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Court Case "Streamlined" To Get Bob Avakian

The Re-Activated Railroad

On Wednesday, August 5th the sound of sharpening knives and gnashing teeth echoed through the halls of Washington, D.C.'s Superior Court as the government pushed ahead their railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Prosecuting Attorney Mary Ellen Abrecht announced in court that seven of the 25 felony "assault on a cop" charges facing the defendants were being dropped and that all of the charges against six of the defendants were also being dropped. Lest anyone think that the ruling class is suddenly trying to appear somewhat reasonable, it need only be mentioned that 11 defendants, including Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, are still facing 18 felony charges and over 170 years possible jail time, in this case which was a sham from the start. Far from being a move toward reasonableness this latest act by the ruling class represents

Railroad

nothing less than a sharpening up of their legal attack and more, an attempt to focus that attack even more squarely on Bob Avakian. In doing so, they make clearer than ever before the political nature of this entire case.

Throughout the case 8 of the defendants, including Bob Avakian, were not charged with any specific crime, rather they were solely and vaguely charged with "aiding and abetting" 25 assaults on a cop. According to the prosecution they were guilty by virtue of their presence at the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington. It was six of these

Pushes

defendants, the "aiders and abettors," against whom the charges were dropped. But, not surprisingly, Bob Avakian, who has always been the central focus of their attack, was not among those who had their charges dropped. In a ridiculous attempt to

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Imperialist Control Tower Tries to Land Air Controllers' Strike

From McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey, one of the busiest military bases in the country and home of a wing of the Military Airlift Command, military air traffic controllers began fanning out last week to major airports in New York and Washington D.C. The mass media was quick to produce an "instant profile" of the soldiers called in as part of the massive government effort to crush the controllers' strike: dedicated, highly trained and loyal professionals who work long hours and low pay and like it that way, and who treat the demands of their civilian counterparts with contempt. Sgt. William M. Reardon, "A 15-year-veteran who has guided military and civilian aircraft over Thailand, Burma, and South Vietnam," was quoted by the *New York Times*: "I've done this job for 15 years and could do it for 15 more years," he said with a smile.

"The increased pay demands from the striking Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, whose members make an average of \$33,000 a year, drew a laugh from the military personnel," the *Times* pointedly remarked. "Typical of the military pay is that of Sgt. Robert Woznack, 30 years old, who is the air force's traffic controller of the year. His base pay is \$8,000 a year."

That a handful of lifers and other carefully chosen military personnel are being held up as models of stoic virtue for the nation's admiration is more than just a crass and predictable strike-breaking tactic: in a way, it concentrates the heavy political stakes involved for the ruling class in this struggle. The 13,000 striking

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Air traffic controllers screen.

Torrijos Hits the Dirt at High Speed

No Tears for the "Strongman of Panama"



Torrijos and John Wayne in Panama—Wayne was there as an advocate of the Panama Canal Treaty.

General Omar Torrijos "the strong man of Panama" is dead. The immediate White House response to his untimely death via a plane crash on a Panamanian mountainside was to acknowledge Torrijos' long years of service to U.S. imperialism, calling him "one of the outstanding figures in Panamanian history, who repeatedly displayed profound concern for the welfare of his people and who took an active interest in various regional matters. It is our expectation that our governments will continue to work cooperatively and give meaning to the hope expressed publicly by Torrijos that our nations will live together peacefully." Indeed, continued "cooperation" and "peaceful" acceptance of U.S. imperialist domination of Panama was the foremost concern of the U.S.; while a Panamanian National Guard spokesman blamed the death of his leader on "bad weather," it was the political climate of Panama that the U.S.' attention turned to, with ominous phrases like "power vacuum" and "possible instability" turning up in virtually every article in the U.S. press.

This is no minor point to U.S. imperialism. Panama is extremely strategic to the maintenance and expansion of its overall empire, with the U.S.' precious Canal having military and economic importance of the first magnitude. And the neo-colony's location at the southern end of Central America makes U.S.-imposed "stability" a geopolitical necessity for the red, white and blue beast. Given the widespread hatred of U.S. imperialism on the part of the Panamanian masses, a puppet who was particularly adept at dressing up imperialist domination in the cloak of "anti-imperialist" rhetorical flourishes has been a dire necessity for the U.S., and General Torrijos filled the bill handsomely. Through the use of such demagoguery, combined of course with plain old in-

sidious repression for those who failed to swallow the bait, Torrijos became what the *New York Times* called "the principal guarantor of the country's stability."

Six months ago, the U.S. ambassador to Panama commented that "Panama, which could have been another source of agitation and disturbances in the area, is now one of the bright spots in an otherwise confused and turbulent Central America and Caribbean today." At Torrijos' funeral, the same ambassador credited the general for this, praising in particular the fact that Torrijos "talked less but acted right." The *New York Times* put it this way: "Having frequently begun by viewing Torrijos as an anti-American demagogue, successive Washington administrations, from that of President Nixon through President Reagan, gradually came to recognize him as a reliable friend of the United States."

Now that Torrijos is dead, the U.S. bourgeoisie is being quite up front about the nature of its Panamanian puppet's service to its interests. But while he was alive, you had to pour through the journals where they talked to their own kind to discover what they really thought of Torrijos. For example, a 1975 issue of *Foreign Affairs* said that Torrijos "uses populist social policies, nationalistic rhetoric and his friendship with Fidel Castro to hold in check the popular emotions and political challenges that otherwise might roar through the gates and make negotiations with the United States impossible." As to the economic value of the general, the financial newspaper *Barron's* wrote in 1978, "The fact is that Panama's economy and management style are already dominated by U.S. attitudes and business methods at a level found nowhere else in Central America, which the unpredictable Torrijos, though often appearing to be far leftward leaning, has encouraged." As is obvious from the current worry in the

U.S. over his absence, Torrijos was far more "predictable" in the service of U.S. imperialism than *Barron's* acknowledged.

But it is Panama's military importance to the United States that has played a central role in fortifying the U.S.' domination of all of Latin America through the course of Torrijos' 13-year reign. There are currently 14 military bases in the country, and although this number is supposedly going to be reduced to 3 through the course of this decade, there will be no reduction in the number of U.S. troops (currently over 12,000) permanently stationed there. Torrijos was noted for his close working relationship with the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command, headquartered in Panama, in numerous military maneuvers and exercises. In 1978, the U.S. ambassador testified before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, "In January and February of this year, conventional warfare exercises were held by our 193rd Infantry Brigade at the Rio Hato Military Base in cooperation with the Panamanian National Guard. This military area, large in size and ideal in terrain for such exercises, is deep in Panama's interior..." Such periodic exercises are not only used as preparation for the future real thing, but also as intimidation to those who are currently getting out of the U.S.' line. The most recent example of this was the Black Hawk IV maneuvers held in conjunction with U.S. naval exercises in the Caribbean in late April. Not coincidentally, these maneuvers occurred during the recent U.S. military escalations in El Salvador and stepped-up threats against Nicaragua.

Panama is also the site of the infamous School of the Americas—the U.S.' foremost counter-insurgency training center for Latin America. Torture and mutilation, aerial bombardment and search-and-destroy missions, coup-plotting and riot control and a lot

more have all been longtime features of the school's curriculum. Prior to his overthrow in 1979, practically all of Anastasio Somoza's Nicaraguan National Guard officers were trained there, as were the freedom-loving "authoritarians" of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala and Chile. In fact, a framed letter from Chile's fascist General Pinochet, dated October, 1973—one month after the U.S.-organized coup that overthrew Allende, hangs in the office of the school's commander. In an interview conducted earlier this year, Torrijos boasted about the "changes" that have occurred in the School of the Americas: "...They are talking about human rights now...because there are Panamanian instructors and we're stamping the School of the Americas with our personality." Undoubtedly, the masses of El Salvador are quite grateful for such personality, since the school is a main training ground for the fascist junta's officers at the present time. That same personality has also been evidenced in Panama itself, as when Torrijos' National Guard troops opened fire on striking farmers in Tonosi and demonstrators protesting gas prices in Panama City, both of which occurred in 1979.

The U.S.' economic stranglehold over Panama has also been tightened during the Torrijos years. The main medium of exchange is the American dollar, and Panama is the region's friendliest country to U.S. banks and international corporations. More than 100 foreign banks, with local deposits of more than \$35 billion, have their Latin American financial centers located in Panama. U.S. investment is greater than in any other Latin American country except Mexico and Brazil—a massive \$2.8 billion in a country with a population of only 2 million. Panama is also inextricably entangled in the U.S.-bloc credit web.

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On Reagan, the "Rise of the Right" and the Decline and Fall of the U.S. Empire

The following is the second of a series of excerpts from a recent letter from Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. (The first excerpt appeared in issue No. 115.)

I see that Begin, that right-wing terrorist turned statesman-reactionary terrorist on an ever greater scale, says that he called up Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority, to ask him to sanctify the bombing of the Iraqi reactor to the "American people, to the Christian public." According to Falwell, Begin explained that the bombing was done "to save our little children from annihilation." Then, around the same time, Reagan informed Falwell in advance of the appointment of Judge Sandra D. O'Connor, the first woman troglodyte, to the Supreme Court.

Well, when you look at things like this, how can anyone deny that what is determining the political climate in the U.S. and the actions of the American government (and even its allies to a considerable extent) is the "rise of the right" in cowboyland? It is obvious, isn't it: the fundamentally conservative, even reactionary nature of the "silent majority" has finally made itself heard and felt, and the government naturally reflects and responds to this "will of the people." Those with more enlightenment may not like it, may find it a perversion, but they are powerless to do anything except try to preserve what little bits of decency and democracy they can from this democratically-expressed popular disaster. Such is the kind of fairy tale-night-

mare that many liberals are hypnotized by—and even a good many others who consider themselves more radical and recognize more readily (in an abstract way) that politics are controlled by ruling class interests. Tell these people that snowstorms happen because snow-tire salesmen want them and they'll scoff and snicker at you, but they're far less able to see the falsehood of similar fables when it comes to politics.

Of course there is some relationship between the "rise of the right" phenomenon and the fact that Reagan is in the White House, that the U.S. is frantically increasing its war budget and assuming a more openly belligerent role in the world, that attacks on the oppressed masses in the U.S. are being intensified at the same time as attempts to suppress revolutionary uprisings in other countries are more flagrantly carried out and that the air is heavy with the atmosphere of suppression and suffocation, with dark ages ignorance (such as attacks on the scientific fact of evolution and the promotion of "creationism") officially endorsed and encouraged from the highest levels of government. But it is not that the "rise of the right," as some kind of popular groundswell representing the expressed interests of the majority of society, is the cause of all this. Nor, for that matter, is Reagan and his entourage the cause. They are all symptoms, reflections and expressions of not only the will but the sharpening necessity of the ruling class of imperialists to deal with the decline of their position in the world, the heightening of the contradictions of their system and the grow-

ing challenges both from the rival bloc of imperialists and from the once-again rising revolutionary struggles in many parts of the world. To deal with this they must call forth the worst in society (and in individuals), stomp on (if not stomp out) resistance and revolutionary stirrings, and even questioning and the critical spirit. Patriotism, blind loyalty to country and government (and "God on its side"), the willingness to do and die to "make America number one again"—all this must be not only brought back in style but made the commanding principle.

After Vietnam, after the mass struggles and revolutionary currents that have swept through the country—and the whole U.S. empire—after the defeats and exposure they have suffered, after their decline from the heights they achieved through the last world war, it is not so easy for the U.S. imperialists to rally the broad ranks round the flag in step for the next world war. And it is precisely not a return to the 1950s and the "cold war" but the active preparation for the real, hot war with the rival imperialist Soviet bloc that the U.S. imperialists have, of necessity, as their program. This is why they need and have a Reagan in the White House—not despite the fact that he is crudely reactionary but exactly because of this, he suits their needs best now. This, too, is why they need and have built up a right-wing "popular" force: to strengthen public opinion for their program and give it a certain "legitimacy" as the "will of the people," to demoralize and in-

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Revolution Magazine



Forces of the Republic rout fascist troops on the Sarcogosa front in 1936.

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"In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed..."

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"In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed..."

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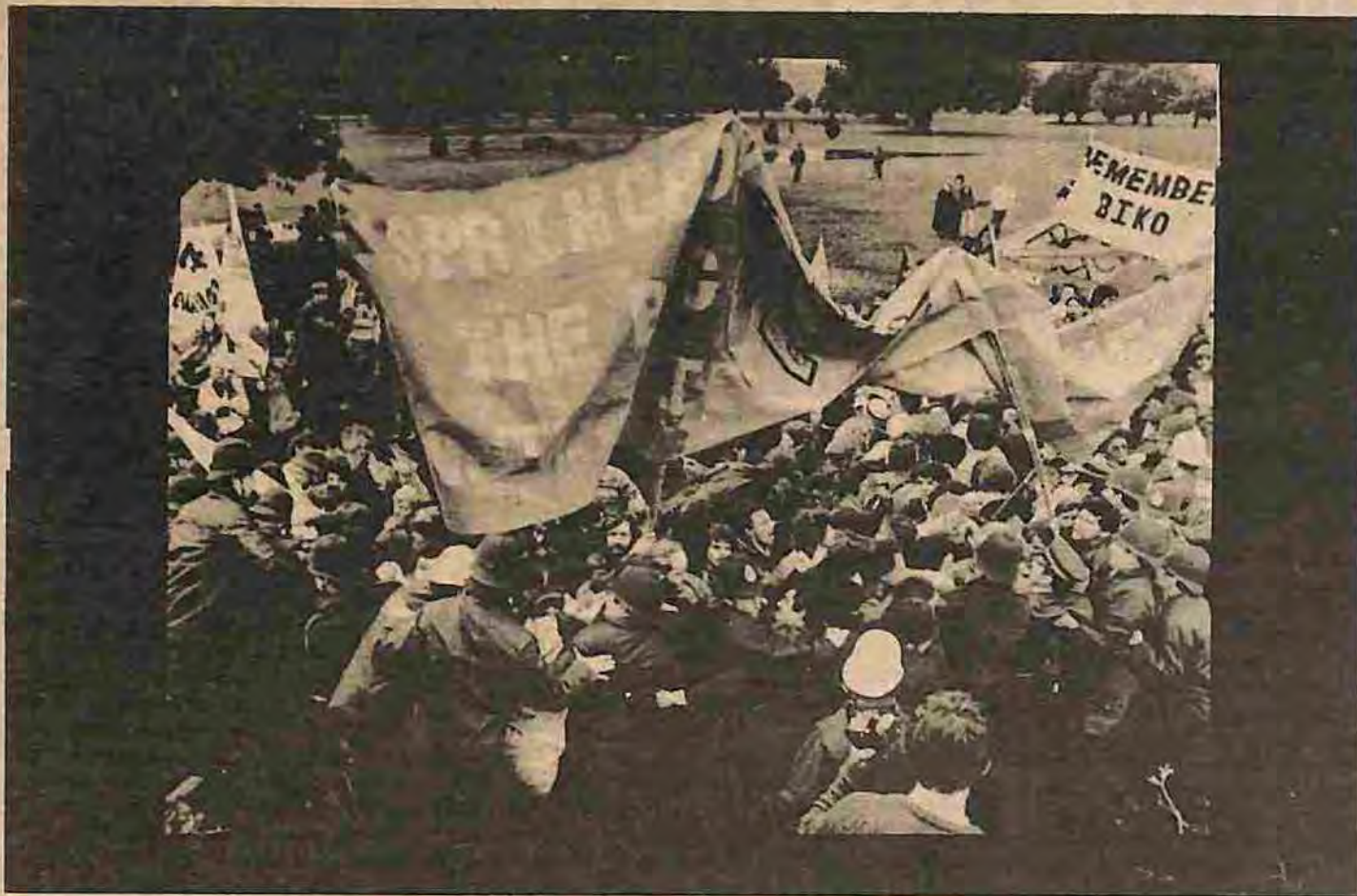
New Zealand Comrade Writes: "Scenes Unprecedented" Springboks Game Stopped

The following letter from a comrade in New Zealand tells more about the protests against the visit there by the Springboks rugby team from South Africa, described in last week's RW. This symbol of racist apartheid is due to visit the U.S. in September.

Dear Comrades,

Here's a run-down on the recent traumatic few days—scenes unprecedented in many years. There were demonstrations and marches in all the main centers on July 22 (Day of Shame) when the Springboks were to play their first game in Gisborne, a very backward area politically. Although the game went on, the protestors had made their mark.

Saturday the 25th was when the crunch came with the match in Hamilton, the center of a wealthy dairy farming area also not far from the timber mills and other industries and only two hours drive from Auckland. Because there were demonstrations again in all the major centers and some were really massive, for instance Wellington and Christchurch, the police had to have their forces all over the country. Again the police were surprised. The enclosed newspaper clippings tell the story but they do not bring out the fantastic discipline and wonderful tactics of the demonstrators. Once having gained entry into the rugby grounds, 4-500 stood in a tight bunch so close together that the cops could not break them up. They stayed solid as a rock singing and chanting slogans and had to be forcibly removed one by one. There were only limited police to do that as most were protecting the fences outside where several thousand more demonstrators were attempting to break in, and eventually they would have. There were numerous consultations between police and demonstration leaders who said they would not leave the grounds until the game was called off. The police commissioner played it cool and did not order the baton charge which would have broken up the group (and a lot of heads) but would have made certain that the thousands outside would have broken down the fences. Many of the



four-supporters in the stands were already shouting—Use your batons! Kill the bastards, etc., etc., and throwing beer cans and bottles at the protestors. The police commissioner announced that the match was off—said that the final incident in making the decision was the approach of a light plane whose pilot threatened to crash into the grandstand (this is possibly true in light of certain anarchist elements we know!). But we are convinced that the game would have been called off anyway, plane or no plane.

What next? The greatest game of buck-passing we have ever seen. Although very wide sections including the *New Zealand Herald* which is basically a rightwing paper (NZ's big-

gest) are calling for the tour to be cancelled, the government still says it is for the Rugby Union to decide and that "there is nothing unlawful about playing rugby." Prime Minister Muldoon, away globe trotting in the U.S. at the moment, said that the government is not going to intervene. So we are now waiting for the decision as police, Rugby Union and the government carry on their discussions. Our feeling at the moment is that they will (try) to go on. It is doubtful if they could without bringing in the army, which not even the present administration would feel like doing with the general elections only a few months off.

Much of the violence came from pro-tour spectators, many of them drunken thugs. It appears they singled out

women for some of the worst attacks. Police made a token attempt to protect the demonstrators as they moved out of the grounds after the match was called off but that didn't deter the fascist element who even attacked the Red Cross van where the injured were being treated, broke into a house where others were being treated, attacked and injured as many of the demonstrators as possible, etc., etc. You've seen it all but this level of violence is something new for New Zealand and of course it is only the beginning!

Revolutionary greetings
XXXXXXX

STRIKE

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air traffic controllers are part of, and in the current conflict have come to symbolize, a stratum of society critical to the military readiness and mobilization requirements of U.S. imperialism as it steps up its preparations for war. The great majority of controllers, the bulk of whom are in their twenties and thirties, are themselves veterans. Their technical knowledge constitutes a critical military skill. Planning for military mobilization has long called for the incorporation of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) into the military command structure in the event of a "national emergency." The fact of the matter is that the military itself faces a severe shortage of not only air traffic controllers, but of technically trained personnel in nearly every technical MOS (Military Occupational Specialty); calls for a draft of technically trained veterans—and others with needed skills—have grown increasingly urgent within the ruling class over the past year. Due to the nature of modern imperialist warfare, with its ever-increasing emphasis on high-tech weaponry and the "electronic battlefield," the imperialists do not have the option of insulating large sections of highly paid, highly skilled technical workers, whose loyalty they absolutely depend on, from the joys of barracks life. Of course, major moves for a mobilization of this sector are still only in the planning stages. But the political battle to pave the way for mobilization is already well under way. The controllers' strike assumes such great political significance because it objectively threatens both the necessary sides

of the imperialists' strategy for consolidating large sections of relatively privileged strata in support of a war effort: on the one hand, the argument that "you've got it so good in the good old USA, your suburban home and your Sony Betamax; isn't that worth fighting for?"; on the other hand a stern assertion of the "duties of a patriot," and of the necessities of loyalty, discipline, obedience and sacrifice in defense of the fatherland.

An analysis of the controllers' strike movement provides a remarkable opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the contradictory political nature of this section of the people. The controllers certainly occupy a relatively privileged position compared to the proletarian masses (as the controllers would probably be the first to tell you), and their position is the result of the spoils of U.S. imperialism in its good days of worldwide bloodsucking for the last 30 years. But the pleasures of living in Mayonnaise Land notwithstanding, they do not consider their situation "fine."

One significant feature of the strike movement, which has called forth endless "shock and surprise" in bourgeois commentaries, is the intense emotion and bitter resolve of the controllers, who make an average of \$33,000 a year. These are people, most of them still young, who in America would be pointed to as examples of the "lucky ones who had made the American dream a reality." Yet the vast majority of the membership of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) has not only hurled themselves into an "illegal" strike at the risk of their jobs, but have on the whole grown even more vehement in the face of dismissal notices, at least two dozen arrests, and the pro-

spect of being blackballed from the industry forever.

The simple explanation for this phenomenon and the one usually advanced by the strikers themselves, is that the conditions under which controllers must function make the job unbearable, even a form of slow suicide. (This is, as a matter of fact, the chilling truth: though an exposure of the real on the job agony of these "lucky ones" is beyond the scope of this article, a glance at the medical statistics alone reveals an almost unbelievable rate of morbidity among controllers. The incidence of diabetes, peptic ulcers, high blood pressure, severe depression, impotence, alcoholism, and suicide range from between 2 to 10 times that of the general population.) But, of course, the controllers are not the only section of the privileged strata who have found that the "dream" of a "decent salary" and a home in the suburbs amount to nothing more than a sugar-coated nightmare.

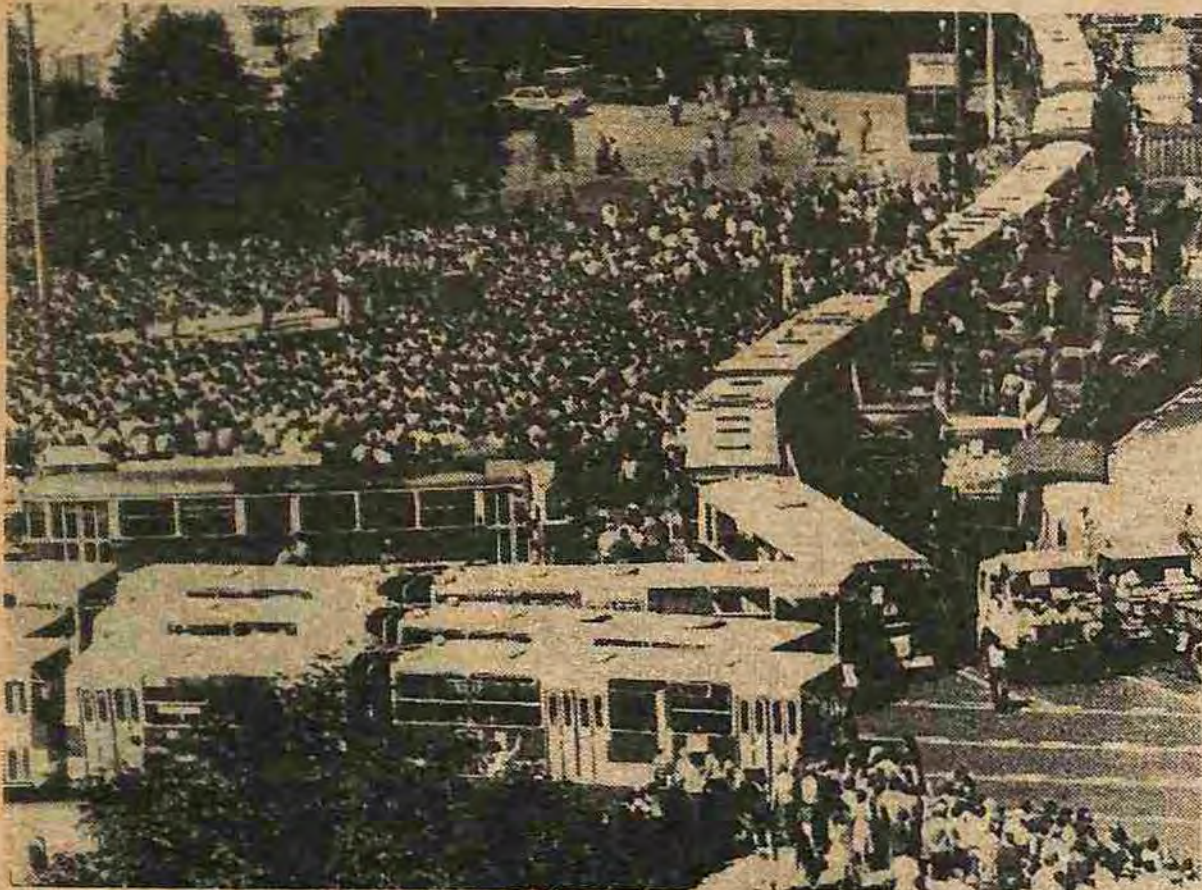
One striking controller, a picket captain at Kennedy International Airport in New York and a member of Local 201, one of the most militant PATCO locals, told the *RW* that he viewed the strike as "historic" because it was "the beginning of a middle class rebellion." He, like almost all the strikers, spoke in great detail about the stress, the fear, the chaos of the controller's life, and like many, he expressed the sentiments that the risks involved in the strike were worth it for the sense of "fighting for something," standing up for a cause and a principle, refusing to be frightened into a corner by fear of the loss of a dollar. At the same time, he said, "My house and my swimming pool are still important values in my life, maybe the most important."

Nearly 80% of the controllers at Local 201 are veterans, and a significant percentage in this local are Black. Most of them served in Vietnam, and they were in their teens and '20s during the social upheavals of the 1960s and early '70s. Though they received their basic job training in the military, a lot of them have a year or two of college. Speaking generally, they are interested in politics and ideas, and have a fairly broad range of social experience.

One Black controller in his early '30s told the *RW*, "My friends on the block tell me I'm crazy for going on strike and risking the 'good thing I got going.' The government tells me I'm crazy to try to beat the law. I was in the South during the Civil Rights Movement and I learned it was crazy *not* to break the law. I ain't crazy, and it doesn't scare me when the U.S. government comes calling talking about 'law.'" Several picketing controllers freely discussed the prospects for revolution with an *RW* reporter. The bitter government crackdown is seen as a strike-breaking, union-busting tactic within the framework of a standard labor dispute involving the old question of the right to strike by employees of the federal government. "We know what the government is capable of doing," one striker, a Vietnam veteran, told the *RW*, "because we've seen it, we've been a part of it, first-hand. But what it's really going to do, how this thing is going to turn out—we don't know."

Of those PATCO members who bothered to vote in the 1980 presidential election, most cast ballots for Ronald Reagan. PATCO was one of only 3 U.S. labor unions to endorse Reagan last year (the Airline Pilots' Association was one of the other two). PATCO Union President Robert Poli explained

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Transport workers blockade traffic in Warsaw.

Protests Over Shortages in Poland

In the wake of the emergency congress of the Polish United Workers Party, things are beginning to heat up in Poland again with implications for future developments in Poland and the whole Soviet revisionist bloc. In the past two weeks strikes and protest demonstrations have swept the country in response to the deteriorating Polish economy and the government's announcement that they will be cutting the already minuscule meat ration by 20% and drastically raising prices for consumer goods. Upheavals began at a demonstration in Lodz. Protesters bore placards declaring "The Hungry Will Eat the Authorities" and "The first result of the ninth party congress—Cut off the food rations." The confrontations quickly spread to the southern city of Czestochowa and then to Warsaw where transport workers moved hundreds of buses and heavy vehicles into the main intersection downtown paralyzing traffic. When the caravan attempted to parade past the Warsaw party headquarters they were blocked off by cordons of police one block from their goal. Apparently the Polish authorities have memories of what happened in the town of Radom in 1976. There, after a government announcement that prices were being increased as much as 30%, the workers of the Walter Machineworks surged out of the factory toward the party headquarters to demand an explanation, picking up a crowd of 50,000 people. By the end of the day, the angry crowd had sacked and burned the party headquarters as well as numerous stores and battled riot police armed with water cannon and teargas resulting in two dead and hundreds injured.

This time in Warsaw the situation was defused as the leaders of the independent trade union, Solidarity, avoided further confrontation and turned the center of Warsaw into a giant rally lasting several days. After staging a city-wide two-hour warning strike Solidarity officials declared they had made their point and the traffic blockade was disbanded pending further negotiations with the government on the food issue. This is typical of the tactics of "controlled confrontation" increasingly being utilized by national Solidarity leaders and reflects the uneasy "partnership" between Solidarity and the government (something that is indicated in the fact that 40 of the 270 members of the new central committee are Solidarity members, as well as one new member of the Politburo—Zofia Grzyb, the only woman) that has developed out of the events of the past year and under the ever-menacing shadow of Soviet intervention. While taking credit for these latest protest actions, Walesa and the national leadership continue to restrain the masses from breaking through established limits. As Walesa put it last week, "I think we control the situation and that we will control it for a long time."

The situation in Poland, however, is hardly under control as much as the government may hope or Walesa may think. While changes made at the party congress were clearly intended to refurbish the face of revisionist rule in Poland, the underlying contradictions have only continued to sharpen. National income is dropping at an annual rate of 15%, industrial output is down 12.5%, exports down 17%, coal production down 20%, etc. Food supplies have gotten so low that the Polish government was forced to appeal to the U.S. government to send CARE packages, the first developed industrial country ever to be the recipient of such charity.

All this is the result of becoming deeply enmeshed in the tentacles of debt to both Soviet and Western imperialism—a total of some \$27 billion dollars over the last decade or so. A telling exposure of how imperialism has twisted and distorted the Polish economy is the Parcels For Poland program that has sprung up in cities like Chicago where there are large concentrations of ethnic Poles who send consumer goods to friends and relatives in Poland. Among the parcels sent are such things as Polish ham—something produced in significant quantities in Poland but which is strictly rationed to consumers there since it is designated for export to bring in desperately need-

ed revenues to pay off the astronomical service charges on Poland's western debts!

Ironically, the only way for the Polish rulers to claw their way out of this mess is to introduce even more severe economic measures requiring what Prime Minister Jaruzelsky called "superhuman force" (i.e. belt-tightening) by the people in Poland. No sooner had the new Politburo members been announced at the congress than Jaruzelsky, bedecked in full military dress for added emphasis, began testing the waters by declaring to the assembled delegates that the price of food, coal, natural gas and housing would have to be increased at least 110% to "stimulate production" and that any further wage increases would have to end. Poland's rulers know full well, however, that such extreme price increases are an explosive issue in Poland where worker rebellions erupted in 1970 and 1976 over similar moves by the government. Negotiations between the Polish government and western imperialist bankers who have basically agreed to reschedule nearly \$3 billion in debt charges due this year, are hung up over an attached protocol agreement (the wording of which has been described as "brutal") that would require cer-

tain austerity measures and greater economic accountability as a condition of such rescheduling—something Poland's government knows will be necessary but is naturally wary of being bound to.

As all this drags on, the situation in Poland is threatening, in particular, ever more serious ramifications for the Soviets as further cracks are beginning to appear elsewhere in their bloc—and this in the context of increasing preparations for world war with their U.S. bloc rivals. Where? Apparently for one, in East Germany, long considered the bedrock of the Soviet Union's allies and the one with the most reliable (though not the largest) army. It led the Soviet bloc propaganda campaign against the reform movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and recently has often been louder than even the Soviets in its denunciation of the struggle in Poland.

However, according to the West German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, unrest similar to that in Poland has spread to a number of East German cities. It reports that recently, among other things, leaflets signed by anonymous workers have been distributed in East Germany calling for support of the

Continued on page 19

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"A telling exposure of how imperialism has twisted and distorted the Polish economy is the Parcels for Poland program that has sprung up in cities like Chicago where there are large concentrations of ethnic Poles who send consumer goods to friends and relatives in Poland. Among the parcels sent are such things as Polish ham..."

What Went Down When Reggae Hit the Ghetto...

And Why Ras Ivie Was Killed

Among the reggae musicians, popularizers, and youth newly attracted to the thunder and lightning of reggae music, among the crowd that gathered around Discs, Wheels, and Sports in East Oakland, Ras Ivie was known as a righteous Dred, righteous in his hatred of Babylon. Like many of the other Rastafarians who helped set up Discs, Wheels and Sports, Ivie was originally from Jamaica—and exposure to life in the very belly of Babylon had only intensified his rejection of the systematic oppression, cash-value, and spiritual emptiness that the U.S. imposes on the world's people. Many of the youth came around just to reason with Ivie, who would set his chair outside the store, right on the curb, with his shirt off, rude and uncompromising, wearing the longest dreadlocks around. On June 10, Ivie was murdered, gangland style, shot down by an unknown murderer right outside his home in West Berkeley.

Inside Oakland's new multimillion dollar police station and city jail, there are hundreds and hundreds of photographs of people secretly under police surveillance. Almost all of them are Black. A significant minority of them are Rastafarians—or at least people wearing their hair in long, uncut dreadlock style. The police line on Ivie's murder, however, was that it was "probably drug-related." Someone who knew and worked with Ivie said, "Ivie's killing was a sign that 'we can kill the best of you!'" A tribute to Ras Ivie in a local reggae publication quoted Bob Marley:

*"Woman hold your head and cry
Cuz your son has been
shot down in the street
and dies from a stray bullet...
just because of the system."*

All evidence points to the hand of the police and higher authorities as the ultimate hand behind Ivie's murder—the final step in a savage attack on Discs, Wheels and Sports, and the spreading influence of reggae music.

Discs, Wheels and Sports was founded by a group of Jamaicans and American Blacks, people who loved the music, some of whom were already part of the thriving Bay Area reggae scene.

Discs, Wheels and Sports was set up in East Oakland for a specific purpose—to take reggae out to the ghetto. At this time, reggae music is dominated by artists who are progressive or revolutionary, for example, Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff and Linton Kwesi Johnson, who speak very powerfully to the deepening discontent and search for answers among sections of the Black masses, particularly the youth. Discs, Wheels and Sports broke some new ground, and took the music out to a section of the people who had not heard anything about it.

In the Bay Area right now, the music

is selling so fast that many stores are finding it impossible to keep the popular records in stock. One store that both retails and wholesales reggae records (along with punk) told the *RW* that since Bob Marley died, the sale of the records has increased tenfold, and right now everything he recorded is out of print. At the beginning of the year, the Stone, one of the most important rock and roll venues, started having regular weekly reggae concerts, with a special emphasis on bringing in a lot of groups from Jamaica. Reggae is clearly speaking to many sections of the people, and the crowds at concerts include many nationalities, and many social currents.

While Babylon and its enforcers don't like reggae at all, it seems that they were particularly worried about the efforts of Discs, Wheels and Sports in taking reggae out to the ghetto. The store quickly came under police surveillance. Undercover agents went in and out, trying to buy weed. On May 5, 1981, the police burst in and busted 4 people for possession and sales of marijuana. (Perhaps it is a coincidence that the inevitable bust came down so quickly after May 1st, 1981 when, after some sharp struggle over whether to raise the red flag or the red, green and black flag, Discs, Wheels and Sports raised the red flag over the store for May Day, consciously standing with the whole international struggle of the oppressed, part of the revolutionary offensive in the cultural arena on May Day. They had already been carrying the *RW* for a month.) The police tore up the store, "searching for dope" everywhere, even inside roller skates. The landlord, whose full role in this is not yet clear, was overjoyed, and the store never opened again. A few days after the bust, one of the founders of the store, who had not been caught in the bust, was pulled over in his car while driving through Oakland. When his car was searched, police could not find the expected herb, so they busted him for burglary. The real charge, no doubt, was stealing the spirit of youth away from Babylon.

While the people who started the store expected the response they got from the youth of East Oakland to reggae music, they did not fully expect, and were not totally prepared for, the response they got from the police. At least they did not expect the viciousness and intensity of the attack. Partly this was because they underestimated just what kind of dictatorship exists in the U.S.—including over culture, especially the culture and artists of the oppressed nationalities. Discs, Wheels and Sports was linking the Oakland ghetto to an international current of revolutionary art, a current that has roots that run through many countries in Africa, to the exploding cities of England, as well as from reggae's Jamaican homeland. The po-

lice and their masters are very worried about the potential of Black people, especially the youth, to play a vanguard role in destroying imperialism. The liberating, probing spirit of reggae is exactly the kind of thing they are desperately trying to keep from taking root in places like East Oakland.

With the bust, the police were not only trying to stop the work of Discs, Wheels and Sports, they were also sending out a message to those who developed and popularized reggae music—"those who tamper with the ghetto will be smashed." Some of the edge was taken off this message when most of those whom the police were pressing charges against managed to slip out of the country. (All of the arrested were immigrants from Jamaica—which no doubt added to the official frenzy. Not only were the people Black, and the organizers of a center of revolutionary culture, they were not even from the U.S.! Not a shred of allegiance to the flag!) By June 10, Discs, Wheels and Sports had been completely closed down and many of its founders were out of the country. But Babylon was not finished. June 10 was the date of Ivie's murder.

One official news story had it that the murder was just random rasta violence. The police version was that it was just a drug-related killing. But Ivie did not touch drugs, except for herb, well known as a sacrament of the Rastafarian religion. He had no known enemies, except for those who had reasons for wanting to destroy what he stood for, those who attacked and closed down Discs, Wheels and Sports. They had a message they wanted to deliver in blood.

The police had the means to carry out such a killing and make it look like a drug dealer's vendetta. (Extensive ties between the police and local drug dealers have been coming to light in a number of recent, minor scandals in trials of heroin dealers, and in East Oakland over the last month there have been a number of murders that are tied into a battle for the control of the heroin trade. And it is well known that nobody is more familiar with dope-pushing than pigs.) Not only did they have the means to make it look like a vendetta, but the record shows that the principal way that the police went after Discs, Wheels and Sports and those associated with it was by themselves setting up "drug-related" busts. In this light, police claims of a "drug-related" murder are not only no big surprise, but could even be interpreted as a form of bragging!

Furthermore, more evidence of the terms of this murder, if not exactly who pulled the trigger, has emerged: a series of threatening phone calls to one woman who was a friend of Ivie's, part of the extended group around the Discs, Wheels and Sports. She is also known to be deeply involved in promoting and popularizing reggae music. After Ivie's death, she started getting calls threatening herself and reggae music. "Another Dred will die," was one such call. The calls are a signature on Ivie's murder and a desperate attempt to stop what is bursting out all over the world and right in the Oakland ghetto.

This woman said, "When I play Bob Marley or Steel Pulse in this neighborhood, the disco machines go off. I have to watch it when I play Linton Kwesi Johnson's 'Smash Their Brains.' It echoes up and down the block. But like Marley, I feel reggae music has a message and I'm not about to stop putting out that message." □

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Iran: IRP Stages Election, But Can They Hold the Stage?

On Friday, July 24, the presidential election held in Iran by the reactionary Islamic Republic Party (IRP) regime, ushered in former Prime Minister Rajaii to fill the post formerly held by the ousted Mr. Bani Sadr, who is now residing as a political exile in France. With his election, Rajaii has now joined the ranks of "popularly elected" notables in imperialist dominated countries such as Pinochet in Chile, Marcos in the Philippines, Karmal in Afghanistan, and Nicaragua's Somoza—who, it should be noted held a number of elections at the point of a gun with U.S. blessings and guidance, but was not able to finish his last term in office due to the defeat of his reactionary army at the hands of a popular uprising. According to the government, Rajaii received 12.9 million votes out of a total of more than 14 million cast; a figure whose import for the IRP lies in being about 1 million more votes than the IRP's rival Bani Sadr received in the elections a year earlier. The rest of the votes were supposedly received by Rajaii's three opponents who had conveniently withdrawn from the race just before his election to make for Rajaii's "overwhelming victory."

The whole thing was carefully stage-managed in order to replace Bani Sadr with a "legal" president and to provide the regime with the stamp of legitimacy they desperately need to consolidate their shaky rule and continue their campaign of mass arrests and executions of revolutionaries and progressive forces with impunity.

In spite of all the efforts of the reactionary IRP leaders, what they encountered in their election campaign was stepped up popular resistance on many fronts. Boycott calls were issued by a broad range of forces, from those

around Bani Sadr, bazaar merchants and progressive clergy, to the Mojahadeen and communist organizations.

Iranian students here in the U.S. are estimating that it is doubtful if more than half the number of people the regime is claiming actually voted—with many of these brought out due to an intense IRP propaganda campaign in the villages and due to various forms of coercion. The degree of popular support for Rajaii and interest in the elections can be more accurately gauged from the results of a major election rally scheduled for three days before the balloting in a big stadium in Tehran; an hour before it was to start, the stadium contained only 1000 people, so embarrassingly few that the rally was simply cancelled.

In order to halt the decline in support for the regime and to neutralize opposition, the IRP made full use of Ayatollah Khomeini, who has been going down the line in supporting the government's program of counter-revolutionary terror against the masses. For well over a week before the elections, Khomeini was featured on national radio and TV and in the official papers telling the people they must vote. He lectured sternly that this time they should only elect candidates who are clean of ties to the West and are "maktabis" ("the doctrinaire ones," those in Iran today who are using fundamentalist Islam to serve the cause of reaction). Khomeini, mustering his demagogic "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, repeatedly called on the people to "teach the imperialists a lesson" by voting in a new president and Majlis members.

Other minions of the regime warned that those who didn't vote were not only falling into the trap of the Great

Satan, but were being "sinful" as well. These threats of damnation were backed up by more direct threats on election day by local mullahs and gun-toting Pasdaran; for example, the word was passed that food ration books would be cancelled if they were not stamped by officials at the election booths.

In the face of this openly repressive election campaign, not only was there a widespread boycott, but there were protests, clashes and attacks on the authorities in many localities on and around the 24th; it was this continuing revolutionary upsurge among the masses—much more than participation or non-participation in the elections—that points to the actual terms of the struggle in Iran today. Nearly all of this was blacked out by the Iranian government and then kept out of the Western press as well. But a couple of news items give an idea of the extent of mass resistance and the IRP's own wobbly position. Just several days before the election, Habibollah Asgarouladi, one of the four original presidential candidates and a leader of the fascist "Party of God" (the Hesbollahi), was shot and wounded in Tehran. And, Interior Minister Mahdavi-Kani reported that in Tehran alone, 70 people were arrested on election eve and another 50 on election day for "causing trouble."

No Motorcycle Riding Allowed

Even more revealing of the regime's fears, they sent out an order that no motorcycle riding would be allowed on the day of the elections. The authorities are well aware that a great deal of the news travels in this manner through the streets of Tehran and other cities. In addition, the revolutionary forces use teams of agitators travelling on motorcycles to give speeches, leaflet and

distribute their newspapers, staying mobile to stay ahead of the Pasdars and Hesbollahi. Many armed attacks on leading reactionary figures as well have been carried out by revolutionaries travelling on these subversive vehicles. Thus, the government warned that anyone caught riding their cycles on election day would be "punished severely"—which in Iran today means arrest, torture and possible execution.

Though the IRP itself is riddled with factions—an important division among its reactionary leaders is around which group of imperialists, the U.S. or the Soviets, to hitch their wagon to—their paramount concern right now is to stabilize their rule. Without this their reactionary plans for the future will not materialize. This led them to put aside their differences somewhat (at least publicly) and present a united face to the people in the elections. One indication of this was their decision to reduce the original number of announced candidates for the presidency from more than 70 to 4; and then just several days before election day, three of them withdrew, leaving Rajaii as the sole "candidate of the people." Likewise, in the "races" for 46 seats in the Majlis (27 of which were vacated by the powerful bomb blast at IRP headquarters last month), only the IRP's hand-picked candidates were allowed to run, and like Rajaii they received well-padded vote totals.

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Iranian Student Protesters Jailed in New Jersey

As we go to press, news comes of a new police attack on Iranian students in the U.S. who are protesting the vicious murder of political activists and revolutionary masses by the reactionary Islamic Republic Party in Iran. On August 5, following a hunger strike and demonstration outside the United Nations building the previous day, members of the Moslem Students Society, supporters of the revolutionary Moslem Mojahadeen guerrillas, were gathered at a private home in Englewood, N.J. preparing to return home. Suddenly they were accosted by a swarm of Englewood cops, supposedly responding to a "neighbor's complaint" of "noise" even though it was the middle of the day. When the 62 students failed to produce identification, all 62 were immediately arrested and Immigration and Naturalization agents promptly arrived to "take charge."

All 62 are being held in the federal building in Newark, N.J. by the I.N.S. and have begun a hunger strike demanding their release. A blackout on the raid has been in effect in the bourgeois press and I.N.S. officials are now threatening to deport to Iran all those found to have expired Iranian passports. Since the arrested students were protesting the executions in Iran and the death under torture of Mojahadeen leader Mohammed Reza Saadati by the IRP, any forced deportation to Iran by U.S. officials would deliver the students directly to IRP firing squads.

In recent weeks, revolutionary Iranians in Europe have also been mounting a series of actions against the regime's repression, and these have clearly touched a raw nerve in many of these countries. On Tuesday, approximately 25 stormed the Iranian consulate in West Berlin and were forcibly evicted and arrested by police in riot gear. In Vienna, Austria, after several dozen Iranian activists took over the embassy of the Islamic Republic, the Vienna police came in with guns firing, wounding eight Iranian students and arresting 37. Protests were also reported outside Iranian embassies in Paris, Bonn and Ankara, Turkey. □



Iran's reactionary regime has done all it can to stop the flow of news and photos of mass resistance to the bloody repression—even arresting and jailing people for taking pictures. Above is a photo, smuggled out of Iran, taken just after fascist thugs from the "Party of God" murdered a Tehran shoe-repairman who was a supporter of Bani Sadr. The people have gathered around his body, infuriated by this criminal act, and are contributing money to pay for his burial.

VICIOUS POLICE ATTACKS IN BRITAIN

Youth Responded in Kind



After 3 weeks of riot and rebellion by proletarian youth, black, white, Asian and other nationalities, in dozens of English cities, Britain's imperialist rulers had been praying that the worst was over. But as the royal wedding procession—meant to symbolize the stability of the British Empire—wound its way down Fleet St., protected by thousands of police and a British soldier with fixed bayonet standing every six feet, it was clear that this was not to be the case. London was already reverberating with news of renewed rioting in Liverpool 8 (the Toxteth district) the night before as young people, attacked by police as they were walking home from local youth clubs, hit back in what was called "the most destructive rioting" since the first rebellion in Liverpool weeks ago. The barricades were up again. By daybreak, the first official fatality of the months' long riots was recorded: David Moore, a 22 year old unemployed and disabled white youth had been murdered in cold blood, deliberately run over at high speed by police driving an armored vehicle.

These developments were all the more worrisome to the British bourgeoisie in light of the fact that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had just unveiled her economic package to "deal with the causes of the rioting"—the crux of which was a pitiful slave-labor proposal in which the government offered to reimburse employers \$28.50 a week for each employee under 18 hired at \$76 or less per week. (Thatcher as much as admitted that only 40,000 young people tops could be expected to enroll in this, magnanimous scheme.) As could be expected, the loyal Labor Party opposition hooted and jeered the plan, calling it an attempt "to stem a floodtide with a sandbag"—this even though it was almost exactly the same \$1 billion package they themselves had proposed several weeks earlier! The Laborites

issued forth yet another demagogic chorus of opposition to "Thatcher's destructive monetarist policies," then announced that *they* had come up with a new "economic blueprint" for England—i.e., increased spending to stimulate the economy and reduce unemployment, etc.—declaring that this plan constituted no less than "a radical vision of a socialist Britain."

No less insidious were the expressions of "alarm" from the Labor Party and others in the government that the police were "overreacting," that "new methods of police work" must be developed to deal with the situation, and that the government had failed to demonstrate enough "sensitivity to the causes of the riots." When pressed by "iron-lady" Thatcher to declare straight out whether he opposed anti-riot weapons, Opposition leader Michael Foot sheepishly replied that Labor was no less determined than anyone else to stamp out illegality. But he added, "We want it done by fair methods which can be supported by the population and not by methods which drive a wedge between the police and the community."

While the Tories and the Laborites bickered in Parliament over the dispensing of crumbs and the proper proportions of "compassion" and of clubs, the bottom line for all was Thatcher's statement that, "We are not going to be able to deal in practice with the economic and social aspects of the situation until law and order is restored and seen to be restored. The two things go hand in hand." Indeed they do, and this was readily apparent in the streets as the British rulers continued to unleash a series of bloodthirsty assaults against the masses in attempts to terrorize their "subjects" and exact revenge. It had to be made clear just who, after all, was boss.

These attacks included, as we reported two weeks ago, gestapo-like raids on homes in Brixton, Nottingham

and other cities. In Brixton, the homes of black people on an entire block were systematically torn apart. A partial description from a British newspaper of the damage in just one of the homes follows:

"Front door smashed in. Very extensive structural damage—all windows broken, light fittings pulled out, gas pipe fractured, outside toilet bowl broken. Personal effects devastated—mirrors smashed, bedding torn up, chair covers ripped, bed base broken and thrown into garden, fridge broken, television smashed, radiogramme wires ripped out, records smashed, food (rice, peas, sugar, etc.) scattered around, clothing ripped up. Guitar used professionally by one occupant broken in two. Result: No arrests. (Since raid have been declared unfit for human habitation.)"

Such terror tactics have only stiffened the determination of people to hit back. Within minutes of the Brixton raids, hundreds of people were pouring into the streets, setting up barricades and throwing firebombs at police.

Meanwhile, Britain's chief constables have been spending much time at a new center set up at Scotland Yard being trained in these and other "new" methods of police work, including a variety of anti-riot weaponry being offered by the government to, in the words of Home Secretary William Whitelaw, "be able to go on the offensive." Learning from the experience of the Royal Ulster Constabulary—which concluded that all that is needed is "speed, efficiency and lots of little Land Rovers" (known as "pigs" in Ulster)—the main tactic police have been using in a number of cities is to drive these armored vehicles at high speed down the streets and up on the sidewalks to disperse the crowds, running people down without regard for whether they are rioting or not.

But there has been continuing resistance by the masses to these

outrageous attacks. Excerpts from one London newspaper described the scene in Liverpool on the eve of the royal wedding: "I saw the police in Upper Parliament street banging on their riot shields and shouting racist slogans. Then the vans went in... Police vehicles were driven at high speed into the mobs in an attempt to disperse them, and rioters responded by demolishing concrete lamp standards to obstruct the roads. Street signs were uprooted and flung into the path of police vehicles... By midnight a barricade had been erected by rioters across the eastern end of the street... vehicles were set alight nearby." As one bobby grunted to a reporter after he had held a young black girl up against a wall and slugged her unmercifully in the face and stomach, "Anything goes. Got it?"

In Liverpool the Merseyside police, with Whitelaw's approval, have used "Ferret" CS tear gas guns imported from the U.S. to fire point blank into crowds. The Ferret tear gas cartridges which are designed for "barricade penetration," and to go through walls, are fired from shotguns at the speed of a revolver bullet. One newspaper account of the wounding of Phil Robbins, a local footballer in Liverpool, described how these weapons were being used: "He and an assistant community relations officer, Mr. Delory Burrell, heard shots and saw people fall to the floor. They were helping people affected by gas when Mr. Robbins was hit in the chest. Blood was spurting through his hands," Mr. Burrell says. As he tried to get away, he was hit again in the back." Doctors in Liverpool reported treating dozens of people with "very strange injuries"—deep gashes "as though they had been speared."

All this has been accompanied by appeals for support for further attacks from the authorities, like one police constable who cried that, "The public at large have got to make their views

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A Stagnant Pool vs. The Inexhaustible Yangtze River

In one commentary on their recently published summation of Mao, "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," the Chinese revisionists claim that this document "enriches and develops Marxism in many spheres." Deng Xiaoping & Co. are certainly not the first revisionists to claim such honor. Khrushchev called his attack on revolutionary principles a "creative development of Marxism." And before that, Kautsky took it upon himself to "interpret" away what he called a "single word of Karl Marx"—the dictatorship of the proletariat—and proceeded to replace it with bourgeois democracy, thereby "interpreting" Marx into an ordinary liberal and Marxism into reformism. The most that the Chinese revisionists have "enriched and developed" with their historical resolution is this revisionist tradition of attacking Marxism-Leninism while cynically upholding it in name.

The previous article in the *RW* on the "Resolution" (*RW* No. 114) showed how the revisionists turn history upside down to attack Mao's greatest contribution, the development of the basic theory and line of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and their application in the Cultural Revolution. This article will analyze the revisionists' attempt to sum up (actually distort, narrow down and chop up) Mao Tsetung Thought in a concentrated way when they lay out what they call the "three basic points" of the "stand,

viewpoint and method" of Mao Tsetung Thought: "To seek truth from facts, the mass line, and independence."

Where on this list is dialectics? This "little omission" gives a strong clue about where these ideological thieves have stolen from. The comparison between these revisionists' stand, viewpoint and method, and Mao's real Marxist-Leninist outlook is, to use Mao's words from another context, like that between "a pool of stagnant water" and "the inexhaustible Yangtze comes roaring past."

Replacing Materialist Dialectics with Pragmatism

As Bob Avakian pointed out in his book *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*: "What Mao unceasingly stressed and even more intensely so in the socialist period, was dialectics, motion, change, upheavals, leaps, the transformation of things into their opposites, the supersession of the old by the new—all in opposition to tendencies of stagnation, 'absolutism', 'settling down', permanent 'great order', etc., in short, metaphysics." The revisionists fear and hate dialectics, because it hits directly at the attempt to establish their reactionary rule as the "permanent order." How can they tolerate a philosophy which shatters all concepts of "permanence" and "harmony" when "unity and stability" is a holy hymn they sing as they try to make the Chinese people kneel before the altar of the god of profit?

Therefore with the first of their "Three Basic Points," where the revisionists attempt to deal with the philosophical basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, they reduce the whole of dialectical materialism to a single, stock phrase, "seeking truth from facts," which they use to anoint everything that serves their purpose of restoring capitalism in China and capitulating to imperialism as sacred truth. It's good old bourgeois pragmatism, which no less an authority on such matters than the executive editor for the *New York Times* welcomed with open arms in an article about his recent trip to China: "Sometimes I even said (to the Chinese—*RW*) I thought it was as good as 'all the news that's fit to print' and less ambiguous."

Such pragmatic prattle is a gross vulgarization of Mao's correct summation that practice is the sole criterion of truth and the phrase "seeking truth from facts," which Mao did use but not in a narrow context like the revisionists are doing. To start off, practice is whittled down to mean merely activity in China and in production—in short, "making China modern"—instead of mankind's social practice in class struggle, production and scientific experiment, both internationally and historically.

But even more fundamentally, what the revisionists do is to leave out the unity of opposites from the relationship between practice and theory. Mao pointed out in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" that "the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally,

whether in the natural world, in human society, or in man's thinking. Between the opposites in a contradiction, there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change." Applied to man's thinking, this means that theory and practice form a unity of opposites, and the unity (identity) and struggle between the two continually push the process of cognition (knowledge) in an upward spiral. The relationship between the two is precisely not one of mechanical materialism where practice (and again, with the revisionists it's extremely narrow practice) is absolutely, unchangingly, principal over theory. As Mao wrote in "On Contradiction," because there is not only struggle but identity between theory and practice, there are certain times when this relationship becomes reversed: "When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is yet no guiding line, method, plan or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on the guiding line, method, plan or policy." At such times, then, theory becomes the principal aspect and has a decisive effect on practice. Mao further elaborated the identity of thinking and being in "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?": "Matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter... such leaps are a phenomenon of everyday life."

Despite the revisionists' swaggering talk of being the true materialists (as opposed to Mao the "idealist") and upholding practice with a capital P, their

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DIALLECTICAL
UNITY OF
THEORY &
PRACTICE

Railroad

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soften the obvious political meaning behind retaining the charges against Chairman Avakian the prosecution also kept one other "aider and abettor" under indictment. When Abrecht was asked by an *RW* reporter about the reasons for retaining the charges against the two "aiders and abettors," particularly Bob Avakian, she smiled coyly and stated, "We have reasons. But I'm not going to tell you!" As always, however, the actions of the ruling class speak louder than words.

Prior to the prosecution's courtroom announcement an "informal" conference was held inside the judge's chambers to iron out any problems with the prosecution's revamped indictments. Once again the ruling class left no doubts about the central thrust of their attack. Trying to appear his informal best and feigning ignorance, Judge Scott (the superior court judge officiating at this court appearance only) asked the defense lawyers to "tell me about the case." In the very next breath he asked, "What about Mr. Avakian? I know he's in Paris. How are we going to get in touch with him?" Apparently the judge already knew enough about the case to be familiar with Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. A little later in the conversation the judge once again managed to bring it around to Bob Avakian. Tossing around some matters of legal procedure, including future pre-trial hearings, the judge asked if all the defendants could be notified that they were required to appear in court. Assured that the defendants could and would be notified, the judge suddenly

asked, "What about Mr. Avakian? If we send it (notification of the need to appear in court—*RW*), would he get it?" After being told that Chairman Avakian would be kept abreast of developments of the case, the judge backed off of his little fishing expedition.

Once the judge failed to catch anything by fishing from the angle of "Bob Avakian the defendant required to appear in court," Abrecht, never one to worry about putting her foot into her mouth, joined the fray. She tried approaching it from the angle of "Bob Avakian the lawyer required to show up for legal proceedings." (Bob Avakian, while retaining legal counsel, had also argued on his own behalf in some previous hearings). Turning to one of the defense attorneys, Mary Ellen piped up, "How can you represent Mr. Avakian? Isn't he representing himself with an attorney advisor? My recollection is that he has been present at every other hearing." Informed that this was not the case, that there have been many legal proceedings at which Bob Avakian was not present (in fact Bob Avakian has not been present at any legal proceedings since November '79), Mary Ellen could only reply "Will there be other lawyer's meetings?"

The ruling class is desperate about attempting to crush the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian. And considering the bone that stuck in their throat when Bob Avakian showed up in France demanding political refugee status, they are today feverishly trying to figure out how they are going to push ahead and nail Chairman Avakian. All in all, in the course of the "informal" conference, Bob Avakian's name came up at least 5 times. And, as if to add an exclamation point to their obvious scheming and maneuvering to set up Bob Avakian, the judge solemnly warned that a bench warrant could be issued

for any defendant who failed to appear in court if required to do so.

Exposing these latest maneuvers as equally shoddy as they were blatantly political, the prosecution submitted what has to be one of the mangiest looking new indictments ever submitted into the hallowed official court record. Rather than returning to a grand jury to obtain a new indictment reflecting the recent changes, rather than even returning to a typewriter, the dauntless prosecutor simply took a pen to the old indictment and scratched out the names of the defendants against whom the charges were dropped and the specific charges, 16-22, that were also dropped. The result is an official document with harried scribbles complementing whole sections simply crossed out.

The recent changes in the indictment against the Mao Defendants in no way represents an easing up or a retreat from their attack. In fact it represents, as Abrecht stated to the *RW*, a "streamlining." Dropping the 7 felony charges that they did and dropping the charges against 6 of the defendants is also an attempt to smooth out more blatantly ragged aspects of their case. For one thing, all of the charges dropped are the one's listing an unidentified attacker in the alleged assault. This plus the sheer volume of defendants being charged with absolutely no specific crime could have presented quite a few embarrassing and difficult moments for the government, even in their own rigged-up courtroom. And, like every other move on their part throughout this railroad, it is a highly calculated attempt to set the best possible scenario for pushing through with their attack. When asked by the defense attorneys why the indictment was changed, Mary Ellen Abrecht stated that the changes in the case were the result of "prosecutorial evaluation with the benefit of two years hindsight."

To date no definite time schedule has been set for the resumption of pre-trial hearings—interrupted in November 1979 when the since-overruled judge dismissed the case for prosecutorial vindictiveness. These hearings, involving in part various defense motions that go to the heart of the prosecution's frame-up, are full of political content and all sides are preparing. The prosecution told the defense lawyers that they are supposedly in the midst of compiling and getting ready to turn over the information demanded in the defense motion to disclose all electronic surveillance surrounding this case. (The motion was won in court before the dismissal.) Still to be heard before any trial can begin are defense motions to suppress the identifications of the defendants—(based on the flagrantly political, set-up methods used in preparing the police for the line-up) and other motions for dismissal.

At this point the government is trying to figure out how and exactly when to proceed. Undoubtedly the ruling class has done some summing up in the course of the battle over the last 2-1/2 years. And also undoubtedly there is just as much foresight involved in their recent decision as hindsight. Because of the fundamental issues contained in this case, the questions of war, internationalism, revolutionary leadership and revolution, the ruling class is necessarily pushing for the quickest and politically cheapest victory possible, a quest proven impossible thus far. However, these very same questions present an even more urgent and important necessity before the masses of people, a necessity that has been, can and will continue to be, grasped by many, many thousands. And it's this, the force of politically aroused and conscious people, that the ruling class fears most and that can win the battle and defeat the railroad. □

Correspondence on Brecht

Dear RW:

I am not an expert on Brecht, or on theater, but I would like to enter into the debate on Brecht with some observations on *The Good Woman of Szechuan*, having recently seen a local production of it.

The RW correspondence on Brecht has described his attempt to create theater which "forces" people to think (as though we didn't do that already), rather than sweeping them away in an emotional tide. For me, the division between thinking and feeling is not so clear—having thought about the play a great deal, I hate it.

The plot of the play is this: Three gods come to earth to do some investigation to settle a debate on the resolution, "The world can stay as it is if enough people are found living lives worthy of human beings." (Prologue) If they can find just one good person, the shit can stay the same. They find a "good" woman, Shin Te, the proverbial hooker-with-the-heart-of-gold in Szechuan, who sacrifices a trick to allow them to spend the night at her place. Much relieved to find one "good" person, they congratulate her for her virtue, only to be told that she will have to sell herself that day to pay the rent. The gods condescend to give her 1,000 pieces of silver so that she can avoid breaking their rules and can continue to be "good." With the money, she buys a small tobacco shop and begins her "good" works, such as giving away free bowls of rice and cigarettes, and offering her home to destitute relatives. However, beset on the one hand by her sniveling, greedy, oafish relatives, and on the other hand by the landlord, she is unable to "make it" and be "good" at the same time. So she adopts the persona of a shrewd businessman cousin, Shui Ta, to kick out her relatives and arrange a rich marriage to bail her out. She then falls in love with an opportunist jerk who agrees to marry her for the sole purpose of ripping her off. Incredibly, she loves him to the end because he needs her. (Pardon me while I retch.) As the play progresses, the "good woman" is forced to adopt the persona of her capitalist cousin more frequently, culminating in a six-month stretch when she becomes a "tobacco king" in order to be able to continue to do "good" works and to provide a future for her unborn child. In the end, the masses get pissed off about being exploited by the capitalist Shui Ta, and miss the free bowls of rice from "the angel of the slums." So they accuse Shui Ta of having murdered Shin Te, and a trial ensues. Her judges are the three gods, to whom she reveals her dual identity, and pleads that they get her out of this fix. They refuse to acknowledge her dilemma, since that would necessitate changing their rules, and ride off on a cloud. The last line of the play is Shin Te crying, "Help!"

If one looks to Brecht for revolutionary communist art, it seems to me that *this* play, at least, must be judged a piece of revisionist trash. It certainly sharpens up the question of what "revolutionary" and "communist" mean in the realm of culture!

In the *Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, Mao speaks of the primary task of artists as understanding the people and knowing them well, and of the fundamental task as being to expose the dark forces which oppress the masses and to extol the revolutionary struggles of the masses. I think that *Good Woman* flunks big on all counts.

To begin with, the play promotes the line that the masses are asses, who think of little beyond their next bowl of rice. (This line was the source of some struggle between the actors and the director of this local production, with some of the actors struggling to give their characters more "dignity" where the director emphasized "buffoonery." A second reading of the play convinced me that the "masses are asses" line was Brecht's own.) Most of the characters never rise above petty backstabbing and

In RW No. 91 (February 6, 1981) we called on revolutionary-minded artists and others to debate within the pages of the paper the role of the playwright Bertolt Brecht—to contribute to an evaluation of his works and theories. Brecht wrote during the critical years surrounding the last world war, associating himself with communism and struggling to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art. Today, as we approach another such critical juncture, his works are being widely performed and his methods and theories are being hotly discussed. The questions involved are far from resolved, either broadly or among communists and revolutionaries. At the heart of the struggle around Brecht lie overall questions of

revolution vs. revisionism, particularly as applied in the sphere of art and literature. Such an evaluation necessarily confronts, for instance, the matter of the Popular Front pursued by the international communist movement during the period he wrote, and the legacy of that line today as it applies to the struggle in the cultural arena.

We urge those of you who are involved in doing Brecht or grappling with questions of revolutionary art and politics to assist in this evaluation. For earlier contributions, please see RWs No. 99, 101 and 104. As part of continuing this process, we are printing the following letter sent by "a co-conspirator."

thievery in their desperate scramble to stay alive. The "good woman" herself is a dimwit who continually gets herself (and others) into trouble by giving away what she doesn't have, and who allows herself to be fucked over, literally and figuratively, by the masses in the process where the revolutionary struggles and heroism of the people of Iran, or El Salvador, or China (where the revolution was going on at the time this play was being written) or anywhere else comes from. You look at this play and think, "These are the masses who are the makers of history, the future masters of society???" Are you kidding???" Is this view of the masses a case of understanding the people and knowing them well? NO!

I think that part of the reason the play winds up with such a stinking view of the masses is that its exposure of the "dark forces" is politically wrong. One of the elements of Brecht's work that is supposed to be revolutionary is his attempt to portray the blind social forces at work in society which force individuals to act as they do. But how does he see these forces? In *Good Woman*, the contradiction presented is that the "goodness" of philanthropy

(free bowls of rice, etc.) is impossible without the exploitation of capitalism. Isn't this a thoroughly bourgeois notion of goodness and therefore isn't the contradiction posed in bourgeois terms? Is the problem of capitalism that we are not able to give and receive free bowls of rice, or that those who produce the wealth of society are not the masters of it in all spheres (which is the root of the problem of distribution)? For the proletariat, does "goodness" reside in charitable works, or in leading the fight to smash all exploitation and advance to the liberation of all mankind? Virtue, like art, does have a class character, and in this instance, Brecht has got it all wrong.

However, *Good Woman* does more than pose the contradiction on bourgeois terms—the play gives a bourgeois answer: blame it on the masses. The play is not exactly even-handed in allocating the blame between the capitalists and the masses for Shin Te's ability to remain "good." Shin Te gives a succinct statement of this in her final speech to the gods:

"Your world is not an easy one, illustrious ones!
When we extend our hand to a

beggar, he tears it off for us
When we help the lost, we are
lost ourselves."

The true revolutionary character of the masses—which does exist, and which we see being unleashed all around us, from Iran, to El Salvador to Britain, etc.—is not an inherent quality, nor is it brought forward by the quest for bowls of rice. Rather, it is unleashed by the fight to end oppression. "Guns of Brixton" by the Clash does not scrutinize the shortcomings of the masses, but rather poses sharply the question of capitulation or resistance—to the forces of the state, not the masses. And clearly, the Clash promotes resistance. ("When they knock on your door, How you gonna come, With you hands on your head or the trigger of a gun?") If *Good Woman* were set in Brixton in 1981, the magnificent rebellions there would probably have been portrayed in terms not too different from the *New York Times* or CBS—the rabble in the streets reducing their own neighborhoods to rubble in search of a more stable source of fish 'n' chips.

Some who like this play have told me that they think it is "good" or "revolutionary" or even "revolutionary communist" because it "exposes" the system, even though they acknowledge that it has definite "weaknesses" in its portrayal of the masses. I have shown why I think the "exposure" is problematical, but beyond that, is the portrayal of the masses a minor point, or a dividing line? At this point in history, how can anything be *revolutionary* that promotes the line that the masses are asses, because *who* is going to make the revolution? How can anything be called *communist* that does not clearly target *capitalism* as the source of all oppression? What are we fighting against? Or for?? In opening our eyes to the class struggle raging in the cultural arena, let us not overlook cardinal questions of line, which are in fact *dividing* lines. If one does not separate revolutionary communist politics from revisionism, then what is to be upheld?

A Co-Conspirator

NOW AVAILABLE!

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

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

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

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS' RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

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Book Review

BAD
BLOOD

Bad Blood, by James H. Jones, The Free Press (Division of Macmillan Publishing Co.), New York, 1981.

It began in the autumn of 1932 and continued for 40 years until mid-1972, when broad public exposure and outrage forced it to an end. 400 Black men, over the age of 25 and diagnosed as having tertiary syphilis (the final and most destructive and fatal stage of syphilis), were systematically and purposely left untreated and were periodically examined to determine the effects of untreated syphilis on the Black male. Orchestrated from the top ranks of the government, including a number of Surgeon Generals and directors of the federal Public Health Service as well as numerous medical experts and others throughout the medical establishment, the "Tuskegee study of untreated syphilis in the Black male" provides a sordid and enraging glimpse into the character of imperialist medicine and science, the brutal oppression of the masses of Black people and of imperialism itself.

Nine years after the public exposure of the Tuskegee study, a new book, *Bad Blood*, which documents in detail the entire course of this crime, has been published. Using material obtained from medical archives and journals, interviews with surviving victims and organizers of the study and from the study of various government documents, author James H. Jones, a former senior research fellow at the Kennedy Institute of Ethics at Georgetown University, has pieced together an important exposure. Jones' analysis is done from the standpoint of a bourgeois liberal and as such is significantly limited in its presentation and the conclusions to be drawn from it. But despite this, *Bad Blood* is well worth reading since the power of the book is contained in the content of the exposure itself.

"The Tuskegee Study had nothing to do with the treatment. No new drugs were tested; neither was any effort made to establish the efficacy of the old forms of treatment. It was a non-therapeutic experiment, aimed at compiling data on the effects of the spontaneous evolution of syphilis on Black males."

The study began in 1932 in Macon County, Alabama, 30 miles east of the state capital in Montgomery. According to the 1930 census the population of Macon County was a little more than 27,000 with 82% of the people being Black. The economy was based primarily on sharecropping. In the county seat of Tuskegee, Jones describes the living conditions as follows. "The typical dwelling was a tumble-down shack with a dirt floor, no screens, little furniture, a few rags for bedding, and a privy only when underbrush was not nearby. Drinking water came from an uncovered, shallow well, often totally unprotected from direct surface drainage... Salt pork, hominy grits, cornbread and molasses formed the standard fare for the majority of Macon County's Black residents... Chronic malnutrition and diet-related illnesses were serious health problems." Despite the presence of the Tuskegee Institute (an all-Black school with a teaching hospital) and the all-Black U.S. Veterans Hospital with its 22 doctors and well-equipped facilities, medical care for the masses of Black people was meager at best. Macon County had 16 practicing private physicians, all but one were white. Not only were Black people generally discouraged from seeking medical help from white doctors but an average wage of less \$1.00 a day led to seeing doctors only in extreme emergencies. In a situation like this, treatment for a chronic disease like syphilis, which had reached epidemic proportions among the masses of rural poor Black people, was not available. And even when it was, most people who received treatment couldn't afford



Doctors periodically tracked down their test subjects—in the fields where they labored—to take blood samples.

more than the initial phases and were therefore never cured.

This situation provided the raw material for the organizers of the Tuskegee study. Having received the enthusiastic support of numerous medical experts as well as the cooperation of the Surgeon General, the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS), the Alabama State Board of Health, the Macon County Department of Health and the Tuskegee Institute, the organizers of the Tuskegee study set to work. Trickery and deceit were used to lure people in, to prey on their need for medical care. In order to obtain the sample of 400 Black men in the final stages of untreated syphilis, the public health doctors had to test literally thousands of people. As bait, word was spread that "government doctors" would be offering testing and treatment for "bad blood," a catchall phrase used to describe numerous ailments, to anyone who wanted it. Thousands showed up and 400 were selected. Told that they were suffering from "bad blood" and had to be treated, the 400 readily submitted to a battery of clinical tests. As a key part of the experiment and what was supposed to mark the end of it, the 400 men were to undergo spinal taps to determine the incidence of neuro syphilis. This was necessary in order to "prove" a racist medical "theory" popular at the time which hypothesized that syphilis was a different disease in Black and white people: Black people were supposedly more prone to developing bone and car-

diovascular syphilis while whites were more prone to neuro syphilis (affecting the brain). Spinal taps were necessary for all 400 men since, according to the prevailing medical opinion, the signs of neuro syphilis, such as insanity, were impossible to detect using only clinical observations of the average Black man! In order to get the men to undergo the extremely painful and dangerous spinal taps, the doctor in charge of the experiment sent them an "official" letter informing them that they had been selected for a special treatment; it was "the last chance for a special free treatment." After arriving at the hospital, the men were given the spinal taps and told that they were receiving "special spine shots." Following the spinal taps, the 400 men were given minimal treatment, literally a few shots of whatever drug was available. This was done in order to meet the terms of the agreement with the Alabama State Board of Health, that is, that all men tested and found to have syphilis were to receive some treatment. Of course, since syphilis treatment at the time involved more than 20 shots stretched over a period of a year or so, none of the treatment received had any more than a very minimal effect on the disease.

A few months after the experiment was supposed to "officially" end, top officials of the public health service decided that it was too good of an opportunity to waste. Once again enlisting the support of all those previously involved and adding the private physicians of Macon County and adjoining

counties as well as the Black U.S. Veterans Hospital to their list of assistants, the PHS decided to extend the experiment. The 400 men were to be denied any and all treatment until they died, at which time they would be given an autopsy at the Veteran's Hospital. Any of the 400 men who did seek medical treatment were immediately referred to the public health nurse in charge of the day-to-day function of the experiment. If the men were close to death, they were admitted to the Veteran's Hospital so that their bodies would be readily accessible for an autopsy. In order to induce family permission for an autopsy, a \$50 burial stipend was offered as a bribe. If they were just seeking general treatment, a public health doctor simply gave them aspirin or an iron tonic and sent them home. In this way a network was set up which ensured that the syphilis would be allowed to run its full course in the men, unhampered until they died. The network was so extensive that even in the big drives to treat syphilis immediately prior to World War 2 and afterwards, when penicillin first came into wide usage, the men were shielded from treatment. All of those eligible for the draft in the test group of 400 were mysteriously exempted due to an agreement between the PHS and the local draft board since being drafted would have necessitated being treated for syphilis. When syphilis treatment programs did come into Macon County, one Nurse Rivers—a Black woman, the

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They Can't Stamp Out the Truth



Dear RW:

The PO has begun issuing 35c stamps commemorating Charles R. Drew, M.D. Most people probably don't know who he is, and few know what happened to him, because it's not the kind of thing they like to teach in school. Charles Drew was a Black doctor who pioneered in the field of blood preservation and plasma transfusions. His work was responsible for saving countless lives during the second World War. At the time of the war, the army refused to give "Negro" blood to white soldiers and wanted all blood segregated—a policy not only scientifically ridiculous, since all blood is the same—but racist to the core. Drew, who was then the first director of the American Red Cross Blood

Bank, loudly condemned this policy. Because he was a Black man who didn't know his place, he was removed from his post. In 1950 he died in North Carolina in what most accounts call simply a tragic car accident. However, years ago on TV (I believe on M*A*S*H, and I wish I could remember all the details), they told a different account of his death. After the car accident, Drew was rushed to the closest hospital which happened to be for whites only and they refused to treat him. By the time he did receive a transfusion, it was too late. He ended up bleeding to death. No pretty little stamp can wipe that blood off the hands of this criminal system.

A co-conspirator



Palestinian rebels.

The following are excerpts from an extensive interview with an Arab-American activist who recently travelled to Lebanon, the West Bank, Jordan and Syria as part of a group tour sponsored by the Arab Cultural Foundation in the U.S. Last week in RW No. 115, another member of the tour was interviewed about the recent Israeli bombings of Lebanon. This week's interview concentrates on the occupied territory in the West Bank. Readers in the Chicago area will be interested to follow further testimony on the struggle of the Palestinian people at the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal hearings in Chicago on the weekend of August 7-9.

RW: What did you see of the Israeli occupation on the West Bank?

Answer: One thing that dawned on me as it happened was that each person would say the same thing over and over. A lot of times when we went to visit people who were the head of the engineering society or the head of some social service organization or a union leader, they'd always say the same thing: "Well, I'm sorry you had to come visit me, but I'm under city arrest, and so I have limitations on my ability." What that meant was, they didn't even have to give a reason for city arrest, they were just put under arrest, and sometimes house arrest. And it was poets and mayors and all kinds of people. What that meant was you couldn't leave your house. Or you couldn't leave the city. And for a mayor, the mayor of a city can't go talk to a mayor of another city. And one example I know, Bessam Shaka (the Palestinian Mayor of Nablus—RW) told us was that he was invited by their sister city—they had a sister city in Ireland and he was invited by them—to go to Ireland. They refused to let him leave.

I'm not naïve about what Israel is, or didn't know that Arabs were third class citizens; but when I got there, knowing something intellectually and being part of it is a whole different thing. One thing that happened was that, for instance, I knew that Bessam Shaka was under city arrest, but it didn't even dawn on me what that meant until we went to visit him. When we went to visit him we took a small bus up to his house. He wasn't there, and there was a guy at the gate who said that he went to his brother's house, and his brother is

in such and such place. So we took the bus over to where his brother's house was and he wasn't there either. So we started to take the bus back and this car pulled up in front of us. In the car was Bessam Shaka going, "Hey, here I am, come on." And then behind him was a jeep with 4 armed Israeli soldiers, with automatic weapons. So we figured that was the escort and we went with him to the place. It didn't really occur to me. And then when we got there, an Israeli soldier jumped out of the jeep, walked up to the bus, and when we started to come down, you know, stood there with his gun and said, "You can't get off this bus. Everybody here is not allowed off the bus."

And so Bessam Shaka, who has a wooden leg and has crutches, started to get on the bus, and they stood in front of him with a gun, and said, "You can't get on this bus." And instead of being intimidated by 4 Israeli soldiers he started arguing with them. I can't remember everything that was said, but there was this whole long argument,

saying, "They're my guests and they're coming in to visit." He said, "These are Arab-American visitors from the United States. We want to hear what they have to say, they want to hear what we have to say." But the soldier just wouldn't let us out. He started to argue and said, to Bessam Shaka, "It's for your own security"; which is real strange because it's pretty well known that his car, him and Kareem Kalif (another Palestinian mayor—RW) and some other people had a bomb go off in their car that was put there by the Israelis. So to say that we couldn't visit him for security purposes was a real joke. And he got really upset and started yelling, "Security purposes!" He kept saying, "You're the occupier, and I'm the occupied." He was screaming it too, you know. The guy had a lot of guts, especially then. Then after that the Israeli soldiers told him something like, "It took us both nine months to be born." And Bessam Shaka said something like, he said it poetically, but the essence of it was, "You were born

to be a soldier, you're a soldier, and when they tell you to shoot me what are you going to do?" The soldier walked off. We couldn't get near them for two hours, until the military governor of the West Bank said that it was okay for us to visit him, and then they let us off the bus.

And then after his house, we followed him to an electricity plant. It's real interesting because occupation isn't just segregation of people or it isn't just armed people running around stopping individual freedoms. I mean they dealt with economic freedoms too. One thing was they didn't want the town of Nablus to have its own electricity that wasn't tied into the Israeli grid. They figured no matter what kind of control they had, they'll have the power to shut them off. The town had raised its own money and built their own electrical power plant. They'd been offered money from the outside. The military governor wouldn't let any outside funds come in, or they'd written it into their city taxes. The military governor decides: you submit a budget and they decide what is acceptable and what's not. So they have total control in some ways. But basically the Palestinians built it anyway, and then they were going to have a big celebration. The Israelis didn't ban the celebration immediately, but when they realized the people were going to come out in big numbers, and it was going to be a show of economic independence, you know, they freaked out. First they stopped one of the other mayors from another city from coming to visit, then they stopped Bessam Shaka from attending the thing himself by gunpoint. When he got out of the car and started to walk there on his crutches, they told him that, yeah he could do that, they wouldn't stop him, but if he did they would take the jeep driver and put him in jail for the rest of his life. So he backed off basically.

He wasn't the only person, we met a lady that was in charge of a women's organization that has an orphanage, day care; it teaches women to sew, it has a Palestinian cultural development league that does research on cultural development. The woman that was the head of that organization was under city arrest.

I met an 80 year old grandma. I shouldn't call her that, really, because at one point she was on the executive committee of the PLO, when it first started. But, I mean, she was generally harmless in terms of direct military

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1979. Student prisoners in an Israeli West Bank jail—arrested en masse after a confrontation with Israeli troops.

the Terror the Bank



Above: Youthful Palestinian guerrillas in Southern Lebanon.

The Arab-American activist interviewed here told this story of a visit to the town of Rashidia in Lebanon, near the border of occupied Palestine: "The person I remember the most was this one kid. His family had a house on the water, a small house. He was probably 13 or 14 at the time—it was two years ago. His family was asleep and all of a sudden, the Israeli soldiers came in, and the first thing they did was blow away his mother and father. And then they took his sister and ripped her in half, she was three years old—with their hands, they didn't use knives or anything. His brother tried to escape, they shot his brother. Then he tried to escape and they caught him and chopped off his right arm and told him, "You'll never bear arms against us." And he was telling us how he'd been with the young Ashbal, which are the youth, the revolutionary youth—training. And he was showing us with his left hand how well he could shoot an automatic weapon. He was good with it! I think he felt that this was the thing he was so proud of. And for me that was very impressive. It was a sign that you could go through all this and still resist."

stopped. She's still living there, and even more people from her family have moved in—12 people in all in that one room.

After we were done she thanked us, she thanked us for coming in and caring. She told us that the thing she hated the very worst about it all wasn't even the Israeli soldiers but the settlers, because the worst thing for her in terms of oppression was that every night the settlers would throw rocks down on her house from the settlement. It really made clear for me, what is the dividing line? To her those folks were the enemy as much as the soldiers were. Also the settlers are armed or can be armed. Arabs aren't allowed to be armed. What she told me was, "Why don't you go across the street and visit this guy? He's got a story to tell you, too." So we went across the street. There was a house with a plot of land. It was fairly large. There was about an acre or a half an acre around his house, but there was a huge settlement around his house like there was across the street with the lady. We talked to him and he told us pretty much of the same story: "They gave me a letter and I opposed the letter. I argued with them, I went to court. 'Blah, blah, blah,' and they said it was all a waste of time. And they took my land." He was pretty mad and we asked him did he hate them and he said yes, he did. Then as we were leaving somebody asked him, and we hadn't really thought of asking him this, "Where do you work now?" He said, "I work on the settlement. I clear land for them. . . ."

If your land is where they want the land, if it's strategic for any kind of development they're interested in or any private industry is interested in, then they take it. Some people had large

plots of land and some people had little pieces—like the lady with the house didn't have much land. She just had a house, but they ripped her house in half. It depended. For economic reasons, you had to have a fairly large plot of land just to make a living as a peasant. It wasn't just there, there were settlements everywhere. We went on a tour of settlements, we were doing it all day long. Palestine is not a big country. It was just amazing. There were settlements everywhere, and they were going up still. And what they were doing, sometimes they would make a large settlement as a nucleus, they'd put them all around, and then they'd enlarge and use a new one as a nucleus, one of the enlarged ones, and they would do it in circles.

We've been talking mostly about the West Bank, but there are other areas, for instance, there's even more direct or aggressive examples. Hebron is a really good example. Hebron is another city, it's more north. It's a city that's historically been an Arab city. At one point a group of Zionists in Israel—frankly a group that's mostly American—they came in to Hebron, took rooms in a hotel, then took over the hotel by arms, and said, "This is the new Israeli settlement." And then they expanded. They've taken over more and more of the area.

I talked with some of them there. I found them to be the most aggressive of the Israelis that I ran into, very aggressive. One woman was looking at their gun and he stuck it in her face. He was freaked out too, yelling. We didn't have any problem understanding him because he had a New York accent. Most of the people I met there were

Continued on page 14

threat or something, and she was basically running the Red Crescent (Arabic version of Red Cross—RW) and the women's organization in Gaza. And it was the same thing, I mean she was under city arrest. Everybody who does anything of value is under city arrest there.

RW: Can you tell us about the nature of the Israeli settlements that have been increasing lately on the West Bank?

Answer: One thing that the Israelis have been doing a real lot of is taking land and they're doing that now in the West Bank but they're doing it in general. What they do is they send you a letter and say, "Your land is being taken over by the Israeli government for security purposes." And everything is a security purpose, everything. And then in most cases they generally turn over your land to some private settlement group or a corporation or to a private factory owner and so on. Anytime they want your land they can take it. And they do it all the time. I rarely ran into people who had owned land who didn't have some of it taken from them. One thing that they're really involved in, and not just the Begin government, actually

even more so under the Labor government, is a policy of taking land from people and establishing settlements. To show you how developed that is and what the intentions of the Israelis are toward the West Bank, they now have 37% or 38% of the land related to Israeli control. And the way they control it is they'll put in a settlement. The settlements are put in real strategically. For instance, if there's a big Arab population they'll just circle it. Or another way they do it is they put it based on the water grid. There's only so much water, and if you place a settlement in a certain position, the Arab village next to it can be just drained of water, and forced to leave. And they do this all the time. They're real conscious about how they do it, it's very scientific.

We talked with an old woman who told us about when her house was going to be taken by the Israeli settlers. She said she wasn't moving. The settlers came back with a bulldozer. This old lady fought the soldiers. Her pregnant daughter fought the soldiers, and got arrested. They drove the bulldozer through the house and destroyed all but one room. Then they backed off, and



Using a tactic learned from the Vietnam War—Israeli troops defoliate Palestinian staple crops. The land is further destroyed by the pumping of 80% of all the readily available water in the West Bank into Israel, to provide fully one-third of Israel's water supply. Of the water that remains, another 15% is siphoned off by the Israeli settlers who make up 1% of the West Bank population. While no Palestinian has been permitted to sink a deep water well since 1967, 24 have been drilled in Israeli settlements. So "tiny Israel's" miracle of "making the desert blossom" turns out to be the result of making the surrounding blossom into desert.



1975 rebellion against Israeli occupation of the West Bank.

West Bank

Continued from page 13

American. They either had a New York accent or some other kind of accent, which I thought was a little weird. Here I was in Israel with an American sticking a gun in my face because I was an Arab-American in Israel. Now he was an Israeli. In essence, they've taken a base area in the middle of an Arab city and they're expanding. The tension in that city is like a powderkeg. I know there's been fighting over and over again, and I think there's going to be a lot more there.

RW: Do they call the army in, or are they a military unit themselves?

Answer: They're a military unit themselves. This is true of a lot of settlements, they'll just take an area, and then the Israeli government will come in and back them up with soldiers. That's what's happened in Hebron. It's like somebody comes up to you and sticks you with a knife, and there's a cop right next to him with a gun to make sure that he can do it. So you have to just let him do it for awhile. And that's kind of more like the situation is. So they come in and then they're followed up by the Israeli government.

RW: Did they take over cultivated land that has crops growing on it?

Answer: Yes. For example with olives. To grow an olive tree takes hundreds of years. If you go to an olive orchard, you go to something that's been farmed in the family for 300, 400, 500 years. Everything is put into olive harvest. If you have a bad harvest or something, that's it, it's a catastrophe. The Israelis came into this village one day and said, "We're going to let you harvest the olives." Everybody said, "What? What's this all about?" They said, "We're going to let you harvest them." They (the villagers) said, "Yeah, but we've always been harvesting them." The Israelis said, "We're going to let you, so don't get too cocky this time." But then they came back later and said, "We're going to tax you to harvest them." The villagers rebelled against that tax; they've been doing it for hundreds of years. So the Israelis literally came in and took the olive harvest. That was it. The people were left with nothing, and some of them had to leave. They couldn't make it through the year. That's why I think it's a real joke when they talk about "they made the desert bloom." First of all, most of Palestine was never a desert. Second of all, it's been cultivated for centuries with oranges and olives and those are the main kinds of export the Israelis have. And it's not fundamentally different. That's one thing about these settlements. Most of the settlements are

military, and a lot of them aren't even efficient. In other words they have a very military purpose. Some of them, they make the settlement. Then they come into Jerusalem to work, then they go back to the settlement to stay. You know, they're more like military outposts in some kinds of ways.

If you look at the 3 things they're trying to do, they have a general strategy in Israel, it works on every single front. One front is to stop the development, or growth or beautification or development in general of any Arab institutions, economic forms, cultural forms, to hold those things back. The second thing is to make life so horrible for the people that live there that they'll leave. So it's not like one where they're just trying to subjugate them, they're trying to force them to leave, they're trying to make life that bad. The last thing is, and actually it's the least important of the group, is they're developing economically in terms of they're building their own settlements and all those kinds of things. The first two, in the order of the way things come down, that's the strategy, so it's a strategy aimed at dispersing the Palestinians.

RW: You told me stories about the different ways you saw that the Palestinian people in the West Bank are resisting the occupation and rebelling. I'm sure our readers would like to hear about it.

Answer: One thing, I was living with this guy named XX. XX is 18 years old, and he's a student who's studying politics and music. He thinks those are important things that go together to aim at the Israelis. That's how he thinks, you know a lot of young people think that way: "What am I learning that can fight against oppression?" Their life goals, their individual goals, their educational goals and everything is aimed in that direction. A lot of Palestinians are trying to become highly educated. They have a large section of their population that's doing that, because they think this is part—they don't think it's the total—but they think it's a part of the fight against oppression—to know a little bit of what's going on in the world.

But anyway, XX whose house I was staying in, lives in the village of Beit Hanina, which is a real big peasant village outside Jerusalem. They took the land all around his house, and around his house right now is an Israeli military base. So the soldiers all walk down the road to his house. He always comes driving up the road in his car. He just drives right through and beeps his horn and steps on the gas, he kind of plays chicken with them. To me it was real rash, because if he hit one of those soldiers, that's it, they'll put him away forever.

In the refugee camps it's the same thing. A lot of the kids throw rocks from the road, at the road where Israeli cars pass, or Israeli military convoys

pass. Then the Israelis will go into the camp and arrest little children. There's this one center they shut down, the youth center the kids had organized, because they said it was a hot bed of rebellion. They built walls so that the kids couldn't throw rocks, and then the kids were reducing the walls. Rock throwing's a real big thing there. The university, everybody throws—you know the university's shut down a certain number of days a year as they battle Israeli police.

RW: What is the political climate in the university?

Answer: One thing is they have a really radical student government, I couldn't believe it. At Bir Zeit College, we went over and talked with the student government and they gave us this whole long lecture about education, political and scientific, aimed at banishing imperialism and so forth. The students are real, real radical. You don't see that kind of thing here, a consistent attempt on the part of the students to radicalize each other, to understand the situation and react to it. There's a whole cultural ferment, for example. I was there the "Day of Culture of the Imagination." Everybody created and brought out cultural works; it was all aimed at the enemy. Nobody called for it to be aimed at the enemy, it was expected. They shut it down, by the way, the Israelis did, and in fact that's another form they use. In the arts they just shut down anything that's independent. Using the colors of the Palestinian flag in a painting, not necessarily a flag, but just using that combination of colors in a painting is illegal, it's a jailable offense.... They've done pottery shows, and they get shut down. Not only things that are outrightly political do they shut down, but they have two tactics for dealing with Palestinian culture as a whole. One of them is to suppress it. They shut down dress showings. But on the other hand, El Al Airlines now has stewardesses that wear Palestinian dresses with the designs of Ramallah and the Beit Hanina and Gaza and whatnot. They call them "Israeli peasant" dresses; so they rip off the culture, it's saleable as well. It seems like the way they deal with stuff is they try to suppress every single front; any kind of development they rip it off, in any way they can, to stop the existence of Palestinian culture, their personal existence, their contributions—to rewrite history in terms of those things.

In Jerusalem they stopped Palestinians from being tour guides. And the reason they do that is that they have a certain written history that goes back so many thousand years and the Palestinians have a certain existence. So when they have a tour guide that teaches history, the Israeli tour guides and the Palestinian tour guides weren't telling the same history, the Israelis were even skipping the confrontations.



A woman from the West Bank village of Silwad holds her Israeli-issued I.D. card. In 1968 her house was blown up by Israeli troops. Later her husband was imprisoned, then exiled to Jordan, and 2 of her sons jailed. "When they came to blow up the house they told the mayor they were teaching the village a lesson. But we did not learn anything, we are still revolutionaries."

Another area I think is real interesting is religion, how they deal with that question. A good example of how they deal with Islam or even Christianity, but mainly Islam. One of the most famous Islamic buildings is the Dome of the Rock, and there's also a very large mosque next to the Dome of the Rock. They were busy excavating along the wall of the Dome of the Rock, not the Dome of the Rock, but the other mosque, even though they were warned that it would structurally destroy the mosque. Millions of Moslems from all over the world come to see it. Their excuse was that they believed that David had been in the area, and that there might be some temple or something there, so they were going to essentially destroy that mosque. Somebody told me that there was one point when this Zionist asshole, this American Zionist, who's this famous...

RW: Meir Kahane?

Answer: That's right. He literally had planned to bomb that mosque on a Friday. On Friday, on Ramadan (Islamic holy days), there isn't any place to stand in this huge area, not just the mosque. And he marched on the mosque at a certain point, and every Arab for miles filled the place to resist that and to resist the Israeli military, who they thought were going to back him up. They ended up arresting him because they realized it was going to cause something that they couldn't deal with.

RW: Did any of the revolutionary students have anything they wanted you to say to people around the world?

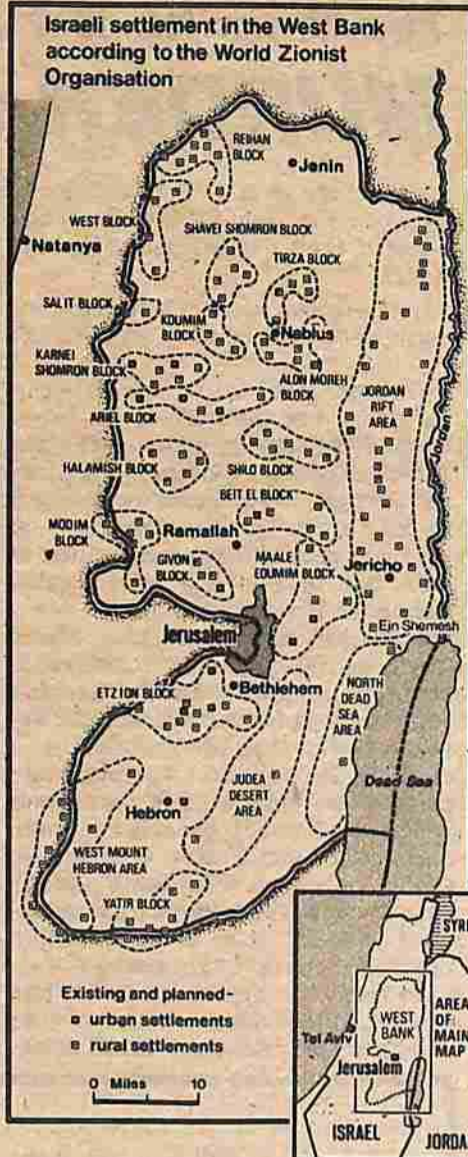
Answer: They couldn't understand why there wasn't more resistance in the United States to the attacks on the people. They felt like it was a pretty open thing, that anybody who did any investigation could see what the situation for the Palestinians was like. It was something that people could easily find or know about, and they couldn't understand why we let this go on in the United States... They felt like that the

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Existing Israeli settlements in the West Bank, and those planned for completion within the next year and a half.

(left) Israeli destruction of Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem. Entire foreground is site of already demolished homes. Upper left are new homes built exclusively for Israelis.

(Below) Palestinian home in Rafah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, marked with a red "X" by Israeli authorities for demolition and eviction.



Continued from page 14

United States... They felt like that the American people had to wake up, they had to know what was going on, and that we could play some role in that...

I think they were interested in exchanging. For instance they were interested in coming to the United States, a lot of them, and getting to know American students. They were interested in what forms of rebellion American students were a part of, how did they deal with oppression in their own society, how did they deal with oppression in other countries. For them, that's a part of life, that's the way they look at life: what's going on in the world, what can be done about it, what's going on in our own lives, what can be done about it. They expect that from other people. I think they would have a hard time understanding that that level of activity is not the norm in the United States....

They saw themselves as part of a world-in-ferment movement, they didn't see themselves as just Palestinian students. There's also a particular interest on their part in developments in the Arab world as a whole too. They were very clear on the different Arab regimes. They put a lot of hope in the students and youth of those countries as well, the revolutionary movements in those countries.

One thing at Bir Zeit was real interesting was that you couldn't graduate from Bir Zeit without doing a whole section of community work. So you had to go work in the camps, or with the peasants, that was a part of the

university to graduate.

RW: When was the university established? How could they function as a center for Palestine resistance in the middle of this occupation?

Answer: I don't think the Israelis can do very much about it, other than to shut down the whole university, and they're thinking about doing that, and have done that before. I think that the Israelis really are doing a lot to stop them. The Israelis now are in charge of the junior high schools and grade schools, the lower grades. They examine the textbooks so that the proper view of history is in them. They rewrite them. They oversee that, you know. They make sure education is what they want education to be. Historically they haven't done that in higher institutions, but they just passed a law saying that has to apply to curriculum and specifics of curriculum, development of curriculum in the higher institutions. Right now, the college is not going along with it. The other thing they do is like this: the president of Bir Zeit, one day he got a telegram that said, "Why are your students rebelling? What are you going to do about it?" He sent a letter saying, "I can't do anything about it." The next day he found himself sitting on the border of Lebanon, with nothing. They came in and dragged him, threw him in a jeep, put him on the border of Lebanon and said, "Get going. And

don't come back." That happens a lot too. They just throw people out of the country whenever they feel like it, especially leaders. If they see this political leader, if they don't kill you, they throw you out.

Another way they do it, there isn't an agricultural college in any of the universities. You have to apply to make a new section of the college. They never pass your application. They fart around with it, basically, the military government does.

Another way they do it is that the college is in the process of building a new campus. It's partially operational. So they purchased two buses. The military governor will not give them permission to use the two buses. Not only that, but at night somebody blew up one of the buses. And so they have this one really old bus that they have to go back and forth on.

You can go on and on. They come in and shut down stuff all the time. Outside teachers have to get an OK from the government to teach there, and basically they don't do it. Or if you're a teacher there and you have a visa, or working papers, they OK your working papers 30 days at a time, and you have to go to the military governor every 30 days. They harass you or they ask you questions, and if you're not positive they cancel your visa.

The school is an example of really how everything is. They have so many

ways, very small ways, that they make things difficult to go on, and bigger and bigger ways: to killing you. So you have the level where you can't get your paperwork done or you have to wait in long lines and the governor tells you to come back tomorrow just because he didn't feel like it. It's just a form of harassment. Or they kill you....

But the thing that I got overall and I think is really important, is that even in Lebanon and everywhere else, even the relatively free places, or in Jordan or whatnot, I didn't see the same spirit that was there in the West Bank. In the West Bank I felt that the people were angry, there was a resistance that was real powerful. There was no resignation to their fate. There was a positiveness, a movement among people. People were always thinking about new things and thinking about how they would react, and how they could do things. The West Bank, it seems to me, has been an area of resistance for a long time. We haven't seen what's possible yet, we really haven't. It's interesting that the Israelis, the form their oppression takes right now, is such that it keeps the people rebelling, and there's this bubbling, a bubbling up of rebellion. But they're always careful not to make that little bit more of a leap so that the whole society rebels. And that seems like a real possibility. I wonder how and if the Israelis could contain it if it happens. I'm not sure they could, even with the sophisticated arms, and everybody being a soldier... □

Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal to Open in Chicago

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7

6-10 PM, RUIZ BELVIS HALL, 1632 N. MILWAUKEE

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8

Noon-4pm, 6pm-10pm
LAWSON Y.M.C.A., 30 W. CHICAGO AVE.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9

4-8 PM RUIZ BELVIS HALL 1632 N. MILWAUKEE

Written or taped testimony and financial contributions should be sent to: TRIBUNAL, 542 S. Dearborn, No. 906, Chicago, IL 60605

**For more information call
(312) 922-1140 in Chicago**

Areas of Testimony in Chicago will be

- The Western Hemisphere: Central America with a focus on El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala; South America with emphasis on Chile; the Caribbean; Native Americans.
- The Middle East and Africa: including testimony on Palestine, Iran, Africa with emphasis on southern Africa.
- The Pacific Rim: including testimony on the bombing and effects in Japan.
- On the question of military and war: including a focus on Vietnam; and testimony on the development of nuclear weaponry and science and technology.
- Europe: especially testimony on Eastern European countries with emphasis on Poland.

Hearings of the tribunal will be held in
Atlanta: September 11, 12 and 13th.
New York City: October 23, 24 and 25th.

To participate and/or for further information, contact:

War Crimes Tribunal
249 West 18th Street
New York City, New York 10003
(212) 242-3900

or
Box 582
6520 Selma Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90028

The Navy: It's Not Just a Job

MURDER ON THE RANGER

"I've been in jail, I've even been in the state pen. But I'll tell you what. None of them's as bad as the goddam Ranger."

—from a letter of a former crew member to the parents of Paul Terice

On April 14th Paul Terice, a 21-year-old sailor, was murdered by the Navy. He died after days of nothing but bread and water in the brig of the aircraft carrier Ranger, after being beaten and forced to do "punitive exercises" on the flight deck in the oppressive heat at Subic Bay, the giant U.S. Navy installation in the Philippines.

More than three months later, after a "thorough investigation," the Navy announced on July 29 that the Ranger's commanding officer, Captain Pedersen, would face a "flag officers mast" as a result of Paul's death. The maximum penalty—a formal letter of reprimand, which could hurt his chances for future promotions, and 30 days confinement to his stateroom. The death, said a Navy spokesman, "seemed to be an isolated incident. There is no indication that this is the tip of an iceberg."

So the Navy says, as it seeks to lure cannonfodder with promises of jobs and adventure. But since Paul's death,

scores of sailors and sailors' relatives, including many past and present crew members of the Ranger, have stepped forward to expose U.S. imperialism's recipe for whipping its "troops" into shape for war. Brutality, starvation, intimidation—and murder.

Paul Terice, a 6-foot 5-inch former high school athlete, in perfect health, was "disciplined" for twice going ashore without permission while the Ranger was docked in Hong Kong. He was thrown into the Ranger's Correctional Custody Unit (CCU), where he was given the "indoctrination course." After 5-1/2 hours of being slapped, spit on, held at attention, ordered to "break" repeatedly (a quaint little Navy "punitive" exercise of falling face forward to the deck without bracing the fall), Paul told the CCU guards to shove it. He "refused a work assignment," said the Navy; he was thrown into the brig on bread and water for three days "to think it over."

On April 13, Paul was subjected to another three and a half hours of "indoctrination" and then returned to the brig. The Navy claims Paul was then fed, but testimony of other sailors and of a pathologist hired by Paul's parents refutes this. On the morning of April

14, Paul was again summoned for "punitive exercise." He complained of feeling ill, but was forced to jog for 20 minutes and "break" for 25 minutes on the flight deck.

Then, ordered to take a shower, Paul forgot his soap. A guard demanded still more "punitive exercise." From anger, heatstroke—or both—Paul attacked the guard. Four guards jumped Paul, threw him to the floor and handcuffed him. Minutes later, Paul collapsed, his temperature at 108°. Although the medical unit was 30 seconds away, only a medic was sent—unequipped. A full 30 minutes later a doctor arrived, far too late. Paul died of cardiac arrest caused by heatstroke and salt depletion.

If the Navy had had its way, what they now term "an isolated incident" would have been just another "accidental death," but Paul's parents brought a \$400 million wrongful death suit against the federal government and took the case to the press. In addition, four other crew members joined Paul's parents in a \$1 million suit against the Navy and its "discipline." The only difference between their treatment and Paul's was that they survived. All were beaten, one bruised over 50% of his body, another vomited blood, ano-

ther's eardrum was shattered, and another had stitches. Last January, a Ranger crew member jumped from the flight deck during "punitive exercise."

From the first, the Navy tried to cover up. Federal attorneys tried to get the lawsuits thrown out of court as "unspecific." But as more and more came to light, the Navy changed its tack, pleading ignorance and conducting its own "investigation." Even a few congressmen got into the act. Pedersen claims he hadn't known a thing, but numerous crew members told Paul's parents that Pedersen and other officers had been told face to face. And the Terices received letters from parents of crew members who had written to Pedersen and the Navy.

Now the Navy, trying to get off the hotseat (and keep as much of the "iceberg" submerged as possible), has announced disciplinary action against 28 officers and crew members of the Ranger, with, of course, the heaviest charges at the bottom of the totem pole.

Captain Pedersen? The Navy took into consideration "the very fine record of an officer and a superb record of accomplishments of that ship while he was commanding officer." The "accomplishments of that ship" are clear. "The very fine record"? Pedersen piloted F-4 Phantoms over north Vietnam and in the 1975 "Mayaguez rescue."

The Navy, it's not just a job. . . . □

Suppression of the RW at Pontiac

Dear Revolutionary Worker!

I'm a prisoner in Pontiac, and my May 15, 1981 edition of your paper was seized by the administration because of the article "Prison Rebels' Victory." Now in Pontiac they were very careful when

dealing with this. I was first informed that my paper was seized on or around June the 15th by letter from A.L. Sadoris, Chairman of the Publications Review Committee. He said, my paper was subject to review by the P.R.C. The

memo told me I had 10 days to submit my viewpoints and that if I need additional time, please contact him. . . .

I wrote Mr. Sadoris back to request a personal interview in defense of the RW. I was granted the interview and he further explained my rights and what could happen to RW, either they would deny me getting the May 15, 1981 edition of RW, and that it would be put in my personal property here at Pontiac, or I could send it back to you or home. Well on July 8, 1981, I received another memorandum telling me the Committee denied the paper because the Publication Review Committee of Pontiac, in accordance with administrative regulation No. 828, Section IID, Article 4B, finds that the RW is—and I'm quoting—a clear and present danger to the physical safety and security of persons and property within the institution.

They go on to say A.R. 828 Section IIG provides that you or me may petition the chief administrative officer of Pontiac for a review of this decision. The rationale for this act by them is: the above named publication contains an article "Prison Rebels' Victory," pages 1 and 27, which is deemed to meet Article 4B standards for disapproval. The article is viewed as a threat to the institution due to the present emotionally charged atmosphere at the Pontiac prison with regard to matters relating to the July 22, 1978 riot. . . .

They say at the end that to allow this publication into the institution (this is how it was spelled by them) is seen as

being potentially destabilizing. They go on to say under A.R. 828 Section III the RW is being placed in my personal property. It may be disposed of according to my wishes and at my expense or it may be returned to the sender at the sender's expense.

It's all official bullshit to me. "Listen," ever since May 9, 1981, when the Pontiac Brothers was freed of all charges, we here at Pontiac have been seeing National Guards touring the prison grounds at least once a week, if not more. And this is indirect threats to all of us here at Pontiac, we can barely look around without seeing a group of National Guards inspecting roofs of buildings, the cell-houses, dining room, etc.

. . . If anybody is emotionally charged it's these hillbillies waiting for a chance to avenge those 3 guards that was found dead here. Between you and me, I'm gonna let my paper stay in my personal property (unless you have a better idea) and see if it will be there upon my release next year, and if it's not I will go to court. Plus they have been closely reading the RW because today I received 2 papers, one dated July 3, another July 10. But whatever you do, let me know that you got this letter. After reading the Steve Yip article in July 10 paper, I felt I should write you and let you know it's happening in Pontiac too.

In the struggle,
XX

Steve Yip Writes

Authorities Move to Restrict RW in Danbury Prison

Below are excerpts of a letter from Steve Yip, one of the UN 2 who are presently serving a year and a day for tossing red paint at the UN representatives of the U.S. and USSR. Glenn Gan has been transferred from one end of the country to the other by prison authorities and has recently landed in Sandstone prison in Minnesota where he faces continued harassment, including being thrown in the hole for several days for participating in a prison work protest.

July 28, 1981

Dear RW:

Enclosed is a copy of a new memo from the Warden here at Danbury, R.A. Gunnell informing me of a new attack on the Revolutionary Worker. As you will see after reviewing this memo, its content is self-exposing.

Notice that in the memo, the warden says that, "(a)lthough I have no problem with the content of the publication, there is a quantity concern" (!). Obviously he has some problems with 15 copies of the weekly RW circulating beyond the hands of 15 people.

But most interesting here is the last sentence of the first paragraph which states: "You do not have authority to become an agent or distributor of this publication while incarcerated; nor do you have the authority to give anything of value to another."

What is important is that this particular issue—RW No. 113, front page: "England: a Festival of Riots" and other excellent articles—represented an increased order of 15 copies from previous occasions (RW No. 110, 10 copies; RW No. 111, 4 copies; and RW No. 112, 10 copies), reflecting an healthy interest among inmates of all

nationalities in reading the RW. So in previous occasions, the RW was tolerated to a certain extent, although RW No. 105 was censored outright. (The issue with the cover article on the acquittal of the Pontiac Brothers—RW)

It should also be stated that this warden is new to this prison and has instituted some changes here which is fostering a lot of discontent even here at what is popularly known as the "country club." Tighter security measures are planned (speculation is that this will turn into a level 3 prison—armed patrols on the perimeter, and some controlled movement), rules and regulations have been heavily emphasized recently, many applications for furloughs have been outright denied on the grounds that furloughs are a privilege not necessarily granted for good behavior and short sentences, food continues to get worse, and the count in this prison is going up spectacularly—anticipating a jump from last week of 630 to over 700 inmates. This prison was originally built for 400 to 500 inmates. Bunks are being added to many of the units and there is talk of some cells or individual rooms doubling up. (Individuals cells and rooms are known as "preferred housing," as opposed to the dormitories.)

Lenin stated that, "a basic condition for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organization of comprehensive political exposure. In no way except by means of such exposures can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity." Seems to me that's exactly what this move by the prison administration is serving to undercut and to beat back.

In struggle,
Steve

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the Revolutionary Worker and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the Revolutionary Worker is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Semi-Secret War Against RW in Cabrini-Green Exposed

Can You Extinguish a Conspiracy of Slaves?

Following is a letter from some members of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Chicago:

Cabrini Green housing project, Chicago. Someone stands on the sidewalk with something in his hands. Suddenly a police car pulls up, grabs the guy and throws him in the car. The only comment heard: "Oh, so you're one of those too."

Down at the police station the interrogation room is tense as they drag this guy in. "Who did you get those things from?" The interrogator's face goes from red to purple. He paces the room and finally jumps up to stomp his foot on the table right near this guy's face. "What do you think this is leading to?" "I want to make a phone call." "You can't make no phone call from here." This goes on for 4-5 hours. Finally when they can't dig up any charges the guy is released but with the definite impression that if he is even so much as seen with one of these things in his hands again he's going to get put away, perhaps permanently.

What did this person have in his hands which justified this 4-5 hour interrogation session? Several copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Cabrini Green, as has been reported in past issues of the *RW*, has been the focus over the past several months of an all-out assault by the police, the press, the Mayor and even the ex-commander of the Green Berets. Facing the prospect of the revolutionary storms and possible attempts to seize power in the 1980s the bourgeoisie feels this project, housing 15,000 Black people, stands too close for comfort to the Loop, their financial, commercial and political nerve center in this areas. So they have launched this attempt to "deconcentrate" the buildings, in other words force large numbers of people out in one way or another, as a first step to removing all Black people from the area.

To justify these attacks the Mayor of Chicago even moved into the projects for a short while, announcing a campaign to clean up gang violence and make Cabrini a safe place to live, although she soon beat a hasty retreat back to her luxury apartment on the Gold Coast, less than one mile away. What has continued has been forced attrition—dozens of evictions and especially a heavy occupying force of pigs trying to harass and intimidate people into moving. Empty apartments are not reoccupied. The bourgeoisie has concentrated on removing people from key buildings and either boarding them up or turning them into housing for the elderly. Even here they have tried to clear all people out of the top floors first in an attempt to rapidly dilapidate the whole building. In one instance they even sent out notices to huge numbers of people in a building trying to transfer them to other locations in the project. Their excuse—people themselves had requested these transfers, although requests for this were as much as ten years old.

Further, even more vicious attacks are soon to be launched. The Housing Authority has recently announced a huge deficit in its budget and ordered rents to increase throughout public housing in Chicago—average rents will jump from \$78/month to \$128/month. In addition the School Board has announced its own financial crisis necessitating, among other things, further cutbacks at schools attended by Cabrini Green children.

All this has caused growing anger and understanding among people at Cabrini that these attacks have nothing to do with gangs but are a direct assault aimed at moving them out of the area. One woman summed up the growing sentiment of many when she said recently: "There is a big explosion coming up around this."

In general the bourgeoisie doesn't like people to distribute and read the *RW* newspaper, especially Black people who represent in their great majority a powerful social base for the spread of

revolutionary ideas. But Cabrini Green, of all places, they don't want to be turned into a base area for revolution and internationalism. This certainly has an effect on the shape of the immediate battle taking place at Cabrini. But even more importantly it could create dangerous shockwaves for revolution across the country and even worldwide. Already this has started to develop in embryo as people who have stepped forward to take up the *RW* have distributed it not just in the project but throughout the city (see, for example, the accompanying letter where this person takes the paper out to the West Side of Chicago). After all when it comes to exposing oppression and U.S. imperialism the people at Cabrini Green certainly have a right to speak and many people listen.

Stories of a Semi-Secret War

Given the deepening roots of the *RW* and the Party's line, before but especially because of May Day, the bourgeoisie has launched a vicious campaign to isolate and intimidate people taking up or even seen with the *RW* at Cabrini. What is coming to light is nothing less than a systematic semi-secret war to try to stop the spread of revolutionary ideas and organization. Included in the bourgeoisie's arsenal—harassment, pigs snooping in people's apartments, threats of and actual evictions, arrests, interrogation at police stations with threats of set-up charges for continuing to use the *RW*.

LeRoy, someone who lives at Cabrini, tells this story. The police saw him reading the *RW* in front of his building. Later two cops came to his door for a "friendly little chat." As he was trying to get rid of them one of them forced himself in, reached up on a shelf to investigate LeRoy's personal belongings. Soon his grubby hands uncovered what he was looking for—a single copy of the *RW*. "What do you have this for?" he snarled. LeRoy grabbed the paper back, carefully returned it to the top of the stack on his shelf and ordered the police to get out. As the door slammed behind them the pigs pulled out a work pad to record this person's name and address on their list.

Another Cabrini co-conspirator, OM, not only distributed his papers at the project but also at work, where he gathered together some regular readers, mostly Arab, to discuss different articles during their lunch break. All realized the paper spoke to the broader issues in society and the world which they need to understand, a fact reflected in the international composition of their group.

Soon after this started, OM was arrested walking home from work. He proudly carried the *RW* under his arm, having just finished reading some new articles. A patrol car pulled up, "Where did you get that from? Why do you have them?" Within minutes he is sitting at the police station and booked on some petty charge.

One week later the same thing happened again. This time he has concealed the *RW* in his bag and the cops demand to know what is in the bag. OM asked them why they are hassling him for just walking home from work and without answering he is arrested. He gets his answer later at the station where after being told he is being charged with disorderly the police change their story and say he is being charged with "Association." (Actually they write a number indicating disorderly on his bond slip, but the point has been made.)

OM returns to work and finds that there has been a selective layoff. In fact every single worker known by the company to read and discuss the *RW* was terminated!

These examples are just the beginning of an almost endless list of other lowlife attacks on the masses starting to take up the *RW* at Cabrini Green. This is what we have uncovered after some investigation. Some of the details here are limited and obviously there are many, many other examples which we

don't even know about.

Just after May Day someone from the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade was arrested as she walked out of one of the Cabrini buildings. The cops spread the rumor that the reason she was there was to sell drugs. But when some of the youth heard she was one of the May Day people they started to collect money to get her out of jail. Later the cops came back and seeing what was going on they chased one youth, Mike, who was also selling the paper, and busted him. He spent 1 1/2 days in jail and his family was evicted from Cabrini 10 days later.

May, a former Black Panther, sold the *RW* and came out in front of her building to join May Day. She was called into the Chicago Housing Authority office, repeatedly threatened and finally moved out of Cabrini.

Sheila distributed the *RW* and flew a red flag on May Day. That night the police came to her door, shone a flashlight in her eyes and asked if the communists were there. She thought her phone was tapped and was also threatened with eviction.

Michelle bought three red flags and flew them on sticks out her apartment windows the evening before May Day. Soon someone came to her door and asked if she was on the eviction list because if not she'd better get those flags out of her window.

Barry read the *RW* and has been openly associated with some activities leading up to the War Crimes Tribunal. In the past month he has been arrested three times in a nearby commercial area—all by the same cop.

These attacks are purposely kept semi-secret. Many times, while a clear threat to the person is given, the whole thing is left in the realm of "criminal" suspicion—so that the person feels very much isolated and threatened and yet the pigs seemingly have no political motives in doing this. After all, there is a point in concealing the political motive. As people know from a lot of experience, when the bourgeoisie starts openly attacking, it's because you represent a real threat, in this case a

serious revolutionary threat.

Who Means Trouble?

To top all this off the bourgeoisie has come up with the following rumor which they have been spreading: "See, every time these people come around here there is trouble." To this we can only plead guilty. Yes, we are out to stir up trouble, at Cabrini and elsewhere—trouble for the bourgeoisie. What's the matter with that? Given the shit they're bringing down on people here and around the world they richly deserve more than just a little trouble, they deserve to be overthrown and suppressed.

But don't talk about us creating trouble for the masses of people, bourgeoisie. Not after you have brought down one attack after another—harassment, arrests, evictions, even outright murder. Your hands literally drip with the blood of hundreds of millions of people worldwide, bourgeoisie, you don't have the right to speak about causing trouble for the masses of people.

Yes you might try to intimidate and isolate people in an attempt to stop the spread of revolutionary ideas. Yes you might lie and try to confuse who is the real source of all this oppression and misery. But people have more than a little hatred for their slavery and a great thirst for revolutionary ideas. You will find that more than a few of your slaves at Cabrini take the stand of this one brother who you tried to intimidate: "I've been beat up by the gangs and almost killed. That didn't scare me and neither does this. They know this paper is changing people's minds, and they don't want anyone to be smarter than they are. This paper benefits the people. It's broadening the minds of people out here. The paper is revolutionary, it gets right to the point."

You might have tried to stop this person from distributing the *RW* but he still does—only maybe the revolutionary network he is weaving is something you won't find out about until it's too late.

Some Chicago members of the Revolutionary Communist Party

This is a letter from a co-conspirator from Cabrini. She has been visited by the police several times. Recently they came by when some RW sellers were at her house. She told me that in the past they have said things like "you niggers are just waiting for something to happen. That's how you people are, you like to fight."

Wednesday the police came up when the *RW* distributors were at the door talking. The cops asked, "What is this all about?" I said, "nothing, can't we just talk to each other?"

The police say that we are trying to start something. You all don't have to talk, the paper says something.

Ever since we started cutting flags, taking the paper they always visit us, day and night. When I had my heart attack it took them 30 minutes to get here.

When we get papers we take them to the westside.

After ya'll leave they talk to us. The cops ask "What's going on? Are you going to sell those papers?" Yeah we are.

Just like Mayor Byrne she's for the rich people not the poor or colored people. She says she is for us, she is trying to get us all out. And the poor white she doesn't like them either.

Looks like every time you come they come just checking to see if we are alright. They must think that we are crazy that we are going to tell them what we are talking about. They keep trying to ask questions. Even how many kids do you have. I told them if they want they can take me to jail. They want to find out something. I'm not going to tell them a thing. It's just about the paper. If you want you can read it yourself.

My daughter has got out a lot of papers. You know she was on TV one time talking about the Mayor. She liked doing that.

My son spent 4 years in Vietnam. He said that they would have to kill him before he goes back. He says he doesn't have nothing to fight for. The United States is doing this all over they go to other countries. We have no business being there. They bring back the draft because they are getting ready for another war. And if you don't go they are going to drag us off. Then they will send you to the front lines. There's gonna be another war or a revolution. See I'm not that educated but I know what is going on; my daughter reads me the paper.

XXX

Iran

Continued from page 7

A consensus appears to have been reached within the IRP that Rajaii was the right man for the presidency, which has already been largely stripped of its powers. Rajaii does not have a strong power base of his own, and he has already demonstrated his ability to serve as a figurehead for more powerful forces in the IRP. The more important decision—one which undoubtedly involved intense behind-the-scenes maneuvering and conflict inside the IRP—was that of giving the Prime Minister post to Javid Bahonar. Bahonar was a founding member of the IRP, close associate of Beheshti, and like Beheshti a hard-core reactionary and "pragmatist" with long-standing connections to the Western imperialists.

The Ballot and the Firing Squad

The day after the election results were made known, the government announced the execution of 16 members of the People's Mojahadeen Organization, including Mohammed Reza Saadati, one of its top leaders. These cold-blooded murders—brought the official (and grossly understated) total of executions of revolutionaries to nearly 400.

The government's wave of repression has chiefly centered to date on the Mojahadeen, who are by far the largest revolutionary organization in Iran today; some estimates are that they have up to 100,000 members—many of them armed and organized into militias—and several million supporters. In addition, their radical interpretation of Islamic ideology threatens the regime's "monopoly" on the Koran as their authority to rule; thus the reactionary clerics (including Khomeini) literally spew out venom when talking about the Mojahadeen—calling them "American agents" and "monfaghin", literally "those who have betrayed Islam."

Saadati was the best-known revolutionary leader executed by the regime to date. This action exposed not only the government's vicious, reactionary nature, but its growing desperation. Saadati had not been captured in the last month's wave of repression; he had been sentenced to prison for 10 years a year ago on trumped-up charges of "spying for the Soviet Union." Now the prosecutor and the courts had changed Saadati's jail term to death by firing squad, using the most transparent "charges" including having been in contact with the Mojahadeen Central Committee from prison.

Saadati's execution (after a long period of torture) was a calculated step by the regime to crush the revolutionaries and silence prominent leaders and individuals who have a significant base of popular support. It is also significant that the regime has arrested Khomeini's grandson, Hussein, who has smuggled a message out of jail denouncing the IRP. In addition, Sheik Ali Tehrani, a well-known progressive religious leader from Mashad, wrote a powerful open letter to Khomeini last month that was reprinted in several revolutionary newspapers inside Iran; he openly accused Khomeini of betraying the revolution and placing himself in the camp of reaction, and stated that "the people will avenge what you have done." Several days later, Tehrani was arrested and quickly transferred to Tehran's notorious Evin prison, triggering demonstrations and mass outrage in Mashad and elsewhere.

Further signs of the breadth of popular opposition to the regime were Khomeini's call to purge "deviating elements" from the armed forces, and the arrest and execution of two prominent merchants in Tehran in mid-July. Due to the IRP's moves to take over much of the country's import-export business and concentrating it (and its profits) in their own hands, many merchants have thrown their support behind Bani Sadr. The two executed were accused of organizing shutdowns and other actions opposed to the government and with financing the Mojahadeen.

Exactly because the IRP is on extremely shaky ground and is trying to

keep the news of mass resistance and uprisings from spreading around the country, as well as internationally, they have clamped down on the news with a vengeance. But in addition to the official media which consistently report only the great "successes" scored by the regime, arresting and executing "counter-revolutionary terrorists" and "imperialist agents," the regime has doubled and redoubled its efforts to close down the revolutionary press. During the month of July, a number of locations where the Mojahadeen and Marxist-Leninist groups had been producing their newspapers were hit by a series of raids, stopping publishing for several weeks. The government has also started cutting back on flights for overseas mail and has been carefully searching it for revolutionary literature. In many areas public distribution of the revolutionary press has been forced into underground networks, and the government has announced that it will arrest and execute printers who work on anti-government material.

All of this has made it extremely difficult to receive up-to-date news from Iran, especially concerning the mass struggle and the work of the revolutionary forces. However, recent information from the newspapers of various Marxist-Leninist organizations such as *Haghighat* (the Union of Iranian Communists' central organ), helps paint a picture of widespread and powerful struggle developing among the masses in many parts of the country.

Mass Resistance Spreading

Some cities and towns in the north of Iran near the Caspian Sea, where the revolutionary forces' base of support is strong, have become "no-go" areas for the IRP. For example, in the port city of Astar (formerly Bandar Shah), mullahs have had to put on common clothes just to pass through the city.

The city of Amol and the surrounding area has been the scene of a number of sharp clashes between the masses and the IRP-led authorities. After one street battle a number of weeks ago, the IRP's headquarters and bookstore in Amol were totally smashed and have not since been reopened. There have also been reports of armed clashes in the rich agricultural area surrounding Amol between peasants, who have been fighting to hold onto the estates they had seized from the big landlords, and the combined forces of the Pasdaran, the landlords and their hired men.

In many cities and in parts of Tehran, local komitahs and Pasdaran units have been overwhelmed by the people and disarmed. In the southern city of Shiraz, revolutionaries have responded to the government's vicious attacks on demonstrations by organizing gatherings of several hundred people each simultaneously in different parts of the city, moving from major intersection to intersection agitating among the masses. In a number of important factories, hunger strikes and other forms of resistance have been reported; at the Bridgestone Tire Factory near Shiraz hundreds of workers held a demonstration to denounce the IRP, angrily tearing up pictures of Khomeini.

In Jamaran, a village just outside Tehran where Khomeini has been residing, hundreds of women held marches in the streets shouting "Death to Beheshti" (this was just before he was blasted away) and denouncing Khomeini's recent speeches. Much of the village's population no longer give free tours, water, etc. to the people who continue to come to pay homage to Khomeini, and it is being rumored that because of all this, Khomeini may have to change his residence.

One of the most significant mass struggles against the regime took place June 17 in an industrial area near Ghazvin, northwest of Tehran. When the IRP had sent one of its officials to address the workers at this industrial center and to call for Bani Sadr's removal as president, only 300 backward workers showed up, all organized by the IRP's Islamic Associations in the factories. Another demonstration formed at the same time, composed of 10,000 workers, who started marching towards Ghazvin

chanting slogans such as "This Year is the Year of Blood and the Overthrow of Beheshti," "Bani Sadr is Still Our President," and "The Club and Knife Wielding Party Must Be Sent to Hell."

As the march continued, it swelled to 15,000 in number. On the outskirts of the city an ambulance approached, and from close range armed reactionaries inside opened fire on the workers. They rushed the ambulance, but it drove away quickly. Still the march pressed on; a short time later the workers met up with three cars full of armed Pasdaran. As they opened fire with sub-machine guns, killing several workers and wounding 50, the workers armed themselves with stones, clubs and anything else they could lay their hands on, and captured several of these "revolutionary guards" and their weapons. At this point the workers split into several different groups to approach the city, sending an advance contingent into Ghazvin to alert the people. When hundreds came out to the city gates to welcome the workers, they were all set on by the Pasdaran, who arrested 300.

These vicious attacks outraged the entire city, and talk of a mass uprising was beginning to circulate. The situation was so tense in Ghazvin and the nearby industrial center that Prime Minister Rajaii—who now claims such widespread popularity among the people—had to postpone a scheduled visit there. Around the same time, there was a general strike and largely spontaneous uprising in Hamadan, southwest of Tehran, during which the IRP authorities and the Pasdaran were driven out of the city. Several days later

they were able to move back in force and reestablish control, declaring martial law in the area. While the struggle in these cities has reached a more advanced level than many other places, these reports demonstrate that there are many areas in the country where the IRP regime is on the defensive politically, and is encountering significant military resistance as well.

The little news available from the last week indicated that the regime is in no better shape after its election campaign. On Tuesday, the IRP lost its top theoretician, Hassan Ayat, when he was killed by three men on motorcycles in front of his home in Tehran. Ayat was a close confidante of Beheshti and one of the most powerful men behind the scenes in the IRP. His reactionary and opportunistic history dates back as far as the 1953 U.S. coup that brought the Shah back to power, in which Ayat threw his support behind a CIA-funded "Toilers Party" that mobilized thousands of criminals and backward elements into the streets of Tehran to give the coup an appearance of "popular support."

Lastly, Israeli radio, which follows events in the Middle East carefully, reported that there were mass riots in 8 or 9 cities in Iran over last weekend, during which a number of reactionary mullahs were executed and several headquarters of the IRP were burned to the ground. Even this is undoubtedly just scratching the surface of the struggle inside Iran. All indications are that the reactionary regime is getting a different sort of "people's mandate" than the one they hoped to get from the recent elections. □

Bad Blood

Continued from page 11

public health nurse who served as the liaison between the men and the U.S. Public Health Service and maintained the death watch for more than 30 years—always managed to be assigned to the treatment program. Since she knew the test subjects by sight, she was able to prevent them from receiving treatment. Once a year the PHS sent doctors into Macon County for the annual roundup, a time when the men were given physical exams and young inexperienced doctors were given an opportunity for training. Adding to the outrage of the whole affair was the fact that not only were the men systematically denied treatment, but their wives were infected and reinfected without ever knowing what was going on, and their children and grandchildren were born with congenital syphilis.

After a couple of decades, everyone seemed to lose interest in this sport. Not that the men were then allowed treatment, but the study just seemed to fall apart. There were still routine autopsies, blood samples and clinical exams but now they served as literal training sessions for young doctors and as convenient sources of syphilitic blood samples for use in testing other blood samples for syphilis. Many of the subjects had disappeared, moved to other areas of the country and were never tracked down. However, the medical experts in the country, including now the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, agreed to continue the course of the experiment.

In 1952, a major overhaul and updating of the experiment was carried out, health officials in cities all over the country were brought into the picture and enthusiastically aided in tracking down the missing men and bringing them back into the experiment. In 1969 a Blue Ribbon Panel of top medical officials decided to continue the Tuskegee study and again in 1971, less than a year before it was forced to end, another similar panel decided to continue its life. At that time at least 28 men and perhaps 100 had died as a direct result of their untreated syphilis, some had gone blind and others insane, all at the hands of the top ranks of the U.S. medical establishment.

Enhancing the exposure of the Tuskegee study, the author also traces the history of medical treatment for

Black people into the days of slavery. He points out how medicine was used to reinforce and justify slavery. Jones exposes theories popular at the time which supposedly proved "the mental and physical inferiority of Black people"; theories that presented as proof of their truth the existence of mythical animal-like diseases only afflicting Blacks, such as Cachexia Africana (Dirt-eating) and Struma Africana (Negro consumption). Theories were invented that attributed a natural immunity to malaria to Black people, thus justifying condemning Blacks to work in the malaria-ridden rice and sugar cane fields of the south. Jones shows how, following the Civil War and the end of slavery, new theories of genetic and racial inferiority were used to blame Black people themselves for the horrendous conditions in which they were forced to live.

In examining the Tuskegee study itself, Jones details the active and enthusiastic participation of the entire upper echelon of the U.S. medical establishment. He shows that though they fear the broad public exposure, the medical experts had no qualms about discussing the study for over 30 years in the most prestigious medical and public health journals. He documents their participation and then their bald-faced lying about it in the face of exposure. He shows how philanthropic funds and the military were tied into the crime.

Because of all this, again, the book is well worth reading. But Jones hits a snag. Despite disclaimers to the contrary, in the final analysis, the author ends up depicting the Tuskegee Study as "science gone wild." And he is led into the arms of none other than Senator Edward Kennedy as the guarantor against such madness ever happening again. Kennedy "had expressed his outrage over the experiment when the story first broke," and held a series of Senate hearings on human experimentation in 1973 which were dominated by the Tuskegee Study. Jones writes that "Senator Kennedy was clearly angered by what he heard. He called the Tuskegee Study 'an outrageous and intolerable situation which this government never should have been involved in.'"

So, while all the facts and evidence marshalled by Jones objectively condemn the imperialist system, at the same time, the author admits that in writing the book he sought to dispel what he terms "self-doubts" about the "decency" of the U.S.A.—and presumably similar doubts among others. □

STRIKE

Continued from page 4

the endorsement of Reagan as a "protest" against the hard-line and anti-labor policies of the FAA under Carter. Now, of course, the Reagan administration is implementing the detailed strike-breaking plans against the air controllers which were drafted by a special Carter administration task force beginning in January 1980.

Poli, despite his current need to pose as a "fire-breathing labor militant," has been playing a careful game conditioned by the pressure from the government and the explosive situation within the union. PATCO has a history of turbulence dating back to 1970, when its nationwide work slowdown, along with the more prominent postal strike, led to a series of government anti-strike measures culminating in a 1971 Supreme Court ruling reaffirming a total ban on all strikes by federal employees and granting the government wide latitude to prosecute or dismiss union members who even talked about striking, or expressed the opinion that government employees definitely should have the right to strike. In practice, however, the government policy has generally been to threaten mass dismissals and prosecutions freely, or even to impose fines and mail dismissal notices, but to withdraw most of the sanctions after having brought the union into line. In the 1978 postal wildcat strikes which effected facilities in New York and California, hundreds of workers were "fired" but 90% were reinstated following hearings. Over the past decade, while the rank and file air traffic controllers grew increasingly restless, the government and the union leadership, each in its own way, combined to ensure that there would be no job actions; while the government brandished its legal weapons, the leadership would throw up its hands and say, "What can we do? If we strike we'll be crushed."

By 1980, the increasingly desperate conditions of controllers led to the emergence of a "new image" in the leadership. The then union president, John Leyden, under widespread attack by the membership as a pawn of the FAA, submitted his resignation, along with his longtime associate and executive Vice President—Robert Poli. As it happened, the members accepted Leyden's resignation but rejected Poli's, who had begun to take a more militant line and develop a base of support during a nationwide tour of union locals in the summer of 1978. Thus, Poli, who had been part and parcel of the capitulation in the leadership of the '70s, emerged as the "firebrand" of the '80s.

During 1980, Poli set into motion various "strike preparations," which brought charges from FAA administrators and congressional hearings on possible legal violations. The early upshot of the negotiations, though, was another attempt by Poli to destroy sentiment for a strike. When the March, 1981 negotiation deadline was reached, Poli agreed to extend it to June; when the June deadline came, Poli "tentatively accepted" a government offer, which he then described as "fair," that included none of the controllers' demands. Only when the tentative pact was rejected by a 95% vote of the membership did "Poli the firebrand" reemerge.

Rerunning this routine story of a two-faced union hack is necessary only in order to gain a clearer picture of what the real practical aims of the ruling class are in this strike. On the one hand, it is clear that the all-out government attempt to crush the strike through the tactics of mass dismissals, huge fines and selective jailings is far more than just a sample of "hard ball" labor negotiations by mean old Ronald Reagan. Not only were the plans for this battle developed a year and a half ago under Carter, but the very meticulous and long range nature of these preparations itself exposes the profoundly political objectives of the

imperialists as a whole in this struggle, in the context of their broader, literally life and death struggle to prepare and to mobilize for war. In this situation, the objective of the ruling class is not some "union-busting scheme," an effort to "drive out the union"—such an economist interpretation, which portrays the enemy as a pot-bellied Republican with a silk hat and dollar bills stuffed into his watchband, totally ignores the real stakes and the true motive forces behind the Draconian government tactics.

Meticulously prepared or not, of course, the bourgeoisie's response to the strike entails considerable risks for them—itsself another tipoff to the fact of the heavy stakes involved. Although the government puts on a brave face about the current situation, and pretends that the 13,000 striking controllers have now all been fired and forgotten, the truth is that throwing away 13,000 highly trained technicians with military experience in the prime of their working life is the last thing they are aiming for in this strike. The airlines, according to the ruling class at any rate, are losing \$25-\$30 million a day as a result of the strike, and this is on top of their general depression in the industry that already has several major airlines in dread of bankruptcy. After 4 days, the less than skeletal staff of supervisory, scab and military controllers, working six days, 10-12 hour shifts, was already demonstrating its inability to sustain even the 60-75% of the normal flights which the government claims. The military itself is drastically short of controllers, and cannot supply more than a few hundred nationwide for any length of time. All talk of maintaining this state of affairs for between 18 months and 2 years while thousands of new controllers are trained, is pure bull. The government's objectives, therefore, continue to be to force the strikers, defeated, to return to their jobs, and then to utilize this precedent more broadly as a lesson to the relatively privileged strata as a whole—and, among other government workers and the labor force generally.

Now, this doesn't mean that this is how things will actually turn out: it is quite evident that the ruling class has been more than a little shocked and frightened by the strikers' determination and lack of respect for their "sacred oath" or the pulpit pounding of the president of the United States. (One striker interviewed on television denounced Reagan for having the nerve to bring up the question of a "binding oath"—"What about Reagan's first wife that he divorced? Did he break his oath to love and honor Jane Wyman 'til death do us part'? And that wasn't just an oath to a government—that was an oath before God!") But it is even more evident that a key tool in any successful government attempt to force a relatively orderly return to work must be union president Rober Poli. Already, government spokesmen are explaining that the first dismissal notices, which have already been mailed, must be followed by a "final notice" within 7 days; the Chairman of the House Subcommittee overseeing the FAA is floating proposals for a "moratorium" that would include the withdrawal of sanctions, etc., in what probably is an attempt to buy the time necessary to engineer some kind of return to duty *en masse*.

Whether this will be successful or not, it is impossible to predict. The sentiments among the controllers are quite contradictory. Along with clenched fists at strike rallies and picket lines, many strikers were waving American flags in "we're the real patriots" style, and this sense of duty will inevitably exert a tremendous reactionary pull—not simply in this strike, but in the great worldwide upheavals shaping up, which the government's stand in this matter is only a symptom of. About this, there can be no illusions. And there should be no illusions that, in the coming revolutionary crisis, the imperialists have the air traffic controllers and millions of others in this strata, tucked neatly into their watchband. □

BRITAIN

Continued from page 8

known that this sort of behavior cannot and must not continue." But the brutal actions of the police have instead had the effect of exposing the "highly civilized" nature of British imperialist rule to broader sections of the people in Britain, who are wondering just *whose* behavior must not be tolerated. For example, one woman bystander in Liverpool who saw David Moore's leg being torn off was then set upon by police and beaten to the ground with truncheons as she attempted to walk to a friend's home. After being bandaged up by a doctor while in police custody, she was told to go away and pointed in a direction around the corner. As she rounded the corner she was set upon by another group of police, beaten again and thrown into a police van to be taken to jail.

As one Manchester doctor remarked: "I have seen and witnessed injuries that I never expected to see in England. I have heard stories that I never expected

to hear and I have had an emotional and cultural shock where I have had to rethink what I have believed about ordinary civilian life in England and its relation to the police."

Although the bulk of the recent wave of riots appears to be over—at least for the time being—clearly the events in England in the past month and to continuing battles have had a profound political effect in Britain and far beyond. However much naked force and sweet talking tactics the British rulers are compelled to bring to bear, the contradictions they face and the problems they will be facing in the period ahead remain and will intensify. While the British imperialists wrack their brains for how to deal with all this, the masses of people in the areas where the riots occurred, as well as all across Britain, are doing some thinking and wrangling of their own about the present, the future and what has to be done. □

Poland

Continued from page 5

Solidarity trade union in Poland and accusing the East German revisionist rulers of "resisting democratic renewal by force." There have also been strikes for better working conditions in sections of some factories, *Der Spiegel* said. The magazine also claimed that East German youths have occupied empty houses, demanding they be rebuilt as youth centers, and that these youths have reportedly clashed with East German police in Erfurt, Rostock, Karl Marx Stadt, Eisenhuettenstadt, Weimar and other cities.

Of course, the East German govern-

ment immediately rejected these claims by *Der Spiegel* as "a new deceitful trick" and screamed that it "was one more proof how correct it was to close *Der Spiegel's* office in East Berlin" three years ago. But while certainly this West German magazine has its own ulterior motives in publishing, and even amplifying such information, and while these claims cannot be verified at this time, it is safe to say that events in Poland are indeed having profound reverberations not only in East Germany but throughout the entire eastern bloc. □

"When You're Part of This Conspiracy, You Are Never Alone"

To the RW:

I'd like to share an experience with you. I am a regular—and avid—reader of the *RW*. A couple of weeks ago I was by myself, away from home, and feeling kind of isolated since so much was going on in the world and there I was, cut off from my normal source of papers. I was sure that the new issue must be out, and I was determined to get ahold of one. I called a bunch of newsstands and bookstores, but all those that carried the *RW* still had the old issue. I was beginning to feel sort of desperate. Finally I found a store with an *RW* hot off the press. It was 20 miles away, but I raced over.

On my way back I stopped at a gas station. The guy pumping gas was from El Salvador and we soon got to talking

about the revolutionary movement there. He particularly wanted to know why I thought the U.S. backed the junta. I told him (based on the articles in the *RW*) and then asked him if he'd ever seen the *RW*, *El Obrero Revolucionario*. At the mention of the *RW*, he broke into a big smile. "Iran, Ireland, El Salvador—it's happening all over the world. Yes, I read the *Revolutionary Worker*. I love that newspaper."

When I'd least expected it, I'd found a fellow co-conspirator. Later as I drove away it struck me harder than ever before, that when you're part of this conspiracy, no matter where you are, you are never alone.

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On Reagan

Continued from page 3

timidate all those that are victimized by and oppose them and to be used as a reserve in crushing resistance, rebellion and the forces of revolution.

This is not to say that the "rise of the right" is a mere media invention without any material reality or force. There is a growing polarization within the U.S., including a growing and more organized reactionary pole among sections of the American people. Reagan, after all, did get millions of votes and this does reflect something. But, as we have pointed out, this was hardly the expressed "will" of the majority of people in the U.S. Only about half (or slightly more) of the eligible voters even bothered to vote, with Reagan's support coming from sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and more bourgeoisified workers who consider themselves and make decisions politically much like the petty bourgeoisie—as small property owners, tax payers, etc. The point is not (as the CWP has taken to saying in attempting to appeal to bourgeois-democratic prejudices and the lowest common denominator in general) that "Reagan has no mandate" since he was elected by only a minority of the population (or eligible voters)—in that he is no different than a great many

previous presidents and he has no less and no more "mandate" than the ruling class and the imperialist system in general. Rather the point is that it is hardly surprising that, at a time when a revolutionary situation does not exist and is not immediately on the horizon, when there is not yet a powerful enough revolutionary movement led by class-conscious proletarian forces capable of posing a real alternative, but there is a deepening crisis and the petty bourgeoisie and more privileged workers are being squeezed harder than in the past several decades, many among them will support a "turn to the right"—a more openly reactionary program—in the hopes it will restore their previous position.

The profound lesson to be drawn from all this is precisely the importance of grasping the motion and development of the contradictions of the imperialist system, on a world scale, of the historic conjuncture currently shaping up, with not only its looming prospects of world war but also its heightened prospects for advancing, perhaps in unprecedented ways, the revolutionary advance of the proletariat throughout the world toward the abolition of the imperialist system and all exploiting systems, with all their outrages and horrors, including war. It is the importance of actively preparing for and working toward the ripening of a revolutionary crisis in the U.S. while firmly carrying out an internationalist line and doing everything to support and advance the revolutionary struggle

throughout the world. For, if it is true that the greatest contribution to the communist goal of the international proletariat that can be made in the U.S. in this period is the overthrow of U.S. imperialism and the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat in its place, it is certainly no less true that the course of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and even the prospects for victory will be decisively influenced by the overall course of the revolutionary struggles in the world as a whole. More specifically, the possibilities of winning necessary sections of the petty bourgeoisie and more bourgeoisified workers, including some who had previously "swung to the right," over to support for—or at least "friendly neutrality" toward—the proletarian revolution in the U.S., as well as the ability to minimize concessions to them will (as indicated in the *New Programme* of the RCP) be significantly influenced by the whole international situation, international struggle and alignment of forces. With all this in mind, it is not demoralization, disorientation and paralysis but the greater awareness of the revolutionary potential, not just in the U.S. but internationally, and greater determination to work toward and strengthen the basis to seize and maximize all possibilities—it is this that should inspire everyone who hates imperialism and its crimes and longs to bid farewell forever to all the Falwells, Reagans and Begins and the rotten, murderous old world of which they are fitting guardians. □

Panama

Continued from page 2

with a foreign debt of \$3 billion, the highest per capita foreign debt of any country in the world. Not surprisingly, Panama is suffering from the same inflation/unemployment problems that are shaking the entire U.S.-dominated financial system, with inflation rising to near 20% and more than 1 out of 10 Panamanians unable to find work.

Even with this economic mess things are economically better in Panama than they are in the rest of Central America though the same underlying crisis that has put the U.S. in an increasingly desperate position in the region is making itself increasingly evident in Panama, including sparking heightened struggle by the Panamanian masses. Indeed, Panama's history has been characterized by widespread hatred of the U.S., with revolutionary turmoil and anti-American upheavals occurring periodically since the U.S. first ripped it off from Colombia in 1903 in order to build and own the Panama Canal. While the rest of Panama was set up as an "independent" country—that is directly ruled by a succession of U.S.-backed puppets—the 500 square mile Canal Zone remained under the direct colonial control of the U.S. and became the foremost symbol of U.S. imperialist domination, and the main target of numerous anti-American protests and struggles.

This struggle reached new heights during the 1960s, touched off by a rebellion in 1964, when Panamanian students marched on the Canal Zone flying a Panamanian flag, and were met by U.S. troops; 3,000 Panamanians joined in the fighting, and it spread from the Pacific to the Atlantic side of the Canal Zone and into the interior. By the time it had ended, 28 people had been killed, 300 wounded and 500 arrested—nearly all of them Panamanians. The struggle intensified and splits broke out in Panama's bourgeoisie over whether or not to demand a new canal treaty and the return of the Canal Zone; the original treaty had guaranteed the Canal Zone to the U.S. "in perpetuity." General Torrijos rode this mass upheaval to power in Panama, calling for the U.S. to turn over the Canal to Panama and launching a successful coup from his position as head of the National Guard. Torrijos' partner in the coup, later forced into exile in the U.S., told the *Miami Herald* last year, "The 1968 situation in my country was chaotic. We were close to a civil war. That was why the coup was needed."

"Stabilizing" Panama, under continued U.S. domination, was the driving force behind Torrijos' actions from the moment he took power. He called for renegotiating the canal treaty, returning the Canal Zone to the Panamanian government and giving the new government jurisdiction over the canal's operations. He also brought militant students and other radicals into the government, as well as the revisionist People's Party (the pro-Moscow CP) in an attempt to head off the political turmoil that was rocking the country.

Despite Torrijos' demagogic "anti-imperialist" rantings to the contrary, none of this represented a serious move towards self-determination or national independence. He never challenged the U.S.' overwhelming military presence and his economic proposals were perfectly consistent with U.S. requirements; encouraging more foreign investment, promotion of Panama as an international financial center, and increasing tourism were among the key aspects of the plan.

But by giving the state apparatus a key role in all this, Torrijos was cutting out some old-line sections of the Panamanian landlord and bourgeois classes in favor of other sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, who saw opportunities for gaining a share of the spoils of imperialism through their participation in the state. And this was dependent on keeping on Torrijos' good side.

The U.S. loved Torrijos' economic plan, but was more than a little uptight initially with his calls for the return of the canal. In fact, there is some evidence that the CIA tried to overthrow him, at least once. Nevertheless, by the mid-'70s that Torrijos' combination of demagoguery and imperialist economics was the best thing the U.S. had going in Panama. The Canal would remain a target of the masses as long as U.S. domination was so blatant, and the struggle in Panama had turned it into an international issue—one which was seriously hurting a U.S. already being battered in other parts of the world, especially Vietnam. But as long as there was going to be a struggle around the Canal, Torrijos was the perfect "leader" from the U.S. standpoint. He had already told the U.S. that all he wanted was to eliminate the "causes of the conflict" between Panama and the U.S., his position made him extremely susceptible to pressure from U.S.-controlled financial institutions, and his carefully built up image as an "anti-imperialist" would make the eventual deal struck look like the best that could happen to the people of Panama, rather than just another imperialist maneuver. Thus, the U.S. decided that its best bet was to renegotiate some sort of Canal treaty with Torrijos that still left it fundamentally under U.S. control rather than trying to overthrow him and face further and more widespread rebellion in Panama.

The Carter-Torrijos treaty of 1977 was the result. It left the U.S. in physical control of the Canal until the year 2000, and in actual control indefinitely. It gave the U.S. the right to intervene militarily any time it felt that the operation of the Canal was threatened, which obviously would include any future upheavals in Panama, to send its ships through the Canal whenever it deemed necessary, and to maintain U.S. troops, training centers and bases in the Canal Zone until the Canal itself was turned over to the Panamanian government. It also included a guarantee that Panama would not be able to jack up charges on ships crossing through the Canal to increase its own treasury at the expense of the

monopoly capitalist shipping concerns that use the route. And the U.S. included the same rights to control in future canals that might be built across Panama, since the current Canal is already too small to handle some oil tankers and other massive ships. (There have already been studies conducted on the possible building of a sea-level canal that could accommodate larger vessels.) As for the Canal Zone, the only change here is that the Panamanian flag, rather than the American imperial flag, is now flying over it.

This treaty is Torrijos' main claim to fame as "the man who took the Canal back from the U.S." While there were highly publicized differences within the U.S. bourgeoisie over this treaty, the main effect of the bourgeois opposition's call to hold onto direct colonial control of the zone was to unleash their reactionary social base, whip up national chauvinism, and promote the view that America has the "right" to rule every corner of the globe. Part of this "opposition" necessitated calling Torrijos a "tinhorn dictator," in the freedom-loving words of Ronald Reagan, and pointing out that Teddy Roosevelt would never let such a small-timer stand up to the big, bad U.S. The more such calls were issued in the U.S. the more the U.S. and Torrijos made political capital out of them in Panama and other parts of Latin America to "prove" that the treaty really was a blow against U.S. imperialism and that any who opposed it were acting in the U.S.' interests. The upshot of all this was that the treaty passed both the U.S. Senate and a plebiscite of the Panamanian people, and that both the U.S. and its main Panamanian lackeys got a lot of political mileage out of it.

After signing the treaty, Torrijos officially "retired" from the presidency, appointing his protégé, Aristedes Royo, to replace him, while he held onto the real reins of power through his continuing control of the National Guard. When the U.S. needed a place to send its dying ex-Shah of Iran, Torrijos was more than willing to do the U.S.' bidding, and offered Panama's Contadora Island as a temporary refuge. But mass demonstrations in the streets by the Panamanian people convinced Torrijos that this had been a mistake. Not only was the presence of the former Shah threatening to tarnish his carefully cultivated image, but it was also upsetting Panama's carefully cultivated "stability." Thus, Panama threatened to begin extradition proceedings against the former King of Kings, and he went scurrying off to Egypt.

Similar "differences of opinion" between the U.S. and Torrijos have recently surfaced over Nicaragua and El Salvador. In the final months of Somoza's rule, Torrijos began supplying a small number of weapons to a section of the Sandinistas, and he recently has called for "negotiations" between the U.S.' fascist junta and the opposition in El Salvador, having friends on both sides. In both cases, he was mainly a part of the U.S.' "division of labor" in Central America, as in the case with Lopez-Portillo of Mexico, a way of keeping influence in opposition

movements even while the U.S. backs those they are fighting against to the hilt. In particular in El Salvador, Torrijos was greatly concerned with the maintenance of power by the army, and he saw "negotiations" as the best way of preventing its disintegration. In any case, where there were public differences, they have been purely tactical; they were debates over the best methods of gaining "stability" in Central America, under the present status quo.

These "differences," and the fact that Fidel Castro praised Torrijos as one who "selflessly and tirelessly worked toward the liberation of the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America," and a Soviet radio charge that the CIA might have assassinated Torrijos, have all fueled some speculation on the part of a number of forces that the U.S. wanted Torrijos out of the way, and that his plane crash was the result. While this cannot be totally ruled out, it does not seem likely. It is true that the Torrijos image had been slipping of late inside Panama, and as his usefulness has declined a number of other Panamanian reactionaries have stepped forward to offer themselves to the U.S. as better "guarantors of stability"; but except for the Torrijos rhetoric he did little to challenge the U.S. and it is apparent that the U.S. does not as yet have a desired successor to the throne. In fact it appears that they are worried about the instability that the current "power vacuum" in Panama may precipitate.

As to why the Soviets or Cubans would praise a U.S. puppet, especially after he dies, this is hardly the first time that they have made such statements. In particular with respect to Torrijos, Cuba had been trying for some time to drive a wedge between him and the U.S., and even more importantly, to make use of his demagoguery to drive a wedge between class forces he influenced and the U.S. Castro's effusive eulogy, coupled with the Soviet charges of CIA involvement, represent some of their own revisionist demagoguery toward this aim. There is little evidence that Torrijos was leaning toward the Soviets of late, and in fact, many of his recent moves had been in line with the U.S.' global interests, from boycotting the Moscow Olympics to criticizing growing Cuban influence within Nicaragua.

All in all, Torrijos was a valuable puppet for the U.S., and a great deal of dossier scrutinizing must be going on in Washington, D.C. to decide who to back as his replacement. While his immediate assistant in the National Guard, Colonel Florencio Floréz Aguilar was named to succeed Torrijos, speculation as to who his ultimate replacement might be has ranged from Lt. Col. Manuel Antonio Noriega to various civilian puppets from the bourgeois opposition, including a Christian Democrat named Ricardo Arias Calderón. With the U.S. facing a situation in Central America increasingly spinning out of its control the search for a new "strong man of Panama" is undoubtedly high on the U.S. agenda. As for the masses of people in Panama and the world, no tears will be shed for Omar Torrijos or any of his ilk. □

Stagnant Pool

Continued from page 9

denial of the dialectical understanding of the relationship between matter and consciousness, practice and theory, plunges them right into metaphysics and idealism. They actually miss the point that revolutionary theory can and must change the world! Not grasping that matter can be transformed into consciousness is to deny that theory is based on and is a higher abstraction of practice. Without this, it is impossible to understand why Mao would say: "Perception only solves the problem of phenomena; theory alone can solve the problem of essence" ("On Practice"). This is also why Lenin said: "The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short, all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely." Both Lenin and Mao grasped the role of theory precisely because they were true materialists, dialectical materialists.

Not grasping how consciousness in turn can be transformed into matter negates the possibility of theory becoming a material force and thus wipes out the revolutionizing role of practice by reducing it to aimless, petty activity—and, of course, activity at the command of the revisionists and their line. To deny the unity of opposites of matter and consciousness, therefore, is metaphysics, so it makes the two aspects absolute and cuts asunder the relationship between them. It is also idealist, for it distorts the actual relationship between matter and consciousness, which in the real world, not in the minds of the revisionists, is dynamic and characterized by transformation of opposites—matter into consciousness, consciousness into matter; theory into practice, back again into theory and to practice on an ever higher level.

In 1973 the Chinese revolutionaries wrote a pamphlet, "Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front," which spoke precisely to this point. In answering the charge of "idealism" hurled at them by a now-rehabilitated theoretical hack for the current pack of revisionists, they wrote: "He wildly went for so-called 'mistakes' in the great leap forward and ascribed the cause to 'the identity between thinking and being,' to 'man's conscious dynamic role which makes a mess of things,' etc. He made a big show of upholding materialism, while actually using metaphysics and idealism to oppose the active and revolutionary theory of reflection."

Speaking directly of people like Deng Xiaoping who "pose as big upholders of materialism and of practice as the criterion of truth," Bob Avakian wrote in *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*:

"Such an opportunist line as described above 'forgets' that the movement of knowledge proceeds in cycles, each involving leaps from practice to theory and back to practice. Absolute truth is, as Mao says, an 'endless flow,' but man's cognition of the truth is not a straight line, but proceeds as a spiral. To say at any point, 'Well, tomorrow we will know more than today so let's not (dogmatically) apply what is known as truth today,' is to deny and disrupt the process by which more knowledge is actually acquired. This is metaphysical because it goes against the actual dialectical relationship between theory and practice; it is idealist because it actually denies objective truth. It is not in accordance with or a defense of 'On Practice'; it is a violation of and attack on this great work of Mao's."

The revisionists' historical resolution does state, as a side point (!), that Mao "further elaborated the law of unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics." But in the very next sentence, dialectics is quickly reduced to just one point—"the particularity of contradiction"—and then in effect is dismissed entirely with the warning that it "should be applied flexibly." Now the particularity of contradiction is an important principle in its own right, and Mao did emphasize it especially in the struggle against dogmatists during the new-democratic stage of the Chinese revolution who denied the particular form of revo-

lution in China. But, the particularity of contradiction in no way means "concern yourself only with what's in front of your nose," as the revisionists in China, as well as revisionists generally, would have it. Mao fought against dogmatism with materialist dialectics, not pragmatism.

The revisionists do not necessarily deny the existence of contradiction. (The bourgeoisie, as Marx pointed out, recognize class struggle but not the dictatorship of the proletariat.) In their historical resolution, they admit that "class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come." But they attempt to reconcile the two mutually exclusive aspects of a contradiction, merge them together into one. They hold that contradiction gradually disappears through peaceful and orderly development. The result when applying such thinking to socialist society, of course, is the revisionists' "theory of dying out of class struggle," peddled as well by Khrushchev and others before the Chinese revisionists. (Since Marx's time it has become clear that some bourgeois, specifically revisionists in power, talk about "the dictatorship of the proletariat" but refuse to recognize continuing the revolution under those conditions.) Mao spoke against this view, saying that to talk of contradictions that are "not irreconcilable," even under socialism, "does not agree with the laws of dialectics, which hold that all contradictions are irreconcilable. Where has there ever been a reconcilable contradiction? Some are antagonistic, some are non-antagonistic, but it must not be thought that there are irreconcilable and reconcilable contradictions." This involves the question of synthesis, which, as the "Three Major Struggles..." pamphlet quoted above explains: "...shows how, through struggle between the two opposite aspects, one prevails, defeats and eliminates the other, how an old contradiction is resolved and a new one emerges, and how an old thing is eliminated and a new thing triumphs. In plain words, synthesis means one 'eats up' the other." This applies to all contradictions—in a contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the proletariat "eats up" the bourgeoisie through struggle for power, seizing power from them and then continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Mao's understanding and development of Marxist dialectics and its central law of the unity of opposites was itself dialectically related to his contributions in other areas, especially his greatest contribution, the basic theory and line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao showed that socialist society not only "has" contradictions, but is full of contradictions—between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist superstructure and those portions of the superstructure occupied by the bourgeoisie, and within the socialist production relations between the vestiges of capitalism (bourgeois right) and the seeds of communism. Most importantly, if the new and revolutionary aspects do not constantly "eat up" through struggle the old and reactionary aspects, making leaps toward communism in the process, then the old will "eat up" the new and regain, if only temporarily, its dominant position. Capitalism will be restored. This "eating up" will not be a smooth process but rather will involve frequent leaps, upheavals, twists and turns. And as Mao pointed out, even communism will be full of contradictions, and the new will still have to "eat up" the old to propel society forward. If these laws of objective development are grasped by the masses, then their conscious activism becomes a powerful material force in pushing forward the upward spiral toward communism.

Mass Line

The grasp of dialectics between practice and theory, matter and consciousness, led Mao to lay tremendous stress on the importance of politics and consciousness in guiding revolutionary practice. The importance of consciousness is a point that Lenin, in opposition to revisionists of his time, greatly emphasized, especially in *What Is To Be Done?*, and it is an extremely important

principle for the proletarian party in carrying out seizure of power as well as in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. During both the new-democratic and the socialist stage of the revolution in China, whether in the sphere of military line and strategy, production, scientific experiment or class struggle, it was the conscious activism of the masses that Mao relied on. This, of course, drives the Chinese revisionists, as well as revisionists and opportunists of all kinds, to bombard him with frenzied accusations that he was an "idealist" and, as the historical resolution itself claims, that he "overestimated the role of man's subjective will and effort." But at the same time as they deny the possibility of the masses, whom they view as simple-minded slaves, grasping the objective laws of nature and society and on this basis transforming the world in the course of great class struggles, they spew out condescending drivel about their concern for the "welfare" of the people, and even talk of the "mass line."

The revisionists explain in their resolution that "The Party's mass line... is a summation of our Party's invaluable historical experience in conducting revolutionary activities over the years under difficult circumstances in which the enemy's strength far outstripped ours." Two things stand out about this formulation. First, it refers to the mass line as if it were a *thing* not a method and a process by which the Party's understanding is raised and the masses are armed and mobilized. Revisionism often treats the mass line in this way ("our mass line on this... our mass line on that"); the result is reformism. Under capitalism this means the Party tailing the present level of things; under socialism it is the ruling tyrants' mask of "kindly benevolence."

The second thing that stands out about the above formulation in the revisionist resolution is that the authors are referring here to the years of the new-democratic revolution. Obviously they want to avoid Mao's whole line and method in the socialist period, especially in the Cultural Revolution. That the resolution upholds the mass line, or rather their distortion of it, in this period is connected with the bourgeois-democratic origins of the present Chinese rulers. Because the Communist Party was the most thoroughgoing and consistent fighter against imperialism and feudalism, many revolutionary bourgeois democrats joined the Party based on its immediate program. Those who did not make the leap to becoming communists became "capitalist roaders" with the socialist revolution. They saw the democratic revolution as a road to set up capitalism in China, with themselves at the top, and in order to achieve this goal they had to mobilize the masses, although on a narrow basis and only up to a certain point, to deal with the stronger forces of Japanese imperialism and U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek. As the *New Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party* points out: "While previous historical classes, in their rising period, were forced to mobilize the masses in order to overthrow the old ruling class, they had neither the need, the interest, nor the capability of enabling the masses to consciously grasp the essence of the revolutionary process and their own role in it and to consciously take hold of and transform society in their own interests."

Of course now that they have seized power and become the new ruling class, the revisionists need more than ever to keep the masses blind and docile. For them, the "mass line" is nothing more than a "better way" to run their system, no different from the suggestion boxes, opinion surveys and other creative means that the bourgeoisie in other capitalist countries use to "involve" the masses in coming up with more efficient methods to exploit and oppress them. And if the masses should step out of line and begin to take matters into their own hands, this phony mask of "benevolence" is quickly discarded and the naked face of bourgeois dictatorship is revealed in full.

In their historical resolution, the revisionists give their version of the mass line: "concentrating the ideas of the masses and turning them into systematic ideas, then going to the masses so

that the ideas are persevered in and carried through, and testing the correctness of these ideas in the practice of the masses. And this process goes on, over and over again, so that the understanding of the leadership becomes more correct, keener and richer each time."

Contrast this with the description of mass line based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought that is laid out in the *New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party*:

"Throughout this entire process, and beyond, until the final victory of the proletarian revolution and the attainment of communism—upon which the distinction between the Party and the masses will be eliminated and the Party will cease to exist—the Party must both learn from and lead the working class and its allies through the application of the mass line. This means to take the ideas of the masses and the experience of the class struggle (and the struggle for production and scientific experiment), in the U.S. and internationally, and by applying the science of revolution to them concentrate the essential lessons, distinguishing what is correct from what is incorrect, and then return these concentrated ideas to the masses, propagate them widely and deeply among the masses and unite the masses to apply them to transform the world with class struggle as the key link. This, too, is a continual process which proceeds in an upward spiral, in accordance with the development of the objective situation and the class struggle overall."

There is absolutely no sense in the revisionists' idea of "mass line" of the Party applying the science of Marxism-Leninism, to concentrate the struggle, questioning and creation of the masses not only in one country and not only in production, but internationally in social practice in all spheres. The struggle and creation of the masses form a unity of opposites with the Marxist-Leninist theory and line of the Party, in which the former is the principal aspect. But the Party plays a dynamic role in pushing this whole process forward, striving to transform each aspect into its opposite on ever higher levels. Moreover, the Party especially focuses not on the "average" but the advanced among the masses, because the process must always advance. To keep the sights mainly on the "mainstream" is a surefire recipe for staying stagnant or being dragged back. Advanced ideas are always grasped first by only a minority of people who then, armed with such ideas, play a decisive role in more broadly propagating that consciousness in the process of transforming the world.

Strikingly apparent, even as they talk of "mass line," is the revisionists' contempt for the masses as they strut around like "benevolent" overlords. The sole purpose of their "mass line" is to make "the understanding of the leadership... more correct, keener and richer." "Understanding," that is, how to make the masses better serve their capitalist system. What of the masses' understanding? What of transforming the world? Of course it is assumed by these revisionists that the Party will always be there to "take care" of the people. No mention of communism here!

Relying on the masses and applying the mass line is not something that proletarian revolutionaries fall back on as a last resort or because there's no easier way to get things done. In the midst of the upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, Mao said, "To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism. The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this great Cultural Revolution, there may be

Continued on page 22

THEY ARE STUCK IN 1943

EXCELLENT POINT

YES

THIS IS TO SAY THAT IT WAS AN END TO BE STRIVEN FOR...

Stagnant Pool

Continued from page 21

THIS IN EFFECT IDENTIFIES ALL OF MARXISM WITH THE MASS LINE

4,000 next time." In other words, to view mobilizing and relying on the masses to overthrow the capitalist roaders in the Party as an end in itself would still be narrowing down mass line. Mass line must always be viewed with the final goal of communism worldwide, which involves the most radical rupture with all traditional ideas as well as all traditional property relations, firmly in mind. The distinction between the Party and the masses is not something absolute—it will disappear with communism. Without this goal, mass line is bound to wind up as an empty formula or a gimmick for a handful of overlords to use in achieving some short-sighted goal—in the case of the Chinese revisionists, their bourgeois nationalist vision of a "modern, powerful China."

Internationalism

The third of the revisionists' "basic points" of the "stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Tsetung Thought" is what they refer to as "independence." They claim that under Mao's leadership, "we never wavered, whether before or after the founding of New China, in our determination to remain independent and self-reliant and we never submitted to any pressure from outside." It's utterly brazen and ridiculous for the revisionists to claim they "never wavered" in their "determination to remain independent and self-reliant." It was precisely against their line of reliance on foreign aid and capitulation to imperialism that Mao and other revolutionaries waged fierce struggle. And today, no longer restricted as they were by the revolutionaries, the rulers in China shamelessly lick the boots of U.S. imperialism in open daylight.

The revisionists' method is to distort Mao's line on self-reliance in order to replace proletarian internationalism with the most narrow nationalism. Of course they must still keep up some front, so they say in obligatory fashion that "the proletarian revolution is an internationalist cause which calls for the mutual support of the proletariat of different countries." Having said this much, they follow with a big "BUT." "But for the cause of triumph, each proletariat should primarily base itself on its own country's realities, rely on the efforts of its own masses and revolutionary forces, integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of its own revolution and thus achieve victory." Perhaps they are talking about the "triumph" and "victory" of imperialism, for they are certainly not talking about the proletarian revolution which, although today it generally takes place country by country, is most definitely fundamentally international and can only advance by struggling to eliminate the rule of capital and remnants of class-divided society in every part of the world. All kinds of crimes have been committed by revisionists in the past with the excuse that "each proletariat should primarily base itself on its own country's realities," and the Chinese revisionists are no exception. They use this as a glib justification for their sell-out to U.S. imperialism (and perhaps at a later date to Soviet social-imperialism) and kissing off support to revolutionary movements worldwide.

A few sentences later in their resolution, the revisionists admit that "of course, China's revolution and national construction are not and cannot be carried on in isolation from the rest of the world." This comes as somewhat of a surprise, since by reading their resolution, one is led to think that the revisionists regard the Chinese history of the past sixty years to have taken place in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. Although they can hardly avoid talking about the Japanese imperialist invasion, they do not even mention World War II; there is one passing mention of the Korean War and none at all of the explosive upsurge of national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its growth into a superpower, or the intensifying contradictions on a world scale today which are inevitably push-

ing things toward world war, revolution in major parts of the world, or a combination of both. But the revisionists immediately clear up what they mean by the above statement: "It is always necessary for us to try to win foreign aid and, in particular, to learn all that is advanced and beneficial from other countries." So this is what revisionist "internationalism" boils down to—groveling for "foreign aid" from imperialist countries and aping their "advanced and beneficial" experience! Judging by this, the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are the world's foremost proponents of "internationalism," since they dish out plenty of "foreign aid" in order to further hook oppressed nations into dependency and spread their "advanced" experience in exploitation and oppression all over the world.

In this section on the "stand, viewpoint and method" of what they call Mao Tsetung Thought, the revisionists give no other content to "internationalism." There is not a single statement here, for example, about supporting revolutionary struggles worldwide. In fact, instead, the revisionists write: "We stand for the peaceful coexistence of the people of all countries and their mutual assistance on an equal footing" (our emphasis). "Peaceful coexistence" is not a principle between peoples, revolutionary masses. It is one tactic pursued by socialist states in relation to bourgeois-ruled ones. To make it so is to openly wipe out proletarian internationalism. The rest of the just-quoted statement makes this clear as well. Obviously they are talking about economic relations, not revolution, and the reference to "mutual assistance on an equal footing" is wrong anyway, cutting against Mao's emphasis on the necessity for revolutionary China (and all socialist states) to make great sacrifices for the world revolution, not to set up accounting in this matter to calculate "equality."

Our Party has pointed out in the past that there were some tendencies in Mao to project too much of the experience of the Chinese revolution onto the world scale. Mao and other revolutionaries saw one imperialist power, the social-imperialists in the Soviet Union, as the most dangerous source of world war, a line which did not break decisively with the incorrect line that led Stalin to declare in the late 1930s that one bloc of imperialists, the fascist countries, were the main enemies worldwide. But let there be no mistake: Mao was a firm proletarian internationalist to the end, and he was seen by millions of revolutionary proletarians and oppressed people around the world as the foremost leader of the revolutionary movement internationally, and the effect of his proletarian internationalist line and practice can still be powerfully felt today. The fact that today's revisionists must so blatantly alter and attack Mao's line on this is clear testimony to this fact.

Mao's development of the basic line of advancing through the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries was significant not only to China; it was a great contribution to the internationalist struggle, and it remains of vital importance today when there are two great currents of revolutionary struggle against imperialism—the proletarian socialist revolution in the imperialist and advanced capitalist countries and the anti-imperialist, new-democratic revolution leading to socialism in the colonial and neo-colonial countries. Mao was steadfast in support of the revolutionary struggles in other countries, and fought for socialist China to give ideological, political and practical assistance to these struggles. When the Soviet revisionists dragged a major portion of the international communist movement into the swamp of revisionism and capitulation to imperialism in the late '50s and early '60s, Mao refused to go along with this and instead pointed the way forward to the high road of proletarian revolution. The Chinese Communist Party's polemics against the Soviet treachery, and even more the Cultural Revolution which was a blow to revisionists not only in China but worldwide, was a tremendous motivating force in the explosive upsurge of national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and South America in the '60s and early '70s.

A key part of the Cultural Revolution itself involved arming the masses in China with proletarian internationalism—marches and rallies involving hundreds of thousands and even millions took place to support the struggles of the people in other countries. During the course of the polemics against the Soviets, Mao advanced and practiced the principle that "the socialist countries must become base areas for supporting and developing the revolution...."

Conclusion

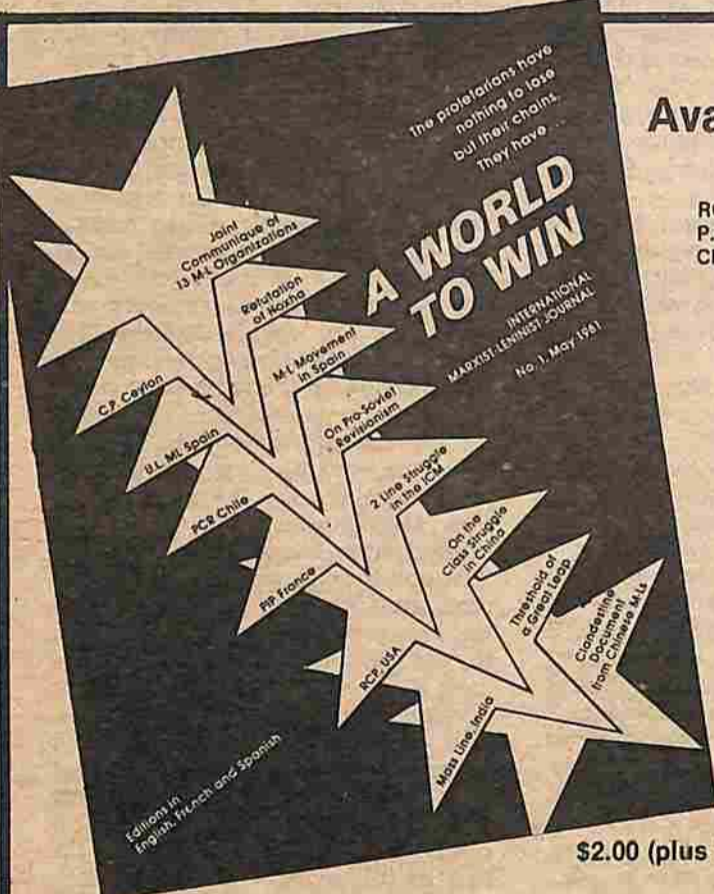
As Bob Avakian pointed out in the conclusion to *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*: "Looking, then, at Mao's role and contributions overall and in a sweeping way, what stands out most, what in fact underlies all of these contributions, what is most basic to learn from, is the thoroughness with which Mao applied the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, and in particular his application of dialectics in opposition to metaphysics." The question of dialectics versus metaphysics was not an idle, academic question in China—it meant the difference between forging ahead in the socialist revolution, or sliding back to revisionism and capitalist restoration. And it definitely is not an idle, academic question today as we approach an historical conjuncture that will present the international proletariat and oppressed peoples worldwide with tremendous challenges and opportunities.

There are those who see the approach of grave crisis and war, but not the opposite—the opportunities, the possibility for revolution. As Bob Avakian says of such people: "What is wrong with their view of things, and more fundamentally than that, in their methodology, in their outlook and the way they are approaching this problem?... to actually grasp the underlying forces and the decisive, internal contradictions of the imperialist system that are at work propelling the two superpowers and their blocs toward war—this cannot be done by relying on perception; it requires grasping and applying the principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism. And so, too, seeing beyond the obvious developments of crisis and accel-

eration toward world war and recognizing the potential of revolution within the same development—this also requires nothing less than the struggle to grasp and apply Marxism-Leninism." ("Coming From Behind to Make Revolution")

With metaphysics in command, people are bound to be trapped in pessimism, seeing in a narrow and pragmatic way that the masses are not "with us," that the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces are formidable, and that we can only fall further behind the accelerating events. With such a view, people can only be whipped around by the inevitable twists and turns of historical development, alternating from thinking that "nothing is happening" to tailing after the spontaneous struggle. Capitulation is the end result of this thinking. Without dialectics, there is no way to penetrate beneath the surface and grasp the essence of the coming historical conjuncture, and understand that there are contradictory forces in motion (especially the masses being increasingly thrown into political life) which the revolutionary forces can act upon through all-around revolutionary work, in order to come from behind and seize to the fullest the opportunities that lie ahead.

And as Mao always stressed, even as we struggle to make leaps in the present situation, we must keep in mind the historical process of world proletarian revolution. Because he based himself firmly on materialist dialectics and the real world, with its constant motion, change, and the "eating up" of the old by the new, Mao never lost sight of the link between the present and the future and the fact that history will advance, not in a straight line but through twists and turns in an upward spiral movement, until the inevitable replacement of the bourgeois epoch by the epoch of communism, which itself will be driven forward through contradictions and struggle. Such an outlook, in turn, is not only a general requirement for all those who aspire to the lofty goal of communism, but it is an urgent necessity for proletarian revolutionaries in today's situation in order to make the fullest advances in the approaching storms. □



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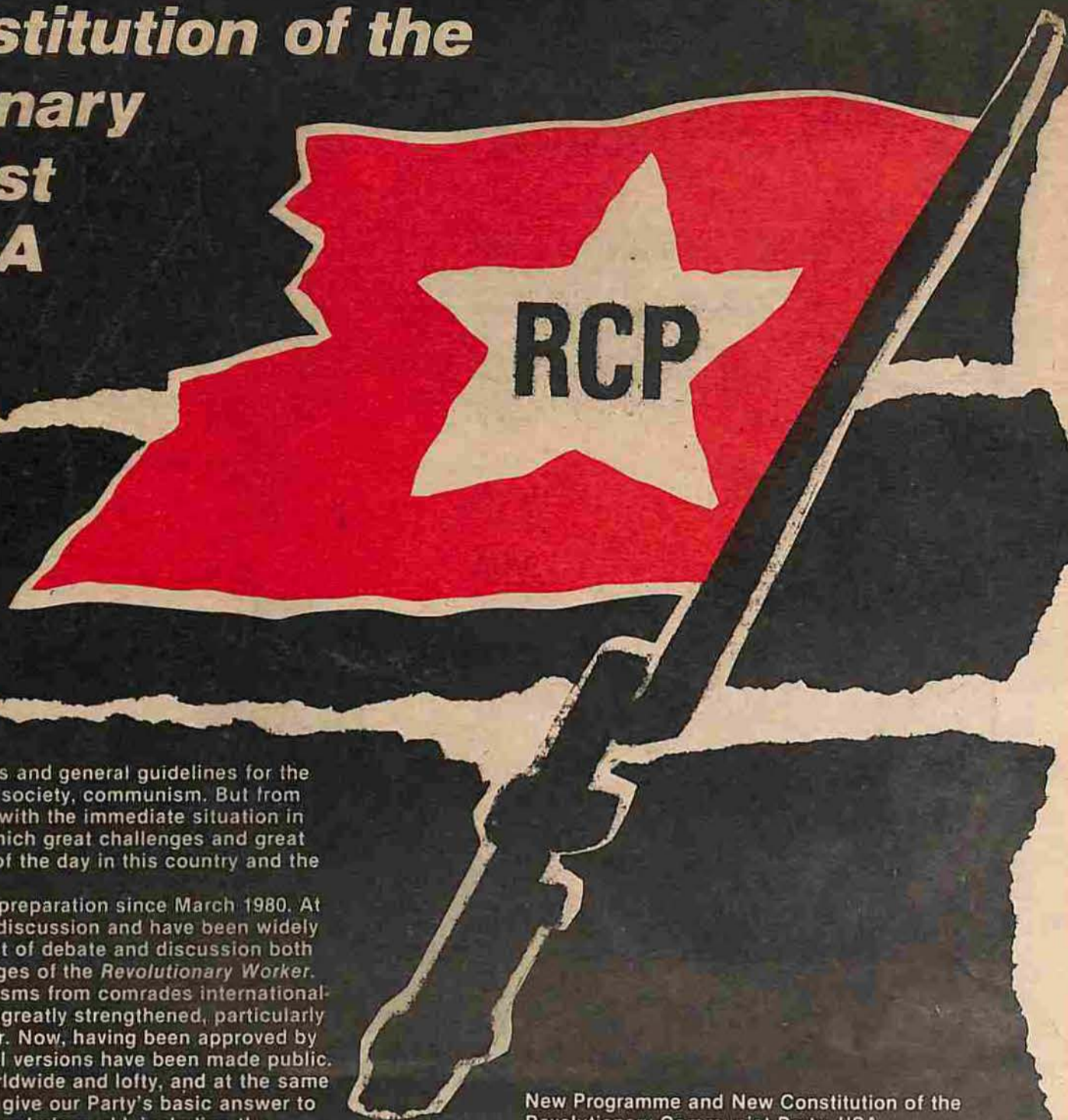
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from the New Constitution