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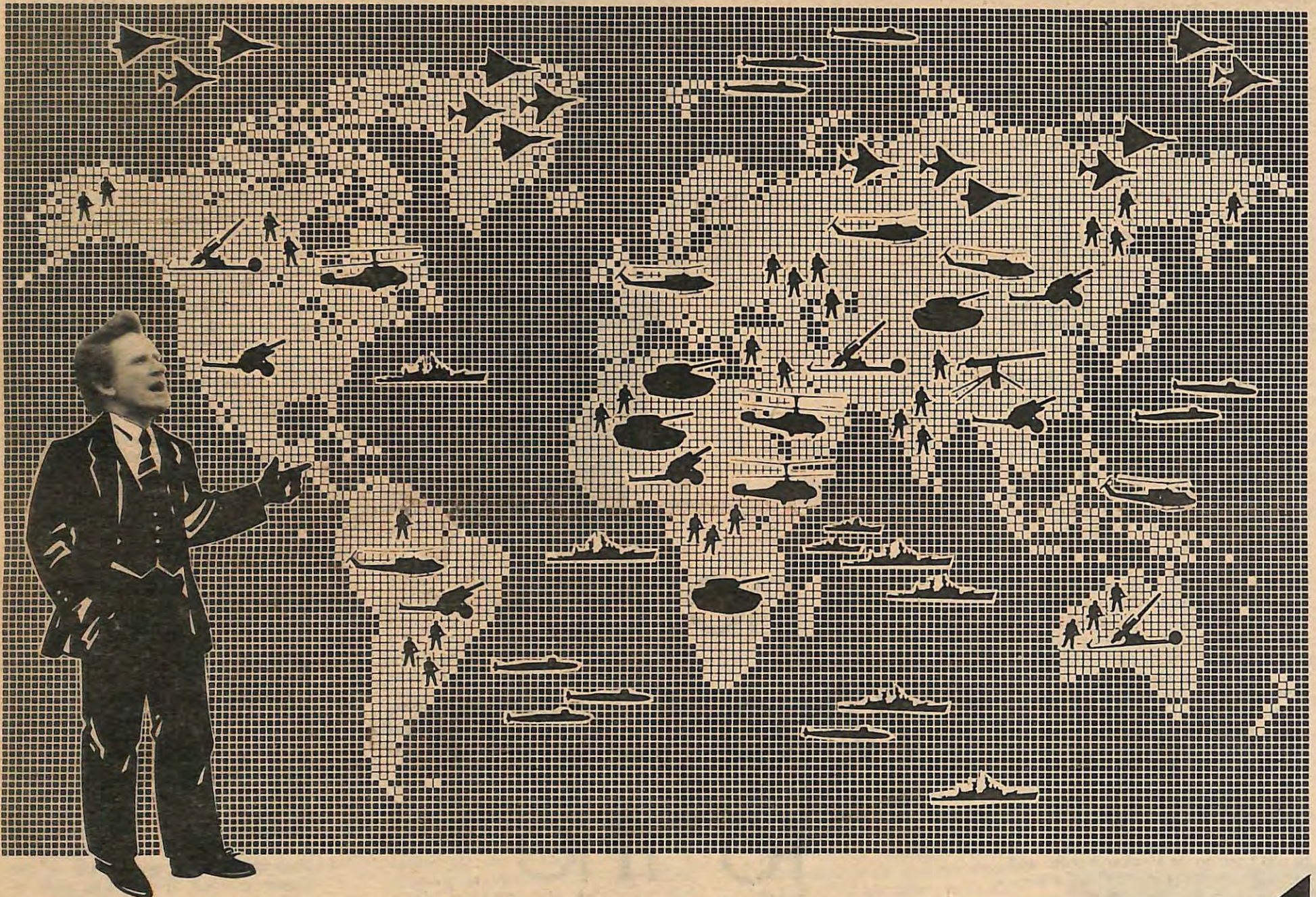
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The Ideas Dear to Hart

What's So "New" About World War?



What are some of Gary Hart's ideas—new or otherwise? There is one principal area where the Senator's thinking has been fairly systematically presented by him before. Hart is generally billed as a "military critic." So let's look at the nature of his criticism.

Hart's political persona has been intimately bound up with his participation in the Senate Armed Services Committee, and here he has become an acknowledged expert in military related affairs. It is interesting to note *who* has done some of the "acknowledging"; for instance, William Buckley's arch-conservative *National Review* has lavished Hart with praise for "doing some of the best thinking around on the military aspects of national survival."

Hart himself prefers to be called a "military reformer." Indeed, he was the co-founder of a group known as the Congressional Military Reform Caucus which he describes as "an alliance of (mostly younger) military officers, civilian defense analysts and members of Congress (whose) goal is to bring our defense priorities back into line with what history tells us is important in

winning..." As another congressional member described this coalition: "We are the war-winning military reform group." Already one begins to get the sense that the sort of "reforms" being advocated by Hart will be of a very particular kind! But what else would one expect from a "fiercely independent Westerner" whose statement of candidacy is laced with such less-than-cryptic euphemisms as the following: "I believe that Americans are ready to go on the march again. They sense a passage we must make between two worlds—the world of our parents and the one we will leave to our children."

As far as carrying out the global behest slyly alluded to above, it seems that Hart and his fellow reformers are not particularly thrilled with some of the high-tech weapons gone in for recently that have turned out to be lemons. For instance, Hart notes of the M-1 tank that "it costs twice as much as the M-60 tank it is to replace. And it is a much more expensive weapon to maintain. The M-1

tank averages only 43 miles between repairs. Its gas turbine engine eats fuel at a rate of 3.86 gallons per mile—that's gallons per mile, not miles per gallon. And our troops cannot operate the computer—much less maintain it—without special training. Our weapons should *work* in combat—in rain and mud and heat and confusion." Hart is clearly opinionated on the best means of passage to the "other world."

But didn't Hart lead the Senate fight

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Miami: Rebellion, Preparation, Revolution

(See page 3)

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Text of the London Press Conference

(See Centerfold)

On March 1, the U.S. State Department denied a visa to Oleg Yermishkin, the Olympic attaché for the Soviet Sports Committee. "He's a spook, a rather bad spook," said one State Department official. The Soviets responded by calling the denial a "violation of Olympic tradition."

Certainly U.S. officials are more than familiar with the Olympic tradition that Yermishkin is alleged to be carrying on. For an account of U.S. practice in this regard, we turn to Inside The Company: CIA Diary by Philip Agee. Agee describes his experience as a CIA agent in Mexico in the period leading up to the 1968 Olympic Games.

"Washington, D.C., 30 April 1967.

"While I was in Montevideo several decisions on the Olympic cover job were made, both in the Agency and in the Department of State. Bill Broe, the WH (Western Hemisphere) Division Chief, had got lukewarm about sending me down because he had been Chief of Station in Tokyo during the 1964 Olympic Games and he believes the softening of political attitudes inherent in a cultural event like this will impede recruitments. Only if I stay on in the Mexico City station after the Games does Broe think I'll be able to justify the time spent between now and late next year on strictly Olympic cover matters. On the other hand Dave Murphy, Chief of the Soviet Bloc Division, believes that the bland political atmosphere will help me move in circles that might otherwise be closed to a U.S. government official. Besides, the Mexico City Station has no contact operations underway between officers of the station and their Soviet counterparts. Since I am already known to the Soviets from Montevideo I'll be able to develop personal relationships with Soviet and satellite intelligence officers assigned to Olympic duties in their embassies. Murphy's opinion was shared by the Mexico City Station which is anxious to use the Olympic job to develop agents for the LICOBRA targets: the PRI and the Mexican government." (LICOBRA was a CIA operation for recruiting Mexican government and ruling party officials.)

"...The most encouraging development is that the ambassador has decided he wants two Olympic attachés — the other one will be Dave Carrasco, former basketball coach at the American University and now head of the Peace Corps sports program in Ecuador. Ostensibly I'll be his assistant, which will help me considerably because he has really legitimate sports credentials. Moreover he was born on the Mexican border, and has had friends for many years in Mexican sports circles. Next month Carrasco will come to Washington for discussions at the department and with Kaufman (Mexico Branch Chief) and me. Barring other delays we should be opening the



A Little-Known Olympic Tradition

The Spy Who Came to the Games

Embassy Olympic Games office in June....

"Mexico City, 15 July 1967

"This Olympics cover is extraordinary. Dave and I have been making the rounds together calling on the leaders of the different organizations involved in the Olympic preparations: the organizing committee, the Mexican Olympic Committee and its vast new training center for Mexican athletes, the Mexican Sports Confederation and the individual sports federations. Each of these organizations seems to have some special needs that the U.S. Embassy Olympic Games office might help to fill....

"The officers in the station, from Win Scott down, are all excited about how my Olympic entrée can help them in their particular areas of responsibility. For his part, Scott told me first to concentrate on meeting as many people as possible and to establish my Olympic cover firmly. In the Soviet operations section, where I arranged for a desk and typewriter, the chief interest is on spotting and assessment of new access agents and on my establishing direct contact operations with the Soviet and satellite intelligence officers who are handling Olympic duties. The CP (Communist Party) section wants me to spot possible recruitments for infiltration into revolutionary organizations, while the CA (Covert Actions) section wants assessment data on press officers of the Organizing Committee for use as media placement agents. The liaison section wants information on the Soviet and satellite Olympic attachés that can be passed to the Mexican services while the LICOBRA section wants me to spot possible agents for use in penetrating the PRI and the Mexican government. The Cuban operation section, probably the most destitute in agent material, wants personal data on the Cuban Olympic attaché, on leftists within the Olympic milieu who might eventually travel to Cuba, and on anyone at all who might be of interest to the Cubans. All these officers see my Olympic cover as promising for their operational goals."

After the recent State Department ruling, L.A. FBI Chief Richard T. Bretzing testified before a House Subcommittee Hearing on Olympic Security. He made the point that he expected some nations — based on their "track record" — were likely to use the opportunity of the Games to send in "persons with intelligence assignments." And it would be more than presumptuous to argue with such expertise. After all, world record holders are usually qualified to analyze their own events. □

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Miami: Rebellion, Preparation, Revolution

Miami. By the time the "not guilty" verdict was delivered on Thursday March 15, most people had it already figured out. For two and a half months the trial of Luis Alvarez, the Miami cop who gunned down Nevell Johnson in 1982, had been headline news, with portions broadcast every day on TV. The prosecution could be seen and heard arguing that Johnson was murdered "accidentally." The defense openly boasted that the pig did it *openly*. The jury deliberated for two hours. The verdict sparked two days of widespread outbreaks followed by smaller actions through Sunday night. Rebellion was met by a massive show of police force and hundreds of arrests, exposing yet again the pillars upon which democracy sits.

Newsweek observed, "Authorities had feared that a guilty verdict would touch off rioting by Miami's Cubans. Earlier in the week, word had allegedly passed through the city's Latin community to load guns and prepare for violence." While a guilty verdict was hardly in the cards, this does indicate something of the view of the state toward the trial. There would be violence in any case, but among whom? Among those sections of the Latin community for whom Alvarez has

become the cause célèbre? Among these ardent organizers and supporters of Central and South American reaction, these Scarfaces big and small, fervent crust of diehard America lovers? Hardly the preferable alternative, from the state's point of view. Better to prepare for eruptions of violence among the Black masses, even at the expense of the credibility of those "responsible Black leaders" who staked their chips on a "fair verdict."

And the authorities *did* prepare. In fact, for 15 months they readied a strategy to deal with the expected outcome of the Alvarez trial. The *New York Times* summed it up succinctly: "... the county and city have invested considerable time in community relations efforts on the one hand and preparations for violence on the other." For weeks the national news media had hyped the threat of rebellion to the max, laying the groundwork to be able to show how quickly and efficiently the state moved in to seize control. Partly this involved simply low-keying events in Miami after the verdict. But it also involved a very specific summation that would be drawn: "Miami: Less Fire This Time," ran the *Newsweek* headline. Along with the declaration of pig prowess, the rulers are saying that any expression of protest and upheaval short of their own overthrow is a useless and futile act, easily contained, quickly extinguished. And though it is hardly the lesson they would have us draw, there is a lesson here. They *do* have

to be overthrown, in this country and around the world.

For weeks the work of the local Community Relations Board (CRB) and behind-the-scenes work of the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service was the focus of the bourgeoisie's public efforts to try to prevent a rebellion, as politicians, preachers, teachers, and community activists begged for calm. These CRB people also fingered the trouble spots and the troublemakers, just in case their "peacekeeping" efforts failed. Those efforts got a shot in the arm when Jesse Jackson, in Miami for the Florida primary, admonished Black people to "turn your anger into votes for me." Jackson did not go to the neighborhoods to make his plea, however, no doubt remembering the times he got jeered and run out when he tried to cool things down in 1980.

By the last week of trial, the CRB had obviously summed up that the situation was getting out of control and their line changed to straight-up threats of the inevitable use of armed might against any outbreak of protest. City Manager Howard Gary, the highest-ranking Black public official in the city, was quite blatant... "Obviously, there is the approach we don't like to use and that's the one of force."

The State's Attorney's Office and Alvarez trial judge David Gersten, in time with the situation, carefully timed the verdict to come down on a weeknight. State Attorney Janet Reno told the press she had been working that out for a week. Gersten had even announced that he would hold the jury in session till midnight Thursday to get a verdict. But, no worry, the jury only needed two hours to decide.

On Thursday the police went into full

swing as soon as the word was out that the jury had started deliberation. Two hours *before* the verdict came down 1,000 riot-clad police from three departments began circling at first Liberty City, then Overtown, and Coconut Grove. Police helicopters were everywhere overhead. An armored personnel carrier borrowed from nearby Homestead Air Force Base was slowly making its way through the streets of Overtown. Less noticeable were the city sanitation trucks scurrying through dragging out as many of the garbage dumpsters as they could. These were used as flaming barricades by the youth in the past. Large police truck-vans, the type that normally carry the horses for the mounted patrol, were also parked near the police street command centers. Sitting in full view and in full force until the verdict was read, then six battalions of fifty cops each — the field forces — with plastic shields up, gas masks on and teargas guns ready, went on the move through the predicted trouble spots.

Rebellion and Revolution

One high school youth summed it up to the *RW*, "That was the point of throw-down." Hundreds of youth poured into the streets almost simultaneously in the key Black neighborhoods in the area. There were brief skirmishes in three neighborhoods miles south of the city — Richmond Heights, Florida City and Perrine.

According to the word on the street, the fighting was most intense in Liberty City. There people were seen picking up and throwing back the tear gas cannisters shot at them by SWAT teams. It was also in Liberty City where most of the armed attacks on police cars, TV vans and news cars took place. And, with the police rarely out in groups of less than 20, the youth in Liberty City spontaneously concentrated their forces in like manner to rush police lines with bricks and bottles.

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Liberty City, Thursday night, youths return tear gas cannisters to the police, and add rocks.

One Vicious Cablegram

Yet more proof has emerged that Washington's official and sometimes loudly proclaimed, "concern" for the murderous atrocities rampant in El Salvador — now tenderly expressed in the White House itself — is directed exclusively at preserving a small circle of U.S. friends and stabilizing a government capable of aggressively pursuing U.S. interests.

The latest piece of evidence is a State Department cablegram being circulated in the capital as part of efforts now in full gear to build support for escalating military aid to El Salvador. The cablegram defends U.S. Embassy figures on killings of Salvadoran civilians against those compiled by the Salvadoran Catholic Church; it is signed by the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Thomas Pickering. (The U.S. totals, of course, are lower. See *RW* No. 241, "Words of Advice From One Death Squad to Another," for how the U.S. minimizes its tally.) But the real reason it is being circulated now, centers on the Ambassador's point that, according to the church figures, most of the civilians killed are done in by the military and not by the death squads. "The important distinction between civilian deaths caused by death squads and civilian deaths resulting from military operations and engagements is lost," Ambassador Pickering complains.

Is the argument here that the deaths at the hands of the military were somehow accidental, less savage, not premeditated? This would fly in the face of mounds of exposure, some of which has appeared in the U.S. press.

And such a truly important distinction this is. Consider the following instances

of how the Salvadoran military deals with civilians, cases in which all the casualties have been reported by the Salvadoran military as battlefield deaths:

— outright murder of some 300 peasants in February 1982 during an army sweep of San Vicente Province

— the aerial bombardment of a group of over 5,000 peasants fleeing San Vicente a month later in March 1982

— repeated massacres, including near Santa Clara, in San Vicente Province August 1982; at "La Florida" agricultural cooperative November 1982; in Los Hojas, Sonsonate, February 1983; the list could go on for mind-numbing pages.

Or there is the policy of the Salvadoran military regarding prisoners. Another State Department document, of August 26, 1983, revealed that "The Government of El Salvador has informed the Embassy that there is no centrally directed program for handling captured prisoners and therefore they have been unable to provide the Embassy with any statistics on guerrillas captured." There are no statistics because there are no prisoners — they are all routinely executed upon capture, their guilt or innocence in the eyes of the Salvadoran military decided on the spot.

The savagery of the Salvadoran military is natural to a puppet army as its inevitable modus vivendi as it moves among the populace that hates it. The methods of this slaughter are not at all that different from those of the death squads; and no wonder — the death squads have repeatedly been linked to



A death squad? A military unit? Both.

various arms of the junta's military and police forces.

As it fans out, the important distinction that the U.S. is so "concerned" to make between the two kinds of atrocities is not that one is less savage than the other but that the killings, especially of Christian Democrats by the death squads, present problems for the U.S., while the army and its blood rein in the countryside has in fact been the main prop of U.S. domination. Why would the good Ambassador want to curtail that? As Picker-

ing wrote, the "intermingling of civilians" who live in close proximity "to the guerrillas makes them something more than innocent civilian bystanders." Since a large chunk of El Salvador's peasantry lives near and has contact with and, yes, often supports the guerrillas, it is fine to, in plain English, kill them — to bomb and shoot them without heed that their corpses will appear as "human rights violations" on any U.S.-approved tally. □

Notes from the Marines

To the *Revolutionary Worker*.

This letter is about my experience in the U.S. Marine Corps as a young woman before I became revolutionary-minded and how it accelerated me, more or less, into my present way of thinking and action.

Upon joining the Marines I was every bit as naive and ignorant as I possibly could have been. At the time, coming from a patriotic, military-oriented family, the decision didn't seem all that bad. I was 17 years old, fresh from high school and ready for adventure with only vague feelings of uneasiness of the actual horrors happening in the world. The experience was very much a slap in the face.

Boot camp was so ridiculous and inhuman. I still don't understand how I made it through. In fact, quite a number of women in my platoon never did. There were at least three suicide attempts in the company and a whole lot of "maladjustments." I can remember how the drill instructors would hone in on an individual who might have some shortcomings and just pick away until the private would either "straighten up" or break completely. I'm sure it was all just to weed out the "weaklings" to make a "more efficient machine," but it seemed more of a sadistic pleasure for the DIs.

The training was to the point that the Marines obviously didn't want women fighting alongside of the men but geared them toward easier paper-pushing sort of jobs. We had one week training with the rifle as opposed to the men's two weeks; three days combat training in the field to the men's three weeks. Though we did have to work hard on how fast we could put on makeup before morning chow. One thing about the training that struck me as significant even then was the intense study of nuclear, biological and chemical defense and the frequent visits to the gas chambers. I mean if they even think women have to learn this stuff...

My specialty training was small-arms repair — what a joke. As well as being

practically pushed through the school by teachers wishing for sexual favors, I barely even got to work on the weapons once I reached my permanent post. I ended up in the office with the only other three women in the company. Supposedly to "protect us" from the men in the shop, which, of course, was stupid. By being in the office we were blatantly put on display, the focus for all the gossip, raunchy jokes, and harassment. I got to where I couldn't stand what I had gotten into. If you weren't "giving any" to some guy then you were automatically a "dyke"; the pressure was ceaseless. You couldn't stand out in any individual way without harassment.

After about four months at my permanent station I attempted suicide and was packed off to the psych ward of the naval hospital. That's when I pulled myself together and became more openly rebellious against everything, especially what the Marines stand for. I really opened my eyes and began to wonder what the hell this was all about and why. I wanted answers for questions that the Marine Corps could not adequately answer. For instance, why were almost all the psych patients suicide attempts?

Since I had a guaranteed honorable discharge under the conditions of "severe personality disorder" I felt safe enough to get away with all sorts of shit; from sloppy appearance to not standing at attention for the Marine Corps Hymn and refusing to salute the flag. That was fun. Of course I was threatened that my discharge would be stopped but I knew they didn't want to keep a "raving lunatic" within their ranks.

Once I got out I was interested enough in the word communism to pick up the *Communist Manifesto* and read it through. I was thirsting to find out about anything that opposed this present society. A couple of months later I became acquainted with an RCP supporter and read my first *RW*. Then, I was so excited that such an organization existed and still am. I wish I had been conscious enough in the Marines to be asking the questions and finding out the answers I am now! Since then, I've come to realize the importance of the science of Marxism and the necessity of revolution. Now that is something I'm wholeheartedly willing to fight for, not the bloody, stagnant cause of the USMC and the bourgeoisie!

A proletarian youth

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When They Can't Kill You With Kindness...

The Story of the Minneapolis Womens' Camp for Peace and Justice



Minneapolis-St. Paul is a city of a million people that makes you feel like you're in a small town. The air is crisp, the neighborhoods have a fresh-scrubbed, Midwestern look. Where's the inner city? You look long and hard for the proletarians. They're there, but this town is no Detroit; its pockets of Native American and Black communities are well tucked away, the city is 95% white.

All this is well advertised by those in power here. In this town, home of the institutionalized populism of the Farmer-Labor Party, a constant message of rugged, but progressive, individualism is broadcast to a population containing large numbers of white-collar workers staffing the proliferating corporate headquarters downtown and enormous numbers of students mixing with the descendents of the Scandinavians who originally settled here. No matter what the issue, city hall seems to smile and say, "talk to us, we're listening..." It's the kind of political climate that could kill even a determinedly rebellious political movement with kindness.

So it did not really surprise the handful of women when, last October 1, as they took the bold action of setting up a peace camp right on the property of St. Paul's Sperry-Univac factory, where guidance systems for the cruise missile are produced, that the company raised no fuss or objections. The company made no moves even as the women proceeded to agitate against nuclear war and the cruise missile to the plant workers on their way to the job. This is Minneapolis after all. "As long as they appear to be peaceful, we're going to let them stay," a Sperry spokesman announced benevolently. Reporters came down and they were sympathetic too, their stories even made it past the editors without too much distortion. The Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace and Justice was founded by women, including numbers who had just returned from and been inspired by turbulent confrontations at the camp at Seneca, New York...but this, it seemed, was a different racetrack.

This tolerant, oh-these-girls-are-harmless attitude toward the camp was punctured suddenly and violently on December 4. On that date, an arson fire exploded onto the camp destroying its largest structure and threatening the others. That the fire broke out during a brief period between staffing shifts when no one was there is hardly surprising, since a mysterious video camera across the street had been keeping up steady surveillance on the camp.

The arson turned out to be the pretext

for further attacks leading to the decimation of the camp, the arrest of 32 women on trespass charges, and further harassment of the camp at its new location across the street from Sperry on state-owned land. In a complete about-face from its earlier position, a Sperry spokesman released a statement justifying the arrest of the 32 women because of the "danger" posed by the camp.

What lay behind this turnabout? It is clear that the Minnesota Women's Camp, persevering in their struggle through weeks of bitterly cold winter weather, right up in the face of a symbol of U.S. preparations for nuclear war, was beginning to strain at the bounds of what is tolerated as acceptable protest even within liberal Minneapolis. When the camp refused to go away, and when, perhaps, the women turned out not so "ladylike," the protest came in for some harsh treatment from the bourgeoisie. Even so, even after the heavy hand of authority has "laid down the law" on the camp, yet another hand, or better, a whole parade of hands beckons with the alluring promise that things could be changed, that their protest would be heard if only they act like "nice girls." Though there is of course intense debate over which political course to take at this point, including those who are attracted by the promises of electoral politics, being "nice girls" cuts against the grain of nearly everyone involved, against the core of rebellion and urgency felt about what is happening in the world.

"If you look at the headlines in the papers for the last 24 hours, you can see there's a \$300 billion cost overrun in the Pentagon, they're going to put in the MX missiles even though they don't know if they can fit into the silos, and Reagan is sending ships to Central America," one woman told us. "Nine hundred people have been arrested in the Twin-Cities in the last year for protesting against nuclear weapons," she continued. "People ask 'why civil disobedience?' It is that question of urgency, that we feel we must act now and we cannot wait to go through the government systems...right now the urgency of the matter is why 900 people have been arrested, and more will be arrested."

Part of the original basis of unity of the camp was to prevent the deployment of the Euromissiles last fall. The women wrote in their handbook: "The deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe this fall cannot be allowed to happen. It is a further escalation of the insane nuclear arms race that increases our peril. We have tried the

Moving supplies from the burned out tent at the campsite.

traditional means of protest open to us, phone calls, letters, and visits to politicians, and we have been ignored. We have decided that as women invested in the continuation of life we cannot allow these weapons to leave our state and carry death to other countries." One member of the camp spoke to the jarring impact it had on her when the deployment of the cruise missiles in Europe went ahead despite massive protests. "It is so appalling to me that most of the British people don't want the missiles, and the government is going to put them in anyway. I hate that even more than I hate the missiles. I think about the people of the world who are endangered by all this..."

Within this context of global events, the stalwart presence of the women's encampments at the U.S. Air Force Base near Greenham Common in Britain and at the Seneca Army Depot have provided inspiration for the Minnesota women to follow suit. One of the camp organizers, a 35-year-old woman with some experience in the anti-Vietnam War movement, described the influence of both of these camps on her. She had not really been involved in any political activity since the war until about a year ago when she went to hear a speaker on the "Medical Consequences of Nuclear War." Her first reaction, she said, was to "get some cyanide capsules" so that she and her 7- and 11-year-old children would not have to live through the horror of the aftermath of nuclear war. Shortly thereafter she heard a woman from Greenham Common speak and her head was turned around.

When the call for a mobilization at Seneca came down last July, this woman, along with about 150 others from Minneapolis, responded enthusiastically. She was among those who sat down and refused to back down when confronted by the ugly mob of patriotic yahoos in the highly publicized incident at Waterloo, New York.

Opening the Minnesota Camp

Although 50 of them were arrested upon their arrival at Seneca after chaining themselves to the fence, a core group from Women Against Military Madness returned to Minneapolis determined to set up their own camp in order to broaden out the struggle against nuclear war. The Minneapolis camp is one of a number of new camps planned for the upper Midwest; another is at Clam Lake, Wisconsin, formed in opposition to Pro-

ject ELF (for Extra Low Frequency, a system for battle communications with deepwater nuclear submarines), and one at Grand Forks, North Dakota, launching site for cruise missile tests.

Upon their return to Minneapolis, the women wasted no time in setting up their camp. Little more than a month after their arrest, it opened on October 1 in a spirited rally/ceremony attended by 200. "We are going to reclaim this land for life and peace, not for death and war," vowed one of the camp organizers as the women pitched their tents on Sperry's company property in St. Paul.

The camp stays alive with the energies of over a hundred women participating in many different ways—cooking dinners, making banners, donating money, staffing the camp for a shift, a night, a weekend. The decision to make this a women-only camp is, of course, influenced by the feminist outlook of the participants (although men are welcome to visit the camp, they cannot stay overnight or participate in direct actions).

The camp has drawn strength from the antipornography and antirape struggles of the women's movement in Minneapolis, which two years ago held a powerful march of 5,000 to "Take Back the Night." Women active in the struggles of the '60s, including some who now run their own small businesses or who are professionals, are also participating. In a society which dictates that women's primary concern should be with the home and family above all else, these women who are taking the initiative to act around one of the burning issues of today must overcome some very real obstacles. Some women have had to hassle through tense family situations as husbands objected to their activity outside the home, and away from children. Largely committed to pacifism and nonviolent civil disobedience, the camp united around demands aimed at Sperry, Honeywell Inc., FMC Corp. and Control Data Corp. for their role in the production of first-strike nuclear weapons.

What is outstanding about the camp has been the determination to maintain the camp against great pressures, and enticements, for the women to "fold up their tents" and desert this important platform for creating public opinion against nuclear war. After the arson hit, the women engaged Sperry in a series of skirmishes in a valiant effort to keep their camp on company property. Immediately following the fire, Sperry made no move to evict the women—probably under the spurious assumption that the arson would dislodge them. So the women began to repair the damage done to the camp and were aided by an outpouring of donations from sympathizers who had never before set foot in the camp but were outraged by the fire. "People from the neighborhood who had no connection with the camp brought us food, coffee, a bag of apples. A guy brought us a kerosene lamp, another woman brought a heater. Within two days we had accumulated \$4-500 worth of stuff that people from all over donated," one woman told the *RW*.

Two days after the fire, women staffing the camp were roused from sleep in the early morning hours and ordered to vacate the camp by the Minneapolis police. The women refused to leave and were arrested. Sperry security guards proceeded to tear down the camp and confiscate all the equipment as well as personal belongings. Then trucks dumped piles of snow where the women's tents had been. Undaunted by all this, 35 women who had gathered attempted to set up new tents and block the dump trucks, leading to thirteen more arrests.

"This situation has now escalated to constitute a clear and present danger to the safety of employees, neighbors, and passers-by, to Sperry property and to the protestors themselves," Sperry said in a statement announcing why it had ordered the arrests. "This was dramatically demonstrated by the December 4 fire at the camp, which appears to have been caused by negligence on the part of the protestors." In other words, it is these "violent women" who pose the dangerous threat according to peace-loving Sperry, part of the war machine that threatens to blow up the world.

Continued on page 12

The Jacksonscam:

Presidential Perils of Preaching and Pimping

On February 13th, the *Washington Post* broke one of the first big "scandal stories" of the 1984 presidential horse race. In a front-page story on the Jesse Jackson campaign and Jackson's contradictions with various Jewish organizations, the *Post* revealed that Jackson had referred to Jewish people as "Hymies" and to New York City as "Hymietown." After two weeks of denying that he had made the comments, Jackson appeared at a New Hampshire synagogue on February 26th to announce that he had indeed made the comments and to apologize for them. During this time, and for a brief period afterwards, Jackson's bigotry became the story of the election campaign.

Suddenly Jesse Jackson, who up until that point had been billed as the "progressive alternative" and "the excitingly different factor" in the 1984 campaign, was being dragged through the mud and exposed to the world as just another hypocritical bigot. The imperialist press and their pundits reveled in self-righteous indignation as they piously raked Jackson over the coals for his comments. Nauseating levels of hypocrisy were reached in the course of these denunciations. The lead editorial of the February 18th issue of the *Washington Post* declared: "There are certain words — we don't have to spell them out — that are impermissible in political discourse. They are ugly words, not because of what they originally meant but because they are used to refer derogatorily to people of a particular ethnic, racial or religious group. A politician or public figure who is caught using them, in public or private, can claim that he does so innocently; but such claims will be met with skepticism — ask James Watt. After all, a politician's claims for leadership are based in part on his superior sensitivity to the way our culturally diverse society works. Which brings us to the case of Jesse Jackson. . . ." It really is amazing that such drivel is unashamedly run out in the imperialist press. It is no exaggeration to say that racist remarks such as those made by Jackson are typical in bourgeois political circles. Who could possibly forget the Nixon Watergate tapes and how they were peppered with ethnic slurs against whole groups of people and even against other bourgeois big shots like Henry Kissinger? Scores of White House reporters were privy to such nauseating conversation for years, but nary a mention of them found its way into print — not a single tut-tut, much less a morally horrified feature editorial in the hallowed columns of the *Washington Post* — until the Watergate scandal broke. It is safe to assume that those who have been publicly castigated for their racism, the Spiro Agnews, Earl Butzes, and James Watts, probably rate no more than an honorable mention compared to what has always gone on unreported in the Oval Room. Beyond this, it need only be mentioned that the ruthless oppression of whole nationalities and all the racism that is used to reinforce this oppression is integrally woven in the whole damn fabric of American society.

Of course, as is always the case, there is a very definite message just slightly hidden behind the madness of such imperialist hypocrisy. Perhaps the clearest example of this occurred during Jackson's appearance on ABC's *Nightline* the day after he admitted making the anti-Semitic remarks. As Ted Koppel sneeringly attempted to back Jackson into a corner on this issue, Jackson countered by pointing out the numerous racial slurs against his campaign, such as Daniel Moynihan's reference to Jackson as the "Kingfish" of Black politics, and Koppel's own contribution to this racist theme in his characterization of Jackson's campaign as "Amos and Andy politics." To this Koppel responded smugly, yes, but the difference is that you, Mr. Jackson, are running for public office, while I, Ted Koppel, am not.

Truly, there wasn't much Jackson

could say. Koppel hadn't bothered to deny the everyday bigotry in the conversations of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, there was something of a "welcome to the club" undertone to Koppel's response: now here are some remarks on race and nationality that "we bourgeois" can relate to! The difference, Koppel drove home, is that, as The Black Candidate, exposure of such remarks are damaging to you, while I, as a highly paid media mouthpiece for the bourgeoisie, have "freedom of the press" to let loose such slander whenever it is useful to do so.

This is to the point. It is a fact that racial and ethnic slurs — hardly rare in the ranks of the bourgeoisie — come to light in the bourgeois media when such exposures can be useful as weapons in the bourgeois political process. In literally every case of a bourgeois politician being exposed as a bigot — and clearly in the examples cited earlier — the exposure itself has been more a signal that at least some sections of the ruling class are unhappy with the politicians involved and in many cases are moving to axe, or knock down a few pegs, the individual involved.

In this latest version of the "Jesse Jackson/Jewish controversy," this is the most probable motive behind the exposure. The real meat of the story is not to be found in the fact that Jackson actually made the anti-Semitic remarks. Jesse Jackson making bigoted remarks about Jewish people is hardly a new or particularly surprising revelation. In fact, Jackson has made numerous comments throughout his career about the "Jewish power structure" and the "Jewish-run media." And in the wake of this most recent exposure, a number of reporters covering Jackson's campaign have stated that derogatory remarks about Jewish people were almost commonplace in the course of Jackson's many "off the record and private conversations." Nor does the story hinge on Jackson's clumsy attempts to cover up his remarks or his ludicrous efforts to excuse himself for having made them. Although here it should be pointed out that Jackson waffling around on this issue did provide a certain disgusting glimpse into his character.

Instead, the real story is far more significant and lies in getting into what was actually behind the sudden exposure of Jackson as a bigot. More than anything else, this story serves as a good illustration of the fundamental point made by Lenin many times in connection with bourgeois democracy, that is, in even the "most democratic" of countries ruled by imperialism the important political decisions — including those connected with the electoral process — are decided in the main through backroom meetings and behind the scenes maneuverings.

Why was Jackson's bigotry suddenly dragged out into the light of day? Based on what has been revealed thus far, everything points to Jackson having been deliberately set up for a fall. Although Jackson originally made his comments during the course of a conversation with a *Washington Post* reporter on January 25th, the remarks were not even reported until February 13th. And even then, the "exposure" was literally tacked onto the last part of a bigger story — in fact, the sentences containing Jackson's remarks were so awkwardly placed in the story as to smell unmistakably as a plant. Then, even this little "leak" was allowed to fester for a week before the *Post* ran its lead editorial and the heat really began to get turned up against Jackson — in just enough time to let the hook completely settle in on Jackson before reeling him in.

The particularities of how this story broke into national news — especially the gaps in its development — provide some of the biggest clues as to what was really going on. Between the time that Jackson made the remarks and the initial reporting of them, the earliest election primaries had begun to get underway and Jackson was making a relatively strong showing in them. In fact, Jackson's

showing might have been just a little too strong especially since the February 17th poll showed him running a very strong second place in the upcoming New Hampshire primary. The very next day the "exposure" of Jackson began to pick up in its intensity and one week later Jackson was forced to publicly humiliate himself by reversing his previous denials about the comments and admitting that he had made them.

Jackson's position going into the New Hampshire primary presented the ruling class with a problem on a couple of different fronts. Traditionally, the New Hampshire primary serves as a sort of weeding-out process in terms of the serious presidential contenders. While the ruling class wanted Jesse Jackson to continue in his mission of bringing Black people and others into the electoral process, there was concern about Jackson becoming a more "serious candidate" in his own right. Had Jackson placed a strong second in New Hampshire as the polls seemed to indicate, he would have demonstrated support well beyond the small numbers of Black people in the state, and combined with strong showing elsewhere, that might have catapulted Jackson beyond his "symbolic candidacy" (aimed mainly at gaining leverage in the upper rungs of the Democratic Party). For some sections of the ruling class this was especially problematic since Jackson's political platform is hardly one of the poles of the debate within the ruling class today. To resolve this predicament Jackson had to be knocked down a notch or two — being careful of course not to knock him out of the race altogether, since the Jesse Jackson candidacy is playing an important ideological role for the ruling class. (And, as part of this, it should also be pointed out that a new "excitedly different factor" was simultaneously brought forward in the person of Gary Hart — a definitely "serious candidate" whose political positions are decidedly one of the main bourgeois poles in the upcoming election.)

Another factor which may have figured largely in the decision to clamp down on Jackson a little is related to the overall role which Jackson is playing for the U.S. imperialists in these elections. As we have pointed out previously, Jackson's campaign does represent a convergence of interest of sorts between the U.S. imperialists and at least a significant section of the Black bourgeoisie. On the one hand, Jackson does have an important role to play for the ruling class. His emphasis on registering Black people to vote and "delivering the Black vote" — even attempting to drag disenchanted sections of Black people into the bourgeois political process and generally promoting the idea that Black people have both a stake in, and a promise of opportunity within, the American political system — is particularly important as U.S. imperialism heads into the upcoming conjuncture of the world imperialist system and faces the threat of both war and revolution throughout the world. On the other hand, both Jackson and the Black bourgeois forces he represents have their own aspirations, especially in terms of ensuring themselves a greater share of whatever spoils the U.S. rulers are able to distribute. While these interests are principally convergent at this point, there are also points where — to a degree — they're contradictory. And again, although the ruling class is happy about Jackson's ability to carry out his mission, they are a little worried about how much he should be allowed to develop as a political figure, whether he should continue to be portrayed, as one columnist put it, as "the premier Black leader." Elevated to such a role, the party hacks would have a more difficult time just sloughing him off at the appropriate moment, and by doing this would, perhaps, end up — despite Jesse's grandest efforts to combat this — further fueling a certain amount of cynicism and disenchantment among sections of Black

people.

Interestingly enough, Louis Farrakhan, the head of the Nation of Islam and one of Jackson's foremost supporters (one who has actually declared that the Jackson candidacy is the "last chance" for Black people in the U.S.), is very probably banking on just such a situation developing since he and his supposedly "militant Islam" would definitely stand to gain from an increase in cynicism and disenchantment among the masses of Black people.

Given all this, the object of exposing Jackson's bigotry was not to knock him out of the race altogether but simply to curb him and his ambitions a little bit. (It should also be pointed out here, however, that in the aftermath of the exposure of his anti-Semitic remarks, and as a secondary offshoot of them, Jackson has attempted to parlay this exposure into some sort of proof of his anti-Zionism and identification with the oppressed people of the world. Interestingly enough, the ruling class, as part of their cushioning the blow against Jackson, has contributed to this effort by continuing to portray him in the press throughout this affair as some sort of representative of the "oppressed and forgotten" people of the world.)

One final point in connection with this incident needs to be made. Among the tails of the Democratic Party — embarrassingly grouped together as the "left" — there has been a quite interesting response to the exposure of Jackson's bigoted remarks. While some have chosen to totally ignore the issue, most have "gone on the offensive," claiming that Jackson and his campaign are being attacked for his "radical position" on the Middle East, especially in relation to the Palestinian people and Israel. Even the most superficial examination of Jackson's political positions on the Middle East reveals this claim to be, at best, wishful thinking, and more to the point, totally ludicrous.

Jackson's political stand on the Middle East is no different than that of Andrew Young, Jimmy Carter and a whole section of the U.S. ruling class. While he advocates a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization and calls for a Palestinian state, he does so only from the standpoint of what is in the best interests of U.S. imperialism. (The argument that Jesse's advocacy of a dialogue with the PLO is somehow inherently progressive has recently been dealt a severe blow when it was revealed that the Reagan administration had secretly been carrying out just such a dialogue with the PLO for more than a year.)

Jackson was sent to Syria, not as a friend of the liberation struggles of Mideast peoples, but in order to carry back aloft an airman who had been carrying out armed attacks on behalf of the U.S. imperialists there, and saved him so that he could continue to do so. Jackson's Damascus trip proved his worth to the U.S. imperialists.

As far as Israel is concerned, Jackson insists that any solution in the Middle East must guarantee Israel's continued existence within "secure and internationally recognized borders." And despite claims to the contrary, Jackson has gone on record as not being opposed to U.S. military aid to Israel but just opposed to a "blank check" being given to Israel in this arena, claiming that it is not in the long-term interests of either the U.S. or Israel to concentrate on arming Israel to the teeth while "ignoring" Israel's Arab neighbors. Actually, Jesse Jackson and his political positions on the Middle East are living proof of the fact that being anti-Semitic is by no means an obstacle for embracing Israel and the reactionary causes of Zionism and U.S. imperialism. Far from being attacked for any "progressive" politics, the cold truth of the matter is that Jesse Jackson briefly came under attack as a routine part of the thoroughly bourgeois political process he has so lovingly embraced and promoted. □

Last November Gurion Bluford, America's first Black astronaut, visited Chicago schools with a message for Black students which the *Chicago Sun-Times* summed up like this: "Youngsters can obtain 'the right stuff' to become astronauts or anything else if they lay a solid academic foundation." Bluford spoke to 10,000 mostly Black students at the University of Illinois about growing up in Philadelphia. "It wasn't easy," he said. "I wasn't the perfect student. But one of the things I did was I stuck with it. Be persistent, don't give up." Afterwards a high-school journalist asked him: "Have you ever suffered any racism in the space program?" "No, I haven't!" Bluford answered, "I've found a great deal of opportunity." The *Sun-Times* then quotes a junior high school student saying, "This man is right. It's hard sometimes, but I can make it if I study."

Three months later, at the end of January, the Chicago regional PTA named a teacher of the 1st and 2nd grades at Scarboro Elementary School, an all-Black school on Chicago's South Side, one of the two best in the Chicago school system. Why she got the award and what the regional PTA hopes other teachers will learn from her teaching style is readily apparent. "Reach and you can have it" she tells the 6- and 7-year-old Black youth, encouraging them to emulate the newest role model, Mayor Harold Washington. "Who is our hero?" she asks them rhetorically. "Harold Washington!" they reply in unison. "For my children," she explains, "Harold Washington has a great impact. One day they can be mayor. That is within their reach."

A Black mayor, a Black astronaut, or maybe just a Black computer operator... the possibilities are unlimited if you study hard. This message is blaring forth loudly at Black students today. And in Chicago one of the key ways this is being promoted is through an extensive citywide magnet school system.

Among a very small but, it is hoped, very influential section of Black people and other oppressed nationalities, these schools are being promoted as opening new possibilities of getting ahead in the system, and as a way of further enhancing the message of Guy Bluford/Jesse Jackson, "you can make it if you try." A feature in the *Chicago Tribune* focused on a telling image: it showed a seventh

Magnet schools: the hidden Curriculum

grade magnet school class, where a Black youth had enthusiastically input on his classroom computer screen: "I love Chicago. I love the South Side. I love computers." The obvious hope is that there will one day be the concluding phrase: "I Love America."

In the vast majority of seventh grade classrooms in Chicago, however, the *Tribune* will find no such message since there are, by and large, no such computers. In the non-magnet schools, the conditions of "education" are, if anything, worse today. Nonetheless, the youth are bombarded with the same ideology and message that is promoted in the magnets with the flip side of the same coin often added as a little extra twist of the knife: "If you don't make it you didn't try." Of course, in this world where uninterested teachers, gangs, and drugs replace the magnets' selected staff, computer labs and language programs, the American Dream could ring a little hollow. Therefore the magnets' slogan of "excellence" is twinned with another slogan: DISCIPLINE.

As we shall see, the magnet schools reflect and intensify the reality, not of the American Dream and still less of integration, but of sharp class polarization, intensifying national oppression and an attempt to suppress or whip into line the great majority of oppressed nationality youths who will have to be, after all, a good part of the imperialists' cannon fodder in the war they plan.

Implementing Magnets

Magnet schools are schools or programs that specialize in particular fields such as the arts, science, mathematics, writing and international studies and are

open to select students, including a relatively large percentage of minority students, from throughout a school district. The impetus for setting them up came from the federal government; in 1976 the U.S. Congress authorized grants to support planning and implementing magnet schools. Today, 1000 of these schools have been created for high schools and elementary schools in 130 urban areas. Mainly these are in large urban areas but increasingly as of late they have also been established in medium and small school districts. *Time* magazine recently called them "the model of the future" and there are indications that this trend is increasing rapidly.

Chicago is one of the more important large urban areas where magnet schools are being used extensively. Out of 1000 magnet schools nationally, the city has 50, in addition to 90 magnet programs in neighborhood schools (out of a total of 553 public schools).

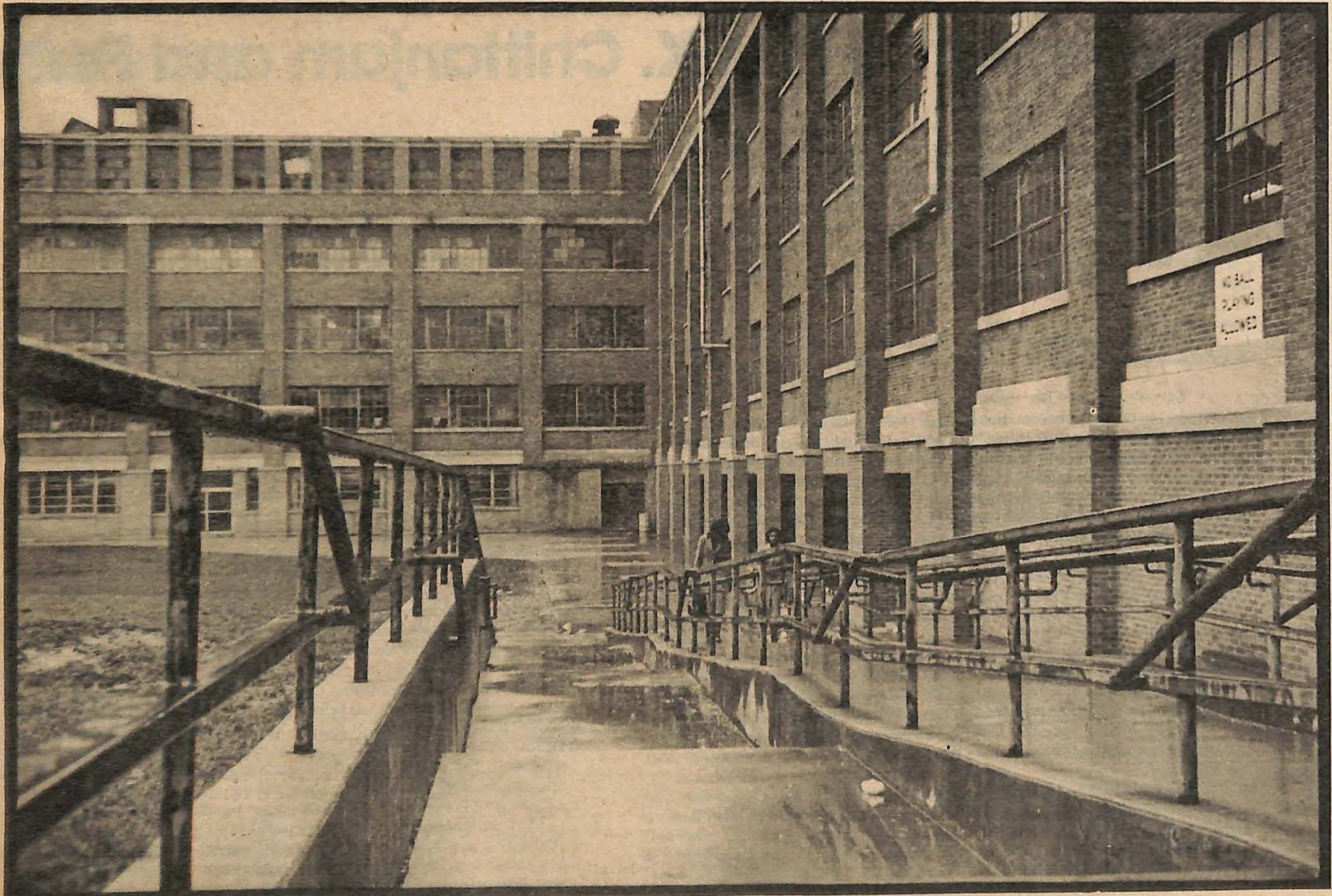
Officially the magnet school part of this program is known as "Options for Knowledge." In other words school authorities are now saying the "option" is open to Black youth and others for "knowledge" previously denied them. Historically of course, schools with better facilities, programs and teachers have mainly been off limits to Blacks. Up until two years ago all-white Bogan High School, for example, threatened violence to any Black person who set foot in the school, or in the neighborhood for that matter. Now Bogan High School has become an integrated magnet school with 45 percent minority students and a special computer program (which was used to win whites over to the idea). Ruth Love, Chicago's first Black Superintendent of

Schools, summed it up this way: "Success can be yours, if you set the standards." Marva Collins, director of the almost all-Black Westside Preparatory School, who President Reagan wanted to appoint as Secretary of Education and who has been called a "superteacher" and a "miracle worker" in dozens of national publications, pushes the exact same line. It is a message that dovetails nicely with the political program of the Black bourgeoisie, especially in the city which is home to Mayor Washington and Jesse Jackson and which has been described as the "mecca of Black business."

Two-Tiers

The catch in all this is, as we have noted, that only a small—actually a tiny—percentage of youth attend the magnets. In Chicago, a select group of 25,000 or eight percent of the "brightest" students of all nationalities can attend these magnet schools and programs. Under the federal plan \$440 extra per child is being spent on each magnet school student, while only \$67 extra per child has gone to the standard segregated Black school. In addition, since principals in magnet schools and programs can choose their teachers, these schools tend to skim off the better quality instruction. At the same time the vast majority of students, mainly oppressed nationalities, are attending lower tier non-magnet schools which have been stripped of many of their best teachers, students and resources. The bourgeoisie at the highest levels has created a new elite, albeit a multinational one; a new two-tier structure for the schools. The magnet schools are the tracking system of the eighties. Bourgeois apologists openly admit this: Magnet schools "may deny the minority community of its best students and further 'ghettoize' the black community," says Robert Barr, dean of Oregon State University's School of Education. "Most educators agree that magnets do, in fact, 'skim' to some degree not only the best students but also the most flexible, innovative teachers. Some magnets, in fact, have been designed to do just that: that is, to attract a district's most gifted and talented students to a program designed to challenge them to learn to potential, thus providing advantages that offset the disadvantages."

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Westinghouse (resembling a factory in more than name) is a decidedly non-magnet vocational school in Chicago.

Revolutionary Internationalism

Text of the London Press Conference

Last week, the RW carried the text of the Communiqué of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations released to the international proletariat and oppressed people of the world March 12, 1984. The RW has received the following edited transcript of the March 12 London press conference.

The following is an edited transcript of the March 12 press conference of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in London. Speakers at the press conference were Delal Kamaci of the Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist; N. Sanmugathan, General Secretary of the Ceylon Communist Party; and Carl Dix of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Two other scheduled speakers, K. Chittanjam of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and Ferhad Safinya, Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran), were unable to attend and statements by them were released to the press.

N. Sanmugathan: Ladies and gentlemen, I'll say a few words followed by a short statement by my comrades on either side and then I'll open the discussion for the press.

"Today the world is on the threshold of momentous events. The crisis of the imperialist system is rapidly bringing about the danger of a new, third world war as well as the real perspective for revolution in countries throughout the world." The scientific accuracy of these words from the Joint Communiqué of our First International Conference in Autumn 1980 have not only been fully

borne out by the recent developments in the world, but the world situation has been further accentuated and aggravated since that time.

Armed with the scientific teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung we are fully conscious of the tasks expected of us in the present situation and are proud to accept and act in accordance with this historic responsibility.

The Marxist-Leninist movement continues to confront a deep and serious crisis which came to a head following the reactionary coup d'état in China following the death of Mao Tsetung and the treacherous betrayal of Enver Hoxha. However despite these reversals there are genuine Marxist-Leninists on all continents who have refused to abandon the struggle for communism.

The international communist movement is developing through a process of further consolidated unity and advance along the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Since 1980 we have developed our strength and increased our ability to influence and lead developments. Our Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which was successfully convened despite unfavourable and difficult conditions, represents a qualitative leap in the unity and maturing of our movement.

The communist movement is, and can only be, an international movement. Indeed the very launching of scientific socialism, the *Communist Manifesto*, declared: "Workers of the World, Unite!" With the success of the October Revolution, the formation of the Communist International and the subsequent spreading of Marxism-Leninism to every corner of the globe, the international unity of the working class took on an even more profound meaning.

At the present juncture of world history, the international proletariat has to

Statements From K. Chittanjam and Ferhad Safinya

The following statements sent to the RW from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are the statements of K. Chittanjam, representative of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and Ferhad Safinya, representative of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). Both comrades were scheduled to speak at the March 12 press conference in London (see centerfold) and were unable to do so: K. Chittanjam was denied entrance into Britain by the British imperialists; Ferhad Safinya was unable to attend due to continued difficulties with wounds incurred in the armed struggle against the Khomeini regime.

Transcribed Statement From K. Chittanjam, Representative of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party Of India (Marxist-Leninist):

"Revolution does not mean merely material benefits. The meaning of revolution is this transformation itself — transformation of experiences, ideals and thoughts. Therefore, it is wrong to think about the gains of revolution in terms of material benefits. The meaning of revolution is a thorough transformation of consciousness." Inspired by the lessons of the Cultural Revolution in China, the mighty storm unleashed by Naxalbari threw hundreds of thousands into the battle for communism. In the late 1960s, Comrade Charu Mazumdar called on the revolutionaries to unite with the struggling masses throughout the world through uniting with Red Socialist China. And in the forests of Srikakulam in Bengal and all over India, revolutionary peasant masses led by the CPI (Marxist-Leninist) took up the battle cry of advancing the revolution in India to further the cause of the world proletarian revolution and defend Socialist China.

Savage repression, which took the lives of over 10,000 including that of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, has set back the advance of revolution in India. The coup in China in 1976 has further deprived us of a reliable red base. But the internationalism of the proletariat is not something which can be destroyed or buried by revisionists. The force of its ideology, the force of its internationalism and of its revolutionary battles assert themselves with ever greater force.

Teng and Hoxha, running dogs of imperialism and reaction, have deprived us of our red bases but they can never deprive us of the weapon of Mao Tsetung Thought. The fact that Marxist-Leninist forces could unite with each other and launch a process of rebuilding the international unity of the world proletariat is a powerful testimony to the strength and vitality of its ideology and its cause.

Today in India, the comprador state set up by the British colonialists, even while being attacked by revolutionary forces, is also in the process of

disintegrating due to its internal contradictions. And as the situation brightens up, the revolutionaries in India with the tremendous boost they get from the international unity of the proletariat will finally advance the cause of revolution.

Transcribed Statement From Ferhad Safinya, Representative of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran):

I was supposed to take part in the present press conference as a representative of the conscious proletariat and the communist movement in Iran. Unfortunately, my health conditions prevented me from fulfilling this important task. However, I rest assured that my other comrades will inform the world in this proper manner about the success of the foundation of our movement and its will to organisationally materialise the international unity of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and to form a new communist international.

For millions of Iranian toilers and workers who, shedding the blood of thousands of their best sons and daughters, have been able to overthrow one of the strongest puppet regimes of the western imperialist bloc just a few years ago and are at the present time crossing swords with one of the most dreadful fascist dictatorships of the world, this is a great encouragement to witness the process of the material grafting of their movement with its international allies. In this manner, our revolution will be able to benefit from the moral and material support and the invaluable experience of its comrades-in-arms and, reciprocally, let the oppressed of the world know about its realities and experiences and in its own turn strive to help the world revolution.

Much has been said about Iran during the last few years, but unfortunately, because of the lack of the sort of international organisation we are striving to form, the following has been the line and the reactionary version of both imperialist blocs about the realities of the Iranian revolution, or rather the version they want to make the people believe that has been fed to world public opinion. By distorting the realities of Iran and presenting the Islamic Republic as the typical outcome of revolution in the western imperialist bloc, it has tried to whitewash the ugly face of the dictatorship's dependence on imperialism, frighten the oppressed peoples from making revolution and to represent the Iranian people as savage and brutal, deserving dictatorship.

The propaganda of the Islamic Republic itself which is trying to picture our revolution as a reactionary religious movement which had aimed from its beginnings to bring to power a religious despotism of the existing sort, to represent Khomeini and his Islamic Republic as the true representatives of our revolution and people, and more demagogical rubbish like this.

Propaganda of this type which is consciously and hypocritically being

list Movement

take up the challenge of forming its own organisation, an International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, assimilating the valuable experience of the past. And this goal must be boldly proclaimed before the international proletariat and the oppressed of the world with the same revolutionary daring of our predecessors from the Communards of Paris to the proletarian rebels of Shanghai who dared to storm heaven and resolved to do the "impossible" — build a communist world.

The process of forming such an organisation will, in all likelihood, be a protracted one.

The most crucial task the Marxist-Leninists face, in this respect, is to evolve a general line and a correct and viable organisational form, conforming to the complex reality of the present-day world and the challenges it poses.

The function of such a new International will be to continue and deepen the summation of experiences, develop the general line on which it is founded, and serve as an overall guiding political centre. These tasks necessitate a form of democratic centralism based on the ideological and political unity of Marxist-Leninists. But it cannot be of the same nature as the functioning of a party in a single state, since the components of such an international organisation will be different parties having equality of right and responsibility of leading the revolution in each country in the sense of each party's share in the preparations and acceleration of the world revolution.

The constitution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, based on the higher level of ideological and political unity of Marxist-Leninists achieved through principled struggle, represents an extremely important step for the international communist movement. But the need to race to catch up with the ob-

jective developments in the world is still apparent. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in all countries is crying out for genuine revolutionary leadership. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, in individual countries and on a world scale, have the responsibility to provide such leadership even as they continue to struggle to solidify and raise the level of their unity. In this way the correct ideological and political line will bring forward new soldiers and will become an ever more powerful material force in the world. The words of the *Communist Manifesto* ring out all the more clearly today: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

Ladies and gentlemen, as I've already pointed out communism is nothing if it is not international. This has been illustrated by the very fact that the authors of the *Communist Manifesto* were themselves responsible for the founding of the First and then the Second International, followed by the Third International under the leadership of Lenin. Ever since the Third International was dissolved in 1943, there has been no attempt to restore the organizational unity of the international communist movement. The international communist movement suffered a serious setback with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev. Although subsequently the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tsetung carried on a correct and consistent ideological struggle against the poisonous theories of modern revisionism as represented by the Soviet Communist Party, no attempt was made to restore the organizational unity of the international communist movement. The movement suffered a still further serious setback with the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung in 1976 and the success of the counterrevolutionary coup d'état under the leadership of Teng Hsiao-ping. But nevertheless all over the world there have been communists who did not surrender to the revisionism of either the Soviet type or the Chinese type. In the Autumn of 1980 we were successful in bringing together some of these forces at the First International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations. Since that time the ideological and organizational unity among these forces has grown as has been demonstrated by the successful holding of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations earlier this year. At this conference at which there was participation from 14 different organizations several important decisions were taken and a Committee was elected, entrusted with the duty of carrying them out.

One of the most important decisions was the task set for the Committee to work for and prepare for the launching of a new International. At the same time there was a decision to publish a regular international journal to guide and advise the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations where they exist already and to help in the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations where they do not exist. The conference also endorsed a *Declaration* which will be released to the world on the First of May and printed in 22 different languages.

Ladies and gentlemen, that's all that I have to say to you at the moment. I now call upon Comrade Carl Dix of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States of America to say a few words to you about the resolutions that were adopted at this conference.

Carl Dix: Thank you.

The following parties and organizations constituted themselves as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations: Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist); Ceylon Communist Party; Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist) Mao Tsetung Regional Committee; Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist; Haitian International Revolutionary Group; Nepal Communist Party (Mashal); New Zealand Red Flag Group; Nottingham/Stockport Communist Groups (Britain); Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia; Revolutionary Communist Party, India; Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic); Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran).

Comrade Sanmugathan has already discussed the significance of the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. In view of its tasks to help provide revolutionary leadership for the struggles of the masses worldwide while also struggling to broaden and raise the level of unity of the proletariat, the following resolutions were adopted by the Second Conference:

First there was a message to Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao and the proletarian revolutionaries in China, saluting their efforts in fighting under Comrade Mao's leadership of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and continuing to fight for his line in the face of the counterrevolutionary coup of Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng. Chiang Ching's example at her recent trial was especially important in its inspirational value to proletarian revolutionaries worldwide.

Second there was a message to all imprisoned fighters for revolution. In their

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magnified and supported by the imperialists has played a great role in confusing the people all over the world on the nature of our revolution. But where is that honest, not to say revolutionary or even progressive, Iranian who doesn't know that Khomeini and his Islamic Republic are representing the rule of not revolution, but rather the worst traitors to revolution, and that they are the most outstanding and concentrated symbols of counter-revolution?

The crimes committed by this regime against our people and the revolution of our people are not countable. This is why, in spite of all the so-called anti-imperialist gestures of the Islamic Republic, all the imperialist powers are giving it all-around support, openly or secretly. None of this can be hidden from our people who have gained tremendous experience during the awakening years of revolution and the bitter class struggle. And this explains why the Islamic Republic has not been able to fool our masses or force them into submission in spite of its tremendous demagoguery and implementation of the most barbaric oppressive measures.

Our movement has seen a setback for sure, but the struggle hasn't died out and moreover, due to severe, incurable crisis and the struggle of the masses the Islamic Republic is far from any kind of consolidation. Because of the silence of the Iranian and imperialist media on the present-day realities of Iran and the current struggles on different fronts makes it difficult for outsiders to grasp the truth. For example, many people do not know that vast regions of Kurdistan in Iran are not under the control of the Islamic Republic and the oppressed Kurdish people are waging a heroic armed struggle against tens of thousands of Islamic Republic military forces and that just a few weeks ago with the use of the most advanced weaponry supplied by both imperialist blocs and their lackeys, the Islamic Republic started the greatest offensive ever on Kurdistan which was completely crushed and beaten back with heavy casualties for the regime. Or, many people are not informed of the growing labour movement and the momentum it is gaining, and so on.

In connection with the above points and many other related questions, the voice of the communist movement, the proletariat and the people of Iran has not been heard very much. It is not in the capacity of this message to deal with them more than this — but gradually and through the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement our voice will be heard more and more in the future. The thick wall of reactionary propaganda of the imperialists and the Islamic Republic which has obscured the face of our revolution will be torn apart. And the Iranian revolution will be put to the conscious judgement of the people of the world, the way it was and the way it is.

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attempts to suppress the revolutionary movement around the world, the imperialists have imprisoned countless thousands of revolutionary fighters: from China, where the capitalist roaders have jailed Chiang Ching and many other proletarian revolutionaries — to Turkey, where thousands of revolutionaries face the junta's dungeons and torture chambers and where in the last few days 11 imprisoned revolutionaries on a hunger strike died, including a number of members and supporters of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist. Even in so-called democratic countries like Italy and Great Britain there have been thousands imprisoned for the crime of being revolutionaries. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls for solidarity with these revolutionaries and calls on them all to rally around the cause of proletarian revolution.

Third was a message of fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Peru. The lies and distortions spread about the armed struggle in Peru by imperialist mouthpieces from both the U.S. and Soviet-led blocs indicate that the Peruvian revolutionaries have struck a raw nerve of all the reactionaries. Further the struggle in Peru has exposed as untrue the view that an oppressed people can only struggle to liberate themselves by relying on one imperialist or another. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls on revolutionaries worldwide to mobilize support for the new democratic revolution in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru and to mobilize that support through propaganda, sympathy and material aid.

Finally there was a resolution in support of the Palestinian people and their just struggle. Palestine and the Middle East in general is a region where the relentless struggle of an oppressed people for liberation and the suppression, subversion and maneuvering of the imperialists is strikingly evident. The destruction of the Zionist state of Israel and the creation of an independent and democratic Palestine will only be achieved through armed struggle of the masses, led by a genuine communist party. The cause of the liberation of Palestine has not been defeated and will not be defeated.

In looking at these resolutions we think that the Second Conference and the resolutions adopted by it are an especially significant reflection of the further development of the ability of the revolutionary movement worldwide to develop a common way of looking at and analyzing the situation in the world. And we think that it also reflects that in the future we'll be able to do much more to both analyze and to change the world as our level of unity increases. **N. Sanmugathan:** Thank you. I now call upon Comrade Delal Kamaci of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist to say a few words to you on the common slogans of the conference as issued for May Day. Her speech will be translated into English.

Delal Kamaci: The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is calling on the proletariat of the world to unite and struggle under these common slogans for May First:

Long Live Red First of May, Symbol of World Proletarian Revolution!

Build the Unity of the International Proletariat! Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Prevent World War! Step Up the Struggle for Revolution Throughout the World!

Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Support the People's War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!

Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!

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

The common interests of the proletariat of the world is the basis for the strengthening of their struggle. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement of the proletariat from now on can advance under the banner of the communist slogans in order to unite the proletariat of the world. May First, the historic day of the working class, has been corrupted by imperialism, their puppets and all kinds of revisionists. All these enemies of the proletarians have temporarily been successful in diverting this historic day for their own benefits. At the present time the contradictions between the imperialists are intensifying and sharpening. Therefore under these slogans the conscious proletariat and all those who are rising up will take up the true spirit of May First and will turn their guns against those who are preparing for world war and will use every opportunity to uproot imperialism. These opportunities do exist now: as the imperialists are preparing for war the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world are fighting against imperialism. Revolutionary struggle is going on in every corner of the earth and is dealing serious blows to this system. Genuine Marxist-Leninists are out to raise the level of this struggle and overthrow imperialism. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is determined to lead the proletariat of the world in carrying out the tasks called for this May First by rising up and making revolution in order to prevent another world war and advance the struggle for communism. Marxist-Leninists will always bear in mind the teachings of Mao Tsetung: "Either revolution prevents the war or war will lead to revolution." Forward to May First!

N. Sanmugathan: Thank you, comrade. Now I open the discussion to the press. If any of you have any questions, kindly state them and we'll try our best to answer them.

Press: Were there any African parties participating in the actual meeting?

N. Sanmugathan: Comrade Dix already read to you the full list of 14 organizations.

Carl Dix: That was a complete list of the parties that joined to constitute the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. There are parties and organizations in Africa that are studying the results of the conference, the document that it produced, which will be distributed on May First in 22 different languages, as well as there are other parties and organizations in various parts of the world who are already in communication with us and want to know what the results of the work are and will determine their relationship on the basis of seeing what kind of document and what kind of political action we are carrying out, for example around May First.

Press: You count two resolutions, one supporting the Communist Party of Peru and the other supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people and I would have supposed that both those organizations would already have been sufficiently in touch with you and would have supported your work if indeed you are on the same lines. Do you, are you in fact in contact with either of those and do they support what you are doing, or do they know what you're doing?

Carl Dix: I can answer specifically in the case of the Communist Party of Peru. We've made clear that we support the struggle that they are leading and call on

people worldwide to give support to it. We have been able to establish contact with the Communist Party of Peru and they are aware of it and will study the results of the *Declaration* as they've indicated to us, as I said in reference to some other parties, and will determine their relationship to this movement on the basis of seeing what kind of document we have produced and the other decisions of the Second Conference. . . . I'm not sure what other organization you're talking about; if you're talking about the PLO, we don't think that we're working on the same basis politically and ideologically as the PLO.

Press: Which Palestinian group do you think you are on the same basis with?

Carl Dix: I am not as familiar with the particular situation in Palestine so I'm not aware of the existence of all the various groups and I couldn't single out one that we are working with. We do want the fact that this movement has been formed to be known by revolutionaries in Palestine and all over the world and we'd like to hear from them about what they think of the results of our work and we'll clarify relations on that basis.

N. Sanmugathan: May I add one point, that as far as Peru is concerned, we are working on the same wave length as the Communist Party of Peru and we're definitely in contact with them.

Press: When you refer to the Communist Party of Peru, you are referring to the Sendero Luminoso operating in Ayacucho, are you not?

Carl Dix: Yes, in fact we are, we're referring to the party which is usually called in the bourgeois press *Sendero Luminoso* or Shining Path. The actual name is Communist Party of Peru. We definitely uphold the struggle that they're waging, and many of the different organizations that came together to form the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement have already worked to expose the lies and slanders being spread against the revolution in Peru. I think it should be pointed out that the kind of slander that's spread against the revolution in Peru is generally how imperialism responds to revolution especially in its initial stage, always trying to slander it as terrorism and senseless violence, but we uphold it as a genuine national liberation struggle.

Press: Could you be more specific on the material aid which you said you would give to the Sendero Luminoso?

Carl Dix: No. What we said is that we would call on the proletariat worldwide to give aid through propaganda, sympathy and material aid and we would call on the members of our movement to mobilize such support from the masses. In the case of the U.S. there have already been committees formed to support the revolution in Peru and they're soliciting all sorts of aid, a lot of it in the area of exposing the lies and slander which has been the main focus of it but we're not going to limit it to that, and any form of aid that can be supplied to the revolution there we're going to work to get it.

Press: Please be specific about this material aid.

N. Sanmugathan: Well, I don't think we are in a position at this press conference to go into such organizational details, but nothing has been ruled out and the important thing is that we are in full support and we will give all manner of aid to the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru.

Press: Do you approve of the communist regime in Albania and are you in touch with the Albanian political party?

N. Sanmugathan: No, I think you came in a bit late apparently. No, we completely condemn the treacherous attack of Enver Hoxha on Comrade Mao Tsetung. Our position is that after the death of Mao Tsetung, Enver Hoxha had the chance of leading the international Marxist-Leninist movement; instead of doing so, Hoxha acted in the same way as Khrushchev when he attacked Stalin. Hoxha launched slanders and completely untrue attacks on Comrade Mao Tsetung; and we therefore have nothing to do with him. Personally speaking for myself, I have been there five times and attended three of their Congresses, but since the denunciation of Mao Tsetung by Enver Hoxha we have severed all connection with them and we have no touch with anybody there.

Press: Another question. Do you contemplate entering into alliances with other parties which are not communist and not Marxist-Leninist parties or movements in pursuing your own objectives?

N. Sanmugathan: That is of course a general point of united front tactics; that is, in the pursuance of common aims we certainly have no objections to having agreements with other parties. But basically at the moment we have to demarcate ourselves very strongly from all others, what we call non-Marxist or anti-Marxist tendencies in the international arena, and at the moment we are trying to solidify the international communist movement around certain principles which we have broadly defined as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. But this certainly implies, I mean not necessarily for the final objective, but in the immediate tactics of uniting with all the forces that can be united as Comrade Mao Tsetung put it.

Press: My last question is: What's your position on the use of force for achieving political goals and specifically what's your position on terrorism?

N. Sanmugathan: I will ask Comrade Kamaci to answer you on terrorism, but on the general point of force: our position is not that we are worshippers of violence *per se* but that in as much as imperialism and capitalism uses violence to exploit the working class and the people, we say that counterrevolutionary violence can be overcome only by revolutionary violence. There's no other way. And you see, we have seen it in Vietnam, in Lebanon, in Grenada, in Afghanistan, in Poland, in the Falklands. Everywhere it is violence that has been used by the ruling classes in order to keep the people down and we say that only revolutionary violence can overcome this. I think the comrade from Turkey will have something to say about terrorism.

Delal Kamaci: What do you mean by terrorism? We are Marxist-Leninists and that is the ideology of the working class in order to lead them to political power. In order to do so in front of armed imperialists and reactionaries who have armies, police, secret police, prisons, etc., where their rule depends on them, armed revolutionary mass struggle is the only solution. Comrade Mao says political power comes from the barrel of a gun. Armed struggle is the highest form of the political struggle. We would prefer not to use arms but this is the only alternative which is forced upon us by imperialism and reaction and we will welcome it. We cannot reach political power by begging. Our final aim through mass armed struggle is to destroy all arms. In order to do so we must overthrow the armed imperialists and reactionaries by means of arms.

N. Sanmugathan: Any other questions please?

Press: Where was the conference held?

N. Sanmugathan: It was closed, as I think was said in this statement given to you; the conference was held clandestinely for very good reasons because a large number of the parties that took part are underground parties and a large number of the comrades who came, attended it, could not do so under their own names.

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Press: Are they not all banned parties?

N. Sanmugathasan: Not all, for instance, my party, the Ceylon Communist Party, is not banned, that's maybe one of the reasons why I'm here. But a good majority of them are parties, well, I won't say they are banned but they are underground parties which don't have a legal existence.

Carl Dix: Even in the case of parties which are not illegal, clandestinity is important. For example the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has a legal existence and does quite a bit of public work, but we are a party seriously preparing for revolution and we have seen already the desire of the imperialists to attack the party and especially its leadership in attacks on our chairman, Bob Avakian. And, we think it was very important and very correct for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to hold the conference clandestinely, and parties seriously preparing for revolution cannot divulge such information.

Press: Is there any particular significance in holding this press conference in London and not somewhere else?

N. Sanmugathasan: We thought we would be able to get our message across to the largest possible audience in London.

Press: Could you tell us what evidence you have for your statement that millions of revolutionary successors in China are yearning for the day to settle accounts with the revisionist usurpers?

N. Sanmugathasan: Yes.

Press: As you know it's possible to visit China and talk to people including people who are critical of the new leadership, some of whom were put in jail but as far as I'm aware this sort of opinion is not expressed by young people in China.

N. Sanmugathasan: You see, China is a large country and it is possible for different people to get different impressions even on a visit. The only point that I would like to stress here is that I think our comrades from the RCP, USA through the *Revolutionary Worker* have already published a statement from the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of China who uphold Mao Tsetung Thought; in the sense that we know of the struggle that took place immediately following the death of Mao and that it was simply by violence and a coup d'état that has succeeded in suppressing that movement particularly in the city of Shanghai; and so we are aware of some of these forces but it is an estimation, our estimation that we have expressed in this document, but I don't think that we can go to prove the existence of those forces in China at the moment.

Carl Dix: We published two declarations from an underground party in China and also we know of the arrest of countless thousands of party members, not

just Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, but countless thousands of party members and others who stood up for Mao's line in the aftermath of Mao's death and the coup against those who tried to carry out his line; and we know that those people have been arrested and many are still held in jail. So there are people who still want to get a chance to stand up for what Mao stood for and to carry the revolution forward in China, we think that's definitely the case. And you see the other thing that's got to be looked at is the situation that's developing in the world which both Comrade Sanmugathasan and Comrade Kamaci spoke to and what that's going to mean, not only in China, but frankly worldwide. And we know that not only in China, but even in the imperialist countries. I've lived in the ghettos of the U.S., I've been in their prisons, I've been in their army and their military prisons and believe me, I am confident that there are people who want to get the chance to bring imperialism down and are waiting both for the conditions to ripen but also for there to be a force to lead it. That's the significance of the parties coming together to begin to form a core of that kind of revolutionary leadership that's going to be needed. And just on this army point, we really appreciate the military training that the imperialists are giving the masses and the fact that they're putting guns in their hands, and from my experience in the army during the time of Vietnam, I'm quite confident that we'll be able to win some of those troops to see that the guns have to be pointed against the imperialists and their lackeys and not at other proletarians and oppressed people around the world in the war that the imperialist war blocs are planning.

N. Sanmugathasan: Any other questions?

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Press: This is a bit of a theoretical question but I wonder if you've discussed it and was it a problem for you at all? Suppose for a moment that you actually succeed in overthrowing imperialism and the most likely result of this would be that wherever you succeed a Soviet-type communism will be introduced, which as you just put it will be just another, as far as you're concerned, just another type of imperialism. What's your position about you're being sort of objectively the allies of the Soviets in this sort of game?

N. Sanmugathasan: There's a slight confusion in the way you pose this question because the destruction of imperialism and capitalism need *not* result in this present Soviet-type of revisionist rule. Let's remember that up to the time of Khrushchev usurping through a palace coup the power of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union followed a different course and it was a different kind of

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Biographical Notes

Here are some brief notes on the political history of the participants in the March 12 London press conference which announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (see transcript in centerfold):

N. Sanmugathasan, age 64, was a founding member of the Ceylon Communist Party in 1943 after graduating from the University of Ceylon. He played a leading role in the ideological struggle that the Communist Party carried out in its early years against counterrevolutionary Trotskyism.

Sanmugathasan has also played a leading role in guiding the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF), which is one of the main trade union centers in the island and the main mass organization under the leadership of the Communist Party. In his capacity as general-secretary of the CTUF he attended the founding congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions; following the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, the CTUF withdrew from the World Federation.

During the international ideological dispute between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, Sanmugathasan championed the ideas of Marxism-Leninism inside the party. When this dispute led to a split in the party, he led the formation of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of which he is general-secretary. His ties and that of his party with revolutionary China were very close. He visited China three times during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and was received by Chairman Mao Tsetung in 1967. These ties with China ceased after the death of Mao.

Sanmugathasan and his party have continued to uphold Mao Tsetung Thought and he has authored *The Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought; A Marxist Looks at the History of Ceylon; and A Short History of the Left Movement in Ceylon*. During the youth insurrection in Sri Lanka in 1971, he was arrested and detained for 10 months. He was a delegate to the First International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations held in the Autumn of 1980 and also attended the Second Conference which concluded recently.

Delal Kamaci, 29 years old, represented the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML), at the London press conference. Delal came to know the world as a daughter of Kurdish proletarians in West Germany. After some schooling in West Germany, she was forced to return to Turkey, where at the age of 19 she became involved in the revolutionary movement. During the years 1977-1980, when armed struggle was spontaneously mounting in Turkey, she was already active in the TKP/ML which was waging armed struggle in preparation for people's war. Her political work was concentrated in eastern Turkey where she was a leading person in the organization of peasant councils and their political training.

Delal gave political leadership to the mass activities of revolutionary land seizures from feudal landlords who are protected by the armed forces of the Turkish state. She was popular among working women for being a strong, class-conscious force among them in the struggle against class and national oppression and backward feudal ideology in regard to women. Later on, because of hounding by the fascist regime, Delal had to leave Turkey to avoid prosecution. Today, she carries on her revolutionary work in West Germany.

Carl Dix, age 35, is a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, and has a long history of revolutionary struggle. In 1970 he was one of the Fort Lewis 6 — the largest group refusal of U.S. soldiers who refused orders to Vietnam. While in the Fort Lewis stockade he led a hunger strike

against the beatings and brutality inflicted on rebellious prisoners. While serving a two-year sentence for refusing to go to Vietnam in Leavenworth Military Prison, he was *arrested* in prison on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the legitimate authority of the stockade," for which he spent approximately 15 months in solitary confinement. While in prison, he joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist), and upon his release from prison in January 1972, he joined the Black Workers Congress (an organization of revolutionary Black workers). He was vice-chair of the Baltimore chapter of the African Liberation Support Committee and a member of its national steering committee from 1973-1975.

He worked in the steel industry from 1973 until a serious work injury in 1978, and was a coordinator of Steelworkers for Equality at the Bethlehem Steel Plant in Baltimore, fighting against racial discrimination. While building for May Day 1980 demonstrations, Carl was arrested in Youngstown, Ohio and in West Virginia, where he was originally charged with a treason law making it illegal to display a red flag in public. He was also panel moderator for the 1981 Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. Imperialism and a panelist at the debate on "The Nature and Role of the Soviet Union" held in New York City in May 1983.

K. Chittanjam, age 30, of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), was scheduled to speak at the London press conference but was prevented from entering the country by British immigration. (See statement in centerfold.) Chittanjam rebelled against the revisionist leadership within the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and at the age of 16 came out of their Student Federation (SFI) in 1971, supporting the revolutionary political line of Charu Mazumdar. He left home to build underground party organization among the peasantry. He was an underground cadre from 1971 to 1975, participating in armed actions against the landlords and police forces.

Following the murder of Charu Mazumdar in 1972 and the arrests and murders of regional leaders, Chittanjam played an important role in reorganizing the party and fighting against trends opposed to Mazumdar's line. He was arrested during the Internal Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi in 1975, suffered two months of torture and wasn't released from jail until 1979. In the period following the 1976 counterrevolutionary coup in China, Chittanjam rebelled against the Teng Hsiao-ping trend and played an important role in fighting for Mao Tsetung Thought as the party's guiding ideology and in strengthening its organization.

Ferhad Safinya of the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) was also scheduled to speak in London but was unable to attend due to wounds incurred fighting the Khomeini regime. (See statement in centerfold.) For 30 of his 50 years, Ferhad Safinya was an active opponent of the Shah of Iran. After the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, he continued to struggle to advance the revolution. Following the consolidation of power by the Khomeini regime and the IRP, Ferhad joined the Union of Iranian Communists and Sarbedaran.

He has been involved in numerous clashes with the regime's military forces and was an active participant in the "Amol Uprising" of January 25, 1982, when he was seriously wounded. This uprising marked a significant point in the development of revolutionary armed struggle against the Iranian state. Since that time Ferhad has been forced into exile where he continues activity to advance the revolution in Iran and the world revolution. □

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country — a socialist country — which under Lenin and Stalin, and so we say that it has degenerated and capitalist restoration took place. It is here that Comrade Mao Tsetung has enriched the science of Marxism-Leninism by his theory which he put forward and which was hinted at by Lenin, but Lenin did not live long enough to espouse it fully. And that is that even after the socialist revolution, classes and therefore class struggle continue to exist; and therefore that even after the former exploiting classes have been abolished, a new class, a new exploiting class, arises from inside socialist society and precisely within the communist party itself; and unless a resolute struggle is carried on against this they will take power and capitalist restoration as happened in the Soviet Union and now in China would take place. And therefore Mao put forward the theory of continuing the class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only example that the world has seen of that is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tsetung. And which unfortunately did not preserve the socialist revolution after Mao's death, showing thereby the strength of the capitalist forces that exist even after the socialist revolution. And as Mao himself said, one Cultural Revolution is not going to cure this; to succeed we would have to have, he said, putting it in the way he always does, maybe we have to have a hundred more revolutions. But in any case, hundred or not, it means that we have to carry on a consistent campaign against these capitalist forces which at the moment have restored. So, the point is that we hope that people who adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will be able in the future to study the mistakes already committed, to profit by the experiences of both the Soviet Union and China and to see to it that they won't just stop halfway and to carry on the struggle against any attempt of capitalist restoration as has happened in both these countries and proceed on the correct road to socialism and there afterwards communism.

Press: Please give us further information about the Communist Party of Nepal. Are there other communist parties of Nepal and is this the party that is active in India?

N. Sanmugathasan: I don't know what you mean, there's only one as far as we're aware, one Communist Party of Nepal and that...

Press: But there are a lot of other groups?

N. Sanmugathasan: A lot of groups, maybe, you may be right, but I think the basic Marxist-Leninist organization is centered in one organization as far as I'm aware and that party certainly is illegal inside Nepal. There's no political activity in that sense as we know it inside Nepal. So it does not mean of course that these communists are not inside Nepal. I could tell you that the comrade who attended this conference from Nepal was in jail inside Nepal for ten long years. But the party legally is functioning outside Nepal, because you see, there are thousands of Nepalese working in all the major cities of India from Madras to Delhi and Benares. And they have very strong influence among them and also among the students, because the party leads the Nepalese Student Federation and in fact they are going to hold a congress in the very near future, and therefore you are right in the sense that legally they function only outside Nepal in India but they function illegally underground inside.

Press: Did I understand you correctly when you said there were thousands of prisoners in Britain and Italy?

N. Sanmugathasan: We are referring to the Irish, and the Italian, the so-called...

Press: The Irish?

N. Sanmugathasan: He will speak to it.

Carl Dix: Yes, you understood me correctly. I was using combined figures. I know that there are 5,000 political prisoners in Italy, people who were swept up over the last few years and most accused of being affiliated with the Red Brigades, not necessarily for actions that they carried out, but the fact that they politically upheld armed struggle against the regime. Our view on that is that we have strategic and political differences with those people but that they are people who fought for revolution, and for that reason we call for solidarity with them, and we call for them to rally around proletarian revolution. As to what our strategic and tactical differences are, it is not that we are against violence or against armed struggle or that we think they're too revolutionary; in fact, we think that they're not revolutionary enough in that the strategy that they're carrying out and using is one that is not going to mobilize the masses of people, raise their political consciousness and unleash them to overthrow imperialism.

In fact they attempt to replace that with the actions of a few. In the case of the Irish revolutionaries, first off it must be said that we think that the Irish

people's struggle against British domination is a just struggle that must be upheld. We think that it's a national liberation struggle against British imperialism and that armed struggle is in fact the correct approach to that. We do not uphold every single tactical move that the Irish revolutionaries have made, but we do think that armed struggle is correct. We don't think they could have asked the British to leave and that they would have complied. Also, as far as different particular cases of did they do this, did they do that and what do you think of it, we aren't in a position to comment on every particular tactical move that they've made, but we don't allow even tactical moves that we think were incorrect to cover over the point of the just struggle of the Irish people and our support for that struggle.

Press: What is your opinion of the Japanese Red Army?

N. Sanmugathasan: I don't think that any of us here are very familiar to be able to answer your question.

• • •

Press: Excuse me. What is the position of your organization about the Italian Red Brigades?

Carl Dix: Okay, I'll try to do that one again. According to our figures we think that there are about 5,000 people in Italy who've been imprisoned for their association with and support of the political tendency that's usually called the Red Brigades, not necessarily for actions that they've carried out or anything that they've done but their political alignment, and we think that they are in fact fighters for revolution imprisoned by the imperialists and we call for solidarity with them. We also call for them to rally around the cause of proletarian revolution and the science of Marxism-Leninism. As for our strategic and tactical differences with them, it's not that we are against violence or think that they're too revolutionary, it more comes down on this point of not seeing the necessity to mobilize the masses, raise their political consciousness and unleash them to overthrow imperialism, and instead taking the form of the actions of a few replacing the initiative of the masses. And in that sense we think that the strategy of the Red Brigades is not revolutionary enough because it won't lead to the overthrow of imperialism.

N. Sanmugathasan: May I add one point. You see, usually this form of deviation, what we call terrorism, is a direct result of the revisionist betrayal in the Soviet Union. You see, communists, people who believe in communism and want to achieve communism in a revolution, they feel disillusioned, frustrated, as a result of the reversal and the betrayal in countries like the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; and they think that they will try to find a shortcut — instead of mobilizing the entire mass, that a few people by armed actions or what the press calls terrorist action, they could achieve what in Russia and China was achieved by mass insurrection and people's war, and this is some of the phenomena you found in India. You found it before the national liberation movement became a full fledged movement, there were the Bengal terrorists and people who thought they could, by killing individual governors or the Governor General of India, could achieve the independence of India. Their instincts may have been good but their tactics, as Comrade Carl has said, does not lead to the desired result.

Press: You obviously have a very high opinion of Chiang Ching. What statements, theoretical writings, concrete actions of hers in the Cultural Revolution can you refer us to to justify this high opinion? Chiang Chun-chiao, for example, wrote a number of substantial documents which one can read and evaluate. What material would you provide in the case of Chiang Ching.

N. Sanmugathasan: It may be that we cannot give you articles of the nature written by Chiang Chun-chiao or Yao Wen-yuan, but the point is that I personally having visited China three times during the period of the Cultural Revolution can testify to the fact that [Chiang Ching was among the four top leaders] people who did the maximum talking propaganda in support of Mao's line on the Chinese Cultural Revolution...

Press: Have you ever been to the Soviet Union? Do you have any impression of the new leadership?

N. Sanmugathasan: I've been there three times. But only once after Khrushchev came to power, and it is a pretty long time ago and therefore I have not had much contact personally with the leadership.

Ladies and gentlemen, if there are no more questions, I think we'll close the conference and in conclusion may I thank each one of you for having kindly accepted our invitation and being present here and we hope you'll be able to give some publicity to the views that have been expressed here. Thank you very much. The conference is closed.

Kindness...

Continued from page 5

For two more days running battles between the women and the company ensued, leading to 32 arrests on trespassing charges. Ultimately, the women decided to relocate their camp across the street from Sperry on state-owned land. And they came up with a creative way to get "permission" for this. When a Native American woman supporter of the camp heard of their need for a new location, she casually offered her "permission" to camp on the state-owned land under the general premise that all land in the U.S. originally belonged to Native Americans. Women from the encampment then took out their own mock "permit" to an urban reservation—a housing project in Minneapolis—where it was signed by many Native Americans.

Once situated at the new site, further harassment came down when the state ordered the camp to tear down a 10' x 10' x 10' warming house, built entirely by women in a single day, classifying it as an impermissible "permanent" structure. About 50 women found an ingenious way to comply with this order by unbolting the structure from its floor, surrounding it and carrying it over to Sperry where it

was woven to the canopied entrance with brightly colored yarn. "It was an angry statement," explained one of the women who had labored to build the structure.

Dual Tactics

Even while the state has come down on the women, arresting them and charging them with trespass on the one hand, on the other hand it has handled the ensuing legalities with kid gloves, making quite sure that their image as fair and liberal neutral arbiters is maintained. Key to this image is having all the courtroom positions for this trial filled by women, from the judge to the city prosecuting attorney, to the bailiffs and security guards. Judge Smith has ruled favorably in allowing the camp members to use the defense of "claim of right," i.e., the defendants claim they had a right to trespass because of personal, moral or religious reasons. Her ruling was appealed by the Minneapolis city prosecutor, so the trial will be delayed for 2-3 months until the issue is heard by a higher court. A similar case involving the "claim of right" defense for anti-nuke protestors against the Honeywell Corp. is already before the Minnesota Appellate Court, and it may be that the Minnesota authorities will kick this case upstairs into the federal

courts rather than tarnish their liberal image by overruling the political defense. In any case, at this point the state apparatus is clearly making an extraordinary and concerted pitch for the political allegiance of the women, who they so recently dragged off to jail, leaving the ashes of the original peace camp in their wake.

Following the lead of the authorities, a procession of bourgeois political figures has descended on the camp, with a common appeal: that of changing the camp's political thrust. Perhaps the most bizarre, but unfortunately familiar, appeal has been by Dr. Helen Caldicott, President Emeritus of Physicians for Social Responsibility, telling the women they should "dress up in high heels and pearls" and "look like Republicans" in order to get their message across at the precincts. Political candidates Alan Cranston and Sonia Johnson have also recently visited the camp.

There continues to be contention and debate over these and many other questions within the camp, while it is the actual developments in the world that keep raising the ante over the outcome. The camp has remained active, sponsoring several direct actions: a die-in of 40 women to dramatize the threat of a nuclear holocaust; and 10 women

demonstrating in solidarity with Greenham Common were arrested in front of the St. Paul Federal Courthouse after they poured blood on a pile of rocks representing U.S. bases and U.S. intervention in Grenada and Central America. One of the most important actions of the camp was sending nine women to Greenham Common for a demonstration last December 12, the fourth anniversary of NATO's decision to deploy the Euromissiles.

The driving spirit of the camp is demonstrated by the 35-year-old camp organizer who, in one short year, has gone from being politically inactive and mainly concerned about raising her kids to being on the frontlines of a major political battle. Speaking about her experiences during the December 12 demonstration at Greenham Common, she related the story of the struggle that broke out among the women over whether or not attempting to cut down the fence surrounding the Air Force Base would be too offensive to the average British citizen. "I feel there is a time for cutting down fences," she said. "I feel if people had done this at Dachau and Auschwitz, perhaps all those people wouldn't have died. These are unusual times." □

Greeting From Uninvited Guests

This letter came to the RW from Britain:

Dear RW

March '84 is an excellent month for all those who hate the rich and powerful. There is a new mood in the air, more aggressive, more contemptuous. The proletariat is coming out of the ghettos to spit on the bourgeois on their own doorsteps. No banners pleading for handouts or begging for favors, no flowers or songs for peace but a crowd of youth chanting "scum! parasite!" as the bourgeois walked past with frozen smiles. Past a banner commanding them to "Behold your executioners."

The Horse and Hounds Ball is one of the highpoints on the social calendar of Britain's bourgeoisie held in the heart of London's swanky hotel quarter so the reception was totally unexpected. The hotel security chief was led by an ex-cop thrown out of the force when his corruption became an embarrassment, but he had obviously not lost touch with his old porky friends who soon pulled up in front of the hotel. Almost immediately they had singled out one of the proletarians to serve as example. Thrown into the police van where he was out of sight it was easy for the pigs to give him a good working over and make it pretty plain to others too. That

van was jumping on its springs and only stopped when a porker jumped out rubbing his bruised knuckles.

Anarchism has a big attraction here in Britain and it's no wonder if one takes as representatives of Communism those "left" parties all intent on getting a seat in Parliament or at least working to influence them. Like those demos "asking for peace" or some other favor. But a breath of fresh air blew over Britain this March. This youth turns its back on all that electoral bullshit, walks up to the bourgeois and spits on his velvet three piece and tells him what he is: "Scum!" "Parasite!"

Editors Note: The accompanying clipping to this letter from a London daily also took note that the "greeters" supplied a "raw-egg first course" to those arriving at the ball, and noted that the "greeters" were "balaclava clad." The choice of words here makes for an interesting bit of trivia since a balaclava—a woolen head-covering with openings for eyes, nose and mouth like a ski mask—takes its name from the town of Balaklava which was the site of the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade," a disastrous military defeat for Britain in the Crimean War. Premonitions for future difficulties, perhaps?

World War

Continued from page 1

against the MX and such things as the large nuclear aircraft carriers? Yes, and listen to Hart's particular objections to the MX in a piece he did for the *Washington Post* last year: "This weapon will add nothing to the survivability of our land-based force... the MX represents an enormous diversion of defense resources from either a smaller new mobile missile or from improving our conventional forces... (it) will mean less emphasis on truly survivable alternatives to today's vulnerable land-based missiles. Each MX we build will mean fewer ships, fewer tanks, fewer fighters and less readiness to face the threats before us around the globe... If the issue is national will, we should put our defense dollars where they count—not on a vulnerable missile that all agree cannot be defended. If the issue is national will, then continually running down our arsenal before our people and the world is not the way to demonstrate it." Note that he *advocates* a "smaller new mobile missile," a strategic nuke he considers less vulnerable (presumably the proposed "Midgetman"). If building 100 MX missiles is "running down" the U.S. arsenal, one wonders how many M-60 tanks and Midgetman nukes Hart would consider sufficient to meet his criterion that "In war, numbers count."

Hart posits similar reasons for his opposition to the trend toward large nuclear carriers and subs—i.e., they would be too few and thus too vulnerable to Soviet attacks and it would be better to go with more, smaller ones dispersed to blanket the Earth's surface. As Hart has explained: "If you don't build so many large, nuclear-powered submarines, you can afford to build a lot more conventionally-powered submarines. If you cut back on very expensive high-performance aircraft for the big carriers, such as the F-18, there will be several billion dollars more for smaller carriers and V/STOL—vertical/short take-off and landing—aircraft." Why rely increasingly on high-performance aircraft, Hart wonders, when "the future might be better served by lower performance multipurpose aircraft which can be adapted to a variety of missions through changes in their sensors and weapons. With the 'smart' weaponry offered to us by today's technology, this is by no means a farfetched concept...."

Hart wants "the right stuff" to do a complicated job: "If the Soviets were active only in Europe, I would say that what we are doing is probably adequate and right. But they are not only active in Europe. They are expanding their military capability all over the world... it is as important to have a Navy capable of protecting the sea lanes that carry raw materials as it is to have forces in Europe capable of deterring the Soviets there." Moreover, Hart has noted (for example, in a piece he did in 1978 for the journal *International Security*) that the small carrier concept would be sufficient "to constitute a major force in many Third World areas, and would thus be useful in the diplomatic presence mission. It could serve a need as an amphibious assault ship...."

Clearly Gary Hart has done some serious thinking about some of the broader aspects of fighting and beating the Soviets in WW 3, as well as "diplomatically" countering various other threats along the way. And consistent with his campaign theme, Hart has insisted that "in combat, ideas are at least as important as weapons." In his February 1982 article for the *NY Times Magazine* on "What's Wrong With the Military?", Hart railed that: "It has been more than 30 years since the last clear-cut American victory, the brilliant and audacious landing at Inchon, Vietnam, the Pyrrhic victory in the *Mayaguez* affair and the failed Iranian rescue attempt all attest to deep-seated problems in our armed services.... New ideas, from inside and outside the services, are seldom heard and less often welcomed." Hart perpetuates the standard mythology of a U.S. victory in Korea by referring to Inchon, a point any serious strategist would be hard pressed to make regarding the latter events described. Vietnam becomes grist for Hart's mill: the U.S. needs a *winning* strategy.

Hart notes that "in the stress and chaos of combat, people fight less for 'king and country' than for their buddies. If the person next to them is not a buddy but a stranger, they are more apt to sit out the fight or break and run." His idea here would be to find ways to substantially improve military cohesion, "the psychological bonding that takes place within the small, basic unit," like adopting the British practice where "a unit contains the same people for long periods." But,

For fox sake



The annual Horse and Hounds Ball at Park Lane's Grosvenor House Hotel last Thursday was an even more glittering occasion than usual. There were huntsmen in red tailcoats and huntswomen with an impressive variety of dead animals draped over their shoulders all right. But this year saw the addition of a group of balaclava-clad 'greeters' welcoming the guests with cheery cries of 'Are you going to have fox for dinner, scum?'. A raw-egg first course was also supplied although in their efforts to offer speedy service the 'greeters' missed the huntspeople's mouths and got their hair, jackets and so on. One huntsman wanted to know who had called him 'scum', but his two female companions pulled him back with cries of 'Don't, Godfrey, don't!'

as Hart complains, piecemeal solutions don't cut it since the whole U.S. military structure is over-bureaucratized and dangerously obsolete: "Our new Pattons will not spring up out of gym classes and electrical engineering courses... military schools do not provide an education in the art of war... most of our exercises follow rigid scripts, where everyone knows well in advance what he and his opponent will do and when. It's more like a ballet than war."

Hart warns that "our military today bears an unhealthy resemblance to the French army of 1940" which fortified itself behind the Maginot Line to which "the Blitzkrieg—a fresh approach—provided a decisive answer." Hart stresses fast-tempo attacks that would "destroy the enemy's cohesion—and the opposing commander's ability to think clearly—by creating surprising and dangerous situations faster than he can cope with them. The German exploit in 1940 is a good example. So are most of the Israeli campaigns...."

Here it should be noted in passing that Hart is not only a rabid admirer of Israeli tactics, but an all-around supporter of Israel which he advertises as "a sound, sensible strategic investment for those who care about the United States." Hart deplored any condemnation of the Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor and even criticized Reagan for temporarily withholding delivery of F-16s to Israel when it was clear to even the most ardent Israel-lover that a certain U.S. distancing from its Middle East mad dog was required under the circumstances. No wonder *Jewish World* rates Hart "a consistent friend," one who last year "issued a supportive statement regarding Israel's military operations in Lebanon." (Hart is fond of saying things at Israel fundraisers like "Israel and the United States share the dream of freedom... the vision that Golda Meir carried from the United States to make the desert bloom"—not

one of his more "fresh and original" perceptions.)

Gary Hart is a representative of a specific military line current in some U.S. ruling quarters. He dovetails somewhat with the military positions associated with people like Robert McNamara, whose own "new ideas" were the subject of exposure in *RW* No. 244. Under the veil of arms control, this doctrine questions the strategic relevancy of certain aspects of the U.S. nuclear build-up like the MX, and stresses the need for more finely honed, and drastically beefed-up, conventional capabilities.

It is too soon to tell if the elections will actually become a vehicle for the public airing of differing imperialist world war doctrines. Hart's appearance "out of nowhere" suggests the affirmative possibility, as does a recent Mondale charge that Hart's military views come "dangerously close to defeatism." Will the debate shift from Gary Hart's alleged improprieties regarding a high-school chemistry exam to a controversy over "military reform?" Will Hart flesh out his vision of a resurgent America? Will footage of John Kennedy at the Berlin Wall be retrieved from the file? (Will a Scoop Jackson docu-drama be produced?) And will the taverns of Chicago's Southwest side ring with informed observations of the state of American "readiness?" (And will they on the North side?)

We'll see. In the meantime, Gary Hart remains Mr. flexible... and Mr. realism. He concludes his *New York Times Magazine* piece by declaring: "We can hear the distant thunder. It is far less pleasant to confront the new realities for the first time on the battlefield."

That the thunder is not so distant may become even more obvious on the road to the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco. □



A Thousand Protest Green River Murders

One Seattle paper set march numbers at 75. Another, at a closer 400. In fact, over 1,000 women joined a Take Back the Night demonstration in Seattle on March 16. Focused as a protest of the Green River Murders, the event tapped widespread outrage at these murders, the posture of the authorities toward them, and the oppression of women which the Green River slayings have come to concentrate. The demonstration drew women from the city and suburbs, from housing projects, high schools and colleges, and from a number of women's organizations. A Break the Chains contingent, called for by the RCP, participated in the march.

Miami

Continued from page 3

In Overtown, where Nevell Johnson had lived and had been killed by pig Alvarez, the police were out in greater force. Youth used the piles of rocks and concrete blocks from the many demolished buildings as their weapons. Small bands of youth surged in to attack the larger groups of police and then escaped into the projects and apartment complexes. A young woman spoke of the attitude of most of the old people who lived there, "They were looking, saying, 'get them, go ahead, just don't mess up the neighborhood.'" On several occasions when the youth could tell they had scored big against the police one could hear voices sing out lines from a popular song, "Atomic Dog," "What you gonna do, motherfucker" — with other youth breaking into deep guttural barking, as on the record.

Later in the weekend a few of the proletarian Black youth heard word of some allies at a local punk club. On Saturday night, a white punk poet opened for the band Dirty Rotten Imbeciles (DRI) with a poem he'd written that day called "Guilty, Guilty, Guilty." Support for the rebellion could be felt in the crowd of 150 punks.

In pockets of Liberty City and Overtown, more concentrated blows were delivered those nights as well through political work by a few conscious revolutionaries on street corners and buses and in spraypainted slogans. "Revolution in the '80s — Go For It," "Today's Pig is Tomorrow's Bacon," "This Won't Go On Forever," and "Death to America" appeared on walls with certain other slogans that had been up for a while. Already, an RCP leaflet prior to the verdict had provoked extremely broad discussion and controversy all over the area. It exposed the Alvarez trial, and linked the struggle against national oppression to revolution in the U.S. and around the world. Also, a statement of support for the struggle of the Palestinian people was circulated. All this represented a fine development — the beginning presence of a revolutionary internationalist line amidst the upheaval. In turn, the outbreak more sharply posed the need for revolutionary politics and organization.

The question for the advanced youth and others in Miami wasn't and isn't really "rebellion — yes or no." The authorities themselves, and the very workings of their system, will see to that. Sharply posed is the need to put a revolutionary political stamp on these outbreaks when they do erupt. There needs to be a more conscious, and more organized, expression of revolutionary politics brought into them. That pole has to be there to a far greater extent than it is now.

But for this to come about, the advanced — and especially those who may be asking "What now?" — have got to get down seriously on what it means to "get

ready for revolution." Those who see that "rebellion is fine, but not enough" have also got to see that they can tremendously change the terrain on which a Miami is fought out, and how through outbreaks like Miami the revolution can accumulate forces. And they've got to see the need for building up and strengthening revolutionary organization and, in particular, come closer to and join up with the Party. The potential to develop the RCYB is especially to the point.

The Pigs

New Miami Police Department Chief Herbert Breslow bragged at a press conference on Friday about his troops' training and organization. Hundreds of Miami and Dade County police had been sent to an unspecified school in California last year for special riot control training. Since that training, the field forces have practiced all winter at the Orange Bowl. At the beginning of the Alvarez trial a "Metro Special Events Coordinating Committee" was established that held weekly meetings of police, Florida Highway Patrol and National Guard officials to map out their strategy. Chief Breslow also announced that 200 National Guard had been brought in close to the city and were on alert, while another 500 were on standby. And the chief singled out the special role of Black police officials for praise, who he claimed "made our presence more palatable."

One of these Black police leaders on the scene in Liberty City Thursday night announced the police strategy to the press, "There will be no free zones." Street sweeps by SWAT teams and field forces arrested over 300 adults and an untold number of youth over the weekend. (At mass arraignments for the adults arrested on misdemeanor charges, the courts were routinely giving \$250 cash bonds to those who pled innocent and five day jail terms to those who pled guilty, assuring that most would be kept in jail over the weekend. The youth were detained but usually released within hours.) The slow-moving massive police units rounded up everyone they could get their hands on throwing people in the horsevans. In many cases, the cops grabbed people off their porches and out of their yards and rounded up people inside stores. In some case specific individuals were singled out by the police. One high-school youth described to the *RW* a police attack on the mother of one of the two Black youth who were eyewitnesses to the murder of Nevell Johnson and who testified at the Alvarez trial. The police went over the fence and beat her up with blackjacks in her own yard before they arrested her. As the young man who witnessed this attack told us, "That was showing us they think they can do anything they want to do."

Other new police tactics were employed this year that were less obvious. As a means to divert the fire away from themselves and to create a situation that could be used to further attack the Black youth, police officials took down all the barricades early Friday morning. A number of unaware white people drove

through the major streets and were hit by renewed rock and bottle throwing. These whites had been lured into the area by the police.

During the course of the whole rebellion, the Community Relations Board manned radio airwaves. They were fighting hard to both cool it out and to sum it up. The Federal Communications Commission even allowed one station a special exemption from the Federal regulations that its power go down after 6 p.m., the benefit of another kind of power. This stayed in force for several days. But some of what went over the air only further inflamed the situation. Many callers were outraged at the police brutality they witnessed. One man called to blast the horse-van paddy wagons only to hear the CRB exclaim, "If people act like animals, they should be treated like animals." The infuriated caller slammed back, "Black people came here chained in ships, people had to live in their own waste. And people fought back. Were we animals then?!" Few of the CRB members and talk show host who had spent so many weeks walking the streets were out in the street the night of that weekend.

One CRB spokesman, Willie Sims was heard instead on ABC's *Nightline* late Thursday, "We don't want to see any blood in the streets of Miami and we don't want to see any youth out there accumulating criminal records." No blood in the streets, no criminal records, Mr. Sims! What about the blood of Nevell Johnson or Arthur McDuffie and the countless other Black men killed by the police? What about the criminal records of the eight percent of all Black people who are arrested each year? That is quite fine to the likes of the CRB. Ah, but accumulating an arrest record for *rebellion* is quite a different matter for Sims and Company.

It is hardly a coincidence that little has been heard from Willie Sims and many of the other CRB men the last few days. At least for now, their political usefulness was expended and, on top of that, they weren't all that successful anyway.

Instead, with a certain sinister twist to reality, kudos were reserved for both the police and the "Black community" for restoring the calm. Vicious attacks in the media had been launched against the so-called "criminal elements," meaning all those who were swept up by the police and many who weren't. Black psychologists and newspaper columnists have unleashed a barrage of "facts" to try to isolate the so-called "misguided" youth who got caught up in the "opportunistic" acts of the "criminals." A number of middle-class Black people have been quoted far and wide about how this has given Black people a bad name. And maybe in some quarters it has. But then, in those quarters, Black people never were looked upon too highly.

What has really caused the uproar in those quarters, though, is that Miami's Black youth are a portent of days to come. And especially when it comes to the younger youth, many of whom were in the forefront of the battles, there is

much handwringing going on. One doctor was quoted: "Young people are growing up in an atmosphere of guerrilla warfare, right here in Miami. And to me it's almost frightening when I begin to think about the consequences of such."

Things in Miami are being described as "back to normal" by the authorities. But the case is hardly closed. The trials of the people arrested during the rebellion will be coming up in the next few weeks. Aside from misdemeanors, at least 75 serious felony charges were racked up. Meanwhile, a Miami Police Dept. reinstatement hearing for Alvarez approaches. In a city that's still unsettled, all this could well provide the focus for revolutionary agitation, further and deeper exposure and, especially, conscious and organized political struggle. □



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Magnet Schools

Continued from page 7

There is a stark contrast between the two types of schools. This was graphically described to the *RW* by a Chicago substitute teacher: "There are schools like Lane Technological High School, where to get in you have to have certain recommendations from teachers and a certain grade point average, certain scores on tests. Then there are schools like Crane and Harrison, which are for lower-tracked kids. Lane has unbelievable facilities and all kinds of specialized courses. There are also better teachers. It's very clean inside, all kinds of janitorial staff. But in a school like Harrison you can see the physical building itself just deteriorating...."

"I've gone into high schools where the attitude of people in the front office is school will be in session from 8 to 2:46 and the highest goal is to make it through the day. What has built up in the minds of many teachers in the ghetto schools is a real contempt for youth—they don't give a fuck or make any attempt to teach. The thing has become a numbers game—they get on the phone in the morning to get 'the bodies,' which is how they refer to the youth, to school because the number of teachers hired per school is based on the 'body count.'"

The area surrounding the all-Black Cabrini Green housing project is a striking example of this polarization into magnet and non-magnet schools. Under the magnet school program, a particularly large amount of resources has been poured into the Lincoln Park area adjoining the Cabrini projects. Lincoln Park High School, for example, immediately adjacent to Cabrini, was cited in December by President Reagan as one of the top schools in Illinois. Up until four years ago this school was called Waller High and a majority of its students were from Cabrini Green. In converting it to a magnet school over \$1 million was poured into rehabilitating the 83-year-old building, including new paint, lighting, tiling, electrical, heating and ventilation systems, landscaping and a revitalized library. Admission's standards to its magnet programs were raised significantly. To cite an extreme example: to get into the school's baccalaureate program this year required scoring at least 98 percent on an entrance exam. Although some Cabrini students still go to Lincoln Park High, the majority are funneled away from the school into a nearby vocational magnet school or Wells High School, a rundown general school away from the area. Cabrini youth at Wells High School who once attended Lincoln Park High are quite blunt about this, telling the *RW*: "We got kicked out."

The other magnet elementary schools within the immediate vicinity of Cabrini—LaSalle Language Academy, and Franklin and Newberry magnet schools—also exclude large numbers of Black applicants and even, in the case of the Franklin school, use *pre-kindergarten* tests to determine the acceptability of the applicants. Clearly these schools are designed to benefit only a more upwardly mobile strata of Blacks, along with the white middle classes living in the area.

It should be said that in one way, the Lincoln Park magnets are untypical. There are plenty of magnet schools on Chicago's mainly Black South Side and in its Black and Latino areas of the West Side as well, where the affect of the magnets has not mainly been to exclude minorities. But in Lincoln Park and vicinity there has been an additional and particular factor in the drive to gentrify the area, to entice middle-class whites to stay and move in greater numbers into the area. Still, the Lincoln Park magnets are in general an excellent example of the way the program is being used to carve out a new, elite tier inside the public school system.

Other Side of the Tracks

Lincoln Park High stand in sharp contrast to non-magnet schools like nearby Wells High School. Said James, a Black student who lives at Cabrini, "Take our gym teacher (who is Black). If we do something wrong he'll slap us across the face. He's plain crazy. He never slapped me. But I'm on the basketball team and one guy didn't play a good game so he

walked up and slapped him. This other dude was shooting baskets during practice time. He shot a basket and missed, and he just hit him. He said, 'I don't want you missing no layups,' but he said it in kind of a mean voice. He chased this other guy to try and beat him, cussing him out, but he didn't catch him."

"In gym," said Michael, another student from Cabrini, "you have to lay down on your back and open your legs up and count. He (the gym teacher) saw that a female was doing it wrong and he told her 'no, no, you're doing it wrong.' He stepped between her legs and pulled her legs open and then stepped back and looked at her and said, 'Yeh, that's the way you do it.'"

These are schools, in short, where teachers get rewarded for keeping the kids in line—literally. "If you don't teach anything," a teacher told the *RW*, "but your kids walk down the hall properly, then you will make out better with the principal. A lot of times the principal walks down the halls to make sure the classrooms are quiet—and then those are considered good teachers. Teaching the kids to think critically, to question, is definitely out."

At Wells High School, Chicago uniformed police roam the hallways and the streets outside the school crawl with pig cars and paddy wagons. The principal and assistant principal carry walkie-talkies to stay in constant communication with the front office, with the police as a backup. (Perhaps Chicago's new Black police chief or the mayor himself has sent these officers to deliver the message to these Black youth about how "success can be yours"?) Another Cabrini Green youth at Wells told the *RW*: "I've heard that the police beat people too. They had one kid in a room and some parent came up and said to them 'you aren't supposed to be hitting him like that.' And then they tried to close the door and said they were hitting him because if a kid swings back they're supposed to enforce 'discipline.' Then the kid said, 'But I didn't touch you, I didn't hit you.' And then they just wailed into him."

"They have prejudice against the kids from Cabrini. Anybody Black that comes from Cabrini, they call us Black Gangster Disciples and all this gang stuff. If you know you're in the right, you go down to the assistant principal's office, and she won't even let you explain yourself. If she knows you're from Cabrini and you're Black—that's the way she sees it—and from the crowd that you hang with. That's why a lot of us have dropped out or got kicked out.... We're the ones they always put the pressure up to." (The dropout rate throughout Chicago public schools is 55%, but for Wells and Clemente High Schools it is 74%, i.e., only 26% of the entering freshman class graduates—*RW*.) This is a world, outside the magnet schools and their computer labs, of the largest numbers of oppressed nationality youths, bounded by the gangs and the street on one side, and the administrators and the pigs on the other; it makes many feel trapped and frustrated inside classrooms that, they say, teach them nothing.

"All that stuff they teach us, if they had a smart enough teacher they could teach it all in five weeks," one student told us. "They keep going over the same things. Like last year I had English 2 and this year I have English 3 and they're still teaching me the same stuff I had last year. The teachers tell you to do your work and don't want to explain it to you. Like they'll tell us to turn to chapter 15 and do it, but they won't explain to us how to do it, if it's a math problem or an English problem or whatever. They just sit down and look at their newspaper. The kids will be playing, throwing shit and stuff. They have to, just to keep their spirits up. Some kids like myself just go to sleep."

A teacher who had taught at Wells and other similar high schools described some of the classes to the *RW*: a history class whose assignment is to memorize the words to the Civil War song "Johnnie Get Your Gun"; a social studies class which memorizes the names of the presidents of the United States and all of the states; a biology semester spent regurgitating the names of the vertebrates, and then the invertebrates.

Another favorite teaching device in some other ghetto schools: the traditional "busy work." "We did ditto work all the time," two youth from Cabrini Green who had attended another high school told the *RW*. "Like a teach would tell us to look up the definitions of 20-30 words just to keep us busy. Or we'd have to do 200-300 problems of adding or subtracting just to kill time. They didn't even care if you got it right or not.... If you didn't get it, you didn't understand, you were 'stupid.'"

The Worries

This kind of sentiment in many inner city schools has evoked a great deal of concern on the part of the bourgeoisie. The Carnegie Foundation, in its September 1983 report, recognizes that, "(while) a handful are high achievers, most are bored, restless and rebellious." Other educational "experts" have expressed similar concerns. The head of Chicago's dropout prevention program wrote an article called "The Impact on Society of Youths Who Drop Out or Are Undereducated." He frets that many of these youth are adopting what he calls "alienation values" rather than "American values": he worries about "rootlessness, estrangement, and hopelessness" saying "Children become alienated in a variety of ways, but for the majority of poor children, it is those who have not been able to form strong identifying and unifying ties to school, neighborhood, church, and the dominant society." This of course, is no big news. But it is important to see that the bourgeoisie is increasingly worried about its ideological problems with the youth. And more than that it is working to do something about it, beaming the same "you can get over if you hustle" kind of message to the non-magnet schools as to the magnets, even as the youth of these schools are given less and less means to "get over" with, compared to the magnets.

Its not as if this message has no effect, either. Take the Effective Schools Program for non-magnet schools which was implemented at the same time as "Options for Knowledge," the magnet school network, and is meant to complement it. Already in effect in New York City and Milwaukee, this program calls for teachers and principals to "set high standards, in all schools, and expect more from students and maintain an orderly school." What this means in practice is that even in the worst ghetto schools the administration promotes the line of Black people getting ahead through education and has particular areas of their curriculum to keep alive the idea of "making it." This might be a single magnet program. Or at some schools like Wells, ROTC (military officer training) and its marching band has received a big hype (which begins to reveal what the content of "making it" is for these youth). Getting a computer job through taking some extra courses has been another big promise over the last few years. And, of course, tracking within particular schools continues as it was. It is obvious that these are largely token programs, but it is also true that they are *working* programs—there is some basis for their ideology. Originally, the magnet school idea was touted as a form of integration.

Before these magnet schools the Chicago public school system was probably best known as being the most segregated in the country. In 1979, for example, 88 percent of the system's 290,000 Black students attended all-Black schools.

In January 1983 a "desegregation plan" was approved for Chicago schools by a federal judge. Any school was considered "desegregated" when no more than 70 percent of its students were either Black or white. By increasing the number of voluntary student transfers to integrated magnet schools (which Chicago had begun instituting on a limited basis six years earlier) the percent of students attending integrated schools increased to a level "acceptable" to the federal government. This plan for Chicago's schools had widespread approval within the bourgeoisie at the time. For example, the Justice Department announced: "It is our hope that this decision will encourage courts to consider similar voluntary measures to achieve desegregation." The *New York Times* also editorialized that this was a "sound plan" and "appropriate" for "an already hopelessly

segregated urban school district" such as Chicago.

In point of fact, magnet schools were never any kind of concession to the just demand for full integration of the schools, but as tokenism, and as a way to *avoid* full integration. The program was not meant, and could not touch the structures of white supremacy deeply imbedded in the America educational systems. In Chicago this has taken the form of an enormous parallel Catholic school system which largely functions to syphon off white, middle-class youth (although there are, of course, numbers of Black youth in the system). And, as nearly everywhere, Chicago is surrounded by white suburban schools.

In its series on the magnet schools last summer, the *Chicago Tribune* finally, and openly, dropped the "integration" pretense. It admitted that only 1 in 14 Black students is in an integrated school, only 1 in 20 in a magnet program, and more than 400 of the city's 553 public schools remain segregated. Chicago would just have to accept, continued the *Tribune* in an editorial concluding the series, that "No matter how the 16 percent white enrollment in the city's schools is distributed, meaningful integration is impossible in many all-minority schools."

But the impact and purpose of magnet schools today go far beyond the question of simply integration versus segregation. More to the heart of the matter is some strategic thinking by the bourgeoisie on the political utility of promoting the ideology of an upwardly aspiring section of Black people and other minorities, especially in this case, among youth. What emerges in contrasting the magnets and non-magnet ghetto schools today is not mainly the issue of segregation—although that is increasing—but the difference between the outlook of those who "want in" and those who "want out" and how the bourgeoisie is attempting to use this. They hope these magnet school students will be more inclined to buy the American "dream" despite the intense national oppression that continues to be directed even against them. Promoting and using this they hope to rope in and further suppress the broad numbers of Black youth, with an eye especially on the near future. For the bourgeoisie, actively planning for a period of war, the question of "attitude" of the youth, is far more than a problem for the principal. □

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