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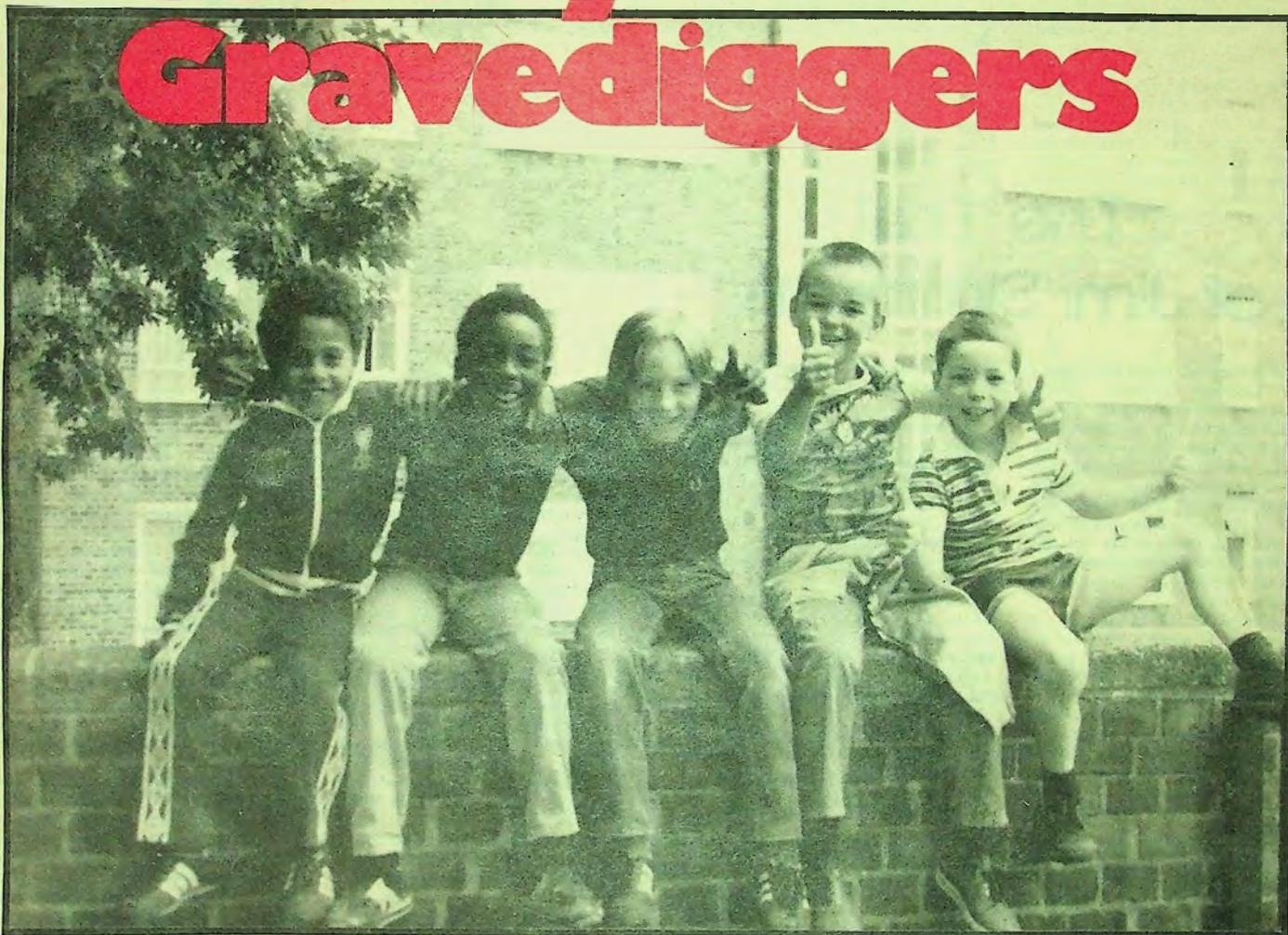
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Britannia's Unruly Gravediggers



This article is the second in a series of articles written by a correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker who recently visited England and Northern Ireland to learn first-hand about the recent upsurges in the struggles there. The first article in the series was called "The Rebels of Belfast" and appeared in RW No. 126.

"They start on me, call me names. I call them names and they get angry, hit me and things like that... Once the headmaster came out yelling at me, 'You little black rat' and things like that... The kids say 'Go back to your country.' They go, 'Why did you come here?'"

"I go, 'Because Queen Victoria invited us to work for you.'

"They go, 'No she didn't.'

"I go, 'Yes she did.' And I ask them, 'Why do you go to other countries and why did Queen Victoria send her armies to capture them and take them?' And then I go to them, 'You went to our countries and ruled them for 300 years and killed our people, took money and things from us. Now we've come to take revenge.'

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Roque Duanes, Kevin Henry Killed in Northwest

Another "Accident" Against AIM

Somewhere between 9 o'clock and 10 o'clock on the night of October 1, Roque Duanes and Kevin Henry launched Roque's 16-foot fishing boat from the Point Defiance boat launch. A storm had passed through earlier that evening, but by then it was calm as Roque and Kevin headed south along the western shoreline of Commencement Bay. The city of Tacoma, Washington, rises up on the hills surrounding that Bay, which for centuries has been the traditional fishing grounds of the Puyallup Indians. But what happened to Roque Duanes and Kevin Henry at the foot of those hills that night remains a mystery,

a mystery with all the indications of a government-instigated murder.

When, on the morning of Friday, October 2, friends and family of Roque and Kevin discovered that they still had not returned, they began to worry. On Saturday morning they called the Coast Guard only to be told that unless they could prove that Roque and Kevin had actually gone out onto the water no search would be conducted. The family and friends decided to conduct their own search, but it was not until the following morning, Sunday, October 3, that the truck and empty boat trailer that launched Roque's boat were

discovered. They called the Coast Guard again. That afternoon the Coast Guard called back. Roque's boat had been found floating upside down by the Tacoma Fire Department shortly after 2 a.m. on the morning of Friday, October 2. A 90-minute search by a Coast Guard helicopter turned up a lunch box floating in Commencement Bay.

It is well known that the government had been trying to get Roque Duanes for years. "He was a warrior," one Puyallup who knew Roque told the *RW*. "He was for the underdog, the downtrodden, the oppressed..." He

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George Simmons



Jimi Simmons

The Trial of Jimi Simmons

On November 16, James Simmons, a Native American prisoner at the Washington State Penitentiary who is facing the death penalty, is scheduled to go on trial in Walla Walla, accused of killing a prison guard. The state has now completed what it hopes will be the last preparations to insure his conviction. For 2 1/2 years, a fierce battle has raged over the preparations for this trial, and now the state has dropped virtually every pretense of "impartiality" and "equal justice."

The history of the prosecution of Jimi Simmons is itself a vivid indictment of the oppression of native people at the hands of the prisons, the police and the courts of this country. Jimi and his brother George, both Muckleshoot Indians, were charged with first-degree murder following the stabbing of Sergeant William Cross, a guard, during a confrontation with Indian prisoners. Native prisoners had been

under intense pressure from the prison administration, and Cross himself destroyed and urinated on a sweat lodge, a sacred part of Native American religious practices, which had been built by the prisoners. Following the stabbing of Cross, the entire prison was locked down, and guards, calling themselves the "Cross Revenge Squad," stormed onto the tier which housed most Indian prisoners. They grabbed Jimi, George and five other Native American prisoners. One guard said: "I wanted to kill me an Indian, just to see how good it would feel to kill one. And that way I could pay you Indians back for killing my friend Cross." While being brutally beaten, prisoners were asked, "Do you feel Cross now?" Jimi and George were singled out and charged with first-degree murder for the stabbing of Cross.

Jimi and George were thrown into Walla Walla's infamous isolation cells,

5 x 8 cubicles with solid steel doors allowing no light or air in from the outside, and kept there for three months. The preparations for a legal lynching of Jimi Simmons began the day he was charged. Jimi's court-appointed lawyer not only had no experience with a case involving the death penalty, but he refused to see Jimi without a "protective" barrier between them! Despite Jimi's request, the state refused to appoint another lawyer to defend him.

The Simmons Brothers Defense Committee was formed, and well-known attorney Leonard Weinglas took Jimi's case. A survey was conducted which showed that over two-thirds of all potential jurors in Walla Walla County personally knew a prison employee; over one-half were related to a prison employee; and 93% believed the Simmons Brothers were guilty. Faced with this, the state granted a motion to move both trials to Seattle in order to retain some semblance of "fairness." Still, at George's trial, no Native Americans, or anyone who even admitted to being aware of the history of Native Americans or of *knowing* a Native American personally, was allowed to sit on the jury. At one point the prosecutor asked that all Native American spectators be removed from the courtroom, and then asked that one non-Indian be made to leave because the person was wearing an eagle feather! (The excuse for all this was that prosecution witnesses who were Indians were having trouble testifying with these people present.)

In January, 1980, George's trial began with the prosecution unleashing a torrent of racist abuse against George and Native American prisoners in general. Finally, in a burst of frustration, George jumped up and moved toward one of the witnesses. A guard immediately shot at George, later complaining, "I don't know how I missed him." Following this attempt to kill George, the trial continued, ending with a verdict of guilty of second-degree murder and a sentence of life imprisonment.

In fact, for George this meant life in Walla Walla's segregation unit, where the guards continually threatened to kill both George and Jimi. The threats and

racist taunts of the guards, the endless months in solitary confinement, took a heavy toll on George. Each time George would check into the mental health unit of the prison, the prison administration ordered him back into segregation. Supporters attempted to get George transferred to an out-of-state prison, but officials, determined to carry out their vendetta, refused to allow it. The administration also refused all requests to allow a Native American spiritual counselor to visit George, Jimi, or any other Indian prisoner in segregation. Finally—after a year and a half of this kind of incalculably brutal torture—the state drove George to take his own life.

And now, Jimi's trial approaches. Judge Yancey Reeser, the same judge who presided over George's trial, ordered that Jimi be chained in this trial, his legs shackled and his hands cuffed to a chain around his waist. The judge also ordered that the trial be moved back from Seattle to Walla Walla. Not only does this guarantee a jury stacked against Jimi—without even the pretense of showing the past defense survey invalid—but the move will restrict the ability of Jimi's supporters to attend the trial. Both of these decisions have been backed by higher courts. What is more, neither of these rulings were made at the request of the prosecution. The judge simply made the orders on his own. Obviously, the judge considers it his personal responsibility to make sure this railroad moves full speed ahead.

At a pre-trial hearing held on October 14, the defense once again requested that Jimi not be chained and the trial not be held in Walla Walla. When the judge refused both requests, the defense asked the judge to remove himself from the case. This, too, was flatly refused. At this point, Jimi told the judge that he would not appear at the trial in chains, and he fired his court-appointed attorneys and told Weinglas not to show up as a protest. The judge then refused to allow Jimi to fire his attorneys, and ordered all the attorneys to appear at the trial under the threat of losing their right to practice law in the state.

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Political Police Hound Revolutionary Nationalists

Government Offensive on RNA

In the face of continued government manhunts and attacks on revolutionary nationalist organizations, on October 29, 125 people attended a memorial held by the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) for Mtayari Satidak Sundiata (Sam Smith) who was gunned down by police in Queens, NY, three days after the Nyack Brinks incident. Members of the RNA wearing black berets, red kerchiefs and carrying the RNA flag met together with others to honor their fallen comrade. At this memorial, speakers called out the terrorism of U.S. imperialism and its crimes against the oppressed people worldwide. Meanwhile the authorities were conducting their blatant frameup of RNA member Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston) who was arrested in her home (which is a residence of the Provisional Government of the RNA) in Mississippi, October 27, by a military force of almost two hundred armed police, Air Force SWAT teams and tanks. The events surrounding the arrest, subsequent court proceedings against Ali, as well as the all-around coordinated work of the political police, the media and the courts in the past week have only served to further expose the political nature and aims of this government assault.

Ali was charged with "conspiracy to commit armed robbery" based on an FBI claim that a witness identified her the day after the Nyack events at an apartment supposedly used as a safe house by the Weather Underground, the BLA and others. Meanwhile the pigs openly admit that they have had her home under surveillance for months—a clear indication that this whole round-up is a planned project. Ali was held on \$500,000 ransom in Mississippi and then transferred to New York on Friday, October 30. Her lawyers in New York argued in court that they had a receipt and a witness to prove that Ali was at a car repair shop in New Orleans on the very day that the FBI's witness (if one ever existed) claimed to have seen her in New York. The prosecution objected, denouncing the evidence. "False and fraudulent documents have been the hallmark" of terrorist groups, he said. Indeed, the prosecution should certainly know about fraudulent documents. He speaks on behalf of those who are notorious for bloody COINTELPRO activities; the government has a well-oiled machine for publishing fraudulent articles, documents and books. This was used, as many will remember, to attempt to discredit the Black Panthers. The COINTELPRO repertoire included falsifying letters to create antagonisms between various Black organizations, orchestrating campaigns in the press, the publication of a fraudulent "Black Panther Coloring Book" and so on (see *RW* No. 72). These methods continue to this day.

The FBI has conducted a concerted campaign in the press to paint the RNA as a terrorist organization. RNA spokesmen have pointed out in press conferences that the RNA, which calls for the establishment of a Black nation, is not a military organization but upholds the right of all oppressed people to wage armed struggle for their liberation. The New York police ran out this charge of terrorism to openly brandish their armaments, and publicly flex the muscles of their armed state apparatus. Bomb sniffing dogs, machine guns and metal detectors surround the various court proceedings and jails where the nine people arrested in the wake of the Nyack events are being held and arraigned. In the case of Ali, the court refused to arraign her until Monday, November 2, or to allow her to see her

lawyers, claiming that there was insufficient security at the court. Furthermore, on Sunday, the prosecution argued before a New York magistrate that Chokwe Lumumba, the defense lawyer for Ali, should be barred from the case on the grounds that he is a leading member of the RNA. While the prosecutor whined about fears that "something might be smuggled in" to the jail and "messages might be communicated," his argument was blatantly political. Undoubtedly the prosecutor was also well aware that Lumumba was one of the main lawyers who defended the Pontiac rebellion that ended in a victorious decision for the defendants and exposed the frameup of these prisoners throughout the proceedings. The judge overruled the prosecution's appeal, but on Monday, pointing up that this was not just the request of the prosecutor, but a demand from the government, a second judge heard the prosecution request and barred Lumumba from the court pending further proceedings. To further highlight the outrageous frameup and

harassment of Ali and the obvious attempt to mess with the RNA, while milking the situation for all it was worth in the press, on Thursday, after much wrangling in court, it was announced that the charges against Ali were dropped because the witness who had seen her in New Orleans proved to be a reality. The FBI, however, loudly trumpeted that they were continuing to hunt for her husband on some other trumped up charges.

The FBI and the police have from the beginning of this incident made no pretense in conducting their "shoot to kill" raids on the flimsiest so-called evidence. And they have continued to spin new webs of such "evidence" and new conspiracies. Only last Friday police announced that they had "connected" David Gilbert, one of the Weather Underground arrested on charges stemming from the Nyack robbery, to yet another robbery based on the "discovery" of a single fingerprint on a receipt for a rented van. A map of the Queens courthouse, which police claim to have found in one of the

houses they raided, is now cited as "evidence" that those arrested may have been planning an escape for James York, who has appeared in court there. York, a former Black Panther, has been held in prison since August, accused without evidence of shooting two New York City police and the National Black Human Rights Coalition has been soliciting support in his case.

The FBI also announced that they have set up a special computer to sort through the piles of other papers and notes found in various raided apartments for further "evidence." No doubt this machine will operate as creatively as the pigs who programmed it (one wonders if it clones witnesses as well). And while the machinations of the political police will clearly continue in this political assault, which as we pointed out last week has emerged as a broad assault on an important section of revolutionary nationalists in this country, they are also continuing to furnish an excellent self-exposure of their methods and the nature of the bourgeois state. □

California Raids

On Friday, October 16th, members of the Special Services Unit (SSU)—a police and intelligence unit of the California Department of Corrections—along with the Berkeley and Oakland police, carried out SWAT-style raids against four homes of revolutionaries—members of a group called Black August Organizing Committee—who were recently paroled from California prisons. After knocking down the door of the first home, they ransacked the place, confiscating literature and papers; they arrested the brother living there on bogus parole violations, then held a woman and her 12-year-old daughter at gunpoint to prevent her from making any phone calls while they raided the other homes, each in the same gestapo style. One of those arrested told the *RW*, "When they arrested me, they said they were getting me for parole violations. I had seen my parole officer the day before. When I contacted him from jail, he wasn't even aware that I had been arrested."

The following day, in the early morning of October 17th, 150 Los Angeles police gathered in preparation for a massive, simultaneous raid of over 20 separate residences (all but one of which were of Black families). Later in the day every press report on the raid quoted police saying the people arrested were connected with the Black Guerrilla Family, the Black Liberation Army or were "followers of George Jackson"; the *Herald Examiner* prominently placed a quote from a detective calling the group "neo-Maoists." Whether the people arrested have any connection with any of these groups is unknown. The police openly expressed disappointment in the fact that they found no evidence of any such connection, and no evidence to back up their claim that the people were practicing "paramilitary maneuvers" in the desert, and several of those arrested have said they are not connected with those groups.

The raid was a typically vicious example of LAPD operations. Kicking in people's front doors, with and without search warrants, training guns on children as young as two years old, tearing through people's property, stealing

their stereos and TVs and saying they're "possibly stolen," and arresting a total of 16 people. At one house an eighty-year-old man was roused from his bed at 7 a.m. by 3 cops busting into his bedroom each with a cocked shotgun pointed at his head. Outside, his son and daughter-in-law were forced to lie face down in the dirt also with guns to their heads; their son, the only person named in the search warrant, and his brother also had guns to their heads. Similar stories were reported again and again. News reports announced "arsenal of weapons seized" and police talked about looking for a box of handgrenades, etc. But all they found in their search of more than 20 residences was 25 weapons—mostly handguns. And 16 of these weapons were a gun collection owned for the last 15 years by the father of one of the police "suspects," guns for which he had permits and receipts. Seven of those arrested were booked for "conspiracy to murder" and held from Friday until Tuesday and then were released with no charges being filed. (Among many contradictory statements made by the police it was claimed that some of the people they arrested were planning to "kill other people.") The police say they expect to make further arrests and raids and several of the residences already raided continue under police surveillance.

Although the arrests in the San Francisco Bay Area came down on Friday, October 16th, it was only the following Wednesday that the story of it appeared in the local newspapers—very conveniently tucked in among raving headlines about the Weather Underground and the Brink's robbery on the East coast. Along with their belated attempt to paint the members of the Black August Organizing Committee with the same "criminal" brush that they were using to cover similar political attacks nationally, the media also ran a series of lies and slanders with a California twist. They claimed to have discovered a "hit list" of prison officials in the raids, a charge that police have since officially retracted—a total fabrication. The press also went on about weapons charges, and ties to the Black Guerrilla Family. Since that time, they haven't even been able to

fabricate charges. The only "criminal" charge that they have been able to dredge up is a charge of felonious possession of a weapon by a parolee—which they are pressing against one brother, Sadiki (Willie Stanford), for a machete which he did not own which was found in a trunk of a car registered in his name. Two others, Jasiri (Harold Benson) and Msemaji (Anderson Thurston) are still being held, with no charges, on parole holds. One man, Hashima (Michael Murdock) has been released.

The timing of these raids points to a link between the California attacks and the events in the East—but hardly what the authorities want to claim. The California raids are further evidence of a nationally orchestrated government attack on the revolutionary nationalist trend—a blatant political assault which, quite revealingly, started coming down in the Bay Area before the Brink's robbery (which the government and snivelling opportunists alike have pointed to as the catalyst for a broadside attack by the political police). (See *RW* No. 128) The desired affect of these attacks, and the hopes of the authorities high and low in relation to the revolutionary aspirations of this trend, was hinted at by Michael Pickett, the Special Service Unit organizer of the raids, who threatened one member of the Black August Organizing Committee when he was released from jail, "Report to your parole officer tomorrow. And I want you to know that you're biting off a bigger piece of cake than you can chew."

Origins and Purposes of the SSU

That these raids were planned in high places, and attempts were made to disguise their blatantly political nature, is further shown by the use of the SSU. This highly secretive force, which is not mentioned either in media accounts of the arrests or in the Berkeley police reports of the arrests, was the brainchild of one Lieutenant Thomas. It was recently revealed in courtroom testimony that Thomas is one of two people at San Quentin who is automatically allowed to listen to the supposedly confidential conversations between maximum security inmates at San Quentin

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The following excerpt from an eyewitness account of life in the Afghan capital city of Kabul, which appeared in the Oct. 15 issue of the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper, Mass Line, is a vivid exposure of the imperialist character of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. A previous article on Afghanistan in the RW (No. 124) focused on the Soviet invasion and the jockeying for position between the two superpowers on a world level and how this interrelates with the struggle within Afghanistan.

Kabul which is a medium size city surrounded by sharp looking, barren mountains presents a grim picture. One gets a swift taste of it when the vast field of parked helicopter gunships, fighter bombers, advanced style tanks and Russian combat troops under battle training in large numbers is the first sight that greets you. The initial feeling gets doubly confirmed when the young woman at the checking counter rudely shoves the newspaper with you into a garbage can and arrogantly curses at you if you make the mistake of demanding your newspaper back. This is not a freak incident—carrying or reading any newspaper other than the 4 page government one is by "law" a serious crime in Kabul and this "law" is very rigorously enforced by the military government of Babrak Karmal. If you are caught breaking this "law" it can mean torture, imprisonment and even "disappearance". The official 4 page called *New Kabul Times* reaches you one and a half days late and maybe because it is outdated or because of the nature of the contents, it is a very time-consuming task to locate someone reading this newspaper. There is foolproof abolition of all open news dissemination, the city is conspicuous by the absence of newsstands and book-stalls. The only section that is not so much affected by this news blackout is the very narrow section of United Nations and other diplomatic personnel and for them as well what is happening within the country is more or less a question of guesswork.

Afghan nationals are not supposed to interact with others. They are forbidden to step in to the residence of anyone else and talking in a public place to a stranger is strictly discouraged. This is quite easy because of the massive presence of sten gun wielding soldiers always in the open to keep a watch on the streets. Most of them are Afghan soldiers, you find the Russian soldiers in tanks, armoured personnel carriers and sometimes in high speeding jeeps. So many of these Afghan soldiers are very young, so young that some are barely out of their teens, and anyone can observe the nervous look of carrying a sten gun on the faces of these poor

peasant and shepherd boys who are recruited in to the army at the barrel point of the very same type of guns. These young soldiers are different from the organised civilian gangs roaming the streets (some of them displaying guns) who are members of Karmal's Parcham group. They make use of their superior status by looting and terrorising the public and at other times liquidating select individuals and thus settle inner party squabbles.

Compulsory conscription in to the army is the latest terror tactic. Boys between the ages of 15-35 are forcibly captured for the army and no young men except those who belong to the fascist gangs of Babrak's party are safe from the clutches of the army. As a result many of them have fled the city and gone to the interior areas where resistance against the Russian invaders shows no symptoms of slackening. In Kabul city it is a very regular sight to see

"peaceful" bands of army patiently waiting at important road junctions and as soon as a poor boy is peddling or walking by pounce on him, chase away his relatives or friends if at all any come to the rescue, bundle him in to a waiting covered truck and speed away. Many times these boys happen to be even below 15 years age. Several stories circulate in Kabul concerning this compulsory conscription drive. One of them is that there are large scale desertions from the Afghan army and to compensate for the continuously depleting strength of its army the government has resorted to this measure. Another is that the government is scared of having "idle" youth hanging around and is convinced about the urgent political need to eliminate them from the city and other areas. Yet another story is that this is simply a step to terrorize the public. In fact there is no contradiction between these stories, all of them por-

tray the government as it is—paranoid, brutal and arbitrary. It is indeed a traumatic experience to witness this hunting for boys, but one cannot miss the terrible hatred on the faces of elderly Afghan men and women towards these boy hunters.

The Kabul university campus is like a military garrison but schools and colleges are still throbbing. The Karmal regime is determined to keep the schools and colleges open even if a few hundred girls have to be gunned down once in a while. School children even now conduct marches denouncing the government and the government forces are responding in the same brute manner of gunning them down. The latest incident happened in Zagsuna school right in the heart of Kabul.

Kabul in certain ways is a heavily "westernised" city. The dress and behaviour of the middle and upper classes is more European than oriental. The old town is more realistic and this part of the city is dangerous to walk around. There is a proliferation of women on the streets and this can be chiefly explained by the fleeing of young men fearing compulsory conscription in to the army. The old part of the city strikes memories of our own Jama Masjid area and the abundance of young women beggars on the streets is also attributed to loss or absence of male working members of many families. Old residents of the city assure you that Kabul never used to have so many beggars in any earlier period and that young women beggars were a real rarity.

The urban economy is the same as earlier. Huge departmental stores are full of western, Chinese and Pakistani goods, but the prices have gone up many times since the last two years. The market for smuggled goods is very popular. Corruption in the Russian army is rampant and almost everything that is supplied to the armed forces (from army uniforms to tinned fish and vodka) finds its way to the shops outside the military camps. Though the shops are full of consumer goods produced in the non-Soviet bloc countries, the number of consumers are quite few. Jeans and other dresses with all sorts of U.S. company trade marks are flooded in to the market at exorbitant prices and one wonders who is buying all these fashionable dresses and sophisticated electronic gadgets. Get in to any big



Soviet troops in the streets of Kabul.

AFGHANISTAN UNDER THE SOVIET BOOT

BÜTÜN ÜLKELERİN MARKSİST-LENİNİSTLERİNE, İŞÇİLERİNE VE EZİLENLERİNE

- İZLEYEN PARTİ VE GRUPLAR
- SEYLANİSİ LAMAI KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ
- SENEGAL MARKSİST LENİNİST GRUBU
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Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Sadat's assassination; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but who do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said in

creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

This cannot be a question for the future, but is a burning demand of today, as increasingly various sections of the people are being propelled into political life by revolutionary upsurges in other countries, the acceleration of the imperialists' moves to world war, the jolts and snaps as the crisis deepens in the imperialist system (jolts, which by their nature make it largely "unpredictable" where and among which section of the people the next significant outbreaks of protest and rebellion will occur). And while it is not possible at this time for the Party to dispatch forces to all these places on a regular basis, it is essential for its revolutionary influence to be present regularly through the *RW*, preparing minds and organizing forces.

One important avenue for that to happen is for individuals in many areas to subscribe themselves, and also to get multiple copies intended for distribution to others, to correspond with the *RW*, for publication or non-publication, including about developments in these areas. In this regard, there is much to learn from the revolutionary-minded prisoners from whom subscriptions have steadily increased as the *RW* is circulated behind the walls and others from prison are encouraged to subscribe...weaving a revolutionary network throughout the prison system.

Extending the distribution of the *RW* through a major subscription drive to every corner of the country (and

beyond) is one very important way to train revolutionaries and to help build the Party where it doesn't presently exist. Those who took part in the revolutionary upsurge of the '60s will remember the intense debate and the alignment of forces that took place around the important questions posed in the literature of various political trends (including the Revolutionary Union, forerunner of the RCP, which began attracting many members from various independent circles of revolutionaries from other parts of the country with the circulation of its publications, particularly *Red Papers*).

In cities where the *RW* is presently distributed broadly, centrally mailed subscriptions will enable thousands who would like to receive the *RW* every week—but for whom that has been difficult, since they live and work in areas where the paper is not regularly sold—to now do so. Centrally mailed subscriptions in areas like these will also free up professional revolutionaries and others who regularly distribute the *RW* to concentrate more attention on building in an all-around way, in every sphere, on advances that were brought into being in the course of the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators.

In the past there have been a few obstacles to centrally mailed subscriptions to the *RW*, which have discouraged some potential subscribers. The most common complaint was that actual delivery of the paper was frequently delayed, effectively undercutting the *RW*'s timeliness. This is currently being solved and the paper will come more quickly. Others have hesitated to add their names to a central subscription list.

There is a certain "anonymity" to being one of thousands, and it is an important task to add to that growing number. The anonymity can be further enhanced in other ways as well. You can receive your subscription (which is mailed in a plain cover) through a department at work or school or a service or professional association, to name just a few. There are other creative ways, as well, by which the *RW* can be paid for and received other than in your own name.

"In Your Hands"—In An Ongoing Way

The subscription drive is one front for continuing to build off the advance made during the campaign to distribute 100,000 copies of the *RW* weekly. And while distribution has not been sustained at that level, a great deal has been accomplished and learned by the Party and the class-conscious proletariat through this intense battle. In his article in *RW* No. 126, Bob Avakian pointed to these advances both in the broadest sense and also in the sense of many particular positive things which emerged and evolved. The wild and unprecedented way in which this went on naturally led to both advances and problems. As the Chairman put it, "We went out there and put it boldly to the masses and put the newspapers literally on the street and called the masses forward to take them and there were inspiring examples over and over again of that happening," and this was a tremendous leap which should definitely be upheld, consolidated and built on. It is also true that over a period of time

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Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will.

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

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

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Chad Changes Partners in Imperialist Minuet

Gliding like a dancer switching partners, Chadian President Goukouni, until this week unflinchingly described in the U.S. press as a puppet of the Soviet-backed Qaddafi regime in neighboring Libya, has gracefully untangled his arm from the colonel's and linked up with the U.S. which until now has been backing efforts to overthrow him.

It was the French government which apparently arranged this little minuet. Libyan troops entered Chad a year ago to bolster President Goukouni's government in a civil war against forces led by former Chad Defense Minister Habré, who in turn was supplied by the U.S. through Egypt and Sudan. France, with its own imperialist interests in Chad, has not been enamored with the U.S.-supported efforts to work through Habré. Skilled in the ways of neo-colonialism and taking advantage of France's new "socialist" cover, the Mitterand government set out to woo Goukouni. France even announced its willingness to rebuild the destroyed Chadian capital city N'Djamena without the pre-condition of Libyan withdrawal. This effort paid off as Goukouni flew to France last week and from the safety of Paris demanded that Libya withdraw its forces from Chad. Shortly after, the U.S. announced its eagerness to join with France and several of their African neo-colonies in organizing and arming an army to replace the Libyans in defending the Goukouni government from the very troops that until that moment the U.S. had been backing.

Clearly what is at stake here is more than the rise or fall of the present regime in Chad. The *New York Times*, after some pious hypocrisy about how the U.S. move was necessary to keep poor Chad from being "annexed" by Libya, offered a more straightforward explanation: "The French have apparently convinced Washington that support of Mr. Goukouni could become a logical part of the American campaign against Colonel Qaddafi."

Now that campaign has another armed outpost in Chad, an extremely poor and thinly populated central African country which both superpower-headed blocs have squeezed without the slightest mercy.

Given nominal independence in 1960 by France, Chad continued to be ruled in France's neo-colonial interests by an elite of French-speaking blacks. 1975 saw the re-emergence of the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat), based in the northern part of the country among Moslem nomadic peoples and backed by Libya. Qaddafi poured arms into Frolinat, heaping rhetorical abuse on French colonialism and pledging undying loyalty to his Moslem brothers in Chad. Then Libya quietly took advantage of the ensuing turmoil to annex a uranium-rich area known as the Aouzou Strip, almost 30,000 square miles of Chad. To protect its own interests as well as that of the Western bloc as a whole, France committed 2,500 French troops to backing its neo-colonial government. Egyptian Vice-President Mubarak also flew to Chad in 1977 to offer Egypt's assistance. Yet by 1979 France was forced to back off its more nakedly-exposed imperialist efforts and a negotiated settlement was reached, installing Frolinat leader Goukouni as president of a "transition government."

Publicly rationalizing their defeat as a "Christian faction" being overwhelmed by "Moslem tribesmen," the Western imperialist bloc quickly adopted its own Moslem cover by transferring their support to transitional government defense minister Habré. Habré seized the capital of N'Djamena, and soon a new civil war was raging with Libya supporting President Goukouni. Backed by Soviet-supplied tanks and MIG jets, the Goukouni-Libyan forces retook N'Djamena last December, and Qaddafi immediately announced that Chad and Libya would merge.

Such a merger would, of course,

make Libya as big as the ailing U.S. client state of Sudan and sandwich it between "Greater Libya" and the Soviet-backed Ethiopian government. Response to the Libyan/Chad merger announcement was immediate. France flew an additional 2,000 paratroops into the Central African Republic, just south of Chad, to bolster French garrisons already stationed in the Ivory Coast, Senegal and Gabon. A Western-backed diplomatic offensive was launched. Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Gambia all broke diplomatic relations with Libya, while the Organization of African Unity (OAU) passed a resolution condemning Libya by name but glossing over French military moves.

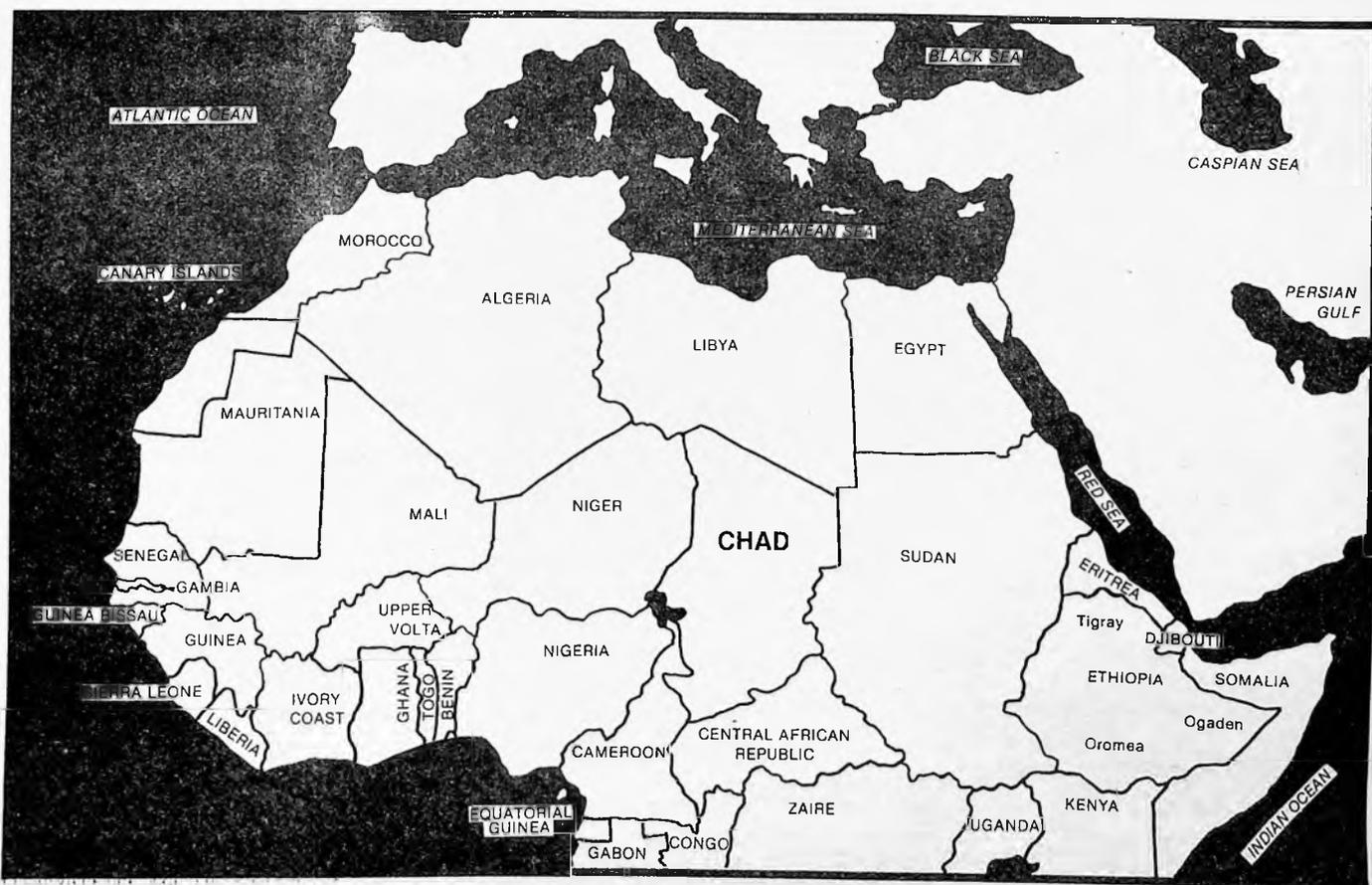
Instead of backing down in the face of this diplomatic offensive, however, the Libyan forces drove Habré out of Chad altogether and across the border into Sudan. It was the Libyan air attacks on the Habré forces holed up in Sudanese border villages that were blown up by the West into a threatened Libyan invasion of Sudan. During the week of Anwar Sadat's funeral, Sudanese President Nimeiry managed to hold a record 27 personal interviews with foreign journalists on the claimed Libyan invasion threat, a story that was milked in the press for two weeks as yet another example of the Soviet-backed madman Qaddafi at work. Then the U.S. media shifted attention to the Libyan troops in Chad.

But the funny thing is, whatever may have been Qaddafi's intentions, behind this smokescreen it was the U.S. and France that were moving—and not just to eat up Chad, either. Some of what has been at stake in the manufactured "Libyan invasion of Sudan" hysteria, the ousting of Libya from Chad and all the other elements in this U.S.-bloc campaign to literally surround Qaddafi's Libya was revealed by a *New York Times* feature article entitled, "A Sudan War: Beyond Libya's Means." This was meant not to put out the anti-Qaddafi fires but to fuel them, by

underlining Libya's importance in the struggle between the superpowers for control of Northern Africa and all that implies for the rest of the world.

The *Times* points out that Libya is incapable of such an adventure as an invasion of Sudan because the bulk of Libya's tanks and jet planes are in fact in storage maintained by Soviet technicians. "The consensus of intelligence analysts is that these tanks are held in reserve for shipment to Syria and Algeria in the event of a general Middle East war." In other words, the real threat to U.S. imperial interests is not an invasion of Sudan, but the fact that Libya is the site of a vast quantity of prepositioned weapons for the Soviet Union's own rapid deployment force—something the U.S. is still trying to get off the drawing board. The same *Times* article goes on to spotlight for the first time in the U.S. press the August 20 mutual defense treaty signed between Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen. This treaty creates a Soviet-sponsored regional military alliance with "forces far too strong for the Sudan to defeat. The only remedy for that situation (a joint attack on Sudan—*RW*), analysts added, would be for Egypt to attack westward across the old battlegrounds of World War 2 towards Tripoli. 'The unknowns in this situation are what makes it dangerous,' one analyst said. 'We don't know what Algeria would do if Libya attacks or is attacked. We don't know if the Egyptian army today is capable of a major offensive...'" (Our emphasis—*RW*)

Obviously the concerns of the unnamed "analysts" (a euphemism often used for high State Department officials) with Libya are a little broader reaching than just who gets to exploit Chad, and are intimately related to the whole U.S. strategy of forging a "strategic alliance" in the Middle East in preparation for world war. □



Barbarity, Rebellion at the Front Viet Vet's Testimony at Atlanta Tribunal

Slightly edited excerpts from a transcript of the taped testimony of a Vietnam war veteran—presented to the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal at its Atlanta session.

From Oct. 3, 1968, until June 24, 1970 I was stationed in Chu Lai, Vietnam. I was with the 23rd infantry company. We were the most brutal unit in the northern part of South Vietnam. Case in point, the P.O.W. camp we had; we saw, and I personally saw, prisoners who were maimed, thrown out of helicopters, whose testicles were cut, cigarettes on their tongue, firecrackers up their behind and exploded if they didn't talk... and almost any inhumane thing you can think about. The guys down there used those prisoners really as a joke. It was really horrible. And it got to a point where they became sadists. And we really couldn't do or say anything about that. If you did protest or if you did say anything about it you were dealt with harshly or were told it wasn't any of your business. And if you persisted you were either transferred or you were given an Article 15.

One of the the things that I really didn't like in Vietnam was the way they would treat the Vietnamese citizens. Another case in point, in three incidents that I investigated, two South Vietnamese women and, one South Vietnamese child were run over by U.S. Sherman tanks. And after talking to the officer of the day, they told us just to dismiss it as a hit-and-run, as an accident. The drivers of the tank admitted that they did it just for the hell of it. They really didn't do anything about that. This somewhat bothered a lot of the MP's over there because we were supposed to be "policing" their country and we were using them as just guinea pigs...

We started raiding places. Some times we didn't even take the South Vietnamese M.P.'s with us; we just started raiding places. I have a picture of my partner that I worked with. He used to tell me all the time that we were wrong. He used to tell me that all the time—we were wrong. That we were really taking over their country. We were doing everything *our* way. They

had particular customs and we were just breaking their customs up.

We used to have to take our laundry downtown and let them do it. And some of the guys wouldn't pay. They had got this from the top brass. The top brass, one of the habits they had was calling them gooks. Gooks. And when it came from the top you know those people were in trouble. They were in real trouble, man.

And expounding on officers, I want to get into a lot of rebellion that went on over there. We had several incidents of officers either being shot or officers being maimed along with officers being insulted; there were incidents of soldiers refusing to fight, refusing to go out, back out in the field. And we ran on a lot of those because they would have to call us to come get them. And then they would have to charge them.

One Saturday, I believe, six soldiers just refused to go out, to go up a hill. And they were getting ready to kill their lieutenant because they thought he was an Audie Murphy type. And that's just how simple that was. The guys kept say-

ing, hey, man, we've been out here 5-6 days without anything to eat or drink, any fresh water, not taking a bath or anything. The guys kept saying it was a suicide mission. After that incident it seems that all hell broke loose everywhere. Everybody.

There were a couple of incidents on base where guys came in after a certain amount of time, but when they came back in a lot of them refused to go back out. They refused to go back in the field and we had to arrest a lot of those guys. There were incidences of guys throwing grenades in their NCO's hootches and blowing them up, maiming them and killing them. Incidences of one special service sergeant killing a lieutenant because he woke him up. And all really, the discipline in Vietnam around 1969-1970, it just totally broke down.

We had an incident where a guy jumped on an officer and almost choked him to death. An officer, now, and the guy just kept saying, "What the fuck are we over here for? Why are we over here?" And that was something to think about. Even I had to think about that at some times. Why were we there?

After that, I think we got into a period of racism, racial problems. Where 85% of your court-martials in Vietnam were against Blacks. 10% were against Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and 5% against whites. Just one incident where we caught an officer, an army officer, caught him dead to the red stealing over \$1/4 million. He had stolen over \$1/4 million worth of equipment, plywood and all that stuff. We had to let him go because the Provost Marshall did not want us to mess with him. A Black guy in the PX had a carton of cigarettes he didn't even intend to steal, he just walked out and forgot he had them in his pouch which was at the side of his trousers. He got 90 days hard labor and was discharged from the army with a dishonorable discharge for theft. That's the kind of racism that you found over there.

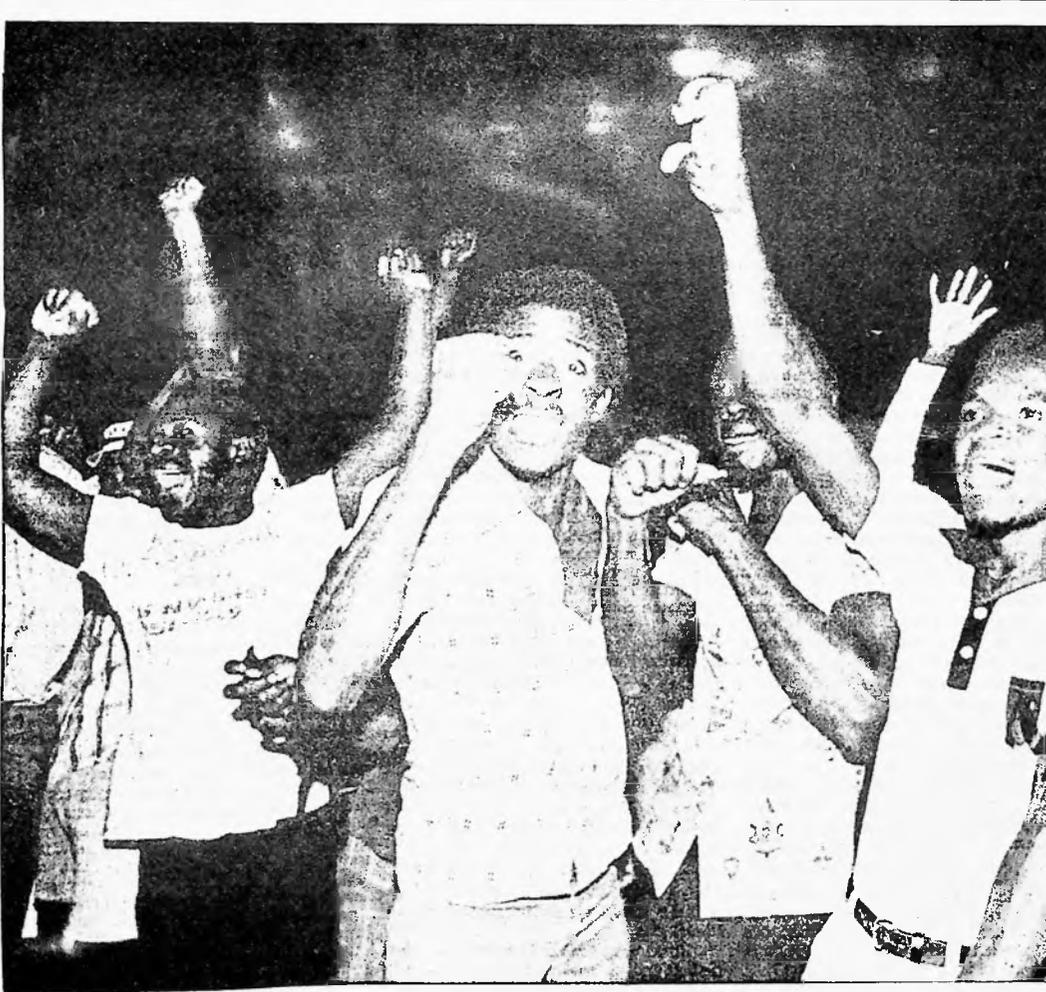
Question: What about the North Vietnamese?

O.K.—The North Vietnamese. I was awakened one morning, I think it was about the time I first got there. I was awakened by the propaganda. They had a propaganda ship. See, Chu Lai is right on the coast and they had a propaganda ship going up and down the river telling Black GIs to go home, it wasn't our war. It wasn't our war. And when we went out, and if we led a convoy and if a couple of Black GIs are on that jeep in the convoy, they would not hit us, they would not touch us. I talked to many of the guys that were point men in the infantry unit. They would let the Black guys go past them and then assault it. Several times, top brass accused Black GIs of deserting until they really found out what happened.

They would always say, "Black GI my friend." They would always tell us that. Even when they were in the POW camp they would always ask for a Black GI. They felt that we understood them. And the 3 incidences where the 2 women and the child was run over, the guys that were driving the tank were white. A 26-ton tank. And maybe a 98 lb. child. That's something isn't it! That's the way it was. That's just the way it was.

Racism over there was pretty rampant. We had NCOs that would call a spade a spade. They would call a spade a spade. It was just cut and dried, plain and simple. That was the way it was. And I think personally that, after looking back on it now, and analyzing maybe

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(Above) Haitians in Miami demonstrated their outrage at the drowning of 33 refugees outside the refugee center there. In New York City, on Tuesday afternoon, Nov. 3, after a memorial mass for the 33 drowned Haitians, 2,000 people, mostly Haitians marched to the Haitian Consulate and the UN to demonstrate against the Duvalier regime and U.S. imperialism. The imperialists' fear of this issue and these forces coming into motion was exemplified by having Cardinal Cooke send a crocodile-tear-filled message of sympathy to the mass and also by a news blackout. Despite efforts of some of the leaders of the march to contain the anger of the masses within the bounds of respectable grief, the true feelings of the people broke out: "The candle in my hand I am going to use to burn Duvalier's ass." "It is those big countries that are supporting the parasitic government we have in Haiti which is torturing and exploiting the Haitian people, making their life unbearable. I stand here today to expose the Haitian government and its allies." "This demonstration is not only against Duvalier but also the U.S. support for Duvalier... we are exposing the physical interference of U.S. imperialism in our country by the presence of the Coast Guard boat "Hamilton" and the abuse the U.S. is perpetrating on our brothers and sisters in their jails."

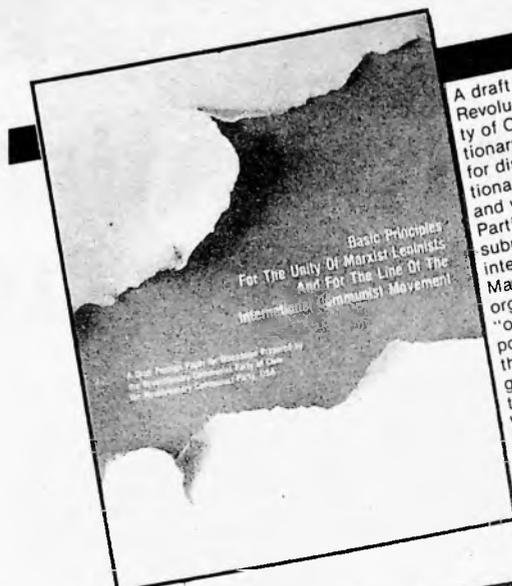
AIM

Continued from page 1

told how Roque had been a leader in the American Indian Movement (AIM) and in the defense of Leonard Peltier, in support of the struggles of Native American prisoners. "Roque's been at the forefront. He was always there, fighting the corruption and collusion that keeps Indian people in servitude to the white man." More than once the FBI had tried to get Roque thrown into prison. Roque had been charged with aiding in the escape of Leonard Peltier, who escaped, only to be recaptured, from the federal prison at Lompoc, California, after learning of the government's plan to murder him in prison. But Roque defeated the attempt, winning dismissal or acquittal on all charges, something which undoubtedly made him all the more "guilty" in the eyes of the federal government's political police.

The death of Roque and Kevin on Commencement Bay, now officially called an "accidental salt-water drowning," bears a strong resemblance to other "accidental" deaths of AIM members and supporters, such as those murdered on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in the wake of the Wounded Knee occupation. There are many among the victims of "unsolved" murders and "accidents," which have been carefully coordinated with the jailing of many more AIM activists and other Native American leaders. "Either they murder them or they put them in prison so they can murder them there," is how one white activist who knew Roque put it.

It is this widespread knowledge which brought friends of Roque from all over the country, as well as many Puyallup Indians and other supporters in the area, to participate in the search for the bodies of Roque and Kevin and the investigation of their deaths. At times as many as 30 or 40 people were participating in the search of the shoreline near where Roque's boat was found. An underwater diving firm, lawyers and legal workers have all provided free services to aid in the discovery of the bodies and the investigation. Outrage is



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

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widespread enough so that even 2 congressmen have had to publicly express concern over the circumstances of the deaths.

On October 19, Kevin Henry's body was discovered about one-third of a mile from where the capsized boat was discovered. According to the County Coroner's office, Kevin had lacerations on his face, but the only mention of this in the official coroner's report is the notation that blood was found on the face and nose. No autopsy was conducted, and the case was quickly labeled an "accident." Attempts to get the Coast Guard and Tacoma police reports on the incident are still being pursued. But one of the most suspicious things is the action of the Tacoma Fire Department crew which discovered the boat. The boat was found, according to the fire department, as their fire boat was returning from a false alarm south of Tacoma. The boat was some 300 yards from the end of the fire department dock, about 400 yards from the shoreline. Both Roque and Kevin were experienced fishermen, Roque having fished these waters for the past several

years, and both were good swimmers. If the boat was simply swamped or tipped over those who new them feel sure they could have swum to shore. The boat was overturned, with part of the fishing net wrapped around it. The remainder of the net was still set, and the light on the buoy at the far end of the net was still on. After pulling the boat into the dock the fire department claimed it called the Tacoma police and the Coast Guard. The Coast Guard claims it was not called. In any case, no attempt was made to look for the occupants of the boat—Kevin and Roque could have well been alive and floating in the bay at the time the fire department found their boat. No attempt was made to contact the Puyallup tribe's fishing authorities, despite the fact that it was obvious that the boat belonged to Indian fishermen. Nor was any attempt made to trace the owner of the boat, even though the registration number of the boat was clearly visible and had even been noted in the fire station's log. It was not until 2 1/2 days later that the family and friends who were searching for Roque and Kevin even learned that the boat

had been found. The fire department claimed that this is all "standard procedure" when dealing with "abandoned boats." But it is obvious that this boat was not, in fact, abandoned, but had been actively fishing and that whoever was in it was missing!

The action of the fire department and other authorities in this case fit a well-established pattern of attacks on Indian fishermen. The rights of Puyallup's and other tribes to fish in western Washington State for salmon and other fish was won only after decades of long, bitter struggle. Treaties signed in the late 1880s guaranteed the tribes of the area the right to fish in their "usual and accustomed places," but within a few short years a fishing and canning industry was established in the Northwest and these rights, supposedly guaranteed by the "highest law of the land," were trampled under foot by marauding state fishery officials who arrested and beat Indian fishermen, seizing their nets, boats, and other expensive gear. After an upsurge of struggle in the late 1950s and 1960s—which included a number

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Latest Ruse in Ron Settles Lynching

Amid a flurry of media coverage, the Los Angeles County DA has taken his "investigation" of the June 2 lynching of Cal State Long Beach football star Ron Settles to the grand jury, vowing to "get the real story." The very first action of the grand jury was to grant immunity from prosecution to two of the Signal Hill (a small town in LA county) police who helped arrest Settles, as well as to the ride-along girlfriend of "the arresting officer," longtime killer cop Jerry Lee Brown.

Of course, "the real story" the DA is talking about is another story, as shown by the recent course of the events in the "investigation." Unable to close the case with their original pack of lies, hit by repeated angry demonstrations of the Black community in Long Beach and Cal State Long Beach students, and slapped in the face by the failure of their coroner's inquest to get them a verdict of "suicide," the authorities got together after the September 2 verdict of "death at the hands of another"—lynching—and came up with a new game plan.

By the 1st of October, the FBI had completed its (secret) investigation into

the murder of Settles. A few days later, the *L.A. Times* printed a major "exposure." "Signal Hill: Power to the Police." Now, when the *L.A. Times* does some "exposure," it's time to wonder what's being covered up. In this case, there isn't far to look. The whole incident was the product of the "one-family rule" of a "patriarch" who rules the "hard-bitten" oil town of 6,000 "in classic small-town fashion." A town where "nepotism" and "in-fighting" led to a situation where "the City Council... failed to exercise supervision over the police department." "Something is rotten in the city of Signal Hill," editorialized the "outraged" *Times*, "both the city and the (police) department are on trial." National oppression? Nowhere to be found—not in Signal Hill, and certainly not in L.A. proper, where the pigs murder at least one person a week, over half of them Black.

Right on cue, the DA began to move, opening up cases of police brutality (some of which had been closed as "accidental deaths" by the DA's office years ago) and political corruption, all, of course, in Signal Hill. By the time he put his "investigation" to the grand jury, it included a total of 8 cases of police brutality and two of political corruption in Signal Hill. "I would not believe that this could happen in America," oinked a county supervisor, adding that "The bad apples must be weeded out... it casts a pall over all law enforcement officers..." And so it has done, with numerous public officials, including the police, contrasting the "bad apples" in Signal Hill to the "professionals"—like the LAPD!

Well! Granted, "there's something rotten in Signal Hill." Surprise, surprise: A former Signal Hill cop's testimony that prisoners were routinely beaten "three or four times a week" in the Signal Hill jail; a city council member's public statement that "We've

keep the Blacks out"; an American Legion post exposed as so racist that its charter was revoked by the arch-reactionary American Legion; the city council's current scheme to convert a 150-unit apartment complex in Signal Hill to expensive condominiums and force the Black tenants out.

Nevertheless, three murders in five years by the "bad apples" in Signal Hill pales beside the "professional" LAPD, which fatally shot 141 people between 1974 and 1979, 72 of the victims Black. Dozens of others died from choke holds or "in custody." Brutality? A few years ago, the LAPD shredded four tons of "unsubstantiated" citizens' complaints. In an October 26 article on the murder of Settles and another young Black man, Ernest Lacy, by Milwaukee police, *Time* magazine prattled, "... both died in custody under questionable circumstances. Outraged, the Black communities of Long Beach and Milwaukee marched and demonstrated to protest what they charged were examples of police brutality. Last week, authorities in both cities seemed to agree. The Los Angeles County District Attorney's office said it was ready to seek indictments of several policemen in the Settles case. ... Indictments? The pigs who lynched Ron Settles are still on the beat in Signal Hill. They haven't even been suspended. The only thing the authorities agree on is that they're in a hell of a lot of trouble, and their "something rotten in Signal Hill" is just the latest stinking maneuver to bail themselves out.

How much the authorities can or will actually tighten the leash on their dogs in blue is shown by these rulings (from the back pages of the papers) just since the *L.A. Times'* October 11 "exposure": 1) Cedric Stewart, 15, Black, shot at point-blank range while lying handcuffed, face down, on the ground—"justified homicide," Ken... Chicago, not

charged with any crime, gunned down as he walked out of his house by an LAPD swine—"accidental"; 3) a 69-year-old man, who died in jail after being hit by a car, was arrested as drunk, and denied medical treatment by police—"accidental"; and 4) Luis Velasquez, 16, unarmed, gunned down in front of numerous witnesses as he stepped from his car, hands raised—"justifiable homicide."

At the same time, they are all mindful that, as *Time* magazine put it, "... the acquittal of four patrolmen accused of the fatal beating of a Black businessman was the spark that ignited the murderous Miami riot of May 1980." Thus the media has taken to promoting those who could stand up after the coroner's inquest verdict, while the DA yelled that it had "no legal impact," and gush about how it proved that "the system works." For those who "have no faith in the system," the media has nothing but venom. Particularly singled out for their attack was a revolutionary nationalist professor from Cal State Long Beach and a September rally of 300 at the Signal Hill police station called by the Cal State Long Beach Black Student Union (BSU). After the professor had most appropriately compared the murderers of Ron Settles to the Shah of Iran and Somoza, a Long Beach paper said, "The speakers were more interested in giving the system its lumps than in worrying about justice for Ron Settles and his family." Meanwhile, "the system" had prepared for the BSU rally by boarding up the windows of the police station, stationing snipers on the roof, barricading the streets, and busing in 100 riot-equipped sheriffs with a helicopter circling overhead.

"Bad apples" vs. "professionals"? This idea should be applied to the whole U.S., where the "professionals" murder, on the average one Black person every single day.

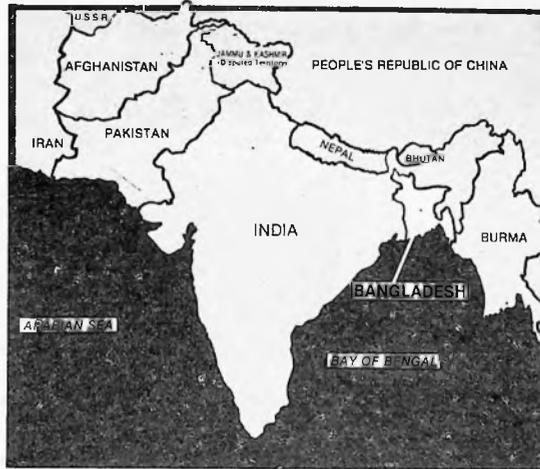
Bangladesh

The War Against the People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

There is a war going on in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of southeast Bangladesh. The U.S.-backed Bangladesh government is waging a full scale and systematic war against the people there in a desperate effort to crush the growing resistance of the minority nationalities living in the Hill Tracts region. Currently, over 57,000 troops from the Bangladesh Army occupy the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT—See map). Using the current census figures of 600,000 for the region's population (some estimates go as high as one million), this amounts to one soldier for every 10 people. And, in a vivid demonstration of imperialist "internationalism" the Bangladesh regime is being aided in its campaign of terror and decimation by many imperialist powers.

In addition to their firm political and financial backing, the U.S. is sending helicopters to assist the regime in its counter-insurgency efforts against the peoples of the Hill Tracts. The British, long skilled in carrying out repression against oppressed peoples in defense of its empire, have established a counter-insurgency school in the port city of Chittagong. There, under the combined tutelage of British Army officers and officers from Britain's Special Air Services (SAS), their Malayan campaign experiences of the late '60s are used to instruct counter-insurgency candidates from the Bangladesh Army. In an effort to both control the population of the Hill Tracts and to dry up the insurgents' support, collective farm blocks are being set up. They are called Jaotho Khamar, but can be easily translated into "strategic hamlets"—concentration camps modelled after the ones used by the U.S. in Vietnam. The people are forcibly rounded up, with the Bangladesh Army often burning their villages to the ground, and herded into these camps. These "collective farms" are being financed by the Asian Development Bank, with some money being funneled into the project by the Swedish government. The Swedish International Development Agency also has its hands into so-called "forestry" projects, under the cover of which the national minorities are removed from their lands. The Australian government is financing the building of strategic roads into the CHT region—not to aid in the economic development of the area, but to facilitate army strikes over the rugged and often inaccessible terrain. The British government and the British-owned Plessey Electronics firm have also contracted to establish a sophisticated telecommunications network that would link army and police forces in the Hill Tracts with the city of Chittagong and with the city of Dacca, Bangladesh's capital. But the regime's attacks have met fierce resistance. The people in the Hill Tracts have organized village-based militias, linked with an intelligence network that the Bangladesh Army acknowledges constantly beats them to the punch—attacking their forces in surprise ambushes and retreating before superior government forces move into the area.

Clearly, a lot of political, financial and military attention is being paid to this region by the imperialists, despite the fact that the U.S. press has barely uttered one word on events occurring in Bangladesh in months, much less given any ink to the fact that there is a guerrilla war being fought against the regime by the peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Why? The fact of the matter is, Bangladesh and the Hill Tracts are part of an extremely volatile region.



The area (often called South Asia) seethes with over a half-dozen movements carrying out armed struggle against various regimes—in India, in Burma, in Afghanistan, and in Bangladesh. Even more particularly, the crisis-wracked Bangladesh regime is in a most tenuous position there. Its last president, Ziaur Rahman, was assassinated by members of the army this past May. And it was recently reported in the *New York Times* (October 30) that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is demanding that the regime comply with a new set of austerity guidelines or face the restriction of badly needed funds. These guidelines are more in line with the Western imperialists' needs to trim funding in relation to their war preparations. Interestingly, it was Bangladesh's inability to make ends meet according to earlier IMF guidelines that prompted these new ones, thus showing once again the depth and insolubility of the current crisis facing the world imperialist system. So while Bangladesh's vice-president, Abdus Sattar, sits-in, the Bengali ruling class and their U.S. backers nervously await the national elections coming up on November 15. As far as they're concerned, the situation is unstable enough without the Hill Tracts exploding.

Thirteen different tribal peoples, each speaking their own dialect, live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts region. The Chakma and the Tangchainga are the two largest tribes respectively. Others include: the Marmas, Tripuras, Bokmong, Maung, Mizo and Reang. Unlike the majority of Bangladesh's population which is Muslim, the tribes in the CHT are predominantly Buddhist, with a smaller percentage of Christians and Hindus. But not only are there religious distinctions, these 13 tribal peoples have an historical and cultural development distinct from that of the majority Bengalis. Shaped by centuries of migration, these people who have settled in the CHT region have come from Burma, Thailand, Mongolia, and Tibet. They have a long and bitter history of struggle against national oppression throughout their hundreds of years of living in the region, particularly the area now called the Chittagong Hill Tracts. A brief look into the history of the region's development will put today's situation into clearer focus.

Originally, the entire area that is now the country of Bangladesh was part of greater India as the province of Bengal, which was a center of resistance to British imperialism from the very beginning. In fact, it was the Bengal Lancers

(crack troops recruited into the British Army from Bengal) that revolted in 1857, sparking the powerful Sepoy Mutiny that erupted across India. It was one of the earliest manifestos of anti-colonial resistance among oppressed people around the world. The tribal peoples in the CHT were continually subjected to attacks and persecution as the local rulers often unleashed the populace against them as a way of deflecting the political contradictions that were continually welling up against their avaricious and despotic rule. In 1900, in an effort by the British to stabilize the situation in Bengal and further tighten their hold over all of India, the imperialists passed the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation making the CHT an autonomous region, with tribal leaders administering the day to day affairs and barring non-tribal people from settling the area.

But the province of Bengal never ceased being a painful thorn in the paw of the British imperial beast as the crescendoing demand for an independent India could be heard distinctly from this stormcenter of anti-British sentiment and action. In 1905 the British partitioned Bengal into East and West, with Dacca provincial set up as the capital of East Bengal. It was a none too slick attempt to divide the Moslem and Hindu populations (the eastern part of Bengal was predominantly Moslem), who had forged a common—and in the imperialists' eyes highly dangerous—unity in their struggle against the British oppressor. In fact, so great was the outcry against partition by both the Hindus and Moslems living in the Bengal region that in 1911 the partition was rescinded, and the province took the name of United Bengal.

In 1947, as a result of the new division of the world through the imperialist Second World War, India was given formal "independence," although it remained an exploited neocolony of both Britain and the expanding U.S. At the same time, India was forcibly partitioned by the imperialists and the country of Pakistan was created. Arbitrarily seizing provinces where a majority of Moslems lived (5 provinces in the west became West Pakistan and 1 province in the east—the area once called East Bengal—becoming East Pakistan), Pakistan became the first nation created by the imperialists on the basis of religion. The imperialist partitioning was expressly designed to divide and rule the masses of people in India and the region as a whole. The bourgeois forces of the new Indian state (them-

selves high-caste Hindus), and backed to the hilt by the British and U.S. imperialists, unleashed communal rioting and attacks, driving tens of thousands of Moslems into the newly formed country of Pakistan. The Chittagong Hill Tracts now became part of East Pakistan.

As the partitioning was being implemented there arose a demand from sections of the middle classes, both Hindu and Moslem, for a united, independent Bengal. The leaders of the Indian National Congress (made up of landlords and the rising Indian bourgeoisie) opposed such a plan vehemently. With the port city of Calcutta, the region's major jute mills (rope and fiber producing material), steel mills and tea plantations, a united Bengal would've been an economically viable state and would've sliced a very profitable area out of Indian control. And the idea of a region where Hindu and Moslem lived together did not fit at all into the game plan of the imperialists or their lackeys. So, under the pressure from Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru the Bengal unit of the Indian National Congress was told to veto the proposal when it was made by the Bengal Moslem League. The issue of an independent, united Bengal died shortly thereafter with the birth of East Pakistan. But things were far from settled as far as the masses of Bengalis, now constituted within the boundaries of East Pakistan, were concerned.

In October 1957, on the eve of Pakistan's first general elections and after consultations with CIA head John Foster Dulles, General Ayub Khan, the commander of the Pakistan military, launched a successful coup. The general elections were cancelled, all political activity was outlawed, and massive arrests of progressive and revolutionary forces were instituted. Martial law was declared and Pakistan moved under the rule of Khan's military dictatorship. Under the Pakistani regime, both before and during Ayub Khan's rule, the minority nationalities in the CHT were continually subjected to vicious oppression. In particular this took the form of government sponsored migrations of non-tribal peoples into the region, displacing the tribes and unleashing systematic violence against those who might resist. In 1961, over 60,000 people in the CHT were forced to flee riotous immigrants, crossing over the border into India to seek refuge. In 1962, the Karnaphuli River was dammed at Kaptai, as part of a hydro-electricity program. While the electricity from the dam was enough for all

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"And they laugh when I say that, saying, 'You'll never do that! We're going to kill you before you do it.' 'I tell them, 'No you won't!'"

—A 12-year-old youth from the Bangladesh ghetto in East London

In our recent visit to some of the main areas hit by the latest festival of riots in England, we learned that these words expressed a profound truth. The modern lords of capital in the towers of London have just begun to reap the harvest of the fury of those blacks (popularly used to describe West Indians, Asians and Africans) who have been drawn from the outreaches of Britain's old and new colonial empire to its heart and nerve center. We saw and learned something about the forces that are coming into motion against the crisis-gripped regime headquartered in the offices of Her Majesty's government—the forces led by the youth, black joined by white.

In many, many ways, the chickens are coming home to roost for the British ruling class as the figures who stalk them in their deepest nightmares are awakening and springing into action, those whom they have robbed, raped and plundered around the world joined by the rebellious white youth who have been cast off by the workings of their system and face no future in it. And at the same time there are heavy questions presenting themselves before these forces as to the way forward in an increasingly complex political situation in Britain and the world. Questions that in one way or another are being wrangled with daily.

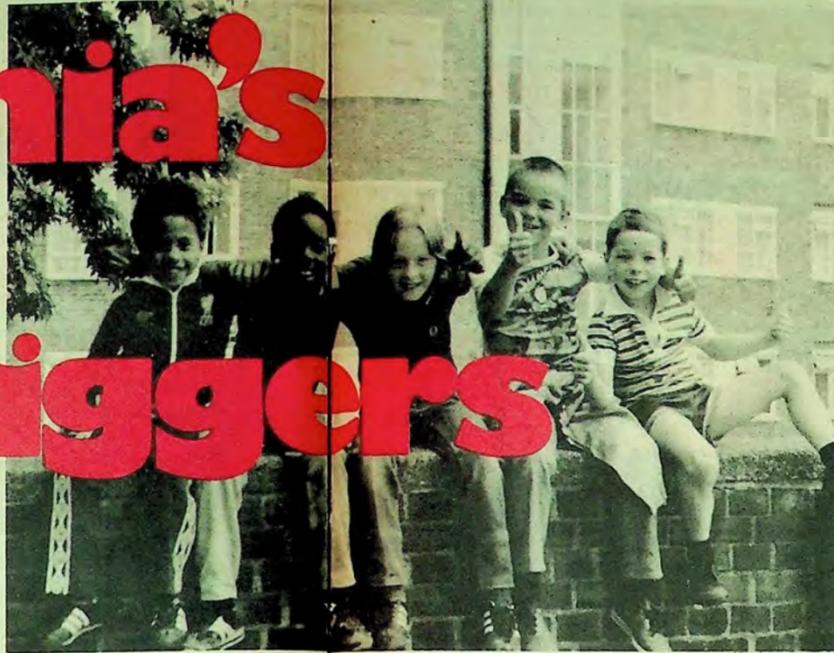
Throughout England we saw the rot and decay, the old and crumbling housing and the ever-present council flat compounds where blacks and poor English and Irish working class people are herded, the lengthening dole queues (unemployment lines), and abandoned factories. And most especially, we saw the beefed-up forces of the clamp-down desperately at work trying to prevent the rebellious contagion that has erupted throughout England from spreading.

It was these very forces of English law and order, these hated and despised thugs of the realm that were the target of people's rage in last summer's riots. And we had the opportunity to walk the streets in the places whose very names have become associated with the violence of the oppressed: places like Brixton, Moss Side, Southall and Toxteth and streets like Railton Rd., Coldharbour Lane, and Upper Parliament St. And I'll tell you it was most gratifying to see landmarks such as the burnt down Racquets Club in Toxteth and the gutted Hambrough Tavern in Southall where the Indian and Pakistani people there had sent the fascist National Front high-tailing it out of the area. But the most interesting and important part of our visit really was talking with people and gaining some deeper insight into how they actually saw things politically, not only in England but in the world as a whole, and what the different kinds of thinking were in a situation that we knew was bound to be very complex with a large number of different political forces in the field.

The Front Line

After a short while in London, it was a real gas as we emerged from the underground station into the light of Brixton's bustling street scene. The street market was jammed with people, West Indian and white. Reggae music blasted out of speakers in the numerous record stores along the street and the pavement vibrated with the rhythm of the reggae bass. Youth hung out on the street in small groups and the colors from Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados leapt out at us from the dingy red brick and grey landscape. Such a refreshing and wonderful contrast to the atmosphere in some of the other parts of London where we had been. And my god! hardly any Union Jacks and Prince Charlie and Lady Di regalia.

Britannia's Unruly Gravediggers



Revolutionary Worker

What a relief. Police, chosen for their size and viciousness, patrolled the streets in twos and fours scowling at people and trying to throw their weight around. As the sun went down, they would be beefed up as busloads and vanloads arrived for another night of law arrests, harassments, and beatings. (Sus laws are laws in England where people can be arrested just on suspicion of having committed a crime.) No smiling friendly bobby here and the lines of worry on their faces could easily be discerned through their attempts to appear cool, calm and collected. They were clearly not welcome or wanted in the area. They were walking in a sea of hatred.

Like most areas where black people live in England, Brixton is a mixed area where black people live alongside the poorest English and Irish though they are more concentrated in certain areas within the community. But the mixture is more diverse than in many places we went, which makes it an especially lively place. Living alongside of black and white families are groups of youth, punkers, and veterans of the struggles in the '60s. Brixton is one of the main areas in London for the growing squatters' movement. With housing, even council flats, almost impossible to afford for many and very scarce, people rescue some of the many rotting buildings from the rats, fix them up and live in them. (Technically this is still illegal to break into a boarded-up house.) With many of these structures in advanced stages of decay, it takes months and years to make them fully liveable. Meanwhile the authorities work to throw people out on the street. A back-and-forth battle goes on and the police have taken to destroying the interiors and fixtures of places before they can be squatted, making them totally uninhabitable.

On Railton Rd., the Front Line, youth stood in groups in front of the storefronts and gathered around cars and vans listening to music and talking among themselves. They eyed us warily, as the area has been the target of a large-scale invasion of plainclothes police, along with raids and wreckings of homes and stepped-up harassment and beatings by police. In many ways it wasn't much different from the street scene in ghettos in cities in the U.S. The government had worked fast in trying to cover-up the destruction from the riots, erecting corrugated steel fences around burnt-out buildings, bulldozing structures and boarding up windows. Bandidaids over the gaping gashes they had received. In one shop, we spoke with several West Indian brothers who had been around for awhile, brothers who had come to England in the '50s and '60s when there was a demand for their labor in factories and service jobs that quite frankly most English workers would not take. We talked with them about the latest riots and their experiences in Britain:

"It's a very long story. I've been here for many years, right, and as far as what we call the Front Line, it started in

East London. It used to be in East London. The council purchased all the houses, right. You got no choice; you had to move. So that way they moved everybody out. So everybody started congregating just the other side of Railton Rd. and they did the same thing. There they completely purchased all the houses and moved everybody out. So the Front Line started at the bottom of Railton Rd. and they did the same thing again. So there's nowhere to go now. So they make a stand. Simple as that. The police harass them, harass them and try to move them out. . . I mean all these houses are owned by the council—the Lambeth council government. Previously it was the Conservative Party, now it's the Labour Party. . . They're harassing everybody, trying to move them out. I mean everyone can only take so much. They like to spread you out. If you're spread out, you got no unity—no strength. They pick you off one by one. But they can't do it in Brixton at present. People are going to riot. They have to tread very, very softly. The riot was a victory. It was a victory in a sense. . . Honestly when I saw it, I couldn't believe it. It's true, I couldn't believe it."

Another brother jumped in, "In all my life, I didn't believe that black people could really get that mad. It's like the whole world started to vibrate and it was just a hunger of the people. I saw a man with his bare hand just rip a part of that concrete wall over there. Listen man. Oh My God! I saw a hunger of the people coming out. I couldn't believe it. There were fires all over. The people were stoning the police, looting the shops. . ."

The other brother resumed: "You see the older people who came from the West Indies, they still got the intention in the back of their mind of going home, right. They still got plans of going back home to Jamaica or Trinidad or Barbados. But their kids are born here. They can't think about Jamaica and they can't think about England. They're not wanted in England. They're not respected in England. They are born in England yet their culture, what they create for themselves, is from where their parents came from. If you see a kid born in England of Jamaican parents he'll speak like a Jamaican. He won't speak like an Englishman, no way. You might find one in a thousand. If his parents came from Trinidad, he'll speak like a Trinidadian. So the kids revolt against the system because the system is against them. It doesn't give them nothing."

Big Questions, Many Trends

This sense of revolt against the system is everywhere in Brixton. It's in the air. The popularity of reggae musicians such as Bob Marley and Linton Kwesi Johnson is testimony to this. There is also the sense of a worldwide struggle against imperialism. There is widespread support and interest in the liberation struggles in Africa and political developments in the West Indies are followed closely by many. One of the brothers in the shop on Railton Rd. told

us: "I don't back the Englishman over there in Ireland. . . I was a soldier over there some time ago and they didn't shoot us. You might have got blown up, but you wouldn't get shot. . . I was just sent over there, I got nothing against the Irish. The trouble over there is that it's the last country England is holding on to. That's the only piece of country they got left in the world that they control. I mean they had Jamaica, Africa. They had the whole West Indies at one time. If you look at the map, they used to run the world. They even had the United States at one time, didn't they?" The Black liberation struggles in the U.S. in the '60s and the Black Panthers in particular had a big influence here and many people wanted to know about the struggles of Black people in the U.S. today.

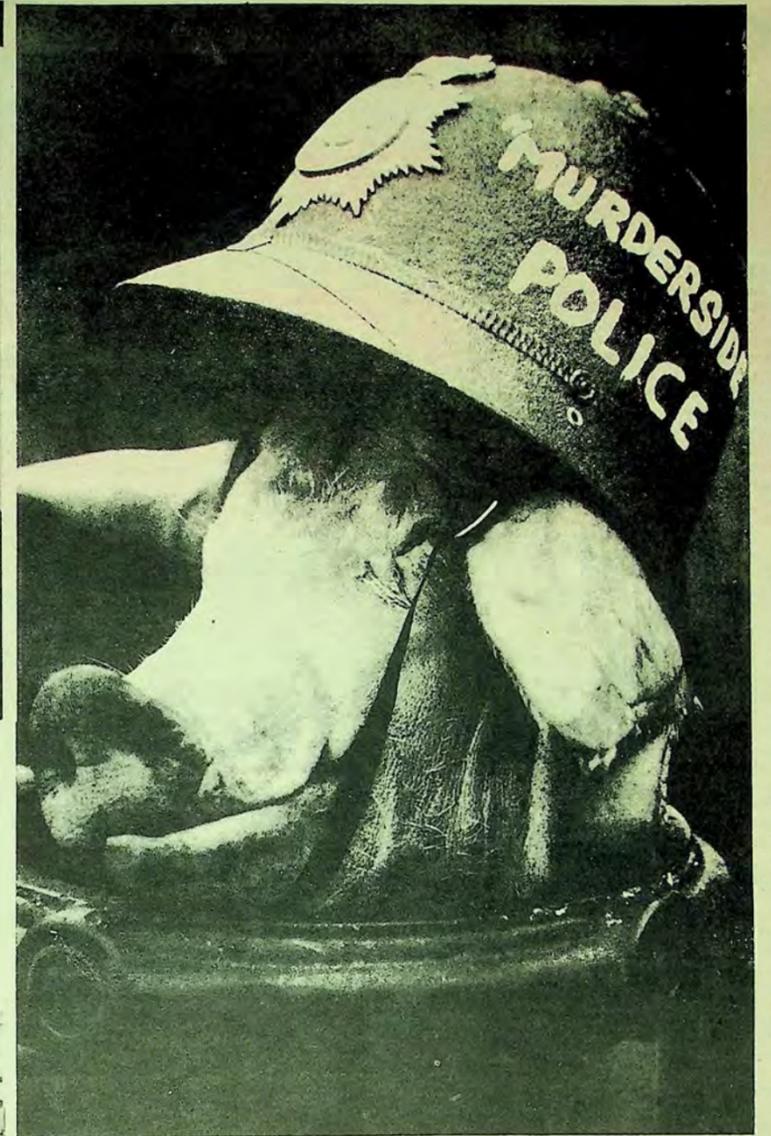
And in the midst of all this there are many questions and contradictory currents as well. It struck us that many people sort of spontaneously had their sights focused on simply fending off the attacks from the powers that be on a community level or limited to black areas of England alone. This leads to a kind of defensive mind set. As one brother in Toxteth put it, "Whatever they come up with, the people will just come back heavier. So they can't win. We can't win, but they can't win. We can just make them weary." This sort of crystallized for us a very prevalent

way of looking at the situation. There is certainly a big influence of some of the "community control" type thinking that took hold among the Black Panthers in the U.S. and we had several discussions with people about this and about the political mistakes that the Panthers fell into generally. We made frequent use of copies of the pamphlet by Bob Avakian "Summing Up The Black Panther Party" that we had brought along with us. People were eager to get into this summation of both the weaknesses and revolutionary contributions of the Panthers. We also played the tape "Bob Avakian Speaks on May 1st 1981" for people. An important part of the tape focuses precisely on the decisive role of the class-conscious minority in leading broader forces to strike decisive blows to imperialism, making the point that a relative minority in society can actually make revolution, seize power and then go on to win over the majority to its side.

This way of viewing things opens up new doors to seeing more clearly not only the necessity but real possibilities for rocking imperialism to its foundations right from the heart of one of its citadels not as an isolated force but as one playing its role in igniting broader forces and representing the interests of the proletariat and oppressed people worldwide. But this is a very complex

question especially given the smothering effect of British imperialist chauvinism and "socialist" imperialism that flows so profusely in England with a host of spokesmen arrayed against those who gravitate toward a proletarian-internationalist stand. Looking just at the political situation in England itself right now even in the light of the recent uprisings and what they indicate does not present the advanced people with a yellow brick road to the bright future. A host of socialists, revisionists and Trotskyites ply their wares and many a soothsayer of doom was quick to point out to us that, after all, blacks are only 6% of the population in England and even counting the white youth you still have an isolated, and of course, unrespectable force, so what can they do. These people are very eager to point their trembling fingers to such "realities" (while they cross them behind their backs). And, it is very true that the majority of the English workers are not lining up right now behind the internationalist banner. So these are very real questions and many political forces are at work to lower peoples' sights and spread confusion.

In places like Brixton, political trends like Rastafarianism also have a significant influence. And while there are many progressive aspects to them in that people are attracted to them because they support the cause of the



The Liverpool police from the perspective of the masses of people.



The Liverpool Cathedral—a hollowed monument of the Empire—looms over the rubble of Toxteth.

liberation of black people worldwide, these trends, too, end up drastically underrating the significance and great potential power for the black people in England itself in unity with other sections of the people as part of the worldwide movement against imperialism. The struggles going on in the West Indies have raised many questions among people as to the role of the Soviet imperialists and Cuba in the world. For example a number of people looked to the Manley government in Jamaica and the government in Grenada and felt that overall Cuba was playing a progressive role in aiding the struggles in the Caribbean. And on the Soviet Union one brother told us, "I couldn't say Russia is a bad country, I've never been there. But out of blackness I could never condemn Russia because to me the Russians have always helped the black man's cause, the revolution, more than the Western countries have done. If it wasn't for the Russians or communists or whatever, where would Africa be. . . The U.S. and the whole West is involved in Africa and the same is true of Jamaica. Jamaica would have been a more prosperous country today if the American government wouldn't put so much pressure on the black man. . ." This is not necessarily representative of the broadest sentiments, but I think it sharply illustrates some of the confu-

sion present. So we had a real lively time debating and wrangling with people over some of the very big questions that are posing themselves for people. And more than that we got a deeper sense of just how vital the role of revolutionaries and most especially the real Marxist-Leninists in England and internationally is in welding a proletarian internationalist force out of the ferment and turmoil now going on in England.

In a house near Railton Road we talked with some squatters. They ran a neighborhood co-operative out of the house and definitely came out of the upsurges in the '60s. Though they had not directly taken part in the riots, they had joined the crowds who were excitedly watching. They played me a tape of the frenzied police radio calls from the night of the main riot. They described the feeling they had during that time: "When the riots were happening here, during the week when there were more and more riots happening in more and more places you had this feeling, Jesus, how much is this going to spread. People seem to have found out that the police can't control that kind of rioting although different towns had different characters—in some places it was more looting, in some places it was more anti-police. In some places it was mainly West Indian blacks, in other places

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Asians, in other places a whole mixture of everyone. You start thinking, god this could spread like wildfire... It looked as if it might become a way of life as things are in Northern Ireland where most of the large towns have rioting all the time like Belfast and Derry."

I ended up spending a good part of an afternoon talking with these folks about the world situation, especially the question of war, about Chiang Ching and the coup in China, and about internationalism and revolution. And it was very interesting particularly because when we first met them on the street and introduced ourselves as correspondents from the *Revolutionary Worker* they were very reluctant to talk with us at all. Having been involved in the anti-war movement and the struggles against the National Front in England, they were very turned-off to "politics" which for many people means the host of Labourites, revisionists and myriad socialist groups and tendencies of the Trotskyites that dominate the British "left." To many militant and radically-minded people the very mention of these socialists and revisionist communists arouses disgust and revulsion. They have seen these chauvinist fighters for the rights and privileges of the British workers in action and have witnessed their bankruptcy that no amount of "revolutionary" rhetoric can cover up. And among the rebellious white youth, no small number have taken the anarchist (A) as their own. It is emblazoned on walls throughout the country. Overall, this is a very healthy development—a revolt against suffocating revisionism and social-democracy—and very fertile ground for the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend not only in England but in Europe generally.

British Democracy in Action

The activities of the "left" in Britain jibe very neatly with the government (the Labour Party in particular) attempts to pour cold water on the struggle there. One hears seemingly endless versions of calls for more jobs and the cessation of Thatcher's "racist policies" and so forth. They are at the ready with more hefty doses of the bitter medicine of British democracy that so many are sick and gagging on and want to throw up. And a component part of the desperate machinations of the bourgeoisie in Britain is exactly the concoction of various liberal schemes and reforms. We saw all kinds of ridiculous things on the BBC such as Labour Party gentlemen, with clipboards and checklists, going door to door in Liverpool asking people how they wanted "their community improved." And there were all the inquiries into the causes of the riots and youth opportunity programs to shoot a little money here and there. All the while, of course, the pigs were getting new riot equipment and devising new military plans including summing up and trying to apply what the British have learned in Northern Ireland. This was apparent even in the way that new council flats were built. In fact they have even summed up that some of the older buildings in Toxteth were constructed with too few entrances, allowing people to effectively keep the police out during the riots. So new structures will have many more entrances. A woman in one city told us that they had constructed the streets where she lives so they could accommodate tanks and had places where lookouts could be set-up and that there were TV cameras set up on the expressways near the area ostensibly to "monitor traffic." This, of course, is the bottom line of the democratic tradition in England. A young Indian woman in Southall spoke about this:

"The police in England, actually everything in England, has this type of democratic flavor to it. You know, continuously going on about how the police aren't really that bad because they don't carry arms and that type of thing. You know on the night raids in Brixton they've made it clear that they do carry

arms, but still they keep putting across various images like community policing—the typical English bobby that wouldn't harm anybody, ya. This sort of thing... They're constantly coming on with this very big democratic thing that in England for godssake we let blacks vote and all this type of thing. And there's so many concessions made for them. I mean we've got the Commission for Racial Equality looking after your interests. In almost every town there's a Community Relations Council whose looking after these blacks. I mean all trade union branches have the anti-racist committee, you know. So all the time you're represented, all the time you've got a voice... So why do these people riot. They bang their heads against the wall saying, 'Why do they riot, why do they riot.' And the answer they always come up with is, 'Oh, they're being infiltrated by activists—a few nasty people who run around.' In Manchester and Liverpool they were supposed to be running around on motorbikes directing the crowds which way to go. The press says, 'Oh, the blacks don't really want to riot. The Asians are historically a peace-loving community in England. After all they have their businesses and their shops and so forth, so why do they want to riot.' With Asian youth, they say they go through this culture conflict—Culture Shock—they've got nothing back in India and nothing in England so they're going through this culture vacuum and stuff like this, so it's just culture conflict, nothing more to it. Even in school you're told that you're suffering from culture conflict. Like it's a tropical disease, you know. You can't adjust to English society. After the host community has let them be born into it, you know, and are looking after them so... And you've got all sorts of people saying things like, 'How are these blacks supposed to feel welcome when you're continuously shutting the door in their faces?' things like this. They have this phony image that they're doing something all the time..."

She told us about some of the recent activities of the National Front and the police in Southall that people rose up against during the riots:

"A recent example, it's not a very big case, but this guy was on his way to college and he was attacked by skinheads who scratched National Front onto his stomach, wrists and his hands, ya. They attacked on his way to an exam. He reported it to the police, etc., etc. And instead of pressing charges against any fascists that they might find, they pressed charges on him for wasting police time. He was up in magistrate's court—a very intricate case against him. They had taken him to see some big Scotland Yard doctor or something like that, who had interviewed him. He gave a very detailed report about how it wasn't possible for skinheads to scratch NF on his stomach because his skin must have been stretched this way or that way, he must have been in a supine position and all this stuff to prove that the wounds were self-inflicted—that he did it himself. And they went into massive detail about how he didn't want to go to college and take the exam, so he made up this story, jumped into a park and scratched NF on himself and then came and complained to the police... And the harassment that he went through—the police would come and visit him nightly to tell him to forget this thing had happened, it was self-inflicted anyway. They kept on telling him that he had a history of mental disorder and he was fabricating everything. They would sit out in front of his house virtually every night just to keep up the psychological intimidation so that he would forget it and drop the charges, etc. And, of course, when he wouldn't and a defense committee was set up, they got even more vengeful and decided to prosecute him in turn. They came down very heavy on him. Others in Southall who are continual offenders—people who won't shut up and sit down—have been threatened with deportation. You know, these are young kids who have been born here. You know the implication is that they are going to find out something about their family, some sort of violation at some point in their family's lives, so

they better shut up or they'll be back in India before they know it. And this was especially true after the riots of April 23. Really heavy... The police are really great. For example, if the National Front were holding a meeting here, they'd do a very big thing and the council would do its utmost to let that meeting of the NF go ahead in Southall and creating the basis for a riot anyway. And then, afterwards, the police will go out of their way to protect the fascists, ya... The last time they actually led the National Front out of Southall and made sure they got away safely. Then, afterwards, they continued their mopping up operation. Anybody who was on the streets was picked up, beaten, then arrested themselves for obstruction and all sorts of public order charges. 342 were arrested in the last one. And, then of course, the judiciary will play their role and come down even heavier. Cases will be arraigned to be heard far out of London so supporters find it hard to get there. And, you know, the same pattern. They are assigned to police solicitors, statements are made under duress, they are harassed and beaten up in the police stations and things like that. So everybody plays their part, ya..."

The burnt-out shell of the Ham-brough Tavern, where a burning lorry had been sent careening, setting it ablaze and scattering the several hundred skinheads organized by the National Front, stands as a warning to those who believed the reactionary myth that Asian people in England are weak and easy prey for fascist predators and police alike. People pointed to it with pride, even older people who at first opposed the actions of the youth in Southall during the riots and who in the past have opposed and feared the militance of their sons and daughters. The youth, like this woman we spoke with, are going up against a good deal of conservatism which has become entrenched among the older folks in Southall especially since some have actually been able to carve a little niche for themselves for awhile in Britain opening up a small business or whatever. She told us:

"Obviously, the local IWA (Indian Workers Association)* leadership are going to frown on it and condemn it and say why did it take place in their town. And the religious leaders again openly tried to play it down as much as they could. They actually even got to the point where they were physically locking their doors to Asian youth who wanted to take some refuge from the police who were continuing their mopping up operation... But as a result of the riots, a lot of people's parents sat up and noticed that maybe there was some truth to what the kids were saying and doing. But the local community leaders and people like this—their actions showed that they are just not worth bothering with..."

She also told us about how historically the government has attempted to subvert things in Southall by literally buying off various youth groups and so forth that have arisen there in the past, and about the case of 12 militant Asian youth in Bradford who the government is trying to frame on conspiracy charges for supposedly planning riots there—riots which never happened! They face charges that could bring life imprisonment. So we began to get a deeper understanding of the workings of British democracy.

Throughout our visit we tried to find out more about the sentiments among the white youth toward the fascist activity of the National Front and the British Movement and about the unity between the black and white youth. And we found that this was a big question among people. The fascists are by-and-large hated and the growing trend is toward unity among the youth whom

* The IWA's are trade union and social welfare type organizations with a large membership among older Indian people. Historically a significant section of the IWA's have closely followed various political trends in the revolutionary movement in India. Unfortunately, today, many have fallen into the revisionist "three worlds" theory trap, paralleling the sinking of some parties in India into this mire.

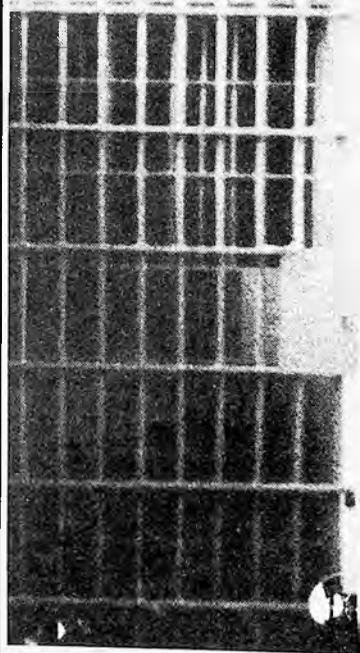
we saw hanging out together on the streets and in the parks and in places like the numerous video game parlours. In many places black and white youth grow up together fighting the authorities and raising hell wherever they can. These are the conditions and the people that have given rise to such popular progressive and revolutionary bands as the Clash and the "two-tone" bands which have formed throughout England in the last few years.

There are, of course, real divisions among people, divisions that the bourgeoisie is working overtime to exploit. There is a whole history of racism in England, deeply rooted in its imperialist conquests of the world. And it cannot be denied that the aggressive work of the National Front-ers has born some fruit and in some ways has provided some advanced experience for Nazis and other scum of this type in other imperialist countries. It was here that they first broke into sections of the youth, among whom they had virtually no influence before, by worming their way into the music and cultural scene. This is where the Nazis in the U.S., for example, learned about hovering around punk music clubs and so forth, trying to spread their filth. In light of the growing polarization between two sections of the people in England, as the bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its reactionary social base, this, too, is important to take note of—even though only a small portion of the skinheads are active fascists. (They can be spotted by the way they lace up their boots, if they are not proudly displaying a British flag somewhere on their person.)

We talked with two white kids on the streets of Liverpool and asked them why they joined the riots in Toxteth. They looked at us with quizzical smiles

Continued on page 18

SHINE THE LIGHT OF REVOLUTION BEHIND THE PRISON WALLS



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

Salvadoran Revolutionaries' Tour Proceeds Under Siege

Following the release of the Chilean translator last week, the tour of the Salvadoran revolutionaries regrouped and plunged ahead on its nationwide itinerary. Events quickly confirmed that the government's attack on the tour, growing out of the Border Patrol's arrest of the two Salvadorans as alleged "illegal aliens," had indeed raised the stakes and that carrying the tour out would be a sharp battle.

A weapon that came into play in Detroit, the first stop for the full complement of the tour, was the use of high-pressure tactics against supporters of the tour. The Senior Citizens' Center, located right in the heart of Detroit's Latino community, withdrew the use of the center for the program following the personal intervention of members of its Board of Directors. This took place only three days before the program was scheduled. The following day the back-up location, a church, also withdrew. It turns out that the minister there had an interesting discussion with "the City." "The City" managed to convince the minister that, of course, he wouldn't want to "get caught between them (the tour—RW) and the law."

Despite this, the tour was held on schedule in Detroit and proceeded through Ann Arbor and East Lansing. Then, just as the participants were preparing to depart for Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio, they learned that five people organizing for the tour there had just been busted by the campus security. They were charged with the typical catch-all offenses of trespassing, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct, and were being held on a total of \$5900 bail. In a revealing comment made just before the arrests, the Dean of Students, who personally oversaw the handiwork of the campus security force, stated that he had "had inquiries from higher-ups" about the tour. When pressed about just who this meant, he clammed up after muttering that he "probably already said more than I should have." As the five people arrested were led off amidst a gathering crowd of angry students, the Dean proclaimed that the tour would certainly not be held on his campus.

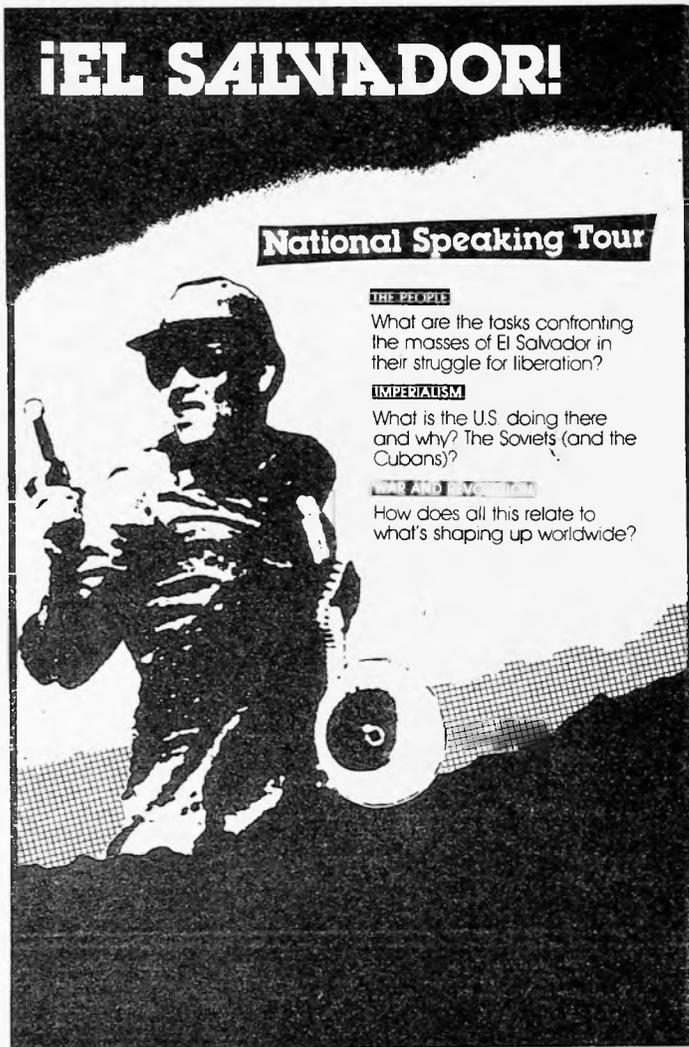
Within hours, professors who had supported the tour and had helped bring about its sponsorship by four different academic departments of the university persuaded the Dean to see things in a different light. He even consented to issue a written statement veri-

fying that the program could indeed go on as scheduled. One professor noted that if anybody on campus hadn't already known about the tour, the administration had certainly ensured that they did now.

At noon the next day, 150 people showed up for the program, which was covered by a number of newspapers and a local TV station. The program was particularly marked by discussion and struggle over internationalism and its relation to the struggle of Black people. During the question and answer period, the question was raised, why should a tour about El Salvador come to a campus like Central State, a Black university, that before Black people could deal with something so far away they had to deal with their own situation first. Another member of the audience rose to respond, "Where besides Central State *more* needs a tour like this coming around? You got to see that what's going on here is part of a world struggle."

Meanwhile, in Oklahoma, the bourgeoisie has carried out a series of legal maneuvers which are designed to set the stage for carrying through on their attack against the tour, including the threat of deportation against the Salvadorans. In Miami, Oklahoma, a routine request was filed by one of the defense attorneys to move the trial of the federal misdemeanor charge against the Salvadorans (of "failure to have immigration papers") from Miami to Tulsa. The magistrate there at first demanded that the Salvadorans must return to Miami themselves to *personally* make this utterly routine request, arguing that he was concerned that the defense attorney might be taking advantage of them. Concerned indeed, and it is clear what about, too.

On Tuesday, Nov. 3, the grand jury returned indictments against the translator and tour facilitator, but only on *one* count of transporting an illegal alien, dropping the count involving transport of the Salvadoran who had been in the U.S. for more than three years (thus streamlining their case and perhaps seeking to sow some divisions as well). Having *dropped* one of the two charges, the grand jury then proceeded to *double* the bail on the tour facilitator, certainly an unusual move if viewed simply from the logic of an ordinary criminal case. But there was a method to this. Almost as abruptly as the bail had been raised, it was dropped again—but not before the tour



Nationally sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. For more information write: RCYB, Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690.

facilitator had been taken into custody by the authorities. This was an unmistakable attempt to convey the message that the government can bring in the tour members anytime it chooses, a message which they reinforced by scheduling the arraignment of the translator for Nov. 9, right in the middle of the appearances to be held in the Chicago area. (The tour will go on despite these obstacles.)

What has also recently come to light is some of the government's more intricate maneuvering around the issue of political asylum for the Salvadoran revolutionaries. On the Tuesday and Wednesday immediately following the Oct. 12 arrests in Oklahoma, the Salvadorans' lawyer in L.A. was prevented from completing the political asylum application due to a technicality raised by the INS. On Thursday, they at first raised another technicality, but then, after some behind-the-scenes checking, suddenly reversed themselves and allowed the filing to take place. What had gone on during the forced delay was the filing by the INS of an "order to show cause" on the Salvadorans. By making sure that this order was filed *before* the political asylum application, the INS technically closed off—or at least attempted to—one of the only two avenues allowed for appealing the political asylum issue within the INS system. The government further signalled its intent to push through its attacks on the members of the tour and to shunt aside the political asylum issue—which, given the notoriety of the Salvadoran junta, is so especially embarrassing to them—in the proceedings concerning the facilitator and

translator. There they argued that it was irrelevant whether these two believed that the Salvadorans were protected by their application for political asylum. All that mattered was purely and simply whether the Salvadorans came into the U.S. illegally—were they or were they not good red-blooded American boys?!

In the week ahead arraignments are scheduled for the translator and facilitator on the charge of transporting illegal aliens, and a trial date has been set for the Salvadoran revolutionaries on Nov. 12. The tour will appear in the Chicago area, including Madison, Wisconsin, Nov. 9-11, and the following week will be in the Boston and New York areas. Call local area phone numbers (page 2) for details.

Demands to drop all the charges and to keep the bourgeoisie's hands off this tour and its members should be directed to Ben Baker, U.S. Attorney, 333 4th St., Tulsa, OK. Money needed to fight the political/legal attack on the tour, or to meet the expenses of the tour itself, should be clearly marked and sent to: RCYB, PO Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. □

CORRECTION

In RW No. 127, page 14, the name Eugene Boyle (founder of the Catholic Committee for Social Justice) appeared on a list of individuals and organizations who sent telegrams denouncing the government's attack on the RCYB-sponsored speaking tour of Salvadoran revolutionaries. It has been brought to our attention that his name was put on the list by mistake.

War Crimes Tribunal in New York

December 4, 5, 6 in New York City
Washington Irving High School
40 Irving Place (near 18th St.), Manhattan

If you participated in the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in another city as it crossed the country—or if you wish you had after it left—you can help build its culminating sessions in New York City. Youth from a number of places around the country are arriving to help contribute to the atmosphere in which U.S. imperialism will suffer. Whether or not you can come, call or write your friends and political contacts there and make sure they don't miss it, and miss the chance to help build it.

Work is needed in the following areas:

Testimony—soliciting and collecting testimony;
Publicity—press and speaking engagements;
Money, and
Volunteers—in New York or to come to New York to: poster, leaflet, type and transcribe testimony.

Contact the national office at: 339 Lafayette St., New York, New York.
Telephone—212-674-7820.

Scene I. a deserted stretch of beach near Karlskrona, site of the "top secret" Swedish naval base. A huge dark object seems to have grounded itself in the mud. Perhaps it's a whale. On closer examination it turns out to be a submarine. A Soviet submarine. In Karlskrona?

Scene II. Inside the sub.

Navigation Officer: O Shit! We're stuck!

1st Lieutenant: Stuck? Where?

Navigation Officer: In the mud.

1st Lieutenant: What're we going to do?

Navigation Officer: Tell the Captain. He's the one that directed us in here. Let's see how he gets us out. Maybe you should offer him a little spoonful of that enriched uranium we've got below. On second thought, wait til we get out of here—he's got to do the talking now. Anyway he'll have an easier time of it here than he will when we get home.

1st Lt.: Captain, sir. We're stuck.

Captain: Stuck? Where?

1st Lt.: In the mud sir.

Captain: Oh Shit!

1st Lt.: What shall we do sir?

Captain: Can't we stay below and hope they don't see us?

1st Lt.: No sir. We're in twelve feet of water.

Captain: Oh Shit! I told them we couldn't get this close.

12 hours later. . .

There is a noise on the conning tower. Knock, knock.

Swedish Marine: Hello down there. Is anybody home?

Silence.

Swedish Marine: I say, is anyone home?

Soviet sailor opens the hatch. Hi.

Swedish Marine: What are you guys doing here?

Soviet sailor: Surfing?

Swedish Marine: Too many rocks.

2nd Swedish Marine: Is your captain down there?

Soviet sailor: Captain? Oh, Captain. Just a minute.

After a long delay the captain emerges. Now greeted by a Swedish government official.

Official: Captain, mind telling us what your submarine is doing flopping around in our mud?

Captain: I think we got blown off course. Radar must have malfunctioned.

Official: Ten yards from our shore?

Captain: I want to talk to my lawyer. . . er, I won't say anything until I can talk to comrades from the Soviet Embassy.

Scene III. Flashback. Several weeks earlier: U.S. Secretary of Defense has just finished careening around a Swedish military base in armoured vehicle, rumbling around in a Swedish tank and climbing in and out

of the cockpit of a Swedish built Viggen jet for the benefit of photographers. Tired from a hard day of negotiating with Swedish officials over the sale of new Sidewinder air to air missiles, more advanced jet engine technology, and joint public statements about how the Swedish military had a "very obvious lesson" for the Soviets and how they would "seek to preserve their independence and freedom" by a very strong defense effort; he sits in a hotel room with aides, sipping Drambuie.

1st aide: These Swedes are OK. I think they'll stand tough when we need them.

2nd aide: I don't like all this neutrality bullshit. It feeds all that damn pacifism that's running wild all over

They'd probably accuse us of violating or compromising their sovereignty.

Weinberger: Sovereignty, schmoverinty. This is the 1980s. Time for realpolitik.

Later that day in the newspapers Swedish officials explain the three days of hyped up activity around Weinberger's visit by saying that "it is in our interest that the U.S. Secretary of Defense and the NATO alliance believe we have the capability and the will to defend ourselves." Flashback ends.

Scene IV. Naval Intelligence building in Karlskrona. A young naval officer stares absentmindedly out the window in the direction of the two major

Minister and Secretary of Defense Weinberger.

Ted: Good evening Mr. Prime Minister.

Prime Minister: (bleary eyed, having been woken up at 3 a.m. to go on *Nightline*.) Good evening Mr. Koppel.

Ted: What are you going to do about that Russian Submarine, Mr. Prime Minister?

Prime Minister: Well, we will investigate it, determine why it was there and let them go.

Ted: But aren't you going to milk it for more than that, er, I mean, aren't you going to link it to a Soviet release of that Swedish citizen they've had in prison all these years who freed all those Jews during World War 2.

Prime Minister: Well, no Ted. I don't think we should link those two particular issues, although I'm glad you brought it up and made the point.

Ted: Thank you Mr. Prime Minister. And now Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Mr. Secretary, you were just in Sweden. What do you think the implications are of this blatant violation of Sweden's neutrality and sovereignty?

Weinberger: Well Ted, this is an intolerable violation of Sweden's neutrality. Her sovereignty has been defiled. We are very opposed to that, and want to make it clear to everyone that the Russians do this all the time, going around spying and such terrible things.

Ted: *sounding provocative and serving up a softball:* Mr. Secretary, how do you answer those who charge that such Soviet spying is the same thing the U.S. got caught doing with the Pueblo and the Mayaguez incidents?

Weinberger: A ridiculous charge Ted. No comparison at all. Those were American ships.

Ted: *Still pushing hard:* Well, Mr. Secretary, what about those who say that the very fact, which has now come out, that the U.S. uses that listening post at Karlskrona that the Soviets are spying on, is a violation of Swedish neutrality and sovereignty?

Weinberger: Nonsense, Ted. Those are American facilities!

Ted: Thank you Mr. Secretary. Goodnight.

Ted: Thank you for all of us here at ABC. Tomorrow night we will examine the implications and public reaction to Secretary of State Alexander Haig's statement that the U.S. might fire a nuclear warning shot in Europe "designed to maintain violence at the lowest level possible." Until then, Goodnight.

The preceding screenplay was based on current events. □

on the beach

Europe. Hell, Schmidt can't even cut it off. And he's willing to say that the Germans have to be ready to go to the mat.

Weinberger: Armed neutrality, gentlemen. That's what they say they've got. I don't like all this pussyfooting around either, but they have got some very real problems with the "unthinkability factor." The kids over here don't seem to appreciate the fact that we're offering them an experience they may never remember. . . such are the trials and tribulations of having the responsibility for putting up the nuclear umbrella, so to speak. But as long as they know what side they are on and what role they play on the team. Remember, that listening post we set up at their naval base near Karlskrona is one of our most important tap-ins to the Soviet communications network.

1st aide: Well, I hope it doesn't get out how tied in they are to our NATO plans and defenses. A lot of people in this country are not too keen on the idea of being our front line.

Soviet naval bases at Kaliningrad and Murmansk across the Baltic channel.

He says to no one in particular:

Young Naval Officer: I wouldn't mind so much having this damn listening post here if you didn't know that some of those nukes they've got over there were targeted right here.

Older Officer: Say, what's this. There is another sub reported out there. Do you think those damn Rusksies would dare try a rescue operation?

The rumor is quickly flashed around the world in the U.S. bloc press.

"Soviets reported in 2nd violation of Sweden's neutrality and sovereignty. 2nd sub sighted."

Same scene, several hours later

Older Officer: Call off the alert boys.

Turns out it wasn't a Soviet sub. It was one of ours, a NATO sub.

Young Naval Officer: But sir. We're not in NATO. . . .

Scene V. The Ted Koppel Show:

Ted: Good evening. Tonight we look at that Soviet sub that was sent in to spy on Swedish military installations. We will talk to the Swedish Prime

SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

" . . . in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

44 pages, combined English/Spanish edition
\$.60

RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.



Extremely Low Frequency: Extremely High War Preps

Project ELF. Nestled in the woodlands of northern Wisconsin, it appears totally unconnected to events shaping the world today. But if one peels away the foliage and probes beneath the surface of the seeming tranquility, one gets a very different picture of Project ELF. Interestingly, Project ELF's original name was Project Sanguine—a word that means the color of blood, or bloody. It was and is a fitting name. For Project ELF is very much tied to the events shaping today's world—in other words, world war. Project ELF is a giant transmitter (ELF—Extremely Low Frequency) that uses part of the earth's crust as its antenna in order to facilitate communications to the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet. Project ELF is a major step in the U.S.' first-strike capabilities and as such, a crucial component in war preparations.

For 10 years, between 1958-1968, the U.S. Navy worked under the top-secret tarpaulin to develop an ELF system. They were spurred on by images of invulnerable submarine fleets whose stealth wouldn't be compromised by a sub's necessity to come dangerously near the surface in order to receive communications. One other plan has been proposed that uses laser beams that can also penetrate ocean depths. The lasers would be generated from land-based facilities, beamed to orbiting satellites, and there reflected back to submerged submarines. There is only one problem: it would take at least until the end of the century to develop this technology. The imperialists do not have this kind of time to spare. Currently, the U.S. flies two C-130 Hercules aircraft (one over the Pacific and one over the Atlantic) around the clock to maintain constant communication with the nuclear subs. The planes trail a 6-mile long antenna that enables them to communicate to submerged subs. But even here, the subs must come to 40 feet below the surface. All this makes the nuclear fleet easily detectable by planes using radar, infrared sensors, or acoustic devices. According to the proponents of Project ELF, extremely low frequency waves, which can also penetrate far into the ocean depths, allowing the subs to receive messages without disrupting either their speed or depth, is the best alternative to the problem and is readily available for U.S. military use.

In 1969, the Navy constructed a test facility in the Chequamegon National Forest, just south of Clam Lake, Wisconsin. It operated experimentally for the next 10 years until funds began drying up in 1979. But on August 28, 1980, Congress appropriated \$5 million for ELF and another \$17.5 million was laid aside, awaiting only the word of the president. Reagan countermanded an order by Navy brass scrapping the ELF

project, saying: "There shall be no funding restrictions. You should advise the Navy that I am not inclined to terminate this much-needed program without compelling evidence to do so." That was in early April. Just last month, Reagan approved a \$230 million Defense Department expenditure to modernize the Wisconsin ELF facility and to build another one near Marquette, Michigan. This involves 130 miles of antennae, running along existing roads and highways, and emanating from Sawyer Air Force Base. It was all systems go.

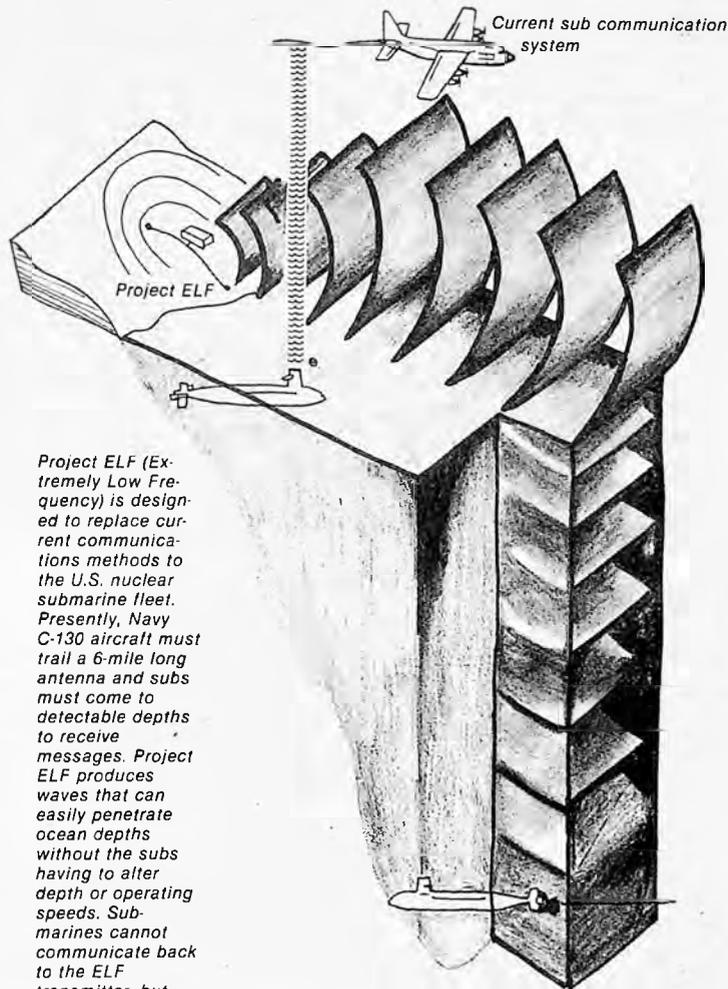
Project ELF is a simple concept. A transmitter sends 1.2 million watts into the earth's crust—in this case the ancient granite bedrock of the Laurentian Shield that runs under northern Wisconsin and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Ground connections at the ends of the transmitter's antennae shape the energy flow into a looping pattern (see diagram). In the case of the Clam Lake facility the antennae stretch 7 miles in each direction, combining for a total of 28 miles of underground antennae. An electro-magnetic field is produced that travels up to the earth's ionosphere, a band of electrically charged particles in the upper atmosphere. The extremely low frequency waves travel around the earth, sped along by both the ionosphere and by the earth's own ELF's—called Schumann Wave Resonances. The radio waves are further aided by the fact that between the earth's crust and the ionosphere a spherical wave-guide exists—a resonant cavity that makes for smooth travelling ELF waves. But while the radio waves themselves can encircle the earth at the speed of light, the actual coded message takes (by Navy estimates) about 30 minutes to penetrate the ocean's depths and reach the particular submarine.

It has been pointed out in various Naval studies that the system's range will still be somewhat limited. For example, the Wisconsin/Michigan site would still have difficulty in transmitting messages to submarines in the Indian Ocean or the southwest Pacific. But it appears that the imperialists have thought of that too. In 1970, Robert Cooksey of the Australian National University presented evidence that a so-called "weather station" near Alice Springs in the Northern Territory of Australia was actually an ELF facility. It was reconverted to an ELF in 1967, just two years before the Clam Lake facility went into operation. Interestingly, 5 antenna cables leading from the main brick building to a concrete bunker go underground. This ELF transmitter reportedly gets its electrical energy from a nuclear reactor that was secretly installed at the nearby U.S. Air Force satellite ground monitoring station at Pine Gap. It has also been alleg-

ed that the building of a nuclear power plant there took place in 1967 as well. And, a more recent publication, *A Suitable Piece of Real Estate—American Installations in Australia*, delves more deeply into the wartime implications of U.S. bases in Australia. If it's true that another ELF facility exists in Australia, then the U.S.' global ELF network is quite complete—pending the construction of the Michigan site, slated to be on line by 1983.

It should also be noted that ELF waves are also capable of penetrating the earth itself to significant depths. All the better for underground bunker-to-

nuclear sub communications (and bunker-to-whatever else the imperialists may want to launch). And, obviously, the longer the message being transmitted the longer the time it takes for it to be received in its entirety. So the Navy has devised a three-character code, the various combinations of which allow for over 17,000 pre-arranged messages to be transmitted. The fact that the subs are not capable of sending any messages back to ELF should make it quite clear that these coded messages, while differing in particular targets, all amount to the same thing: First Strike. □



Project ELF (Extremely Low Frequency) is designed to replace current communications methods to the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet. Presently, Navy C-130 aircraft must trail a 6-mile long antenna and subs must come to detectable depths to receive messages. Project ELF produces waves that can easily penetrate ocean depths without the subs having to alter depth or operating speeds. Submarines cannot communicate back to the ELF transmitter, but then that poses no problem whatsoever—Project ELF is purely a part of the U.S.' first-strike arsenal.

Raids

Continued from page 3

and their attorneys. Lt. Thomas thought up the idea (or had it planted in his pig brain by his intelligence superiors) in 1970, around the time when California prisons were boiling with revolution, and George Jackson was murdered. Supposedly set up to control "gangs," the SSU has from the beginning concentrated on going after the political leadership of the prison movement at San Quentin. At San Quentin, there's a special security squad, made up of the most hardcore of the correction officers, and a special responsibility of this squad is stripping and searching prisoner's cells, and various other attacks and assaults. Out of this special security squad the SSU is recruited—especially retired lieutenants and captains, the pigs of the pigs of the pigs. Both the Dept. of Corrections, and the various local police departments deny any responsibility for or knowledge of what this squad does.

The SSU has been watching the Black August Organizing Committee for some time. Last April, in a similar SWAT-style raid, they kicked in some doors looking for some Black August people whom they were trying to frame for murder. In one case, they continued their assault after the people they were supposedly looking for were already in custody in another city. More recently, some members of Black August were involved in organizing picket lines to protest the murder of a Black man by security guards at a Pay 'n Save store—the man was shot in the back, accused of stealing a few dollars worth of medicine. The local TV station Channel 4 came down to the picket line one day, and started paying particular attention to Black August members, taking many pictures, and asking questions like "Aren't you linked to the Black Guerrilla Family? Aren't you involved in gangster activity, running drugs, etc.?" At the time, Channel 4 was broadcasting a series of attacks on prisoners especially revolutionary prisoners in San Quentin.

One member of Black August told

the *RW* "it was hard for us in the '70s in the prisons—we had no voice on the outside." Black August was formed partly to be that voice, and partly because of the increasingly felt need, by many leaving prison, for revolutionary nationalist political organization on the outside. Several ex-prisoners described the phenomenon of prisoners in the 1970s intensely involved in political life in prison getting dragged down into street-life when they got out. One member of Black August told the *RW*, "We concentrate on the prison movement because prison is a concentration of society. Everything in prison is tenfold that on the outside, especially the racism. We who are oppressed in society, in prison we are slammed up against the wall. We study the oppressed around the world who have gone up against their oppression."

There is no doubt that there is a concentration of hatred for imperialism and revolutionary impatience behind prison walls which has been fertile ground for the revolutionary nationalist trend now broadly under attack. One of those arrested in the recent Black

August busts was recently transferred from his former parole officer to a new one in the same building in San Francisco where the SSU is headquartered. His new parole officer demanded that he sign an agreement saying he will not associate with anyone on parole. California prison officials, past masters at pulling charges out of the clear blue, after months of surveillance and harassment, have rather blatantly flaunted the fact that they can cite no parole violations for those brothers targeted in the raids, which is only one way they have to deliver the message that this is a political attack. The flies buzzing around the heads of the political police could undoubtedly furnish more proof of government directives for such attacks on Black revolutionaries. Unfortunately flies don't talk, but where there's flies, there's shit, and the actions of the government and their political police in the past several weeks have certainly left a heavy trail of the familiar odor of COINTELPRO operations as the scope and focus of their recent assault has come plainly and sharply into view. □

The War Against the People of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Continued from page 9

of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), not only does barely 1% of the population in CHT benefit from the project but the resulting lake submerged between 60-80,000 acres of the best rice growing land in the Hill Tracts. Nearly 100,000 people lost their homes and many others still live in makeshift refugee camps today since no organized relief efforts were undertaken by the Pakistani regime. Nearly 100,000 Chakmas fled into India and those who remained were driven into primitive slash-and-burn cultivation, their prime agricultural lands now under water. To add insult to injury, the Pakistan regime formally abolished the special status that the CHT had held under the 1900 Regulation—as if it had ever been respected in the first place.

At the same time that things were intensifying in the CHT, the political situation in East and West Pakistan was coming to a head as well. In the early '60s a massive student movement developed in opposition to the New Education Act, that would place schools under military control with regards to hiring and firing, curriculum and enrollment. It quickly sparked protests among the industrial workers in the suburbs around Dacca University, soon transforming itself into student/worker opposition to martial law itself. As a result of the upsurge not only was the NEA rescinded but Ayub Khan lifted martial law. Pakistan, it should be noted, was totally within the U.S. sphere of influence. President Eisenhower called the regime "the U.S.' most allied ally," and invited Khan to address a joint session of the House and Senate. Under Kennedy, vice-president Lyndon Johnson visited Pakistan and promised more aid and complete support. The World Bank was busily charting out the neo-colonial course which Pakistan was to take as part of the U.S. sphere.

In the late '60s, the struggle against the Pakistani regime was heightening in East Pakistan in particular. Not only were there certain bourgeois forces, like those organized under the banner of the Awami League, who wanted more maneuvering room for their nationalist interests and a bigger slice of the pie, but more importantly there was a groundswell of peasant uprisings and land seizures that cut right to the heart of the feudal relations that kept the masses of people enslaved and exploited. The situation was fast taking on the character of all-out war against the ruling regime headquartered in West Pakistan. Communist-led forces had already seized and liberated large stretches of countryside and the influence of the revolutionary Naxalites of India was making itself felt among the masses of people on both sides of the India-East Pakistan border. The Naxalites derived their name from the powerful peasant uprisings in India's Naxalbari region, in the northwest section of West Bengal in 1967. The name has come to be more popularly associated with the followers of the Communist Party of India M-L, who played a leading role in the Naxalbari Uprising.

In 1969, the mass upheavals led to the fall of Ayub Khan and the promise of new elections. The elections, held in 1970, saw the Awami League sweep 55% of the seats in parliament. In West Pakistan, Ali Bhutto and his Peoples Party took the bulk of the remaining seats and contested the Awami League's claim to be the new government. As the constitutional crisis was unfolding, Ali Bhutto led the Pakistani Army into East Pakistan in March 1971, unleashing a wave of terror in an effort to stop the tide of revolution. Mass arrests were carried out and thousands of revolutionaries and progressive forces were murdered outright. Awami League forces fled into India by the thousands. There they found support and military aid from Indira Gandhi's regime, which had allied itself with Soviet social-imperialism.

In December 1971, in an effort to

crush the revolutionary elements opposing the Pakistani Army and to achieve some of its own expansionist aims in South Asia, India invaded East Pakistan. The Pakistani forces were quickly brought to heel and the Indian-backed Awami League were propped up as the leaders of the pro-Soviet regime of so-called "independent" Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujib Rahman was released from a Pakistani jail and immediately set up as President. And, as his first political act as head of the new regime, underscoring his loyalty to India, and his fear of continued revolutionary resistance, Mujib Rahman moved to eliminate all Naxalites within the borders of Bangladesh by either jailing them or driving them back into India to contend with the Indian Army.

The tribal peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts had joined in the armed resistance against the Pakistani Army in the hopes of getting more favorable treatment under a new regime. In February 1972, a delegation from the CHT met with Mujib Rahman and demanded that the new government: give autonomy and a separate legislature to the CHT, retain the 1900 CHT Regulation in the Bangladesh Constitution, continuation of tribal chiefs in the CHT administration, and constitutional bans of both the removal of the 1900 Regulation and the immigration of non-tribal peoples into the CHT. Mujib Rahman's answer was twofold. Immediately upon the delegation's departure he instructed the army and the air force (who were backed by forces of the Indian Army) to conduct a raid into the CHT. The raid resulted in thousands of men, women and children being slaughtered. His second act was to formally uphold the Pakistani regime's abolition of CHT autonomy when the Bangladesh Constitution came into effect. It was at this time that the masses of people in the CHT organized their own armed forces and began fighting for their self-determination.

In August 1975, Sheikh Mujib Rahman was assassinated by some army officers in what is broadly understood to be a U.S. CIA operation in an effort to counter Soviet gains in South Asia. His successor, the pro-U.S. puppet Mushtaq Ahmed, was hardly any different with regards to the CHT and lasted in office for a month before he was also assassinated. Between the months of October/November 1975 a series of coup and counter-coup was played out until a loyal U.S. puppet was found in the person of Ziaur Rahman. And, under Ziaur's guiding hand the situation in Hill Tracts has only intensified.

While some bourgeois forces inside the Bangladesh government have pushed for seriously watered down versions of the four demands developed under the regime of Mujib Rahman, the view of the Bangladesh ruling class is that even *that* is unacceptable. Instead, the Bangladesh regime is stepping up the importation of non-tribal people into the CHT in an effort to literally engulf the minorities. At the same time, with the aid of SAS advisers the government is carrying out search and destroy missions against the armed resistance in CHT. Last year, on March 25, 1980, a mass meeting was called by the local military commander at the Kalampati Union in the CHT. Tribal leaders and scores of people came to discuss problems in the CHT and to discuss plans for reconstructing Buddhist temples. Armed forces swept into the area and opened fire, massacring over 300 people on the spot and wounding dozens of others. At least 30 women were carried off by the soldiers and raped repeatedly. In the days that followed, bands of Bengali civilians and Bengali soldiers wreaked havoc on the surrounding area, burning villages, hacking captured tribespeople with machetes, desecrating Buddhist temples and raping at will. Since last year, numerous village attacks and massacres have been carried out by the army.

But despite all this military muscle

being thrown around in the Hill Tracts region, backed up as it is by assorted imperialists, one can hardly call the situation facing the Bangladesh rulers and their U.S. masters, fine. As noted earlier, the insurgents in the Hill Tracts have stepped up their attacks on the authorities, ambushing the Army patrols and sacking the rural police stations. The guerrillas conduct mass meetings in many villages in the Hill Tracts, agitating and educating the peasants on the nature of their oppression and the struggle against the oppressors. An important part of class struggle being waged here has also been the question of women's oppression. In a number of areas, committees have been set up to carry out local law enforcement—a sort of peoples' justice system—and land reform is being implemented in certain areas. With this picture developing right before their eyes, the government introduced a Disturbed Areas Bill into the last session of its legislature. It is a law that would formally give the armed forces carte blanche to shoot on sight anyone suspected of guerrilla activity.

At the same time, the crisis facing the Bangladesh government is causing them to unleash further repression on the rest of the people in the country. And while the U.S. is keeping a wary eye on pro-Soviet influences—most notably India's backing of the now ousted Awami League—other worries are increasingly coming to the fore in their nightmares. The fact that revolutionary forces, whose aim it is to overthrow the regime as part of the struggle against all forms of imperialism, are amongst the masses of people exposing the crimes of the U.S.-backed Bengali rulers and standing firmly on the side of the struggle of the tribal peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, can only be causing some mighty distinct teeth-gnashing. But neither teeth-gnashing nor their vicious repression can alter the fact that the contradictions in the entire region are intensifying—in fact, the machinations of the imperialists and their lackeys only further heighten them. Nor can one other fact be altered: the Chittagong Hill Tracts is right in the middle of this furious stormcenter. □

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and in the San Francisco Bay Area in September, 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung at which time the RCP made public for the first time its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss In China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation, and its implications and lessons for the revolutionary movement worldwide. 1978. 151p.



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Tribunal Serves Subpoenas on Hostage/Spies

"We've got a story here... could be network news," cracked the station's CB as the media waited for the "hostage heroes" to emerge from the Los Angeles courthouse. The spies' suit, begging their imperialist masters for more bloody money, had just been thrown out (interestingly, the ringleader higher-up "heroes" were not listed as participants in this suit). But the real story was obscured on the evening news of October 26, as a shot of the spies emerging from the courthouse quickly cut to a hostage being interviewed in the safe confines of the courthouse library. What occurred on those courthouse steps was something quite different than had been planned: representatives of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism were there, subpoenaing the hostage/spies to appear at the final session of the Tribunals in New York City.

As the TV cameras focused in on the spies' lawyer, a representative of the War Crimes Tribunals stepped in front of the cameras, beginning, "Before we get started here, I want to address the question of who the real terrorists are." He began reading, "... at these proceedings, you will have an opportunity to answer to the peoples of the world for the acts of ruthless terrorism and the barbaric crimes perpetrated by you, in the service of your imperialist masters, against the people of Iran." When one reporter tried to cut off the subpoena server by shoving her mike directly in the face of the spies' attorney, a cameraman yelled, "Get out of the way, I'm filming this." A group of students on a field trip excitedly snapped photos.

A courthouse cop tried to jump on the "disrupter," but people had surrounded the subpoena server. At the cop's assault, an outraged young attorney dressed in suit and tie shouted, "There's your freedom! There's your justice! Arrest me! Arrest me!" Finally, the cop and a helper were able to collar the Tribunal representative briefly and drag him down the courthouse steps. But he broke free and ran back up the steps, his glasses broken, and resumed, "Now to continue..." He finished reading the subpoena, but the "heroes" were nowhere to be found. They had fled at the first mention of "U.S. imperialism," no doubt having embassy flashbacks. The subpoena was served to

their lawyer.

That was just Round One. The next evening, William Sullivan, the last U.S. ambassador to the Shah's regime, a master of U.S. imperialism's dirty work throughout the world, was the guest "Nixon scholar" (no less) at Whittier College near Los Angeles. No sooner had Sullivan begun his speech, "An Appraisal of the Iranian Revolution," than he too was served with a subpoena to the War Crimes Tribunals by a Vietnam Vet who had seen Sullivan's work as U.S. ambassador to Laos at first hand.

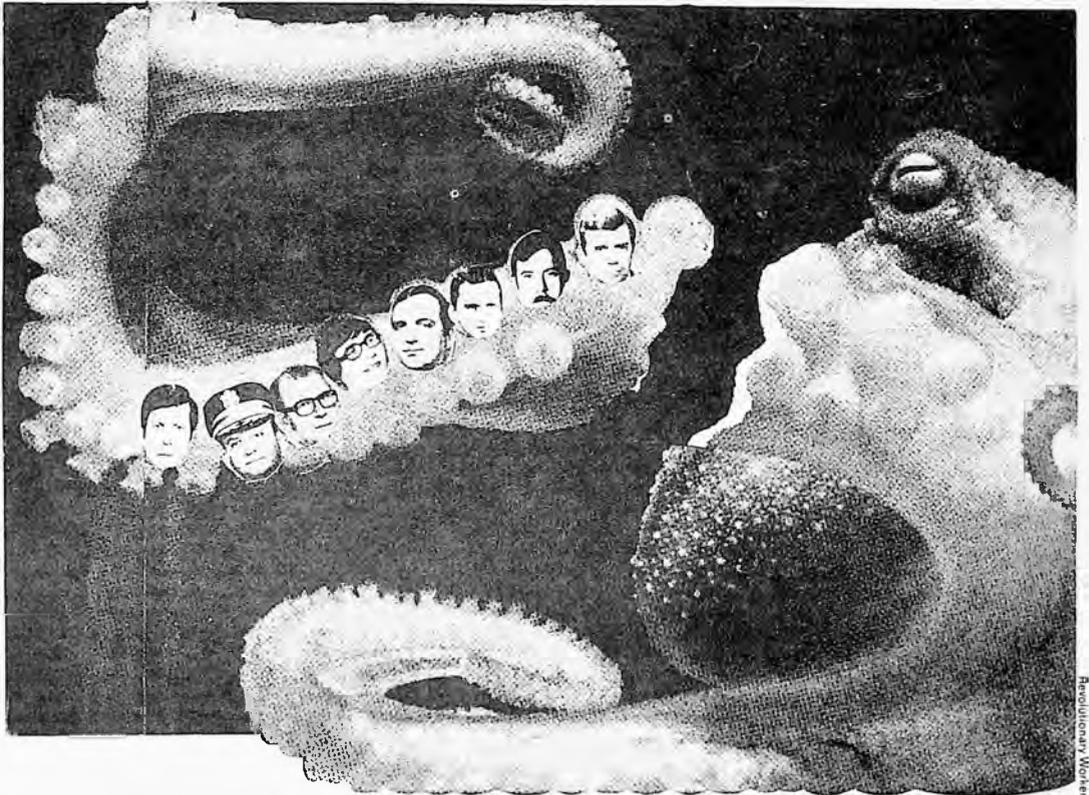
Sullivan tried to laugh off the subpoena, but even his "joke" was a tip-off. He turned to a delegation of foreign students, saying, "Our students here from the People's Republic of China are going to think the Cultural Revolution has started all over again," (keep laughing, Bill). Sullivan then finished his ranting about "Iranian xenophobia" and "mob rule," but the

very first question was from an Iranian student, challenging Sullivan's statement that the Shah "was not dominated by any outside power." (More "xenophobia," replied Sullivan.) As another representative of the War Crimes Tribunals "invited" Sullivan to appear in New York City, and yet another stood up to continue exposing U.S. imperialism's war crimes (to the applause of many in the crowd), the president of Whittier College rushed to the podium to declare the meeting "canceled," after only an hour.

He wished, *Revolutionary Workers* in hand, the representatives of the Tribunals were surrounded by groups of people eager to talk. "I know what you're talking about. I'm from El Salvador," said one woman, who proceeded to expose U.S. crimes against El Salvador, especially those of the INS, and volunteered to make a statement for the Tribunal. A Vietnamese student spoke out. Even students who didn't

like "the disruption" bought *RWs* and took extra copies. Sullivan had been rapidly spirited away by the administrators, and now they turned out the lights, but the discussion continued for an hour on the terrace outside. As it began to break up, half a dozen police cars were spotted waiting in the parking lot. Students escorted the Tribunal representatives in the face of this. No one was arrested.

In light of yet another round of hostage hoopla which came in the week following these subpoena servings—a truly and all around *pitiful* observance of that shocking day two years ago when the U.S. embassy was seized in Iran—the action by the Tribunal was indeed timely. Serving the subpoenas showed the fertile ground to continue to expose the war crimes of U.S. imperialism and bring the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism to an historic conclusion in New York City on December 4-6. □



To: Hostage/Spies Kalp, Sharer, Royer, Needham, Gillette, Jones, Scott, Roeder, Ragan, Holland, Golancinski, and McKeel

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism hereby orders each of you to appear at the final session of the Tribunals.

You say you want to talk about terrorism—at these proceedings, you will have an opportunity to answer to the peoples of the world for the acts of ruthless terrorism and the barbaric crimes perpetrated by you, in the service of your imperialist masters, against the people of Iran. This will give you a chance to defend such acts of terrorism as Bloody Friday, the massacre of 10,000 unarmed demonstrators in Tehran Square, the burning alive of 800 youth in the Rex Theater in Abadan, and the tortures and brutal executions of tens of thousands of Iranians—countless crimes carried out by you and your cohorts to further the interests of the U.S. Empire. A verdict will be delivered—that which you were unable to receive from the Iranian students—and then we will see who the REAL "International Terrorists" are!

CIA Agents Kalp and Jones: Wasn't it your agency that organized and led the 1953 coup d'etat in Iran that overthrew the Mossadegh government and planted the puppet Shah on his Peacock Throne, a coup headquartered in the same U.S. Embassy from which you were working to overthrow the Khomeini government in 1979? Didn't the same CIA use that same U.S. Embassy to train, arm, equip and direct the Shah's fascist SAVAK in its attempts to keep the Iranian people firmly under the boot of U.S. imperialism? In fact, CIA Agent Jones, didn't you gain much similar experience committing crimes against the people of Africa and the Philippines—thus demonstrating to your imperialist masters the added advantage of owning some Black goons in carrying out their dirty work?

Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Roeder: Wasn't it because of your demonstrated record of crimes against the Vietnamese people—carried out from a B-52 cockpit in over 100 "combat missions"—that the revolutionary Iranian students justly labeled you as a "war criminal"? Did your acts of terrorism include the 1972 Christmas bombing of Bach Mai Hospital? How many flood control and irrigation dikes did you destroy, flooding numerous villages, in faithful service to U.S. imperialism?

And the rest of you—what more foul deeds were you and your masters planning inside the Embassy spy nest—plans thwarted by the righteous seizure of the Embassy by the Iranian people?

We recognize that this lawsuit of yours is nothing more than the desperate act of that brutal terrorist, U.S. imperialism, in an attempt to cover up its crimes and reverse the correct verdicts which have been delivered against it in the streets of Iran—and the Philippines, Vietnam, El Salvador, West Germany, and around the world. And we hereby challenge all of you to answer to the indictment of the oppressed and exploited peoples around the world, to defend your masters and their foul acts of terror, at the New York session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism, to be held in early December. Should you not appear, it will only prove that your masters cannot afford to have their crimes exposed to the light of day.

Signed,

War Crimes Tribunal
Box 582, 6520 Selma Ave.
L.A., Calif., 90028

To: William Sullivan

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism hereby demands your appearance at the final session of the Tribunal to defend the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of the world, crimes which you have helped to plan, orchestrate and carry out in various ambassadorial posts across the U.S. empire.

What right have you to "appraise the Iranian revolution"—or any other revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism? You, who at the direction of your masters have perpetrated some of the most brutal and bloody war crimes of U.S. imperialism: as Ambassador to Laos, you helped to direct one of the most savage bombing campaigns against a country in history—including the wanton destruction of the Plain of Jars and its 6000-year-old culture. And later, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of East Indian and Pacific Affairs, you blatantly defended the murder by assassination of 40,000 plus Vietnamese under the CIA Operation Phoenix Program as being "necessary for the interchange of information and intelligence." You, who went to the Philippines as U.S. Ambassador to help "stabilize" the brutal regime of U.S. puppet Marcos in the first years after the declaration of martial law, are a true servant of U.S. imperialism.

It is obvious why you were sent to Iran—that "island of stability" which became a bastion of revolutionary resistance against U.S. imperialism. As the last Ambassador to the Peacock Throne, your appointment culminated 25 years of U.S. imperialist terror against the Iranian people—and in the course of your appointment, the most bloody and violent acts of terror were carried out. Crimes such as the Black Friday massacre of over 10,000 unarmed demonstrators shot down in Tehran, the burning alive of over 800 youth in the Rex Theater in Abadan, and the torture and brutal execution of tens of thousands of Iranians—these and countless other crimes committed in a desperate attempt to stem the rising tide of the Iranian revolution. Yet despite this, the situation proved beyond the control of you and your masters, as the Iranian people rose up against U.S. imperialism—and you and the puppet Shah were forced to flee for your lives.

By parading you out here today in the name of "appraising the Iranian revolution," your imperialist masters only show their desperate necessity to reverse the correct verdicts which have been brought down against U.S. imperialism by the masses of people in Iran, Vietnam, the Philippines—and El Salvador, West Germany, and around the world. And we hereby challenge you to answer to the indictment of the proletariat and the oppressed people from all over the world, to defend your masters and their brutal terrorism at the New York session of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism, to be held the weekend of December 4. Your failure to appear will only prove that your masters, the true "international terrorists," cannot afford to have their crimes exposed to the light of day.

Signed,

War Crimes Tribunal
Box 582, 6520 Selma Ave.
L.A., Calif., 90028

Tribunal

Continued from page 9
ten years later that I would advise, well anybody now not to go to war period. Any G1, I don't care who he is, be he Black or white, I would advise him not to go to war period. It's just a damn chess game devised by the generals and brass. G1 and G2, we had to go at G1 and G2. And it's just like a damn Army stratego game. They sent men out there, get the shit kicked out of them. And then they get the medals for it. Or they get a promotion for it, you know, they don't give a shit.

That came about in promotion, too. You check out how many Blacks were promoted while they were in the service and how many whites were promoted while they were in Vietnam. I wouldn't get a, I couldn't get a promotion because I didn't, and you know that's another part of racism. If a white guy was running with a Black guy—that white guy was in trouble. First thing the First Sgt. or the commanding officer would do is talk to him. Tell him to leave him alone. Around 1970, the first part of 1970, Jan '70, they were told not to be hard on Black guys. And they started a racial commission. And it was all a big joke. It was all a big joke.

Q: Could you talk about the intelligence?

We were never no fools. And it was very few civilians that came in our unit. Very few civilians. And now that I look back on it, every time these civilians came in our unit, every time they came in our unit we had a mission to do the next day. We had an operation. It couldn't have been nobody but the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA. They were the only ones—now one reason that always puzzled me—and we knew they weren't no legislators or representatives—every time they came into the fucking compound, these guys would run around with their goddamn heads cut off. The Provost Marshal and shit, they would be running, they would act like he was the Messiah or something. I'm serious and it kept bothering me that every time these guys (there were 2 of them all the time) every time these 2 guys would come up there they would act like a dude on a hot date, man... Every time they came up there. Every time we saw those 2 guys, we had a mission to do in another day or two.

It was amusing. It really was 'cause they jumped. However high they are, they jumped. It was that simple.

I remember a song by the Temptations called *Stop the War*. And some of

the song what I've just said was always saying "will anybody give a damn about the men in Vietnam?" And I thought, you know, they don't. But I found out a lot of people in America really, really cared. A lot of people in America really found out what the fuck the war was all about....

I think before we ever get in another war, we better start and stop it there. If they want to start another war, why in the fuck don't we let Ronald Reagan go over there and fight. Let him and Breshnev fight about the shit. If they're supposed to be the leader of the country, I thought the leader of the country was supposed to lead his people into battle. But I bet you he never goes any damn where. The Joint Chiefs-of-Staff sit up there on their ass all the time and plan the strategy. And it reminds me, all this bullshit reminds me of a football game. The coaches, the owner, they just sit on their ass. And we, the ballplayers, and we, the soldiers, we have to get out there and take the licks.

... It amuses me that we talk about if you fight here, if you get to fighting on the street—you're a criminal. But you can go to war and kill somebody that you don't know a damn thing about, you don't know nothing about. You can kill 'em and it's legal. That is a joke, man. That is a real joke. Why would I kill somebody I don't know anything about. This man he ain't did a damn thing to me. A Russian soldier hadn't did nothin' to me. Nothin'! And they want me to go back and fight somebody....

Just word one for all you young kids. There may not be nothin' tomorrow. There may not be no tomorrow if you let those old men fool you into talking about the patriotic bullshit. If they're so patriotic why don't the fuck they go? Why don't they go? If they're so patriotic why don't they lead us into battle? Onward Christian soldiers. They want to talk about patriotism, why don't they lead us into battle. They ain't going nowhere....

The war was profits for a lot of people. We go to war because we need some money. We need a booming industry. And king of America is gonna send us to war again. You know who the King of America is, don't you, King Ronald the 1st and Queen Nancy. They're gonna send us to war again and this time ain't nobody coming back. Nobody. Ain't nobody coming back. Think about that. They talking about Armageddon. It is. If we don't put a armageddon. It is. If we don't put a stop to it now. And tell 'em, hey, man, and get with some of those young Russians and say, hey, let's live in peace.

riot vans covered with grills and grates resembling their counterparts in Northern Ireland. We passed the burned-out hulk of the Westminster Bank, a target of the riots and, of course, the Racquets Club which was now nothing more than a pile of bricks in a vacant lot. And as we surveyed the scene, our eyes met with a huge monstrosity of a building about one-half a mile away looming over the decay and rubble like a rampart or castle in the days of old. We wondered what the hell this ominous-looking massive monolith was—a giant guard tower? an old castle preserved for the tourists?

Later on we went to check out this red-brick hulk. It was the Liverpool Cathedral and inside it was more than simply a church, but like many churches in England it was a military museum. In its cavernous interior were not only the tombs and sepulchers of various admirals and generals that had served the empire buried along with the lords, ladies, priests and bishops. Not only were there epitaphs and tributes to their glorious contributions to queen and country, but also the battle flags of the colonial conquests, many brown and tattered with age, lists of war dead, and various ornaments and souvenirs of battles and glories past. A musty silence filled the cathedral, every step echoed, and the hymns of a choir floated up from a basement room. This was just so fitting and so appropriate. Here it all was—all the triumphs of conquest, mummified and preserved to be worshipped and prayed over in this hallowed tomb, which is almost literally sitting on, and watching over, the rot and rubble of Toxteth and the rest of decaying Liverpool. We looked all around for gunports in the structure for possible future use. We found none but were convinced that they had only cleverly been concealed. Someone had gotten up on one side of the cathedral and written in chalk—PIGS!

To us this cathedral was just a perfect symbol of what British imperialism was all about. And bringing that cathedral down would beautify the world landscape immensely. Some people we met with told us about some other symbols that were brought down by the masses, during the riots in Toxteth:

"These kids were geared up and they knew what they were going to do... You've seen the tapes on the television where you see the police with the shields and these kids throwing petrol bombs and what have you at them. These kids were pulling the shields off them... The kids were putting their riot helmets on and using their shields. It was a push, and when the push started, it didn't stop until they got what they wanted. It was a half mile, you know... push, push, push."

Another brother jumped in and then another and another:

"That club, the Racquets Club, was a gentlemen's club. There were no black people allowed whatsoever. They used to pull up there in their Rolls Royces and what have ya. They must have been laughing at us saying, 'Look at these niggers' or whatever. The building was a fabulous old building, wasn't it? It was built on the slave trade. Obviously when the riots went on, that was the first target because that is the establishment."

"It was the last bastion of English society in Toxteth. It was the only gentlemen's club like it in Britain and it had to go eventually. That was where everyone had to make for. It had to go. You could have had 10,000 police and it was still going."

"A lot of things that were burnt during the riots were symbols of racism. They were symbols of something that we were supposed to hold dear. People hated them. People are waking up, you see. Their eyes and ears are becoming more open."

And we found this to be very true. Among the angry and rebellious proletarians from Asia, Africa, the West Indies, Ireland, as well as England itself, especially the youth, there is a certain awakening, a searching and great turmoil. And among the masses more broadly, both the intensification of the crisis in Britain and more importantly the press of world events—particularly the developments towards world war, are presenting very big questions.

And what was very striking to us in our travels in England was the tremendous political impact of the people in places like Toxteth, Brixton, and Southall as part of much broader ferment in society. In the short time we spent in England, we saw within this ferment the seeds of the proletarian internationalist force that could take the lead in demolishing the crumbling monolith so well-symbolized by that cathedral of worldwide plunder that looms over the Liverpool skyline. □

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Britannia

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and then at each other. "To kill the coppers. The coppers get on your nerves over here. They just pick you up for anything. Beat you up in the back of a van and throw you out.... The busys (cops) stopped a black youth on a motorcycle. They said it was stolen and he got in touch with his mates and that's how we formed the riot... We heard about it from the telly so we just went straight down and started fighting—throwing petrol bombs, bricks and everything. Turning the busy cars over and everything; getting them in the alleyways, hitting them over the head with baseball bats, playing cricket with their shins... That's all we go to football matches for, really, is to foot the busys after the match...."

Contemplations on the Liverpool Cathedral

Liverpool just reeks of the stench of England's imperialist history. It was a slave port, part of the slave trade triangle. The blacks in Toxteth are descendants of slaves from those days. Many have mixed with the Irish who settled in Liverpool, also the main stopping off point for Irish coming to England. In the heart of the Toxteth area the great bulk of the population is black and Irish and various mixings in-between. In Toxteth there are many black and white youth who are cousins. The police presence is massive, with

busloads shipped in daily from other parts of England, since the riots. But police occupation of the area is nothing new. One brother told us, "I believe that kids between the ages of 15 and 20 that don't have some form of criminal record are only the exception to the rule. If they show any slight bit of intelligence it's almost inevitable that they'll go to some form of institution before they are 25." And it is not just kids who are harassed and beaten by the police by any means. One older white worker told us that he had been repeatedly stopped and abused by police while on his way to work early in the morning. Hatred for the police and the way people are forced to live runs wide and deep.

As we walked down Upper Parliament Street we viewed a scene which burned itself in our memory. The area looked as if it had been subjected to repeated aerial bombardment. Buildings stood cracked and crumbling. In some lots, piles of rubble stood where there were once buildings. It was impossible to tell what had been hit during the riots and what was just the result of decay. Off of Upper Parliament Street was a combination of old houses and newer council flats, some single level and some high-rise. The street was practically deserted due to the police patrols. They would drive by in cars and vans, marked and plainclothes, and toward the evening, out would come the

10 MONTHS = $\frac{1}{2} \cdot 52 = 43 \frac{1}{2}$ WEEKS
 $\frac{200000}{43 \frac{1}{2}} = 46,150$ PAPERS/WEEK

Subscribe

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the emphasis became slightly one-sided in the sense of stressing anything to maintain distribution at a certain quantity. Financial problems emerged and this also cut against the orientation of "It's In Your Hands"—in the sense of seeking out the policies which put the task of distribution and paying for the paper in the hands of the masses in a sustained way. As Mao put it, "if (a party—*RW*) is not carrying out a given policy consciously it is doing so blindly." Along with this came a certain tendency to narrow the tasks of revolutionaries down to only the mechanics of distributing the paper, instead of the more all-around work, based on the newspaper as the key weapon now, but on that foundation carrying out all-around training of forces, building the Party and mounting a political and ideological assault in every sphere on the bourgeoisie.

In light of this experience (learning from both the overwhelming positive and secondary negative) what is called for now is not a crash effort to boost distribution but rather work toward a sustained rise. This includes translating the correct orientation of "it's in your hands" into policies which encourage implementing it in a more all-sided and on-going way. New ways need to be found to enable people to find the paper—and pay for it—and to encourage people to develop their own and innovative ways of distribution that better correspond to their conditions.

Beyond the subscription drive, public distribution of the *RW* needs to be expanded—to enable those seeking a revolutionary analysis to find it more readily. At the same time it is important to continue to develop other means of distributing the *RW*, ways completely

hidden from the eyes of the political police. The Party and the class-conscious proletarians recognize that current conditions will change (already the essence of this question can be seen in the many arrests of *RW* sellers, other attacks aimed at the *RW* and the RCP and its Chairman directly). However, the Party and those more broadly a part of the emerging proletarian internationalist trend must maximize our ability to take advantage of all legal opportunities today to spread its revolutionary influence far and wide which will make conditions more favorable in the future when public distribution of revolutionary literature is not in the main possible. Under today's conditions, actually increasing many facets of public sales and collection of funds ("revolution corners", neighborhood stores, newsstands, Party bookstores, etc.) can add to the anonymity of the conspiracy through having many "buyers and sellers." Alongside this public presence, other deeply sunk networks which cannot be easily penetrated or dug up by the political police should be nurtured, cherished, and helped to spread. With this combination, the conspiracy centered around the *RW* can be spread more broad and deep.

Learning from some experience born during the 100,000 campaign there are particular widely known places where the *RW* is sold at a regular time every week and people come to that location not only to pick up their copy or their bundle and turn in money from the previous week's sales. But more, as word spreads, some of these locations have become centers of lively political debate, where the advanced seek out the Party to struggle over key developments in the world, strategies for revolution and to buy other revolutionary literature as well.

In a similar vein, there are certain

gathering spots (whether restaurants, stores, or individual homes in a neighborhood or project) which act as a magnet to draw together revolutionary-minded people to grapple with the questions confronting the international proletariat (including through more systematic propaganda sessions led by the Party) and to make plans to further the cause of revolution.

The various Revolution bookstores, while mainly centers for books, can also play an important role as public centers for mass distribution and collection for the *RW*.

All this takes place in the context of the far-reaching impact the *RW* has already had. One simple, but often underestimated illustration of this is that in the last 10 months, roughly 2 million copies of the *RW* have been distributed, some of which have found their way not only to many corners of this country but to the streets of San Salvador, prisons in India, homes of supporters of Chiang Ching in Algeria... Regular *RW* sellers have reported that they cannot walk in certain areas (even when they are not selling) without being stopped frequently by people who want to discuss different aspects of the Party's line and analysis of world events, its strategy for revolution. It is not just that the Party or the *RW* are recognized by increasing numbers of people, but more that basic features of its line are familiar to literally tens of thousands. Even more significant is the degree to which the masses broadly in particular emerging base areas (in a relatively short period of time) have been trained in the internationalist outlook concentrated in the pages of the *RW*. Farmworkers or residents of a Black ghetto analyzing developments in Iran, the maneuverings of the imperialists and the various class forces involved in a complex revolutionary situation, learning from and

evaluating the prospects and strategies for revolutionary advances by the international proletariat. Immigrant workers from Central America intensely involved in struggle over developments in the revolutions in their native countries also buying and distributing in record numbers issues of the *RW* covering the Pontiac Brothers trial and the Atlanta child-murders. Prisoners responding to the call to study and debate the *Cosmos* series. Among a wide array of forces in struggle against the crimes of imperialism (to mention only a few, the anti-nuclear movement, revolutionary nationalists, Native American activists) the thoroughly revolutionary analysis and uncompromising internationalist stand of the *RW* has both brought broader understanding and sparked important controversy and debate. Through the pages of the *RW*, many have been able to learn about more extensively as well as enter into the debate in all spheres of society from science to culture.

With the announcement of this subscription drive we are calling on you to not only subscribe to the *RW* but to encourage others to do so. Can anyone seriously grappling with the profound questions being posed the world over be without the *RW*? Further, we would seriously urge you to not only subscribe yourself, but to order multiple copies of each issue to distribute to others; to contribute urgently needed funds to not only strengthen the *RW*, its distribution and coverage, but to assist in accumulating the funds necessary to launch more editions of the *RW* in other languages and to expand its influence in other ways. Read, Subscribe, Distribute and Correspond to the *Revolutionary Worker*. □

See back page for subscription information.

Afghanistan

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shop and you will have the answer very soon. It is mainly the Russian soldier, "advisor" and his family members who are the sizable buyers. A Russian woman wanting to buy a fur coat will be escorted by a minimum of 4 Afghan soldiers, but this inconvenience does not deter them in the least from accumulating as many goods as they can within the shortest time possible. It is vulgar and reckless consumption by these invaders and many times the smuggling of army provisions to the shops is meant for financing these purchases. It is easy to locate an American, British, or French flag prominently

sewn on to the jacket worn by a Russian. Both the multinationals and the Russians gain by this arrangement: the former has extended their selling market to the Russians at inflated prices and the availability and possibility of acquiring these modern consumer goods act as an incentive for the otherwise reluctant Russian soldier to go in to Afghanistan.

Babrak's economic policies can by no means be called a nationally oriented one. In some aspects it can be characterized only as suicidal. It is worth recalling that before the actual invasion the Russians had conducted a

thorough geological and topographical survey of the entire country. Now they have installed a direct pipeline to Russia for pumping in Afghan natural gas and it is learned that the whole natural gas mining and pumping out has nothing to do with Babrak Karmal's government. The quantity of natural gas flowing in to Russia is intimidated by the Russian "experts" to the Afghan government and so is the case with the many strategic minerals of Afghanistan. There is a ridiculous agreement in operation between the two governments according to which the standard quality cement produced by Afghanistan is exchanged for the extremely low quality Russian cement, ton for ton. All this plundering of natural resources from Afghanistan is accounted for by the massive "debt" imposed on the Babrak

government by Russia. The entire expenditure for the upkeep and activities of 1.20 lakh (120,000—*RW*) Russian soldiers and about 5000 Russian "advisors" is on the Afghan economy and it is to reclaim this constantly increasing financial burden that the Russians are siphoning off the valuable resources of Afghanistan. Kabul is bursting with construction activities. Entire townships have been assembled using prefabricated construction materials (all imported from Russia) for the exclusive use of Russians and their trusted locals. This also contributes to the "national debt" of Afghanistan... □

(*Mass Line's* new address is: *Mass Line Publications*, No. 80A/1, New Hosiya Singh Quarters, Munirka, New Delhi-110067, India)

AIM

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of demonstrations, fish-ins, arrests and beatings by state police and fishery agents, and the armed seizure of a fishing camp along the Puyallup River by Native Americans and their supporters—the federal courts conceded the right to fish in the traditional fishing grounds and to catch 50% of the harvestable salmon to Native Americans.

In fact, Indian fishermen have never caught anywhere near the 50% of the salmon catch which the federal court decision supposedly guarantees, and the bourgeoisie has never stopped attacking Native American fishing rights. The attack on Native fishing rights has taken a number of different forms, open and covert, legal and "extra-legal." A series of laws has been proposed to the Congress limiting Indians' right to fish, including one currently before the U.S. Senate which would totally abolish Indian treaty rights to the steelhead salmon catch. A more insidious form of this attack has been to portray Native Americans as responsible for the decline in the number of salmon and generally responsible for "ruining the environment." Recently, a number of Lummi Indians (another area tribe) and some Puyallups were set up on charges of illegally selling eagle feathers by federal wildlife agents. The charge was a felony and many of those convicted

were given extremely heavy sentences in an attempt to portray Native Americans as "slaughtering an endangered species" to intimidate Indians.

The struggle has been especially sharp in Commencement Bay, where the Puyallup River itself enters Puget Sound. "It's been like a war zone out there for a long time," one Puyallup told the *RW*. "There have been incidents out there for the past year... I myself have had my net run over by redneck sports fishermen. I've been shot at while fishing, and I've shot back, too." A climate of racist hysteria has been whipped up, particularly by the *Tacoma News Tribune*, the city's only daily newspaper. Reactionaries—from various groups of white commercial and sports fishermen to the Ku Klux Klan—openly organize against Indian fishing rights and call for attacks on Indian fishermen; the Port of Tacoma and other city officials regularly attack the Puyallup tribe and call for laws restricting their rights. In one recent incident a ship in Commencement Bay ran over an Indian fisherman's net, the net became snagged on the ship and the ship began dragging the small fishing boat behind it. The pilot of the ship refused to stop, despite the danger of the fishing boat being swamped and sunk, until another Native fisherman saw what was happening and fired a flare onto the ship's deck. It is the fire chief, incidentally, who is designated as Tacoma's harbor master, giving the fire department prime responsibility for enforcing

marine rules and safety on the bay. But, not surprisingly, the authorities have done nothing to apprehend or punish those responsible for this and other similar incidents.

Given a history such as this it is no wonder that few believe that whatever happened out on Commencement Bay on the night of October 1 was an accident. Kevin Henry's uncle, who himself had fished on the Bay for the past 10 years told the *RW*, "Every fisherman I talk to feels it's some form of homicide. A lot of people feel it was outright murder."

Kevin's uncle said, "It's well known that whenever a major power prepares for war they clamp down on the dissidents. When Russia prepares for war, when Germany prepares for war, they clamp down on the dissidents, they come down on any center of resistance... Everybody knows the United States is preparing for war, so they're doing the same thing... since Wounded Knee we've had some real, real strong people who have just disappeared—and it's always the leaders. So I think the U.S. is just continuing its present trend. I do think Roque was one of the most important people the Indian movement had."

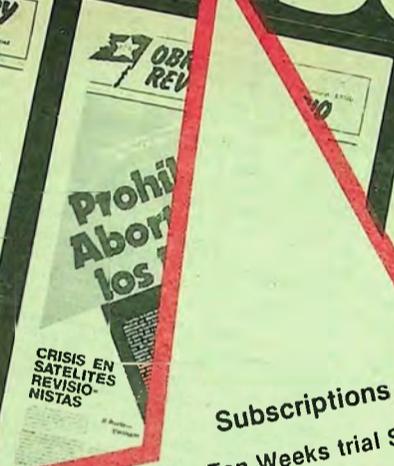
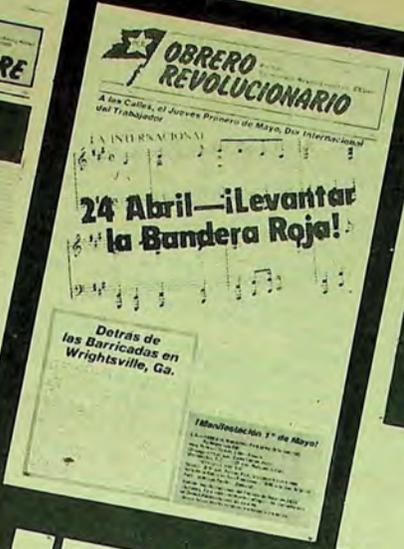
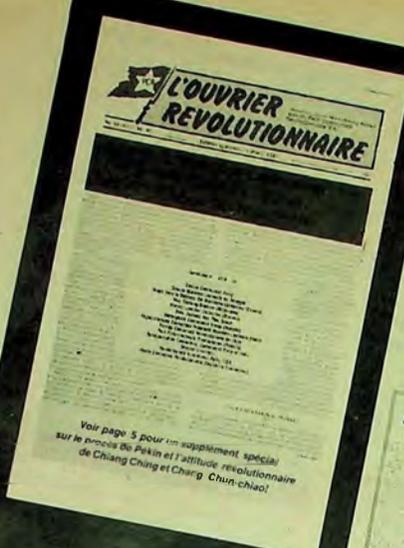
A lot of people, both in the Northwest and across the country, share these feelings. They are determined not to let the deaths of Roque Duanes and Kevin Henry just become another in a long list of "accidents," determined to drag the forces at work on that dark October night into the light of day. □

Simmons

Continued from page 2

As it stands now, either Jimi will not appear at his own trial, or he will be forcibly brought into court by guards, possibly gagged (upon order by the judge). Jimi himself, despite Reeser's threats and the years of abuse received at the hands of the prison administration, remains defiant, refusing to submit to the degradation of being led into the state's kangaroo courtroom in chains. "The creator did not intend for my people to be in chains," is how Jimi put it to one supporter.

Native American prisoners at Walla Walla have been singled out by the prison administration for especially vicious treatment. Native spiritualism has been a source of strength and a focal point of resistance, and the prison administration has made Native American prisoners' religious ceremonies and beliefs a key focus of their attack. Guards have denied Indians wood for the sacred fire, stolen the Sacred Sweatlodge, destroyed sweatlodges, denied visits from Native American spiritual people, desecrated medicine bundles, and destroyed other religious objects. Even such things as the right to wear a head band to visits have been the focus of battles with the prison administration. The trial of James Simmons is part and parcel of a general effort to crush the struggle of Native Americans. □



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