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Plague of "Peace" Strikes Lebanon



Now that over 3,000 United States, French and Italian troops have returned to Beirut, officials of all three NATO imperialist governments involved in the U.S.-led expeditionary force are calling the operation an "open-ended commitment," talking rings around the question of the deadline, or even a tentative or projected date for withdrawal. As the U.S. Marine contingent took over control of Beirut International Airport on September 29th, the U.S. press seemed to be preparing the public for just about anything: "Marines, in Beirut, Control Airport; Role Is Uncertain... Reagan and His Aides Mention Differing Criteria... Confusion Surrounds

Timetable For Mission" read the headlines on the front page of the *New York Times*.

Different officials, named and anonymous, in the Reagan administration have offered conflicting statements on the objectives and mission of the occupation force. This is probably a deliberate technique of obfuscation, rather than an indication of confusion or debate within policy making circles. The most widely reported "condition" for the withdrawal of U.S. troops is the prior withdrawal of "all other foreign forces from Lebanon." This, the press has commented, quoting other administration officials, "could take months—or even

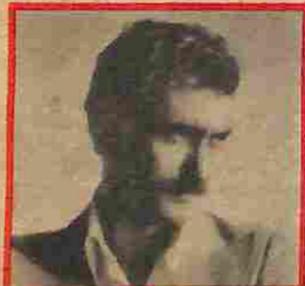
years." Of course, one of the "foreign forces" that is supposed to withdraw under this formula is Israel, and the United States, if it chooses, can ensure that Israel stays on in Lebanon indefinitely.

President Reagan, at his news conference of September 28th, said that U.S. forces will not be withdrawn until a negotiated withdrawal of both Syrian and Israeli forces had been achieved—but he claimed that he anticipated such a withdrawal would occur "rapidly." But on September 30th, the *New York Times* reports that "Administration officials said there was only one condition for the departure of the

Marines—that the government in Beirut had established its authority. The officials say they 'hope' this will happen soon."

This report, a background analysis by Leslie H. Gelb, who was a State Department official in the Carter administration, was apparently based on confidential briefings by authoritative Reagan administration officials. It deserves appropriate attention. "Privately," the analysis stated, "a number of administration officials said the Marines would be in Lebanon 'for some time,' implying that this would be later rather than sooner... the overriding aim of United States policy concerning Lebanon is to

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Special to the RW
**A TALK WITH YILMAZ GÜNEY,
DIRECTOR OF "YÖL":
FILM AND REVOLUTION**

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Trident Nein Take Stand in Connecticut Court

“Why We Took Up The Hammer Against Trident”

New London, Connecticut. “The children of the world will judge us all”—with these words the Trident Nein ended their closing argument to the jury in the New London, Connecticut courthouse. Sister Anne Montgomery, who also took part in the Plowshares 8 in 1980 at the General Electric nuclear warhead plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, told the jury... “We do not want your sympathy, but something stronger—your conscience.” In rebuttal the prosecutor admonished the jury: “whatever political beliefs you have, we have a society of laws and it would be unconscionable to ignore the oath you took to determine guilt or innocence on anything but the facts and the law.” On that note, Judge Hendel excused the jury overnight while he prepared his charge on the facts and law of this legal charade which pretends that the only question is whether the Nein violated Connecticut law on conspiracy, trespass and criminal mischief, and damaged “property of another” when, on July 5th, they boarded the Trident sub, *USS Florida*, and with paint and blood renamed it the *USS Auschwitz* and took hammers to its nuclear missile tubes and to two Trident sonar spheres in the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard at Groton, Connecticut. Throughout the trial the court has attempted at every turn to outlaw any mention by the defendants of whose private property the Trident was and what this nuclear private property was for—namely making more of the globe the private property of U.S. imperialism in a global showdown with Soviet imperialism.

All the technical points of legality in this case were placed in perspective on the previous day in the testimony of defendant James Cunningham, formerly a criminal defense lawyer. He said, “There is not the slightest doubt that if the U.S. and Russia carry out the nuclear war they are preparing for, it will all be perfectly legal. There is no court in this country, even sitting amidst the rubble, that would rule U.S. nuclear weapons and strategy to be illegal.”

The New London Superior Court, of

course, has proved to be no exception. Judge Hendel, in Catch 22 style, insisted “I am a trial judge, I cannot make law,” as he ruled irrelevant defense efforts to introduce testimony on the hard facts about U.S. nuclear weapons and strategy. He also banned from the jury’s sight a life-sized model of a nuclear warhead. This was followed by an even more revealing exposure when the jury was not even allowed to know that Kiyomi Joyce, a survivor of the U.S. nuclear bombing of Nagasaki, was prepared to testify to the effect of the use of nuclear weapons. Ms. Joyce, now living in Hartford, Connecticut, was 14 years old on August 9th, 1945 when a nuclear bomb equal to 10 kilotons of TNT killed over 80,000 people in that city. Her testimony and very presence was too intimidating to the guardians of law and order and defenders of such crimes, who are protecting the sanctity of the Trident sub and the rest of U.S. war preparations in this highly political trial to railroad the Trident Nein into jail for their militant pacifist actions. But although this testimony was not heard in the court, Kiyomi and the other witnesses were interviewed outside the court by the press and it was carried in the news of the trial that evening.

Anticipating the judicial stonewalling, the Nein took the stand as their own “expert witnesses.” Individually and taken collectively they presented a powerful, irrefutable case for why they “took up the hammer against Trident.” Most of the Nein had been directly involved in the struggles around the Vietnam war, and all, particularly the three women, spoke to their various political activities in the 1970s, through the accepted channels of petitions, votes, etc. But as Anne Montgomery summed up, “The message wasn’t getting across... Voting is another form of psychic numbing... You have to get at the roots. I had to do something more than the bandaid operation I was involved in... I’m 55 years old and really I have nothing to lose...”

One of the defendants, a former high school history teacher said, “If history, Vietnam as well as what they’re doing

every day, teaches anything it is that they will do anything, any level of mass murder to hold on to what they have.” Another, Vincent Kay, a poet, challenged the prosecutor during cross examination: “History is at stake here—the children of the world is at stake here—can you comprehend that; I’m not even sure I can!” Kay testified that he grew up on a small farm near Stratford, Connecticut within earshot of a plant that turned out Huey helicopters and “every night on TV, the Vietnam news featured those same Huey helicopters carrying out slaughter and carrying out bodies...”

Another of the Nein, George Veasey, was one of those wounded GIs who were evacuated. In 1968 he was in Vietnam 8 weeks as a Marine before he stepped on a mine and became “one of the lucky ones,” spending 18 months in a VA hospital. He testified “We were there to commit genocide on the Vietnamese people... the technique for killing is beyond all human comprehension. Vietnam was mainly a genocide by bombing, clean technology. Our job was to secure Da Nang for U.S. forces and mop up in the villages after the bombing and napalm, and it was almost all old men, women and children. We obeyed the law and killed. We knew it was morally wrong but we knew there wasn’t any court that would rule that what was going on was illegal. And I knew several guys who did resist, who said they wouldn’t participate and they were eliminated—listed as missing in action, and they are still listed as MIA. It is very painful to be responsible for millions of deaths. In the darkest hours of my life in that VA hospital, a lot of people committed suicide in the hospital because they couldn’t deal with guilt. I felt betrayed by the church; it supported the genocide, but what kept me going was people that resisted, like the Catonsville 9. When I got out I decided I couldn’t be part of America and I looked for an escape... and finally I couldn’t be silent anymore after seeing the genocide in Vietnam and seeing that now they plan a global Vietnam... in the name of anti-communism... They kill in Korea, the Philippines, El Salvador—you have to resist.”

James Cunningham further testified, “I’ve read too much... I grew up glad that the U.S. won World War 2 and Nazism was defeated... but truly the

‘führer must be indeed dancing in hell’ because this whole society is based on death... 60% of the world’s resources consumed by 4% of the population, a way of life enforced by a nuclear umbrella, 1200 bases all over the world, while people in Latin America and Africa don’t even have enough food or decent water... This whole rotting system is falling apart, but on the morning of July 5th I was full of hope. I knew we were going to get on the *USS Florida* because they are fat and rich and lazy and we are going to disarm this monster if it takes one dent at a time.”

The prosecution’s only rebuttal to the several hours of intense, riveting testimony by the Nein was to say that it was all irrelevant philosophizing and to make the obvious point that the Nein knew what they were doing when they “violated Connecticut law and damaged property of another.” On that point there has been agreement from the beginning, or as one of the defendants said, “By any reasonable human definition what we did was a sane, rational action,” and “If there is a law protecting Trident then it has to be broken...”

The Nein are charged with conspiracy, criminal trespass and mischief, two felonies and a misdemeanor carrying a maximum of 11 years and several thousand dollars fine. As they left the court after the closing arguments one of the Nein said, “Really the system is on trial here and regardless of what the verdict is in this case, the only thing that makes sense is to continue resisting and to encourage others to resist.”

Further coverage of the trial and the jury’s verdict will appear in the next issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. □

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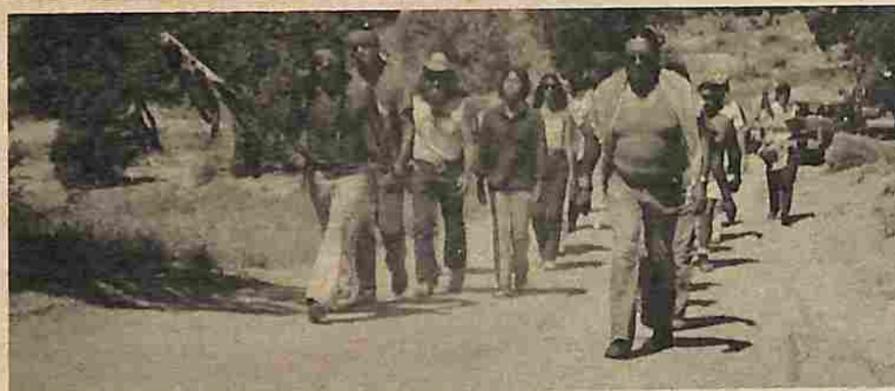
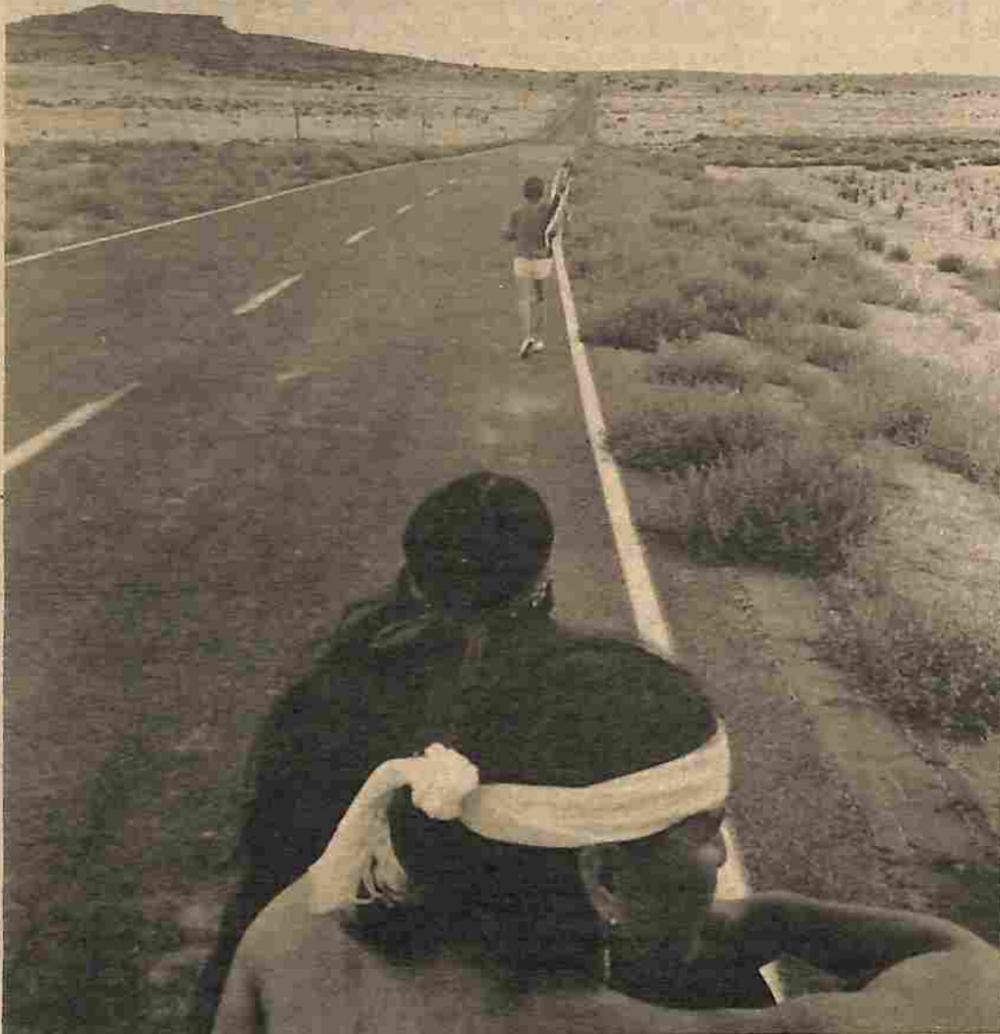
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Gathering At Big Mountain



In the first two weeks of September, Indians from southern Canada to northern Mexico, supporters of the struggle of Indian peoples from around the southwest, and others from as far away as Scandinavia, all converged on the seemingly remote and isolated Four Corners area of Arizona. They answered the call of Big Mountain Dine' elders and organizers to come to a Survival Gathering and subsequent Spiritual Walk from Big Mountain to Window Rock, headquarters of the puppet Navajo Tribal Council and its chairman Peter MacDonald. The event was timed to coincide with the Navajo nation fair in Window Rock, which drew together thousands of people from the broad expanses of the Navajo reservation, and with the upcoming elections for tribal chairman. It was designed to dramatize the determination of the people of Big Mountain to resist the government's efforts to evict them from their homeland in order to get at the rich lode of coal that lies underneath their hogans, cornfields and grazing land — and to gather more support and joint resistance from throughout the Navajo reservation and surrounding areas. All told, about 300 people participated in the Gathering at one time or another, and about 75 went on the 140-mile Walk to Window Rock.

This was not a welcome sight to the U.S. ruling class. Propelled by a frantic need to lock down "safe" energy resources as a crucial part of its preparations for world war, the government and its frontmen have been trying in every conceivable way to break the Big Mountain resistance, a pre-condition in schemes of turning over the entire Joint Use Area (shared by Hopis and Navajos for centuries) to the cause of capitalist energy development. But the people of Big Mountain have refused to budge; in the past five years, they have prevented government workmen from fencing off their land, they have rejected every "offer" of thinly-disguised capitulation that the government has attempted, and they have stepped up their efforts to involve many more in struggle, spitting in the face of the government's efforts to pit Hopis and other Navajos against them. Through all this, more of the U.S.'s continuing — in fact *escalating* — assaults against indigenous peoples has been brought to light, and many more forces have been inspired to struggle against these crimes. And of course, the Big Mountain struggle has remained one important concentration point of the overall Native struggle.

This was very much reflected in the broad array of Native peoples that came together at the Big Mountain camp. Many of them came long distances with very little money, and no assurances that they would be able to raise enough to get back home. Some were elders in very poor health or families with newborn babies, but they all voiced the commit-

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Stop the Extradition of Hüseyin Balkir!

As reported in last week's *RW*, the West German government has arrested Hüseyin Balkir, a leading revolutionary from Turkey, and is holding him for deportation into the hands of the Turkish junta. This was done despite the fact that Balkir's Turkish citizenship was revoked by the junta itself and that he obtained political refugee status in France and a UN passport, which means that legally he was traveling in West Germany under French and United Nations protection. Protests against this internationally orchestrated imperialist attack have begun

to mount in Europe and elsewhere around the world. Amnesty International has expressed its concern in this case to the UN Human Rights Commission, which in turn has sent protests to the West German government. Nevertheless, Hüseyin Balkir is still being held in a Cologne prison for extradition to Turkey. Many other groups and individuals have begun to send telegrams and to spread the word about this case here and abroad — lawyers and legal groups in the U.S. and France, groups of proletarians of various nationalities, and Turkish-born people

who have contacted other people from Turkey all over the world.

It is urgent and vital to send telegrams demanding that Hüseyin Balkir not be extradited and that he be released, to the following official addresses:

**Oberstaatsanwaltschaft
5000 Köln 1, Reihenspergerplatz
West Germany**

**Ministère des Relations Extérieures
Quai d'Orsay
Paris 7^{ème}, France**

Copies should be sent to the Commit-

tee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners at:

**Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 252
4100 Duisberg 11
West Germany
Phone: 0203-407244**

It is also important to send copies of all messages and reports of related activities to the *RW*, so that the progress of this campaign can be appraised and reported on:

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Plague

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strengthen the new Lebanese government, whose forces will be responsible for disarming and dealing with Christian and Moslem militiamen. The general view in the administration is that the country's new government will have enormous difficulty in achieving this task and integrating some of the militiamen into the Lebanese army.

"The American policy is not to take chances and therefore not to remove the Marines before the job of establishing Lebanese authority is well in hand. In other words, the Marines will be there for awhile."

The view reflected in Gelb's article, significantly, compared the "peacekeeping" force now in Beirut with the other joint U.S.-NATO contingent in place in the Sinai Desert. This formation, which includes 800 members of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, is essentially seen as a permanent fixture in the Sinai. Gelb said that "several mid-level Pentagon and State Department officials" expressed the hope that "The troops could create stability on Israel's most volatile borders, thus giving Israel and its Arab neighbors a greater sense of security and enhancing the chances for Middle East peace talks in general."

The article quoted William Quandt of the Brookings Institution, a "liberal" think-tank traditionally associated with the Democratic Party, as endorsing this view: "If we can prevent the occurrence of serious mishaps," he said, "the long term presence of American and international forces on Israel's borders could help create an atmosphere in which we could get into peace negotiations." Clearly, the operative term in Quandt's, Gelb's and—presumably—the administration's vocabulary here is "long-term."

The possibility does exist that the U.S.-French-Italian occupation of Beirut will end up more in the mold of the 1958 U.S. Marine landing in Lebanon: a couple of months of counterinsurgency work, shoring up (or in this case building up) the "central government," followed by a gracious withdrawal. But this is not 1958. And it appears that we are witnessing a major strategic move (though one certainly not disconnected from prior events), a U.S.-European joint operation to take permanent direct military control of Lebanon.

Stability—Yankee-Style

A note on the political atmosphere in the United States is appropriate here. There seems little trace of the so-called "post-Vietnam syndrome" apparent in the political establishment, including in its so-called liberal or "left" wing. If anything, a "pre-Vietnam syndrome" is on the rise: the old liberal argument that U.S. military forces have a natural duty and obligation to "protect the forces of

democracy" and "promote regional stability" is enjoying quite a vogue. The liberal critique of U.S. "indirect responsibility" for the Sabra-Shatila massacre, after all, faults the Reagan administration for having withdrawn the Marines too soon after the PLO evacuation. The blithe new assurances that the U.S. forces wouldn't dream of staying on in Lebanon a day longer than "requested by the legitimate government of Lebanon," so ludicrously reminiscent of the days when 525,000 troops were in Vietnam "at the request of the Saigon government," are once again resonating in Washington.

The Marines are expected, according to press reports, to play a vigorous "peacekeeping" role; they will not be merely standing around at checkpoints and spit-shining their boots. The Marines, for example, will replace Israelis, to quote one unnamed administration official, manning "borders and major road crossings so that the Lebanese army won't have to worry about their flanks while they get on with their job of disarming various factions, finding arms caches and so forth."

The Gelb analysis referred to above quoted "some administration officials" as saying that "the Marines... will not be used to drive foreign forces out. However, as foreign forces depart, the official said, the Marines could be used to fan out from the Beirut area into the countryside, although no such decision has been made."

This job of "disarming various factions," etc., is the job of urban counterinsurgency, and the Phalangist massacre at Sabra-Shatila was an especially stark example of the essential character of this mission. This is precisely the mission the Israeli army entered West Beirut to carry out, and this was the cover under which the Israelis granted the Lebanese forces passage into Sabra-Shatila.

Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, as a result of the complicated infighting within the Israeli government since the massacres, has become an invaluable source of exposure and quotable quotes. In an interview last week on Israeli television referring to the statement of the Israeli government at the IDF entrance into West Beirut that the army "took positions in West Beirut in order to prevent the danger of violence, bloodshed and anarchy," Sharon said frankly that the statement was a "camouflage for something else."

"Our entry into West Beirut," Sharon said, "was in order to make war against the infrastructure left by the terrorists, to gain control of the great quantities of arms that, in violation of the agreement, were not transferred to Lebanese army. Would you expect the government to say in its statement that the Israeli army is going into West Beirut in order to go from house to house, from cellar to cellar, in order to find the new command posts of the terrorists?" These operations, euphemistically described by both Israeli and

American officials as "anti-terrorist operations," include not only the actual uprooting of organized armed opposition to fascist-imperialist rule, but also the instigation of armed terror aimed broadly against the whole Palestinian and Moslem populations. Phalangist plans exposed recently in the Western press include explicit strategy for inciting mass emigrations of Palestinians through systematic terror and atrocity. It is still unfinished work that the U.S.-led multi-national force will be "assisting" by "guarding the flanks of the Lebanese army."

The "Lebanese army": there is an interesting political category: it sounds so reassuringly "legitimate," unlike the disreputable and unruly "private armies" and "independent militias" known to afflict Lebanon. Unfortunately, the Lebanese army is "weak and impotent," and one of the principal aims of the United States is to strengthen this force. What is the plan for strengthening the Lebanese army? Why, to integrate the "Lebanese Forces"—the official name of the 26,500 strong Phalangist militia headed by Bashir Gemayel before his assassination—into the Lebanese army. In other words, the Phalangists will put a Lebanese army patch on their uniforms, and the "disreputable" private militia will become the "legitimate" military arm of the government of Lebanon.

The merest glance at the situation in Lebanon today reveals there is zero foundation for any assertion that U.S. intervention is motivated by "impartial" considerations of "ending the violence, bloodshed and anarchy"—although it is true that the U.S. favors specifically a certain kind of stability, an "end to anarchy" on a strictly defined basis, that serves its interests and that implies the consolidation of a homogenous fascist dictatorship throughout Lebanon. The United States presided over the evacuation of the PLO and then allowed the Israeli army free rein in West Beirut; the massacres at Shatila and Sabra, by the way, did not even begin to tell the whole story of what has happened in West Beirut, "house to house, cellar to cellar," over these past weeks. Even at this writing, reports continue to emanate from Beirut of hundreds of Palestinians being arrested and taken from the camps by Lebanese army trucks to "undisclosed locations." There has been utterly no moderation in the reign of terror, either in Beirut or in the Lebanese countryside, either before the massacre disclosures or since they were revealed.

Israel is not at all sorry to be leaving Beirut, handing over responsibility for operations there to a joint U.S.-French-Italian task force. It has 70,000 troops still in Lebanon and the task force's presence in Lebanon makes the Israeli position there more, not less secure. Despite rhetorical U.S. calls for "withdrawal of all foreign forces," which we have heard since the invasion began on June 6th, this is always interpreted to mean that the Israelis will not be expected to withdraw before the Syrians and the remaining PLO forces in north and east Lebanon. The Reagan administration says it is aiming at achieving a "simultaneous negotiated withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian-PLO units." An interesting strategic symmetry is apparent here: The Israeli withdrawal is linked to the Syrian withdrawal, and the U.S.-French-Italian withdrawal is linked to the Israeli-Syrian withdrawal. Presumably, if nobody withdraws, everybody gets to stay: Syria in the Bekaa, Israel in south Lebanon, the U.S. and its NATO allies running things in the capital and the suburbs. Even if Syria does withdraw (as seems likely) and the Israelis reduce their presence in Lebanon, the U.S. will be under no compunction to depart unless it is "ordered" to by the "independent" central government. We're not holding our breath.

Strategic Concerns

It is difficult to understand the *raison d'être* of the new U.S.-led multi-national force in Lebanon if one's sights are narrowly confined to the internal situation in that country. Because the Soviet Union has adopted a discreet attitude toward events in Lebanon this past summer and fall, it has perhaps been easy to see the developing situation there as unconnected to the broader regional and global confrontation between contending imperialist blocs. To be sure, one cannot

mechanically explain complex events as one dimensional expressions of a reductive "West-East contention." But neither can one afford to ignore the dimension of inter-imperialist conflict, or fail to understand that both the United States and the Soviets view the struggle in Lebanon as only one part of a larger picture. From the United States' standpoint, for example, the issue of the "settlement of the Palestinian question," on terms dictated by itself, the achievement of imperialist stability in Lebanon, and the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and the Arab regimes are, taken together, not ends in themselves, but steps in the direction of a viable regional political and military alliance providing a situation politically and logistically hospitable for the basing of operations of U.S. and allied military forces. This article is not the place to expand on this theme, but it certainly is the place to point out that to fail to consider these strategic designs (which are, after all, well known, and quite frankly stated in other contexts by U.S. spokesmen) when considering the motivation behind this new "peacekeeping force" borders on deliberate blindness.

The Israeli government itself, so often portrayed as narrowly preoccupied with its own struggle to masticate and digest "Judea and Samaria" and other territorial meals, is fully committed to a "world-strategic" view of Middle East policy. Defense Minister Sharon, in the text of a speech published on Dec. 18th, 1981 by the Israeli daily *Maariv*, spells out that "I believe strategic cooperation between Israel, the United States and other pro-Western countries in this area headed by Egypt, with which Israel has now been developing a new system of relations, endorsed by a peace treaty, is the only realistic way of preventing further Soviet conspiracies. This cooperation could provide a central incentive for the consolidation of the security of the area and for increasing the chances of peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, which, for considerations related to their own national security, are being obliged to take measures to curb Soviet expansion."

After stating that the "Soviet policy of expansion in the Middle East and Africa" might become "the principal challenge of the '80s," Sharon later in the same speech affirms that "Israel's security interests are affected by developments and events far beyond the area of direct confrontation upon which Israel has concentrated her attention in the past... We must expand the field of Israel's strategic and security concerns in the '80s to include countries like Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and areas like the Persian Gulf and Africa, and in particular the countries of north and central Africa."

Of course it is always possible—if a little silly, in the light of the major military initiatives that have taken place under General Sharon's leadership since this speech was published—to dismiss his remarks as the ravings of a "megalomaniac." But in fact Sharon's statement is entirely consistent with U.S. imperialist strategic thinking; indeed, if his text is suspect at all, it is because he may possibly have been pandering a bit to a U.S. audience.

The fact of the matter is that neither Sharon, nor the Likud coalition government headed by Prime Minister Begin of which he is a leading member, is essentially "extreme" or unrepresentative of the Israeli politic as a whole. It has become common knowledge that one of the main political objections to Sharon from the Israeli Labor Party "opposition" is that he is excessively candid. His comments on the true aims behind the Israeli army's entry into West Beirut, for example, brought down a storm of criticism from Labor Party quarters—not because Sharon was lying, but because he was telling the truth. Similarly, the *New York Times* reports "anger at Sharon and the Israeli army is running high" because of Sharon's allegation of army involvement in the Tel al Zataar massacre of 1976. Sharon spilled the beans on that one to put his own involvement in the Shatila-Sabra massacre "in perspective." Shimon Peres, the Labor Party leader, was the Israeli Defense Minister in 1976. Again, hackles were raised not because Sharon was somehow uniquely mad or bloodthirsty, but because he, in defense of his own position, was showing just the opposite: that there really was no

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Peacekeepers' Big War Plans

"During the 1970s many political analyses predicted that the peace of the world would be seriously threatened in the 'dangerous Eighties' by the explosive instability of the Third World, the serious domestic deficiencies and expanding military might of the Soviet Union, and the dependence of the industrialized democracies upon foreign resources which they could no longer control. The Middle East was pointed to as the region of the world where the combination of these three factors would produce the most dangerous political 'cocktail'."

If these words ring as a somewhat one-sided approach to world politics, this is because they are taken from a draft report prepared for the Trilateral Commission titled *The Middle East and the Trilateral Countries*. Led by the U.S., the Trilateral Commission draws together representatives principally of the ruling classes of the "industrialized democracies" — the Western imperialists. Completed in February, 1981, the report is a rather sweeping assessment of the necessities facing the U.S. bloc in the Middle East. It is also a guide to action.

The report as a whole deserves thorough scrutiny, a task which will be taken up in the future. This is particularly true of a lengthy section on the "Palestinian Question" which maps out an all-around imperialist plan for dealing with the struggle of the Palestinian people (though, needless to say, massacres are not mentioned, at least explicitly). However, given the most recent developments in Lebanon — the entry of the combined military forces of three "Trilateral countries" — and given widespread and facile acceptance of the idea that these imperialist armies have landed for the noble purposes of establishing "peace" in the region, at this time it is highly instructive to focus on a section of the report titled "Strength and Negotiations: Facing the Challenge from the Soviet Union in the Middle East and the Gulf."

As the heading implies, developments are set squarely in the context of the fight between contending imperialist blocs. In a discussion of "American Military Standing in the Region," the authors are delighted by evidence that "Events in the first few weeks of the Iran-Iraq war brought to light the fact that, however distant, the United States is still capable of 'projecting power' across the globe in a crisis, and of offering useful and appreciated military protection (for instance through their AWACs planes) to the states of the Gulf; and its very substantial naval armada protects passage of vital oil resources through the Straits of Hormuz." This is, of course, old news to some degree. The dramatic increase of direct U.S. military presence throughout the region over the last couple of years is fairly well known. Suffice to say that the most recent invasion of Beirut (like its predecessor) is part of a larger trend.

Less exposed are the broader "Trilateral" dimensions of the problem. And since recent events in Lebanon have been partially camouflaged behind a bank of French socialist fog and a clump of spectacular Italian chicken plumes (not to mention agreement by and assistance from other "Trilateralists"), it is useful to quote freely from the part of the report which considers some military implications of these broader dimensions, bearing in mind both the date of publication and the fact that nothing like this is ever written without the infusion of a certain amount of self-serving imperialist demagogery. We pick it up with a subsection, "European and Japanese Con-



A reassuring kiss for Amin from a French soldier newly arrived in Beirut.

tributions":

"The section above has referred primarily to U.S. initiatives. As a matter of fact, the military situation in the Middle East has been thoroughly discussed in NATO, and this discussion has produced some results. The number of French and British (and Australian) ships present in the area, after the start of the Iran-Iraq war, dramatically increased: On such an occasion, facts were indeed more relevant than words. The European members of the alliance have also accepted the implications for their theatre of the changes in the deployment of American forces and reserves necessary for the creation of the Rapid Deployment Force. But what has been done, and what has been accepted, does not go as far as it could and should so as to strengthen, militarily and politically, the Trilateral presence in this unstable area."

So, one vital question involves taking up the slack for U.S. forces moved out of

Europe: "Europe and Japan must not only become accustomed to fewer naval units in their waters, ... they must also ask themselves if they should not replace some of that lost capacity. Equally, until such time as the proposed increase in U.S. defense expenditures begins to make its impact, it is difficult to see how U.S. military reserves can be committed to two places at once, which could be dangerous at a time of 'double' crisis." Mark that — a "double" crisis. "In addition to this question of Allied 'substitution' in Europe and around Japan for redeployed American forces, the question must be asked whether the Europeans and Japanese, who depend upon Middle Eastern oil to a much greater extent than the United States, can indeed leave it mostly to the United States to defend their interests there or whether they should do something themselves by assuming a greater burden of defense in the Middle East itself..." Indeed, the

question must be asked, and it must be answered too! Here, as well, facts are "more relevant than words," though things are hardly reducible to oil supplies.

"In principle, this need is not denied by some of the Allies. The British Defence Paper declares that 'the Government believes that the services should also be able to operate effectively outside the NATO area, without diminishing our central commitment to the Alliance.' This, due to present economic constraints, could only mean an increase in the number of temporary naval deployments to the Indian Ocean, or, where the political circumstances are favorable, the readiness to exercise modest land and air forces in the region." (One is tempted to add; "and other regions, like the South Atlantic" ... but we are drifting.) "As far as the French are concerned, it is a fact that historically their forces have been more active in the region than those of either superpower, at least until last year. France, with basing rights in Djibouti, has demonstrated a continued willingness to project power overseas although it is not realistic to suppose that there is much scope for increase." Even the most difficult boundaries of realism can apparently be transcended! "On the other hand, it could be helpful if France did not argue — as she has — that the United States should keep out of the region. The silence and 'prudence' of Germany and Italy have certainly not strengthened the Western position." Clearly, the latter problems are being overcome.

"Americans cannot but find 'unnatural' the fact that the Europeans in particular should exclude themselves from the physical, military protection of their vital interests outside Europe. The reduction — or inadequate increase — of financial resources for security purposes in a number of European countries cannot but be of deep concern to the United States, at a time of expansion of the U.S. military effort. The negative effects upon the solidity of the Alliance would be serious if Europe and America were seen to be following diverging or opposite paths..."

"Even a modest European assumption of responsibilities in the Middle East would be useful, in order to indicate solidarity and interest: If there is no tangible evidence that the whole West is crucially concerned with the stability of the region and any encroachment of Soviet power and influence, regional powers may come to question Western interest in their security. Europeans have an important political strategy contribution to make in this field, even though the main burden and responsibility will continue to rest with the United States." It is, after all the U.S. bloc. But, "the effectiveness of a military presence would be enhanced if it were collective in nature." Etc., etc., etc.

But in all fairness, one must not omit the Japanese contribution: "Equally, in Japan, there is a need to encourage further the broadening political acceptance among its people of a greater share of the burden in common global security problems..."

Throughout this part of the report, there is a certain concentration on the Gulf region which is understandable, given the time it was written. Elsewhere, incidentally, it is noted that while the Gulf occupies great attention at publication time, the immediate focus of concern could easily change. This observation, along with the rather clear-cut projections permeating the above excerpts, proved to be prophetic indeed. This is the Mideast "peace" projected by the "peacekeepers" themselves one and one-half years ago, the "peace" which has rained upon the Palestinian people, the "peace" which is planned for the world. □

Continued from page 4

substantive difference between himself and his Labor Party predecessors. (The Labor Party, by the way, holds the commanding positions in the military bureaucracy, and the Labor Party leadership is full of old career generals; this is one reason for the current friction between Sharon and the army and Sharon's use of the Tel al Zataar anecdote as a way to tweek the noses of the opposition.)

The current stormy series of large demonstrations in Israel against the Sabra and Shatila massacres undoubtedly represents a measure of revulsion against these massacres. In equal measure, they represent an opportunist political maneuver to select certain Israeli political and/or military figures as "guil-

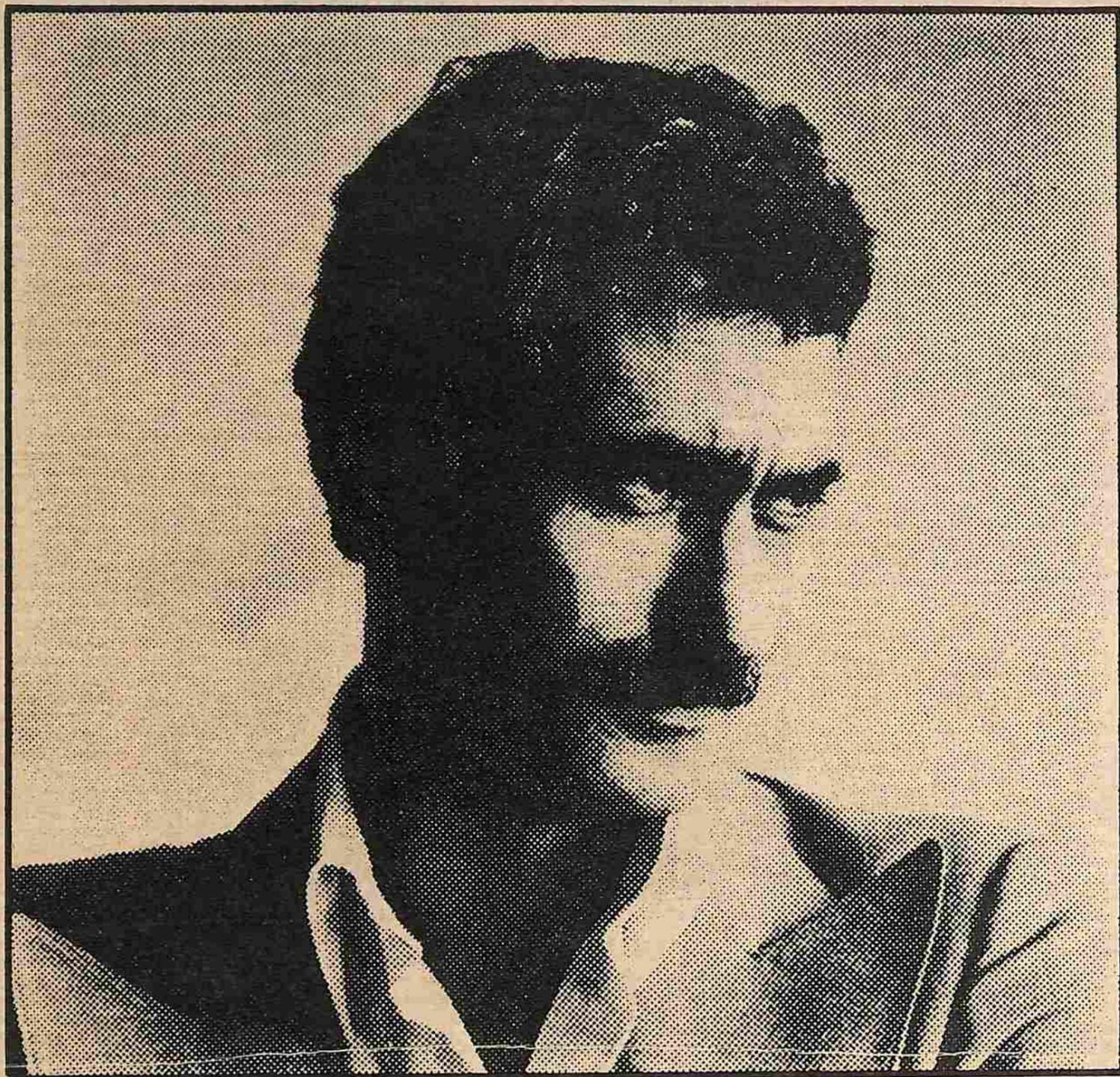
ty" of what will be featured as a "blot" on an otherwise stainless Israeli conscience. The result is the "independent inquiry" into the massacres authorized last week by the Israeli cabinet.

In any event, whether or not Sharon ultimately resigns, this is quite unlikely to have any miraculous "cleansing" effect on the rather stocky Israeli "soul." It was not without reason that Israeli generals spoke repeatedly during the summer campaign in Lebanon of having delivered that country to the West "on a silver platter"; there is nothing accidental about putting the conquest in terms of East-West confrontation, even though the obvious and very sharp contradiction between the Palestinian people and U.S. imperialism/Zionism was, and continues,

to grow even more intense and significant. Since June 6th, the world has witnessed the stripping away of dozens of false claims about "limited objectives" and "temporary commitments": the Israeli protestations of June 6th that their single aim was to liberate the poor children of the northern kibbutz from fretting over the theoretical possibility that a PLO artillery shell might drop on their heads seem now like naive, sepia-tinted recollections of another era. 50,000 casualties later, here come the U.S. Marines, the French and Italians strutting on either side. Perhaps most naive of all is the belief that — this time — the arrival of the Marines means the end of the bloodshed, rather than that the bloodshed has just begun. □

Special to the RW

A TALK WITH YILMAZ GÜNEY, DIRECTOR OF "YÖL": FILM AND REVOLUTION



The following is an exclusive interview with Yilmaz Güney, the revolutionary filmmaker from Turkey, who recently won the Palme d'Or (first prize) at the Cannes film festival for his latest film "Yöl" together with Costa-Gavras for "Missing." (See RW No. 158) Güney called the award "a personal victory, a recognition on the international plane, but also and above all a victory of the Turkish people, a hope for all those struggling against the junta in Turkey." On October 6, "Yöl" will premier in this country at the New York Film Festival at Lincoln Center; and it is scheduled to open on October 8, at the Cinema II on 3rd Avenue in New York City.

Since winning the prize at Cannes, Yilmaz Güney has come under severe attack by the Turkish junta. Typical newspaper headlines in Turkey included "The Ugly King's Ugly Performance at Cannes" — the "ugly king" is a nickname popular among the people because of Güney's refusal to mold himself into a Cary Grant-type image — and "Two Greeks Win At Cannes" — "Greek" being considered the most powerful insult in the vocabulary of Turkish chauvinists. Extradition requests for Güney, an escaped political prisoner, have followed him about in Europe. But the Turkish government's slander campaign blew up in its face, as millions of people in Turkey, who consider Güney one of their own, drew their own inspiration from the events at Cannes. One

foreign reporter in a remote and isolated village in Turkish Kurdistan reported a peasant asking him if he knew about the victory of "Yöl" at Cannes! After summing up the futility of slinging mud on Turkey's most popular actor and filmmaker, the junta banned all mention of his name in the press.

Yilmaz Güney was drawn to the cinema as a young boy in Kurdistan where he saw many films, mostly from Hollywood. He says that as an aspiring young actor he studied the actors in these films and was particularly influenced by Humphrey Bogart. (Imperialism creates its gravediggers in many ways!) In this interview, he discusses how he became a revolutionary filmmaker and his views on art and revolution.

RW: I'd like to begin by asking how you got involved in the making of films and in revolutionary politics.

YG: To answer this question I should start to talk about my childhood. I was born in a rural area. My parents were poor peasants. And at the same time, they were Kurdish. So I was conditioned by the rural ideology, the peasant ideology, which was mainly, essentially a bourgeois ideology. But to be born among and to live among the poor peasants, and especially to be part of an oppressed nation, the Kurdish nation, influenced my views. And that influence pushed me to search for something. I didn't know what. I

didn't even know what its name would be, but still I was searching for something. And in the beginning of the 1950s I met some elements; for example I heard Nazim Hikmet's poems on the Spanish Civil War — the Turkish communist poet. In 1952 there was a broad communist arrest in Turkey, and there were some poets among these people so I heard their poems. Of course all these coincidences were illegal. It was just through some people I met. But it wasn't scientific socialism really, it was rather idealistic, it was rather utopian. No one talked about the working class, no one talked about Marxism-Leninism, no one talked about dialectical materialism. It was just some literature about humiliation, about poverty, and about the necessity to change that course of life. But they didn't explain whom we had to fight, how we had to fight, with which ideology we had to fight, there was none of that. Then under that influence I started to write short stories and I started to talk myself and that's how I happened to have my first contact with the political police.

In 1955, for a short story I had written (I was still in school) I was sent in front of the court for communist propaganda. It was rather a short story, full of feelings, but I had a very long trial and in 1961, I was convicted to 2-1/2 years in jail and exile. But during the trial in 1957 I had to leave Adana, my city, where I had passed my adolescence and where I had studied, and I went to Istanbul to find the Com-

munist Party because, despite the fact that I didn't know really what it was, people called me like this, so I went to Istanbul. But I was deceived. Every communist I met disappointed me. At the moment I didn't know how to explain this, what name to give to this deception. It was not until 1972, when I was again in jail and I started to study, that I was able to give the name to that deception. Then I knew that I was deceived by revisionists. But at the moment I didn't know that was revisionism. I was just deceived, because I didn't know Marxism-Leninism. I don't mean that I know it perfectly now, but I started to study it. So between 1961 and 1963, I was in jail and exile and after 1963, a new period started in my life.

In 1963, I started as an actor. I had planned in jail to become an actor, the most famous one in the country, in order to put into practice all my aims. So I made all the calculations; I developed all the tactics in jail; and once I was out, I applied them one by one. So already in 1965 I was one of the most popular, I was one of the actors at the top. I can't say the films that I acted in were revolutionary or democratic films, but all of them were popular films. They reflected the suffering, the ill-being of the people and their regard and feelings. Many of them, of course, had some errors in the ideological or the political sense: some of them were reformist; some could be called anarchist; some had some lumpen aspects. But all that experience permitted me to

have broad and very tight relations with people, with the masses.

Between 1965 and 1966, I started to feel a strong anguish. I wasn't happy with what I was doing. In 1966, I tried to be more choosy about the films that I acted in, and I acted in positive films. But at the same time, for financial needs I had to act in some negative films, because, since I had started to be an actor, my real goal was to be popular, to be able to make films myself. But the only way for me was to have first of all an actor's career. So after 1966, I decided to be myself behind the camera, to put into practice my real aims. So in 1968 I had my first attempt.

In 1968, after my first attempt as a filmmaker, I went to make my military service which lasts 2 years. That was a very important change in my life, the military service, because for the first time, for 2 years I had the possibility to read systematically. That doesn't mean that I didn't read before, but I didn't read systematically. The practical concerns of the cinema had the most weight in my life, whereas in the military I was able to read systematically books by Lenin, Marx and Mao. I was ready to make a very important step forward once my military service would be ended; and that's what happened in 1970, when I finished the service — I made my first important film, "The Hope." But to make this film, to finance its production, because I was the producer, at the same time I was obliged to act in many gangster films to earn money to finance my own film. At the same time my political searches led me to have contacts with various political movements; since I didn't have a clear position, I had various contacts. At that time, we had various movements; we had student movements, we had worker movements against the reactionary forces, so I had solidarity with them. I helped them, and in 1972, because they arrested the members of one of the organizations which I was helping, I went to jail also for helping them. But this arrest in 1972 was really the turning point in my life, because in jail, thanks to the illegal network, I was able to learn Marxism-Leninism. I learned about revolution, about revisionism, about the Soviet Union. At the moment I was still not ready to call the Soviet Union social-imperialistic but I knew it wasn't a socialist country. At the same time, I learned how to distinguish between the adventurist tendencies, trends of some petty-bourgeois movements and what a real socialist movement should be. I learned about the leading role of the working class and I changed also my personal attitudes in life into a revolutionary attitude. And as for the cinema, also I started to think in detail how to make films from now on. So I had a clearer and a deeper view of cinema in theory. Once I was out, in 1974, I was ready to make again a very important step forward in my cinema career as a filmmaker. But I was able to finish only one film, "The Friend," and while I was shooting the second one, I was put again in jail in 1974.

Between 1974 and 1981 I was in jail, and in the jail I wrote novels, short stories. But I also had political writings and I tried to make films five times. The first two weren't very successful but the latest three of them had international success since I was more into their preparations. Those are: "The Herd," "The Enemy" and "Yöl," the last film. And "Yöl" is again the one who belongs even more to me because I did all the editing of the film. Now I have more means than before, but I'm in exile. That is to say that, with these means, if I were able to make films in my own country, I could do something different and even better. But from now on, what I will be able to accomplish will determine my artistic character.

RW: What role do you see your films and more generally revolutionary art playing in the development of the revolutionary movement in Turkey and in other countries?

YG: My departure point is class struggle, the struggle of the working class to conquer the political power, and this struggle has different paths: we have a political struggle; we have an economic struggle; and you also have the cultural and ideological struggle. On the one hand, the artistic and in particular the cinema activity seems to be part of just the third way, it seems to be just part of the cultural, the ideological struggle, but it's also a political struggle at the same

time because through cinema it's possible to work on people's emotions and motivations and their consciences. It's possible to orientate those emotions towards revolution, but in itself, the artistic movement, the artistic works can't pretend to have all the functions of the political struggle. It must be completed by some political work, there must be some supplementary political work to complete its effect. It's not right to search in art all the tasks, all the functions of the political struggle; one shouldn't try to put in art all these tasks, all these functions. The artistic activity just makes it easier for the political movement but one shouldn't try to impose the entire role of the political struggle on the artistic work. It has to be completed by some accurate political activity, writings, explanations, interpretations.

And on the second hand, we just must take into consideration the existing conditions and from that point calculate correctly to what audience we must try to send our message, and we must try to have the broadest audience possible. One can make a work for a narrow audience but that narrow audience is more or less composed by people who already have a certain consciousness, of some people who already have some knowledge. So me, I choose always to address myself to a very broad audience. That's my aim, and I have fixed it since the beginning. In that sense, some people, some comrades bring very narrowly viewed criticism to my work. They don't understand that I'm trying to reach broad masses; and they don't understand that art has its specific field and you can't expect art to have all the tasks and functions of political movements. But those criticisms are not important for me. And in that sense the success "Yöl" had and is having now — "Yöl" is being seen by broad



"Yöl"

masses — it's not a coincidence. I did it deliberately this way.

Art by itself doesn't make the revolution, but an artist who has a correct political line, who has a correct political view of the world, can through his works have very broad and strong links with the people, with the masses. And those links may then be very political. In that sense, art can be useful for political agitation, for political propaganda; but I refuse to consider agitation and propaganda in the arid, in the dry sense of the term — then it's not art. And in this sense when you have a real revolutionary art, you influence not only the masses but you influence also the other artists. You have prepared the field for political consciousness. In this sense art is a weapon, art is an arm; but art has its own specific language, the language which only belongs to art. One must respect *totally*, absolutely, that language. If you don't respect the language of art then this weapon kills *you*. It has a boomerang effect.

RW: One thing that was apparent to me in viewing both "Yöl" and also "The Herd" was that there was a lot of attention to the problem of the oppression of women in Turkey — it was a theme that was strong.

YG: The problem of women in my films

has a key role because the female condition is a key for me to express all the diversity of social problems and again their unity. The oppression in society has various origins, various forms, but through women I reached a concentration, because women are oppressed, and the women I show in my films belong to the oppressed social classes, the dominated social classes, but they suffer a second oppression since they belong to the oppressed sex. So with women we reach the concentration of oppression. And through women we can show the contradictions, the ambiguity of men. We can show them not in a one-dimensional way but on the contrary in a multi-dimensional way — men who can be courageous, heroic, who can rebel, yet at the same time can be very reactionary towards their women. So women are situated on the climax of oppression; and they are a key for us to understand the deep foundations of oppression.

RW: In the film "Yöl," that point you just mentioned in relation to the backward attitudes of men is well demonstrated, even among the revolutionaries that are portrayed in that movie. One question that is posed by this approach is, in what way is it possible to put forward positive or heroic characters; in other words, one of the criticisms that I've heard of the film "Yöl" is that it exposes the reality of the situation, of the oppression, of the masses' problems and so forth, but it lacks, in terms of a dramatic personage in the film, a clear heroic role.

YG: No, there is no clear heroic role.

RW: Perhaps you could comment on that.

YG: To this criticism I have just one answer. What others understand from a positive hero is completely different from what I understand as being positive, because in my film there are lots of positive

positive and what I'm trying to show as positive in life is the change, is the transformation, is the modification, is the process. I don't have a static view of positive and negative like some others do, I'm trying to show the germs, the embryo of positiveness in what is seen as being negative. So I don't accept that criticism. In everything that's negative you have the hope, you have the future, you have the embryo of what is positive for tomorrow.

RW: For example, to return just a minute to the woman question. The films that I mentioned vividly show the oppression of women, but there's no examples clearly in the films of a woman who stands up against that; and for example, it's my understanding, even though the situation portrayed in the film is very real, there are women in Turkey who do play an active role in the revolutionary movement or who refuse to submit to the feudal backwardness and so forth, but in the film you see the condition of the women but you don't see anyone rebelling against it.

YG: What you say is true, that in Turkey there are women who are part of the revolutionary movement, or who aren't but they fight, they want to change individually or socially their living conditions; that's true, but a film has limits, timing limits, content limits, subject limits, you can't tell about everything in one film. I had chosen the subject. If I had talked about a rebellious woman in my film that would create an equilibrium, that would compensate the strong feeling I have given to my film, that would create a falling action, an exit for the anguish I'm trying to give to the audience. So if I should do the same thing about all the feelings, about all these strong anguish feelings, I would just give an outlet. First of all that would spoil the strong feeling I try to give to my films, that would balance everything; and a film isn't made to speak about all the problems in a country and all the situations in a country.

RW: Now you are a leading world figure in the film world. How do you view the different trends within the film world? Do you see a development of a positive, progressive or even revolutionary trend in this sphere?

YG: In the film world, the dominant tendency is the reactionary tendency — the kind of cinema that just thinks about putting people to sleep, taking them apart from struggle and real life. But in every country we also have young filmmakers, people who fight for a new kind of cinema; we're a minority, and I'm part of it. So there is some success; and the major releases of some revolutionary films like mine could interest producing companies and that could prepare a positive field for the making of new revolutionary, new progressive films. But there's always a great danger, the danger of opportunist and falsely "revolutionary" films. That happened already in Turkey. I think that in the near future, the progressive trend will be accelerated, that there will be more and more possibilities for progressive films, but at the same time the danger will be greater for opportunist and falsely revolutionary films.

RW: When you were at the Cannes Film Festival, there were several hundred revolutionary immigrant workers from Turkey who were also there. Did it concern you that the presence of these revolutionary elements could hurt your chances to win a prize at the Festival?

YG: It's obvious that some people in Europe react to these kinds of demonstrations, but when the demonstration happened, I had a different approach. I said some people may react, some people could just diminish themselves to create an exclusively political atmosphere, but what's really important is to profit from that occasion to denounce the military fascist dictatorship in Turkey. And that happened because all the mass media were there; the demonstration was on TV, on radio, in newspapers and in magazines.

And this way I had a confirmation of my theoretical view on the unity of art and politics. This way I was confirmed and I could say to those people who had some worry, in this sense, that this demonstration didn't penalize me but on the contrary. Anyhow I had no worries because the main thing in the Festival was the film and I knew that my film wasn't an arid, a dry film. It was a deep film. So, in this sense, the success had to belong to this film. I had no worries, I was sure about myself. □

aspects. But me, I try to see and I try to show what's positive in a negative hero or in a negative situation because the contradictions always exist together; that's what we call the unity of opposites. Let's take some examples from the film. Seyit lets his wife die in the snow, but at the last moment and since the beginning he has an inner contradiction; he isn't sure of himself. He has an inner anguish and at the last moment he tries to save his wife, and when she dies, he has a very strong sorrow, a deep pain, and afterwards the remorse destroys him; he has a very strong remorse. That's very positive for me. Or Mehmet, the one who is killed by his in-laws. That man has based his life on lies. He was lying, but he changes, not suddenly, he changes slowly, and he has the courage, the guts to say the truth. He has the courage to say, yes I'm guilty, because of me, because of my running away, it's because I was a coward that my brother-in-law died. He has the courage to say it to his in-laws, and before that he was a liar; that's something very positive. Or let's take that Kurdish young man whose family lives in a smuggler's village. That boy had the courage to say, I'm not going back to the prison; I'm taking all the risks, I'm going up in the mountains like my brother whom they shot down. In that sense, what I understand as being

Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

This is the fifth in a series, "Reflections and Sketches" by Bob Avakian. It has been transcribed and edited from a tape.

Some of these ideas came to me while I was sitting in a theatre here watching "The Border" with Jack Nicholson. What I want to speak to, and what came to mind sharply while sitting in that theatre and afterwards, was not only the *internationalist* character of the revolution in whatever different countries it takes place, and specifically not only the internationalist character of the revolution in what is *now* the United States of America, but the *international* character.

I've often been tempted by the idea that we should issue an appeal to all the people in all the vast parts of the world who have every right to claim that they enjoy all the benefits of American democracy and the free enterprise system — that is, the domination, plunder, oppression and exploitation of American imperialism. I've often been tempted and wished that we could extend an invitation to the people, and more than that, provide the means for them all to get boats or planes or whatever means could be made available to come over to the U.S. in their millions and hundreds of millions and let's just finish off this monster here and then sweep back in a wave through the rest of the world. If in fact I thought that there was any way that that was a possibility, then I certainly would be in favor of it. But this is just a way of saying that to us there's nothing sacred at all about the United States of America, quite the contrary. To paraphrase Malcolm X in a slightly different way, we are not at all Americans. We don't talk as Americans, we're proletarians, we're internationalists. And, just to make it clear, if anybody thinks that when it finally becomes possible, and when the revolutionary situation finally does develop at whatever point in the U.S. and the revolutionary struggle is on the order of the day, if anybody thinks that in making that revolution we are going to somehow respect the borders of the United States of America, they must be crazy!

So while it's not possible to just invite everybody, or it's maybe possible to invite them, but it's not actually possible to have everybody who's victimized by U.S. imperialism just come to the U.S. and advance wave upon wave sweeping away U.S. imperialism, still some things related to that idea were brought to my mind in watching "The Border" and thinking about events in Central America in particular. Won't there be a strong international character to the revolution in what is now the United States of America? As I said, to us, and this is a point we've stressed for quite a long time, even going back to our struggle almost a decade ago against the Bundist or bourgeois nationalist deviations in the communist movement, there is nothing sacred to us about the USA, as it's presently constituted, or about the borders of the U.S. as they are presently constituted. Quite the opposite. And we recognize as a very important task, and a very important aspect of proletarian internationalism, our responsibility to educate the masses of people, and this is particularly important for the white people in the United States, to educate them to the fact that there is nothing sacred about these borders and that we have higher interests that go way beyond these borders. And recently, for example, a leading comrade of the Central Committee of our party, in a speech that was reprinted in the *Revolutionary Worker* commemorating the stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in their trial in China, pointed out that not only is there nothing sacred to us about the borders of the U.S. in a general sense, but specifically that if things went in such a way that revolution swept up through Mexico, for example, and it was possible for that revolution, especially a genuinely proletarian revolution there, to seize a large part, or even all, of what's now the southwest of the United States, or even other parts of the United States, that would be a very good thing and we would welcome and support it.

Now this is not only a general stand, but when we think about the way the world goes and how everything is going to be thrown up for grabs and how certainly national boundaries are going to be crossed over by imperialist armies, as well as undoubtedly revolutionary forces in the period ahead, it is certainly a very real possibility, and even a real likelihood, that the revolution in what is now the U.S. when it does come will involve a very significant aspect of the battering down, not only in an ideological sense but literally in terms of the actual way the revolution goes, a battering down of the southern border, or much of the southern border, of the U.S. and very likely the phenomenon of the sweeping up of revolutionary forces from Central America right into the U.S. — horror of horrors and worst nightmares of the imperialists and their social base, but a very good thing and a source of great inspiration and further strength for the proletariat.

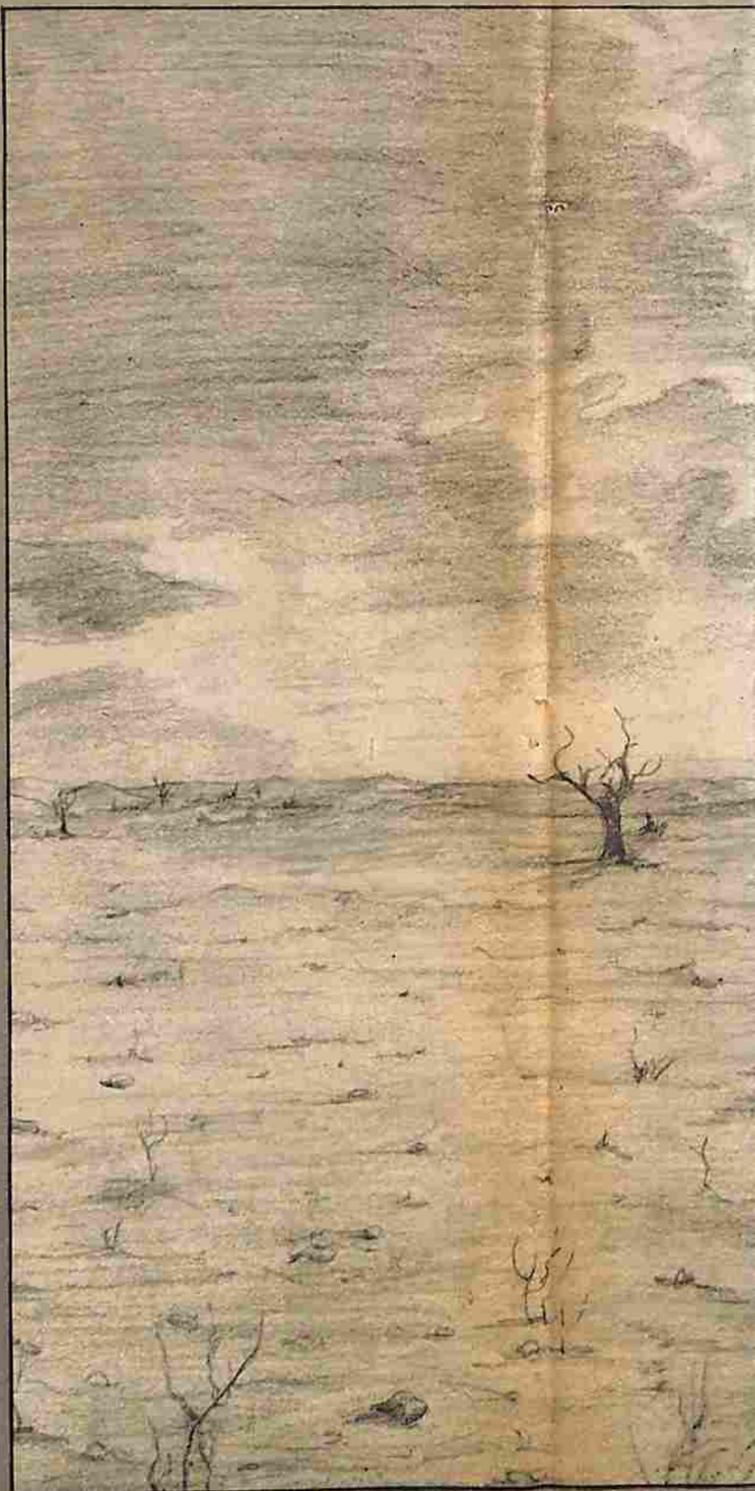
Another aspect of this, not only in places like Puerto Rico in which again our stand has been very clear that not only do we support the struggle of the people there to win liberation from U.S. imperialism and to establish an independent state — while at the same time struggling to support proletarian forces who could lead that to not only real liberation and the defeat of imperialism, but carrying forward on the socialist road — but not only is there the question of Puerto Rico where our stand's been clear, but similarly there is the question of other oppressed nationalities within what are now the borders of the U.S., including the Native American and Chicano, or Mexican-American, peoples and the Black nation, where our stand also has been clear and firm and must be even more broadly popularized among the masses. It is our responsibility to train the masses of all nationalities in a self-determinationist spirit, to take up the struggle in support of the long-denied and suppressed demands of these peoples for liberation and equality, as an integral and decisive aspect of the proletarian revolution. In relation to the Black nation, with its historic homeland in the Black Belt area of the south, this includes the right to self-determination, up to and including the right to secession.

In particular if things worked out in such a way that the most that we, the international proletariat could get out of a situation of upheaval in the U.S. would be the establishment of a Black republic or African-American republic in the historic homeland of Black people in the south of the U.S., then certainly every anti-imperialist, to say nothing of every proletarian internationalist, should firmly support this and fight for it, if, it must be added, we could get it on a real revolutionary basis and not as a neo-colony. (And here it should be said straight up that one more neo-colony of imperialism would not be an advance for the international proletariat and not an advance toward the elimination of oppression and exploitation in all forms throughout the world.) But if it were not as a neo-colony, then certainly everybody who was genuinely opposed

to imperialism and oppression, and certainly proletarian internationalists, should not only support but should fight actively and make whatever sacrifices were necessary to achieve this and certainly it would be the duty of our party to provide leadership in that, and to mobilize the masses of all nationalities, including especially white people of course, to fight and make those necessary sacrifices in order to win that.

But having said that, it is also necessary to emphasize that we might well be able to do better than that, we might well be able to win much more, and that would be that much more of an internationalist contribution to the struggle of the proletariat and toward the goal of communism throughout the world and emancipating all mankind from the shackles of class society. It must be stressed that only proletarian internationalism can lead to a correct approach to this. As experience has shown, and as we've been struggling to sum up, it's hard enough to make and maintain the victories that are won in revolution actual bases for the further advance of the revolution throughout the world, to make the territories seized really base areas for the world proletarian revolution. It's hard enough in any case, but if to begin with you've got a nationalist outlook and in particular, if the establishment of the separate state — even if justified and even if the right certainly should be upheld to do so — but if the establishment of such a separate state is the highest goal and an end in itself in your outlook, then already from the beginning you've undercut the basis to really make victories won and territories liberated a further advance for the world revolution.

We're out to make every possible gain and all possible advances for the international proletariat. We're out to wrench everything that can be wrenched out of the madness that the imperialist system is now, not only the daily madness and horror that it puts people through but the even more concentrated and even more horrible madness, in particular world war, that it is now placing on the historical agenda. We're out to wrench as much of the future and as much as we can for the international proletariat out of that and to transform whatever we wrench into a base area for continuing to advance toward the overall goal of the world proletarian revolution and the final aim of a communist world. This is why an internationalist, and not a nationalist, outlook must guide everything that we do.

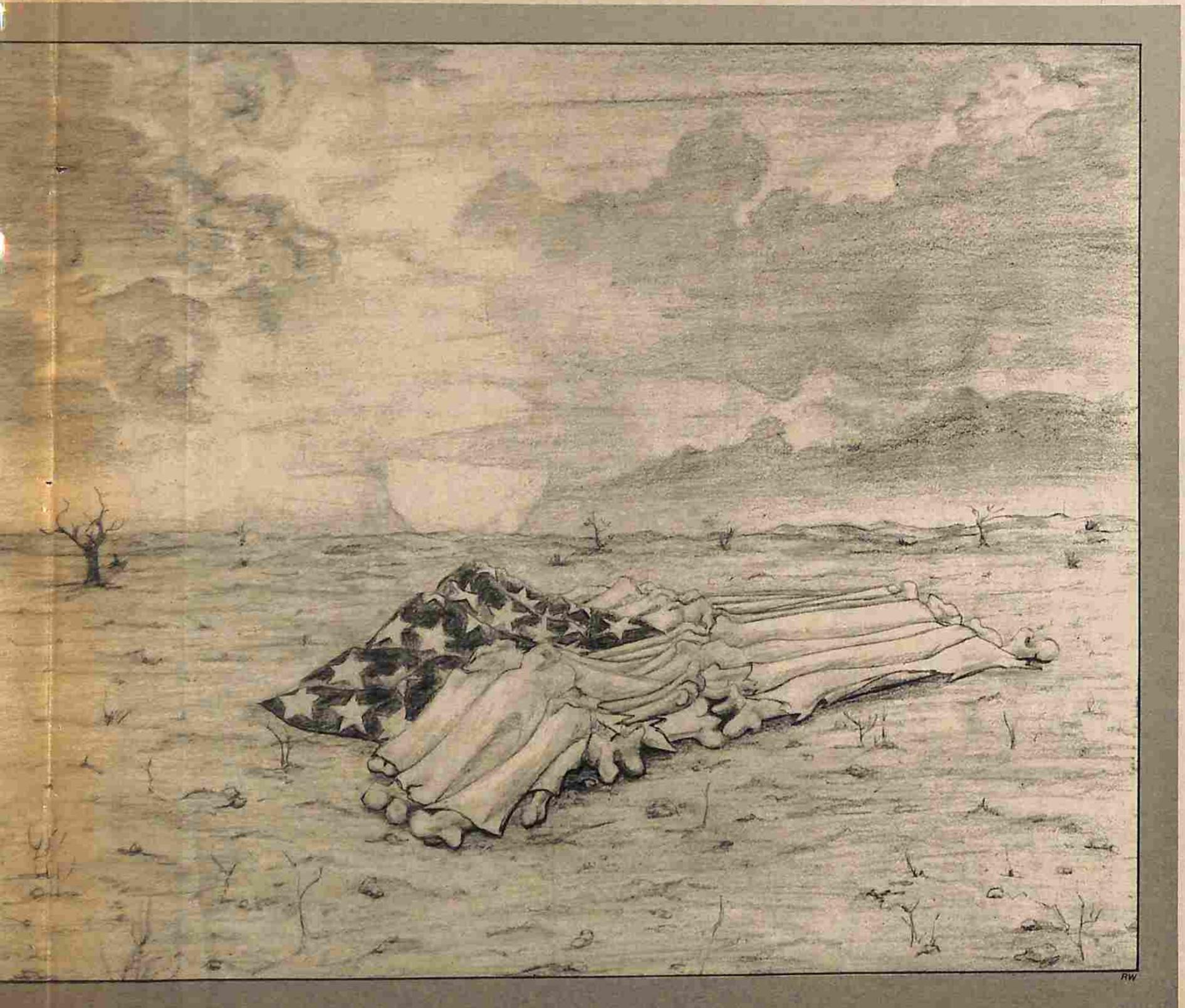


Bob Avakian

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THE BORDER QUESTION



RW

Big Mtn.

Continued from page 3

ment to stand with the Big Mountain Dine' to "Stop Relocation" and "Save the Land."

(The term Dine' means "the people" in the traditional language, also known as Dine'. Navajo is a word that was bestowed upon the people by the Spanish invaders in the 16th century. Not only the Dine', but many other indigenous peoples have begun reclaiming their original terms for themselves.)

The main body of the gathering was devoted to testimony from the Dine' and other Native peoples as to their relationship to the land, the continuing effort to steal it and its resources out from under them, and the importance of Native American traditions and culture in the resistance. While some of the more open and blatant genocidal acts of the American ruling class have been exposed over the past decade or more, the testimony at this gathering was noteworthy for the more subtle and insidious manifestations of oppression that were exposed. Virtually all of the participants viewed Native American spirituality as an important part of their struggle and placed a great deal of emphasis on this.

**From Vancouver Island, British Columbia, members of the Amalgamated Cowichan Band spoke of their oppression at the hands of the Canadian version of the U.S.'s BIA, the Department of Indian Affairs, and of the puppet band councils that operate just like the U.S.'s puppet tribal councils. For much of the 20th century, their long house associations and Potlatch ceremonies were outlawed by the Canadian government. The Potlatch ceremony, traditional to the Coast Salish people throughout the Northwest and Canada, is particularly noteworthy for the practice of giving away wealth to those who are poorer; in fact, he who gives away the most wealth is considered worthy of the most respect. Some of the Cowichans told the *RW* that they believed this is the reason it was outlawed, as such ceremonies went against the capitalist values that the Canadian government was trying to instill in the Indians. A very important front of their struggle has involved their salmon fishing rights. Indian legend has it that "the salmon used to be so plentiful that you could walk across the river on their backs," but commercial and sports fishing offshore has dangerously depleted their numbers. Yet, the govern-

ment has consistently blamed the Indians for "lack of conservation," and launched a series of attacks on treaty-guaranteed Native fishing rights. Due to the widespread exposure of these attempts, the Canadian court system eventually ruled that the government had no legal right to restrict the Indians' fishing on their land. The very next year, the puppet band council passed the same restrictions against the Indian fishing rights the government had been forced to back down on.

**From southern Arizona and Sonora, Mexico, came elders and young people from the O'odham (also known as Papagos). They are facing a serious depletion of their fragile water resources because Arizona is trying to take it all for Tucson and other metropolitan areas. And according to the O'odham representatives, the Papago tribal council is cooperating with the state's effort, favoring the waiving of treaty-guaranteed water rights in exchange for the *promise* of more water in the future. The O'odham also spoke of their opposition to the border which divides their people, including members of the same family, and their land. In the past few years, attacks on the O'odham by immigration and customs officials from both sides of the border have increased, and it has become much more difficult for them to travel back and forth across the border. Recently, an O'odham meeting held in northern Mexico to help organize the struggle of the people from both sides of the border was raided by U.S. Customs officers on the pretext of looking for "drug smugglers."

**From Upstate New York, a Seneca elder spoke of how her people had been in the same position as the Dine' and had had a large portion of their homeland, originally taking up much of central New York state, ripped off. She also spoke of the rabid effort to destroy her Indianness, as she put it, that had been waged against her when she was a child. She had been shuffled from one foster family to another, all of them "civilized" Christians who were dedicated to "saving the heathen"; consequently, she was baptized four times!

**From the Klamath people in Oregon, a brother spoke of how his people no longer have any land at all. Their tribe was *terminated* — that is, paid off by the government to give up their land and treaty rights — an action that was a crucial part of official U.S. government policy in the '50s. As he described it, the Klamath had a brief period of "prosperity" in the '40s and early '50s from the sale of timber rights. Reinforced by the illu-

sion that they would all be rich — "Our ways were changed to want the material things in life. Our minds were changed to where we sold the land to the government for these things... We became the pimps of Mother Earth" — most of the Klamath ended up voting for termination in exchange for lump sums of money. Today, most of the Klamath are on the welfare rolls.

**From Oklahoma, Indians from the "Five Civilized Tribes" (Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles) spoke bitterly of the infamous Trail of Tears, the Indian removal of 1830 where their ancestors were sent over a thousand miles from their homelands in the East to what was then called "Indian territory." Thousands of Indians died from disease, starvation and outright murder at the hands of the authorities and their racist followers along this forced march; actually, all of it was outright murder. Fifty years later, "Indian territory" was deemed too valuable for the Indians to live on. Laws like the Dawes Act were passed, breaking up the communal extended family land holdings of the people into small private allotments — too small to support an Indian family. Most of the Indian land was stolen outright, and much of the rest ended up in the hands of whites as the Indians were forced to sell or lease off huge chunks of what was left just to survive. Today, many of the Oklahoma Indians no longer have any land at all, and much of their traditional culture and language has also been lost. Recovering these things is seen as a critical part of the struggle by many of the younger Indians from Oklahoma.

Among those involved in the Native American struggle, there are many different viewpoints and also different interpretations of the culture and traditions, including aspects of spirituality, that are more or less emphasized. The importance of the land, and the Indians' relationship to it, is clearly a key question. In fact, both the historical experience and present-day form of the Native American struggle served to reinforce the importance of grasping the following section of the party *Programme*:

"Native Americans, too, have special conditions and history in regard to the land question. They have been repeatedly forced off their land into concentration camps which are euphemistically called 'reservations.' In undoing this longstanding atrocity the proletariat will, through consultation with the masses of the Indian peoples, establish large areas of land where they can live and work and will provide special assistance to the Indian peoples in developing these areas.

Here autonomy will be the policy of the proletarian state — the various Indian peoples will have the right to self-government within the larger socialist state, under certain overall guiding principles. The overall guiding principles referred to are that practices and customs must tend to promote equality, not inequality, unity not division between different peoples, and eliminate, not foster, exploitation. The Indian peoples themselves will be mobilized and relied on to struggle through and enforce these principles. This will mean that policies related to local affairs as well as customs, culture and language will be under autonomous control, while at the same time the Indian peoples will be encouraged as well to take a full part in the overall affairs of society as a whole. Local customs and practices — such as medicine — usually dismissed (or occasionally 'glorified' in all cynicism) by the capitalists today as 'pure mysticism' will be studied for those aspects that have an underlying scientific content and these aspects will be promoted and applied generally by the proletariat..." (pp. 72-3)

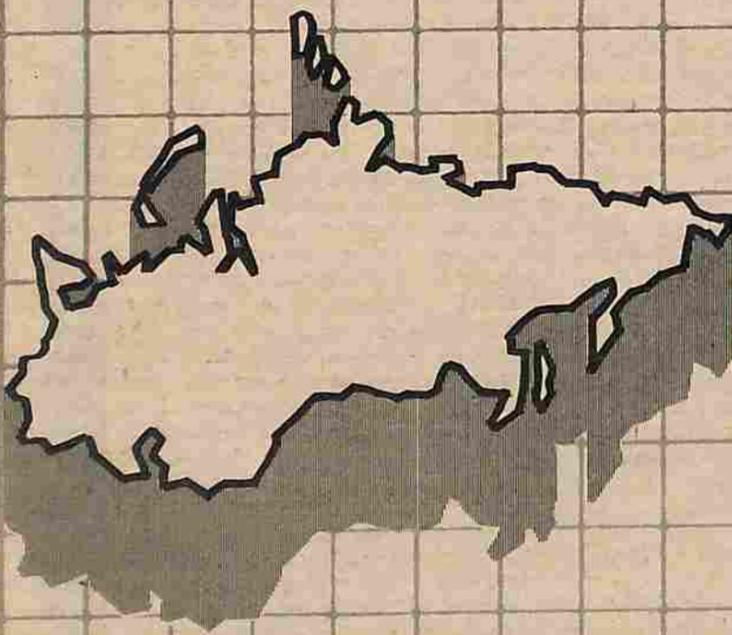
The four-day Spiritual Walk wound its way across the land where Kit Carson had massacred hundreds of Indians and forced thousands out of their homes, and where the Dine' leader Manuelito had led the people in unremitting resistance to these crimes. Many people spoke of their ancestors' struggle against oppression and of the modern-day freedom fighters and political prisoners like American Indian Movement (AIM) members Leonard Peltier and Dino and Gary Butler. As significant developments in the world overall have set the context for the struggle, there was also a great deal of controversy and debate over recent developments in the Middle East, the nature of the Soviet Union, the meaning of internationalism and a great deal more. A number of the Indians were veterans, and some told of being jolted awake to the real meaning of the U.S.'s "freedom and democracy" by their experiences in Vietnam, the South Pacific and elsewhere. And very significantly, the main organizer (under the direction of the Big Mountain elders) of the Gathering and Spiritual Walk, Larry Anderson, wore a Kafir "in solidarity with the Palestinian people."

The whole scene was indeed most appropriate. Despite the best efforts of the U.S. imperialists to make the Native peoples and their struggles disappear, they are very much alive — striking blows that objectively weaken imperialism and debating the questions that are right in the thick of the worldwide struggle. □

THE SOVIET UNION

A Call for a Debate:

Socialist or Social-Imperialist?



The hideous and monstrous features of U.S. imperialism have been exposed to people all over the world. But what of the nature of the Soviet Union — is it an ally of revolutionary struggle or an imperialist superpower driven by the same necessity as U.S. imperialism to redivide the world through war? Does it represent the future of mankind, the struggle to abolish classes and class distinctions, or is it another form of exploitative class society? World events pose *such* profound questions about the Soviet Union ever more forcefully — questions that are being intensely debated and must be answered by all those seeking to understand and influence world politics, by all those striving to understand the prospects for and take up the tasks of revolution in today's (and tomorrow's) world.

The Revolutionary Communist Party calls on foreign students, professors, immigrant workers, feminists, revolutionary youth, activists from the diverse social movements, artists and class-conscious proletarians — on all those who see the importance and the urgency of these questions — to organize for and participate in a CONFERENCE AND DEBATE ON THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION to be held this Fall, in New York City.

In recent years rich experience has been accumulated, new research has been done, some have changed their position, others have deepened their original analysis. Overall, there is an upsurge of interest, great controversy and much new thinking. This event must aim at concentrating all this, with the presentation of diverse views and an opportunity to thrash these things out to achieve greater clarity. We envision workshops, with panels presenting opposing positions, and a more formal debate aimed at the sharpest confrontation between the view that the Soviet Union today is socialist, versus the analysis that capitalism has been restored.

Such an undertaking will require an enormous and all-sided effort to realize the broadest possible participation and support. The RCP is calling upon individuals and organizations to come forward with suggestions and ideas for this conference and debate and to take part in its actual organization.

Contact the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA:
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

The

Imperialist

Un-Meeting

of the

OAU

The closing days of the summer of 1982 bore witness to an unprecedented event in the history of modern Africa. For the first time in its 19 years of existence the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was unable to convene its annual Summit of the African Heads of State. Although the summit was scheduled to begin on August 5th, by August 6th only 19 heads of state and a handful of minor delegations from various African countries had shown up for the meeting in the Libyan capital of Tripoli. Unable to pull together the quorum of 34 states needed to convene the summit, Col. Muammar Qaddafi, the host of the conference and consequently the next chairman of the OAU, was forced to cancel it. Although Qaddafi immediately formed a "persuasion committee" consisting of 5 African rulers, "respected veterans of the struggles in Africa," whose mission was to convene the necessary number of African countries to attend the summit if it is rescheduled for sometime later this year, the writing was already on the wall. For more than a year the OAU has literally been unable to function — every attempted meeting of ministers from the foreign ministers to the labor and information ministers to the preparatory meeting before the summit, has been disrupted

and aborted by major walkouts of delegates. Last year's summit in Nairobi erupted in a fist fight between the presidents of Somalia and Ethiopia and in a minor rumble between the Moroccan delegation and the delegation from the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR — formed by the POLISARIO Front, which is waging a war for independence from Morocco). Increasingly over the last year the very ability of the OAU to even continue functioning has become highly questionable.

Innumerable explanations from every imaginable quarter have been advanced in order to explain the "crisis in the OAU." Everything from the "divisiveness of the issues" to general apathy and narrow self-concern on the part of some African rulers has been run out — none of which gets to the essence of the matter. The aborted OAU summit, indeed, the entire "OAU crisis," is but one of the sharper manifestations of the pervasive and razor sharp contention that characterizes the imperialist world today and the lining up of the blocs behind the two major imperialist powers, the U.S. and the Soviets, as they jockey for position in preparation for redividing the planet. Of course, neither the Soviets nor the U.S. admit to this. On the one hand,

Qaddafi and his Soviet associates sit in the embarrassing and infuriating spotlight of the failed 1982 OAU summit and pontificate about being the "real upholders of African unity." On the other hand, the "Africanist scholars and analysts" of U.S. imperialism snidely croon about the inability of the Africans to get together and the disruptive hand of the Soviets. According to the *Washington Post* Africa analysts, "in their first generation of independence, there is probably no more reason for Africans — separated by huge distances, many languages and widely varied cultures — to be unified as Europe was at the birth of nationalism in the 19th century." Of course, "African unity" was never the issue in the eyes of either major imperialist power, more to the point is the question of unity behind whom and for what. And, although it was the maneuvering and contention of both the U.S. and the Soviets that set the context for, and led to, the current situation in the OAU, in actual fact it would be more correct to say that the 1982 summit was not so much cancelled as it was prohibited by the U.S. and the other imperialist members of its bloc, particularly France.

He Who Pays the Piper...

The OAU has been the focus of intense U.S. maneuvering since it was first announced at the close of the 1981 Nairobi summit that the 1982 summit would be held in Libya and that Qaddafi would be the incoming chairman. Immediately following the announcement, 19 U.S., French and British neo-colonies, led by Egypt, Gambia, Ghana, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Sudan and Tunisia announced they would not attend any summit held in Libya and chaired by Qaddafi. Just prior to the 1981 summit and throughout the year, the U.S. mounted and orchestrated a virulent anti-Qaddafi crusade ranging from the phantom Libyan hit squads supposedly roaming the world to a special exhibition on Libyan subversion in Sudan held in Khartoum in early May of 1982. In various OAU meetings throughout the year, the U.S. and its clients played a major role in the disruption of these meetings. In fact, it has been reported that U.S. and Saudi Arabian spokesmen were actually hanging out in the hallway of the February Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa in order to "advise" certain African foreign ministers aligned with the U.S. bloc. Interestingly enough, this meeting could never be completed since 19 U.S. bloc foreign ministers staged a well-timed walkout.

In addition to the political maneuvering, the U.S. also was reported to have used extortion and bribery in order to prevent the OAU from meeting. Saudi Arabian oil money, a major factor in the economies of many African countries, was carefully parcelled out to the "cooperative" countries while the "vacillators" were threatened with a major withholding of funds. Included among those known to have had their palms greased were Djibouti, Tunisia, Niger and Upper Volta — all of whom later boycotted the Tripoli meeting. Morocco, long known as a major conduit for Saudi Arabian money in Africa, and itself a recipient of \$1 billion per year of Saudi "aid", also played a major role in the U.S. campaign both in terms of being a spearhead and in terms of twisting a few arms. In fact, the Moroccan foreign minister personally engineered the snatching of the Tunisian president literally off of the ramp of his plane in order to keep him away from the Tripoli summit.

Of course not all the bribery was carried out by the U.S. camp. In fact there is one outstanding example where Libya was more than willing to "pay the piper" in order to assure a quorum. Sierra Leone offered to sell Libya its attendance at the summit in exchange for 100,000 barrels of high quality oil. Libya apparently accepted the offer and was en route to pick up the president of Sierra Leone, only to back out when it became obvious that no matter what they did a quorum was unattainable.

All of the charges of bribery and corruption flying back and forth in the period before and after the summit also gave rise to some memorable moments of comedy. Particularly incensed by Libya's accusation of U.S. bribery was Mobutu of Zaire. Lounging at the Palace Hotel in the Swiss resort area of Gstaad, Mobutu, one of the most openly corrupt rulers in

Africa, declared that Libya's charges were "spiteful and discourteous" and that it was "unacceptable" for anyone to label any African leader as corrupt. As events surrounding the summit unfold, it has been revealed that it apparently took a little bit more than money to keep Mobutu away from Tripoli. For one reason or another Mobutu had agreed to attend the meeting just days prior to its opening. His mind was suddenly changed by a phone call from none other than Israel's Prime Minister Begin who threatened to recall the security agents who have been commanding Mobutu's bodyguards since April.

In addition to utilizing all available frontmen, the U.S. also played a very direct role itself in making sure that the conference wouldn't happen. One aspect of this was making sure that the current chairman of the OAU, Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, didn't show up to transfer the "mantle of leadership" to Qaddafi. According to the *Washington Post*, the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, William Harrop, met with Moi on August 3rd in order to discuss the OAU. Two days later Moi announced to the world that he would only show up in Tripoli if and when the necessary quorum had been attained. Thus, not only was Moi "unable" to transfer the chairmanship to Qaddafi but his announcement also served to bolster up and encourage any of the more vacillating members of the U.S. boycott. (Of course Moi "coincidentally" had his own problems in Kenya to worry about at the time — having just put down an attempted coup. See *RW* No. 168.) Along these lines, Nigeria, a long time U.S. powerhouse in Africa, while attending the conference refused to send a presidential delegation, preferring instead to dispatch a lower-level representative. Given the somewhat "radical" reputation of "independent Nigeria" in Africa, this move also served to both degrade the summit and bolster the spirit of the boycotters.

But as usual, at the bottom line of all the U.S. maneuvering, and indicative of what is really going on in Africa today, was the U.S. military pitch. Approximately one month before the scheduled opening of the summit, Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, publicly offered military assistance to all those who fell in line behind the U.S. Pointing to the dangers posed by Qaddafi in Africa (and more than indirectly at the Soviets), Crocker stated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that: "Under Col. Qaddafi, Libya has adopted a diplomacy of subversion in Africa and in the Arab world. It is a diplomacy of unprecedented obstruction to our own interests and objectives...we want to help African nations threatened by Qaddafi's diplomacy. In our fiscal year 1982 budget, this administration added substantial funds for military assistance to Tunisia and Sudan...We are seeking ways to help with both economic and military support for others who are similarly threatened." The line immediately formed to the right.

The entire U.S. effort to prevent the summit was finely tuned and highly orchestrated straight from the halls of Washington. In fact, the U.S., in league with the French imperialists, who undoubtedly did more than a little arm twisting in the ranks of their own neo-colonial compradors, was so sure of its ability to prevent the meeting that it even allowed some of its heavy hitters and bit players to attend. Kuanda of Zambia, Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Said Barre of Somalia and Nyerere of Tanzania were all in attendance as were a number of lesser pro-U.S. lights. The event was so highly orchestrated that when it seemed for a moment that Qaddafi just might be able to marshal up a quorum, Niger and Upper Volta, who were both already in Tripoli, were ordered to withdraw their delegation and the Kenyan foreign minister was ordered to stay away from any and every meeting held. By the time of the scheduled opening of the summit, only 32 countries were represented in Tripoli — two short of the necessary quorum. And, as the role call for the summit was read, it provided a graphic illustration of the lineup of the imperialist powers in Africa today. Among the boycotters were virtually every neo-colony of French imperialism (except Chad), a few British and a number of U.S. clients. Among those in attendance

Continued on page 12

The Imperialist Un-Meeting of the OAU

Continued from page 11

were a handful of U.S. forces allowed to attend and virtually every pro-Soviet regime in Africa.

Focal Points of Contention

One of the arguments frequently advanced to explain the "crisis" in the OAU that is worth delving into is the argument that this crisis is directly tied into the "divisive and explosive nature" of the issues it has to deal with. Specifically, the issues referred to are the admission of the SADR as a full member state over the objections of Morocco and others in the U.S. bloc; the situation in Chad and more recently the issue of Qaddafi's chairmanship of the organization. While the ways that the various OAU members fall out on these issues is presented in some quarters as the "progressive bloc" vs. the "reactionary bloc," in fact, a look at the voting pattern on any issues taken up by the OAU shows that, with a few exceptions, the African states generally fall out in accordance with the interests of whichever imperialist power they are aligned with. (Some of the U.S. clients occasionally end up in the midst of the Soviet bloc camp but this is more often than not tied up with their need to maintain a "progressive" cover as well as an occasional attempt to move in their own interests. Overall however none of this is actually contradictory with the interests of the U.S. bloc, particularly in terms of being able to build a wedge in the midst of the Soviet camp.)

While it cannot be denied that there has been quite an uproar over the three specific issues listed, it was not because of the inherently explosive nature of these particular issues. More to the point is the fact that these issues served as focal points for the intensifying contention between the U.S. and Soviet-led blocs in Africa. While Moroccan King Hassan is undoubtedly not amenable to ceding a major portion of what he claims is his territory to the Polisario, particularly since that portion is extremely rich in phosphates and is often referred to as the "valuable triangle," the issue of the admission of the SADR has only become a dividing line issue in so far as it concentrates the inter-imperialist contention in the area. Far more important than Hassan's immediate interests is the fact that the U.S. definitely does not relish the thought of providing the Soviets, through their influence and potential influence in the Polisario, with an open door into an extremely important strategic area of northern Africa. Nor do the U.S., French and British imperialists necessarily want to aggravate the delicate balance in the region by aggravating the King of Morocco, particularly when the U.S. is currently working on plans for a military base there.

Along these same lines, Chad is such an explosive issue precisely because it represents in microcosm what the overall situation in Africa is today. Chad, located in Central Africa, is a former French colony which gained nominal independence in 1960 and continued to be ruled by French neo-colonialism until 1975. Since that time, Chad has been a hub of contention between the U.S. and Soviet-led blocs — engulfed in "civil war" for most of the last 6 years, invaded by Libyan, French and pro-U.S. OAU troops over the last two years, and literally wrenched from one bloc to the other a number of times in this same period.

The issue of who rules Chad is much more than a simple internal civil war. For the French imperialists, one aspect is that it's a matter of maintaining their extensive African empire intact — which for all intents and purposes they have managed to do under a very thin veil of neo-colonialism. But above and beyond that, the French imperialists are even more concerned about their strategic position in Africa in relation to world war. Related to this, the U.S. too is primarily concerned about Chad because of its tie-in to the overall strategic strength of the U.S. bloc in northern Africa vis-a-vis the Soviet bloc. For their part the Soviets, through their Libyan political agents, see an opportunity to step in and embellish

their strategic position in the region. Consequently, Chad was not one of the boycotters of the OAU summit — in fact, Chad had the distinct honor of being the only African country with two different sets of delegates each claiming to represent it at the summit.

But by far the issue of Qaddafi actually chairing the OAU for an entire year is the most revealing in terms of the inter-imperialist contention that is the determining factor in the operation of the OAU today. Although the U.S. attempts to hide behind the mask of not wanting to "legitimize" Qaddafi the "terrorist," the "madman" and the "assassin," it is interesting to note that the U.S. had no such reservations when it came to allowing that bizarre son of imperialism, Idi Amin, to chair the OAU at precisely the high point of his butchery of the Ugandan people. What is really at stake here is quite evident. Although Qaddafi, for various reasons (among which are the extensive economic interests of the U.S. bloc in Libya) is not entirely trusted by the Soviets, he is certainly very tightly aligned with them politically. Libya under Qaddafi has become a major storehouse for and conduit for massive amounts of Soviet weaponry in Africa and the Middle East. All of this, together with Qaddafi's proven penchant for forays into other parts of Africa and his proclaimed support for "struggles against U.S. imperialism" adds up to quite a formidable threat to U.S. interests in Africa, particularly in terms of the opportunity presented to the Soviets for advancing their imperialist interests. For their part, the Soviets, though not especially enthusiastic about the prospects of Qaddafi being their main spearhead in the OAU and Africa, recognize the opportunity and are more than ready to jump on it. In fact, the U.S. may very well be hoping that their moves to prevent the OAU summit, together with their overall anti-Qaddafi campaign, will provoke Qaddafi into doing something that will discredit him and lay a basis for refusing to turn the OAU leadership over to him. After all, without Qaddafi, the OAU chairmanship would very probably either remain in the hands of the longtime U.S. puppet Moi or would fall into the lap of one of the newest arrivals in the U.S. bloc and the next scheduled chairman of the OAU, Sekou Toure of Guinea.

In today's world, any issue of importance that the OAU took up would be "explosive and divisive." It's not the issues themselves but the context in which they arise and what they concentrate. Interestingly enough, one week before the scheduled opening of the summit one of the "divisive issues" became a moot issue as the Polisario offered to withdraw from the summit in the interests of "saving the OAU." Nonetheless, the U.S. still refused to allow the meeting to go down. For the U.S. imperialists there is just too much at stake. Everything about the impending summit added up to an opportunity for the Soviets to advance their interests — from the Qaddafi chairmanship to the reportedly scheduled introduction of a resolution by Mozambique recognizing the pro-Soviet African National Congress (ANC) as the "only liberation organization" in Azania. And, after taking a serious look at the lineup of forces and the gains made by the Soviets over the years, the U.S. quickly decided that they would not be able to block many, if any, of these Soviet advances. Aside from the 30 or so economic, "improve the living conditions of the people" items on the agenda for the 1982 summit, there were only two other major political questions in addition to the three already mentioned that the OAU was scheduled to take up. These were the apartheid regime in South Africa and the settlement of the

Namibia question. And although the OAU was not expected to do anything more than issue its standard denunciation of apartheid in South Africa and call for an end to the South African occupation of Namibia, even this presented certain problems for the U.S. imperialists. This is particularly true in light of their current intensified attempt to impose a neo-colonial settlement on their terms in Namibia and in light of not only the U.S.'s need to more openly tighten up its own relations with South Africa but in terms of the needs that the U.S. imperialists have of allying the other African members of their bloc with the South African regime as well.

Commenting on the sharply apparent disunity in the ranks of the OAU today, a columnist in the September issue of *New African* magazine cynically stated that the only thing worse than the OAU not meeting would have been if it had met and was consequently ripped to shreds. In this light it is worth examining just why the U.S. opted for effectively prohibiting the OAU from functioning rather than simply allowing, or forcing it to disintegrate.

Especially since the 1970's when the Soviet social-imperialists emerged on the scene as a full-scale challenger of U.S. imperialism, a challenger driven to and capable of openly and directly confronting the U.S. all over the world, the OAU has been an arena of contention. The first really major rip in the OAU centered on the recognition of the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola in 1975, one of the earliest and sharpest examples of the more open contention between the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists. With regard to Angola the OAU split literally down the middle and it was only after the MPLA was firmly established in power and presented to the OAU as a *fait accompli* that the majority of OAU members, for varying reasons, voted to recognize and admit the MPLA into the OAU. From that point on there has been no major political issue in which the OAU has been able to play a big role in or even get the overwhelming majority of its members to agree upon. Actually this is not too surprising given that the OAU itself is a concentration of the balance of imperialist forces in Africa and their overriding rivalry. And, over the last 10 years the Soviet imperialists have actually made some very significant advances in Africa. Prior to 1975 there was really no Soviet foothold in all of Africa outside of maybe the Peoples Republic of the Congo, and even that was shaky. Less than 10 years later the Soviets have not only extensively spread their influence

throughout Africa, but in fact have established arms strongholds in many of the strategically key areas of Africa, and in places where they don't have the upper hand they have managed to keep their thumbs in the pie through numerous agents hooked up with them. All of this has been reflected in and concentrated in the functioning and role of the OAU over the years. The situation is such that the OAU today is practically incapable of making any significant and political decision or move. Even the resolutions passed during the 1981 summit were admitted to be merely "transitional resolutions" aimed at temporarily marking time and holding the line.

It is the lining up of imperialist blocs and intensifying contention that characterize Africa as well as the rest of the world today. The supposed quest for some middle ground African unity no longer cuts the mustard in terms of the needs of the rival imperialist powers. In fact, both the U.S. and Soviet led blocs are more and more emphasizing regional, strategic alliances rather than some kind of all encompassing continent-wide organization or alliance. (One interesting aspect of this that deserves further looking into is the recent attempt by some Western European imperialists acting through the social-democratic parties to set up a sort of mini-Socialist International in Africa.) As it stands now, about the only place that the "quest for unity" is still run out in any sort of big way is in situations where the Soviets are pushing for "historic compromise" such as in southern Africa and among the so-called front-line states.

While all of this is true, it does not mean that the OAU no longer serves any useful purpose for either the U.S. or Soviet imperialists. In fact, it is the potential usefulness of the OAU, although definitely a limited potential usefulness, that is precisely why neither the U.S. nor the Soviets have thus far decisively moved to shatter the organization or split it in two. Both the U.S. and the Soviets still see the OAU as a useful vehicle for continuing and intensifying their contention in Africa — politically and militarily. For both of them the OAU still holds out a path to advance at the expense of each other, especially in terms of attempting to woo one or another strategically important country out of the opposing bloc and into their own. For these reasons alone the OAU will undoubtedly continue to exist and function at least for the foreseeable future — only it will not at all be as an organization of African unity, but rather as an arena of imperialist rivalry in preparation for war.

LENIN on War and Peace

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CORRECTION

Due to a printer's error, the front page headline for the article "Stop the Extradition of Hüseyin Balkir" was left off last week's issue. We corrected almost all copies, but a few uncorrected copies did slip into circulation.

L.A.P.D. Crackdown in MacArthur Park

During the past week or so the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has implemented a massive campaign of harassment and arrests of people — mainly Salvadorans — in the MacArthur Park area. Under the very thin guise of a crackdown on "drug pushers" a systematic and continuing clampdown is being directed at Salvadoran immigrants and others in this area which is well known as the site of a lot of revolutionary activity. While reports are still somewhat unclear, the police admit to already arresting "well over one hundred" people so far. Other estimates are as high as 200. They have also barricaded a two-block section of a street starting one-half block from the park where about 300 older whites live in a federally-supported condominium — in essence, Salvadorans and really any non-white who can't prove they live on the street are not allowed past the barricades. On any normal night dozens of Salvadorans would be out on the street in this area but with the police barricades it's become deserted.

When news of the barricades hit the press, white residents were quoted everywhere saying things like "It was a jungle out there. They were so bold and so noisy," and accusing all the Salvadorans of being "drug pushers." The *L.A. Times* article on the barricades says in its title "Pushers Move Out As Police Move In." However, just how thin this whole drug bust veneer is, is revealed by the fact that the District Attorney has refused to prosecute any of the cases so far. All of the busts are for supposed possession of marijuana "with some being felonies for supposed possession for sale." Most people have simply been held in jail for two to three days and then released without being prosecuted. Clearly this is an attempt to create an atmosphere of terror and intimidation against Salvadoran immigrants many of whom are progressive and revolutionary and are politically active. The effect of the sweeps has been to clear the streets for a few days, throw a large number of people in jail, and raise the general level of the police presence in the area, creating a kind of armed camp situation. When asked if the LAPD would be turning over the immigrants to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), they replied that it would be illegal for them to do so but that it was possible that their status could come out in probation reports or other court proceedings and then they might be turned over for deportation.

This is clearly a similar type of round-up-and-terrorize program as the massive Operation Jobs sweep carried out a few months ago in a number of cities. It is a blatant political attack on a very volatile section of the proletarian forces. The LAPD, in particular has been stepping up its measures and apparatus for dealing with the political threat that immigrants such as Salvadorans present to the rulers. LAPD Chief Darryl Gates pointed out in a report in January precisely how they are looking at the situation, "One of the major areas of concern in relation to terrorism (the catchphrase for the struggles of the oppressed peoples — RW) is the large and diverse ethnic population in our community. The LAPD must be aware of events that occur anywhere in the world as it could trigger a response from the concerned ethnic bloc within the city arising from nationalistic, political, religious, or revolutionary sympathies."

It is also highly interesting to note that the MacArthur Park area is one of the most political centers in the city. Much advanced political activity has been concentrated in this area over the past few May Days (including last May a mass forum in the park by the RCP focusing on its *Programme and Constitution*), and generally it is the frequent site of demonstrations and other activities against the U.S.'s role in Latin America especially. Setting up police barricades in

this area is a direct move against all of this and is undoubtedly preparation for use of such tactics on a much larger scale in the future. And while there is much more to be learned about this operation it is certainly telling of its highly political nature that the man heading up this clampdown is the same LAPD captain who headed the LAPD's operation against May Day in 1980 and in 1982.

The police say there are at least 6 other areas in the MacArthur Park area where they'd like to carry out similar operations now, and the above-mentioned captain has stated they are prepared to set up barricades in these other areas. This certainly presents all proletarian internationalists with the necessity to expose and combat these reactionary tactics of the enemy. □

Sasway Sentencing, October 4

On October 4th, Ben Sasway will become the second person sentenced after conviction for refusing to register for the draft. From all indications the government plans to impose a heavy sentence, the maximum being 5 years and a \$10,000 fine. After Sasway's conviction in San Diego, the prosecutor stated on national TV, "It's a difficult type of case to take to trial. And I just hope that when other individuals see that we are prosecuting these cases and that we're going to enforce the law it will provide an incentive for them to register." Official estimates of those who have not registered run to 700,000; the number is more likely around 1 million.

After Sasway's August 26th conviction the judge denied bail and immediately sent him to jail to await sentencing, saying that otherwise Sasway might skip to Canada, a charge repeated in all the

media coverage. But in refusing to overrule the judge's bail decision, a Federal Appellate Court bypassed the Canada argument and got to the essence of the matter, saying Sasway "would very likely continue to advocate a subversion of this country's judicial process in this matter which goes directly to the heart of our national interest." Implicit was a dictum addressed to others, notably those whose defiant opposition rests on political grounds, as with Sasway.

The first person sentenced for refusing to register, Enton Eller (who refused on religious grounds) was given the option of avoiding jail time if he would now register; he has still refused to do so. Sasway has made it clear he would reject any such offer. Now a total of 6 more draft resisters have received indictments and several of these are scheduled to go on trial this month. □

Demonstrations Hit Marcos

As police prepared to sneak the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos into the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco Sept. 26, several hundred demonstrators, drawn from a picket line across the street and a large nearby rally, surged into the intersection, chanting slogans against Marcos and against U.S. imperialism which is his whole reason for existence, and preventing the police from blocking off the area where Marcos was to pass. During his trip, Marcos had received staunch reconfirmation of U.S. support for his regime and high accolades from Reagan: "Yours, Mr. President, is a respected voice of reason and moderation in international forums." Just to make sure he did get some respect, the pro-U.S. pipsqueak brought with him an entourage of 700 cronies and retainers. The estimated \$15 million he spent on his trip included almost unlimited amounts to bribe (and coerce) some Filipinos to come out and wave the little Filipino flags his men, in painted T-shirts saying "Marcos, the Man We Trust", gave out wherever he appeared. At the St. Francis, respect was enforced by 300 Marcos security men, 200 Secret Service agents, and regular San Francisco police, as a fleet of agents of all kinds swept through the area. Nevertheless, the many hundreds of people who turn-

ed out anyway made this last stop on Marcos's U.S. tour — in the city with the largest Filipino population in the U.S. — a fitting culmination to a series of demonstrations that had begun when

he arrived in Washington, D.C. ten days before. (Due to a typographical error, we reported that 2,500 participated in the demonstration in front of the White House. The correct figure is 250.)



Maryland Court Ruling On Abortion Case:

A Husband's Equal Right To Own His Wife

There seems to be no end to the outrages of the courts and the whole government along with their right-to-lifer entourage these days in relation to the oppression of women. One could put together an endless list of crimes and abuses. A recent court case in Maryland is another for the list, but it is a particularly revealing one — a case that stands out for its naked (calculatingly so) declaration of the right of a man to rule over his wife and children as any property owner is entitled to do. On September 17, Judge Daniel Moylan of the Washington County Circuit Court in Maryland ruled that a woman, Bonnie Fritz, could not have an abortion against the wishes of her husband (from whom she had been separated) on the grounds that she did not have the "right to unilaterally make a decision on the abortion of a child." As a result of the judge's ruling on a suit brought by her husband, Bonnie Fritz was literally yanked from a clinic minutes before she was to have an abortion. To make the scene complete, Moylan's decision was enthusiastically greeted by 20-30 Right-to-Lifers who picketed against abortion outside his courtroom while their supporters inside, unable to conceal their elation at another victory for the biblical view on the position of a woman,

cried "Hallelujah!" and "Praise the Lord!"

The judge, however, only considered the issue of "the rights of the unborn" as secondary to the case; why cloud up the matter? The real issue after all is the rights of the husband to be lord and master. And just to add a legal "fuck you" to women he cited the Maryland Equal Rights Amendment as the grounds for his decision. (The precise legal logic here is difficult to ascertain but no doubt there is some procedure with a Latin name for it; after all, what code of democracy can deny men an equal right to oppress women?) Judge Moylan's order was blocked the same day by a judge on the Court of Special Appeals, Maryland's intermediate appellate court, after Bonnie's lawyers filed an emergency appeal. A hearing was scheduled for four days later to argue the issues of the case during which time Bonnie legally obtained an abortion.

But lest anyone should get the idea all this is just a case of some super-reactionary Right-to-Life nut of a judge, the followup action by Maryland's highest court should lay such notions to rest. In a last ditch effort to prevent Bonnie Fritz from getting an abortion, instead of waiting four days for the scheduled hearing, Maryland's Court of Appeals moved with what may be the fastest pace in judicial history to reverse

the lower court's decision. Within a record-breaking 18 hours the high court reinstated Judge Moylan's order forbidding the abortion. In what was described by the Baltimore press as a "highly unusual action," the five high court judges ruled after a hastily-convened telephone conference. Rather than declaring the case "moot" since Bonnie already had the abortion, the judges insisted on bringing the case to trial late this year since they are certain that "many more such instances will arise." This is interesting especially since it is a challenge

to a Supreme Court ruling that a woman can have an abortion specifically without the consent of her husband.

The outcome of this case does indeed bear watching. In any case, what clearer illustration could one ask for of what all the right-to-life shit and anti-abortion crusade is all about. What must be enforced by the ruling class is its right and the rights of its husbands to perpetuate imperialist social relations in regard to women — relations which must be torn up, root and branch. □

Free the Fort Mac 2!

The sentencing of the Fort Mac 2 on their conviction last month in federal court — carrying a possible 1-1/2 years in prison and a \$1500 fine — has just been postponed one week until October 12. This week provides valuable time to multiply the protest that has been building against the government's attack so as to focus a piercing spotlight on their activities in that Atlanta courtroom next week.

Send letters and statements to:

Judge Orinda Evans
19888 U.S. Courthouse
75 Spring Street SW
Atlanta, GA 30303

Copies should be sent to:

The Committee to Free the Fort Mac 2
66 Peachtree Park Drive Suite 202
Atlanta, GA 30309

For more information, phone
(404) 627-8311

Letter to RW from South Dakota Penitentiary

The Frame-Up, the Lock-Up and the Rebels at Sioux Falls Prison

September 17, 1982

Dear Comrades,

Received your letter today and I will fill you in on the details concerning this prison and the riot of 11-7-81. The biggest move against the Revolutionary brothers started in July of 1981 when five inmates were set up (framed) by the prison authorities.

An inmate, Kevin Pack, and his cell mate, Cliff Johnson, planned a simulated attack on Pack so he could win an early release from prison. On July 10, 1981 Kevin Pack stuck a broomstick up his rectum and had Cliff Johnson hit him in the head with a piece of iron to simulate a sexual assault. When Pack was taken and treated at a local hospital he stated he was attacked by unknown persons. Upon returning to the prison Kevin Pack was instructed by prison officials to implicate a certain five inmates as being the ones who attacked him. The prison officials told Pack to implicate and testify against these certain five inmates or Pack would be punished by prison officials if he refused to do so.

So, the Administrative officials picked out the five people for Pack to implicate. The five people are all revolutionary brothers who constantly battle for their freedom, to improve prison conditions and who are considered leaders in forming solidarity among inmates. The prison officials wanted these people put in the "hole" so to limit their activities and to completely remove these people from the general population so to stop the other inmates from standing together. These five brothers were charged with attacking Pack and were found guilty by a prison disciplinary board and were sent to "The Hole."

When that happened seven inmates, including myself carried on the struggle to bring solidarity among inmates and exposing all the administration's tactics of harassing and framing inmates who dare to speak against the officials. From the beginning of these seven people speaking and standing together, the prison officials started their attacks on us. They threatened to make time very hard for us if we did not quit speaking out against the prison. Guards would follow us, constantly searching each of our cells. I had a T.V., stereo and guitar amplifier taken out of my cell and destroyed by prison officials. One brother was physically attacked by a guard but the guard lost the fight and there were too many witnesses to frame the brother so the Administration waited for an

once and put us in the hole to stop us from exposing the Administration's gestapo tactics.

November 7, 1981 became the day for the Administration to make their move! It started in the morning during cell house recreation in which each man can be inside the cell hall or outside in the yard. Myself and six other bro's were inside the cell hall talking to a small group of men about a work strike to attract the media and to expose the prison and its officials. Evidently a guard or an inmate snitch overheard our conversations and immediately informed the shift captain of our work strike talks. The Captain, Capt. Friberg, sent Sgt. Dave Ellis to disperse and separate us. We then went outside and stayed together. Upon walking out in the yard, a guard in the watchtower stepped out on the wall and aimed a shotgun at us! We all went back into the cell hall and confronted Sgt. Ellis as to why guns are being aimed at us. He stated "Go back outside and stay out of the cell hall." We went back outside, followed by officer Herb Laakman who would not be more than 10 feet away from us. So we went between the body shop and the kitchen buildings out of sight of the guard towers and we confronted officer Laakman as to what he thought he was doing. Laakman stated he was "doing his job." He also stated that "People who cause trouble get hurt." We then split up in two groups of two and one group of three and went different directions.

At 3:45 in the afternoon we went back into the cell hall for showers. One brother of us seven went up to his cell and a guard attacked him. This brother . . . defended himself and yelled out that he was being attacked. Immediately two of the brothers ran up the steps to third tier and a number of guards also ran up there to third tier and began attacking the brothers. The other three brothers also ran up and noticed that about 6 guards had the brother who was first attacked handcuffed; the other two brothers went up to fourth tier and were also attacked by guards who were apparently waiting for them. The two brothers on fourth tier used whatever means possible to defend themselves . . . Myself and three of the bro's ran back down the stairs and grabbed broomsticks and mop handles to defend ourselves if necessary. We were by the steps when the six guards were dragging and kicking one brother who was handcuffed. When the guards reached

the bottom of the steps they immediately began attacking me and three other bro's. Broom and mop handles were being used to stop the guards. The two bro's who were attacked on fourth tier came back down the stairs and helped fight off the guards. When ten guards were . . . (beaten off) they decided to run to the control room. Other guards were left in the cell hall. Most of them locked themselves in the cells. The seven of us with the help of a few other inmates built a barricade between the cell hall and the control room to keep the guards from attacking again.

A few inmates began picking up the wounded guards and taking them out of the cell hall where ambulances were called for them. Once all the wounded guards were taken out of the cell hall a couple of mediators came in to talk with us. A swat team was stationed all over the penitentiary and were instructed to fire their weapons on command from the swat team commander. The mediators came into the cell hall and informed us that if we didn't all lock up in our cells then the swat teams would begin an armed assault upon the entire prison!

Everyone then went to their own cells and locked up. At 6:30 PM that evening about 10 guards in full riot gear went to seven individual cells one by one, including mine, and removed each brother and took them downtown to jail to be charged with first degree attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon, aggravated assault and inciting a riot. Of the seven people removed from the cells, I was taken to the hole while the

incident was investigated for evidence to charge me also. There was not enough evidence to prove I assaulted a guard so I was charged with assaulting the "inmates" who were helping the wounded guards out of the prison. I've been in the hole since that date of November 7, 1981. Of the six people convicted, the sentences were as follows: Billy Rump — 7 years, Jody Smith — 10 years, Alan Quam — 8 years, Steve Layton — 60 years, Ron Dennis — 3 consecutive life terms. One inmate broke down and testified against the other brothers in exchange for a two year sentence in the county jail. Five of the brothers in revolution were transferred to other prisons around the country.

Us seven brothers were singled out because of our refusal to keep silent about prison conditions, inhuman treatment and conspiracies executed by prison officials. We were set up as were the other five brothers who were framed for attacking an inmate who lives in a different cell hall. Three of the inmates who were framed for attacking Kevin Pack are still in the hole along with myself . . .

It is going to take some help from you and the RCP and R.W. to expose this place and I will help you anyway I can and I'll speak out as long as I live because I am a revolutionary and I'd damn well rather die on my feet than to live on my knees!!

Stand Strong
In Revolutionary Struggle
Kelly Dean Briggs

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

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

Target Seattle Targetted In Opening Week



Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny

On Friday, Sept. 24, the government's 9-day Target Seattle program began. The series of forums and speeches presenting a variety of "responsible," "reasonable," and "rational" points of view on nuclear war will culminate in a quasi-official government "peace" rally in the Seattle Kingdome. So far the daily programs have provided a good sampling of the variety of hawk and dove spokesmen to be featured at the Oct. 2 grand finale. The point of all this "reasoned dialogue" has come out quite clearly so far—a somewhat wary public must come together as "citizens of this nation" and discuss what is in the best interest of defending that nation whether it be straight-up "peace through strength" or more emphasis on disarmament charades like the nuclear freeze and so forth. And the message has been, by all means folks, let's not rock the boat too much with demonstrations and protests particularly like the recent anti-Trident blockade at Bangor submarine base near Seattle (a protest that was met with loaded 50 calibre machine guns and M-16s and an armada of 40 Coast Guard and Navy ships). You see, preventing the nuclear war that both the U.S. and Soviet war blocs are rapidly and rabidly preparing to wage can only be accomplished by pressuring and relying on the

reasonableness of the very perpetrators of this madness and all the rest of the towering madness and crimes of imperialism. Target Seattle has been a very good example of democracy in action; all imperialist points of view are acceptable no matter who it is who mouths them; the citizenry is allowed to make its choice between what particular brand of defending U.S. imperialism and its preparations for world war they like, raw and bitter or with a bit of cream and sugar. But they have not gone unchallenged by a variety of progressive and revolutionary forces. And it appears that even among what has been a rather mainstream audience so far, the events have gotten mixed reviews.

The first event was attended by 700 people, many of them professionals on extended lunch hours.

Dr. Richard Lyman opened it up with the keynote speech. Having gained prominence in the late 1960s and early '70s for his role in the suppression of anti-war activities as provost and then president of Stanford University, Lyman is now president of the Rockefeller Foundation, a prime mover in Target Seattle and at the core of the U.S. rulers' recent attempts at grabbing the tail of the anti-nuclear movement. What this "great humanitarian" had to say was simple: we should avoid "polarization" and "acrimon-

ious" disputes, we should all work together as Americans, both "hawks" and "doves," maintaining at all times a firm belief in "our great democracy." But before he'd had much of a chance to speak, a revolutionary jumped up and denounced him and the Rockefeller Foundation. This unscheduled speaker was silenced by a gang of Target Seattle organizers, but Lyman had not gotten out four more words before a revolutionary anti-nuke activist, wearing a kafir (Palestinian scarf) spoke up, "You have no right to speak. I have. I speak for the Palestinian people." She went on to expose his role in suppressing the student rebellions of the '60s and this country's role in oppressing and suppressing the masses in their millions worldwide. Lyman was again disrupted and by the time his speech ended there was a restlessness and marked discontent in the room. Later, an organizer complained to one of the disrupters he'd help haul out, "You electrified the room!"

Next up was Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny, the Reagan administration's chief arms negotiator at the START talks and a man who recently remarked, "We (the U.S.) have put too much interest on control for arms and too little on the provision of arms." A bit uneasy with this audience, Rowny gave a somewhat bumbling and

lackluster presentation of the standard "the best defense is a good offense" line and warned against "pie in the sky solutions to the nuclear arms race," as one news broadcast put it. He, of course, portrayed all U.S. war preparations simply as defense against the U.S.' imperialist rivals, the Soviet Union, complaining about how hard it is to negotiate with the "Russian mentality." This set the stage for a recent convert to the cause of world peace, one Major General Fairbourn who was given the opportunity to denounce Rowny and advocate the bold step (or at least a good start) of a bilateral nuclear freeze which would limit the number of nukes on each side to 25,000 warheads. He assured the audience, "We want least of all to compromise the U.S. security. We do believe in and support a strong defense, but we oppose excessive expenditures for forces." He, of course, did not elaborate on exactly what he considered "excessive" spending on keeping the U.S. in the position of number one imperialist power in the world, but certainly he left no doubt that he had no quarrel with this sacred goal.

Programs in the following days featured such spokesmen as Kathleen Troia, a speechwriter for Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger; Jane Sharp, a ruling class "peace" thinktanker and "nuclear freeze" exponent; and a variety of academics and others. A number met with challenges from the floor. In addition, outside of the programs, debate and struggle continued over revolutionary agitation around a banner reading, "If Nuclear War is 'Thinkable', Then Why Isn't Revolution Thinkable." A particularly gratifying and amusing confrontation transpired on Monday night, Sept. 27, during the speech of Major General Meyer who was expounding on his remarkable solution to nuclear war—laser warfare in outerspace combined with anti-ballistic missile warfare on the ground. About a dozen punks and some revolutionary students from abroad employed a very appropriate method of criticism. As he began to speak, a laugh box was turned on and sinister laughter filled the room. It took several minutes for the Target Seattle staff to find the culprits and by the time campus police were dragging them out, many in the audience had picked up laughing where the box had left off. Meyer tried to continue his speech, at which time several people, one after another, stood up to denounce his exploits in the Korean and Vietnam wars as well as his plans for WW3. The back and forth continued on and off throughout his speech. At one point a whole string of firecrackers were set off somewhere outside the hall. More laugh boxes, more cat calls. This wild scene continued throughout the evening and Maj. Gen. Meyer, and Target Seattle staff, were quite relieved when the program was over. They are no doubt in for more surprises as Target Seattle continues. □

Letter From Trident Nein Defendant

"Misuse and Mutilation of the American Flag"

Believe it or not, this archaic law remains in the Connecticut State Statute book despite its violation of the U.S. Constitution and Freedom of Speech. But the real question is, is there in any real sense, free speech in this country? Has there ever been?

Tim Quinn of Hartford and myself were arrested in Groton, Sept. 11th at a protest against the Trident submarine, for holding the American flag upside down (an International signal for distress) with the words "Disarm and Live" sewn across it. The two of us are also presently on trial for damaging the Trident sub on July 5th of this year. Obviously the Groton Police are using tactics of intimidation and harassment to discourage people from speaking the truth about what actually is being built by General Dynamics... a death machine that has the capacity to destroy the world... all legal... all in the name of "Democracy" and the

American way of life.

We believe that our message was very positive. "Disarm and Live". Why is this so threatening to some Americans? Why is it like waving a red flag in front of a raging bull? The answer is perhaps as symbolic as the symbol itself. Allegiance to the flag and to Nation States in general, has at its foundation a profound insecurity. One must realize that there has been and continues to be, an enormous amount of suffering and death as a part of this country's rather short history. Supposedly (at least I have heard this rote response from many) many people have given their lives in the name of "freedom" and "democracy"... to preserve the glutinous, wasteful, consumer-oriented, American way of life. Indeed, many people have died for this cause. But is there really "freedom"? "Democracy"? Or are they just mere words used to manipulate and hide a more brutal and tragic history that has thus far remained untold?

The fear of having another side of

history exposed weighs heavily on the lives of people in this country. If the people began to understand that the life-style we now hold depends on the exploitation of people around the world, we could no longer embrace the regalia of "freedom" and "democracy" with as much patriotic and self-righteous fervor as some do now. For me, the flag represents much of this untold history: the inhumane acts of genocide against the Native Americans; the reduction of human beings to mere chattel in the practice of slavery; the brutal and bloody history of those who struggled to form labor unions; the charred villages of Vietnam; the military support of dictatorships in Latin America to bolster corporate profits; and now more than ever, the research, development and deployment of nuclear weapons (Trident) as the final rape of the earth and its people in what seems to be a death-wish by the super-powers. Old glory has remained aloft through all these atrocities and many more.

Is it (the flag) not then a symbol for a darker and bloodier history than these American patriots are willing to admit? And if these blind patriots did own up to this gory history, wouldn't they finally begin to realize that a lot of people died for nothing? Or if they died for something, that something begins to show itself as corporate greed, power,

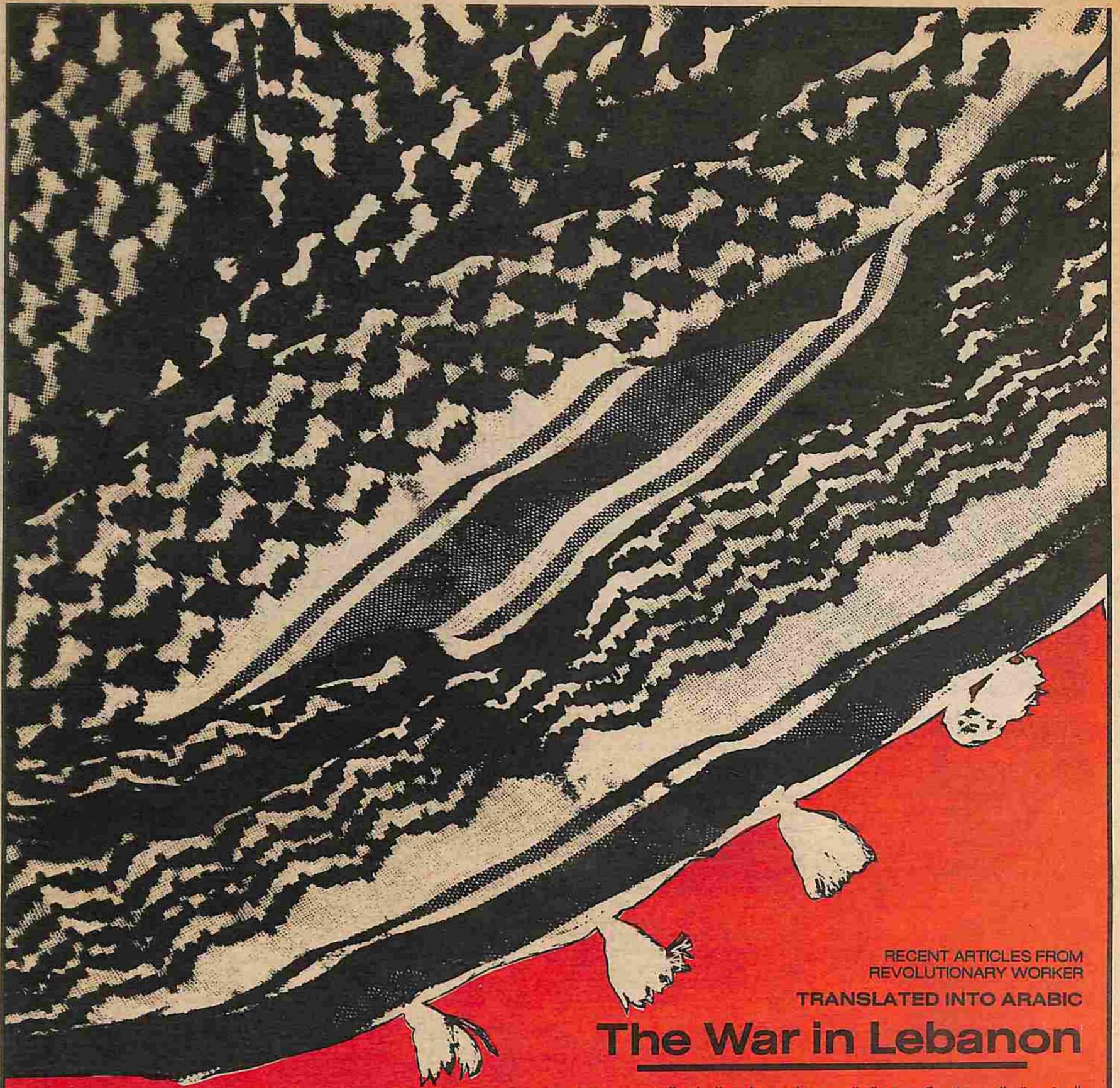
profits for an elite few, while the poor and working people (those who most often die in battle) are led blindly on. I do not ask these questions as an exercise by some raving iconoclast. I ask them because I want the killing to stop. I do not want to repeat the stupidity and senseless killing of the past. I do not want the corporations to reap their profits of blood-money. I do not want to see the human race thrown on the funeral pyre of nuclear annihilation. I want peace.

So we try to make something positive out of a piece of cloth drenched in history's blood... we ask people to "Disarm and Live". We demand an end to the killing which is the end result of the incantation of the American Dream. These are hopes... and above all, we have a human right to express these hopes.

But the reality is that we will be prosecuted for our hopes and dreams of a peaceful world. On Oct. 1st we will be arraigned in New London Superior Court.

signed,

Vincent Kay,
Member of the Atlantic Life Community
and one of the Trident Nein; co-director
of the Phoenix Poetry Series in New
Haven and a freelance writer published
in several literary publications.



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