**MAKE A LIVING FORCE OF
PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM**

**BOLDLY TAKE THE STAND OF
DOWN WITH THE OLD ORDER AND
FIGHT TO BRING ALIVE THE NEW**

The RCP calls all those who participated (or wished they had) in last year's events; all who are wielding the RW today; and people everywhere that this outmoded and decadent system breeds resistance; everyone whose eyes are open and longs to end this madness, to take up this orientation for May 1st, International Workers' Day as their own. Its message and outlook must and can become the property and a battle cry of the class-conscious and revolutionary-minded of all nationalities, foreign born and U.S. born, in the sweatshops and hellholes, the ghettos and barrios, the unemployment and welfare lines of this "best of all worlds"; of the youth seething with rebellion in the schools, universities and the streets; of those who are involved in cultural work or from other walks of life who despise the insanity and brutality of the "American way"; of those awakened to political life even as they are being trained as cannonfodder in the military for the impending inter-imperialist blood feast and of those burning with revolutionary hatred and understanding of places even more regimented and oppressive. Struggle over this call, debate it, deepen its meaning and take it out broadly to your fellow oppressed and transform it into far-reaching revolutionary struggle on May 1st itself—a most powerful manifesto in preparing our Red flag and accelerate REVOLUTION in step with our brothers and sisters worldwide. . . . Everywhere the modern overlords look, they must see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds of May First. . . . Correspond with the RW or contact the RCP locally with your thinking, ideas and plans. . . . More will be forthcoming in the RW.

The Conspiracy Spreads

Roving Bands of Youth, Dangerous Women

The following is a brief report from one area. The first part of the report brings out a number of examples of particular ways in which the revolutionary youth have been unleashed around the line of the Party; the second is one example where women have taken up the Revolutionary Worker in a big way, and have been a leading force in the battle to uphold Chiang Ching and to carry on revolutionary work among the masses. The RW welcomes other reports of this type.

In line with the call in the Revolutionary Worker for youth to step forward and play a decisive role right now in the campaign for 100,000 sustained distribution of the RW, the Party called for "red book" marches of the youth in some neighborhoods to uphold Chiang Ching. The enthusiasm of youth pulled out the older folks, drawing them into discussion and debate about Chiang Ching—What does she stand for? What makes her so strong? In one area, the march passed a construction fence festooned with yellow ribbons and the rebel youth went over, pulled off all the yellow ribbons and put up red armbands instead. After the march in this same neighborhood, different discussion groups spontaneously broke out

among the youth, getting down with propagandists, or sitting together on the grass reading the RW and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY).

This sort of thing did not happen without sharp struggle, especially over the question of relying on the masses and keeping an orientation toward the advanced, whenever the youth went out. In every neighborhood, there are inevitably backward forces and they are sometimes held up in opposition to carrying out the high and wild political orientation. On one of these marches a battle ensued between the advanced forces among the youth, upholding and defending Chiang Ching against the backward. Youth climbed up on the sound truck and started handing out bundles of RWs to others to distribute. Some older and more backward elements started grabbing the papers and ripping them up. Others ran to retrieve the papers and return them to the truck. One young rebel took on an adult who was yelling, "We don't want communists around." The young woman turned to this adult and said, "Well, if you don't want to hear it go back in your house, shut the door and turn on your stereo, because we want to

hear what they have to say." One kid emptied out his piggy bank and came up with 50 pennies to buy 2 Chiang Ching armbands. Since the march, several youth have asked, "When are you having another red book march? I got mine ready at home."

In one area, a young woman was shot in the face by the cops as she ran away from a detention home. Close on the heels of this outrageous assault, a display board was set up with the RW article on the conviction of three youth in Miami for taking part in the Miami rebellion, while the cops who murdered McDuffie went scot free. The youth were called to step up and write their comments about the police on the display board and debate ensued. In this case the backward youth refused to put out their line and face exposure in front of the others.

In the struggle to unleash the youth around the line of the Party, attempts by the police and other agents of the ruling class to create provocations and spread confusion have come to light. In one neighborhood, when a number of youth started throwing ice and eggs at the sound truck, one youth came across the street and confessed to one of the RW sellers, "The cops told us to keep

you guys out of here or they'll come in and bust us." Another youth told how the police came up to them and said, "Why are you throwing ice and eggs? You should be throwing rocks."

In this same neighborhood, contacts reported that people in a van with a bullhorn mounted on it, doing anti-military agitation in the name of the RW, began naming names of military personnel living in the area and targetting them as people fighting on the side of the enemy. Also it was reported that some agents posing as RW organizers went door-to-door to the homes of the military personnel. All this has made it clear that the bourgeoisie has been stung by the youth taking revolutionary politics out to the masses, and they will use any slimy tactic to disrupt the RW conspiracy. This further points up the importance of people being armed with the political line of the Party to distinguish sham from real revolutionary political line.

Women, A Mighty Force For Revolution

For women especially, Chiang Ching has been a real inspiration. At one

Continued on page 19

International Women's Day

Poster

Still Available

Full Color—vibrant reds, purples, blues, yellow and black

The materials for reproducing the poster shown at right—color separated printer's negatives and reduced size full color samples—will continue to be available for individuals and organizations to look over and make arrangements for local printing. Posters are 17 in. x 22 in., but smaller size negatives are available on request. The foreground photo of Chiang Ching was taken as she defiantly entered the courtroom on the day the revisionists sentenced her to death. The background scene is from the revolutionary Peking Opera "Red Detachment of Women" in which Wu Ching-hua, an escaped bondsmaid who joined the Red Army, and her comrades battle the Kuomintang reactionary troops head on in a mountain pass. This opera is one of the most well-known of the model works produced during the Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Chiang Ching.

All those who want to print and/or distribute this poster can contact the RCP in one of the following cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. (for phone numbers and addresses, see page 23) or send \$50.00 in check or money order now to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, Illinois 60654. Cost includes printing negatives, full color sample and postage. Specify English, Spanish or French. Please include your phone number, and address.

March 8, International Women's Day



**Break the Chains!
Unleash the Fury of Women
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!
Long Live Chiang Ching!**

AN INTERNATIONAL APPEAL

From Former Members of the Black Panther Party

We the undersigned former members of the Black Panther Party today call to all of you around the world who supported us in the 1960s, when we were under vicious attack by the U.S. government, to come now to the defense of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and all the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

When talking about revolution, you must talk about the main revolutionary organization as well as the main revolutionary figure. Bob Avakian is a man who through all the twists and turns of the last 15 and more years has consistently been a revolutionary, and for at least the last dozen has been an uncompromising and thoroughgoing communist revolutionary. From the time he was involved in the actions that gave birth to the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley to the time he was the only white revolutionary brother to speak at a Free Huey rally in 1968 on the same stage with such Black militants as Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, James Forman, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, till today when he is the leader of the RCP, the revolutionary party the rulers of this country fear the most and which is today the victim of a most concentrated attack by the government, just as they moved on the Panthers of the '60s and early '70s. Bob Avakian has consistently and undauntedly continued to develop and deepen his revolutionary understanding and has contributed to the development and deepening of the theory of the revolutionary proletariat internationally, has led in forming a party that is today boldly and uncompromisingly taking this revolutionary theory out to tens of thousands of the slaves here in the belly of the beast, and preparing and organizing them into a class-conscious revolutionary political army that will lead millions and millions in storming heaven in the not too distant future.

We remember during the tremendous upsurges among Black people and other sections of the people in the '60s, during such a time when the Panthers boldly and implacably stood for armed revolution against this imperialist system and inspired and influenced hundreds of thousands and ultimately millions in this direction, not just Blacks but people of other nationalities as well, that some people had the unmitigated gall—or should we say political naiveté—to say we were simply paranoid when we said that there was a concentrated effort on the part of the government to destroy us because of the uncompromising revolutionary leadership we were giving to those upsurges. Of course today, no enlightened person doubts the fact that the ruling class, with sinister COINTELPRO forces, carried out a vicious, murderous counter-intelligence (counter-revolutionary) program to "disrupt," "discredit," "misdirect," or otherwise "neutralize" (that is, murder) the leadership and political activity of the Black Panther Party. Their efforts to prevent the rise of a Black Messiah targeted Fred Hampton for murder. No enlightened person today doubts that the U.S. government continues to withhold info they gathered with their COINTELPRO forces to frame Geronimo Pratt, which proves he was at a Black Panther Party Central Committee meeting in another part of the state

when the murder he is now doing a life sentence on was committed. Today, no enlightened person doubts that these blood-soaked doings were also directed at influential supporters of the Panthers, as the revelations around the vicious lies and slanders framed by the COINTELPRO forces led directly to the suicide of actress Jean Seberg.

But things have changed since those times, both objectively and subjectively. Objectively, though we have yet to witness the massive upheavals of the '60s, the rulers of this country know that they can't stop even more deepgoing upheavals from occurring in this period as they sink deeper in crisis and more feverishly prepare for world war. Miami and the reaction around the draft registration are only a glimpse of what's to come. Subjectively, today the RCP led by Bob Avakian has with penetrating insight summed up the political strengths as well as weaknesses of the Panthers in the period that gave birth to them, while at the same time carrying on and developing the wild revolutionary legacy of that period, raising it to a much more systematic, much more rational, and much more full level, which has gone a long way in re-activating some of us ex-Panthers who are today actively taking up the call of the RCP to prepare for revolution. Some of us have joined the RCP, others have become co-conspirators for revolution around the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, while still others have joined in the battle to keep Bob Avakian on the streets. It is in this light that we must examine the claims of the government that it has ceased to be subversive towards revolutionaries, especially a vanguard revolutionary organization like the RCP.

Today, Bob Avakian and 16 others are again facing charges totalling 241 years each on a case that was thrown out of court over a year ago due to the broad public opinion favorable to the revolutionaries created around it. And even after thousands of telegrams and letters were sent in to the court from lawyers, doctors, students, women, Blacks, Iranians, workers, foreign-born workers, etc., etc., demanding that these comrades not be re-indicted for participating in a demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's U.S. visit that was attacked by the police—still the government finds it imperative that they risk even more eyes being focused on the railroad of revolution in order to attempt the breaking of the back of this party. This is all the more insidious when we recall that Judge Walter Yeagley was the overseer in this case. He was appointed by Nixon in 1970 to oversee the cases that the D.C. Court of Appeals handled before they were settled and make his recommendations, his credentials being that he had served 30 years in intelligence work for U.S. imperialism, from the special intelligence service of the FBI in 1942, which specialized in "financial, economic, political and subversive activities detrimental to the security of the United States" throughout the Western Hemisphere. He co-authored the Smith Act in this country. He received special praise from Attorney General Ramsey Clark in the '60s for dealing with the urban rebellions. He has also played a big role in developing COINTELPRO. One of his final acts

while doing his intelligence work was in 1969, when he sent J. Edgar Hoover a memo urging him to round up subversives and revolutionaries for advocating the violent overthrow of the government. So of course, Yeagley was assigned to look into the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, and make his recommendations, and this he did.

But even before this, when the case was first dismissed, one of the leading bourgeois newspapers, the *L.A. Times*, ran a fabricated quote of Bob Avakian that said he threatened to assassinate the president, which was only partially retracted after it was exposed as a lie to thousands of people. But in the meantime, the Secret Service was everywhere, trying to track down Bob Avakian and hounding his fellow revolutionaries about his whereabouts, all for the purpose of painting the RCP as a bunch of crazy terrorists who deserve nothing better than life in prison or death—which brings to mind the murder of RCP member Damian Garcia a year ago in L.A. by police agents, which was strikingly akin to the murder of Panther leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins in L.A. in 1969. It also brings to mind the recent shooting and paralyzing of long-time supporter of the RCP and co-conspirator Bea Dong, who was gunned down at point-blank range in Newark by a so-called crazy woman. But of course, as Uncle Sam says, all this is simply coincidental. But some bitter history has taught us that when Uncle Sam says one thing out of the side of his mouth, he's doing just the opposite with his bloody arms.

This letter is a call to those of you out there who stood with and actively politically and financially supported the Panthers when they stood for revolution because of the righteousness and revolutionary nature of the cause they fought for, stood with and supported them at a time when they were the victims of all sorts of lies, slanders, jailings and murders because of the revolutionary influence they were having at that time. We know that some of you people still look for a better society where people can live as brothers and sisters throughout the world. To you, you must now come to the fore and actively take up political and financial support of the party that under new and unprecedentedly more favorable conditions has summed up and taken to a much higher level than in the '60s the revolutionary lessons in this country and throughout the world, and is today preparing thousands and thousands to be revolutionary leaders in the minor crises that flare up, but more importantly, to be the core of uncompromising, far-seeing revolutionary leaders who march to the fore when things actually go up for grabs, and lead millions and millions in storming heaven. This is why Bob Avakian and the RCP, USA is under such attack, and this is why you must support them.

The above letter was written by a former member of the Black Panther Party to assist in building international support for the Mao Tsetung Defendants among progressive people. It has been circulated around this country for a few weeks and, as of press time, had been signed by 38 former members of the Black Panther Party.

Call for International Support from RCP of Chile

The following call for international support for the Mao Tsetung Defendants appears in the March-April-May issue of Causa Marxista-Leninista, political-theoretical journal of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile.

When the revisionist Deng Xiaoping visited the U.S. in January 1979, the RCP, USA organized actions and demonstrations against this visit. In one of these demonstrations, which was violently attacked by the police, 17 members and supporters of the RCP, USA were arrested, including RCP, USA Chairman Bob Avakian.

The U.S. government has come down hard on the RCP, USA, an all-around repression which among other means is taking place through the railroad of these comrades, who are called the "Mao Tsetung Defendants" because

they righteously demonstrated against Deng Xiaoping, that symbol of the reversal of the revolution in China and of the line of Mao Tsetung.

Despite all the maneuvers to intimidate it, the RCP, USA has continued its revolutionary work in every field.

In the face of this situation, we must give the Mao Tsetung Defendants our firm support by making this case well known, and by sending telegrams and letters of protest to the U.S. embassies in various countries, as well as to the U.S. Supreme Court.

(The article includes the petition addressed to the Supreme Court published in the Washington Post, and urges people to circulate it and gather signatures in other countries.)

The ad below was published in the Washington Post, March 10, 1981 to coincide with the filing of the defense appeal to the Supreme Court. This ad was only able to include a small portion of the thousands of individuals and organizations who signed the statement. On the following pages (14 and 15) are several hundred additional signatures.

Drop All the Charges Once and For All!

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

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 specifically identifiable criminal act.† According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pretrial 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." As protests mounted from across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who found the government had, as a matter of fact, engaged 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 charges of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers involved by their own admission in killings 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.

†Changes from the original statement were required by the Washington Post.

This is a representative sample of the thousands of signatures to this ad.

The 16 Pontiac Brothers, IL
African Students Assoc., UC Berkeley
Eqbal Ahmad, prof. NY
Ismael Ahmed, Arab Community Center (ACCESS), Detroit
Miguel Alagrin, editor, Nuyorican Poetry
Roosevelt Alexander, NCBL, Alderman, Evanston, IL
Millard Arnold, atty., editor of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness in South Africa, D.C.
Molefi Asante, prof. U of Buffalo
Assoc. of Kurdistan Students Abroad, Calif. Chapter
Barbara Aswad, prof. WSU, Detroit
Rev. Henry Atkins, Campus Minister, U.N.C. Greensboro
Ruth & Spurgeon Avakian, Santa Cruz, CA
Robert B. Babcock, Boston Ethical Action Team
John Backe, Trinity Lutheran Church, NY
Byron E. Barnes, Seattle Indian Center
Gertrude Barnstons, artist, formerly Houston School Board
Nancy Bates, Publisher, East Bay Express newspaper, Berkeley
Karamoko Bayo, Marion Political Collective
Al Benich, Region 1 UAW Youth Council
Norma Becker, NY
Rev. Daniel Berrigan
Philip Berrigan
Carl Bissinger, War Resisters League, NY
Black Law Assoc., Harvard Law School
Black United Front, D.C.
Black United Front, NYC
Bob Bloom, atty., NY
James Boggs, author, Detroit
Dan Bolef, physicist, Wash. U., St. Louis
Julian Bond, Georgia State Senator
Boston Area Rape Crisis Center
Reber Boult, atty., Atlanta
Lemuel Bradley, B.S.U.I.A. City College
Amos Brokaw, Cincinnati
Laura Brown, dr., Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center
Robert McAfee Brown, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley
Roy Brown & Carl Royce, revolutionary musicians, NY
Jack L. Brummel, NW Inter-tribal Court System, Seattle
Buffalo Women's Liberation Union
Bobby Caldwell, atty., Houston
Kenneth Cameron, historian and scholar, NY
CARD, Seattle
Robin Woodworth Carlson, Canadian Author
Ralph J. Caro-Capolongo, ex-clergy, East Oakland Parish
Douglas W. Cassel, atty., Chicago
Antonio Castrejon, Latin American Workers Assoc., Portland

Plo Celestino, La Casa Del Pueblo, Dayton, OH
Jeff Chan, Chairman, Asian American Students, S.F. State
Rev. Ben Chavis, D.C.
Robert P. Chercasen, Indian Legal Project, L.A.
Robert Chrisman, publisher Black Scholar, Bay Area
Dick Clark, Abalone Alliance, CA
Franklin D. Cleckley, atty., prof. W Va Univ
Fr. George Clements, Chicago
Ken Cloke, atty., LA
John Coatsworth, prof. U of Chicago
Rev. Charles Cobbs, United Church of Christ
Committee to Support the Revolution in Iran, Detroit
Ed Cooperman, prof. physics, Cal State Univ. Fullerton
David Cortright, exec. dir. SANE
Harvey Cox, prof., Harvard Divinity School
Robert Creeley, poet, Buffalo
Ron Daniels, chairperson, Nat'l Black Political Assembly
Frank Deale, Center for Constitutional Rights, NY
Ronald V. Dellums, U.S. Congressman, Calif.
Mini Jones Diprino, poet at Nuyorican Cafe, NY
Rev. Albert R. Driesbach, Episcopal priest, Atlanta
Bob D. Duren, Black Panther Party, So. Calif. Chapter
John P. Egan, priest, Jersey City, NJ
Eleventh Hour Battalion, Oakland, CA
Gregory Elliott, SEIU Local 556, Hawaii
Curtis Ellis, Contributor, Soho News, NY
Albert Escalante, Chicano Activist, Dayton
Leslie Fiedler, Buffalo
Richard Flacks, prof. U.C. Santa Barbara
James Foreman, D.C.
Rabbi Jeffrey Fousl, Morgan town, W Va
John Fox, Seattle Downtown Neighborhood Alliance
Craig A. Frey, Diablo Canyon Task Force, Los Angeles
Victor Garcia, prof., Antioch College, OH
Jimmy Garratt, Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund, D.C.
Stephen Goldstein, pres. S.F. Air Institute
Victor Goode, dir., Nat'l Conference of Black Lawyers
Carlton B. Goodlett, MD, publisher, Reporter Pubs., S.F.
Norman K. Gottwald, prof. NY Theological Seminary
Dick Gregory
Alan Greenfield, Atlanta Anarchist Alliance
James Groppi, Milwaukee, WI
Clare M. Grossman, poet, HI
Terence Hallinan, atty., S.F.
Bill Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, Chicago
Dr. Nathan Hare, psychologist Bay Area

J. Marinda Harpole, atty., D.C.
David Harris, author, Menlo Park, CA
Paul Harris, atty., S.F.
James Haughton, Fight Back, Harlem
Dr. Will L. Herzfeld, Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Oakland
Abbie Hoffman
Joh Hoffman, exec. dir., Chicago Filmakers
Al Horn, atty., Atlanta
Gloria House, asst. prof. WSU, Detroit
Mary Hurley, Cleveland
Laurie Inagaki, nat'l office, Japanese American Citizens League, S.F.
International Black Student Union, Bronx Comm. College
Iranian Students Association, U of Buffalo
Iranian Students Association, Chicago
Iranian Students Association of Southern California
Iranian Students Assoc.-U.S.
Bro. Joseph A. Izzo, CFX campus minister, Catholic Univ. of America, D.C.
Abdeen Jabara, atty., Detroit
Lenore Peters Job, Bay Area
Odell Johnson, prof., Malcolm X College, Chicago
Carl A. Jones, owner of Arabica Coffeehouse, Cleveland
Donald Jones, prof., Antioch School of Law, D.C.
Matt Jones, revolutionary Black musician
Fr. Carl Kabat
Stanley E. Kain, exec. dir., Hawaii Council of Churches
Hekima A. Kanyama, one of the RMA 11
Sanford Katz, atty., NY
Maurice Kaufman, prof., Malcolm X College, Chicago
James Kelsaw, prof., Univ. of Houston
Winston Kendall, atty., Boston
Flo Kennedy, Black Women United for Political Action, NY
Lawrence Kannon, Lawyer for Pontiac Brothers, Chicago
Mel King, state legislator, Mass
Arthur Kinoy, atty., prof., Rutgers University
C. Clark Kissinger, former nat'l sec. SDS, D.C.
Yuri Kochiyama, NY
Rev. Charles Koon, United Front of Cairo, Cairo, IL
William Kuntzler, atty., Center for Constitutional Rights, NY
L.A. Feminist Women's Health Center
George Laine, former pres. L.A. Newspaper Guild
Lamont Laird, Shawnee Indian, LA
Mulaki Lakem, Black Studies Portland State Univ
Charles R. Lawrence, III, prof. U of S.F. School of Law
Betty Lee, Proudi Magazine, St. Louis
Mike Lee, pres. So Calif. Chapter, Nat'l Lawyers Guild
Gerald Leicourt, atty., NY
Sydney Lens, Chicago

Lillian Lifflander, activist, NY
Karen Lindsey, writer, Women Opposed to Registration and the Draft, Boston
Richard Lipsitz, atty., Buffalo
Felipe Lizama, Chilean poet in exile, S.F.
Paul Louis, steering board, Nat'l Asian Presbyterian Coun., L.A.
Conrad Lynn, atty., NY
Mako, actor, LA
Manning Marable, African Studies, Cornell U., NY
Muntu Matsimela, chair, Nat'l Black Human Rights Coal., NY
John Matles, 4th District Alderperson, Madison, WI
Dr. Shekiba Mbumba, hon. chairperson, The Black Woman Today, LA
John McBurney, Suburban Lawn Musical Group, L.A.
James McCrory, McCrory's Restaurant, Dayton
Dave McQueen, News Script Dispatch Service, S.F.
Fr. Richard McSorley, S.J., Center for Peace Studies, Georgetown Univ., D.C.
Stewart Meacham, Hawaii
Charles Mecanis, Seattle Religious Peace Action Coal.
Mexican American Bar Assoc., Board of Trustees
Lewis Meyers, Jr., NCBL, lawyer for Pontiac Bros., Chicago
Rev. Isaac J. Miller, Canterbury Center for Spiritual Life, Atlanta Univ. Center
Moody Park J, Houston
Laurence Moore, publisher, Ramparts Press, Palo Alto
Jeff Mori, dir. of Japanese Community Youth Council, S.F.
Mountain State Bar Assoc., Inc., W Va
Curtis Hayes Muhammed, former SNCC member
National Lawyers Guild, Ann Arbor Chapter, Buffalo Chapter, Columbus Chapter, Detroit Chapter, Houston Chapter
National Org. of Iraqi Kurdistan Students in the U.S.
New Indicator Collective, student org., U.C. San Diego
Carl Nichols, African American Workers and Tenants Committee, NY
Nineteen Bahman Student Organization in the U.S., Wash. Ball (Supporters of Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas)
Pierre Noyes, Stanford Linear Acceleration Center, CA
Karen Nussbaum, Cleveland
Bertell Olfman, N.Y.U. Dept. of Politics
Akinshiju China Ols, Marion Political Collective, NY
Cathal O'Feghal O'Maololain, N Feanna Eireann Org., S.F.
Org. of Arab Students, Alameda College, Alameda, CA
Painter Band, punk rock band, Chicago
Grace Paley, NY
Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

Peace and Freedom Party, Alameda County
Matthew Piers, NLG Nat'l Committee on Government Repression and Police Crimes, Chicago
Charles & Evelyn Piersol, Rochester, NY
Miguel Pinero, editor, Nuyorican Poetry
Luis Prado, nat'l exec. comm., Puerto Rican Solidarity Comm., AFSC, St. Louis, MO
John & Betty Radamakers, AFSC, St. Louis, MO
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Tom Reed, Jonah House, Balto
Richard Reinhardt, atty., business school teacher, Seattle
John Reinstein, atty., Boston
Republic of New Africa, Detroit chapter
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Michael P. Richmond, chmn. Ad Hoc Comm. in Support of Revolution in El Salvador, Columbus, OH
Rickeye, ex Panther, charter member of Nat'l Comm. to Combat Fascism, Cleveland
Ivy Thomas Riley, atty., board of dir., NCBL
Margie Robertson, civil liberties activist, Cincinnati
Richard Rosen, atty., Chapel Hill, NC
Rich Rubenstein, prof., Antioch School of Law, D.C.
Bobby Rush, former Black Panther, Chicago
Safe Energy Coalition, WSU chapter, Detroit
Rev. Dr. Roy I. Sano, assoc. prof., Pacific and Asian American Ministry, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley
Steve Sanora, L.A. regional of La Raza, Nat'l Legal Alliance
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Laurence H. Shoup, auth., S.F.
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Marty and Elizabeth Sostre, NY
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Max D. Stern, atty., Boston
Robert Stoddard, musician, Local 47, L.A.
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Bill Strickland, U of Mass, Amherst
Student Government Assoc., Medgar Evers College, NY
Bill Sutherland, Pan African Comm. for Peace and Prosperity, Philadelphia
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Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), AAPP
Oba Tchaka, S.F.
TUFF (Those United to Fight Fascism), Columbus, OH
Turkish Students Assoc. of South Calif.
UN 2, Steve Yip, Glenn Gap
The Undertakers, LA
Union of Iranian Students (Supporters of Peykari), D.C.
United Feminists Against the Right, Portland
Union of Tigreans in North America
Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AV), Calif. chapter
Yori Wada, exec. dir., Buchanan YMCA, S.F.
Justin Vitiello, asst. prof., Temple Univ., Philadelphia
Dave Wald, Peace & Freedom Party Cand. for U.S. Senate 1980
George Wald, prof. emeritus, Harvard Univ., Nobel Laureate
Ruth G. Waddy, artist, editor, Black Artists on Art, L.A.
J. Lowell Ware, publisher of Atlanta Voice
Robert Watson, Black Studies Instructor, Wash. U., St. Louis
Edwin B. Weinberger, writer, LA
Trudy Herod, civil liberties activist, W Va
Haskell Wexler, cameraman, LA
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John Womack, Jr., prof., Harvard University
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Yippies, NY chapter
Bob Zellner, former SNCC member, NY
Howard Zinn, prof., Boston U.
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60 residents of Pico Aliso housing projects, East L.A.
125 residents of Watts, LA
101 workers at Ford Rouge plant, Detroit
104 garment workers, NY
21 ex-Black Panthers, CA
27 farmworkers, Salinas, CA
51 Muni bus drivers, S.F.
7 prisoners at Walla Walla Prison segregation unit, WA
86 residents of Bowen Homes project, Atlanta
300 residents of East Oakland
143 Iranian students in the U.S.
136 residents of Harlem
160 Haitians in NY
80 Salvadoranos, LA
*Organizations listed for identification purposes only

Send contributions for Committee/legal expenses to: National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station Washington, D.C. 20009

March 10, 1981. The Washington Post

Additional signatures to the Washington Post ad:

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Post Censors Stung by Mao Defendants' Ad

On Tuesday morning, March 10, well over 600,000 people opened up the front section of the *Washington Post* to find a half-page ad denouncing the government railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, an ad signed by thousands, representing the sentiments of many more times that number. The broad spectrum of forces throughout society who signed this ad was a powerful statement in itself and signified the broad public opinion which has been aroused against the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants—an increasingly difficult political climate for the ruling class to continue this railroad. Whereas the imperialists have attempted to shut this case away in a dark corner and ram it through, the appearance of this ad put a spotlight on the government's outrageous attack on revolutionary leadership, right as the case enters the Supreme Court.

While rejecting the ad outright would have played their hand too openly, the *Washington Post* resorted to bickering over words and phrases, attempting to gut the ad of political exposure which was offensive to bourgeois "sensibilities" in high places. Before accepting the ad, the *Post* demanded that it be reviewed by its Advertisement Acceptance Board. After receiving the ad, the manager of political advertisement called back and stated that they objected to

three sections. The *Washington Post*, which has frequently and without hesitation run full-page ads packed with outrageous lies from the sister of the former Shah of Iran and the fascist government of South Korea, suddenly demanded "proof" of statements in the Committee ad.

Where the original ad stated, "Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act," the *Post* demanded that the wording be changed to "no specifically identifiable criminal act." When pressed for the reason behind the change, the *Post* spokesman fumbled around for a while and finally feebly pointed to Charge No. 23 in the grand jury indictment. Charge No. 23 is the one that charges all the defendants with assaulting, resisting, opposing, impeding and interfering with an unidentified member of the police force by "hitting him in the back." The *Post* spokesman stated that some people just might see this charge as "a specific criminal act."

In the final paragraph of the ad, the *Post* found the phrase "While Klansmen and Nazis stand acquitted of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers guilty by their own admission are set free..." particularly objectionable and too ex-

posing. Despite the well known and documented proof of the Klan and Nazi murders in Greensboro, the *Post* piously demanded that the wording be changed so as to reflect that these scum were acquitted, not of murder, but of "charges of murder." And despite the fact that they were handed xeroxed articles from the *Post* itself quoting half a dozen Miami pigs detailing how they brutally murdered Arthur MacDuffie, the *Post* insisted that the police were only "involved by their own admission in killing." After all, all of these "fine citizens" were found innocent in a court of law. And interestingly enough, while the *Post* strenuously objected to what they saw as a "distortion of fact" around these events, they found no reason at all to object to the mention of U.S. war preparations contained in the very same paragraph.

In their final objection, the *Post* refused to believe that the term "prosecutorial vindictiveness" was in fact a genuine legal term and not Committee "rhetoric." After all, reasoned the *Post* in demanding proof of the authenticity of the term, "prosecutorial vindictiveness" actually implies that the courts do something other than dispense justice. But more importantly, in this part of their objection, the ruling class actually revealed just how afraid they

are of mass exposure. In the last sentence of the fourth section of the facts in the case, the original ad consciously linked the action of the masses in opposition to the railroad with the court's original dropping of the charges. And the *Post* consciously set to break this link, by changing the wording to present the opposition and the dropping of charges as two totally separate and unrelated events. Of course the *Post* spokesmen tried to cover themselves by saying, "It's only a matter of good English." Does language have no class character? But nonetheless, the ruling class showed its fear of even further exposure; as the *Post* spokesman kept insisting, "We're not trying to censor you," and at one point in the struggle even demanded to know why the Committee representatives were taking notes.

But perhaps most revealing, and indicative of the nature of the government's attack, is the *Post* spokesman's final statement in reference to the required changes. "This is out of my hands." This bit of "good English" needs no translation—its meaning has been made abundantly clear by every step the government has taken in this railroad to date. □

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Paul Zarembka, professor, U. of Buffalo*; Milton Zelermyer, law student, West Va.; Zephyr, graffiti writer, New York; John Zirinsky, attorney, New York.

15 students, U. of North Carolina; 11 law students, U. of San Francisco; 12 women from Hawaii Chiang Ching Brigade; 43 people attending National Antidraft Conference*, Detroit; 11 people who attended the Plowshares 8* trial; 15 people who attended conference of Federation of Ohio River Cooperatives*; 15 members of El Salvador Solidarity Committee*, Dayton; 11 lawyers in Public Defenders office, Contra Costa County, CA; 4 supporters of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania*, Washington, D.C.; 15 people at the Conference on the Relevance of Non-Violence in the '80s*, Washington, D.C.; 11 participants in Left Write Conference*, San Francisco; 12 employees, San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation*; 4 East Oakland store owners; 25 Arab students, San Francisco Bay Area; 13 students, U. of Oregon*, Eugene; 19 students, U. of Mass., Boston; 51 students, Portland State U., mostly from the Middle East; 39 students, U. of Oregon*; 23 students, Howard U., Washington, D.C.; 2 alleged yellow ribbon burners, U. of Oregon*; Anti-WW III defendants facing charges, Cleveland; Mother of Pontiac brother, Los Angeles; A Militant in El Frente Sandinista, somewhere in the U.S.; El Salvadoran revolutionary (Internationalist & guerrilla in El Salvador and Nicaragua); Activist in FSLN & Partido Socialista, Nicaragua; Political exile from Mexico; 50 residents, Eastside San Jose Housing Project; 24 residents, Vernon, CA; 43 residents, Glenville (scene of shootout with Ahmed Evans), Cleveland; 40 residents, Parkside Housing Project, Dayton; 28 people, Lincoln Heights, OH; 31 people, Edgewood Courts Housing Project, Dayton; 27 youth, Kuhio Park Terrace, Hawaii; 30 residents, Western Addition, Hunters Point, San Francisco; 33 Latinos, Washington, D.C.; 35 foreign-born workers, downtown Los Angeles; 30 GM* autoworkers, Fremont, CA; 7 employees, Zacky's Meat Packing Plant*, Los Angeles.

* Organization or institution listed for identification purposes only.

Merchants of Death Ponder Nuclear "Fratricide"

Whenever the U.S. imperialists talk about their nuclear bombs, their strategic nuclear weapons, or even their so-called tactical nuclear weapons, they are quick to point out that these weapons are supposed to be "deterrents" for a nuclear war. Supposedly their nuclear arms build-up is for the cause of "world peace". However, in their publications meant for themselves they devote ream upon ream of paper to cold calculations from every conceivable angle on just how effective their nukes will be when used to slaughter tens of millions. Take for example a 188-page study by the Rand Corporation think-tank (in conjunction with funding from the Ford Foundation) entitled: "Uncertainty in ICBM Survival," that was made public in October 1979. This is just one study among many.

In case anyone is unfamiliar with the language or the abbreviations that the nuke-heads use, ICBM is short for Intercontinental Ballistic Missile; you know, the ones that they plan on hurling across the oceans in the course of a nuclear war. The study attempts to look into the survivability of ICBM's in the course of an intercontinental nuclear

exchange (read: how many warheads will reach target and explode). And while the language of the study is couched in the terms of a Soviet first-strike, the findings are, and are meant to be, applicable for a U.S. attack. In fact, more recently, there have been growing voices in the ruling class rhetorically asking: "why not first-strike capability for the U.S.?" And this ICBM study is a fine example of what they are talking about; how, within their laboratories and at their desks, they plot their graphs and calculate (in the most dispassionate and scientific manner of course) the mass incineration of millions.

The study demonstrates that they have charted and recharted such things as the flight trajectories of nuclear warheads and the relationship of their arrival time on target to the rotations of the earth—computing, for example, that three warheads fired from the same booster would land no more than 1,000-2,000 feet apart if they were timed properly. They have graphed and regraphed the differences in efficiency between a nuclear warhead exploding on the target (ground burst) or above the target (air burst). And they have

come up with figures detailing the lethal size of explosion debris (10 grams) that may damage trailing ICBMs after the initial nuke hits.

The table of contents of this report is a veritable list of how they plan and calculate the outcome of an ICBM exchange. Besides the subjects referred to above, there are chapters devoted to: "Single Shot Kill Probability" or SSPK; or if you use a multiple warhead, just "Kill Probability" or PK; or how about the chapters that are devoted to such topics as: yield (or the actual megatons in a warhead), height of burst related to accuracy, weapon radius, hardness of target, overpressure pulse duration, damage sigma, CEP, and systematic bias—all factors that must be taken into account when dealing with Single Shot Kill Probability and the survivability of their precious nukes. And while the bulk of this study was written for the scientists and military experts the point is unmistakable—all this laboratory and "paper" research is for very practicable and concrete reasons—to be in the best position for launching these nukes and winning!

But wait. What's this? Along

towards the bottom of the table of contents there is a chapter headlined "Fratricide". According to any dictionary definition fratricide means the act of killing or murdering one's brother. Upon finding such a chapter in this manual for mass murder one instinctively pauses and wonders: could it be that these merchants of death and destruction still have the slightest remnants of conscience? Could it be that the imperialists, having guilt pangs, have devoted a whole chapter to "moral questions" raised by the mass killing of one's "fellow man"?

Come on, get serious—we're talking about the imperialists here. In fact this ICBM report contains a far different definition of fratricide. By 'fratricide' they mean the destruction of one of their own warheads by debris or nuclear effects coming from a warhead they had previously dropped in the same area. Get it? Fratricide to them means ICBMs killing *brother* ICBMs! There is only one moral question involved here—the survivability of their nukes in a nuclear attack somewhere! So, no surprises here after all. □

Poland: The House Is Not "In Order"

Continued from page 8

Polish people is, to say the least, highly questionable, nevertheless the 15 Polish divisions are being relied on by the Soviets as a key part of their contingency planning for conflict with NATO. As the report remarks: "Soviet leaders have not forgotten that in the wake of the 1968 invasion, the Czechoslovak Army, considered previously the most reliable in the Warsaw Pact, nearly disintegrated as a result of a mass exodus from the officer corps." All these are some of the reasons why the U.S. rulers could certainly live with a Soviet invasion, if necessary, in spite of the immediate, short-term damage they would suffer to the political headway they have been making in the current situation.

The bottom line for the Soviets, however, and the main issue the question of invasion hinges on, is the

demonstrated ability of their Polish revisionist allies to continue to rule. As the Rand study puts it: "The fundamental problem for the USSR is not the existence of independent trade unions, the easing of censorship, or any other reform measures. The issue for Moscow is whether or not the Polish Communist leadership remains in control of events." Whatever the price the Soviets may have to pay, as the Rand report concludes: "...there should be no illusions: Intervene they will if they feel Poland is slipping out of their grasp. For control of Poland is the key to Soviet control of eastern Europe, which remains the primary Soviet foreign policy. The Soviets dilemma is that they may be compelled to intervene in Poland to maintain their empire, yet intervention can only exacerbate their immediate problems at home and

abroad with little prospect of long term solutions. Such are the usual dilemmas of empires in decline." While we should remind readers that this last point is a reference to the Soviet imperialist network (a point on which these tank thinkers are prone to dwell, despite abundant material closer to home), we should also note that like the U.S., the Soviets are guided by policies which very much project "the prospect of long term solutions," in other words, a redivision of the world through war.

Now the prospect of Soviet intervention has reared its head once again as Soviet leaders suddenly announced that large-scale Warsaw Pact maneuvers will be held in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland in the second half of March. Last week as thousands of Polish troops moved out of their barracks for destinations unknown, one western official pointed out: "...one role you can ascribe to military maneuvers is to convey an implicit warning to the Polish people. Another is to see how the Polish troops behave—whether they have been affected by the political situation. A third

is to show the West not to tamper with the bloc..." A fourth reason, as the U.S. rulers know full well, could be to actually carry out the invasion itself under the guise of "joint Warsaw Pact maneuvers."

The timing of the Soviet announcement on March 10, not coincidentally, corresponded to signs that the situation is once again escalating out of the control of the Polish rulers and Solidarity leaders. Walesa has continued to oppose "hotheads who would like to change the moderate line of Solidarity," and national Solidarity leaders even issued a communique calling on workers in Lodz and Radom (another city where turmoil has been brewing) not to carry out their strike threats, but to no avail. The following day the Lodz workers openly defied them as hundreds of thousands walked out of some 900 enterprises, virtually shutting the city down and threatening a full-scale general strike if their demands were not met by March 16—a portent that, far from settling down, the situation is rapidly sharpening up again in Poland. □

Break the Chains!

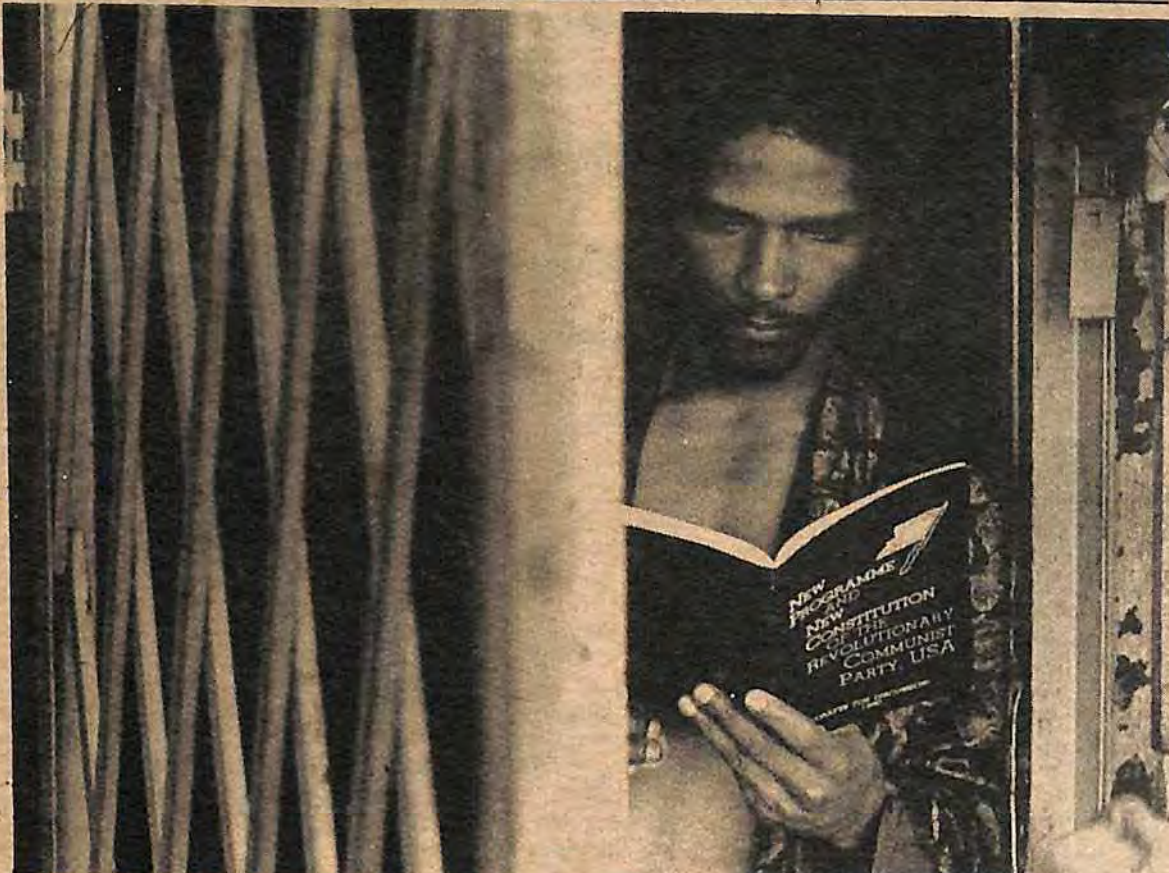
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LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA



"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the

Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

More on Skilled Workers

To the RW:

I am writing to criticize the letter which appeared in RW 93 on the role of skilled workers. To get to the point, the writer is metaphysical in his position on skilled workers. In my opinion these are the major points of the letter.

(1) Skilled workers receive crumbs from imperialism and their standard of living is tied to the fortunes of imperialism.

(2) The writer says that the interests of skilled workers are seen by them to be linked to their social position over unskilled workers. The writer refers to "Journeyman's card" privilege, buy Amerikan ideology and the hard hats of the Nixon years.

(3) That very few skilled workers can be won over and the best that can be hoped for is for these workers to take a neutral stand in the revolution.

Even though these points can be refuted one by one I am going to approach them from a philosophical and therefore more broad perspective.

The main problem with this view is that it lacks a grasp of dialectics. It voices a position that I have struggled against in myself. That is: it sees the revolutionary struggle as a straight line where the workers will progressively get more and more revolutionary in direct proportion to the weakness of the bourgeoisie until a tremendous battle decides victory for one side or the other.

This is a metaphysical view of revolution because it denies that there are qualitative leaps in the revolutionary struggle.

Fundamentally the writer is extrapolating the quantitative developments visible on the surface. But beneath the surface things are not so clear cut—there are tremendous cross currents and struggles and contradictions are becoming evident and disappearing all the time.

Revolution is in fact the surfacing of these struggles because their resolution is the first order of existence.

In "A Critique of Soviet Economics" Mao laid out the Marxist view of the relationship between quantitative and qualitative change. "Quantitative and qualitative change are a unity of opposites. Within the quantitative changes there are partial qualitative changes. One cannot say that there are no qualitative changes within quantitative changes. And within qualitative changes there are quantitative changes. One cannot say that there are no quantitative changes within qualitative change. . . . the final qualitative change cannot come about unless there are partial qualitative changes and considerable quantitative change."

What Mao is saying is that the world is changing every day and that the relationship between classes are always changing. The hard hat of the '60s is gone forever and the bourgeoisie knows it. That is why the tactics of the bourgeoisie have changed to accommodate the new situation. The bourgeoisie is clearly decided on World War III as the only solution to their economic crisis. They are going to pull out all the stops to crush resistance from the masses of people. But also the situation has changed among the proletariat. As Bob Avakian clearly laid out in "Coming From Behind. . . ." there are "roads to the proletariat" that have been forged out of the experiences of the last decade. Vietnam vets, women, members of oppressed nationalities, students and others have entered the work force, including the industrial proletariat and among the skilled workers.

My point is that qualitatively the 1980s are different from the '60s and this includes how people like skilled workers relate consciously to the objective situation.

Unsafe conditions, unemployment and increasing debt burdens are all signs of the collapse of imperialism and are evident to skilled workers. Look at the death of 50 construction workers on a nuclear power plant because of the criminal neglect of the company or the drying up of jobs in the building trades in the most decayed cities like New York and Chicago while some government commission suggests that those workers move to the sun belt. We must be dialectical, there is no brick wall between qualitative and quantitative change as the letter writer suggests and there is no brick wall between the skilled and unskilled workers.

The writer puts emphasis on the difficulty of winning over skilled workers while saying that only a few individuals will come over. This is not dialectics because it is based on empiricism. The writer is making his analysis based on how things seem and by those criteria one might as well write off other strata such as the petty bourgeoisie because they do not seem to be revolutionary. This

view totally overlooks the leading role of the proletariat and the role of Marxism—to illuminate the path away from the decrepit parasitism of the capitalist system.

The Draft Programme sums up this struggle correctly on page 36. "All this, again, will not proceed in a straight line. As more and more people do awaken to political life and are propelled into struggle, not only will there be different class forces involved but among the working class itself, as well as among its present and potential allies, there will be advanced, intermediate and backward. Opposing class outlooks will contend, within mass struggles, organizations and even individuals. Through all this, the role of the class-conscious proletariat under the leadership of the party and together with the work of the party itself will be of crucial importance."

The Draft Programme is correct—unite all revolutionary forces under the leadership of the proletariat—the road is tortuous but the future is bright.

P.D.

**New Programme and New
Constitution of the Revolutionary
Communist Party, USA (Drafts for
Discussion).**

A Call to Battle, A Challenge to Dare



In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,
Seize the Hour."**

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El Salvador

Continued from page 5

even for seasoned imperialist make-up men. Behind the scenes they are utilizing the efforts of some of their European allies led by West Germany's social-democratic leader, Willy Brandt, to set up some kind of negotiations with opposition leaders such as Guillermo Ungo, the leading Salvadoran social-democrat in the FDR. The objective of the U.S. in this is to try to create splits within the FDR and win over forces such as Ungo (a former U.S. lackey). So far this has not gone too well and is not likely to. But given the conciliatory nature of forces like Ungo, such a deal is not impossible.

The past week has seen two major attempts to pretty up the Duarte regime. The first involved a supposed "right-wing coup" attempt by a former Salvadoran officer and U.S. protege named Roberto d'Aubuisson. D'Aubuisson called a well attended press conference to announce that the U.S. would support him if he took over the junta and kicked out the non-uniformed fascists like Duarte. When the U.S., after some initial hesitation, rejected his offer and reiterated its support for the "little Napoleon," some of d'Aubuisson's supporters fired off a few shots into the U.S. embassy compound. While there are certainly con-

traditions among the Salvadoran oligarchy, and they are in fact heightening as their grip over the situation gets more and more tenuous, the main effect of this highly publicized event was to offer a further opportunity for some "reformist" praise of Duarte from the U.S.

This little dilemma was immediately followed by another U.S. media blitz, featuring the junta's president explaining his new proposal for "free elections" in El Salvador. This included: an impartial electoral commission headed up by his private secretary, a request for "inspection" teams from every country in the Organization of American States (a good opportunity for such bastions of U.S.-supported freedom as Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, etc. to show how well their "closer ties" with the U.S. are working), and a call for all parties to participate *after* they "drop their arms." Of course, Duarte said with a slight smile, he could not guarantee the personal safety of any potential participants.

These cosmetic efforts are far from impressive to say the least and will have little effect on the situation in El Salvador. Now with an economy totally in a shambles and virtually all popular support for the junta gone, with the Soviets increasing their maneuvering among the opposition, and with some guerrilla forces battering the junta's troops, the U.S. is desperately trying to "draw the line" before it is too late. It hopes to wipe out the guerrillas and

other opposition, totally "subdue" the population, and lay down the U.S. law to the entire region.

But this is just not in the cards for U.S. imperialism. The region is too volatile, the masses are determined, and the days when the U.S. could pull off a "quick strike" move and get out of the country are over. These are not "normal times" for imperialism, and much more is in store in Central America and worldwide. And while the situation will not develop in a straight line way, increasingly things are getting out of control for both superpowers on a world scale.

The Salvadoran masses are intensifying the U.S. imperialists' troubles. As we go to press, seven different areas of the country are reporting heavy fighting between guerrillas and junta forces, and major attacks have recently been launched in Arcatao and San Lorenzo, as some guerrilla-controlled zones appear to be expanding. The articles by Alex Drehsler, referred to earlier, have objectively presented a picture of revolutionary dedication and courage in the face of a massive U.S.-backed assault, despite attempts by the media to use this portrayal to build support for their "war against terrorism" in Central America. A particularly sharp example of this was the comment of a guerrilla who told how they pick up mortar fragments left over from Salvadoran army attacks to build new bombs. He said, "Every time they attack, we get more material. We want to thank the

Salvadoran government for giving us so much." Drehsler wrote that a number of the guerrillas told him they were committed to internationalism, having previously fought against Somoza in Nicaragua, and planning to share the lessons of their victory with the masses of Guatemala, Honduras and eventually Mexico in a continuous drive to bring down U.S. imperialism.

All this underscores the point that the masses of Salvadoran people burn with a fierce determination to rid themselves of imperialist domination and have continually made great sacrifices in pursuit of that goal. In fact, their struggle stands in stark contrast to the actions and the plans of the imperialists of both the U.S. and the Soviet bloc as well as their frontmen within and outside of El Salvador. And their determination stands as a particularly sharp refutation of the compromising line that has been pushed by both the more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces and the more pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban class forces who lead the FDR and the FMLN, all of whom have repeatedly offered to "negotiate" with the U.S. even while the U.S. stepped up its terror against the masses. The heroic struggle of the Salvadoran masses taking place in this historic period is a force that both superpowers and their agents have to reckon with. □

Bob Avakian: On the Philosophical Basis of Proletarian Internationalism

Continued from page 3

the victory of the world revolution, etc. It is the abolition of exploitation, of classes, and the emancipation of mankind (from class society) itself that requires this and must be put "front and center." I don't believe this is just being "picky" but actually involves an important problem we have been focusing on: the mistaken tendency to see internationalism as something "extended" from the proletariat (or people) of one country to others. I think the emphasis in what Mao says above should be changed, even reversed in one sense, in the following way: It should have been stressed to the proletariat and masses in China that, while socialism could and must be built in China (in the basic sense of establishing a socialist economic base) and the dictatorship of the proletariat must be defended and strengthened (along with carrying out further transformations in the superstructure overall as well as the economic base) by continuing the revolution, still this was only a subordinate part of the world proletarian revolution, for which the masses of China as well as every other country must devote their efforts and struggle first and above all; and that (as a secondary, subordinate but not unimportant point) not only did the "final victory of a socialist country" require the victory of the world proletarian revolution, but that *in the long run* (no one can put an exact time frame on this) socialism in particular countries was bound to be reversed unless further advances were made in the world proletarian revolution. Or, as it has been put, socialism in one country is quite correct, and necessary, as a *tactical* orientation (especially in the face of the opposition not

only of the bourgeoisie in direct form but of Trotskyites and others) but *not* as a *long-term strategic orientation*. This, I think, has important bearing on the question of what the Chinese revolutionaries could have done differently...

.....

A question of great importance, especially in relation to the discussion of internal/external: in summing up why the movement of the '60s (in the U.S.) did not "go all the way" we have mentioned the ability of the ruling class to make concessions at home and, increasingly of late, along with that the fact that they had "enough freedom to cut their losses (in Indochina) and get out of the war before graver developments took place for them internationally" (RW No. 83, p. 12). Both of these things have essentially to do with the *international* situation, and both—that is, the turning of both into their opposite—will be of increasing importance in the period ahead; but I think that the second element will be of greater significance, not only if world war does break out, but even in the developments before that might occur. Here, in other words, the question—and importance—of their being "stretched to the limit" and our ability to lead the masses to seize this opportunity; and here too another concrete demonstration of the *fundamental importance* and the need for the correct understanding of proletarian internationalism, of the international struggle and revolution, as the foundation and starting point for the workers and their vanguard in all countries. □

Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-around political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken to by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement. ..."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!

INS SENDS SALVADORANS TO THEIR DEATH

"No political refugees here," cries the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as it ships some 400 Salvadoran "illegal aliens" back to El Salvador each month, often to be grabbed up by the junta's agents as soon as they step off the plane. "I wouldn't knowingly send anyone to their death," coos an INS "judge" as he and his cohorts routinely deny Salvadoran requests for political asylum in the U.S. "These are not political deportations," proclaimed the Carter Administration just before it left office and issued a final order denying any Salvadoran what is called "extended voluntary departure status." You see, according to the U.S. rulers, political refugees are defined as victims of political violence or oppression if they are from countries like Cuba, Ethiopia, etc., where pro-Soviet governments murder and oppress the people. According to the same logic, there can be no political refugees from countries like El Salvador where pro-U.S. governments murder and oppress the people.

All this is nothing new for the INS.

Since its inception in 1924, an important function of the INS has been that of a political police. The Immigration & Nationality Act of 1924, which established the INS, incorporated the post-World War I Alien & Sedition Laws. At that time, it excluded (in addition to all Asians and Africans) "anarchists, internationalists, and revolutionary communists," and required that every immigrant produce written testimony from police in their native country to their "moral character." Coming off World War 2, the law was rewritten in the Immigration & Nationality Act of 1952 in which the bourgeoisie's mortal terror of revolutionary immigrants was formulated in a 10-page section on "subversives" which has remained intact through rewrites of the Act in 1965 and 1976. The INS used these sections to compile a list of "subversives, anarchists, and terrorists" from Latin America and the Caribbean which contained 221,335 names at the end of 1976 and is undoubtedly substantially larger now. It also uses a list of 668 domestic and foreign "subversive organizations"

from the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

This is all necessary to ensure that the right kind of immigrants enter the U.S.—those who kiss the ground of "freedom" rather than burn the flag of imperialism. Unfortunately, however, this kind of immigrant is becoming increasingly difficult to find. Even the Cubans who came over on the "freedom flotilla" turned out to be something less than the grateful slaves U.S. imperialism had hoped for. And to be sure, the Salvadorans pose a far greater threat—the vast majority coming to the U.S. with first-hand hatred for U.S. imperialism, and many becoming politically active immediately on their arrival, taking up the revolutionary struggle in the U.S. and building support for revolution in El Salvador.

Last December a U.S. consular official in El Salvador admitted that 50% of those who applied for exit visas stated that they would die if they stayed in El Salvador, and another 25% had already had relatives killed. Yet according to the INS, of 1200 people returned

to El Salvador in the last three months of 1980, only seven were "actually deported" while the rest all signed "requests for voluntary departure"! Voluntarily return to El Salvador? After having paid \$1,000 on the average just to get out and many being on the junta's death lists? It turns out that those who refuse to sign this "voluntary request" and demand deportation hearings stand a 95% chance of being deported anyway. While being processed they are held for \$3,000-\$5,000 bail, the highest rate going for any nationality, in the El Centro, Calif. "processing center" (read: concentration camp), often waiting months for a hearing, allowed no communication with their families and subjected to continual threats and beatings, etc. No wonder that some of these immigrants decide they might as well take their chances with U.S. imperialism in El Salvador rather than U.S. imperialism à la the INS.

Pontiac

Continued from page 4

One of the biggest obstacles the state faces in carrying out this railroad is the stand of the Pontiac Brothers themselves. To bolster its case, the state brought months of pressure on them to cop a plea or turn state's witness. They were threatened, beaten and harassed, but of the 17 indicted for murder only one has agreed to cooperate with the state. Angelo Robinson will reportedly have his charges reduced to aggravated battery in exchange for his testimony against some of the other defendants. The hope of getting some of the brothers to turn state's witness is probably the reason so many were indicted in the first place. But the Pontiac 16 have refused to cut a deal, make lying statements or throw themselves on the mercy of the state. The death penalty has been brandished in front of their faces to no avail.

All 16 Pontiac Brothers have signed the statement in support of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants

printed in the *Washington Post*. Six of the Pontiac Brothers have identified themselves as political prisoners. Last summer they declared themselves "...citizens of the Republic of New Afrika, the nation (of Black people in America) held captive by the U.S." They filed a motion to dismiss charges on the grounds that, as New Afrikans and "civilian victims of the state's attempt to suppress liberation struggle in the prison," they are prisoners of war and therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of the U.S. courts. All of the Pontiac 16 have displayed a proud spirit and the desire to fight this railroad.

As the trial continues, the state's shabby "case" grows more exposed. Increasingly broader forces are rallying against this outrageous frameup and around the inspirational stand of the Pontiac Brothers themselves. Important demonstrations will be held on March 16 in Chicago and three other cities demanding: "Smash the Frame-up. Free the Pontiac Brothers." □

Dangerous Women

Continued from page 11

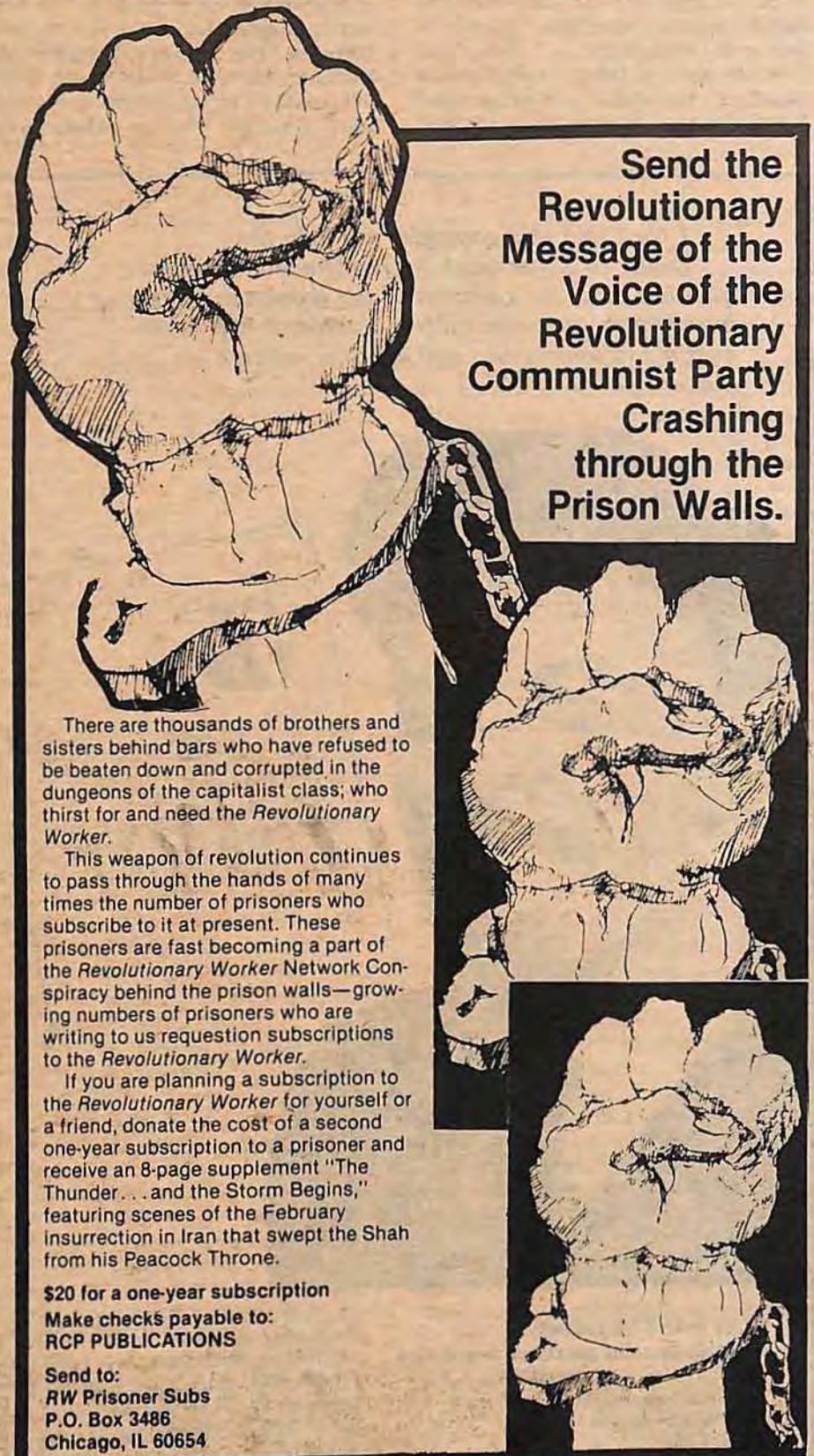
apartment complex where a lot of GIs live, a woman agitator began to speak. Suddenly a backward guy came out, grabbed the *Revolutionary Worker* out of her hand and pushed her. She whacked him upside the head with her bullhorn, and the women came flying out of the apartment building to defend her. One stepped between the agitator and the man saying, "Get the hell out of here, you don't belong here. This area is free territory and we want to hear what she has to say." The man slunk away. A few minutes later, a cop pulled up saying that there was a disturbance complaint. One of the women called the agitator over to her apartment and hid her until the cop left.

In the neighborhoods and among the youth, there has been an upsurge of women, stepping into the political arena, and becoming the backbone of *RW* networks. It's mainly young women who are joining the roving rebel bands of youth to go out and sell the *RW*. Definitely there is the impact of Chiang Ching and the revolutionary model she represents. One group of women who sell the *RW* have nicknamed themselves the Chiang Ching Brigade.

What characterizes these women is that they have big questions on their minds. They want to know about Iran, El Salvador; they want to know about

Chiang Ching; they want to know what to do in the face of world war and are being drawn to the revolutionary solution. While they have not mainly concerned themselves with the particular forms of oppression aimed at women, one could say that they are definitely fighters for women. They are refusing to play the traditional roles and are often themselves confronted with contradictions as a result. Some of them still make sure they meet when their husbands are not around. Some of the women want their kids to read *Revolutionary Communist Youth*—"We want the youth to be revolutionary too"—in opposition to the viewpoint the ruling class tries to push on women of looking out for "my family" and the notion that the family can be a safe haven from the class struggle.

The slogan, "Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!" is actually coming to life as the women have taken up the *Revolutionary Worker* as their own. And the meaning of this slogan has been deepened as these women have stepped to the fore, awakening other forces in society, and creating turmoil even in their own families which has awakened some of their husbands to political life. As a result of their powerful example, now some of the youth and a couple of guys want to join the Chiang Ching Brigade. □



Send the Revolutionary Message of the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party Crashing through the Prison Walls.

There are thousands of brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class; who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker*.

This weapon of revolution continues to pass through the hands of many times the number of prisoners who subscribe to it at present. These prisoners are fast becoming a part of the *Revolutionary Worker* Network Conspiracy behind the prison walls—growing numbers of prisoners who are writing to us request subscription to the *Revolutionary Worker*.

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CORRECTION

In last week's issue of the *RW* (No. 95), the article "The Battle of Brokdorf" on p. 9 stated that 3000

demonstrators were arrested. The correct figure was 300.

Philly

Continued from page 7

course, all housing authorities are quick to point to the fact that "We do have programs and housing for poorer families, from rent subsidies to city-sponsored gift housing programs (people are given deeds in exchange for repairing run-down houses). The figures show the pitiful extent of this "aid to poorer families" that these programs amount to: the Philadelphia Housing Authority has a waiting list of 40,000 people, the City Dept. of Relocation has a waiting list of 6,000 people, and the Section 8 Housing Rental Assistance has a list of 7,000 people just waiting.

However, increasingly over the last three years, thousands of people in Philadelphia have reached the point where they can't wait any longer, and in fact, faced with the situation where, according to a federal government survey, over half the city's abandoned houses are "livable", thousands have refused to wait. Over the last few years, more than 3,000 people have become squatters, have seized the abandoned houses in straight-up defiance of the government, all its agencies, their sacred property laws and their terror tactics. Beginning as a small spontaneous action by a few individuals scattered throughout the city, the squatters' movement has become an organized force, with a number of community organizations formed around it and 3,000 settled squatters, with as many as 50 people a day approaching these community groups throughout the city to help in seizing a house.

While many of those involved in the squatters' movement are Blacks and Puerto Ricans, this movement has also

taken root in the lower working class, white neighborhoods like Kensington. While one HUD official characterized the squatters as "poor people being bamboozled, being taken advantage of to prove a point," an interview with one family, a young, white working class family, actually graphically illustrates the conditions faced by most of the squatters.

"We were having problems down in our other neighborhood. We had to move out of the house, it was falling apart, I mean, really falling apart. We didn't know what to do. We just had to leave there, so we went to stay with his sister-in-law in a one-bedroom apartment and we have four kids. When her landlord found out, he threw us out, right on the street, he wouldn't listen to nothing, not even for a week he wouldn't let us stay. We tried telling him that we were just visiting and not living there, but he wouldn't take it. So then I called up my brother, which was the last resource, and they were kind of reluctant to take us, because they've got a lot of kids themselves. But I went there to stay, and it was only two days, and my husband, he was on the street, sleeping in the park... I was calling real estates for days, using my sister-in-law's phone and getting nowhere... So I called a friend and asked her. I called city agencies but they didn't have nothing for four kids and a husband out of work.

"My friend told me to call this community organization and they'd get us a house. Two days later, they brought me here and said, 'Take it, it's yours.' They said, 'Just walk in and take it.' We took it and worked on it. Now we live here and nobody's gonna take it away. My husband's out of work, he can't find anything. He used to do factory work but nobody's hiring any more. Nobody needs a bailing machine operator. He

was on unemployment for two years and every week watched them run their computers and check lists and still come up with nothing. The last place he worked he had to quit, it was slave work. It was a job for three people and he had to do it by himself and only got paid minimum wage. He had to run upstairs, gather up all these found circles of cardboard, millions of them, pick them up and put them in a bail, and then take them downstairs.

"For the past five years we needed someplace to live. We were always getting kicked out of apartments. The rents would go up or the landlord would sell and evict us. We had to keep getting new parlor sets, because we either had to leave them behind or we'd move into a furnished place. Then we had to sell furniture so many times—you know, you can't take too much furniture into a one-room apartment when you've got four kids. If you're not in a money bracket, you can't get nothing, they destroy your life, sometimes slow, sometimes quick, but they destroy your life.

"I called the Philadelphia Housing Authority and they said they didn't have nothing. But god, I used to walk past blocks and blocks of houses that they owned, empty houses all boarded up, and there I was with no place to live. Now we're here and nobody's gonna force us out. They already tried once. They sent a guy out from the real estate in the beginning and he told us to get out. He said that the house was turned over to his company and we had to get out. He thought he could scare us. But our neighbors got into arguments with him and told us not to worry about him, and not to dare move, to stay where we are. The guy never came back... Our neighbors have been great, helping us out, giving us food when we first took the place and giving us their extra furniture. They're the only ones who have given us anything. You know, they're even saying that they're gonna take my food stamps away 'cause my husband lives

with me. You don't get nothing, you've got to take. They say my husband don't want to work, but he does—he's worked ever since he was a kid. But now they won't let him work. No, nobody's gonna get us out of here, not without a big fight. We were so far down I was ready to put my kids away. I did what I had to do, and now we don't have much, but nobody's gonna take it."


HUD and the Philadelphia Housing Authority recently stated that the squatters' movement "is getting out of hand." (One Philadelphia Housing and Community Development official was particularly outraged over the fact that some squatters had the "audacity" to seize houses that had already been sold, and others had seized houses with more than \$50,000 work invested in them.) When the squatters first began, official policy was to evict them as soon as possible. Next they moved into terror tactics, firebombing squatters' homes and organizing armed vigilantes to drive the squatters out. In response, community organizations organized guard patrols and stepped up exposure of the housing situation. As the movement has grown and the government has taken a lot more heat through these exposures, both the federal and local housing authorities have been forced to temporarily back off. One incident involved 300 people who took over the Carter/Mondale election headquarters last year and forced HUD representatives to come to Philly from Washington. HUD eviction notices that had been served on 40 squatters were ripped up in these officials' faces. "We're sort of in limbo," explained an HUD official, "but something's got to be done soon. It's getting too bold. Why, there's even one group that's handing out handwritten leaflets, and claiming that they are good, legal ownership papers."

Today they're stuck; they can't allow all this lawlessness, this violation of the sanctity of private property, but neither can they enjoy the total freedom of enforcing their own laws. □

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V.I. Lenin




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Plowshares 8

Continued from page 1

society."

Indeed, the whole way in which this trial was conducted *did* reveal precisely what lies at the heart of our rulers' "democratic society"—bourgeois dictatorship. Judge Salus refused to allow the defendants to call any of the scientific and professional witnesses who were to testify on the U.S.'s nuclear first-strike plans and the effects of nuclear warfare—dismissing all this as "irrelevant." When two of the defendants, Daniel Berrigan and Elmer Maas, attempted to testify the next day on their own behalf as promised by the judge, they were muzzled from even quoting from the opinions of these same experts on the questions of nuclear arms and international law. At this point, Maas refused to go on with this charade and walked out, followed by Phillip Berrigan, John Schuchart, and Father Carl Kabat. They went to the GE King of Prussia plant where their "crime" had taken place and joined a demonstration of supporters, declaring that "We would just like to illustrate by a different statement that a just trial by this judge is impossible." The next day Judge Salus had them arrested on bench warrants and dragged back into court to hear the kangaroo verdict.

As Judge Salus began to issue his instructions to the jury, he pointedly warned the audience that there was to be complete silence and that no disruptions would be tolerated. He then blatantly proceeded to tell the jurors that they would not be allowed to even consider the defense of "justification" (which the 8 were never allowed to present anyway) saying: "I instruct you as a matter of law that the elements necessary for justification do not exist"—this as each one of the eight defendants stood with their backs to the judge in defiance of this outrageous spectacle. Suddenly, in the front row of the audience, Father Kabat's brother rose and turned his back on the court.

One by one the rest of the audience followed suit. As the judge droned on, two independent journalists who were covering the trial also stood up and turned their backs as the faces of the honorable court officials visibly reddened. The judge's voice began to falter. The jury was sneaking glances towards those who continued to stand and turn their backs. The audience started to hum. Finally, 45 minutes into his statement to the jury, the judge freaked and ordered the courtroom cleared.

The verdict was returned in about 8 hours to an empty courtroom. The fact that the 8 were acquitted of charges of assault and criminal coercion (arising from the claim by a GE manager that John Schuchart threatened him with a hammer) reflected the fact that the attempt to paint them as "violence-prone terrorists" had failed, and more, that this trial was strictly a political one in the first place. The trial itself and the activities surrounding it—support rallies, daily vigils, theater and music in front of the courthouse and GE—became major events as hundreds came from all over the country and as far away as Alaska and Puerto Rico.

It is no coincidence that this trial and verdict have received little publicity in the press. This railroad reflects the desperate weakness of our rulers as they attempt to steer their war ship onto course, and their crucial need to stamp out every kind of opposition to their cold-blooded plans as quietly as possible. But this has not kept the message of the Plowshares 8 from spreading among those being thrown into political motion by world events. Father Kabat declared: "The ordinary people of the whole world just have to understand that this is our world and we have to take charge of it, in whatever way. Whether it's the El Salvadors or whatever... we can all take charge for ourselves and our lives and what happens in the world." And as Phillip Berrigan indicated, there is yet another verdict that has also been passed in the course of this trial: "We see this as part of their war moves and we will resist at every turn." □

UN2 Jailed

Continued from page 1

and Soviet UN representatives with bright red paint. The red flag was raised and the cry of "Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves!", "Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue!" pierced through the diplomatic veil shrouding the super-powers' war moves at the UN.

For this political act of going smack up against the war moves of the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the UN 2 were viciously attacked and hounded by the government. They were charged with felony counts of conspiracy to assault internationally protected persons and convicted of two felony charges under a law written specifically against "international acts of terrorism." This thick irony did not escape anyone as the government and major media attempted to slander the UN 2 as terrorists, while they, the imperialists, coldly plan and calculate how to incinerate millions of people throughout the world in a nuclear bloodbath. The UN 2 were railroaded in a 3-day mockery of a trial, complete with the testimony of U.S. deputy ambassador William van den Heuvel. A sentence of 1 year and 1 day in federal prison, 3 years suspended sentence, and 5 years probation was imposed. Because of the repression heaped on the UN 2, and as testimony to the power of their actions, thousands of people were stirred to step up the battle to free the UN 2.

The legal stage for the Supreme Court's action was set when two appeals of the conviction of the UN 2 were denied by the Appeals Court of New York City. This court had also denied a stay of mandate which would have allowed the UN 2 to remain out of prison on bail while an appeal was filed before the Supreme Court. Glenn Gan was told that his stay of mandate had been rejected because it was received by the New York court too late, though the court was fully aware that this motion was being filed. Steve Yip's lawyer had been notified by mail that his stay had

Statement from Jail by the UN2, March 12, 1981

The battle to free the UN 2 is by no means over. The Supreme Court's refusal to extend the bail pending a formal appeal, or Assistant U.S. Attorney Peter Sudler's foaming-at-the-mouth about "Now is the time to pay the price" actually exposed their ruling class' empty victory and their necessity to set an example to all those who would stand up and expose and oppose the war preparations of U.S. imperialism. It is not accidental that the bourgeoisie tried to hustle us off just at the conclusion of the railroad of the Plowshares 8 and at the time of growing opposition to the imperialist war moves from different political quarters.

The battle cry of "Free the UN 2!", "Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves!" with a vivid picture of red paint and red flags inside the UN Security Council—that den of imperialist intrigue—not only remains vibrant today but has acquired greater and more pronounced significance in

the face of U.S. intervention in El Salvador, the whole hostage crisis, and the sharper and increased contention between the imperialist U.S. and the social-imperialist USSR. In the midst of a rapidly sharpening world situation which is pregnant with tremendous revolutionary possibility, the red banner of internationalism must be raised up in opposition to the raggedy red, white and blue.

The battle to free the UN 2 has not been a question of two individuals, but the struggle to train an increasingly growing section of the American people, most especially the class-conscious workers and oppressed, to mount the political stage, preparing our ranks for the greater upheavals, for what lies ahead in the coming decade. Just as our action was taken in building for revolutionary May Day 1980, we call on all brothers and sisters to continue to mount the political stage for May Day 1981.

been granted, which was followed up by a quick phone call from the court saying that a mistake had been made and the stay was denied.

All this brought the motion for a bail continuation to the Supreme Court, where it is extremely unusual for them to overturn a lower court ruling. At the same time, defense lawyers twice went to court to file motions before Judge Ward in New York City to stop the order to surrender. Ward, playing Pontius Pilate, declared he had no jurisdiction in the matter; the prosecutor's office made it clear that the government was hell bent on getting the UN 2 in jail, saying, "Now is the time to pay the price." And as the Supreme Court decision indicates, some very high-level thinking went on over how to get the

UN 2 behind bars—and how to do it quick.

Actions vs. Jailing

These moves by the imperialists have provoked further opposition. In the few days before the Supreme Court decision was handed down, Glenn Gan attended the trial of the Plowshares 8, where he, too, received tremendous support from people. The Berrigan brothers requested that their original statement which had been written at the time of the trial of the UN 2 be presented to Justice Thurgood Marshall, with many of the forces at the trial pledging to send statements of outrage at the jailing of the UN 2. Other statements have been sent as well.

On Monday, March 9, when the UN 2

were ordered to surrender, a picket line was set up at the steps of the U.S. Courthouse in New York City. A press conference with the UN 2 was joined by Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League. McReynolds stated that while disagreeing with the tactics of the UN action, he condemned the jailing of the UN 2, expressing his opposition to the plans for nuclear war. Throughout the entire world there are political prisoners, he said, and with the jailing of the UN 2, now there are two more.

Just why the ruling class has hounded the UN 2 and moved from the top rungs of their courts to get them behind bars was clear as they spoke to supporters outside the courthouse. Their staunch and unyielding stand has incensed the authorities and further inspired people. Steve Yip spoke to the rapid escalation of events in the world toward world war in the short time since the UN action took place. Pointing to Poland, El Salvador, the resistance to the draft, etc., he exposed the vulnerability of the imperialist powers and the rising tide of opposition to their war plans. He also stripped bare the desperate legal moves by the bourgeoisie in quickly moving to get them behind bars.

Glenn Gan also issued a call for the working class and oppressed people in this country to join with the proletariat internationally in again taking the political stage on May First, 1981.

As the UN 2 were led away by federal marshals inside the courthouse, the room erupted in the singing of the *Internationale*. Clenched fists were raised high in the air as the court clerks and marshals stood in shocked silence. This struggle—both to expose and oppose the imperialist war moves and to free the UN 2—will definitely continue.

The appeal of the conviction of the UN 2 is being filed shortly before the Supreme Court. People are urgently requested to send statements and telegrams to Justice Thurgood Marshall, U.S. Supreme Court, Washington, D.C.

Free the UN 2! Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves! Our Flag is Red, not Red, White and Blue! □



Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

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people nationwide. Who can doubt that they are being encouraged (if not directly organized) by powerful interests? Of course, there has been a flood of crocodile tears from the authorities, from the politicians, and even from the White House. And there's more tears for every new murder. But as many know, each tear is accompanied by concrete measures aimed exactly at more attacks and more repression of Black people in Atlanta. The watchword in the city is terror—official and unofficial terror.

In Atlanta itself, the murders and the cover-up by the authorities have sharply exposed this system to countless numbers. Thousands of people have begun to take matters into their own hands, forming armed self-defense groups, and training others in patrolling the streets. It is common to see people openly packing handguns, carrying loaded shotguns in their cars, and children walking the streets carrying knives and steel pipes. A young Black worker told the *RW*, "Just let me get my hands on the killers. I'd give my life for that and it would be worth it."

The intensity of the situation—as well as the outrageous actions of the authorities—was captured in an incident which occurred on Friday, March 6. The people of one all Black neighborhood captured two white men who were seen trying to coax Black children into their car. The media immediately tried to discredit the Black people. One reporter moaned: "The witnesses were all confused. Their stories of what happened conflicted with one another." There has been a virtual news blackout since shortly after the incident.

In fact, not a single one of these witnesses was the least bit confused. The suspicious car had been seen driving on the street near an elementary school as kids were leaving for home. At least one woman took down the license plate and called to warn the school. Two other women saw the car stop near a group of children; they began yelling to the kids to get away. The car sped off but only to another nearby block. The shouting crowd of Black people caught up with the car again, and this time, two cars of armed Black men began chasing the whites' car, shooting at the tires after the white men refused to stop. Zipping in and out of heavy traffic, sometimes driving on the sidewalk, the Black men finally apprehended the whites. An angry crowd gathered in the street. The police arrived "just in time"—to rescue the whites. One cop instantly began to run out racist slanders at the Black women witnesses. Other cops descended on a 50-year-old Black man. This man was arrested and charged with aggravated assault, carrying a pistol without a license, and discharging a firearm within the city. The pigs then whisked the two whites, the witnesses and their prisoner away from the scene as fast as they could.

Down at the Task Force office, the white men were taken to a separate room and then released in minutes, even though one of them looked like a walking xerox copy of a police composite drawing made of a man seen standing near the body of one of the recently murdered youth. No test samples were taken from their car, even though police have widely admitted that six of the bodies are linked together by identical fibers. No charges were filed on these men; they simply walked out.

The Black prisoner and witnesses were kept for hours of questioning. They were never told the names of the white men and were fed the story that these whites thought they were going to be robbed! The man under arrest was finally released and told to show up in court the following Monday for a hearing to set

his trial date.

The stench surrounding this incident grew even fouler on Monday at the Atlanta Police Headquarters which houses the Municipal Court on the second floor. Only minutes before the trial date was set for the arrested Black man, the two whites who had received such polite treatment from the police three days prior, were seen emerging from a closed meeting with police authorities in the same court. As soon as the two whites reached the hallway, a white cop slid over to them and said, "Hey, I still have your knife. Why don't you meet me tonight... and I'll give it back." (The cop had taken the knife before this fellow had gone through a metal detector, evidently to avoid his embarrassment.) This was the same cop who arrested the Black man now slated for trial! He and some other pigs were later overheard discussing the question of what to do about "Black vigilante groups" roaming the streets of Atlanta.

Needless to say, the courtesy afforded these two whites by the authorities doesn't extend to Black people, as another event in the same courtroom on the same day shows. The mother of a Black youth who had been arrested for violating the citywide dusk to dawn curfew was going into the courtroom. By mistake, she had left a 3-inch blunt-bladed kitchen knife in her purse, a knife she carried for at least some protection when she walks home from her swing shift job. She herself was arrested after going through the metal detector. While the judge bound her over on her child's curfew violation charge, he did not miss the chance to deride her before the packed courtroom audience. "What kind of mother are you?" he sneered. Bang! Down came the gavel—\$105 fine or 30 days, the judge declared, for carrying a concealed weapon.

The authorities are all too aware of the threat represented by the Friday night incident. An all around political and practical offensive has been mounted. Mayor Jackson made a public call for people to lay down their arms. The police force on the streets has been beefed up considerably. And in the midst of all this, the *Atlanta Constitution* began running a 3-part front-page series of articles on "survivalist" training camps being taught in the woods of north Georgia, with pictures galore of police inspectors teaching whites how to shoot. How blatant can this shit get? A bill in the Georgia legislature that was originally sponsored to be aimed at the nearby KKK paramilitary school, is only now picking up steam. This bill would make it illegal for anyone to train another person in weapons use—and it is obvious who the state plans to go after with this new law. An attempt to create sympathy for the police hit Atlanta with a highly publicized "benefit concert" by Sammy Davis, Jr. and Frank Sinatra. In attendance was Atlanta's "who's who." Among other things, this "benefit" featured a massive show by the cops who were out in number. Ticket sales and contributions from various capitalists around the country raised \$200,000 for "police work."

The federal government has been criticized from some quarters for not playing a bigger role in Atlanta, for not sending funds, etc. Not so. Why, Vice President Bush even announced the formation of a federal task force. "President Reagan and I believe that it is essential that federal, state and local officials do everything possible, not only to bring an end to this nightmare of slayings and disappearances, but also to provide the necessary mental health and community services for the children and parents of the area."

Try as Bush will to brand the masses of people as insane for raising hell

News Item

We recently ran across this little item from the Reuters News Service.

Senator Paula Hawkins, (R-Fla.) held a steak and asparagus luncheon Friday for 90 guests to announce plans to fight food stamp fraud.

"I intend to propose that food stamp cheats be given two clear options: either go to work and make restitution for the food stamps fraudulently obtained or face a mandatory jail sentence," she said.

In addition, the first-term senator

proposed mandatory jail terms for grocers who redeem food stamps obtained fraudulently.

Her guests dined on 8-oz. sirloin steaks, out-of-season asparagus, baked potatoes and apple pie. The meal was catered by the Senate Restaurant Service in a private Capitol meeting room for an estimated \$1,800.

A main attraction was a two-foot high strawberry tree, surrounded by mounds of strawberries, grapes and oranges.

against these murders, there is an even more sinister purpose here. A man named Charles Rinkevich was appointed to head this federal task force. He is a former head of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Rinkevich admitted, "We're not going to get involved in the investigation at all." So what is this federal task force going to "get involved in"? For one thing, the feds offered to send \$264,000 to Atlanta to help with the purchase of armed helicopters with night vision (just like the ones that were used against the people in the Miami and Chattanooga rebellions). Funds are also slated for a highly sophisticated communications system to centralize the 39 Metro Police Departments.

The choice of Rinkevich for this post is itself highly revealing because of his experience with the LEAA. This government body was created in 1968 with the purpose of increasing "the power of the police to impose and maintain domestic discipline" as an article in the November, 1980 issue of *Progressive* puts it. The task of LEAA has been to bind together local police forces into a tighter network under federal direction, a requirement summed up by the bourgeoisie at the height of the urban rebellions of the '60s. Federal assistance to local police departments by LEAA (exactly along the lines of that now in Atlanta) jumped from \$1 billion in 1968 to \$24 billion in 1980. Rinkevich's connections and experience with LEAA made him a logical choice for the new post. (A related move: It appears that a voice on behalf of the murdered Atlanta youth has been heard recently in the halls of the U.S. Senate. No less than Senator Strom Thurmond has spoken out. In reality, this racist maniac actually used the murders to emphasize the need for more funding of the LEAA!)

So, the feds are very much involved in Atlanta, and the slating of the funds just mentioned has precipitated—actually, intensified—sharp contradictions with and within the Atlanta Black political structure. The Mayor, police heads and several other Black public officials want this money to be sent to the Task Force for the investigation. These Black officials are facing heat from two directions. On the one hand, they are rapidly losing any remaining credibility with Black people generally (and in particular, their own middle class social base) in Atlanta. On the other hand, they are being hit by forces above them, capitalist elements who never wanted them in office in the first place and are now issuing ever more fervent calls to knock them down.

The upcoming election for Mayor has sharpened the picture. An openly reactionary white capitalist, J.K. Ramey, a tire magnate, has announced his candidacy. Ramey is best known for the 93-foot billboard on the side of a downtown building, a billboard that lists "crime statistics" on a daily basis and warns people to "use extreme caution while here" in Atlanta. Naturally, the murders of Black youth are no crime to Ramey who refused to even address the question in a newspaper interview last week. He instead ranted about the "crime wave" downtown, raved against the killing of two whites two years ago, and called for re-arming the police with

special shotguns and the creation of special stake-out squads.

Sharply posed against the murders, the deepening attacks on Black people and the wave of reaction concentrated generally in Atlanta has been a coast-to-coast outpouring of anger and protest from people of all nationalities. Green ribbons—symbolizing "life"—are appearing everywhere. This prompted a reporter in Philadelphia to note, "There is more green in this city now than there ever was hostage yellow, more green than the red, white and blue of a 4th of July." This is an understatement, as one Philadelphia man learned when he asked a Black woman if the green ribbon she wore had anything to do with "hostage" yellow. "What do you think?" she asked him. "I don't think it does," he responded. "You're goddamn right," the woman shot back.

Armbands, emblems, and ribbons of red and black—as well as red, black and green, symbolizing the struggle of Black people—are also rapidly spreading throughout the country. Red flags flown on May Day last year have been seen in Washington, D.C. Demonstrations have taken place; at a rally in Cincinnati, a chant was struck up: "It's not just Atlanta, it's nationwide." This was deepened by scores of people who added: "It's not just nationwide, it's worldwide!" In Cleveland, an all white Boy Scout troop made plans to pay tribute to the murdered Atlanta youth. They wanted to wear black armbands and hang posters during a meeting. The meeting was cancelled by top officials who considered the gesture "too political."

At a rousing and militant political forum of 250 students from Atlanta University last week, the National Black United Front (NBUF) announced plans to hold simultaneous demonstrations in 20 cities on April 4. These demonstrations will hit racist violence, focusing on the Atlanta child murders as part of the general climate being whipped up in this country. The NBUF speaker called for revolution and was interrupted by applause throughout. Another speaker at the forum, a former public safety commissioner who is a leading Black candidate for mayor, was interrupted by catcalls.

Another demonstration has been called for Sunday, March 15. This national march, initiated by the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and a number of Black college student groups, will undoubtedly have a large turnout. The march will also certainly be an arena of sharp struggle over the nature and source of the barbaric attacks on Black people in Atlanta and elsewhere.

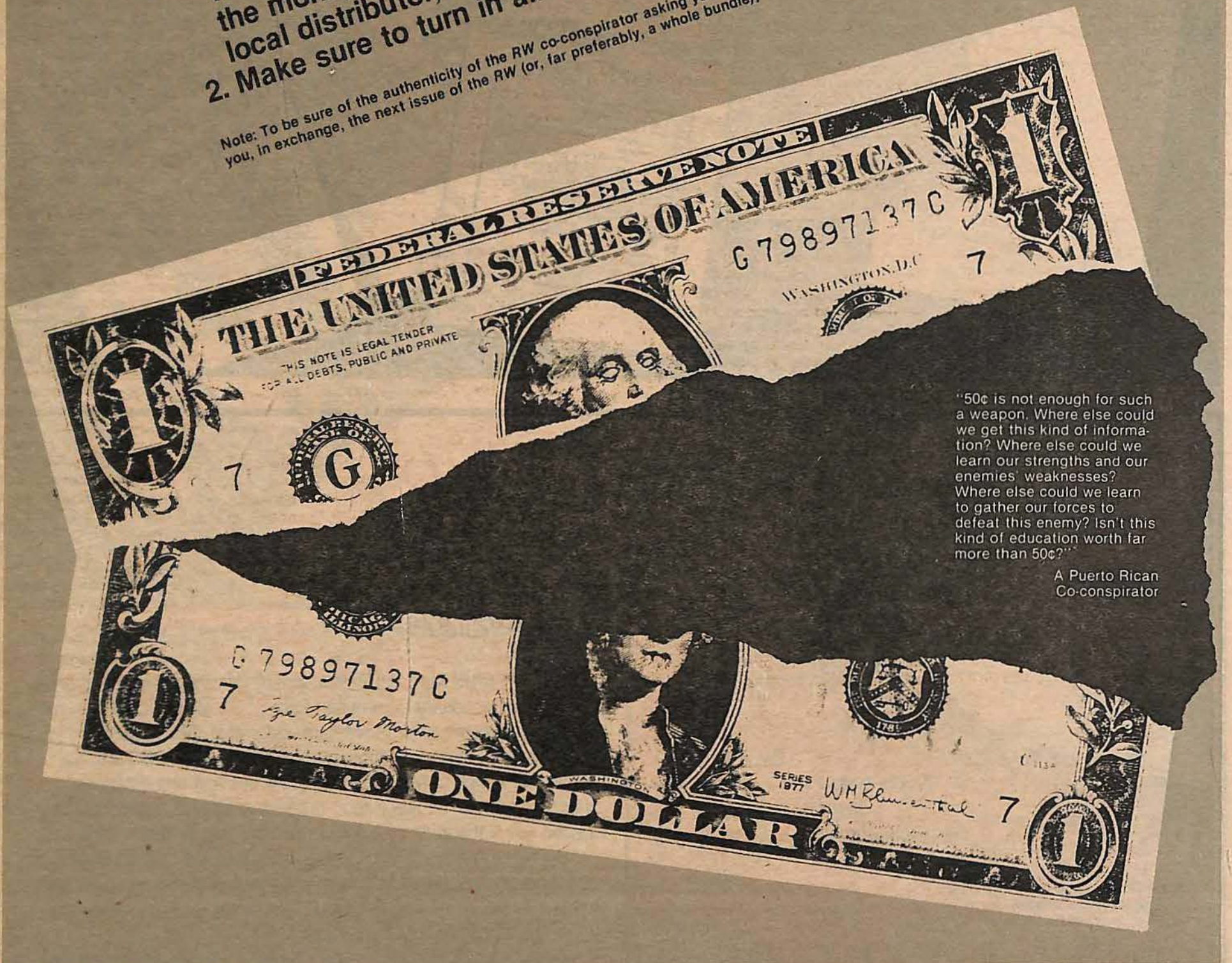
Atlanta. The very word is today symbolic of the experience of Black people under the rule of the bourgeoisie. Action taken by the masses of people nationwide has served to force events there out into the open, and the authorities are running out of places to hide. The blood of these youths can never be washed from the hands of the rulers of a country whose whole history is branded with the oppression and murder of Black people. □

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A Puerto Rican
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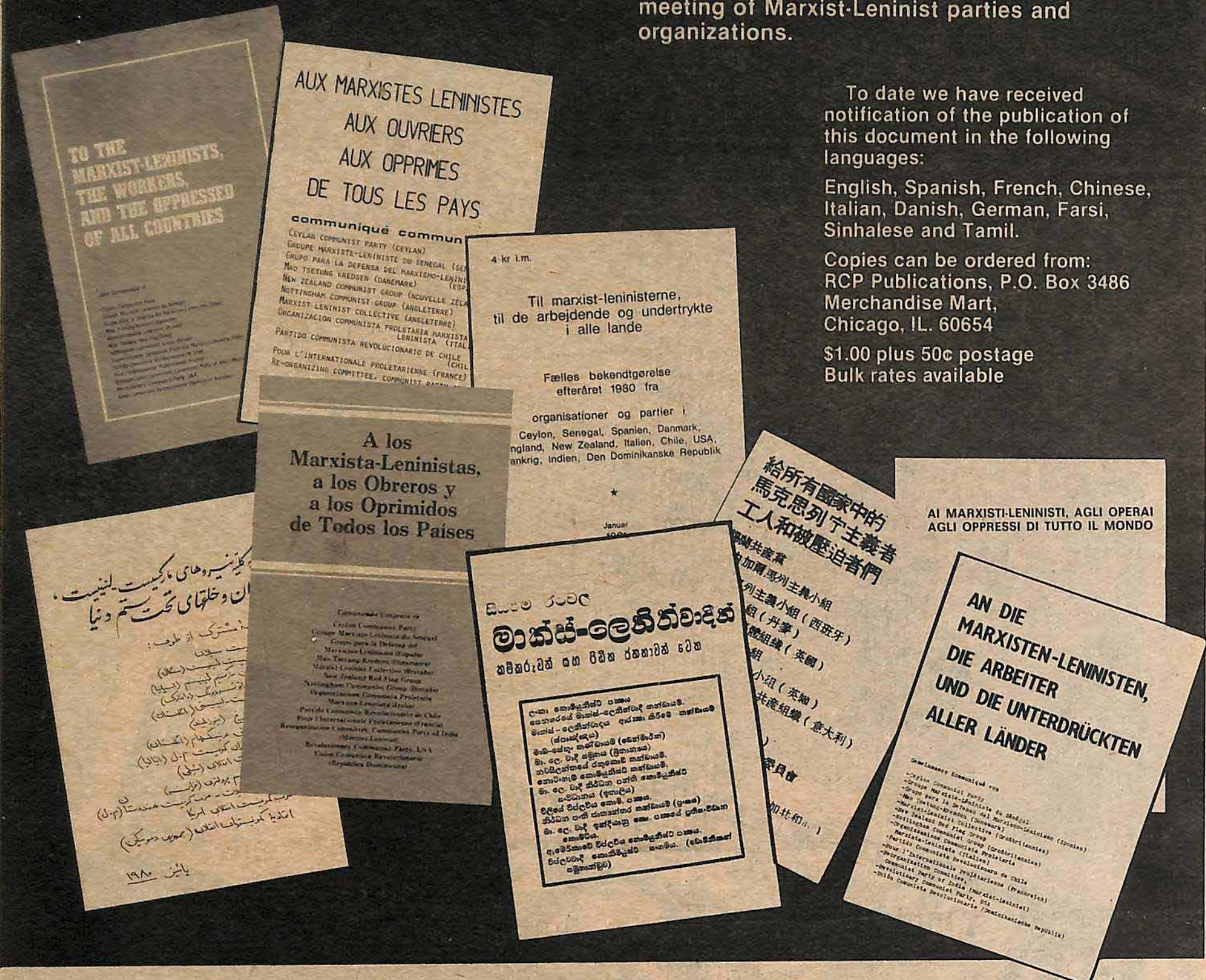
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