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Britain's Gambit and the "Third Force" Reaction in Ireland

Events over the past three weeks have once more hurled Northern Ireland into the news. Sensing the possibility of the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland heating up, the press has focussed on the reactionary outpourings of Britain's Protestant Loyalist thugs venting their spleens about how their interests are being sold out by England in current attempts to negotiate some form of phony "reunification" agreements in Ireland. Particular play has been given to the fascist Reverend Ian Paisley, head of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and British Parliament member, and his outraged walling over the death of some degenerate named Rev. Bradford (an advocate of on-the-spot executions for Nationalist fighters and who prayed from his pulpit for "an outbreak of typhoid in the H-Blocks to settle the issue once and for all") and threats to unleash his "third force" of Protestant paramilitaries to "make Ulster ungovernable."

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Rebel Irish Youth



British Prime Minister Thatcher and Irish Prime Minister FitzGerald.



Reactionary Protestant Thugs

Ian Paisley



British soldiers.

Behind the Blockade Bluster

For the past two weeks, there have been a great deal of very public threats, warnings and speculations from U.S. officials of a dramatic military escalation in Central America and/or the Caribbean. First, anonymous U.S. officials "leaked" (i.e. planted) the story that Secretary of State Alexander Haig was demanding "speeded up" plans and studies for possible U.S. military options against Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, in light of what he termed the

current "stalemate" in Central America and the shift toward "totalitarianism" (i.e., Soviet domination) in Nicaragua. Haig also reiterated U.S. concern over Soviet and Cuban military aid to opposition forces in El Salvador. Then Haig gave the *N.Y. Times* an exclusive interview where he was asked if these reports were "over-dramatizing" the situation, giving him the opportunity to smile for publication and reply, "No." Then, on Sunday, November

22, Haig, White House advisor Edwin Meese and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger blanketed the three major TV networks with "non-denials" that the U.S. is considering instituting a naval blockade of Nicaragua very soon. With various independent and objective journalists feeding the previously supplied questions about such a move, Meese said that it "would depend on the circumstances (but) could be a possible matter for further discussion."

Continuing in this vein of measured ferocity, Weinberger answered, "Our response obviously has to be flexible and a number of options have to be available to be recommended to the president," and Haig came on with "We don't discount any possibility... However, that—for those who sit there with white knuckles at the moment—should not be interpreted as a plan to do precisely that."

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On Monday, November 16, the latest attempt to tuck in the blankets covering up the political assassination of Black activist Yulanda Ward came down in a Washington, D.C. superior courtroom, as three of the men arrested in the case last January suddenly pleaded guilty in connection with Ward's murder. A fourth man arrested is still awaiting trial in the case.

Yulanda Ward, a 22-year-old Black activist in Washington, D.C., was murdered in the early morning hours of November 2, 1980, as she and three companions walked down a sidewalk of a residential Black neighborhood after being mysteriously turned away from a party to which she had been invited. As she and her friends stopped to leave a note on another friend's car they were approached by four men. They were then frisked—ankles to head—and Yulanda was separated from her friends. Within minutes, a shot rang out and Yulanda was dead—a bullet from a large-caliber gun fired at point-blank range into her head. Yulanda was a revolutionary and a student at Howard University. On the day of her murder she had been attending a weekend conference of the student section of the National Black United Front.

From the beginning, this political assassination has been feebly portrayed as a "common street crime." And, true to form, this latest maneuver is meant to put an end to any and all speculation about the nature of the murder and the real forces behind it. After all, having these three "suspects" plead guilty, admit they did it, wraps the whole matter up nice and neat, or so it is hoped.

According to the *Washington Post*, "The prosecution, however, gave no indication in court yesterday that the murder was anything other than part of a street robbery." The prosecution had

Yulanda Ward Assassination

The Sham Confession, The State's Self-Exposure

the case tied up—there were signed confessions and the other "suspects" expressed a willingness to testify against "the trigger man." And according to the U.S. Attorney, there really wasn't anything unusual in the case—after more than a year of professing little or no knowledge of the details of the murder (even going so far as to subpoena Yulanda's friends before a grand jury in order to supposedly "get the details"), the prosecution now states with confidence that Yulanda was not singled out but that all four of the victims were told to bend over automobiles during the robbery, and Yulanda was only killed when she jerked her head up to see what was going on.

From the start, the official explanation of these latest developments has stunk. More than a few people are all too familiar with "signed confessions," and the methods often employed to extract them, particularly in politically hot cases. Adding to the smell of this neat little wrap-up is the fact that while pleading guilty to Yulanda's murder and robbery, the "trigger man" also pleaded guilty to manslaughter charges in an earlier and unrelated case (originally a homicide case) and had been identified as a participant in an earlier robbery in the same neighbor-

hood that Yulanda was murdered in. This style of "plea-bargaining" is also a time-worn and well-exposed method employed in covering up and "solving" sticky cases.

But more than all that are the facts that have been uncovered surrounding Yulanda's assassination over the last year and a half. These facts sharply undercut the "common street crime" scenario and clearly point to political assassination. In the months leading up to her murder, there were two attempted break-ins at her apartment and numerous threatening phone calls telling her to stop all her political work or "get hurt." Immediately following her murder, three "suspects" were rounded up based on being identified by what the police termed a "phantom witness." In courtroom proceedings concerning these suspects, a U.S. Marshal attempted to eject a well-known friend of Yulanda's from the courtroom, and the judge issued a special announcement that only "police-accredited press" would be allowed to take notes during the proceeding. Yulanda's companions, eyewitnesses to the murder, were not even informed of a police line-up concerning these "suspects." It was only at the insistence of the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund that these eyewitnesses were ever even

brought to a police line-up of the "suspects" (who in fact came nowhere near the description of the murderers given by Yulanda's companions). The police, in fact, were far more interested in covering up this murder than in uncovering the murderers. Their "investigation" never really went very far beyond the oral and written statements of their "phantom witness." And even this fell apart when, a few months later, this phantom was deemed by police to be "untrustworthy and unreliable," and the original "suspects" were released. But, as exposure grew around the murder, the police suddenly arrested new suspects, once again based on the identification of the "untrustworthy and unreliable" phantom. Now, almost one year later, this phantom story has supposedly been corroborated by guilty pleas and signed confessions.

While the police investigation was certainly indicative of something more than a "common street crime," their other forms of activity in relation to Yulanda's murder were even more telling. The home and offices of Yulanda's associates were burglarized a number of times after the murder, with office machinery being smashed and files and papers being searched through. Legal motions filed by the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund demanding that the government disclose any surveillance of them that it had carried out, and that the grand jury subpoenas against Yulanda's friends be quashed, were summarily denied by the D.C. superior court judge. Yulanda's friends were subpoenaed before the grand jury and ordered to turn over "all written, typed, recorded or otherwise possessed information concerning the homicide of Yulanda Ward." Of course, all this information had been dug up by an independent investigation of Yulanda's murder launched by the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund and had been used to sharply expose what was going on in the case and why. In relation to this investigation, Yulanda's friends were warned by the police that they had better cut it off or they may be liable for interfering with the police case.

But, in the eyes of the state, all that is just so much coincidence. After all, the case is closed now. And what a convenient way to close it—guilty pleas before it goes to trial, thereby eliminating the possibility of a lot of the shabby nature of the case coming to the surface during a drawn-out trial. But even in attempting to put the lid on this case and avoid further exposure, they succeeded in doing a little more self-exposure. Because even if these "self-confessed" suspects were involved in some way, what remains is the question of the bigger political forces directing the murder. And in this context, the pungent stench of the state apparatus still hangs heavily in the air. □



Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will.

In past weeks, we have run short excerpts from a recent major talk by Bob Avakian in which he explores both historical perspectives on the experience of the world proletarian revolution and also the approaching conjuncture and the tasks it poses. The complete text of this important document is now in the final stages of preparation for publishing as a special issue of *Revolution* magazine.

Costs of production of this issue of *Revolution* will be \$5000 total for English and Spanish editions. Special donations may now be given to assist us in seizing the opportunity very soon to have this important theoretical work printed and distributed in the U.S. and internationally. Watch the *RW* for the publication date.

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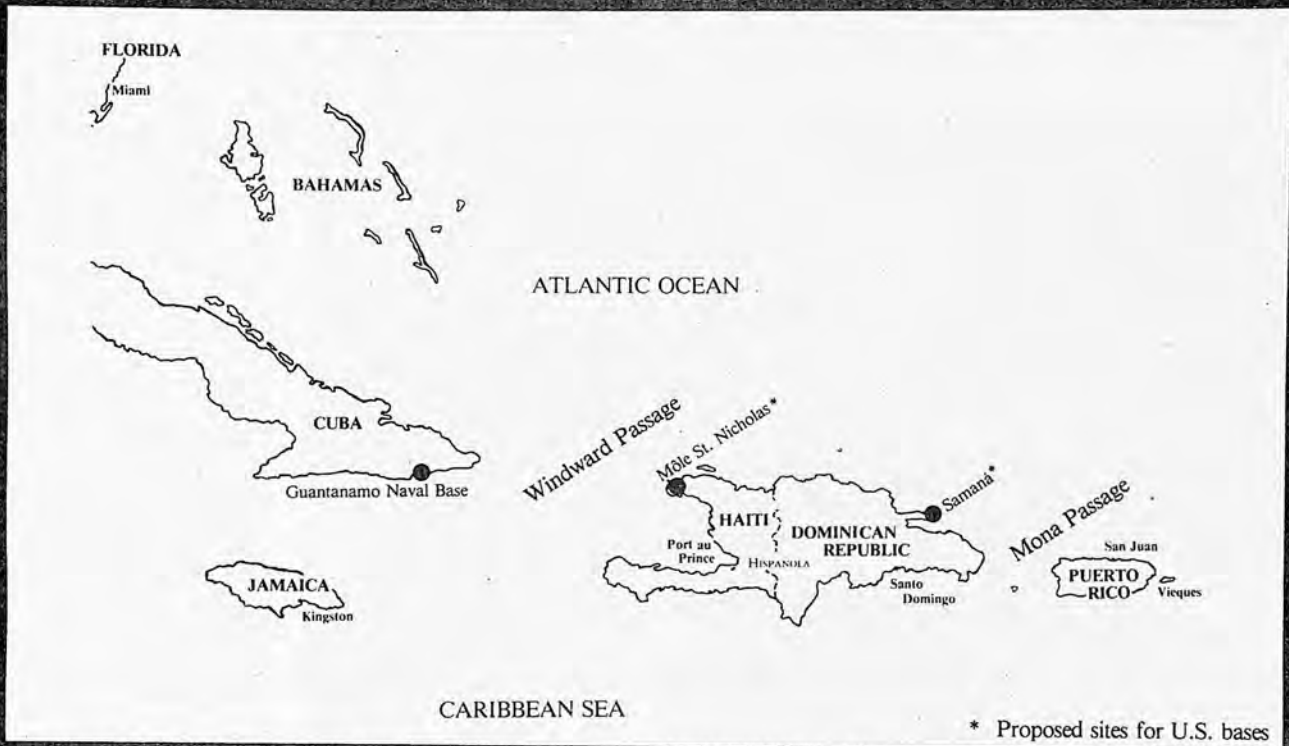
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Haiti: U.S. Quandary in a Caribbean Timebomb



* Proposed sites for U.S. bases

The intensifying crisis in Haiti and the desperate maneuvers of the U.S. to shore up this weak link in their Caribbean empire in preparation for war, brought the announcement earlier this month of yet another new AID program for the tyrannical dictatorship of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Declaring that "only America can save Haiti from Moscow," Haitian Foreign Minister Edouard Francisque predicted a rosy future and told Washington reporters that "Haiti could be the Hong Kong, the Taiwan, the Singapore of the Caribbean." But more near to reality is the well-founded fear in Washington that Haiti could more likely become the Vietnam, the Cambodia, the Philippines of the Caribbean.

The promised new aid consists of a \$750,000 military aid package coupled with an additional \$33 million in economic aid, which does not include the massive financial props supplied by France, West Germany and other members of a mixed commission of capitalist nations which administers the "aid" pills of the Western bloc to ailing Haiti. But behind the public pharmacist of economic assistance there lies a sordid tale of coercion, secret treaties and intensifying military preparations, all aimed at shoring up the U.S. position in the Caribbean in the face of war. And with regard to Haiti in particular, the measures include attempts to locate a new military base in Haiti, the creation of a mutual defense pact between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and the taking over of major internal police functions in Haiti—reminiscent of the 19-year U.S. occupation of Haiti earlier in this century.

Economic conditions in Haiti are the most miserable in the Western hemisphere. With the highest population density in the Americas, Haiti also has the lowest per capita income. Fifty percent of Haitian children die before the age of 4; 80% of the children under the age of 6 have malaria; only 15% of Haiti's population can read; and for each teacher in Haiti there are 189

soldiers. Perhaps the most ghoulis symptom of the decades of imperialist exploitation to which Haiti has been subjected is the fact that each year 6,000 Haitians survive only by selling their own blood for a salary of \$12 a month, which results in 5 tons of human blood each month being shipped to the U.S.

While the ruling classes of Haiti have long sought to make Haiti "the Taiwan of the Caribbean," the very measures that have been taken to entice light assembly plants to locate in Haiti have themselves created and intensified the crisis which now overwhelms this country. The emphasis of the "aid" program of the Western imperialist bloc has been almost exclusively on the development of the industrial infrastructure (roads, dams, electricity distribution, etc.) needed for mining, lumber, and light assembly installations. The net effect of this form of "development" has been to drive up the price of land as it goes from semi-feudal farming into capitalist relations, and to drive hundreds of thousands of peasants with only "traditional farming rights" off the land. At the same time all trade unions and any forms of popular organization are ruthlessly suppressed and virtual slave labor (combined with 10 years tax-free operation) is offered to the imperialists. The Haitian government's contribution in "matching grants" development schemes has been primarily labor (the foreign aid coming mostly in the form of equipment and other capital goods). This influx of wages with no matching increase in food or consumer goods production has caused galloping inflation in expenditures on foreign goods, totally distorting Haiti's balance of payments. The Haitian government's response has been a 20% tax increase.

Today, nothing short of revolution can resolve Haiti's crisis. Yet the global crisis of imperialism and preparations for an inter-imperialist war of redivision have forced the U.S. to rely more openly and directly on naked terror and

repression, particularly in what the U.S. considers its own back yard—the Caribbean. The tinsel facade of liberalization pushed on Haiti under U.S. and European pressure in 1978 has now been dropped, with sweeping arrests of even the most timid bourgeois opposition spokesmen in November of 1980. The result of all this has been not only a wave of refugees seeking to escape from brutal oppression but also the most potentially explosive political situation in the Caribbean region.

Contention in the Caribbean

Not at all unconnected, the same week that the Haitian delegation was being wine and dined in Washington, in another part of town, at Ft. McNair, a secret conference of military commanders and intelligence officers from 20 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean was being held. This meeting of the Conference of American Armies (the military counterpart of the Organization of American States) had originally been scheduled to be held in Panama, but it was quietly shifted to Washington—with Nicaragua conspicuously not invited. Reported as a discussion about countering "terrorism, subversion and armed insurrection," the conference was directed at regional war preparations. One apparent immediate result was the announcement last week that the U.S. Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force, based in Key West and created only a year ago, is being merged with the Antilles Defense Command in Puerto Rico to "place responsibility for the Caribbean basin with one commander."

Preceding these general moves have been a series of maneuvers aimed particularly at shoring up the Haitian situation. In early 1980, Jimmy Carter sent General Robert Schweitzer, then U.S. Army Director of Strategic Planning and Policy, on two quiet missions. First on January 30-31, Schweitzer visited the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince. Then on February 1, he arrived in Santo Domingo, the capital of the Dominican

Republic, for meetings with Dominican President Antonio Guzmán. According to the Dominican newspaper *El Sol*, Schweitzer declared that "We are very worried about what is happening in Central America," and announced the purpose of his visit was to "strengthen the political, social, economic and military measures that we can take together against the communist menace." What this meant in practice was a demand by this proconsul of U.S. imperialism for nothing less than a U.S. base at Samaná on the Dominican Republic's eastern shore, and a secret agreement with Haiti to provide for the use of Dominican troops in Haiti in the event of a revolutionary insurrection.

Dominican reaction to these demands was immediate. Several prominent Dominican officials, including Lt. General Rafael A. Valdez Hilario, the Minister of the Armed Forces, came out against them. There was a protest demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy. But the March 7th issue of the London based *Latin American Weekly Report* revealed that a secret agreement had been reached between Haiti and the Dominican Republic to send troops to each other's defense. Both countries were reportedly offered increased economic aid in return. The agreement has never been denied, and within the month, General Valdez Hilario was sacked—hearing about his dismissal on a TV news broadcast. It was in this context that two U.S. warships arrived in the harbor of Santo Domingo on April 3, 1980, setting off several days of anti-American demonstrations.

The U.S. haste in forcing the bilateral relationship between the Haitian and Dominican regimes reflects the growing alarm of the U.S. over not just the revolutionary movement of individual countries, but the growing possibility of waves of revolution in whole areas, and the necessity of the U.S. imperialists to shore up the reactionary regimes in these regions while they cement regional

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Interview

Imperialism and Revolution in Guatemala



Indian peasant children in Guatemala.

The peasant movement in Guatemala has been extremely important both for the forces struggling to liberate themselves from U.S. imperialist domination, as well as for the imperialists who have attempted to control and suppress this movement. The Indian people of Guatemala make up more than 50% of the population and are concentrated overwhelmingly in the countryside, the main source of exploitation in Guatemala.

In the decade of the 1940s, popular movements led to the overthrow of Jorge Ubico but the army stepped in to take his place and continued the services rendered to U.S. imperialism. Shortly thereafter, the popular movement led by the national bourgeoisie forced free elections, bringing in the governments of Arévalo in 1945 and Jacobo Arbenz in 1950, who attempted to install a bourgeois-democratic government through an agrarian reform program aimed against the U.S. landholders, particularly the largest landholder, the United Fruit Company, and the feudal landlords, the latifundios of Guatemala. This movement, led by the national bourgeoisie, to break from U.S. imperialist domination had a tremendous impact throughout Latin America. The U.S. launched an intensive campaign aimed at creating public opinion for intervention in Guatemala

through the "Guatemala Lobby" or the "Intervention Lobby" as it was known. This campaign was personally organized and directed by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, and Allen Dulles, Director of the CIA, and included in its front ranks the AFL and the CIO, who through their press called for the purge of all communists in Guatemala.

In 1954, Carlos Castillo Armas was the lackey the U.S. found to continue their services. The U.S. had already secured a resolution for "defense of the Hemisphere" in a meeting in Caracas, preparing the invasion that would come from Honduras; and the forces of Carlos Castillo Armas carried out aerial bombings armed and directed by the CIA. Solidarity with the Guatemalan people and against U.S. intervention exploded in virtually every country in Latin America. General strikes were called, the people stoned symbols of U.S. domination and demonstrations were held in front of the U.S. embassies in various countries. With the seizure of power by Armas, all reforms and constitutional rights were abolished and many leaders of the mass movement were imprisoned and murdered. But despite this setback, the Guatemalan people continued to learn and struggle against U.S. imperialism. Again in 1962, the U.S. was forced to intervene militarily due to the increase in armed

struggle and the resurgence in the cities. The U.S. employed a campaign of counter-insurgency learned in Laos and later employed in Vietnam, sending in a team to lead the counter-insurgency campaign which was made up entirely of U.S. soldiers of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent. Two years later the U.S. organized CONDECA (Central American Defense Council) to deal with the rising tide of revolution and the solidarity between the guerrilla movements, especially of Nicaragua and Guatemala.

Keeping Guatemala in their clutches is very important for the U.S. imperialists in their global calculations because of its strategic location as a bridge to South America and Mexico. In particular, there are strong historical ties between Guatemala and the peoples of Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula. Until the middle of the 1800s all these peoples lived in close relationship before being separated by imperialist interests. But the ties of the people have been maintained and even now many of the revolutionary forces operate with support from the people in southern Mexico.

Although historically the Indian people have been isolated from the struggles in the rest of Guatemala, more recently the Indian people have begun to support and join in the armed struggle, carrying out armed seizures and protests against the government and its campaign of terror, like the taking of the Spanish Embassy in March 1980 which resulted in the massacre of the Indian women leading the protest. This revolutionary unity between the Indian peoples and the workers and other progressive sections of the people has given new life to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local tyrants. The latest in a string of U.S.-backed dictators, General Lucas Garcia, who openly runs the death squads attempting to drown the resistance of the peo-

ple in blood, has recently been offered more economic and military support to attempt to carry out the behest of the U.S. imperialists.

Though the armed struggle of the Guatemalan people is not something new, the Sandinista victory of 1979 in Nicaragua and the struggle of the Salvadoran people has inspired the people of Guatemala, but many of the same questions and problems faced by movements for national liberation throughout the world are likewise posed in Guatemala. That is, while fighting the tiger at the front door, how to avoid letting another tiger in at the back. There is a strong pro-Soviet current in the movement there. Recently, in May of 1980, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP), the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), the Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA) and the pro-Soviet Party of Labor of Guatemala (PGT), formed an alliance to wage the armed struggle. Also, a Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR) consisting mainly of labor unions was formed at the same time and has received much support from social-democratic organizations the world over. Thus, as in other countries in Central America and elsewhere, the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and the role of its front-man, Cuba, is an increasingly pressing problem for revolutionaries to grasp, in order to advance the revolution in the interests of the people of the world and not fall into the clutches of revisionism.

The following interview with an Indian man in Guatemala was sent to the RW recently and offers a vivid picture of the life that U.S. imperialism has provided for the masses of people in Guatemala:

"We have been paid with sadness and have gained nothing but misery." Below the roof of a ranch in which he lived exiled in his own land, Miguel, an



Above: Dulles at the 1954 Caracas conference of Latin American Ambassadors elicits a declaration pledging joint action to stop the spread of communist influence in the hemisphere. The bourgeois-democratic government of Guatemala was then toppled by a CIA backed invasion.

Right: 1961 Kennedy addresses Latin American Ambassadors announcing "a vast new ten year plan for The Americas," promising massive aid. Later he warned "... if the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside communist penetration—then I want it clearly understood that this government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations, which are to the security of our own nation."

He made good on his threat that same year with a U.S. backed counter-insurgency campaign using U.S. soldiers in Guatemala.

Indian man about 55 years old, speaks of his past. "I remember when I was 16, my dad sent me to work on a road the government was constructing. My dad was very sick, he couldn't work anymore. I thought I was going to make some money, but after 2 months of work they just gave me a paper that they called a 'Ticket of Contribution.'

"We understood that it referred to President Ubico's times. In these times, Indians and poor Ladinos (mixed race) had to work or be declared vagrants and jailed. With this so-called Vagrancy Law, the big landlords and landowners could get workers cheap, and the government built public works very cheaply.

"In those times—the '40s, it was," he continued, "there were no roads or highways. We had to walk, and I never had shoes. Afterwards, to keep that paper, the 'Ticket', I had to work for free four months out of a year; January and February, and later, July and August, to prove I had completed this work. It was a hard situation. We had to bring the food ourselves, and all we had was tortillas with salt." He stopped a moment to lift up his smallest grandchild who had begun to cry. Two of his children are now guerrillas, a daughter and a son.

"I don't know when Ubico went, but I remember a señor came who was called Juan José Arévalo. Then we didn't have to work for 'Contribution Tickets,' we just had to pay for a ticket that cost 50 cents and we paid twice a year. Then came the government of Don Jacobo Arbenz. Those were good times. They let us enter the coffee plantations to glean coffee beans, and they gave out land, and took land from gringo companies, and we began to organize to defend ourselves.

"In 1954, when my first child was about to be born, Castillo Armas came, with weapons and planes, helped by the gringos and then the very worst of times came to Guatemala. Everything was even worse than before. They killed the ones who had organized, they bombed villages and murdered many people, and returned the land to the rich. After all that, it was pretty hard for Indians, we went to the coast to work, not because we wanted to, but out of necessity. As for me, with the kids, I had to go to the farms of the rich at least four times a year."

A young woman dressed in the Indian manner came in with coffee. We made use of the interruption to ask when did he become politically conscious of what was going on and join the revolutionary movement.

"We've always been humiliated, exploited and discriminated against. One day a friend came and talked to me about organizing together so that things would not be like this. I immediately understood. When I had worked on the coast I saw a totally different life from that of the Indians'. I saw there people who lived in huge houses and had a lot of money, not from working, but simply by owning land and machinery. We work for 'sadness pay' and they get richer and live the good life. I also saw that the so-called authorities are completely on their side, and they pay them to kill and scare our people who want a better life. For them the Indito, as they call us, is an animal, a horse to load up



Indian guerrilla fighters.

and carry stuff wherever they say.

"We began, then, to hold meetings with friends, to explain to them how things were and to ask them to support the guerrillas. Almost everyone who had gone to the coast to work understood. They did not understand those people who hoped to be rich. They denounced those who became soldiers just to get the money. But we knew who they were and we were quiet around them and didn't mix with them. We got together at nights in different houses and talked about our life and how to organize ourselves and help the guerrillas in the jungle. I've been doing that

for five years now in my village. We have to take care of the young ones of those who have gone off to fight; others, young, old, and women with families look around for work in the county and maintain our families, as well as organize ourselves and collaborate.

"Three years ago my daughter told me she was going to the mountains. I said no, it was too dangerous. And she said 'I know it's dangerous and hard, but when are we ever going to begin?' I understood and I let her go. Now she is second in command of a guerrilla column. She comes back every eight or nine months at night and tells me what they're doing, and I feel real good, and I work with better spirit.

"Then my son went. He is responsible for coordinating those who are organized in the villages of this whole region. He lives from village to village or in the mountains. All the comrades take care of him and warn him where the soldiers are so he can continue to work with the coordination and organizing. The boys in the mountains need food, information, medicine and most important of all, 'organization' of those who are not in the armed struggle."

A little boy about a year and a half old dragged his feet in—he seemed tired and uninterested in living. His thin, dull hair, distended belly and sad spirit showed the havoc of malnutrition. But his name showed a will to continue, "Emiliano," after Emiliano Zapata. Miguel became very animated

when we mentioned Zapata.

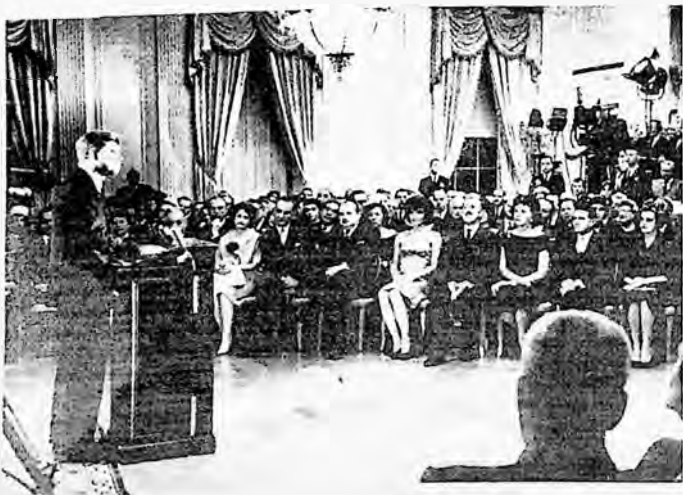
"Yes, we called him 'Emiliano' because we were told of a Mexican Indian who called for 'Land and Liberty'. The poor thing is very ill and only eats tortillas. We have neither medicine nor a way to help him: I am fleeing from the soldiers and my wife takes care of the grandchildren; we are without money and with sick kids. We can't live on our land nor wear our own clothes. If we are denounced the soldiers will come and kill us. We are like those who have neither house nor land, who go from one area to the next, escaping but saying what we think and helping as much as we can."

It is time to eat. Two women arrive with a jar of water for us to wash our hands. We sit on the floor to eat beans, tortillas and coffee. We notice that not only Miguel's grandchildren, but children of all different ages show up—15 in all.

"These four are my grandchildren. The others belong to friends who asked us to keep them while they are in the mountains," explains Miguel. Of this whole group only Miguel and his wife speak Spanish; the children speak only Canjobal, an Indian language. After they get their food, they are called to another room to eat so we can continue our discussion.

"We have always lived on a small piece of land inherited from our fathers; we have never gotten anything else. In the tiny piece of land I had, I cultivated corn, wheat and beans. But

Continued on page 13



Battle Creek

Robert Guy

Inquest:

Whitewash,
And
More

On Friday, November 20, an all-white inquest jury in Battle Creek, Michigan delivered its findings in the matter of the death of Robert (Kamau) Guy, Jr.: "We believe, from the evidence presented, that it is reasonable to assume he was attempting to light the bomb which prematurely detonated. We further conclude there was no other person or persons responsible for the death of Mr. Guy."

Thus the jury faithfully rubber-stamped the declaration of the Calhoun County prosecutor, Conrad Sindt, who for three days had paraded witness after witness in his carefully constructed drama. It was, in the words of Khalid Shavers, a Black activist in Battle Creek, "a political hoax, designed so the prosecutor could run his lies about the murder of Robert Guy." More than a whitewash of the involvement of local police and other agents of the state in Kamau's assassination, an additional objective of the inquest was to lay the basis for the continued campaign of repression against Black activists in Battle Creek. In fact, as soon as the jury pronounced its prefabricated findings, the chief detective in the case stated that "There are still many unanswered questions, specifically about the making of the bomb," and prosecutor Sindt announced he was considering pressing criminal charges against at least one person, as yet unnamed, for possession of explosive devices. Police let it be known that they still have "reams" of evidence that were not presented in the inquest.

As was reported in *RW* No. 121 (Oct. 11, 1981), Kamau was killed by the explosion of a pipe bomb as he was walking from his car to a restaurant in the early morning of August 31. Fragments penetrated his heart, and his left hand was blown off. (A month earlier, 2 cops were caught in the act of placing a car full of explosives outside Kamau's brother's house. They were never charged.)

Kamau was a member of the Republic of New Afrika and the Black United Front, and he and his brother Larry (Husam) had helped found the Coalition to End Police Brutality. The Guys and a newspaper they helped establish, *The Black Alleged News*, played a pivotal role in consistently exposing the crimes of the police against Black people. The lords and masters of Battle Creek, which is owned lock, stock and barrel by the Kellogg Corporation, did not take kindly to the demonstrations and protests that were beginning to receive national attention. With typical counter-revolutionary dual tactics, the authorities continued to unleash their dogs on the people and on the emerging leadership of the coalition, while at the same time attempting to cool out the massive anger by holding "collaborative planning meetings." These were designed to formulate some kind of procedure for processing complaints about police brutality. In fact, the very morning of Kamau's death, he had been at such a meeting, where Police Chief Thear had steadfastly refused to budge on proposals for more Black representation on such a panel.

The inquest was ordered two and a half months after the death of Kamau. The weight of testimony was from the county medical examiner, four

members of the state police crime lab, and four Battle Creek policemen. Two and a half months was plenty of time to weave an elaborate scenario and, with the help of such expert witnesses, to proceed to unravel for the public the fictional tale of how Kamau blew himself up. During this time, the Battle Creek police conducted an "extensive investigation" which lasted up until two weeks before the inquest, in the course of which they interviewed over 80 people, and which culminated in a 200-page report. Far from trying to "determine the cause of death," at every point during the inquest, prosecutor Sindt took care to ask the specific questions and extract the specific information that would help him create the impressions necessary to try to discredit Kamau and the Coalition.

The prosecutor's main witness during the first day of the inquest was a young Black woman who had been walking down the street at the time of the bombing. She testified that she saw a black car with three men in it parked on the street. She said that one of the men, all of whom remain unidentified, got out of the car and walked toward a van in a vacant lot which was behind the El Grotto lounge. Further down the street was a small gray car in which a man and woman were sitting. She saw Kamau get out of the gray car and walk across the lot in the direction of the lounge and Hugh's Grill, which was next to the El Grotto. She said she heard an explosion and saw Kamau stagger toward the street, where he fell and died. She said the man from the black car then got back into the vehicle. She testified that she approached the black car and that one of the men was "smiling and laughing" and told her "everything will be all right."

This is the same story she reported to members of the Coalition within days after Kamau's death—a story which is part of the basis for the inescapable suspicion of murder. But at the inquest she added something new. She claimed that after Kamau fell into the street, the woman in the car with him, who was wearing a red jumpsuit, took a blue bag from the back seat of the car and placed it alongside a tree stump near the sidewalk. This "woman in red" was in fact a close friend of Kamau's, Bernice Davis, who was the only actual eyewitness to the murder, and she is an active member of the Coalition. During the three-day inquest, Conrad Sindt found ways to use her name or throw in a reference to "the woman in red" while questioning almost every witness.

Although Bernice Davis was subpoenaed to testify, she was not called to the stand, and she had to sit through all this. By the end of the second day of the inquest, she had placed herself in the care of a psychiatrist at the Battle Creek Sanitarium, under the strain first of seeing Kamau killed, and then of being subjected to the barrage of suggestions that she was somehow responsible. Why did this witness change her story at the last minute on the stand? Coalition members feel that it may have everything to do with the "extensive investigation" by the Battle Creek police, during which she was taken to the police station every day for hours at a time throughout several weeks of "questioning."

The second day, the county medical examiner, Baader Cassin, emphasized that the tearing of and powder marks on the jacket worn by Kamau were more prominent on the inside than the outside of the jacket, and that the explosion was "perhaps shielded by the garment." Of course, he added that "portions were removed by investigators," so that the jacket presented in court had no lining, and everyone would have to take his word for it. That afternoon, Battle Creek's only newspaper, the *Inquirer & News*, suitably ran the page one headline, "Bomb That Killed Guy Was Inside Coat, Cassin Says." Another article contained this not too subtle attempt to manufacture reactionary public opinion around the case: "City police have refused to theorize about what Guy was doing in the vacant lot," followed by the next sentence, which tells the reader exactly what they want people to believe he was doing: "They have also refused to discuss any purported bomb threats made against Helen Montgomery, owner of the El Grotto lounge." Montgomery, who testified in court, made no mention of any "purported bomb threats."

The subject of the black car and the three unidentified men was not brought up again at the inquest, except when the chief detective in the case stated that his "extensive investigation" could turn up no further clues as to their identity.

According to testimony an unexploded pipe bomb and blue bag were found at the scene near the tree stump. Police say the bag and the bomb were 18 inches apart from each other. According to the state police crime lab, no fingerprints were found on either object. Sindt claimed that the bomb was "obviously similar" to the one which killed Kamau. But the state police expert, Bolhouse, stated that the fragments he was asked to identify in court were not the exact same ones he had analyzed in the lab. No matter, "obviously similar."

However, there remained the slight problem of the fact that no fingerprints, something usually considered solid evidence, were found. This was never explained directly. Yet some very imaginative thinking apparently went on during the months between the death of Kamau and the inquest. Without a reference to the question of fingerprints, the medical examiner and several of the cops testified that they remembered seeing little pieces of what looked to them like "latex surgical gloves" in the area where the bomb blast took place. Oddly enough, with all the meticulous investigation and analysis of every potential piece of evidence found at the scene, not one fragment of such an alleged glove was retrieved. And no reports of any such discovery appeared in the extensive press coverage at the time of the incident.

The Cops

Then there are the cops: A certain former Battle Creek police officer, Thomas O'Connell, was seen following Kamau out of a bar earlier on the night he was killed. Bernice Davis saw this, but Conrad Sindt and his masters made sure she was unable to present this testimony in the inquest. O'Connell was one of five Battle Creek cops who stopped Kamau, Husam, and their cousin Willie back in June 1979, beat them, and arrested Husam on a trumped-up concealed weapons charge. Husam is now doing 40 months to 5 years at Jackson State Prison. O'Connell testified at Husam's trial that he personally disliked the Guys, and most importantly, that he was trained by the FBI in explosives! Just recently he quit the Battle Creek force after it was exposed that he had brutalized another Black man, and he has supposedly left the state.

Also on that goon squad in June '79 were officers Bruce Harvey and Jeffrey Shoultice: They were the cops caught in July of that year in the act of actually placing explosives outside the Guy house. They too resigned, and no criminal charges (or even "violation of civil rights") were ever filed against them by their old buddy Conrad Sindt. Another goon squad member that June night was officer David Wiggins, who was the second in charge of the investigation of Kamau's death. Wiggins

also led the search of the Guys' parents' home two days after the murder, on the pretext of looking for "bomb-making tools," with a search warrant signed by the same judge who presided over the inquest. No such tools were found. And last but not least, Ronald Hattis, another pig who made his debut in June 1979, also appeared several days later, pointing a loaded shotgun at Kamau from a marked police car with its lights off. Early in 1980, Hattis arrested Kamau as he was on his way to participate in signing an 8-point plan that was supposed to promote "better police-community relations." Hattis brought him to the meeting in handcuffs. Of course, such facts in the life of Kamau would have been of no consequence to the respected ladies and gentlemen of the inquest jury, and were therefore ignored by the learned prosecutor.

Supporters' Presence

Having sat through three days of contrived testimony, the observers in the packed courtroom, including family, friends and supporters of the Coalition, were fed up. Khalid Shavers had already been barred from the courtroom for standing up and denouncing the whole proceedings. Joyce Clark, the secretary of the Coalition, was called to the stand and refused to answer any questions, saying, "We have an all-white jury here. These are not my peers. I can't see what this has to do with proving who killed Robert Guy—it's a farce." She said she was prepared to go to jail if the judge threatened her with contempt.

Things got tense in the courtroom and the judge agreed to let Mr. Robert Guy Sr., Kamau's father, testify. Mr. Guy turned directly to the jury and got straight to the point: "No one here has mentioned the possibility of someone throwing a bomb at him. I want you to understand this. You all have sons and daughters. If someone threw something at you, wouldn't you catch it? Why would someone put a lit bomb under his coat? Don't take his name down and stomp on it. He was a man. I want you all to think about that before you make your decision." Mr. Guy also stated that the clothes presented in court that his son was wearing that night had not been nearly as torn up and shredded when he had identified the body at the hospital.

At that point, several other friends of the family and acquaintances of Kamau came forward on their own to testify, including one man who was the first to see the body at the hospital. He said the doctor had told him Kamau had been shot twice with a shotgun, which was never mentioned by the medical examiner. He also said that the left hand, which the medical examiner said was missing at the wrist, was mostly there at the time he had seen the body. Another man reminded the jury that it was previously testified to that one of Kamau's cousins was in the El Grotto that night, and that Kamau knew he was there. So how could he possibly have been in the process of trying to bomb it? The prosecutor made no attempt to question anyone, preferring to get it all out of the way as quickly as possible. However, Sindt did object strongly when members of the Coalition submitted as evidence a tape recording of a bomb threat to the Guy home made shortly before the June 1979 beating. The judge allowed it to be admitted and played for the jury, with the stipulation that no one be allowed to comment on it or explain the other events going on around the time of the phoned-in threat.

Clearly, if any honest people had been looking for any "reasonable doubt" that Robert Guy, Jr. had been responsible for his own death, it was staring them in the face. Yet this was not at all the purpose of the inquest. Instead, it was another tool to attack forces who have emerged to shine a powerful light on the systematic national oppression in Battle Creek. These exposures, and the political stirrings and struggle they have unleashed among Black people in that city, shook things to the extent that the murdering jackals in power have exposed themselves still more through the railroading of Husam to prison and the assassination of Kamau. □

“Unrequited Love” For Revisionism Turned Sour

Rightist intellectuals have always served as an important part of the social base for the Chinese revisionists and as shock troops against the revolutionaries, both before and after the 1976 revisionist coup. But in the past few months, the revisionists, with certain aims in mind, have moved to tug in the leash on their attack dogs, in particular the writers who have served them so well with rabid onslaughts against Mao, the “Gang of Four” and the Cultural Revolution. While not at all abandoning their rantings against the “ultra-left” crimes of the revolutionaries and their warnings that the main danger still comes from the Left, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and other revisionist leaders have recently issued pointed denunciations of the “unhealthy ideological tendency” of “bourgeois liberalism” and “right deviation.”

Singled out for open criticism has been a well-known writer named Bai Hua and a movie screenplay entitled *Unrequited Love* that he co-authored with another writer. In April of this year, the *Liberation Army Daily* blasted *Unrequited Love* as “anti-socialist” and “anti-party,” and a recent long critique first appearing in the national literary journal *Wenyi Bao* and reprinted in the official *People’s Daily* said the screenplay contained “serious errors and defects in both ideological content and artistic expression.”

This latest maneuver by the bourgeois rulers in China raises some questions. Why do Deng & Co., themselves champions of “bourgeois liberalism” — or more accurately bourgeois reaction — now consider this a dirty word? Why are the revisionists apparently clamping down on their pack of reactionary writers that has served them so well? And why is Bai Hua’s work being held up as an example of this “tendency”? An analysis of these questions shows that the revisionists are pursuing their latest moves to tighten up not out of strength; on the contrary they are being driven by some deep contradictions that are widening the cracks in one of the pillars of their regime.

The author, Bai Hua who is at the center of the swirl of controversy is no small-time hack. A look at his career shows that he actually has very high connections to the top revisionists. Bai Hua joined the Liberation Army in 1946 at the age of 16 and worked as a propagandist. During the early fifties, several collections of poems and other works by him were published. In the anti-Rightist campaign of 1957 which hit at the reactionaries who had jumped out in a trial of strength during the “Hundred Flowers” campaign of the previous year, Bai Hua was denounced as a “big Rightist” and sent to do labor. He was again a target of criticism during the Cultural Revolution.

In 1975, as sharp confrontations were taking place between the revolutionary camp and the bourgeois headquarters led by Deng, Bai Hua was entrusted by the Deng forces to secretly draft several reports attacking the role of Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and other revolutionaries in the Party’s work in literature and art. The revisionists submitted the reports to the Party center, as a tactic in stepping up the assault on the revolutionaries. After the coup, Bai Hua became the playwright for the Wuhan Military District Drama Troupe and deputy head of the Wuhan Troup Political Department.

First appearing in 1979, *Unrequited Love* tells the story of an artist named Ling Chenguang (supposedly modeled after a real-life person) who leaves China before Liberation and enjoys great success and renown in the U.S. After the Communists come to power,

Ling, like many other intellectuals who had gone overseas, returns to China out of patriotic sentiments. During the Cultural Revolution, he is accused of being a bourgeois rightist and severely criticized. In one scene, Ling’s daughter tells him of her decision to leave China. Ling is opposed to this, but he is left speechless when she says bitterly, “You love this country of ours and show a pitiful reluctance to leave it . . . but does this country love you?” After taking part in the counter-revolutionary Tienanmen incident of April 1976, Ling flees into hiding in a reed marsh where he survives on raw fish and grain from rat-holes. Finally after the successful revisionist coup, his friends and family come to search for him. But before they can find him, Ling dies from the cold, the imprints he made in the snow as he crawled to his death forming a big question mark with his body as the final dot.

To understand what *Unrequited Love* represents, and why the revisionists are targeting it for attack, it is first of all necessary to understand what was the mood among the Ling Chenguang-type of intellectuals when the screenplay came out. By 1979, there was a rising tide of dissatisfaction among these strata, a mood markedly different from the high hopes and expectations that existed in the period right after the ’76 coup when revolutionaries (including revolutionary artists and intellectuals) were being suppressed, and the rightist ones were really feeling their oats. Basking in the bourgeois dictatorship and free from the proletarian one, they felt at the time that the time had come when they could assert their independent position and enhance their political and economic status in society. Even among significant numbers of the more intermediate strata of the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie generally, there was a feeling of relief that the repeated political upheavals had ended and “stability and unity” would prevail (or so they were promised).

But the air was quickly let out of the hopes and expectations. Although the revisionists had given the rightist intellectuals much more freedom and power than under proletarian dictatorship, in the final analysis what the revisionists are setting up is *state* capitalism with themselves occupying the driver’s seat. Many of these rightists had visions of Western-style bourgeois rule dancing in their heads, and these were quickly dashed. Further, for these and many other middle strata, the disillusionment was accelerated with the inevitable collapse of the revisionists’ grandiose plans for the “Four Modernizations” and “catching up to the advanced countries of the West.” All this had far-reaching effects on the alliance between the revisionists and their social base in the intelligentsia.

Dickering Over “Equal Values”

The *Wenyi Bao* critique mentioned at the beginning of this article lashes out at the type of intellectuals portrayed in *Unrequited Love* who “look upon the relationship between the individual and the motherland as one of ‘exchange of equal values’” and who use “personal interests and losses . . . as the sole criteria for examining everything.” Such bluster, coming from the revisionists, is as hypocritical as a pusher chastizing an addict for the latter’s habit. Wasn’t it the revisionists themselves who wooed and won over a big chunk of the backward and intermediate sections of the population, including the intelligentsia, by pandering to their spontaneous tendency to individualism and desiring to protect and upgrade their position in society? Indeed the revisionists had offered them an “ex-

change of equal values” — their political allegiance, knowledge and skill in return for a bourgeois political system in which they could contribute to stinking up the air.

On the basis of their expectations, the rightist intellectuals played an indispensable role for the revisionists in the coup and in the continued and deepening attacks on revolutionaries after the coup. The *Wenyi Bao* critique admits that, “In the first few years after the downfall of the ‘gang of four,’” Bai Hua himself “wrote many good works . . . These were the result of the motive force of the positive and healthy factors in his thinking.” Bai Hua was joined by others who busily cranked out “literature of the wounded” which harped on the supposed “injustices” suffered by them at the hands of the revolutionaries during the Cultural Revolution.

The younger section of the rightist intelligentsia, those who were in school during the Cultural Revolution and who have neither the high connections nor positions of the major writers and artists, also had an important role to play for the revisionist rulers. These forces were unleashed in late ’78 to early ’79 around the “democracy wall” in Peking. The Third Plenary of the 11th CP Central Committee in December of ’78 marked a watershed between the initial period after the coup when the revisionists had to largely work under the cloak of being “genuine successors of Mao” to a period of more blatant attacks on Mao and socialism. In terms of revisionist leadership, this meant a change from a period when Hua Guofeng was the figurehead for the regime to Deng coming out to play an open role. The posters put up at the wall openly blasted Mao by name (something which Deng himself still could not do at the time because of political constraints), thus acting as battering rams to bust open the floodgates to an assault on Mao and revolutionary socialism.

But political (and some economic) disenchantment has set in. Of course the backward among the intelligentsia, especially its upper strata, have had some increased say; and overall the gap between their position in society and that of the masses of workers and peasants has widened. Still, China is not a

Western imperialist country, and those seeking Western bourgeois satisfaction, including full-fledged Western bourgeois ideology, don’t find it there. A revealing phenomenon since the coup which emphasizes this point is the steady flow of scientists, artists and writers and other valuable personnel out of China seeking greater fame and fortune.

The revisionists are obviously very touchy about this, and the *Wenyi Bao* critique complains (remember that the main character in the screenplay gave up a life of fame and fortune in America to come to China): “Could it be possible that this capitalist world of America is a heaven for the Chinese intellectuals and for artists?” But again, it had been the revisionists themselves who had fanned the yearning for a “heaven in America” among certain sections of the intellectuals. The revisionists had held up the West as the model for “modernization” in China, not only economically but also in terms of art and literature and the superstructure in general.

The big question mark at the end of *Unrequited Love* is thus an apt (if melodramatic) symbol of the dissatisfaction that has taken root fairly broadly among the intellectual strata. Certainly these people do not want to go back to the era of Mao and the “gang of four.” But they are beginning to wonder now whether the revisionist regime is worth all the “suffering” they went through in the Cultural Revolution, when they went to bat for the revisionist bourgeoisie. As the *Wenyi Bao* critique points out, “. . . the authors confuse the ‘gang of four’ with the motherland, thus treating the motherland that was suffering under the tyranny of the ‘gang of four’ as the object of denunciation. This cannot but give people the impression that both the communist party and the socialist system are bad.” The Chinese revisionists have overthrown proletarian dictatorship and usurped the party, but they still need to rule by flying the false flags of “socialism” and the “communist party,” just like the Russian revisionists.

Closely related to the revisionists’ necessity to operate under the cover of
Continued on page 8

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As part of its discussions at its fourth plenary session (1980) the Central Committee of the RCP, USA took up some important questions of philosophy. In particular it pursued the question of fundamental and principal contradiction on a world scale in the imperialist era. This is not only an important question of our era as a whole, but is also very important in fully understanding the nature and depth of the contradictions of our present time—its dangers, opportunities and the demands it puts on the revolutionary forces.

Here we are reprinting a section of the report from this meeting. To it, the Chairman of the Central Committee, Bob Avakian, has appended a brief informal note, also reprinted here. Other documents from this meeting have been reprinted in the Revolutionary Worker, Nos. 98 and 99, and in Revolution magazine, number 49 (June 1981).

Some Initial (and Tentative) Thinking on the Principal Contradiction

What is a principal contradiction and, specifically, what is it on a world scale today? This is an important question which relates not only to basic points of theory in philosophy and political economy, but also to our analysis of the period of conjuncture we are entering. It is a subject of discussion in some quarters internationally, and what follows is not some big, antagonistic "two-line struggle" but some initial thinking in a discussion among comrades aimed at achieving a higher level of unity and understanding on all sides. Involved here, for example, is getting deeper clarity on what a principal contradiction is.

We have tended in the recent past to formulate the principal contradiction on the world scale as between the imperialists—that is, between two rival imperialist blocs, each headed up by a superpower, that are being tightened up in preparation for world war. Is this a correct formulation? We think so, but there are others who see this as an important contradiction shaping the present-day world but do not see it as the principal contradiction. Rather, they feel that there is something more basic underneath this contradiction which is in turn determining and sharpening it up. They feel that the real principal contradiction is between the two superpowers and their allies on the one side and the people of the world led by the proletariat on the other. Is this view correct, or is there still another, better, formulation of the principal contradiction? It is necessary to study, which is what this section is aimed at promoting throughout our ranks (on an individual basis), and not to "set our position."

First, what is a fundamental contradiction? Mao defines it as that contradiction which determines the essence of a whole process and says that this fundamental contradiction "will not disappear until the process is completed" (*Selected Works*, v. 1, p. 325).

It does not seem that in "On Contradiction" the relation between principal and fundamental contradiction is clearly spelled out. But in general it seems that the principal contradiction is that which is the determining one—which more determines and influences the development of other contradictions in the process (excepting the fundamental contradiction) than vice versa—at a given stage in the process defined (overall) by the fundamental contradiction. It is important to note—in opposition to superficial thinking—that this is not the same as simply saying which is the sharpest contradiction, but rather which is the determining one in a particular stage. Overall the fundamental contradiction is intensifying through the different stages in its development.

As an important sidepoint in this discussion, it is necessary even to begin to reverse an incorrect verdict reached at the Founding Congress of our Party in 1975. There, in answer to a letter to the Journal before the Congress, it was proclaimed that the fundamental contradiction is identical to the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The link between this view

and economism was clear enough. The way this line was presented at the time, it was held to be wrong to emphasize that the fundamental contradiction was between private appropriation and socialized production—for to imply that it was anything but the bourgeoisie vs. the proletariat was supposed to be anti-working class. While this reasoning was nakedly economist, it is necessary to delve more deeply into the question, which we will proceed to do in light of the broader, international discussion.

It is important to re-emphasize the importance of the fundamental contradiction in the present-day world: that is, the contradiction between private appropriation and socialized production. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the *manifestation in terms of class relations* of this fundamental contradiction. Formulating it in this way gives emphasis to the material basis for the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and for the other contradictions of the bourgeois epoch—and in particular for this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In "On Contradiction," Mao writes (in the section on particularity of contradiction):

"When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat."

So there are *two* manifestations—not just one—of the fundamental contradiction of socialized production vs. private appropriation. They are (to repeat, for clarity): 1) the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole; and 2) in class relations, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

After this in "On Contradiction," however, Mao discusses only the class contradiction and mainly does not really pick up on and elaborate and develop and discuss things in terms of the contradiction between the organized character of production in an enterprise on the one hand, and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole on the other. Overall "On Contradiction" is a great work that not only rescued, but also helped further advance, Marxist dialectics and philosophy. And this limitation is not a major one when discussing contradiction within Chinese society. But at the same time, especially when taken out from the sphere of Chinese society and projected onto a world scale, the limitations of not elaborating or delving more into the first manifestation of the fundamental contradiction show themselves more. Especially when you're looking at things on a world scale, you have to pay some more attention to both the fundamental contradic-

tion and its two manifestations, that is: anarchy/organization on the one hand, and bourgeoisie/proletariat on the other.

Engels explored this more in *Anti-Dühring*:

"...The contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation reproduces itself as the *antagonism between the organization of production in the individual factory and the anarchy of production in society as a whole*."

"The capitalist mode of production moves in these two phenomenal forms of the contradiction immanent in it by its very origin, it relentlessly describes that 'vicious circle' which Fourier had already discovered. But what Fourier in his day was as yet unable to see is that this circle is gradually narrowing, that the motion is rather in the form of a spiral and must come to an end, like the motion of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the motive force of the social anarchy of production which increasingly transforms the great majority of men into proletarians, and it is the proletarian masses in their turn who will ultimately put an end to the anarchy of production. It is the motive force of the social anarchy of production which transforms the infinite perfectibility of the machine in large-scale industry into a compulsory commandment for each individual industrial capitalist to make his machinery more and more perfect, under penalty of ruin." (Part III, Section II, "Theoretical")

The resolution of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which is certainly required to decisively put an end to the underlying fundamental contradiction in capitalist society—that will not happen spontaneously. But at the same time there is also the contradiction between socialized production at the enterprise level and anarchy in society as a whole.

There is a certain hint of all this in our 1979 Central Committee Report (although the philosophical aspect was not explored). It is in the point on the historical process of the proletarian revolution. In the context of discussing the present spiral, the reversal in China and the opportunities for advance in the proletarian revolution, it says, in a parenthetical remark:

"There is no guarantee of this [speaking of revolution in the imperialist countries] of course, and no immediate prospect of it, but as stressed earlier, it is not out of the question. But even if this doesn't happen, and even if overall, this major spiral should result in setback rather than advance for the proletariat, not only would this not change the course of history in general, it would also not change the fact that through that particular spiral, the contradictions of the imperialist system and the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, have been *intensified*, and even the way the imperialists 'resolved' things through that spiral only strengthened the basis for their own destruction in the future. If the imperialists manage to hang on for centuries, that will very probably mean that the whole world will be by that time highly developed capitalistically and Marx and Engels' view on the proletarian revolution will be vindicated

anyway." (*Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, p. 15)

While the particular formulation of fundamental contradiction above is erroneous, this passage is still relevant and quite in line with the point under discussion. What was being said in this section is that even if the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were not resolved favorably for the proletariat in this particular spiral, still the end result would be progress in the material sphere in the direction of further intensification of the fundamental contradiction. This would happen principally through the motion of the other contradiction (anarchy/organization).

In other words there can actually be qualitative leaps in the motion—and intensification—of the fundamental contradiction without a leap in the resolution of the contradiction of bourgeoisie/proletariat in a victory for the proletariat. To be clear: that's in the process of resolution of this fundamental contradiction; not that this contradiction can somehow be resolved without proletarian revolution and the victory of the international proletariat. But the fundamental contradiction can become intensified and even take leaps in its intensification, which is exactly what the above passage is describing when it says that "Marx and Engels' view on the proletarian revolution will be vindicated anyway."

The workings of that contradiction involving anarchy and organization lead to leaps in the material sphere. The fundamental contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation is what characterizes the whole epoch of capitalism, imperialism and the proletarian revolution. And when that contradiction is put to an end by worldwide proletarian revolution, the era of communism begins.

Engels makes the point in the same section of *Anti-Dühring* that the anarchy/organization contradiction, which leads to conflicts between local producers, also leads to conflicts between national states. In other words, it's actually that contradiction which basically leads to wars between capitalist states. Of course, this is not entirely separable from the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But still this anarchy/organization contradiction which takes place on one level between organization in enterprises and anarchy in society as a whole also (especially under imperialism) becomes magnified and takes worldwide form in the contradiction between imperialist national capitals—conflict over the division of the world. All this goes along with the point we are making that inter-imperialist wars play a similar role in the contradictions of imperialism that cyclical crises did under pre-monopoly capitalism.

Although other economic systems

(feudalism, for example) exist in the present-day world, what marks imperialism is the qualitative predominance on a world scale of the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch. Each country has its own fundamental contradiction, but it is the resolution of this fundamental contradiction on a world scale that will mean the end of the bourgeois epoch and the start of communism.

The Chinese "General Line" polemic enumerated four basic contradictions in the present-day world: the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, and the inter-imperialist contradiction. Three of these can generally be grouped with the bourgeoisie/proletariat manifestation while one, the inter-imperialist one, can be grouped with the anarchy/organization contradiction. One or the other of these two general types of contradictions may be principal and this relates to whether the trend toward war or the trend toward revolution internationally is principal. Still, all these basic contradictions arise from the fundamental contradiction and its two forms of motion. They do not arise, for example, simply out of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The opposing argument on principal contradiction would differ on some of these points. This argument would have it that if we are talking about a principal contradiction, then it must contain both poles of the class contradiction—that is, it has to have the pole of the people and the pole of the enemy within it. For that reason this argument rejects the idea that the principal contradiction could be one imperialist camp vs. another. It is argued that not grasping this led to revisionism in World War 2. The analysis is that the Comintern actually analyzed the principal contradiction as being between the fascist and bourgeois-democratic imperialist camps and this led them to revisionism and abandoning the revolutionary struggles of the people.

But it would appear that this argument is a misunderstanding of the fundamental contradiction, and specifically that all four of these basic contradictions arise from this fundamental contradiction and are expressions of it. It is not the case that there is simply the bourgeoisie/proletariat contradiction and then from that stems all other contradictions on a world scale and that therefore some form of the contradiction with its two poles of the enemy and the people would have to be the determining contradiction.

There is also the (previously cited) argument that, while the inter-imperialist contradiction is pushing forward the present world situation, still

there is something deeper underneath it which is actually the principal contradiction. The argument is made that it is not the inter-imperialist contradiction that gives rise to the class contradiction, but the other way around. In other words, it is, according to this view, the struggles of the proletariat in the capitalist countries together with the oppressed peoples of the world against the capitalists, coupled with the need of the imperialists to exploit them, that is bringing this inter-imperialist contradiction to the fore. But the need for the imperialists to go to war arises from the fundamental contradiction itself; it does not basically arise from the need to intensify plunder in the colonies, to increase exploitation of the workers in the capitalist countries. These latter are themselves the result of and arise from the fundamental contradiction of the bourgeois epoch (as they express themselves under imperialism).

Others in the international communist movement go so far as to argue that the principal contradiction in the present-day world is—and must be for a long time—between the oppressed nations and imperialism. They regard this as a basic contribution of Mao. In fact, it was Lin Biao who put out the line of making an absolute of this vision of "surrounding the cities from the countryside" on a world scale. It was revolutionary nationalism, on a world scale, and definitely would amount to an argument against the whole conjunctural analysis of the present-day world and the actual potential and possibilities for revolution in countries of all types that are ripening up in the context of the sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions.

One argument is that formulating the inter-imperialist contradiction as the principal one would reduce the proletariat to passivity. What role do you have when the principal contradiction is between two enemy camps? Where are the people in that contradiction? What is the dynamic role of man in those circumstances? As this argument goes around World War 2—is not your role reduced to siding with one particular group of imperialists against another?

In opposition to this argument it is important to point out several things. First, only in the realm of the class struggle, as opposed to the realm of the anarchy/organization contradiction, can man act. Only there can mankind exercise its conscious, dynamic role. (Increasing anarchy in the sphere of production is not our main form of revolutionary activity!) Second, the conscious action of the masses can in fact transform the principal contradiction from one thing to another. The principal contradiction is not a static thing. It is not as though the inter-imperialist contradiction, for example, must work itself out to resolution. The conscious

initiative of the masses can intervene and transform the situation into one where the principal contradiction is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This, in fact, would be required for the full ripening of a revolutionary situation in one country and a successful revolution. It could certainly develop on a world scale with a major advance in the world revolution. Finally, a particular principal contradiction need not be resolved; it can be mitigated and another contradiction can come to the fore. It would seem that overall this point of view is more dynamic, as well as materialist, and underlines the possibilities for coming from behind, the possibilities for rapid intensification of the contradictions in the imperialist system worldwide, including (but not limited to) the imperialist countries.

It would also seem that part of the difference here is can the principal contradiction be a *particular or partial* expression of the fundamental contradiction, or does it have to represent the *entire* fundamental contradiction? Is it not true that to formulate the principal contradiction in this latter way is to lump together into one several of the four basic contradictions?

Mao makes the point in "On Contradiction" that the principal contradiction in the capitalist countries is always between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But is this always so? What about the other manifestation of the fundamental contradiction—can it be principal, manifesting itself most clearly in crisis, as part of this whole worldwide imperialist conjuncture?

What about the concept of a "main enemy" on a world scale? The one formulation of principal contradiction does single out a main enemy on a world scale, the "two superpowers and their allies." Mao certainly used this principle. The essay "On Policy" is one expression of this. Overall, this approach does not seem to be correct as an expression of this. The "General Line" polemic identifies the U.S. imperialists and their allies as the main enemy on the world scale. While the particular main enemy changed with time, the underlying conception of Mao and the other Chinese revolutionaries on this point did not. The whole concept of international united front has to be looked at hard. It is correct to speak of a united front internationally in the sense of the alliance of the proletariat and oppressed nations against imperialism and reaction. But to go beyond this and to zero in on the two superpowers or the "two superpowers and their allies" as the main enemy is a formulation that lands you in trouble and really is not correct. There is a point in identifying the two superpowers as the imperialist countries that are each capable of heading up a bloc to go to war against the other imperialist bloc. But going beyond that, implying a qualitative dif-

ference with other imperialists, and trying to identify a main enemy on a world scale is wrong and is closely related to this understanding of principal contradiction.

If you formulate the enemy as "the two superpowers and their allies," this is a fairly similar formulation to the one in the "General Line" polemic that we criticized. What is the meaning of this formulation? To say "the superpowers and their allies" implies that the other imperialists are enemies *because* they are in alliance with a superpower. If this is the meaning, then the criticism we made of this point in the "General Line" polemic does apply—it feeds the "raise the national flag" arguments for the character of the revolution in these imperialist countries. If, on the other hand, this formulation is not meant to imply this—that these imperialists are not being particularly targeted on the basis of their being allies of a superpower—then the formulation has little specificity.

To conclude, it is important to emphasize the fundamental contradiction in the world—between socialized production and private appropriation—and that there are two forms of motion of this fundamental contradiction—between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the organized character of production at the enterprise level and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. It is from this standpoint that the question of principal contradiction must be addressed.

An Informal Note: Additional Points Related to the Fundamental and Principal Contradiction in the Imperialist Era

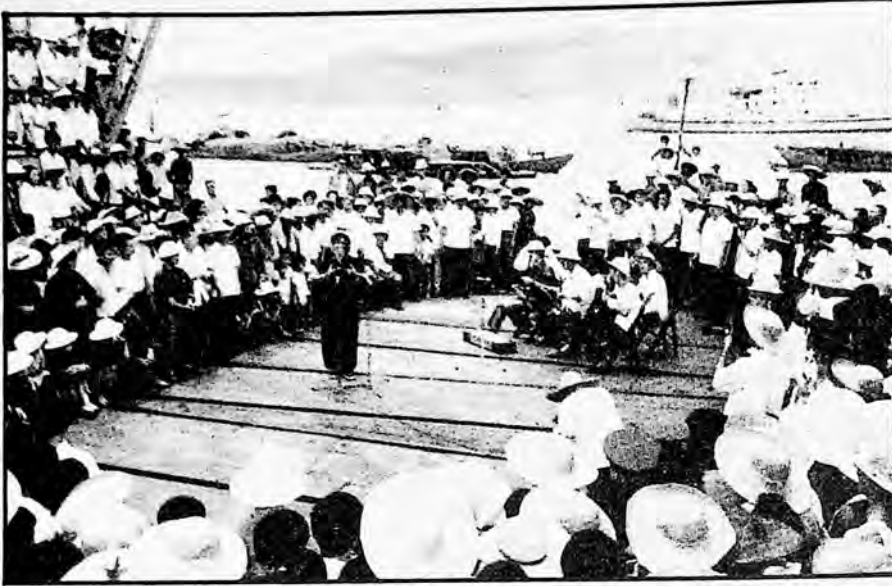
The fundamental contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation works itself out through the development and interpenetration of the other contradictions, integrated into a single process, to which it gives rise. Apart from this, it does not have a separate form of motion, unto itself. The capitalist accumulation process involves both forms of motion, the anarchy/organization contradiction and the class contradiction. The question then posed is which of these is principal in the process.

It is the anarchy of capitalist production which is, in fact, the driving or motive force of this process, even though the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat is an integral part of the contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation. While the exploitation of labor-power is the form by and through which surplus value is created and appropriated, it is the *anarchic relations between capitalist producers, and not the mere existence of propertyless proletarians or the class contradiction as such*, that drives these producers to exploit the working class on an historically more intensive and extensive scale. This motive force of anarchy is an expression of the fact that the capitalist mode of production represents the full development of commodity production and the law of value.

Were it not the case that these capitalist commodity producers are separated from each other and yet linked by the operation of the law of value they would not face the same compulsion to exploit the proletariat—the class contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat could be mitigated. It is the inner compulsion of capital to expand which accounts for the historically unprecedented dynamism of this mode of production, a process which continually transforms value relations and which leads to crisis.

In the era of imperialism the working out of the fundamental contradiction is a process in which there is constant interpenetration between the laws of accumulation and various political forces. More specifically, the working out of this process has taken place through spirals leading to conjunctures characterized by wars among the imperialists and intense revolutionary upheavals. However, *as long as the bourgeois mode of production is qualitatively dominant on a world scale*, the assertion of these laws of accumulation and particularly the motive force of anarchy will overall set the terms and framework of this process. □

FUNDAMENTAL & PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTIONS ON A WORLD SCALE



Turned Sour

Continued from page 7
 "socialism" and the "communist party" is their need to still use Mao's name for their reactionary goals. In one of the scenes in *Unrequited Love* that really rattles the revisionists, Ling Chenguang visits a monastery as a child. Seeing that the statue of the Buddha, originally golden, is now totally black, the child asks the monk why this is so. The monk replies that it is because of the smoke from the incense lighted by the worshippers. Later when Ling is taking refuge in the marsh, there is a flashback to this scene in the monastery, followed by a close-up of "a person with a pious, naive and fanatical look on his face waving a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao*." The symbolism is none too subtle. First of all, Mao is accused of setting himself up as an object of feudal and superstitious worship. Further, what is so glaringly revealed here is the condescending view of the masses held by those like Bai Hua. The masses, to these people, are so ignorant that they are duped into kneeling before gold statues, and don't even know that the incense they burn is turning the statue black with smoke.

To be sure, the revisionists themselves have gone very far in attacking Mao and his revolutionary line, even spreading vile personal slanders about him. But because Mao's role is tightly wound up with China's national liberation and the rise of the Communist Party to power, the revisionists must still hypocritically uphold him as a "national leader," even as they strip him of his revolutionary line and especially his contributions in the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, unrestricted attacks on Mao pose a threat to the revisionists' ability to rule under the "communist" signboard. In addition, although the revisionists have in fact set themselves up as the bourgeois overlords and look down on the masses as mere work horses, they see that the screenplay's failure to pinpoint the Four for attack leaves open the interpretation that a communist party (whether revolutionary or revisionist) inevitably breeds such Buddhas.

Furthermore, the revisionists cannot allow disaffected intellectuals like those pictured in *Unrequited Love* to lay claim to being the "true patriots." Bourgeois nationalism is part and parcel of the Chinese revisionist bourgeois outlook (although being a comprador bourgeoisie, they ultimately capitulate to imperialism and are subservient to its control). But more than this, patriotism has a special significance for the Chinese rulers today. Especially because of their limited material base, they must rely to a great extent on calls for "unselfish" patriotism — as opposed to the "exchange of equal values" patriotism. The *Wenyi Bao* critique explains how a real patriot should act: "Large groups of intellectuals had been unfairly treated because

of the 'leftist' faults and errors in the party's policies, and had been tortured to varying degrees during the decade of turmoil. However, did they not avoid landing themselves in a predicament, fight doggedly against hardships and live on because they had firm faith in the party, the people and socialism?" The message is clear: don't complain about some belt-tightening in service to the bourgeoisie, learn from these intellectuals who went through "torture" yet still managed to retain their "faith." Moreover, *Wenyi Bao* stresses that, "The patriotism of today is inalienable from love for the party and love for socialism." In other words, disparaging words against the revisionist party and state capitalism will be attacked as "unpatriotic."

The revisionists are especially wary about the effect that works like *Unrequited Love* will have in fanning the discontent of the younger "democracy wall" forces. The *Wenyi Bao* critique warns that, "Influenced by poisonous ideas of the old society and by foreign bourgeois ideas, some of them were affected even to the extent of losing confidence in the party and socialism and losing their faith in communism . . . In his works written in 1979, that is, after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, if a communist writer failed to firmly adhere to the correct stand in handling historical problems which had been clarified, if he felt puzzled over the major problems of principle, inevitably, he sympathizes with some erroneous ideas in society, and his works will exert influence unfavorable to the party and socialism."

After spearheading the attack against Mao with their posters at "democracy wall," these forces became victims of a crackdown by the revisionists who wanted to utilize their anti-Mao outpourings but also did not want the questioning of "socialism" and the "communist party" to blow their communist cover. A harsh 15-year prison sentence was handed down on one of their leaders to serve as warning to cool down their activities. Many of the younger intellectuals are not in the official machine, hold ordinary jobs in factories or are even unemployed, and less under the thumb of the party. Some were even influenced by the revolutionaries. All this makes this section rather unstable. The revisionists are afraid that if official writers like Bai Hua continue to produce works like *Unrequited Love*, the younger intellectuals will be further emboldened in challenging the authority of the regime.

Cracks and Crevices

The opening shot in the revisionists' public criticism of Bai Hua and *Unrequited Love* was fired by the *Liberation Army Daily* on April 20 of this year. Instead of contributing to the criticism, the official party paper *People's Daily* reprinted on the following day a speech by a leading party figure in culture who said in part, "If a writer goes wrong in his artistic exploration or expression, he should not be labeled so readily and thoughtlessly as anti-party or anti-socialist." Some analysts saw in this a confrontation between "hardliners" in the army and "liberals" in the party. That *People's Daily* did not echo the criticism of Bai Hua at that point had a great deal to do with the fact that while the revisionists did want to crack open the attack on "bourgeois liberalism," they first wanted to concentrate on and reach a consensus on the official assessment of Mao that was under preparation at the time.

But it is true that differences, sometimes very sharp, do exist within the revisionist clique over how best to deal with the growing dissatisfaction. These differences underscore the seriousness of the situation for the revisionists, and the fact that they have no easy answers. On one hand, they need to stem the tide of so-called "bourgeois liberalism" which, while useful in limited doses, poses a real threat to their particular form of bourgeois rule. But the revisionists must be very careful in wielding the stick, since the disgruntled intellectuals are one of the pillars of their base. Bai Hua himself continues to write today, is referred to as "comrade" in the criticisms and has even received literary prizes for other works since the criticism began. Nevertheless, the moves to tighten up will inevitably further antagonize certain sections of the intelligentsia.

However, the differences that exist within the clique are still only haggling among thieves. The revisionists as a whole see the need to tighten their flanks. With the unveiling of the official assessment of Mao at the 6th Plenary of the Central Committee in July, the revisionists hoped to shift the focus politically from debating over Mao to concentrating on building a "strong" — and capitalist — China.

In the cultural sphere, there is to be a corresponding shift from works solely dealing with moaning over the "tragedy" of the Cultural Revolution (although such works will still have a certain role to play) to concentrating on bringing to the fore their own kind of *revisionist*

art and literature that "agitates" for and extols state capitalism and especially paints a rosy picture of the present leadership. A recent *Beijing Review* summary of a new play about "social and personal problems" of unemployed youths gives a good idea of what the revisionists are looking for: "Despite the pain and anguish conveyed by its participants, the play ends on a happy note when the young people form a service co-operative which permits them to re-orient their lives, utilize their intelligence and regain faith in the ideals of society." Useful to the revisionists and — BORING!

Cheng Ming, a Hong Kong magazine that voices the sentiments of some of the intellectuals and has in the past wholeheartedly supported Deng against Hua, reacted to the latest moves by the revisionist regime like a thief double-crossed by his own gang leader. Noting that the attack on Bai Hua is the first time since the Cultural Revolution that a writer has been criticized in public by name, *Cheng Ming* expressed fears that a new round of anti-Rightist mass movements like the ones initiated and led by Mao and other revolutionaries was being whipped up.

But such fears stem from the magazine's petty bourgeois outlook and badly miss the mark. The revisionist rulers have no intention of mobilizing the masses to deal with the contradictions with the intellectuals. At a meeting called by Deng to talk to the top revisionist rogues in the ideological field about a month after the 6th Plenary, Deng said that the most pressing problem with the party leadership in the ideological field and the art and literature field was its "weak and lax condition." Criticizing Bai Hua by name, Deng said that "the essence of bourgeois liberalism is opposition to party leadership" and that "party writers, artists and ideological workers must first of all observe party discipline." With a few well-placed criticisms of Bai Hua as a signal, the reins will be tightened by bureaucratic pressure through the party channels.

Mao's Line

The revisionists' method of dealing with the intellectuals shows clearly that like all bourgeoisies, the Chinese rulers play up to the most backward aspects of the intellectuals in order to manipulate them for their own ends. By contrast, Mao's line on intellectuals was that although there existed a hard core of reactionaries, the great majority were willing to support and work for socialism, while there was a minority of con-

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23 HANGED AT HANDS OF POLICE

CHICAGO'S LYNCH MOB

Since December 1979, the bodies of 23 men — nearly all oppressed nationalities — have been found hanging in various Chicago police lock-ups. Police murder in this fashion has been called "suicide" due to the coordinated efforts of the Chicago Police and the Office of the Cook County Medical Examiner. Seven of the victims had been arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and most of the victims had been in police custody only a few hours.

"Usually, they are arrested for an alcohol-related offense or it's their first arrest and they become depressed because of what their family or friends might think. They are also generally people with no prior suicidal tendencies . . . You don't have robbers and rapists committing suicide in lockups." This is the way Police Supt. Brzezczek explained away the fact that most of the victims were young and had been arrested on minor charges.

The Medical Examiner, Robert Stein, has a notorious and well documented history of making whatever findings necessary to absolve the pigs of murder. His findings in these "suicide" hangings are an extension of this same tradition.

Craig Jackson, a 19-year-old Black youth, was found hanging in a West Side lockup on September 15. The Medical Examiner's Office ruled it a suicide, claiming that Craig had hung himself with shoelaces from his old gym shoes. Dr. Beamer, the physician who wrote the autopsy report, failed to notice a severe injury on Craig's ear and bruises all over his face.

Mr. Jackson, Craig's father, told the *RW*, "We looked at the shoestring marks and it went almost straight across his neck. My wife — she's a registered nurse — and a couple of medical people said that the shoestring marks should have come up more around his ear if he was actually hanging . . . Those old worn out gym shoestrings couldn't even hold 70 pounds and there is no way it could have held my son who weighed 150 pounds and not the 133 pounds that was reported in the *Sun-Times*. The marks on his body and his filthy clothes makes it look like they were beating him, had him on the floor, then someone stood on his back to keep him down while others wrapped the string around his neck and strangled him to death . . ."

After the exposure of Jackson's murder other families stepped forward and said that the deaths of their relatives had been shrouded in similar suspicious circumstances and had also been termed "suicide."

The Medical Examiner's ruling in the death of Chatman Farland, a 40-year-old Black man who was found hanging in a far south side lockup on February 26, 1981, was suicide by strangulation with his sweater. Color slides taken by an aide to the medical examiner at the time of the autopsy reveal puffy and defined discoloration on Farland's eyelids and the faint image of an elongated bruise around the right eye. The Farland family also took pictures at the morgue shortly after the autopsy and these clearly show the bruise near the right eye. Three witnesses at the morgue

when these pictures were taken say both eyes were bruised and one eye appeared to have been "shoved back in his head." None of these wounds were documented on the official autopsy report. Farland was arrested in his home on disorderly conduct charges. Relatives said he was uninjured at the time of his arrest.

The Medical Examiner has yet to rule whether the death of 25-year-old Nelson Justice was caused by suicide, homicide, accident, or natural causes. Justice had been arrested in his home on October 11 and a few hours later his bruised body was discovered hanging by a belt. His relatives say he was uninjured when arrested and not wearing a belt. Once again the official autopsy report failed to notice a severe wound, an inch-long gash, in the middle of the victim's head.

In the few weeks since these disclosures began, the families of these men have retained lawyers and are trying to expose the fact that their relatives did not commit suicide, but were murdered. Four families have now demanded that the bodies of their relatives be exhumed and re-examined by an independent pathologist.

The *Chicago Sun-Times* was the source through which these incidents first came to light, perhaps as a result of local political infighting in an attempt to discredit certain public officials. A lot of media attention has been riveted on the Medical Examiner's Office as the target of blame, and the *Sun-Times* has taken the unprecedented step of demanding that the bodies of all the vic-

tims be exhumed and re-examined.

Where this will lead is unclear, as is the reason for the *Sun-Times'* revelations. The newspaper hailed as a great reform Brzezczek's order to remove belts and shoelaces from all Chicago prisoners — thereby decreasing the chance of more "suicides." Within weeks of this "reform" the body of the 23rd victim, 20-year-old Ronald Goldman, was found hanging in his cell — by his trousers. "Suicide," concluded Medical Examiner Stein. This, despite the fact that an eyewitness reported that Goldman was badly beaten even before he was taken to the police lockup. Goldman's girlfriend said when police arrived at her house to arrest him, "One detective reached up and grabbed Ronald's head and pulled it down against his knee and then another one hit him in the stomach, all for no reason. Robert was just standing there." She said the police then took him into a nearby room and shut the door. "We could hear him screaming in pain."

Brzezczek's response to this most recent evidence of police murder was to conclude that the prisoners must be watched more closely. He announced a plan to screen the prisoners for "suicidal tendencies." This move won immediate praise from the *Sun-Times* editors, who appear bent on dispelling any illusions that this exposure will lead to punishment of the cops. Brzezczek was declared to be "not a run-of-the-mill chief. Hooray for that! . . . It's also good to have an official that acts to correct a problem rather than cover it up." □

Jimi Simmons

Native Fighter's Trial Opens

After a week of pre-trial motions and jury selection, the trial of James Simmons, a Muckleshoot/Rouge River Indian who is imprisoned at the Washington State Penitentiary, is set to begin on Monday, November 30. Jimi is being framed for the stabbing of a Walla Walla prison guard in June, 1979.

On Sunday, November 15, a Sacred Fire was lit at Yellow Thunder camp, the Native occupation in the Black Hills, and it will remain burning throughout Jimi's trial. Sacred Circle, Pipe Ceremony and other traditional Native American ceremonies have been held in connection with the opening of the trial in Texas, Arizona, California, Oregon and many other states, as well as Canada. In Washington State, ceremonies have been held by Native prisoners inside both the Walla Walla prison and the State Reformatory at Monroe, and by Native Americans in Seattle, Spokane, and the Nisqually Reservation, to name only a few places. Internationally, too, the trial has been publicized in Sweden, West Germany, Holland and England by groups supporting the struggles of Native Americans and of prisoners.

The state has conceded two important points in the first round of legal

proceedings, all in the hope of maneuvering themselves into a better position to continue the attack. On the morning of Wednesday, November 18, before the first day of jury selection began, Judge Yancey Reser called defense and prosecution lawyers into his chambers to announce that he would not order Jimi to be shackled and chained during the trial. This was a dramatic reversal of Judge Reser's ruling only a month earlier, and follows a year-long struggle over exactly this issue.

At the pre-trial hearings on October 14, Jimi announced his refusal to be degraded by being forced to wear chains to his own trial, saying he would refuse to attend his trial under those conditions. Further he announced that he was firing his attorney and would present no defense at all during the trial if he was forced to appear in court in chains. The judge and the state continued until the last minute to try to force Jimi to back down. On Monday, November 16, one of the prosecutors in the case was still arrogantly boasting, "We are ready to go to trial, and he (Jimi) can't stop us from doing it." Despite the false bravado, the prosecutor did admit that Jimi's adamant

refusal to have anything to do with the trial under such conditions made the situation "somewhat difficult." For over a year, the legal battle over this issue had been fought, and courts all the way up to the Supreme Court had ruled that Jimi would be shackled. But in the face of the growing exposure around this case, the state could not afford the spectacle of conducting a trial without a defendant or a defense, nor of attempting to forcibly bring Jimi into court.

Shortly thereafter, the court quietly dropped the threat of attempting to bring the death penalty against Jimi. The death penalty provision under which Jimi was originally charged had been ruled unconstitutional. Therefore, in order to have the possibility of sentencing Jimi to death if convicted, the state had to recharge Jimi under a new state law. But, by the time jury selection began, Jimi had not been recharged. This maneuver, too, represented a realization on the state's part of the severe political exposure they face in this trial.

But the state certainly isn't giving up. This was made clear in other pre-trial rulings in the case, rulings which also gave a taste of the kind of "evidence" the state will use in the trial itself. The defense moved to have both the testimony of one prisoner and of one guard—both of whom claim to have witnessed the stabbing—barred from the case. The prisoner-witness gave his "testimony" in a statement read on a videotape recording, and he later died of an illness. His testimony was given while he was under the influence of no less than five psychoactive drugs. In fact, in the middle of his testimony, the prisoner was given a "methadone cocktail." As one person working on Jimi's defense put it, "It's as if a person shot up heroin in the middle of their testimony and then continued to testify." But despite this fact, and the fact that Washington law clearly prohibits any person who is intoxicated from testifying, the judge still ruled that the testimony would be allowed in the

trial.

The second motion, concerning the guard's testimony, clearly reveals the forces at work in manufacturing such "eyewitnesses" against Jimi. This guard, who was at the scene of the stabbing, was shown a number of pictures of Indian prisoners immediately after the stabbing and was unable to identify any one of them. Nonetheless, by this guard's own admission, a report of the incident naming Jimi Simmons was typed up under the personal supervision of the prison superintendent. The guard then signed the report two days after the stabbing, but when he dated the report he did not put the date he signed it, but the date of the stabbing. On this same day—two days after the stabbing—this guard was shown another group of photos, and this time, he claims, he picked out Jimi's picture. But there is no record at all of this "identification" having ever taken place. The point is obvious: after the guard was stabbed, the prison administration singled out Jimi Simmons, and had the guard "identify" him. Naturally, the judge allowed this ludicrous "identification"—which is the centerpiece of the state's case against Jimi—to be presented in the trial as well.

What's shaping up here could also be seen in jury selection. Every single one of the pool of 90 potential jurors was white. Among those the judge refused to disqualify from sitting on the case were a man who regularly plays golf with one of the prosecutors and a woman who stated under questioning that she knew Jimi must have done "something" or he wouldn't be in court.

There's an element of truth in this reactionary prejudice. Jimi has done something: he has played a key role in the struggle of Native prisoners at Walla Walla; and has become symbolic beyond these prison walls. This is why he's "in court" and the subject of a government frameup. □

Blockade

Continued from page 1

This heavy-handed posturing goes along with some increase in U.S. military activity in the area. There have already been two full-scale U.S. military exercises in the Caribbean in the past month—the first, in tandem with Honduras, off the coast of Nicaragua, and the second throughout the Caribbean, aided by the British Royal Navy. The latter maneuvers featured a “simulated disembarking of 2000 Marines” on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, and involved 38 warships and more than 200 airplanes. At the same time, the U.S. hosted a conference of military commanders and intelligence officials from 20 of its neocolonies and client states in Latin America and the Caribbean, focusing on possible joint military activity to deal with the mounting problems in the region. And the U.S. has just upgraded its Caribbean task force to a military command operation, giving it more ability and flexibility in calling on and coordinating naval, army and air force units to send wherever they are needed in the region. In addition, it's been suggested that military aid to the regime in El Salvador be increased.

Accompanying all this has come a barrage of bald-faced lies and unmitigated reactionary arrogance from the foaming mouthpieces of U.S. imperialism. The press has been filled with grossly exaggerated claims of Soviet and Cuban military backing of Nicaragua. At first it was stories about the building of a 200,000 man army in Nicaragua and 1,000 planes for its air force. Dramatic maps and charts were produced for this super-hype and so forth. But now it comes out that maybe it's more like a 50,000 man army and a few U.S. helicopters from Vietnam (hmm—now where did they get those) as well as the training of some Nicaraguan pilots in Eastern Europe. Along with this they have openly bragged about how the U.S. has “never allowed the existence of any Marxist governments in Latin America” and has just gone in there and overthrown them. Why after all, that's U.S. soil, isn't it? While the Soviets and Cubans are certainly building up Nicaragua militarily to some extent (it is not clear just how much), these claims by the U.S. are obviously grossly inflated and actually such blatant lies and swaggering can even serve to make these Soviet imperialists look good in comparison to the U.S. Really, the nerve of Haig and company is astounding! First they shamelessly brag about how they have never hesitated to use their military might to knock down anything and anyone who has stood in their way in Latin America and then they point their fingers at Soviet “interference in the internal affairs” of countries in the area. Such vivid self-exposure! And let us add one more fact to this admission. Quite frankly the *only* reason that the U.S. has not taken even more drastic military action in Central America *right now* is because of its larger political and military concerns in Central America and worldwide, in light of the super-power jockeying in preparation for war that is currently going on.

This latest flurry of threats prompted swift denunciations in response from Cuba and other quarters and also a certain degree of tactical disagreement within the U.S. bourgeoisie over whether this was the right thing to be doing at this particular time. While military actions such as a blockade of Nicaragua cannot be ruled out altogether, it seems much more likely that what has gone down these past weeks is a U.S. attempt to apply some pressure with these imperialist posturings themselves to certain forces in Central America who are being courted by the Soviets and Cubans, especially in Nicaragua and El Salvador; to blunt some of the political and military advances that the Soviets are making in what the U.S. calls its “backyard”; and to put a damper on some of the opposition to the U.S. among the masses in Central America generally. The intention is to point the finger at the Soviets and Cubans in Nicaragua especially and their efforts to “totalitarianize” Central America (as opposed to the already

existing and far superior pro-U.S. “authoritarian” regimes) and then in true gangster style, to point to the U.S. guns and say, “Well, if we have to come out with the big stick over your heads it's the fault of the Soviets for provoking us.” It is hoped that this will help “reason” prevail among those who are fighting to rid themselves of the bloody domination of the U.S. and its puppets.

The very fact that the U.S. is forced to take this tack is itself a dramatic illustration of the increasingly desperate situation it finds itself in in Central America. Having been the number one oppressor and exploiter of the people of the area for so long, the U.S. finds itself on the defensive and certainly unable to garner support among the masses on the basis of how wonderful and benevolent it is. The Soviets, however, are attempting at every turn to capitalize on and take advantage of the exposed position of the U.S. and even to make use of U.S. military threats in the region for their own imperialist purposes. And a lot is on the line in all of this, not just in Central America but worldwide.

The threats of a naval blockade of Nicaragua—and what the U.S. is actually trying to bring about with these threats—show just how intense and complex the geopolitical jockeying in the region has become. The Soviets, through the influence of their revisionist front-men in Cuba and important sections of the Sandinista leadership, have clearly gained the upper hand in the Nicaraguan state apparatus and have been using that to further their influence within the region as a whole, especially in El Salvador, the hottest spot at the moment. A part of this—in both the short run and in preparation for more long-range activities—has been building up the Sandinista army with a bourgeois chain of command, and a dependence on Soviet-bloc armaments like T-55 tanks and Czech rifles, funneled especially through Cuba. Despite the exaggerated U.S. claims, it is true that Nicaragua currently has the largest army in Central America—and that its weaponry, as well as military advisors, come from the Soviet bloc.

This military build-up can certainly be helpful to the Soviet Union, Cuba, *et al.* in a future world war situation, but they are using it most prominently right now to increase their political influence—and that of their most loyal front-men—in the region. To those bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in Nicaragua and El Salvador who, in the context of the deepening economic and political crisis in the region, are looking more and more to get at least some freedom from the U.S.' clutches, the Nicaraguan military build-up is both a symbol of the “help” they can get from the U.S.' main rival, as well as real material to strengthen their hand—as is the case in the funneling of some of this weaponry to El Salvador. At the same time, the Soviets use their influence in the Nicaraguan state apparatus for more explicitly political purposes, as when Nicaragua presented the proposals of the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN), the Salvadoran opposition coalition, for a negotiated compromise in the UN General Assembly a couple of months ago. And all this is used to promote the Soviet and/or Cuban image before a section of the masses as supporters of revolution, at least in Latin America

(since such a view doesn't hold much water in places like Afghanistan and Poland).

On the other hand, while the Soviets currently have the upper hand in Nicaragua, things are by no means settled. In fact, they are having more than a few problems of their own. For one thing, their overall global imperatives and the fact that they are not now in a position to go head-to-head with the U.S. in the region, have forced them to try and keep Nicaragua “moderate” and “pluralistic”—that is, open to Western imperialist financial investment and internal capitalists hooked up with it. This has also enabled them to exploit certain differences between the U.S. and its Western European imperialist allies over how to deal with the Central American situation—differences based on competing imperialist interests. But at the same time, this leaves the U.S. free to try and take advantage of these openings by pressuring its allies and underlings, again both in Nicaragua and elsewhere, to try to tighten the screws against the Sandinista regime, stepping up political and economic “destabilization” moves. At the same time, the Sandinista leaders are having their hands full with sections of the masses who are vociferously objecting to the whole tenor of things within Nicaragua itself—including continued economic dependence upon Western imperialism, with belt-tightening to pull off an ever increasing foreign debt, and the growing political dependence upon the Soviet imperialist bloc. And all this is being watched very carefully by all the various imperialists and Central American bourgeois class forces to help determine the best way to advance their own interests.

Just days before a number of pro-Western capitalists in Nicaragua were about to embark on a tour of Europe, which would clearly have been directed against continuing Western European support for the present Sandinista government, they and other pro-U.S. forces were arrested by the Nicaraguan police. At the same time, a large number of other forces, described as “ultra-leftists” by Sandinista leaders, were also arrested for stepping up opposition to the present economic plan. This Sandinista clampdown of both political groupings represented a further tightening of the Soviet line in the Nicaraguan ruling apparatus. But the very fact that they were forced to show their hand in this manner reveals more of the Soviet vulnerabilities in the situation.

It is exactly those vulnerabilities that the U.S. is trying to take advantage of to regain the initiative *vis à vis* the Soviets, not only in Nicaragua but in the surrounding area, especially El Salvador. In that country, the U.S. has been pushing ahead with its planned elections for a constituent assembly in 1982 in an effort to give the puppet junta some “legitimacy” at home and abroad in the face of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of people there, and to try to stabilize the situation somewhat. But U.S. attempts to get sections of the leadership of the opposition coalition to participate in this maneuver, and move in a direction away from pro-Soviet forces who have a great deal of influence in the FDR/FMLN and are trying to gain a share of political power, have yet to bear fruit. Lately, the U.S. press has been running a number of reports on the “strengths of the ultra-right” in the coming elections, with the clear implication that unless the opposition

forces participate, there will be a “right-wing coup,” (bloodless or otherwise) and they, along with such “moderate and reformist” fascists as junta president José Napoleón Duarte will be cut out of the picture. This is an example of the kind of pressure the U.S. is trying to put on some FDR leaders to force (or enable) them to abandon their current opposition to the present regime—or at the very least, to concede much more in an eventual “negotiated solution” favorable to the U.S.

It is this type of movement that the U.S. is trying to bring about. And whatever immediate military escalations they do adopt, including more military aid to El Salvador, possibly stopping certain Cuban ships en route to Nicaragua or El Salvador, etc., will be to further this objective as well as pursuing its overall military necessities in the area. This is what lies behind Haig's barbed threats surrounding the Nicaraguan “drift toward totalitarianism... This is just not in the interests of the western hemisphere, of our democratic ideals and values. It is incumbent on us to work in political, economic and security areas to prevent this drastic outcome. We have not given up on Nicaragua, but the hours are growing rather short.”

A sharp illustration of what the U.S. is up to can be seen in the recent trip to Mexico by Alexander Haig and his meeting with Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda. According to the press reports, Castañeda urged Haig not to be “hasty” in dealing with Nicaragua, and warned of possible “counter-productive” results from too heavy a military thrust. Mexico offered to be a “communicator” between the U.S. and Nicaragua, warning that “anti-interventionist” feeling was high in Latin America and that it would be hard for pro-U.S. governments there to get over with supporting more direct U.S. military moves in the area. On the one hand, this urging for restraint reflects the real dangers involved in stepping up U.S. military moves in Central America and perhaps also some differences between the U.S. and its loyalists in the Mexican government. And on the other hand, this measured realism and offer to be a go-between with Washington and Managua represents an attempt to use the militant image of those like Mexican President Lopez Portillo and their friendly relations with Cuba and Nicaragua in what amounts to a version of the old good cop/bad cop routine. Mexican officials were, of course, quick to point out that they shared “a common concern” in the search to find the ways of dealing with the “problems of Nicaragua” and also that their meetings with Haig were “extremely cordial,” etc. It appears that what is hoped is that Mexico and perhaps others could play a valuable role cast as the reasonable supporters of Western democracy trying to hold off the overly eager U.S. from going too far in the just cause of staving off Soviet intervention in Central America. Having recognized the FDR in El Salvador as a “legitimate political force” recently (along with France), it is undoubtedly hoped that Mexico could be very helpful to U.S. efforts to drive wedges in the bourgeois opposition in El Salvador focused around the planned 1982 elections.

These are the U.S.' intentions, but there is no guarantee at all that things will work out as planned. Military escalations—and threats of much more of the same—are crucial to achieving their objectives, but they all hold great risks for them. This has been a source of much disagreement within the U.S. ruling class over what to do about the mess they are sinking in in Central America. A November 25 editorial in the *New York Times* appropriately titled, “The Right Stick for Nicaragua” warns of the dangers of the Reagan administration's recent actions and reflects the kind of tactical debate going on in the bourgeoisie:

“...the Reagan administration's heavy breathing about a possible blockade (of Nicaragua—RH), or even invasion, will not stop the drift towards tyranny. If these plans are serious, talking about them is a reckless indiscretion. If they are not serious, which is

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We the participants of the national tour of Salvadoran revolutionaries wish to dedicate our presentation and the discussion that is to follow to the memory of Comrade Süleyman Cihan, a leading member of the TKPML who was murdered by imperialism through its puppet junta that today rules Turkey.

For the two months that this comrade was detained, he was brutally tortured, till he was murdered. His internationalist stand was undaunted. They couldn't break him.

With the vile assassination of Comrade Süleyman Cihan, the imperialists and their dogs will never be able to assassinate the desire of the people for liberation nor kill the revolutionary ideas of the people who suffer under imperialism. This is why he will always be alive among the oppressed people, that is, the international proletariat.

Our response to his murder will not be to remain silent with heads bowed — just the opposite! — the future belongs to us, the wretched of the earth, and from our ranks new leaders shall emerge, and together we shall raise our flag; the red one, the international, and we shall carry it high forever until victory.

¡Compañero Süleyman Cihan Presente!

(Delivered at Howard University, Monday, November 23)

New Barrage On Black August

The assault of the political police and prison authorities against the Black August Organizing Committee has continued to intensify in recent weeks. On November 12th, Berkeley, California police arrested two members of Black August on blatantly trumped-up charges, this time for murder, and held them for \$250,000 bail apiece. This brings to 6 the total number of Black August members now locked up in recent raids and busts by the authorities. Three have been held since October 16th on parole holds, with no charges or parole violations of any kind filed. (See *RW* No. 129)

One of the two recently arrested on the phony charges, Hashima (Michael Murdock), has been a particular focus of the recent attacks. His house was raided, and he has been incarcerated twice in the last month, and twice released when the authorities apparently had not yet finished making up their story. The charge against him now is murder with special circumstances—which means the state intends to go for the death penalty in his case. The police are charging Hashima and his co-defendant Chaka (Roy Gant) with a shotgun attack on two men who were standing in front of a liquor store on San Pablo Avenue in West Berkeley. Much of the police case rests on an identification made by a drug addict in need of some quick cash, who went to the police weeks after the shooting happened. The police say that "No motive has been established" for the shooting. What has been established, however, is the police motive for charging Black August members with this murder. And that is both to intensify the recent police assault on Black August, and use the media to spread the COINTELPRO-type stories which authorities have been planting in the press for years to try to politically isolate revolutionary prisoners in California.

These most recent arrests, the handiwork of the Special Services Unit (SSU) of the California Department of Corrections (CDC) and the Berkeley police, have been accompanied by an intensification of the ongoing media campaign against Black August and the prison movement generally. This "at-

tempt by authorities to criminalize the prison movement" as a speaker at a recent fundraising meeting for Black August put it, go hand in hand with the nationwide attempt to "criminalize" and jail revolutionary nationalists. Last week the FBI announced that the hunt for those supposedly part of the bank robbery in Nyack, N.Y. has now been extended into the Bay Area—apparently they felt that they needed a belated excuse to cover up and step up the dirty work they have already been doing.

The political attacks on former prisoners continuing their revolutionary work after they get out is a continuation of the decades-long criminal record of the CDC against revolutionary prisoners. In two years, between 1969 and 1971, at least 7 Black revolutionaries were murdered in California prisons at the hands of guards. In 1970, W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards, and Sweet Jugs Miller were shot down by prison guards in Soledad. The next day, their murder was declared justifiable homicide. This crime was so blatant and outrageous, that years later a grand jury found the guards and prison administration guilty of conspiracy, and awarded hundreds of thousands of dollars to the parents of the murdered men. The murder of George Jackson in San Quentin is perhaps the most infamous of all these political killings.

Such murders were the *coup de grace* in a campaign of suppression and outright torture—years spent in isolation, in strip cells, under murderous assault by fascist gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood—attacks encouraged and orchestrated by the highest levels of the prison administration, the political police and the government. An important part of this attack has been the frame-ups of revolutionary prisoners. Graham and Allen, two revolutionaries accused in 1973 of killing a prison guard, were finally acquitted this year after 4 trials. Shujaa (Graham), did 11 years, 9 in solitary, for a \$45 robbery. He recently received a note from a prisoner who had been offered \$10,000 to get him killed or in jail again.

Even under these conditions of incredible isolation and constant attacks, in a period of revolutionary upsurge

like the 1960s, the revolutionary prison movement brought forward leaders like George Jackson. This is certainly what the political police are desperately trying to head off, and keep bottled up within the prisons in the coming period. The prison authorities know well the difference between gangsters and revolutionaries. As Shujaa put it, "I never saw pimps and thugs spend years in solitary."

When the arrests of the Black August members went down in October, the media ran a slander campaign, repeating charges that the police had found a "hit list" of prison officials, as well as charges of drug dealing and so on. These charges were exposed in court hearings as existing only in the minds of CDC officials, who had to admit that no such "hit list" was ever found. The latest twist in the twisted COINTELPRO-style media campaign against Black August has come in the news stories "reporting" on the arrest of Hashima and Chaka for murder. Along with the other slanders, the stories have tried to establish a "connection" linking Black August to the shooting of attorney Fay Stender in 1979. Fay Stender was George Jackson's lawyer for a time in the 1960s. In 1979, she was shot and crippled by someone who made her sign a statement saying that she had betrayed George Jackson and the

prison movement. She later committed suicide. Some in the prison movement have suggested that it was the police who set up Stender's shooting. The "connections" the police claim between Black August and Stender's shooting amount to the fact that George Jackson, members of Black August, and the man convicted of shooting Stender were all Black and all prisoners! The political police have tried to use this shooting to drive political wedges between the most oppressed sections of society and more privileged sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and especially between revolutionary nationalist prisoners and lawyers. These efforts have been intensifying in recent months, as the political vulnerability of imperialism and rising revolutionary currents among the oppressed have come more sharply into focus, and the attempt of the authorities to drag this out again is as transparent as it is blatant.

The government can, and will, reach deep into their COINTELPRO bag of tricks to slander, attack, and attempt to crush forces like Black August. But all that can never change the fact that revolution, as a Black August spokesman put it, "is a determined historical necessity set by the conditions capitalism itself has created." □

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Guatemala

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the soil was tired and I could cultivate only by buying fertilizer. We used to have fiestas in which a group of riders would gallop and fight among themselves to see who could grab hold of roosters hung by cords. If one fell, he would be trampled by the horses. That was a sign of a good harvest. Now we have neither roosters nor horses and fertilizer costs 18 Q (quetzales—one quetzale is about a dollar) for 48 Kilograms, and that's not enough for even a hectare. The land can't give us enough to eat for even a month.

"So we have to go to the coast for work in the rich man's farms or else we become servants in the cities, just to come back home with a little bit of money and a lot of diseases.

"In the villages there are people called 'contractors'. They loan us money and to repay them we have to go with them to the farms of the rich to work. They give us 5 Q to work three months. They take us there in trucks like cattle and when we arrive at the farm the contractor takes us to the head man who works us like slaves. Now, after a strike, they pay us 2 Q daily, before it was only 0.70. If we work 30 days, for example, harvesting coffee, they pay us 60 Q but they discount the 5Q paid by the contractor and the corn they give us to eat. We bring our families to work. The women cook the corn with lime for tortillas and we eat them with the salt they give us. When they have time, the women help us harvest. When we return all we have in our pockets is 25 or 30 Q

and a lot of diseases.

"A lot of times the trucks they transport us in plunge down cliffs and a lot of friends and their entire families die. The contractors collect 0.10 Q for every day of our work and the cost of the transporting. But those shameless dogs make us pay our transportation going and coming. We are like beasts of burden: they take away our land and you yourselves saw how they come with airplanes to kill our people in Coya Village, just because we didn't want to be slaves."

His eyes filled with tears. He filled his plate with beans and sat in silence.

"We escaped that massacre because we got a letter from my daughter warning us to escape before the soldiers came. She wrote, 'Get out quick, it makes no sense for you to be there in the village where they will kill you while I am here fighting, it makes no sense, no sense.' Now we flee from house to house, from village to village, wherever there is no army. I think it will be for only a short time because there are thousands of compañeros who are fighting and many more who support them."

The bigger kids had finished eating and they surrounded us. They did not understand Spanish but they were so quiet they appeared to understand. Miguel, as a way of saying goodbye, told us, "We have nothing more than a tired land and starving children, but we also have many friends who are fighting for all this to change. We Indians have decided not to wait anymore, we are taking our future into our own hands."

Guatemala, Sept. 20, 1981

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Ireland

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Paisley and his cohorts have denounced British Prime Minister Thatcher as "a traitor"; screamed from behind a table draped with the British Union Jack that they would not be stopped in carrying out assassinations and pogroms against the Catholics in Ulster; and vowed that "never, never, never would they become a part of Ireland!" On Monday, November 23, Paisley initiated a "Day of Action" that took place with nearly 40 rallies and marches dotting the Protestant areas of Northern Ireland. Short work stoppages took place in the Belfast shipyards and Paisley spoke to a march of 4,000 members of his "third force" in the town of Newtownards, as some estimated 10,000 people cheered from the sidelines. Other Loyalist leaders and organizations have taken their own steps to rally the Protestants to assert their rights as loyal subjects and servants of the British empire; especially their right to oppress and suppress the Nationalist population.

As per usual what the struggle in Northern Ireland is really all about, and just what the British imperialists are up to right now in Ireland, is being completely obscured under the intolerably twisted and absurd lies about Britain being caught in the middle of "extremists" on both sides, and how the IRA and the Nationalist population, who are fighting British rule, are maniacs intent on exterminating "innocent and peace-loving families" and so on and on. It is never mentioned just what those 30,000 troops are doing in Ireland. Their daily and hourly terror and suppression of the Catholics of Northern Ireland, while working hand-in-hand with the Protestant paramilitaries, not only continues but is being stepped up in an attempt to keep the lid on the boiling anger of the Nationalist population somehow is just out of the picture. It was even implied that the 600 British paratroopers who were just sent to the North to beef up the forces already there were for dealing with the current Protestant backlash to stand between "feuding extremists." The reality, however, is that they were immediately dispatched to Catholic border areas as a display of force to intimidate renewed outbreaks of resistance to the reactionary provocations now going down in the area. And, of course, in all of this it is never mentioned that the partitioning of Ireland into North and South, and the creation of the whole Protestant supremacist structure in Northern Ireland, was the systematic work of the British in service of their imperialist aims and it has been allowed to grow and fester precisely to further the continued British domination of Ireland. And what is being consciously obscured, in the midst of all this, is what Britain is up to right now in its bid to strengthen its hand in all of Ireland in the face of the powerful struggles of the Irish people in the North whose fight against British rule threatens to break out with renewed force.

In recent months feverish maneuverings and scheming have been going on between the British government and their faithful lackeys who rule the Republic of Ireland in the south (and bourgeois Catholic elements in the North as well) to solidify long-standing attempts at reaching some sort of phony "reunification" of Ireland agreement. The objective of such an agreement is to legitimize the existing North/South partition with a few minor alterations, allowing for a greater voice for the Catholic bourgeoisie in the running of the North and some hollow phrases about the rights of the Catholic population in the North. In effect what the rulers of the Republic of Ireland are doing is renouncing any claim that Ireland is one country in exchange (if it could be called that) for increased economic, political, and especially military "cooperation" with England and the rest of the Western imperialists. Recognizing the British/Loyalist regime in Ulster is a necessary precondition for bringing Ireland, already a member of the Common Market (EEC), into the NATO war alliance. And this is definitely a pressing problem for Britain and the

U.S. war bloc given the sharpening situation in the world. The demand of the people of Ireland both north and south for a united Ireland free of British control has stood in the way of these very vital steps. The first phase of this scheme was put into motion in London on November 6, when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald announced the creation of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council. This is not a new idea. In fact, British attempts to formalize a similar agreement took place in 1973 with the issuing of the Sunningdale Agreement. This was seen as an important stepping stone to a Council of Ireland that would both stabilize Northern Ireland (barely a year before Britain was forced to close the northern Parliament and instituted direct rule) and tighten up British control of their "British Isles."

This Anglo-Irish Council has very similar features to the earlier Council of Ireland outlined in Sunningdale. Both had in mind intensified, joint economic ventures. And both had in mind facilitating the joint suppression of the struggle of the Irish-Catholics in the North, with the recent Anglo-Irish Council making the leap to seriously considering the establishment of an All-Ireland Court to carry this out. Both plans provide for "majority rule" in Northern Ireland, meaning British/Loyalist rule since Protestants outnumber Catholics in the North two to one. Back then, the Sunningdale Agreement was felled by a massive general strike organized by Protestant leaders who feared the restriction of their right to rule the roost on behalf of the Queen's empire. Then, the British imperialists summed up that instead of pressing the issue, it would be better to bide their time.

But now time is growing short. In fact, this latest Anglo-Irish Council has been in the works for nearly a year, its first appearance coming in December 1980, when FitzGerald's predecessor, former Prime Minister Charles Haughey, held the so-called "historic" Dublin Summit with Thatcher. But those grand dreams of the imperialists, and their willing partners in the Irish regime, were dashed by the outbreak of the H-Block hunger strikes and the resulting upheavals that swept Northern Ireland. Indeed, it wasn't until the hunger strikes ended this past October—after feverish behind-the-scenes manipulations and pressures from the British and their faithful servants in the Catholic clergy—that this Anglo-Irish Council could be pieced back together.

The schemes of the imperialists and their servants in the Irish regime in the Republic have had serious difficulty in getting over. The very idea that the Dublin government would openly and blatantly acquiesce to recognition of the regime in Northern Ireland as legitimate has always repulsed the broad masses of Irish people, who have opposed such recognition. It is this repulsion and opposition that has the British rulers, more desperately than ever, enlisting the pro-British, bourgeois-Catholic forces on both sides of the partition in their cause in order to get over with this latest round of maneuvers. Garret FitzGerald, schooled well in the ranks of the U.S.-led Trilateral Commission, is no stranger whatsoever to fighting for the interests of the imperialists. Already he has come across with the dumping of an article in the Irish Constitution that held that the Republic had sovereignty over all of Ireland. And, as noted in a recent issue of the *Irish Independent*, a pro-government paper in Dublin, the November 6th talks between him and Thatcher should not even cause the Loyalist regime to blink an eye: "It was designed to assure Northern unionists that Britain would not sell them out and that the Republic was interested in peace and reconciliation rather than a takeover." FitzGerald's loudly hailed "campaign against sectarianism" is aimed at attacking all opposition to British occupation and domination of Northern Ireland. No wonder a recent public opinion poll conducted in the North by Ulster T.V. showed that 66% of the Protestants see FitzGerald as "most likely to promote a better relationship between North and South."

In the North, the Catholic Church hierarchy and forces like the Catholic

Social Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) have gladly lent their services to their long-time British friends. Well-known churchmen like Bishop Edward Daly and Fr. Denis Faul, who gave their all to help the effort to end the latest hunger strike, have been preaching fire-and-brimstone sermons, targeting "IRA terrorism" (which includes any manifestation of anti-imperialist struggle in Northern Ireland) and proclaiming that those who condone such acts cannot do so and be church members at the same time.

The SDLP, who are patiently waiting in the wings for Britain to get around to implementing some form of power-sharing and the promised political sops that would fall their way (the British are considering re-establishing a Northern Ireland Parliament once they get some stability in the region), have rallied behind the Anglo-Irish Council:

"The IRA murder campaign, culminating in the assassination of an elected representative (Rev. Bradford—RW), has cracked the restraint hitherto shown by the Unionist population... We are well used here to thinking of 'two camps'. There are two camps—those who believe in the constitutional and political process represented by the Anglo-Irish talks, and those who believe in the bomb and the bullet" (emphasis RW's).

Thus the strategy of Britain in this matter was succinctly summed up by the British magazine, *The Economist*:

"The struggle needs to be strengthened by cross-border co-operation with the republic... There is going to have to be an increasing southern Irish dimension in any peacemaking, so as to engage the hearts of the Catholics. The war will be won when virtually all members of Ulster's minority Catholic community feel it right instantly to inform against IRA terrorists who are murdering their Protestant neighbours. Since 1974 even the bravest people (i.e., the backward—RW) in the Catholic minority have not been inclined to give anything like that co-operation (i.e., capitulation—RW), and fair-minded people can see why."

In order to get over with this "reunification" agreement, certain steps have to be taken to rein in the potentially disruptive and politically damaging backlash among some Loyalist forces. While a hefty dose of fascist reaction and terror is fine with the British (as it always has been), and an important part of maintaining their rule in the North, there is real concern that some of these forces born of the imperialists' own doing may jeopardize some of the necessarily subtle maneuverings. This requires some amount of leaning on, and pressuring of, some of the more rabid forces in the Protestant regime. For example, threats to undertake economic sanctions by withholding the subsidies that industries in Northern Ireland rely upon have already been uttered by the British government. Along with the threats and pressurings are continued attempts to convince them that they have little to fear in terms of being cut out of the picture and that they must raise their heads a bit to see the larger interests of imperialism involved here. The British are trying to convince these more narrow-minded elements that the struggle in Northern Ireland is a big thorn in the side of not only Britain, but Western Europe as a whole and this is a real big deal. This turmoil of "the troubles" has been the cause of numerous political difficulties and even exacerbated contradictions among the various imperialist powers. Not only have 12,000 British Army troops had to be stationed there, both straining Britain's resources and diverting them from other places where their services are needed, but the struggle there has also been an inspiration to and helped spark struggle among the masses, particularly the youth in other countries in Western Europe. There are also other national movements such as that of the people of Euzkadi (Basques) in Spain that have both been strengthened by and helped strengthen the struggles in Ireland. And on top of all this, Ireland and the U.S.-bloc bases there are of much strategic value to the NATO alliance.

What worries the British is the very real threat that the activities of Paisley and his ilk may spark new and large-

scale rebellion among Catholics in Ulster which would also have a big effect in the South. This could very well cause serious damage to Britain's delicate plans or even disrupt them altogether. And if Britain and the rulers of the Republic of Ireland went through with their agreements even in the face of massive opposition they would be paying a high political price, risking the very stability they are striving for. This is why one can find headlines in such imperialist publications as *The Economist* like "Plague from Both Houses" and urgings such as, "The British government needs to pick its weapons against the threat from Mr. Paisley's hoodlums to make Ulster un-governable." But clearly the real threat to the governability of Ulster comes not from disgruntled and wailing Loyalists, who after all just want to remain firmly part of Britain, but from the masses of people in Ireland who want the Brits out. Fundamentally all the current imperialist maneuverings in Ireland are aimed at suppressing them. The British are using any and all means at their disposal to accomplish this. As it stands now the situation in Northern Ireland is tense and growing more so, and the imperialists may yet find themselves in deeper hot water than when they began this affair. □

Blockade

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more likely, such talk will make the United States appear both bellicose and impotent, its big stick a toothpick.

"A blockade is an act of war, with palpable military risks. The political costs are even more certain, as President Reagan was reminded only last week by Venezuela's president Herrera. Twice Mr. Herrera restated his country's 'very clear position' that military intervention would poison hemisphere relations. He saw no justification for blockading Nicaragua even as he urged support for its 'beleaguered democratic forces'..."

"Without support from such a Latin leader, any United States action against Nicaragua would only be seen as Washington's version of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Eastern Europe—and widely condemned."

Naturally there is not a hint of opposition to the use of the big stick in Central America or anywhere else by the *New York Times*. The problem is only when and how to use it and threaten to use it given the political and ultimately military contradictions facing the U.S. in the region and the world as a whole. But the U.S. is confronted with a great deal of urgency to do something to get on top of the situation in Central America both in regard to the upsurges of the masses and the maneuverings of the Soviet bloc. The status quo is unacceptable and getting worse. The political maneuvering room for the U.S. is increasingly being restricted (though they are not at the end of their rope on this score by any means) and this is forcing them to turn to the bottom line of military action both from the U.S. and its regimes in the area, even given the inevitable consequences of such actions.

But even the use of military force does not at all preclude political and diplomatic efforts of all sorts including attempts to influence public opinion among the masses within the countries the U.S. oppresses. Without a doubt an important part of future U.S. actions in Central America will be pointing their fingers at the Soviet bloc and attempting to rally various forces around its pole to both counter Soviet moves and to try to squash the revolutionary struggles of the people. This is already putting some very big questions before the people in Central America about just what is the way forward for the revolutionary movements in light of the face-off between the two superpowers all over the world and how advances can be made in the midst of a very complex political situation. But it would seem that the recent U.S. attempts to "expose" their rival's meddling in the region are bound to have little effect among those who are all too familiar with the nature of the monstrosity called U.S. imperialism. A few cheap shots are going to get them precisely nowhere. □

Sour

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scious Marxist revolutionaries. The correct policy toward the majority of intellectuals, Mao said, was to unite with their advanced sentiments, struggle with their bourgeois and petty bourgeois outlook which still exercised a strong influence on them, and strive to remold them. The key to doing this was mobilizing the masses politically to grasp the nature of class contradictions in socialist society and act on this understanding to occupy every sphere of society, narrow the class differences and inequalities, and move forward toward classless society. The intellectuals were struggled with to revolutionize their work, integrate with the masses and take part in productive labor as well as political struggle and study. As Mao insisted on bringing forward the masses' initiative and narrowing the differences between mental and manual labor, he also recognized that intellectuals possessed valuable knowledge and exerted a tremendous influence on society. The question here was which class, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, the intellectuals would unite with and serve.

Mao's line and policy toward intellectuals is one of the main points of attack against him by revisionists and bourgeois reactionaries of all stripes. The "Hundred Flowers" and the anti-Rightist campaigns in particular are frequently turned upside down to slander Mao on this question. From one side, some who claim to be Marxist-Leninists accuse Mao of being too "liberal" for

"allowing" rightists to exist and challenge the proletariat. From a more straight-up bourgeois angle, examples like Bai Hua are used to accuse Mao of "persecuting" intellectuals. Both lines of attack are directed at Mao's correct line.

Mao certainly was no "liberal," as any reactionary can attest to. But his main fire under socialism was directed at revisionist leaders in the top ranks of the party — those in a position to restore capitalism. And questions of right and wrong in literature, art and other fields, Mao said, must be settled through discussion and struggle and through practical work. But as Mao made clear, if reactionary artists and writers actively and consciously produce works to aid the overthrow of proletarian rule, they must be firmly suppressed. Mao insisted that the proletariat must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in every aspect of society. He pointed out that in class society, all literature and art ultimately serve one class or another and that intellectuals are attached to the cause of one class or another. But this does not mean dictatorship over a majority of intellectuals, a line the revisionists falsely attribute to Mao. It means that the proletariat must struggle to occupy all spheres with Marxism, while uniting with the majority of the intellectuals and the middle forces, create new things, and drive out the bourgeoisie and its reactionary ideas.

There were intellectuals who were horrified to see the masses rise up and encroach upon what they considered their private domain. But there were also significant numbers that united with Mao's line and actually became

revolutionary communists. An outstanding example was Yu Huiyung, a Minister of Culture before the coup. Yu was an accomplished classical Chinese musician and teacher. Although active in left-wing intellectual circles since before Liberation, he really came forward around the Cultural Revolution. Yu played an important role in the creation of several model Peking operas and fought for and developed the revolutionary line. Yu was murdered by the revisionists shortly after the coup (they said he committed suicide); no doubt other revolutionary intellectuals who opposed the coup were killed or persecuted.

U.S. Welcomes "Stability"

The reaction of the U.S. press toward the whole Bai Hua affair has been mostly low-key. There were inevitably some quips about "the lack of artistic, literary and intellectual expression" in China. But the Peking correspondent for the *L.A. Times* pretty much hit the nail on the head when he wrote: "These developments, now evident across the artistic spectrum and matched by renewed efforts at political indoctrination of intellectuals, are not intended to defend the Cultural Revolution nor the other policies of the late Chairman Mao, but are aimed at turning literature, the arts and academic pursuits into instruments of party policy." In an editorial written with the typical condescending tone of a "sympathetic" imperialist commenting on the troubles of a developing country, the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that the "pull-back" in Peking "... should be seen as an effort to control too swift a relaxation that could undermine the public

order and discipline needed as the nation dismantles the old system and builds the new." The Peking correspondent from the same paper notes that Bai Hua is not being treated as harshly as he would have been during the Cultural Revolution, and that although that may be small comfort to many intellectuals, "it does show the distance China has come since the fall of the gang of four."

The vultures of the U.S. imperialist press welcome any opportunity to contrast the "democratic" U.S. with "dictatorial," "communist" countries, even a pro-U.S. regime like Deng's. But in the case of China, the U.S. also sees that it is in their interests to keep the present pro-U.S. regime stable and useful as a counterweight to Soviet influence in the region, so they are mindful not to go overboard in playing up some of the difficulties the revisionists are facing. Of course if it should happen that the Chinese revisionists end up allied with the Russian imperialist bloc, you can bet that some of the Chinese "dissidents" will become household names in the U.S. press, rivaling Solzhenitsyn and the like.

The fears of the U.S. imperialists are well founded. The erosion of the revisionists' alliance with its social base in the middle strata has serious consequences for the future of the regime. To be sure, these forces will not be the ones to topple the revisionists from power. But the cracks in the fortress now appearing can only be advantageous to those who the revisionists still refer to as the greatest danger in the long run — the revolutionary Left. □

Haiti:

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alliances in opposition to the Soviet-led bloc, as well as against revolution.

Central to U.S. strategic concerns in the Caribbean is command of the Windward Passage, that 60-mile-wide strait between Haiti and Cuba through which all East Coast U.S. shipping bound for the Panama Canal must pass. The U.S. naval base at Guantanamo in Cuba now lies on one side, but the U.S. is planning for an alternative to Guantanamo which is likely to become necessary. The best harbor on the Haitian side is at Môle St. Nicholas on Haiti's northern peninsula, and it is hence the object of U.S. maneuvers. At the other end of the island of Hispaniola is the Mona Passage through which all European ships bound for Central America and the Canal must pass. On one side lies Puerto Rico; on the other side the ideal anchorage is at Semaná in the Dominican Republic.

Unifying the imperialist forces on the strategic island of Hispaniola, however, requires overcoming many historic contradictions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In its early history, the Dominican Republic was repeatedly invaded and ruled for periods of time by Haiti. Then after the ending of U.S. military occupation of both countries between the first and second world wars, the Dominican regime of Rafael Trujillo launched a bloody invasion of Haiti in 1937 in which 30,000 Haitians were slaughtered. Today, the Haitian government operates the nearest thing to slavery by selling Haitian laborers to work on Dominican plantations. The program involves over tens of thousands of Haitian workers each year for which the Haitian government receives a flat \$10 per head plus a percentage of the workers' wages—which seldom exceed \$20 or \$30 per season. Many workers are unable to even afford their transportation home after their contract expires and are forced to work on in the Dominican Republic at subsistence wages. The Dominican regime in return promotes racial contempt for the exploited Haitian workers.

The growing vulnerability of the Haitian regime, as might be expected, has also been the target of growing maneuvers by the Soviet imperialist bloc and the revisionist communist party of Haiti. A most recent manifestation of this was a "solidarity conference" held in mid-September in

Panama and attended by delegates from France, Germany, the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Trinidad, Venezuela, Switzerland, the U.S., Canada, Cuba and Ethiopia. There was one delegate directly from Haiti. Claiming to represent a "united front" of social democrats, Christians, and Marxists, the conference proclaimed a new coordinating committee of opposition to the Duvalier regime. In reality, this was another example of the Soviet strategy of attempting to force an "historic compromise" which brings to power a coalition of the new bourgeois forces of the revisionist leadership in coalition with certain sections of the existing ruling class, and in international alignment with the Soviet bloc. The purpose of the Panama conference had nothing to do with revolution but was to sanctify this nascent coalition as the "true representatives" of the Haitian people.

A Web of Contradictions

While the U.S. imperialists have backed the regimes of "Papa" and now "Baby Doc" in Haiti as a bulwark of reaction against the Haitian masses, the very name Duvalier remains a political liability for the U.S.'s broader political interests. Duvalier has also been brought into some conflict with the U.S. over his failure to take any effective action to stop the massive flight of Haitians from their country. Approximately 1 million Haitians, almost 20% of the population, have now fled—approximately half to the United States. The mass exodus of Haitian people has focused world-wide exposure on the U.S.-dominated hell-hole of Haiti and on the vicious murdering hand of U.S. imperialism itself, as well as fueling the fires of rebellion among the oppressed in the politically turbulent situation in Miami, and more broadly.

The response of the Reagan administration was to dispatch General Vernon Walters, former deputy director of the CIA and now a "roving ambassador" (read: roving enforcer), on a secret mission to Haiti. Walters landed in Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, and then traveled clandestinely by car to Port-au-Prince where he remained from April 29 to June 1. Reportedly the Walters mission, in which he took up private one-on-one talks with Duvalier, was to persuade Jean-Claude to give up his royal title of "president for life." But in light of the subsequent developments, it is more likely that Walters went to enforce the concession of a U.S. naval base and to lay down the law on the refugee situation.

At the same time as the agreement was signed for the U.S. attacks on Haitian refugees on the high seas, all too carefully leaked rumors of a possible coup in Haiti were floated in the U.S. press. On the very day of the official announcement, the *Amsterdam News*, a major Black paper in New York, ran an exclusive interview with Clemard Joseph Charles, entitled "Coup d'Etat Only a Matter of Time." *Le Democrat*, a national French language paper which claims to be the voice of Haitians in the U.S., declared that Charles has the "mandate of the people" established through a poll of 4,000 Haitian businessmen. On the same day, Charles was also given prominent space on the editorial page of the *New York Times*. Grooming leaders for a possible coup attempt is nothing new. In fact, as regards Haiti, one U.S. official stated in the early '60s that the U.S. should "work with Haitian politicians in exile to plan a transition government after Duvalier's term expired." Charles is just such a politician. His emergence in the national limelight as a so-called "modern Toussaint L'Ouverture" (leader of the Haitian independence struggle against the French) is, however, a new development. As of last May, a report by the U.S. government Committee on Foreign Affairs (which put forward the stopping of refugees from Haiti on the high seas) summed up that the U.S. had no "viable alternative" to Duvalier in Haiti. Charles is a likely candidate for this position. In a letter to the *RW*, in issue No. 111, a Haitian comrade exposed that Charles' name had surfaced in a study published by the Council for Inter-America Security, as a possible replacement for Duvalier. Charles (who formed the Banque Commerciale d'Haiti, the first privately owned Haitian bank, which was later revealed as the source of the underhanded financial dealings of the Duvalier government) was jailed by Duvalier in 1967 in a bourgeois power struggle. In 1977 Vice President Hubert Humphrey, for one, was instrumental in securing his release and he was embraced and welcomed to the U.S. As the Haitian comrade put it, "Today this thief convicted by a corrupt government is being presented as a victim of the Duvalier regime and the new messiah and savior of the Haitian people from economic and social misery."

While Charles is not the only bootlicker waiting in the wings, his cause is being trumpeted and he is obviously saying all the right things: "We wish to return to Haiti free of the Duvalier regime... We will not be a second

Cuba... We will not be another Angola." But at the same time that his praises are being sung, Caribbean and international imperialist authorities are also quoted as warning that a coup could be risky if it were "to take place tomorrow." While such coup talk clearly exposes the behind the scenes maneuvers to keep U.S. imperialist interests in Haiti on top, with or without Duvalier, the U.S. is hoping that a coup can be avoided, since a change of regime in Haiti could be a very dangerous thing for them. The timing of all this publicity about a coup, however, indicates that there are bourgeois political forces in Haiti who are pressing for such a change and that the U.S. is attempting to use this as further political leverage on Duvalier to stop the Haitian people from leaving Haiti and to come across with the military base.

While the question of the base is not yet resolved, publicly at least, the U.S. has moved on the Haitian refugees with a vengeance. The failure of the Haitian government to stop the refugee flow, in spite of being given 6 new ships by the U.S. for the purpose, resulted in the U.S. taking over complete control of the patrolling of Haitian territorial waters. Reagan's executive order of September 29 ordering U.S. ships into Haitian waters was all too reminiscent of the U.S. taking over Haiti's customs office and ports in 1905, which was followed by complete occupation of the country by the U.S. from 1915 to 1934. The U.S.'s sealing off of Haiti, turning it into a virtual Alcatraz, was further emphasized by the U.S. shipping back to Haiti many of the bodies of the Haitians recently drowned on the Florida coast. The message of the U.S. and Duvalier was brutally clear: NOBODY gets off Haiti—alive or dead.

Meanwhile the U.S. remains caught in the intensifying contradictions of its own imperialist system. The needs of capital expansion into Haiti can only further dislocate its economy, and as the U.S. imperialists have themselves admitted, no amount of economic aid can resolve the political crisis there. An attempt to get rid of "Baby Doc" as an embarrassing relic of the Duvalier dynasty might unleash forces which the U.S. would be unable to control. And the need to tighten up the Caribbean in preparation for world war can only intensify further political upheaval there. Significantly, the largest U.S. ship sent into Haitian waters is not chasing the sailboats of refugees at all, but remains at anchor in the harbor of Port-au-Prince. □

Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism

NEW YORK CITY DECEMBER 4, 5, 6



Washington Irving High School
40 Irving Place (1 block east of Union
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national office at:
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Friday, Dec. 4 7 PM
Saturday, Dec. 5 12 Noon
Sunday, Dec. 6 1 PM

General Areas of Testimony

Friday— The Caribbean: El Salvador, Haiti, Dominican Republic
Saturday— Caribbean continued, with special focus on Puerto Rico.
Also Native Americans, Middle East, Africa.
Sunday— WW2, Veterans, Nuclear Weapons and other War
Preparations.

Suggested Donation—\$2.00 per session or \$5.00 for entire
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