



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, U.S.A.

No. 109

(Vol. 3, No. 7)

Published weekly

June 12, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485

50¢

## U.S. UNLEASHES ISRAELI RAID ON IRAQ



Beneath the chiffon-thin veil of U.S. imperialist "condemnation" of the Israeli bombing strike against Iraq's nuclear facilities, the matter of U.S. imperialist complicity in the raid, and the role of Israel as a barking dog for U.S. imperialist strategy in the Middle East, can be unmistakably seen. At the same time, despite the expressions of "concern" in various imperialist quarters over the impact of the raid on U.S. "patient diplomacy" in the region, the raid provides yet another vivid demonstration of the chief means through which U.S. imperialism is forg-

ing its "anti-Soviet strategic consensus." In U.S. imperialism's "carrot and stick" tactics, it is the bludgeon of imperialist coercion, terror and intimidation that plays the principal and decisive role.

On Sunday, June 7th, U.S. built Israeli F-4 Phantoms escorted by F-15s, streaked 600 miles across Jordanian and Saudi Arabian air space to conduct a massive strike against a nuclear reactor only a few miles outside of Iraq's capital of Baghdad. The entire area, of course, is under extensive U.S. surveillance—including through

satellites and the airborne warning and control systems (AWACs) which the U.S. has deployed in Saudi Arabia. Yet the U.S.—and the Saudis—claim that they "missed" the nine Israeli aircraft involved in the mission because the AWACs' radar was conveniently concentrating elsewhere—on developments in the fighting between Iran and Iraq. Despite the demolition of the reactor site where hundreds of French and Italian technicians were employed, the outside world was supposedly "ignorant" that anything unusual had happened until the Israeli government

itself made an announcement some 24 hours later.

No sooner had the State Department issued its ritual "condemnation" of the raid than the mass media and the U.S. government itself began dropping heavy-handed hints that all such necessary diplomatic hypocrisies were to be disregarded. Heavy play was given to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's June 9th press conference. In what the *New York Times* described as a "passionate defense" of the Israeli attacks, this bloody butcher cried that

Continued on page 8

# Mass Deportations Slated Vicious Attacks on Haitian Immigrants

The U.S. government has stepped up sharp attacks against Haitian refugees. On June 4, mass "hearings" and deportations of Haitians began in Miami. The Haitians were dragged into locked courtrooms 35 at a time. Immigration and Naturalization (INS) officials forcibly prevented any contact between the refugees and lawyers. The one lawyer who actually managed to get into the courtroom was thrown out, the judge declaring that the attorney had not been "requested" and was therefore "soliciting business."

By June 9, 136 Haitians had been "tried"; 40 of these cases were continued, while 96 people were to be deported. Some have had no idea what is happening to them. One woman who was put on a plane last week with ten others did not realize she was being sent to Haiti until she was strapped into a seat. She thought she was being released and resettled until she was told the destination of the plane. According to officials, she then became hysterical—undoubtedly their term for sharp protest—and was taken off the plane. She is now being held in solitary confinement.

Not only did lawyers and friends protest these outrageous proceedings, but even forces such as the Congressional Black Caucus got into the act. That these politicians were forced to call for a federal investigation into the "legal rights of Haitians" shows that events in Miami have been widely exposed, invoking broad anger. On Monday, June 8th, the government announced they would halt the trials pending an investigation. By Wednesday the investigation was complete—no rights had been trampled on. The hearings were ordered to proceed.

In the past, many Haitians when entering this country without visas have been allowed a "period of grace" during which time their case was reviewed to determine status. This procedure expires in July. Last year, when 5,000 Haitians filed a suit against government deportation procedures, a judge was forced to admit that the INS engaged in "sham and secret proceedings" because Haitians might qualify for political asylum. Given the relationship between the barbaric Duvalier regime in Haiti and its even more barbaric mentors in

Washington, this is one can of worms the U.S. has worked to keep sealed. Certainly Haitians in the U.S. have been a significant force in exposing the crimes of the U.S. in Haiti, and conceding "political refugee" status would be an admission of these crimes. Haitians have been classified as "economic refugees," but never as "political refugees." And now, the government seems determined to deliver a message that the request for *any* kind of status will be met with the best the U.S. has to offer—degradation, brutality, imprisonment and possible murder after deportation.

In truth, this message has been delivered already. To cite one example, last November, the U.S. Coast Guard was given orders not to rescue 1,000 Haitian refugees stranded and starving to death on a Caribbean sandbar. In cooperation with the U.S., Bahaman cops were dispatched to beat and arrest the Haitians—with no small amount of resistance, it should be added—and deport them back to Haiti where they were again beaten and arrested and worse.

Over 800 Haitians are currently jailed in the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami. It was in this camp that many Cuban refugees got their first glimpse at the "American way" last summer. The camp is surrounded by barbed wire. A wall down the middle separates men from women. 25 guards were recently added to the existing 30, and have been reinforced with city police surveillance. A third high fence topped with barbed wire was recently constructed. There is one bathroom in the camp, the very young and old have gotten extremely sick, and some have nearly starved to death. Food, admitted by officials as "lacking in quality and quantity," is rotten.

Prior to the mass "hearings," there was only one telephone in the camp—the only chance to call relatives or lawyers—and this one was out of order "due to construction." (This, of course, was ruled irrelevant by the judge.) For a week and a half before the "hearings," all the men in the camp were locked down. Officials admit they are stepping up arrests and preparing to put up tents at Krome as they arrest more.

The government is openly declaring they are escalating their attacks on Haitians. The INS says this is a "change in policy" and will try to deport 6,000 Haitians who've arrived since last October. The INS further says it is preparing for Haitians "who take advantage" of the summer calm seas to flee Haiti. A recent *New York Times* news analysis was quite interesting in light of these stepped up attacks. U.S. Immigration policy, it says, "after decades of inattention, is fast assuming proportions of a national crisis." The nature of this crisis was further spelled out, "The problem may be stated briefly: to what extent is the United States prepared to permit or at least to tolerate the continued immigration of impoverished and oppressed refugees and aliens, legal and illegal, and with them the enhanced potential for social conflict inherent in a permanently multi-lingual, multi-cultural society?" They are only too well aware of the potential revolutionary influence of foreign-born im-

migrants in the U.S.

This is generally true and is true of Haitians in particular. 150 Haitians went over the wall at Krome on May 1st, escaping from the camp. Unfortunately, details of this incident are rather sketchy. Apparently 100 of these refugees were eventually rounded up; 50 were not caught. Also, at the time of the mass "hearings," Haitian workers took to the streets in Miami, warning people about the attacks unknown to most and exposing this outrage.

As we go to press, a stay has been issued on the deportation of 76 Haitians only hours before their scheduled expulsion. The stay is a result of a motion filed by attorneys for the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami and the American Civil Liberties Union. It comes before the court on Friday, June 12. Now that the viciousness of this attack has been widely exposed, the U.S. government will undoubtedly try to carry it out in a less blatant way. □



## Subscriptions

**One Year—\$20** (U.S., Canada, Mexico)  
**Ten Weeks trial Subscription—\$4.00**

For Institutions—\$30/year  
Foreign Subscriptions—\$80 Airmail \$40 for six months and \$30 surface mail

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKER**

English Edition

**OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO**

Spanish Edition

**革命工人报**

Chinese Edition

**L'OUVRIER REVOLUTIONNAIRE**

French Edition (monthly)

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Order Chinese edition, from: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108.  
Order French from: Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York NY 10003

## CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

**Atlanta:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784

**Austin:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 5914, Austin, TX 78763 (512) 477-3105

**Baltimore:** Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203

**Birmingham:** P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, ALA 35201 (205) 787-0202

**Boston:** Revolution Books 118 Massachusetts Ave., Box 137, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 492-9016

**Buffalo:** Box 121, Elliott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561

**Chicago:** Revolutionary Workers Center 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-1140

**Cincinnati:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 542-6024

**Cleveland:** P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910

**Dayton:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046

**Detroit:** Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286

**El Paso:** P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377

**Hawaii:** Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106

**Houston:** P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904

**Los Angeles Area:** Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856

**Louisville:** P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 542-6024

**New York-New Jersey:** Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638

**North Carolina:** P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079

**Philadelphia:** P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574

**Portland:** Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034

**St. Louis:** P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068

**San Diego:** P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116

**San Francisco Bay Area:** Revolutionary Workers Center 5929 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, CA 94605 (415) 638-9700

**Seattle Area:** Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222

**Tampa:** P.O. Box 24983, Tampa, FL 33623

**Washington, D.C.:** Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969

**West Virginia:** P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 542 S. Dearborn, No. 906, Chicago, IL 60605. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP

Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions, foreign subscriptions are \$80.00 a year airmail, \$40.00 for six months and \$30.00 surface mail.)

# A Few Thoughts on Masses, Mass Struggle and Mass Movements—In Relation to Revolutionary Work and the Revolutionary Goal

The following are some further excerpts from a letter by Bob Avakian in response to a letter he received. For previous excerpts from letter see RW Nos. 95, 96, 102, 107, and 108—March 6 and 13, April 24, May 29 and June 5.

It is true that, especially in recent times, we have put a lot of stress on the advanced and contrasted them with the "average" workers, and we have insisted on gearing our work toward the former and not the latter. But actually the letter has mixed up different contradictions in the way it contrasts the "advanced" with the "masses."

In one aspect, when we stress the advanced we are opposing that to the broadest masses (the masses, literally, in their millions), most of whom are still politically inactive, dormant, even backward under present circumstances (Lenin once described it as being in a long sleep). But, looked at concretely in terms of the situation today, these advanced (in opposition to the "average workers") constitute "masses". And the key thing is to create public opinion, which will have more important results now among *these* masses (these "masses of advanced", so to speak) and secondarily at this time among the (still broader) masses. Secondary to creating public opinion in this sense, but crucial in creating public opinion and in carrying out revolutionary work overall, is the task of training those who are "the advanced among the advanced": those whose desire and ability to be part of the conspiracy around the RW and revolutionary work in general is now greater—because their political awareness and interest is as yet higher and more acute—than the "masses of advanced" (the latter, again, being the advanced as a general grouping in contrast to the broad masses in the overall, largest sense). Of course, it is important not to be metaphysical here, too—not to treat the groupings

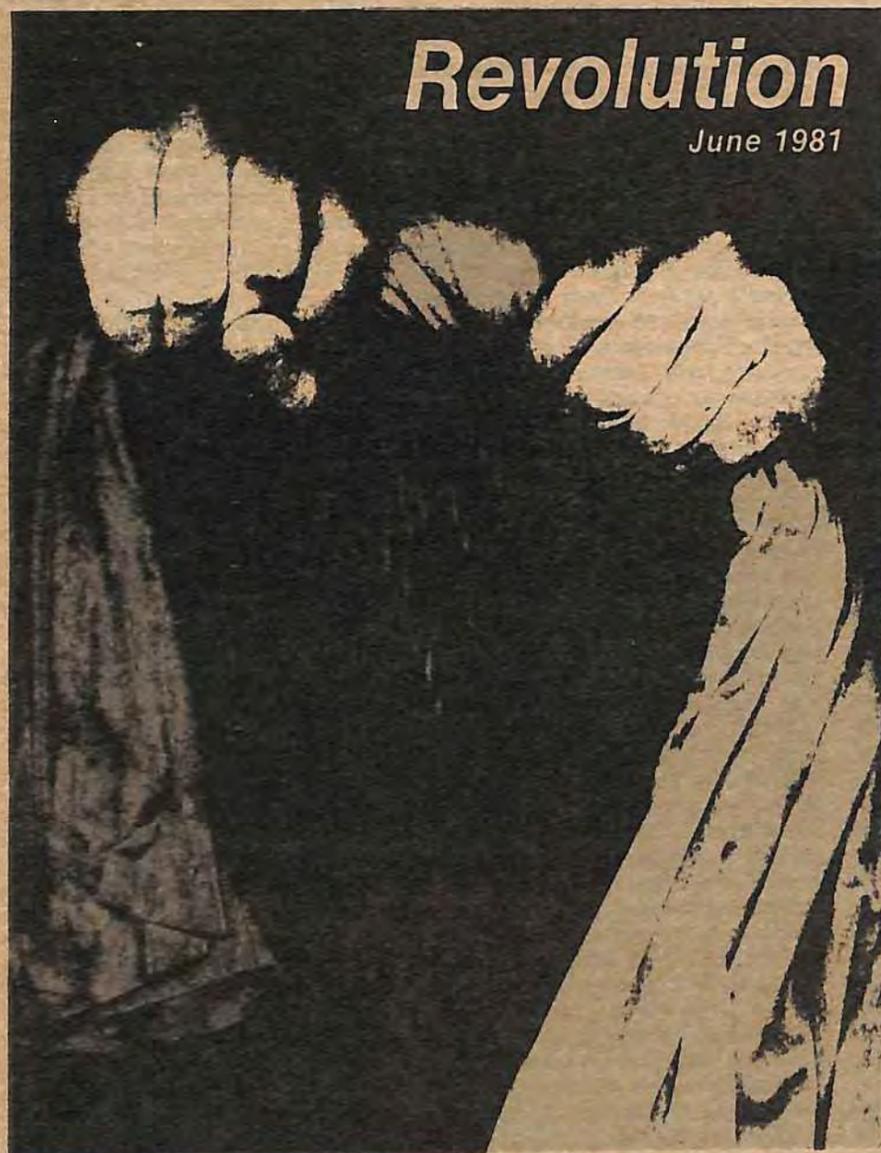
among the masses statically and as if divided by absolute barriers.

Actually, the key to understanding this is contained in the article "In Revolution, Is Relying on the Masses An Optional Accessory?" (RW 75) where it stresses "the Leninist view of the masses as being those who are awakening to political life."\*\* As Lenin himself put it, there are "masses" and there are "masses", depending on the situation: to move thousands (or tens of thousands, and to influence hundreds of thousands) in a politically conscious way—that is, with proletarian class consciousness—during "normal times" is genuinely to move (and influence) masses; in a revolutionary situation, it is necessary to move, influence and win leadership of millions (even tens of millions). There is a crucial relationship between thousands who are active and have their political consciousness raised in "normal times" and the millions who come into motion as things develop toward and then into a revolutionary situation, for these thousands can become the leaders of the millions precisely in this "all-out" situation. But at all points it is necessary to adhere to the Leninist view of the masses and base ourselves on them—those who are awakening to political life (and not those still politically asleep). An approach that departs from this view of the masses—and the relationship of the advanced to the broader masses at any given point and in any given situation—is bound to lead things away from preparing for and finally seizing the revolutionary opportunity.

\*\*"Awakening to political life" does not mean "already in agreement with us"—it means masses (of whatever number, varying with the situation) who are taking an active interest in, and desire to actively participate in and influence, political affairs, social questions and conditions.

The letter points out that "there are some struggles which the Party must attempt to give tactical guidance to... eruptions like this do influence millions, that the course they take is very important, and that as these things happen more and more we're going to be called on to play a role in them, or at least have the ability to do so." Yes, this is true and important—but what we must especially "have the ability to do" (learn) is how to "play a role in them", including in some cases striving to give tactical leadership, *without* abandoning the correct orientation and main focus of our work as expressed in the central task ("create public opinion... seize power") and the formulations of exposure as the key link and the newspaper as the main weapon now. In other words, we must develop our ability to carry out the orientation and principles "laid down" in the article "Support Every Outbreak" (RW 84).

Partly this is an organizational question, a question of division of labor. For example, in struggles, movements, organizations, etc., that do require us to work in them, even in some cases striving to give tactical leadership on a systematic basis, we should learn how to combine the assignment of a few comrades (or in some cases maybe only one) to actually carry out this aspect, while overall our main way of relating to them remains the carrying out of agitation and propaganda and of "stretching a line" into these movements in the broad sense. Still, in the main this is not an organizational but a political question: persevering in and deepening our application (and grasp) of the central task, key link and main weapon now (as referred to above) and not abandoning this in the "rush" of mass struggle, mass movement, mass organization. □



Single copies: \$2.00. Available at these bookstores:

Berkeley: Revolution Books, 3126 Grove St., 94703, 415-841-8314  
 Boston: Revolution Books, 118 Mass. Ave., Box 137, 02115  
 Chicago: Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, 60614, 312-528-5353  
 Detroit: Revolution Books, 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, 313-872-2286  
 Honolulu: Revolution Books, 2648 S. King St., 96817, 808-944-3106

## Now Available Revolution Magazine

"But we are out to rebuild the world... it is time to cast off the soiled shirt and to don clean linen."

V.I. Lenin  
 "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution"  
 April, 1917

### Contents

- \* Outline of Views on the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and the Lessons for Today  
 "In sum: the second world war, from beginning to end, was the second world *inter-imperialist* war—this was its principal aspect and overall character..."
- \* Some Notes on the Military and Diplomatic History of WW2
- \* On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism": You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag
- \* "You Can't Beat the Enemy While Raising His Flag"—MLPUSA Tries It
- \* The Line of the Comintern On The Civil War in Spain  
 "In Spain, to be blunt, the possibilities for big revolutionary advances in that country and worldwide were sacrificed..."
- \* Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties & Organizations—  
 "To the Marxist-Leninists, The Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

Revolution, Issue 49 (Vol. 6, No. 1), June 1981. Propaganda Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Published in separate Spanish and English editions.

Subscription Rates in the U.S.: 6 issues—\$10; by First Class—\$18. Other countries: 6 issues, by Surface Mail—\$12; by Airmail—\$20; Libraries and Institutions: \$18; Payable by check or money order.

Order from: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

Los Angeles: Revolution Books, 2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006, 213-384-3856  
 New York: Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., 10003, 212-243-8638  
 San Francisco: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, 94108, 415-781-4989  
 Seattle: Revolution Books, 1828 Broadway, 98122, 206-323-9222  
 Washington, D.C.: Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, 202-265-1969

## First Stop China

## Haig's Asian Trek: Bonds For The War Bloc



As we go to press, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig is starting out on his mission to Asia, his first stop being China for talks from June 13th to 17th. According to the *New York Times*, the National Security Council met on June 4th in preparation for Haig's trip to China, and two measures were made public out of that meeting: easing of trade restrictions against China and a decision to hold extensive talks with the Chinese on possible military sales. A State Department official quoted by the *New York Times* said that the decisions were meant to "treat China as a friendly, less developed country and no longer as a member of the international communist conspiracy." Although U.S. government officials are not usually noted for their clarity of class analysis (usually referring to revisionist, capitalist countries like the Soviet Union and China as "communist"), this time they have come straight to the point. China is "no longer a member of the international communist conspiracy". This has two meanings. The revisionists have seized power and restored capitalism in China, transforming what was once the bastion for world revolution into a reactionary force for counter-revolution. It also means that China at least for now, is a servile pawn of Western imperialism and not of Soviet social-imperialism. The purpose of Haig's trip there is to firm up ties with this important, if unstable, element of the U.S. war bloc, as a part of intensifying war preparations; this is a key element in the overall purpose in his Asian trip—shoring up the bloc, both against the Soviets and against revolution.

Already last September, the Carter administration had granted China the special "P" status on the export control list, allowing China to purchase higher technology items not available to the Soviet Union. (We have heard from anonymous government sources that "P" stands for "poop-on" and "piss-on." China, with the restoration of capitalism there, has achieved the status of a nation to be dominated, pissed and shit on by imperialism—U.S. imperialism for now. The U.S., in typical overlord fashion, is glorying in it.) But implementation of the new status had been held up by the Commerce Department until the recent National Security Council decision. A backlog of license requests from American firms will now be cleared for processing. The Reagan Administration will also ask the Congress to exempt China from many "discriminatory" laws passed against communist or Soviet imperialist dominated countries.

As for the decision to hold discussions of possible arms sales, this is the latest in the now-you-have-it, now-you-don't game the U.S. has been playing with China, starting from the then-Secretary of Defense Brown's visit to China immediately following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Brown's visit raised expectations among the revisionist rulers that arms sales would follow soon. But the Carter administration, while agreeing to sell dual-purpose equipment such as communications, trucks, etc. did not permit sales of "lethal" weapons to China. Then last April 4th, Defense Secretary Weinberger announced that the possibility of arms sales to China, in retaliation for what seemed at the time an imminent Soviet invasion of Poland, had "not yet" been ruled in or out. In early May, however, it was revealed that the White House had sent a policy directive to the State and Defense departments a few days after Weinberger's statement making clear that the U.S. will not sell arms to China at this time.

Meanwhile, over the loud protests by the Chinese that the U.S. is meddling in its internal affairs, the U.S. is taking into consideration Taiwan's request for delivery of new FX jet fighters to add to its already impressive U.S.-equipped military force. Taiwan has been the focus of back-and-forth haggling between China and the U.S., especially of late around the question of arms sales. During the presidential campaign, Reagan and some of his staff infuriated the Chinese revisionist rulers by promising that his administration will carry out to the letter the Taiwan Relations

Act, which was passed a few months after normalization of relations between the U.S. and China in 1979. This act allows arm sales to Taiwan and continuation of "unofficial" relations with the Taiwan regime. The controversy seemed to have cooled down after Reagan came into office when the *New York Times* reported on March 21st that Reagan met with China's ambassador to the U.S. "to affirm personally Washington's intentions to live up to and enlarge upon the normalization agreement." But things flared up once again recently as White House counselor Edwin Meese and Asst. Secretary of State-designate for East Asia and the Pacific John Holdridge said on separate occasions that the U.S. intends to fully carry out provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

## Contending Tactics Within U.S.

These contradictory moves and statements by the U.S. are not only tactical maneuverings vis-a-vis China and the Soviets; they are in part a reflection of the actual differences within the ruling class over how to deal with China. In a signed article appearing in the *L.A. Times* recently Ramon Myers, a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University which has close ties with Reagan, describes the two different trends of thinking on this question: "One school of strategic thinking wants a strong China-Japan-U.S. alliance to counter the Soviet Union. Another school argues that China is a 'paper tiger' and cannot be trusted, so the United States should rely on the Pacific Basin alliance of Japan and South Korea that would include Taiwan, the ASEAN countries, Australia and New Zealand." Myers himself comes out in favor of the second school, one that he terms a policy of "gradualism" and "evenhandedness" because, while by no means calling for abandoning the relations with China (and certainly not arguing against developing the strongest possible Western alliance against the Soviets), he urges maintaining good relations with Taiwan and caution in dealing with China. There are several reasons he gives for this. One is the possibility of China going over to the Soviet Union because of tremendous military and political pressures, or perhaps, as Myers puts it, "anti-Deng factions might topple the current Peking leadership and plunge China into instability, or worse, civil war." Another reason is expressed by an April 16th *New York Times* editorial titled "China Is Not a Card": "It would cost at least \$40 billion, the Pentagon thinks, to give China capacity to repel a non-nuclear Soviet attack. All the loose talk about playing this particular China card really concerns only token help, sufficient perhaps to provoke the Russians psychologically but accomplishing little strategically." That is, any open and serious military commitment by the U.S. to China would not only be a tremendous economic burden but also severely alter the balance of forces in the whole region and precipitate a direct confrontation that the U.S. might not yet be prepared to handle. There is also the importance of Taiwan itself—the island played a key role for the U.S. in the Vietnam war and is placed near strategic sea lanes. Myers' proposal is that the U.S. grant Taiwan the new jet fighters, at the same time providing China with credit to purchase certain equipment and technology, even military related technology. These forces also argue that the U.S., for now, must not spread itself too thin and must instead concentrate its challenges to the Soviets in areas of the world where the U.S. imperialists have a good chance of winning now, as solid preparation for world war later. A high level of U.S. military commitment in China now would, in this view, be too risky and unproductive for now.

Recent editorials in the *New York Times*, *L.A. Times* and *Christian Science Monitor* arguing against selling arms to China to counter the Soviets shows that the policy Myers argues for has strong backers within the ruling circles. But there are also other forces that argue for a heavier immediate and strategic policy of relying on China. Ac-

ording to an article in the June 6th *New York Times*, Pentagon officials recently concluded that Taiwan does not need the advanced FX fighters and that China is more important than Taiwan. The same paper also reported in March that Haig believed "that the relationship between Washington and Peking was crucial for Washington's strategic role in Asia and the rest of the world, and he was worried that China might lose interest if it perceived that the United States was moving toward a 'two China' policy in which Taiwan would be treated on an equal basis with Peking." From these views of course come from the same pot of stew, although they may differ somewhat in the seasoning. They are both based on U.S. imperialism's necessity to tighten up its forces in this region. Although it is unclear if a consensus has been reached on this question yet, the trend seems to be to strengthen the U.S.' position in both China and Taiwan, although major arms shipments to China will probably not happen.

## Pokes &amp; Jabs

Aside from reflecting differences of opinion within the ruling circles, the recent contradictory moves around the arm sales and the Taiwan question are also in part a conscious effort by the U.S. to poke and jab at the Soviet imperialists and a ploy as well to make China more pliant, particularly in preparation for Haig's trip. Through alternate stroking of Chinese revisionists with promises of weapons and dealing body blows by raising the Taiwan threat, the U.S. aims to show just who is holding the cards and who is the card that is being played. The Deng clique, for their part, are doing a little maneuvering of their own in anticipation of Haig's visit. The May 26th *L.A. Times* carried an article by its Peking correspondent reporting that Deng had won an important debate among the top revisionists, with the Politburo finally approving a policy review earlier in May which called for "strengthened ties with the West throughout this decade." But, according to the *L.A. Times* source, Deng faced considerable opposition from forces who had misgivings about close relations with the U.S. as well as from those who wanted closer relations with Russia. "Many questions over the dependability of the United States as a partner arose due to Peking's uncertainty about President Reagan's policy toward China and Taiwan," writes the *L.A. Times* correspondent. "A number of people in the party's top ranks want to improve relations with the Kremlin, seeing considerable advantages to gain through expanded trade and, in time, through reduced tensions along their heavily defended border, the sources said. Many of these people recalled the Sino-Soviet cooperation in the 1950s and asserted that their relations could be improved if Peking took the initiative." The interesting thing about the *L.A. Times* article is that it is highly unusual that such high-level policy decisions, especially concerning foreign policy, are leaked out so quickly, and to top it off, to an American. So there is a distinct possibility that Deng had purposely leaked this information prior to Haig's arrival in order to warn the U.S. that pro-Soviet and anti-U.S. forces within the revisionist ruling circle might take advantage of the rough handling China is receiving. However, it is also true that these forces opposed to Deng's present policy of being tied to the West do actually exist and are gaining influence.

Haig's trip will be coming at an important time in China, as the 6th Plenum of the 11th Central Committee is scheduled to begin about the same time. The Plenum will approve a document on the history of the Chinese Communist Party, including an assessment of Mao Tsetung, due to be made public on July 1st, the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party. Organizational changes, for example, formally demoting Hua Guofeng from his non-existent post as Chairman, and decisions on economic policy will also be discussed. There will be more on all this in the *RW* in the next few weeks as news comes out of China.

Continued on page 12

# López Portillo Visits the Patrón Mexico: Shaky Domino on U.S. Doorstep

This past week Mexican President José López Portillo ended a two day visit with his most gracious U.S. patrón, Ronald Reagan, in an atmosphere that was described as "almost festive." Reagan and López Portillo spent a day together enjoying and developing their "warm personal friendship" while horseback riding on trails "personally selected" by Reagan (perhaps López Portillo was even allowed to ride the very valuable stallion he gave Reagan at their last meeting in Ciudad Juarez in January). The next day was spent discussing various issues including immigration from Mexico, trade and U.S. plans for Mexico's political and economic role on their behalf in the Caribbean and Central American region. And certainly they spent quite a while talking about what to do about the situation in El Salvador in particular. López Portillo, who like the other Mexican presidents before him often posture against the U.S. for public consumption in Mexico and throughout Latin America, and who has made a big deal about his deep friendship with Fidel Castro, was virtually bubbling over with warmth and appreciation of his U.S. masters, commenting, "I confess for the first time now, I have felt totally relaxed," as a smiling Reagan looked on. And in one of his final gestures, Reagan appeared to extend some good old Yankee hospitality to his honored guest, lowering himself to say hesitatingly, "Mi casa es su casa" (my house is your house). Almost implicit in this seeming expression of friendship was that what was really meant was more like, "Su casa es mi casa" (your house is my house). This is really much more to the point and exactly the kind of "partnership" that exists and has existed historically between the two countries.

López Portillo acted his part well and in doing so revealed just exactly what his real role is as a very loyal and shameless comprador rendering the U.S. every assistance in the rape and plunder of Mexico and acting on its behalf in strengthening U.S. domination of the whole Caribbean and Central American area while maintaining his anti-U.S. image. Of course, the U.S. was careful not to go too far with the "warm personal friendship bit," making it clear that Reagan and López Portillo were "still at odds over a number of issues." Certainly reportage of the visit in Mexico will be appropriately tailored to make López Portillo look a little tougher for the benefit of the masses of Mexican people who have nothing but hatred for U.S. imperialism that has so ruthlessly dominated their country for so long. This is all given as far as the imperialists are concerned. As the British magazine *The Economist* put it recently in typically frank and arrogant fashion:

"Mexico's foreign policy is dominated by its relations with the United States. There is a strict division to be drawn between rhetoric and reality. The rhetoric, which springs from generations of bruised Castilian ego and the folk memory of revolution, has the advantage of being entirely predictable: it consists of public distrust and scorn for all things coming from north of the border.

"This has a political purpose. The most certain way for Mexico's government to fall into popular discredit (and to build up pressures of resentment similar to those that exploded in Iran) would be to show open acquiescence to the White House. It was thus the most

predictable thing in Latin American politics that, when the Reagan administration publicly tried to persuade Mexico to support its policy on El Salvador, President Lopez Portillo, within 24 hours, was equally publicly reconfirming his friendship with Fidel Castro. This gesture did not spring from a love of Mr. Castro's communist state, with which Mexico does little trade, but from the political necessity of being seen to be independent from the United States, with which Mexico does 70% of its business."

The domination of Mexico has been a key part of the building of the U.S. empire and it remains a vital part of its entire bloc. And it is essential for the U.S. to not only more thoroughly extract tremendous superprofits from it but to keep it as a stable and integral part of its many tentacled world system—a process which is fraught with many contradictions and dangers for them, including the very real possibility of massive internal upheaval in Mexico, as we shall see a bit later. Economically, Mexico is the United States' third largest "trading partner," a major source of the strategic commodity—oil, and a prime source of another vital commodity—human labor power for the U.S. to superexploit both within Mexico and massively within the U.S. itself. Militarily, Mexico's strategic significance is obvious. It is situated directly on the southern flank of the U.S. (ever since the U.S. ripped off 1/3 of its territory, that is), sharing a 2,000 mile long border and it is key to the whole Caribbean and Central American region.

Politically, what happens in Mexico has tremendous direct and immediate implications for the U.S., as well as the rest of its "backyard." For example, major political upheaval in Mexico would certainly have an effect in the U.S., particularly in the Southwest and other areas where there are large concentrations of Chicano and Mexican people and oppressed nationalities

generally but also among the proletariat broadly. And the existence of millions of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. presents a very real potential political threat to the rulers of this country both as a very volatile part of the proletariat in the U.S. and as an oppressed nationality with strong and close ties to Mexico.

As a National Security Council memorandum put it in 1978, "No decision of any consequence on either side of the border can have purely foreign repercussions. Migration and economics are increasingly linking the politics of the U.S. and Mexico and not only in the Southwest border communities." There are even fears among the imperialists that the immigrants from Mexico in the U.S. could play a role as a catalyst in sparking upheaval in Mexico itself. *The Economist* quoted earlier openly worries, "Mexico it seems, is the domino that matters. As a doorstep Iran... Mexico could upset the balance of the entire continent... Until recently this notion would have been unthinkable. Yet Mr. Alexander Haig has now put Mexico among the highest priorities of the state department. It remains politically unspeakable, except in the shorthand of concern over El Salvador. But is it possible?"

### U.S. Imperialist Plunder of Mexico

The effects of and extent of U.S. imperialist domination of Mexico is truly staggering. The book *Beyond the Border* by the North American Congress on Latin America recounts the following: "Mexico has one of the highest foreign debts and one of the worst trade imbalances in the world. Less than half the Mexican workforce is fully employed, while one thousand new unemployed migrants arrive in Mexico City each day. Some 45% of Mexico's population still lives in the countryside and earns only 6 percent of the national income, making for one of the world's most unequal distributions

of wealth. Three and a half million peasants and fishermen are forced to survive on less than 5 cents a day, and more than a thousand children die of malnutrition every twenty-four hours." An anthropological study of nutrition in the Oaxaca valley of Mexico shows that the people living there now are no better nourished than their ancestors of a thousand years ago. Another study claims that one third of Mexican families do not have even the minimal basic necessities of life, food and shelter. The inflation rate is 30% a year.

The economy is almost completely tied to the U.S., thoroughly penetrated and dominated by U.S. capital, and grotesquely distorted to serve the needs and dictates of U.S. capital. Many have commented on just how obvious U.S. domination of Mexico is by pointing to all the Coca Cola signs and U.S. fast food chains in Mexico, but this doesn't even begin to tell the full story. The agriculture of Mexico is oriented to the needs of the U.S. and dominated by U.S. banks and companies. The best land is monopolized by big landholdings controlled in various ways ultimately by U.S. interests allied with big Mexican landlords. Peasants have been kept off and forced off this land and forced into the cities and into the U.S. to find work. Those having poorer land find it impossible to make a living with all the markets for their crops thoroughly dominated by the agribusiness interests. As far back as 1969, Mexico supplied the U.S. with 50 to 60 percent of all its fresh vegetables consumed in the winter months while over half the population of Mexico cannot afford even a minimal diet. Due to the tremendous distortion in agriculture caused by the domination of U.S. capital which only wishes to grow that which brings the highest profit, Mexico is no longer self-sufficient in even its most basic foods. It is a profound indictment of imperialism

Continued on page 17



LAND OCCUPATIONS — 1977

- campesino land occupations
- + campesinos removed from occupied land

Source: Punto Critico

# Japan Still Rocking From U.S.-Nuke Disclosures

Massive demonstrations protest Midway's return to Japan.



A few weeks ago, the U.S. "accidentally" leaked the news that its warships and planes have routinely carried nuclear weapons while stationed in Japan under a secret agreement with the Japanese government designed to circumvent the letter of the U.S.-Japan security treaty. This deliberate move on the part of the U.S. rulers was meant to indicate in no uncertain terms to their main imperialist partners in the Far East that the time has come to drop the pretense that they are a "non-violent" power, to more openly advertise their decades-long military alliance with the U.S. and, however difficult, to begin more actively molding public opinion for the role Japan is playing—and will be playing even more strongly in the future—in the U.S. imperialist bloc as it prepares for war with its Soviet-bloc rivals. Last week, events further revealed the nature of some of the problems faced by the U.S. and its allies in tightening down the nuts and bolts on the U.S.-bloc war machine.

In one sense, the U.S. decision to flaunt its nukes more openly in Japan was a calculated risk. Though they were well aware that a public airing of Japan's "nuclear relationship" with the U.S. government would spark a certain amount of protest, they were hoping that a well-placed stick of political dynamite might help clear away certain logjams for Japan's rulers on the question of more vigorously rallying support for war preparations—this by blasting away at the veil of secrecy and double talk in which Japan's rulers have traditionally been forced to shroud their military relations with the U.S. Indeed, those nuclear "revelations" have certainly opened up some unpredictable floodgates as a wave of mass outrage has swept Japan, involving a broad range of forces. In no time, anti-nuclear protestors began to appear outside the U.S. embassy in Tokyo, including a number of Americans. Then, two weeks ago, demonstrations erupted at a number of U.S. bases including Yokosuka, Iwakuni and Kadena Air Force Base on Okinawa, demanding that nuclear weapons be removed—the first protests of their size in recent years. The U.S. naval base at Yokosuka quickly became a focus of people's anger with the scheduled return of the U.S. Carrier Midway and its escort vessels from a three month tour in the Indian Ocean. On June 4, the eve of the Midway's return, 3000 riot police were mobilized by the government to deal with demonstrations at the base, clashing briefly with radical students just outside the perimeter. Meanwhile,

railway drivers on Yokosuka-Tokyo routes slowed their speed by 10% all day in protest, delaying some 80,000 commuters.

When the Midway finally sailed into port, it was greeted by protestors in small boats flying banners declaring, "No Arrival of Midway" and denouncing the U.S.'s military and nuclear presence in Japan as again, riot police were called in to hold back thousands of surging demonstrators. The following day, a massive demonstration of nearly 100,000 workers and students organized by the Japanese Socialist Party (a bourgeois opposition party) and the General Council of Trade Unions converged on the Parliament building in downtown Tokyo by three different routes. More demonstrations continued throughout the week as thousands marched on the U.S. Embassy and the Japanese Foreign Ministry demanding an end to the security treaty and unidentified persons set fire to the building housing the government's Transportation and Construction Ministries. Adding more fuel to the fire was the arrival in Japan of Daniel Ellsberg, of *Pentagon Papers* fame, who at the invitation of opposition leaders in the Japanese parliament testified that in the early '60s the U.S. had emergency plans to fly nuclear weapons into Japan from the U.S. base at Okinawa without consulting Japanese officials. Since Okinawa was formally "reverted" to Japan in 1972, all this left little room for doubt that since then U.S. nukes have been permanently stationed in and around Japan.

It was little wonder, then, that in face of these protests, Japanese government officials were forced to go through various contortions in an effort to cool out a potentially explosive situation. Prime Minister Suzuki feebly repeated denials that U.S. nukes had ever been "introduced" into Japan and pledged that the government would continue this policy. Meanwhile the Mayor of Yokosuka (who is running for reelection) along with various other politicians were reported as requesting that the Midway not be allowed to return to Japan. (Later, however, the Mayor made it clear that he had only requested that "the Midway postpone its return a bit" in deference to the mass outcry.) Such responses reveal something of the bind that the Japanese rulers are finding themselves in vis a vis the anger of the masses and the spectre of the growing movement in Japan against imperialist war preparations. At the same time, they also reflect the fact

that there are real contradictions between the Japanese rulers and their U.S. mentors on how to best pursue their military alliance—particularly around the question of Japan's place in the U.S.'s nuclear network, how much control Japan will have over the deployment and operation of said nukes, how much of a nuclear target Japan will become, etc.—and that Japan's rulers will also try to use such mass opposition as a lever in thrashing out some of these finer points with the U.S. rulers.

Particularly interesting in this regard were the remarks of Japan's Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda who screamed that, "The U.S. should not carry on like a boss" and lashed out at former U.S. ambassador to Japan, Edwin Reischauer, the one who "leaked" the nuke revelations last month, branding him "an un-called for meddler who pokes his nose into matters that are absolutely none of his business." This, of course, was the height of ridiculousness since Sonoda knows as well as anyone that given Reischauer's tenure as U.S. envoy from 1961 to 1966 and that this U.S. expert on Japan has been the major figure in U.S.-Japanese relations for the past two decades, such affairs have been *precisely* Reischauer's "business." But Sonoda's tirade could definitely be seen as double-edged—on the one hand, an expression of the Japanese rulers' discomfort at being forced by the U.S.'s nuke disclosures to deal more openly with the subject and thus more directly confront the masses and the task of shaping public opinion for war, and on the other, an indication that the Japanese rulers do not appreciate U.S. "meddling" in their efforts to define their own individual interests as a contending imperialist power independently of the U.S.—all, however, within the confines of the U.S. bloc.

For their part, the U.S. has continued to rub the noses of Japan's rulers in the fact that, despite such conflicts, they know full well that they have only been able to pursue their own imperialist interests within the overall framework of the military bloc headed up by the U.S. and especially under the protection of its nuclear umbrella. As one news analyst acidly remarked of Reischauer's "exposé," "Dr. Reischauer seemed to suggest, at least in the Japanese view, that their objections to nuclear weapons were unrealistic; he reminded the Japanese, perhaps inadvertently of their dependence on the American military shield, and he appeared to violate an unspoken Japanese convention that things do not become real until you speak of them." Accounts of the controversy in the press delighted in demolishing what was widely described as the Japanese "fiction" that no nuclear weapons are brought into Japan. While being careful not to officially confirm (or deny) that the Midway in fact carries nuclear weapons, the news media nevertheless made it clear that warships of the Seventh Fleet "reportedly" carry something like 100

nuclear weapons, including warheads assigned to aircraft aboard the Midway. And on the debate over whether such U.S. vessels are actually permanently stationed in Japan, it was widely advertised that while Japanese defense officials claim the Midway only "visits" Yokosuka, nevertheless, the Midway and other Seventh Fleet vessels are in fact homeported there, as the existence of repair facilities, commissaries, family homes, schools, baseball fields and other facilities attest to.

The Suzuki government firmly refused to consider the requests by the opposition to bar the Midway's return. As the Secretary General of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party put it: "How can we say the Midway should stay away, when it's been out there guarding our oil routes?" It is clear that the Japanese imperialists have *already* been making significant moves to unleash a wave of national chauvinism and prepare public opinion for the return of "the rising sun," this time set against the background of a field of stars and stripes. The Liberal Democratic Party has been floating out plans for "amending" the Japanese Constitution to once again designate the emperor as the supreme head of state (ironically, Japan's emperor is still the same Hirohito who served as a reactionary symbol of Japanese national unity during WWII where, reportedly, every kamikazi pilot's last words were, "May the Emperor live 10,000 years!"), to remove the article renouncing war, and to substitute language that would recognize Japan's "right" to belligerency. Other efforts have included the reinstatement of the "Kimigayo" (the pre-WWII anthem of Imperial Japan) as the official national anthem, attempts to nationalize the Yasukuni Shrine to Japan's war dead and a campaign for the masses to pay homage there, as well as a general call by certain bourgeois forces for a return to "emperor worship." Japan's rulers have also enacted a new "emergency powers" law and anti-subversion laws.

In recent months however, there have also been signs of a resurgence of struggle among the masses in Japan against the U.S., the rulers of Japan, and attempts at both the ideological and physical remilitarization of Japan. For instance, there have been successful battles against the campaign to "pay official homage to Yasukuni" and in Okinawa, there has been intense opposition by thousands to attempts by the Japanese government to recruit Okinawans as cannonfodder for Japan's "Self-Defense" Forces. Now, with the situation being blown wide open by the U.S. rulers in their efforts to prod Japan's rulers to move even faster in shaping public opinion for the coming war, not only has the U.S. delivered a blunt message to their allies, but the stakes are being posed that much more sharply for the masses of people in Japan as well. □



**Khomeini Fires Bani-Sadr**


# Fracturing Government Foreshadows Stormy Future in Iran

This past week, in a dramatic escalation of the bitter power struggle between the contending factions of the Iranian bourgeoisie, President Bani-Sadr was removed from his post as commander-in-chief of Iran's armed forces by Ayatollah Khomeini. Fundamentally a reflection of the sharpening world situation and the profound crisis gripping Iranian society, this action will alter the political situation in Iran and portends both more imperialist intrigue and mass upheaval inside the country in the near future.

Under heavy attack by the clerical dominated Islamic Republic Party (IRP) since he assumed office in February 1980, Bani Sadr's dismissal came after two weeks of increasingly sharp attacks against him by both Khomeini and the IRP. The assault began with a May 27th speech in which Khomeini indirectly blasted Bani Sadr as a "dictator." Following Khomeini's speech, the IRP-controlled prosecutor's office arrested several of Bani Sadr's top aides and shut down his newspaper; the clerical-led "revolutionary guards" attacked demonstrations of Bani Sadr supporters; Parliament passed bills restricting the president's right to make appointments and veto bills; a 3-member commission, formed by Khomeini last year to mediate the dispute between the president and the IRP, accused Bani Sadr of "encouraging unrest in the country" and violating the Constitution—charges that could be grounds for his ouster from office; and finally, Khomeini once again attacked Bani Sadr, this time threatening to "do the same thing that I did with the Shah" if the president continued to oppose the clerics.

These attacks, coupled with his removal from the command of the military, and the army's declaration of loyalty to Khomeini and the Islamic Republic, appear to have fatally weakened Bani Sadr's tenuous position, and his ouster from the presidency itself seems only a matter of time.

The struggle between Bani Sadr and the IRP is the latest episode in a battle that has been raging ever since the formation of the Islamic Republic in February 1979. It has pitted the more secular, openly Western-oriented bourgeois political forces such as the National Front, the Freedom Movement (led by ex-prime minister Bazargan), and ex-Khomeini aides such as Yazdi, Ghotbzadeh, and Bani Sadr himself, against the political forces grouped around the clerical-dominated Islamic Republic Party.

While both are political representatives of the bourgeoisie, there are some sharp differences in their political programmes. The secular, Western-oriented liberals favor setting up a Western-style "democratic" form of bourgeois dictatorship, with strong ties to Western imperialism, and with little change in the economic and social system they inherited from the Shah. The clerics, on the other hand, have fought to establish an "Islamic" form of bourgeois dictatorship, with the clergy playing a major role in the government and economy. They have tended so far to keep somewhat more distance from imperialism, and hit somewhat harder at the old monarchical institutions. This is not because the clerics are fundamentally any more anti-imperialist than their more secular rivals. They simply face different necessity. With a social base among the urban poor and lower middle classes, the clerics have been forced to resort to anti-imperialist demagoguery on a broader scale; and being more cut out of the action under the Shah, they have been forced to hit harder at the remnants of the Shah's rule, for example the military, in order to ensure their own control.

The struggle between these two fac-

tions has sharpened in the last several months as a result of the economic and political crisis gripping Iran and the mounting pressure from both imperialist blocs. The U.S.-sponsored Iraqi invasion of Iran—now in its tenth month—and the military stalemate has led to a severe economic drain and reduction of oil revenues. This has exacerbated the economic crisis which has gripped Iran since the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, wracking Iran with high unemployment, galloping inflation, and widespread shortages of goods. In this situation Bani Sadr and his allies have favored a policy of opening economic relations with the West—particularly the Western European and Japanese imperialists—giving more freedom for the private sector, and reliance on bourgeois economic experts to run things. The clergy generally, however, has sought to consolidate its hold over the economy by increasing state control, and has tried to preserve its popularity among the lower classes by keeping some distance from U.S. imperialism (and building some ties with the Soviet Union), and setting up "Islamic" economic institutions, led by the clergy—not the technocrats.

This battle has been reflected in the struggle for control of the Central Bank, which saw its head, Ali Reza Nobari, a Bani Sadr associate, recently ousted and replaced by one of the IRP's choices. It has also been concentrated in the struggle over control over Iran's import/export trade. The clerics in typical "let me have a grab" fashion set up a trading company designed to monopolize Iran's foreign trade, which has so far gobbled up 30 to 40% of the total. This has led to sharp contradictions with bazaar merchants—the heart of Iran's national bourgeoisie—and has driven them toward Bani Sadr, who opposed this Islamic trading company. (This is also a clear example of the transformation of Iran's higher-ranking mullahs into a new stratum of state compradors.)

Conduct of foreign policy is beset with such sharp conflicts, in essence over how to come to terms with imperialism and who will be on top in the deal. It has been impossible for the government to name a foreign minister for the last two months. The forces around Bani Sadr have accused the clerics of becoming pawns of the Soviet imperialists, for their policy of seeking some expanded ties with the USSR, and maneuvering between the two imperialist blocs, while the clergy accuses Bani Sadr of being a Western-educated tool of U.S. imperialism. Much of this struggle has been concentrated around policy toward the Iran/Iraq war: Bani Sadr has recently favored a negotiated settlement (basically on terms favorable to U.S. imperialism), and the clergy, who, like Bani Sadr, have opposed relying on and mobilizing the masses in the war, have hypocritically blasted him for not launching an offensive, and have up to now blocked negotiating a settlement while issuing bombastic calls for the overthrow of the Iraqi regime.

The struggle around the war with Iraq is a typical example of the intertwining of the struggle for political power with the battle over various government policies. For the past months, Bani Sadr has been using both the fact that the clergy negotiated the release of the American hostages on terms favorable to U.S. imperialism, and his battlefield command of the armed forces, to build himself up as a "patriotic fighter" in his battle with the clerics. The IRP counterattacked by accusing Bani Sadr of capitulating because he didn't launch an offensive; then when he did in January, they made sure it failed—and he did not get any political mileage out of it—by leaking plans for the assault ahead of time. This

resulted in the loss of 300 of the 400 Iranian tanks involved in the attack.

There have also been sharp differences between Bani Sadr and the IRP over how best to preserve their hold over the masses, whom both fear will explode against their reactionary policies, with Bani Sadr, who favors a more "political" approach to suppressing the people, blasting the clerics for reviving torture, and becoming dictators; while the IRP has hit back that Bani Sadr is fomenting chaos and "opposing the Islamic Revolution" with his slanderous charges. While both factions use different forms of demagoguery to rally sections of the masses behind them and attack the other faction, the bottom line of their class nature and form of rule has been amply demonstrated in their vicious attacks on the Left and their continuing efforts to drown the just struggles of the Kurdish people and other oppressed nationalities in a hail of rockets and artillery fire.

These intensified conflicts are all reflections of the fact that neither side in this inter-bourgeois dispute can or will mobilize the masses to transform Iranian society, to thoroughly break free from imperialist domination and resolve the contradictions gripping society in a revolutionary way.

Even more, the efforts of the crisis-ridden Iranian bourgeoisie to stabilize its rule are taking place in the context of a world situation marked by intensifying political crisis and the intensifying moves toward war of the rival imperialist blocs; the whole Persian Gulf region has already become an area of intense contention between the superpowers, and there is increasing pressure on the various sections of the Iranian ruling classes to go with one bloc or the other. These factions, flabby and vacillating as they are, are incapable of carrying through the new-democratic revolution against imperialism, and put forward a program which in one way or another seeks to conciliate with imperialism in order to try to revitalize their economy. This, of course, is exactly what both imperialist blocs are pushing for—to get their claws further dug into the country. At the same time, the splits between different factions in the ruling classes hamper their efforts to consolidate power and to implement their program of capitulation in a vain effort to deal with the economic crisis wracking the country and the political turmoil among the people.

It is this overall intensification of the contradictions facing Iran, more than his ties with the Shiite clergy, that has led Khomeini, for the first time, to side decisively with one rival group to crush the other. In previous situations, when the struggle between these two factions reached the breaking point, Khomeini would step in and try to mediate the situation, and maintain an uneasy equilibrium between them, allowing neither to crush the other. This, he felt, was the best method for consolidating the Islamic Republic; it provided various sections of the Iranian ruling class with representation in the government, and maintained more broadly among the masses the facade that the Islamic republic was a democracy that represented "all of the people." But the continued turmoil in Iran and sharpened situation internationally has made it less and less possible to carry out this policy.

Over the past year the IRP has gained control of the Parliament, the judiciary, most of the government ministries, and a good chunk of the economy. Now that they seem on the verge of eliminating Bani Sadr—the last bulwark of the "liberal" opposition—and the army has so far declared its loyalty to Khomeini, it appears that finally one faction, the IRP, has consolidated its grip on the Iranian government.

Yet this does not mean that the IRP

will pursue a more anti-imperialist policy than their more openly pro-Western rivals. Remember it was the IRP-led parliament that capitulated to the U.S. imperialists around the release of the hostages. And since their control of the main lines of the economy has led them to develop into, in effect, a new comprador bourgeoisie, they are already being drawn into the web of subservience to imperialism.

Nor will the situation be stable. For one thing, the forces grouped around Bani Sadr are not going to go down without a fight. This is what Bani Sadr meant when he recently commented that "My withdrawal from the political scene would go against the people's will and would touch off a second revolution." Nor will the clergy—if they win out—be any more able to solve the contradictions facing the Iranian people than they have been during the past 2-1/2 years.

### Imperialist Contention

The rivalry between these two bourgeois factions is inextricably bound up with the intense contention between the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists over Iran. They are more fiercely than ever maneuvering and trying to position themselves to secure Iran, with its key strategic location and oil resources, as part of their rival war blocs.

Particularly since the seizure of the U.S. embassy in late 1979, and even after the return of the hostages, the U.S. imperialists have been busy seeking to intensify the contradictions facing the Iranian government—despite their public "hands off" posture. A case in point has been the U.S.'s sponsorship of the Iraqi invasion. But it also includes rallying and arming reactionary groups inside and outside Iran, using its agents to exacerbate the splits within the Iranian government, and taking advantage of the deteriorating situation in the country to spread counter-revolutionary agitation aimed at both increasing dissatisfaction with the government and spreading a mood of demoralization about the prospects for furthering the revolution. These measures—a component part of their general offensive to shore up the Western bloc in the Middle East by expelling the Soviets and attempting to crush any and all genuine revolutionary struggles among the masses—have been aimed at forcing further capitulation from the Iranian government and preparing the groundwork for a decisive grab for power.

In the past months, most of the more solidly pro-U.S. forces—the army, leading bourgeois politicians (such as Bazargan, Ghotbzadeh, Sandjabi of the National Front, and others) as well as sections of the Bazaar and the Western-minded middle classes—have been coalescing around Bani Sadr, in alliance against the IRP. One option the U.S. was clearly pursuing was the welding together of these forces in preparation for a coup d'etat. Pointing to such a move, the *Economist* of June 6 commented, "A clean-cut military coup is the outcome most devoutly wished by the West."

Bani Sadr's fall, and the recent jailing of other pro-U.S. forces like Amir Entezam (the former deputy Prime Minister, who was exposed during the Embassy seizure as a CIA contact), is somewhat of a setback for the U.S., but it in no way signals the failure of all U.S. options or the end of their intriguing. They are most certainly not sitting on their hands. Already, as part of a counter-attack, they are building up public opinion for Bani Sadr. Furthermore, there are many pro-U.S. forces in

Continued on page 16

# "Tiny, Democratic" Israel and the Company it Keeps

With the Israeli airstrike against Iraq's nuclear facility, the imperialist press has once again turned up the noise on one of their favorite myths: the fairytale of "little, democratic Israel," engaged in a David and Goliath struggle against savage tribes of Arabs, roiling with feudal anti-Semitism and bent out of sheer spite on Israel's destruction.

The public relations gimmick that Israel represents a "cultured, civilized" nation of liberal, idealistic people, founded on the highest principles of democracy, born of the struggle to escape the nightmare of the holocaust, plunged into a new and heroic struggle for survival—all this is the familiar theme, and one which used to have considerable broader acceptance than it does now. On the face of it, this theme is racist and reactionary: the white Europeans "made the desert bloom," the backward Arabs are jealous and envious, used to be the way the story went. But the truth of the matter is that the Zionist leaders of Israel, from its inception, have been some of the world's most despicable fascist butchers, officially proclaiming a doctrine of white supremacy, enforcing a hideous system of caste oppression even against non-European Jews, and carrying out a

policy of genocide against the Palestinian Arabs no different in principle from that of the German Nazis with whom the Zionists secretly collaborated with during World War 2—collaborated to stop resistance in German occupied Europe so as to divert Jews toward their scheme of seizing a state on the land of Palestine. Such charges regularly send Zionists into a rage. But, of course, they don't stop them from concluding a close alliance today with the Christian "Phalange" in Lebanon—an openly reactionary group that even takes its name from the falangists (fascists) of Europe.

The depths of murderous depravity in which the Zionist state was born and propped up beggar adequate description in a brief space. It has been extensively documented for example, that an important goal of the European settlers was to force the migration of large numbers of Middle Eastern and oriental Jews to Israel to fill the menial jobs and provide a cheap force of labor—to do all the dirty work involved in "making the desert bloom." To incite migration, Israeli commando units—the descendants of the "Stern Gang" terrorist organization headed by Menachem Begin during the '40s—planned and carried out a series of bombings and

massacres of oriental Jews in various Arab countries, while spreading rumors of impending pogroms and at the same time offering free transportation to Israel as a "safe haven for all Jews."

Israel's longstanding alliance and cooperative arrangements with South Africa is no "bizarre mismatch," but a perfect match; South Africa, too, of course, is a "bastion of Western civilization" amidst "ignorant savages" of Black Africa—and each has played specific and indispensable roles for Western imperialism as agents of unrestrained butchery as dispensers of terroristic "law giving," while relieving the major imperialist powers (principally the U.S.) of the responsibility for getting directly involved. The difference is that Israel has been in general better able to maintain a certain cover in the West as an "enlightened, progressive" and toughminded, country—a cover enhanced by the moral aura provided by the genuine mass abhorrence of the Nazi slaughters of Jews, plus a little phony "socialist" rhetoric from Israel.

More and more, however, as Israel's sickening atrocities have piled up, the Zionists and their U.S. imperialist apologists have had to resort exclusively

to the threadbare and hypocritical sophistry that "anything they do is just fine, because there can never be another holocaust." Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan goes in the 1970s to South Vietnam to advise the Thieu regime in counter-insurgency techniques "so there will never be another holocaust." Israeli jets napalmed Palestinian settlements—"remember the holocaust." Israel and South Africa jointly conduct nuclear tests—to "prevent a future holocaust." Begin, in his press conference defending the Israeli strike against Iraq's nuclear facilities, mouths the magic words: "Never again. Never again."

Today, as Israel's reactionary character becomes more and more difficult to hide or ignore, some people tend to draw the conclusion that the Begin regime is to blame; but in fact, it is the very essence of Zionists—whose ideology is a shameless accomplice of imperialism and all reaction, and who serve as brutal thugs on behalf of imperialist domination—and this is the consistent history of Israel from the very beginning. □

## ISRAELI RAID

Continued from page 1

"There won't be another holocaust in history... never again, never again..." a justification which Israel habitually invokes whenever it engages in carpet bombing of Palestinian refugee camps, and through which it defends its own "defensive" nuclear weapons program which it is developing jointly with South Africa. Begin also coyly intimated that he knew what the "rules of the game" were:

"I believe that the nations are with us, and for various reasons which I do not want to go into, several governments condemn and may repeat it at the Security Council, well, my friends, what can we do? We are an ancient people. We are used to it. We survived. We shall survive." The bottom line, of course, was that all major U.S. imperialist spokesmen agreed that "Israel's security" must not be jeopardized by any substantial U.S. weapons cut off—no matter what.

There was, of course, a chorus of U.S. imperialist spokesmen who immediately rose to openly and unequivocally defend "tiny Israel's" bold move to "eliminate the Iraqi nuclear threat." Israel's preemptive bombing should have come as no surprise," wrote U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, a leading member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "Small, vulnerable Israel could be destroyed by just three Hiroshima-type nuclear weapons... the Iraqi nuclear program represented a mortal threat. Iraq, a radical, unstable country that routinely uses terrorism, has been in a state of war with Israel since Israel was born..." William Safire, a columnist with close ties to the Reagan administration, wrote an editorial titled, "Hail the Nuclear Entebbe!" But the most remarkable tip off to the calculated interests of U.S. imperialism in this episode came in two apparently unrelated *New York Times* editorials appearing on the same page on June 9th, the day after the raid was announced.

The first, "Israel's Illusion," was a typical *Times* echo of official U.S. imperialist opinion. "Israel's sneak attack on a French-built nuclear reactor near Baghdad was an act of inexcusable and short-sighted aggression," it began, affecting the stance of righteously "deploring" violation of any nation's sovereignty. Quite the hypocritical stance for the U.S., which holds the current imperialist world record for intervention and aggression. Israel had torn "yet another of the international

system's fragile barriers against anarchy... what good is Israel's heroic and painful quest for secure and recognized boundaries if it too, pays them no heed?..." The editorial continues in the same stern vein.

Then, following a turgid editorial on workmen's compensation, the last editorial down the page is an apparently dotty piece entitled the "Sparrow Circus." Superficially, "The sparrow circus" is a piece of homespun springtime cracker-barrel philosophy, of the sort that occasionally appears in the *Times*, "apropos of nothing."

"Chipping sparrows like to line their nests with horsehair. If a farmer has no horses, he will sometimes pull hair out of his cow dog as it sleeps in the yard.

"The spring rains make a lovely din on the farmer's tin roof after the snowy silence of the winter. Rain brings up the hay and pasture grasses quickly, but torrents of rain may rot his seed corn and potatoes and make it difficult to maneuver his tractor and corn planter..."

"Rain also brings out the deerflies and horseflies. Yet with the flies come the swallows that nest in his barn and swirl outside, clocking up to 600 miles a day in sweeps and zigzags, as if the sky were an ocean to sport in. At corn planting time a flock of crows arrive to raid his fields for seed, but the swallows—with nests to defend—take out after crows and drive them away..."

"The farmer, who has 'buried his money for the summer,' as he likes to say after plowing in his storebought fertilizers, appreciates the complicated justice of all this. If the flies weren't biting him he wouldn't have swallows, and if he didn't have swallows the crows would grab more of his corn..."

Ah, shucks. What swallows do we know of who "clock up to 600 miles a day in sweeps and zigzags"? Of course, the reference is to Israeli F-4s, which supposedly "dodged and zigzagged" through radar nets in covering the 600 mile distance between Jerusalem and Baghdad.

It isn't difficult to translate the rest of the *Times* little morality tale. The "farmer" is U.S. imperialism itself, sowing its crops of intrigue and struggling to maneuver in the stormy Middle East. The situation is complicated and full of problems, but the "farmer" shouldn't lose sight of the fact that Israel, while it has its own "nests to defend," is indispensable to protecting the "farmer's" crops. The editorial concludes by putting the whole pastoral scene in the broader strategic context of the farmer's preparation for "next winter"—undoubtedly, although we do not pretend to have mastered every nuance of the *Times*' barnyard symbolism, a warning of the coming war

with the Soviet Union. It concludes that the "farmer" should not disapprove of the "swallows'" flights, for, as they say, "that would be no way to raise a family"—or defend an empire. So here we have it: "top of the page" editorial scolding and "bottom line" editorial approval. Double talk in the all around service of U.S. imperialism.

As to the claim that the U.S. was unaware, caught totally by surprise, shocked, etc. by the Israel raid—this is a ruse that fools no one. In fact it is not really designed to fool anyone, except maybe the people in the U.S. First of all, Israel's plans to destroy this reactor have been well-known for a long time to the U.S. imperialists. The Israelis openly admit they asked Carter to try to stop it diplomatically (with the unpublicized follow-up line that if he didn't they would take care of the job.) They have used sabotage squads in several well-known sabotage missions against parts for the reactor as they were being shipped to Baghdad. And, more specifically, the raid and its exact timing were the subject of a now-publicized discussion and debate among Begin and various Israeli opposition forces for many months, right up through May. Shimon Peres, Begins main opponent in the coming elections was one of the participants in this discussion and he was the favorite candidate of the U.S. ruling circles up until recently. His now-public notes to Begin are full of references like "...and I speak not only for myself on this matter." Anyone who still believes this was a secret from top circles in the U.S. is very foolish indeed. To top it all off, this was the *second* Israeli bomb attack on this same reactor. Last September, at the beginning of the Iran/Iraq war, there was an air attack on the construction site. It was publically blamed on Iran. At the time, various imperialist journals discussed the "interpretation" that it was not Iran, but Israel, that had done it. The planes were unmarked. Iran denied at the time that it had bombed the reactor. Now Iraq says it was Israel, but that it did not say so at the time for military and "moral" reasons in the midst of the war. No one is now contesting these facts. Apparently the Israelis tried to get off a shot under the cover of the war, but discovered that they needed heavier weapons to pierce the reactor shield. The U.S. was clearly aware of all this. The Pentagon was doubtless discussing it, even from the point of view of testing the effectiveness of various U.S. weapons.

(An interesting and revealing side-point on this September raid is the fact that when it occurred it was another occasion for a flood of anti-Iranian propaganda in the U.S. Headlines screamed about the "Crazy Ayatollah"

bombing a nuclear reactor. What a madman, right? Now, six months later, it is "Hail to the Nuclear Entebbe!"

### "Nuclear Proliferation" Sham

All this clearly shows that the real issue here is not "small nations owning nukes", but whether or not the nation—small or big—is completely under the thumb of U.S. imperialism. Israel fits the bill. Iraq, even though it has made "progress" in that direction of late, does not. In fact as we will explore later in this article, the main issue for the U.S. wasn't really the nuclear bomb. It was simply the best way to achieve the most thorough U.S. domination in the area as preparation for World War 3. The nuclear issue is simply one aspect of this, more basic, consideration. Israel is clearly the U.S. imperialists' main chosen client-state and arsenal in the area. Others, according to this imperialist logic, have to learn to love, or at least, accept it.

Indeed, viewed from the standpoint of imperialist power politics, the logic behind this is inescapable: after all, Israel has had nuclear weapons since 1969; although Israel still officially denies this, it is the world's worst-kept secret. Israel's nuclear program is being developed jointly with that of South Africa, and joint Israeli-South Africa nuclear tests have been conducted with the aid of technology supplied by U.S. companies in collusion with the CIA and the U.S. government.

But it's okay for Israel to bomb out an Iraqi nuclear reactor because Saddam Hussein is a "mad man," a "crazy terrorist"—and Menachem Begin, of course, is a "civilized world leader." Not to mention, of course, Ronald Reagan and Leonid Brezhnev, the world's most civilized leaders of all, and the extremely civilized imperialist ruling classes they represent, who unleash only the most civilized of world wars and who have stockpiled tens of thousands of nuclear weapons against the day they will be needed.

The Iraqi regime is a "supporter of terrorism"—thank god, then, that the Israeli secret intelligence service murdered the director of Iraq's nuclear development program in Paris last year. *That* wasn't terrorism; that was "tiny, vulnerable, democratic Israel" boldly and daringly defending itself. Israel, unlike Iraq, denies any form of international supervision of its nuclear facilities. It is well-known that Israel has many nuclear weapons. Begin has declared that Israel will use "any and all means at our disposal" to "defend against aggression." We have already seen Israel's concept of "self-defense" include strikes 600 miles from its borders, to wipe out theoretical threats

Continued on page 19

# The Tom Snyder Show—Quite A Clash

We have the **CLASH**, indeed a controversial band... AND Dr. Maxine **SCHNALL**, author and psychologist, who will try and put all of this into **SOME KIND** of perspective...



It's hard to believe the way I do it, isn't it? Let me tell you something... I've had them fooled **FOR A LONG TIME**...



AND MAXINE PUTS IT INTO PERSPECTIVE.



I did not **LIKE** the way they were with you on the set... and I think the audience **COLLUDED** IN IT! **WHAT IS THIS NEED TO MAKE PEOPLE LAUGH ALL THE TIME?** Why do they want to make fun of everything?



We have to set our own **LIMITS**... people who are in a **STATE** of **REBELLION**, who feel that they **HAVE** to flout laws, people who feel that they can only live by **VIOLATING** laws or thumbing their nose at authority.



...like the **SEX** pistols before them, they went with the crazy clothes and the whole thing... the **ULTIMATE** trip is **DEATH**... I mean when you continue in that kind of vein, what's left?

It was sheer torture putting this show together.



# Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal A Profound Indictment

On the weekend of May 29, the second hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal were held in Los Angeles. Below, the RW is reprinting further testimony from these hearings. The next hearings are scheduled for Chicago, Atlanta and New York City. For further information contact:

War Crimes Tribunal  
P.O. Box 582  
6520 Selma Avenue  
Los Angeles, CA 90028  
or call: (213) 384-7840

## Pierre Noyes on Nuclear Weapons

Following is an unedited excerpt from testimony given by Pierre Noyes of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center:

... In 1955, when I failed to achieve a permanent position at Rochester, and was unable to find a decent academic job, I went to work at what is now called the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. As I have just discussed, I had already accepted the philosophy of "deterrence." While I would have preferred not to do weapons work, the basic choice had already been made. My chief reason for accepting the job at Livermore was that I was to have half my time to devote to the research on nuclear forces I would have been doing in a university job. In fact, after a year's work on weapons, I was made head of a pure research group and was able to devote all my time to academic type research. But it was understood that I was "in the reserve" in case of an emergency.

From 1955 to 1962 there were subtle changes in the atmosphere of the laboratory. Up to that time, although many academic scientists had refused to do weapons work, many others had been led to it for reasons similar to my own. But once the Korean War was over, most of these academic types drifted away—at least at Livermore, not so much I would judge at Los Alamos—and the composition of the physicists became increasingly, and increasingly skillful, weapons engineers. Although I did not realize it at the time, the daily contact with the horrors of nuclear weaponry—even though I was not directly involved after the first year—was slowly depriving me of my sanity. This was exacerbated by the fact that security regulations did not allow me to discuss any of this with my wife. Secrecy makes for a terrible life for many who are forced to live with it.

By the end of the decade pressure was building up to halt the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere because of the worldwide fallout of radioactive material which results. Much of this pressure was generated by Linus Pauling's campaign—which earned him his well deserved Nobel Peace Prize. Negotiations between the USA and USSR to achieve a Test Ban Treaty dragged on and on, and for a while both sides refrained from atmospheric testing. But this informal moratorium on testing was broken unilaterally by the Soviet Union with a massive test series. We followed suit some time later, and I found myself back "on the line." I had to face the facts again and not just be subtly undermined by them.

One serious situation that existed at this time was reported to the Gerberding Committee hearing on October 5, 1977 when they were in the process of collecting information relevant to the decision

whether or not the University of California should continue to operate the nuclear weapons laboratories for the U.S. government. In 1961 U.S. policy was to negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty. Atmospheric tests are easy to detect, but this was not so clear about underground tests. Hans Bethe worked very hard to devise methods which might work. Yet, instead of helping him, many of the scientists at Livermore worked very hard to devise methods that would allow tests to escape detection. Up to a point, of course, this was only their duty as we did not want to be caught napping. But no effort that I know of was made on the other side. I formed a clear impression that several of the people did not wish the test ban negotiations to succeed. Since Bethe did not choose to make the issue public, I felt at the time that it was not up to me to do so. But it upset me very much once I realized what was going on.

The consequence was that underground tests were not banned and that both sides went on with that type of testing, leading to the development of multiple targetable re-entry warheads (MIRV's). I am sure many physicists would agree with me that this development has made the control of nuclear weapons much more difficult than it would have been otherwise.

What caused me to decide to leave Livermore, however, was another issue. During this period President Kennedy pushed very hard to get the nation to actually dig blast shelters that would protect the city populations against thermonuclear attack. Fortunately this move was opposed. Perhaps some of you don't understand why such a move would be extremely aggressive. The point is that with blast shelters in place and working it might just be possible for a substantial part of the population to survive a thermonuclear war. I doubt that myself, but I am sure that some of the military and civilian leaders would believe it. This would in effect remove our major current "defense" which rests on the ghastly fact that if either side attacks, the other will almost certainly have enough missiles left to destroy the cities on the other side. Thus, paradoxically, what looks like a defensive move—digging in for protection—is extremely provocative. It might even tempt the other side to attack before the shelters could be completed.

If this was to be a national policy, I decided I would not be able to continue working at Livermore even though I was doing no weapons work in a direct sense. I was still of use to the laboratory in recruiting scientific personnel just because of my presence. And I started to draft a letter of resignation even though I had no job in sight on the outside. Then I was offered an academic job at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center—which does no secret work whatsoever—and leaped at it. Since I was going to a better job I did not make the kind of public resignation from Livermore I had been planning. I now wish I had.

Fortunately common sense prevailed and the blast shelter program was dropped. I heaved a sigh of relief and tried mainly to forget about nuclear weapons and hope that the test ban treaty would lead the way toward genuine disarmament. One pet hope of mine had to be given up—namely the use of nuclear explosives to propel space ships for scientific exploration of the solar system

(Project Orion). I still think this type of ship will one day come into its own, although of course it will have to be launched in space or from the moon in order to avoid fallout in our atmosphere. I think this would be the best way to use up existing stocks of weapons grade fissionable material if we ever do succeed in getting that material under international control. I continued to do a little classified consulting, because I still believed in the deterrent, but this was on a very minor scale.

When the Vietnam War escalated, I initially thought of the U.S. actions, as I had of the UN action in Korea, as resistance to aggression, although I did not like the fact that we were acting without the international support we had commanded in the earlier period. By the end of 1967 or the beginning of 1968, however, the full horror of what we were doing to the Vietnamese people began to penetrate my defenses, and I turned around. My wife and children had been opposed to the war for a long time before that, as had many of my colleagues. Once I had begun to think, I realized that although the possession of H-bombs by both the USA and the USSR had so far indeed deterred both sides from initiating a thermonuclear war, their very existence allowed both countries to commit armed aggression against weaker peoples almost with impunity—for instance 1968 the suppression of the Czechs with Soviet tanks and troops, and our own actions in Vietnam. I cancelled my security clearances and got several hundred people to join me in a suit against President Nixon asserting, as stated by our own lawyers who had prosecuted German and Japanese war criminals, that his actions, and those of Johnson before him were in clear violation of international law, our own constitution, and treaty law which we had insisted in the past applied to us just as clearly as it did to others.

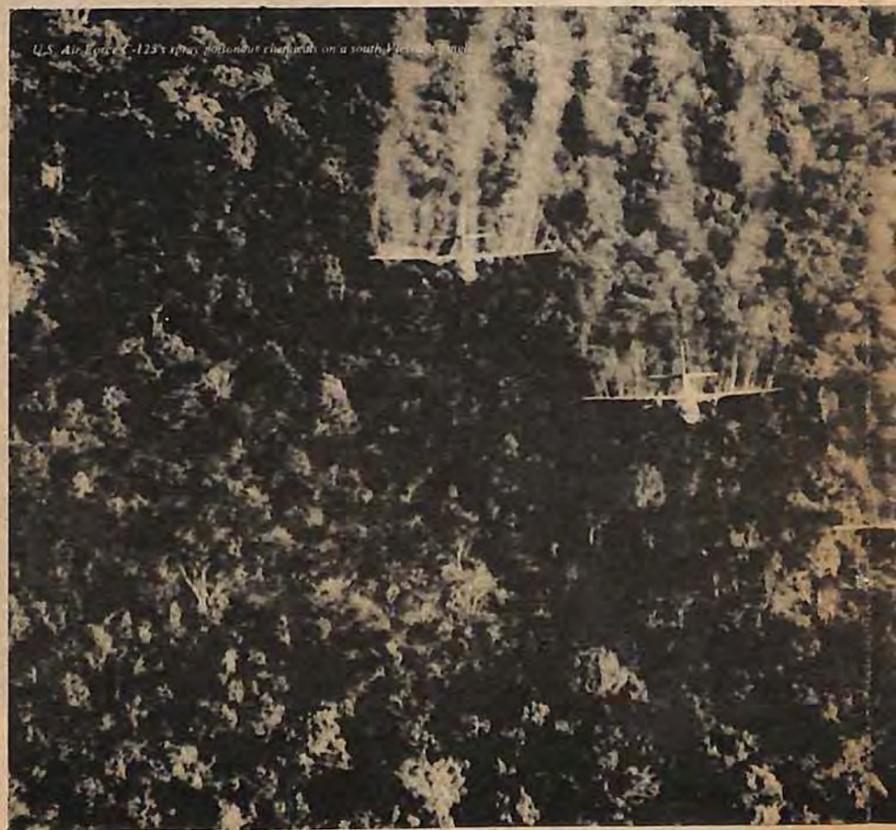
On April 10, 1969 I presented testimony in Sacramento in support of a

proposed resolution by the state government opposing the deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system. A copy is appended.

On November 18, 1975 I testified on the possibility of fissionable material being diverted from nuclear power plants and used by private individuals to construct nuclear explosives. For a thorough discussion of the issue see McPhee, *The Curve of Binding Energy*. A short technical account of the problem is given under the title *Nuclear Safeguards* by T.B. Taylor in 1975 Annual Reviews of Nuclear Science, Vol. 25, pp. 407-21. For a technical account of the predicted effects of a thermonuclear war see *Global Consequences of Nuclear Weaponry* by J.C. Mark in the same series, Vol. 26, pp. 51-87, 1976.

In 1977 I visited Iran at the request of one of the Iranian Student organizations to attend an "open" trial of 11 political prisoners. Separate testimony on Iran has been submitted by me to this tribunal.

Turning now from the past to the present, where do I now stand? I trust it is obvious that I oppose both U.S. and Soviet imperialism now going on using conventional weapons—or for that matter aggressive actions by any government or organized group. I have already indicated my agonizing realization that although those of us who helped build up the nuclear deterrent have bought time for people to learn about and oppose nuclear weaponry, the price has been high—in particular it has allowed both governments to commit terrible crimes against many peoples almost with impunity. Yet it is hard to see where to go. If we were simply to drop our thermonuclear and nuclear weapons, I believe that we would present the USSR with an opportunity to destroy us that some of their leaders would find hard to resist. But we could go a long way in that direction without real danger. If we really do not intend to launch first against the Soviet Union, all we need retain is enough of a force



# ment of Imperialism

which *after* we receive an attack would suffice to destroy their cities. Clearly submarine based missiles are the best type of force for this purpose. Land based missiles—even the MX system—are a bad idea because they invite fire where we want it least. No matter where they are based within our borders, even a limited “military” attack on them is likely to get many of our cities through fallout even without their being directly targeted. For details see the article by Carson Mark cited above. Sid Drell and Richard Garwin have recently proposed a large force of small submarines which would operate within a few hundred miles of our coasts as a cheaper and more effective “defensive” system than the MX. I agree this would be a step in the right direction, particularly if accompanied by a phasing out of existing land based weapons. This could be done unilaterally, and in my opinion would increase our safety. Positive response to this by the Soviet Union might then start us on the road to genuine disarmament.

## Vietnam Vet

My name is XX. I am a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AV). I was in Detachment 5 of the 6922 Security Wing stationed at Tan Son Nhut AB in Saigon, and Monkey Mountain in Da Nang in 1969-1970. I want to submit my testimony to the tribunal so that others can learn from my errors and my experience.

Fifteen years ago I was in a position similar to what a lot of others face today. I was not for war, but I still generally believed in the USA. So, when they pulled my string and said it was time to go to Vietnam, I went—and though I did not sum up my experiences this way until my return home and considerable struggle over what was correct and incorrect about how I was looking at that war, basically when I got there I found myself helping to kill and oppress with force of arms my own brothers and sisters, whose only crime was

to dare to stand and fight—to dare to go up against U.S. imperialism which was trying to deny them their own land, freedom and dignity.

For this crime, a torrent of technological horror was unleashed upon them. Being in an intelligence branch of the Air Force I was in a position to learn a considerable amount about the air war in Southeast Asia. This was an aspect of the war that became dominant as the war dragged on and the U.S. imperialists discovered from fraggings, refusals to fight and out and out defection to the side of the liberation fighters, that they had an increasingly unreliable army in the field.

It is hard to imagine more impersonal and indiscriminate mass destruction than what the air war wreaked on the land and people in SEA (Southeast Asia). B-52 strikes from Anderson AB on Guam and Kadena AB in Okinawa would make “Arc Light” strikes daily. Each strike, from miles up in the sky—too high to be seen or heard—would in a matter of seconds lay total waste to square miles of land and anything on it. For the airmen involved, it was a flight from Guam back to Guam—mission accomplished without seeing or hearing any of the destruction. Defoliation aircraft flew in formation spraying the infamous Agent Orange over countless acres and countless numbers of people—both American and Vietnamese (it didn't matter much with the Pentagon) causing birth defects and other horrors we still have yet to learn of.

The imperialists have never lacked imagination when it comes to genocide. They spent millions striving for the peak of yankee ingenuity. “Gravel” was the name given small camouflaged packets of explosive which were spread by air indiscriminately through the countryside. It could blow a tire off a truck, a leg off a man, or a child off the face of the earth. A “Ribbon Bomb” was a bright red ribbon which would severely burn anyone who touched it. Since it was brightly colored and not ca-

mouflaged, who could it have been targeted against but children? They used “High-drag” bombs, “Low-drag” bombs, “Cluster Bomb Units” that could kill and maim scores at a pop, 2000-lb. WW2 surplus bombs, delayed fuse bombs that could kill up to six months after dropped, and of course Napalm—jellied gasoline that will stick and burn.

Flights of fighter-bombers would take off laden with this ordnance around the clock. Once airborne, they could not land with all that dangerous stuff aboard (it was considered too dangerous—they might crush and damage the runway with the explosion), so even if their target disappeared into the jungle, or the weather closed in making the strike impossible, the ABCCC (Airborne Command and Control Center—like the AWACS recently sent to Saudi Arabia) whose main function is to direct the tactical operations of air war, would call around to see if anybody NEEDED several tons of death. If there were no “Troops in Contact” situations, or “Known Enemy Locations,” then a “Suspected Enemy Location” would have to do—or go check out the Free Fire Zone—a zone which was declared unfriendly enough that anything that moved therein was fair game.

The list of crimes is much longer than I have room or patience for. The main point I would like to make in my testimony is that as much as they would have us believe otherwise, the dogs are still in the street. Vietnam was not a “mistake”—it came out of the nature of this imperialist system and the dogs that brought us Vietnam are still at it and actively planning for another war that will make Vietnam look like a Francis Coppola movie. They want us to forget and forgive? They want us to forget the red, white and blue flew over My Lai? Like it flew over Wounded Knee and the Iolani Palace here in Hawaii? And over hundreds of years of oppression and murder of Black people here in the USA? And over the same kind of murder and oppression in Korea, the Philippines, South America, South Africa and millions of people worldwide?

I will not forget—like I will not forget two young Vietnamese girls who had the flesh blown off their bones in a war of imperialist plunder. And I will not forget the slimy imperialist bastards who are responsible.

Power to the people!

## Nicaraguan Revolutionary

*Testimony from a young brother from Nicaragua as translated at the Tribunal hearings.*

Revolutionary greetings to all sincere and honest revolutionaries that are present here today. Yesterday I was here listening to the testimony and I think it is very interesting for humanity for all that is going on around us, past and present, all the crimes that imperialism has carried out all throughout the globe and today I return again to give my testimony and to denounce, to accuse Roman Yankee Imperialism before this honest proletarian tribunal.

I've an accumulation of testimony and an accumulation of experiences here with me and maybe I might forget some of it. But I wish to let you know all that is at my reach.

I come from a proletarian family in Nicaragua. My mother was a very hum-

ble woman who was a farmer in the northern part of Nicaragua. My dad was a bureaucrat with the Somoza government who had a good wage each month and never took care of his own, throwing away his money with drunks and brawls and not taking care of his family. This is a reflection of the system under which we found ourselves through the wars of imperialism, Yankee Imperialism, with Anastasio Somoza as their foreman.

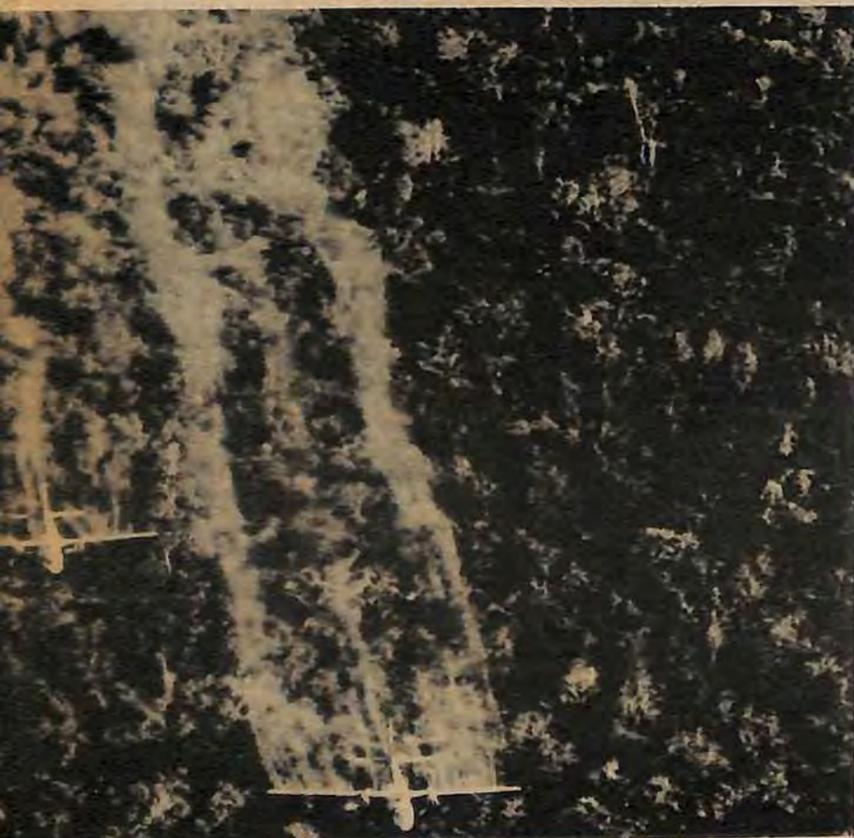
When I was 15 years old I rebelled against my father because as a child I saw how he was irresponsible and how he beat my Mom. And after that I lived my first experiences with the Somoza government.

When the earthquake hit in 1972 in Nicaragua the nations in solidarity with the people of Nicaragua gave out their aid but this was never received by the people. Me and my friends from a certain neighborhood, XXX, we began to see the absence of the aid coming from abroad and there were just 5 of us but we went house to house beginning to talk to people about the abnormalities of these absences because I used to see these families and all they had to eat was maybe tortillas and salt and maybe coffee. And later on I would also find families who were numerous with maybe up to 6 kids who were undernourished. And I used to think that how can it be that with so much poverty and especially now with this disaster that we were not getting the aid. And it was in this way that compañeros and I began to organize parties each Saturday to gather up funds for the people who most needed it. In March of 1973 I was snatched upon by a lady as a communist. To the party that we had organized came three guards who pulled me out of it—in those days the guards used to patrol on foot. Two of them began to beat me. . . . The beating that I received was brutal. They stopped beating me because one lady saw that they were beating me and I was at the point of losing consciousness; she jumped on top of me and protected me with her own body. And the people who were also there at the party came into the fight. And that's how the guards were disarmed and they ran away.

I could no longer live in that neighborhood. I had to go on to another neighborhood. I had to go live on a coffee plantation, one called XXX about 40 kilometers from the capital city. On that farm, me and four other compañeros, we enrolled ourselves in the ranks of the farmers cutting down coffee. There I began to learn first hand the experiences of how they keep the farmworkers. And there is where I learned my first experiences in how to raise the consciousness of the farming masses, although I was never trained politically as a revolutionary, but the seed was already beginning to sprout. At that plantation hatred would be betrayed in the eyes of the owner because my concern was not in cutting coffee. All the time they were telling me that I didn't know how to cut coffee 'cause I kept cutting the coffee green. But that was because in the fields I would constantly be talking to people, to awaken them, to, you know, say, just check out the kind of food we were being fed.

The conditions in which people found themselves in the encampments, there was no hygiene. As compañeros we worked together to raise the con-

Continued on page 14



U.S. defoliation in Vietnam.

## AUTHORITIES TRY TO SILENCE REBEL REGGAE DRUMS

3,000 people gathered at MacArthur Park on a Saturday afternoon recently to honor Bob Marley who had died of cancer the week before. The emcee looked out over the crowd, all ages, all nationalities, from young punks to immigrant workers from Central America, "This is something for Babylon to be very frightened of." Everyone was excited by the large, broad turnout, something definitely new is developing in L.A.

Across town at the ON Klub, a local reggae and ska club, some nights, the place is packed with punks, skinheads, rude boys and dreads, everybody out dancing together to the reggae music erupting and bubbling; you hear rebel drums calling. Everyone's dancing together forming Samba lines as the place becomes one big celebration. When one of the most popular bands sing, "The land of peace is a long way off, the free man flies/The slave man walks/Turn it over," spirits soar in this dingy club. It should come as no surprise that the authorities have been trying to clamp down on the scene.

The ON Klub has taken a lot of heat. A so-called "neighborhood committee," which turns out to be one conservative Republican realtor, circulated a petition against the club attempting to clear the way for the authorities to close the place. Fearing they were going to close the club outright, the manager went to the city council and voluntarily raised the age limit to 21, hoping this would cool things out. Since then the police have stepped up harassment of the fans around the club and have been coming in, shining flashlights in their faces while the bands play, demanding ID's and throwing people out.

At another club, Moody's in Santa Monica, the owner has been renting out the place to promoters to put on weekly reggae shows. The police came in and told the owner to stop these shows or they were going to close him down, openly calling the fans an "undesirable element." Recently two of the most popular local reggae groups in L.A., the Rebel Rockers and the Babylon Warriors, were set to do a first-ever

concert together—hundreds of people were expected to show. But, the police came down on the place before it ever got started, the Metro Squad circling the place in the street: a helicopter overhead, a real show of force to disperse everyone, bringing the show to an abrupt halt before it ever got started.

You'd never know how fast the reggae scene is developing from listening to the dozens of radio stations in town. One DJ was outraged at the lack of air time for reggae; he pointed to the international scope of the music, with bands coming out everywhere, Toronto, New York, London, Jamaica—hugely popular all over, but then he has to try and cram it all into a once a week, two hour program on a non-commercial station which is virtually the only radio outlet for reggae in L.A. Also in this clampdown, the bourgeoisie has unleashed the KKK as well, who called a DJ who had been doing reggae and ska programs and told her, "If you don't stop playing that nigger music, you're gonna get a bullet through the head."

A spokesman for Mango/Island Records told the *RW* of how the federal government is directly involved in this by blocking artists, especially revolutionary artists, from playing in the U.S. He said, "Linton Kwesi Johnson released an album on Mango Records called 'Forces of Victory'. We tried to bring him in to do a major tour, but problems. The U.S. government, immigration, they threw the bureaucratic machine at him—because of the color of his skin. They told us that you could not get the 'Working Papers' unless you give the dates, and you cannot get the dates from the promoters unless you have the 'Working Papers'." The tour was blocked by the government. In another case, the reggae group Steel Pulse was set to tour the U.S. with the Police. The Police got their "Working Papers" without hassle, while Steel Pulse was blocked by INS from making the tour. Like the same spokesman said, "There are certain groups that are hooked up with the system that won't get fucked...and certain groups, they get all the hassles." □

## Reader Donates in Honor of Paul Friedman

May 30, 1981

Dear *RW*,

Paul Friedman was my friend. He introduced me to revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. In high school he organized Marxist study groups and helped build a revolutionary student organization.

His sensitivity to the masses and his courage in organizing struggles inspired many people to work for revolution.

He never wavered in upholding the proletarian revolutionary line throughout struggles in the Revolutionary Union and the RCP. Revolutionary people knew they could look to him for leadership.

All revolutionaries should see his life as an example of courage and dedication to the cause of proletarian revolution and the establishment of the revolutionary proletarian state.

I would like to ask the RCP to establish the Paul Friedman Revolutionary Memorial Fund of which money contributed would be given to the cause of revolution, that is for dissemination of all RCP publications, especially the *RW* which Paul knew as the red life blood of revolution in the United States.

I am contributing \$20.00 to start this fund. I call on all people who want to see a bright future in which the working class with its own Party destroys the decaying moribund imperialist system and creates its own proletarian world, to give generously to the Paul Friedman Revolutionary Memorial Fund.

D.M.

The RCP will gladly accept contributions to such a fund in honor of Comrade Paul Friedman, who died suddenly of natural causes right before May 1st this year. Please make contributions payable to RCP Publications and note that they are for the Paul Friedman Revolutionary Memorial Fund.

## Asian Trek:

Continued from page 4

### Asian Region

Haig's discussions with the revisionist leaders most likely will not be limited only to bilateral issues, such as military sales or Taiwan, but also involve regional issues. Although the revisionist rulers' puffed-up pretensions of being an important world power are regularly punctured by the off-handed treatment they receive at the hands of U.S. imperialism, the U.S. still recognizes China as an important force in Asia. One of the regional issues to be discussed will be the complex situation in Kampuchea. China is playing an active role in the process of working out an anti-Vietnamese United Front consisting of the Khmer Rouge, the anti-communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) and former head of state Sihanouk. China has long been the main supplier of arms to the Khmer Rouge. Recently China also sent more than 250 tons of arms to the KPNLF with more promised if the united front materializes. In the related development, China and Vietnam have renewed fighting along their 500 mile long border in recent weeks, with heavy artillery and mortar bombing occurring daily and several hundred casualties reported on both sides. According to some analysts, the recent fighting works to China's advantage since it wants to cast the Soviet-backed Vietnamese in the role of "aggressor" as well as tie up 250,000 of the best Vietnamese troops on the northern border and prevent shifting more troops to prop up the

Vietnamese puppet regime in Phnom Penh. There are conflicting reports on the U.S. stand on the united front concept. One thing certain is that the U.S. does not want the Khmer Rouge, which despite having been given up for dead by the bourgeois press only a year ago, seems to be more than holding their own, and to be the only viable force fighting the Vietnamese and their regime. The foreign minister of Thailand, which is actively pushing the united front idea, as well as Son Sann (head of the KPNLF), both made trips to Washington in April. However, there are also reports that the U.S. is discouraging Sihanouk from participating in the proposed united front, in order to save him as a trump card in coming to some kind of a compromise with Vietnam in the future. Haig's next stop after China will be Manila, where the 5-member Association of South East Asian Nations (Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore) will be meeting from June 20th to discuss the Kampuchea question.

Another issue likely to be brought up in Peking will be the recent open affirmation of Japan as a full-fledged ally and military partner of the U.S., after years of actual military buildup and defacto imperialist alliance (see *RW* No. 108). Of course the Chinese revisionists will have nothing but praise for this development, since China's revisionist rulers are welcoming a Japanese imperialist economic invasion of China and welcome Western imperialist bloc-tightening in general.

Originally, Haig's first stop in Asia was supposed to have been Japan to discuss the details of the "appropriate division of roles" between the U.S. and

Japan on defense matters agreed on by Japanese premier Suzuki and Reagan at their May summit meeting in Washington. But because of the political uproar created among the Japanese masses (as well as the bourgeois opposition) by the use of the word "alliance" and also created by the strong-arm techniques used these days by the U.S. to put the Japanese rulers in line, the U.S. State Department announced that the Japan trip had been cancelled due to "a matter of timing and scheduling." Foreign minister Sonoda, it was reported, was scheduled to be out of the country. But very conveniently, Sonoda's trip would take him to Manila, where he would sit down with Haig, away from the political heat in Japan.

The Philippines is crucial to U.S. military strategy in Southeast Asia and beyond. Located there are Clark Air Base, home of the 5th Tactical Air Wing, and Subic Naval Base, a major operational, logistic and repair center for the U.S. Seventh Fleet. The Philippines is also the country with the greatest amount of U.S. investment in Southeast Asia. However, inflation shot up 20% in 1980, more than 50,000 people were thrown out of work in the latter half of the same year, and the upwards spiral of its foreign debt has now made the Philippines second only to England in the amount indebted to the International Monetary Fund. As serious as the economic difficulties are, what threatens the Marcos regime most is the rising mass resistance. The Communist Party of the Philippines-led New People's Army in the countryside and the Moslem Moro National Liberation Front in the south are carrying out

fierce armed struggle against the Marcos army and police which are equipped by the U.S. In the urban areas, opposition to Marcos is growing among students, workers and intellectuals. Other bourgeois forces, who want a share of the power now dominated by Marcos, are increasingly dissatisfied with the situation. All this is very worrisome to the U.S. imperialists as shown by a World Bank assessment late last year of the situation in the Philippines which concluded that Marcos' authority is eroding and his position is "precarious." Probably at the advice of the U.S. overlords, Marcos "lifted" martial law earlier this year, but this has been widely exposed as merely a cosmetic change which has not changed at all the vicious nature of the Marcos dictatorship. The U.S. is ready to back their faithful but faltering puppet, although it has not completely shut out the bourgeois opposition forces in case Marcos has to be ditched. Reports are that Reagan is prepared to increase military aid to Marcos above the \$100 million level budgeted for fiscal year 1982 by the Carter administration. Haig's talks with Marcos will involve discussions of further steps to shore up this shaky regime.

As shown by the recent U.S. moves to pressure its main ally in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan, to speed up war preparations, the U.S. considers this complex and volatile region to be an important part of its overall contention with the Soviet Union. The Haig trip is a major effort to further tighten its alliances in the area and advance preparations for war and against revolution. □

# TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL PERSECUTION

## Patrice Lumumba Coalition

The increasing trend towards official violence and repression in the U.S.A., against Black and working peoples is further exemplified by the circumstances surrounding the death of Abdul Hadi. On 2/19/80, Abdul Hadi, a devout Muslim, was working as usual on Tremont Avenue, Bronx, New York, selling incense and religious literature. As was his custom, Abdul Hadi was wearing distinctive white garments, yet two undercover police officers somehow identifying him as a robbery suspect, shot and killed him.

The official version of the incident was that Abdul Hadi had attempted to rob a female decoy cop and that he was shot while resisting arrest.

However, eyewitnesses testified before a grand jury that an altercation arose when the undercover cops, without identifying themselves, ordered Abdul Hadi to move his table and merchandise to another location. When he refused, a fight broke out and, according to testimony, the cops handcuffed him, then shot him three times in the back. Witnesses said they saw Abdul Hadi laying on the ground in his blood-stained robes with both hands handcuffed behind his back.

The grand jury found that the police had acted properly and refused to indict them.

It should now be clear to even the most naive individual that anyone whom the system disapproves of is subject to officially sanctioned murder. Even more threatened are those engaged in progressive and revolutionary activities.

There is no justice for Black people or oppressed workers in this country as long as racist U.S. capitalism continues to exist.

Because of this and other similar incidents, we support designating Bob Avakian as a political refugee with full rights to asylum.

## Iranian Student

The U.S. imperialist ruling class is trying to get hold of revolutionary leader of proletarians in U.S., Bob Avakian, to imprison him for 241 years or probably murder him in prison. I'm writing this from my experience of U.S. imperialism, because as Bertold Brecht once said, "A person who does not know is not aware. But a person who knows but does not admit it is a criminal."

It was about two years ago that I heard my comrade, Eskandar Ghanbarzadeh (member of Iranian Student Association) was burned to his bones side by side with 700 other revolutionary-minded Iranians in Shah's human burning oven called Rex Cinema...

U.S. imperialists were and are the main imperialist power who supported this criminal action. When Iranian Students Association had a demonstration against this monstrosity, I.S.A. was faced with repression from U.S. ruling class and was harassed by SAVAK agents in U.S.

U.S. imperialists during these past years have been the main force behind the most repressive regimes; to sum up the murderous acts of U.S. imperialists one can only use words such as repression, torture, imprisonment, murder... All these things are being done just to prevent their rotten economic and political system from collapse, so they can have their so-called democracy. But this so called democracy is nothing but a lie, U.S. ruling by plundering and raping of oppressed nationalities around the world tries to bring about a safe economy and political situation in its own country. But right here in the belly of the beast, because of the rottenness of this system oppression and political repression and murder exist as it was the case with comrade Damián García of the RCP who was murdered by agent of U.S. ruling class. Also the case in Oklahoma City, right

before January 1981, the FBI attacked a meeting attended by revolutionary and progressive Iranian students. They injured three Iranian students, one shot in the chest. They did this just because the students were against Iranian government's reconciliation in releasing American hostage spies. Besides their own FBI, they have also used and assisted others to carry out attacks or murder. Three or four years ago, some SAVAK agents from Austin, Texas, came to the apartment of the leaders of the I.S.A., shot some bullets at them. The SAVAK agents were arrested, then subsequently released by the Sheriff by request of a high ranking U.S. government official.

Because of the rottenness of this system there is beating up and torture of political prisoners, and many other reactionary fascist actions that take place in this country such as murdering of Black children in Atlanta and killing of rebel black youth in Miami, Florida.

The basic question is: "How could a ruling class and a system that at this very moment supports Iraqi Baathites—at this moment through its chained dogs in the Middle East (like Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia...) to attack Iranian people's revolution be democratic?" A system and a ruling class who is responsible for killing of oppressed people in Vietnam, Palestine, Iran, Chile, Indonesia, Philippines... etc., can not be democratic. The same way they try to kill the revolutionary leaders in oppressed countries around the world, they are trying to get rid of Bob Avakian so maybe they can prevent revolution in the U.S. U.S. ruling class has done this before with revolutionary leader Fred Hampton. In light of all this, I'm demanding that political refugee status be given to Comrade Bob Avakian.

a member of I.S.A.

## Long History of Targeting Bob Avakian

To whom it may concern,

I would like to testify to two instances of attack and harassment by the U.S. government directed against Robert Avakian. Both incidents occurred in Richmond, Ca. during the period Bob Avakian lived and worked there as a leading member of the Revolutionary Union. This was the period (1970-1971) that was marked by the RU's successful struggle against "left"-adventurism. Bob Avakian was becoming increasingly recognized as a revolutionary leader within the U.S.

The first incident occurred on Oct. 15, 1970. On that day 15 to 20 FBI agents without warrants broke into a house of RU supporters at 643 11th St., Richmond, Ca. They claimed to be looking for a mysterious (if not mythical) Carol Tanner, supposedly connected with the Weatherman organization. No one in the house was arrested. Bob Avakian, speaking at a press conference for the RU, denounced the raid as an attempt to link RU (and its leadership) with a series of recent bombings.

The second incident took place on the morning of April 1, 1971. The house that I, along with other supporters and members of the RU lived in at 2420 Esmond St., Richmond, Ca. was raided by the Richmond Police. Four people were arrested, two charged with possession of explosives. The *Berkeley Gazette* ran a story claiming police found a typewriter stolen from the Defense Dept. and 135 sticks of dynamite in the house. While all charges were eventually dropped, the government continued in attempts to link RU leadership and particularly Avakian with charges of possessing explosives. Linda Reynolds, a friend of RU members who was arrested at the same time, was brought before a Federal grand jury and asked to link Avakian with the explosives. She was jailed for refusing to cooperate in this government plot to send Bob Avakian to prison.

I hope this testimony helps reveal one small part of the continuing attacks directed against Robert Avakian by the government of the U.S.A.

KEEP BOB AVAKIAN FREE!!!

XXX

## Kent State

The RCYB was founded as a nationwide communist youth organization in November of 1977. It only took a year for the RCYB to earn the hatred of the authorities in Kent, when the organization got deregistered. In fact, even before the Brigade was founded, the administration refused to let the RCYB founding convention take place at Kent, and then went further and made sure that its founding convention could take place at no campus in the state of Ohio. When the RCYB got deregistered in November of 1978, it came at the request of the Department of Defense which had written a letter to the administration demanding we be banned because we had "disrupted" the recruiting activities of the Marines in the student center by doing a skit by their table exposing how at that time it was likely that the marines would invade Iran to prevent the Shah from being overthrown. In a matter of days after that, the deregistration order came down with no hearing and no proof of the validity or correctness of their charges.

We then went through all the proper procedure to get reregistered, proving student membership, getting an advisor, filling out the forms, and getting the student caucus to approve the

Continued on page 16

## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

*This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people*

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized\* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassment, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

\* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

# Tribunal

Continued from page 11

sciousness of the masses and we used to call it "descovijar" which means "pull them out of bed." And the owner of the plantation began to know about this through one of the foremen. He said if you keep this up we are going to put you in prison. He had a son who from time to time was in the plantation and he would constantly laugh at us because of the way we were dressed and because we were dirty. He would constantly be provoking and mocking us for the conditions we had to be in as well as taking advantage with the women farmworkers. So one day I had a problem with him. I had a fight with him because he was out to rape one of the girls on the farm. The owner of the plantation, of the farm, he came up to me and promised to send me to another city to study if I kept my mouth shut. And I said "Sure, of course, I'll go along with that," for I knew that this was an attempt in order to silence me and in order to kill me. I talked it over with my compañeros and we went to a certain type of commissary which is like a market and we got many packs of cigarettes and cheese, and by morning we were out of the plantation heading back to the capital city.

But the seeds were already sown on that farm and many began to protest against the owner.

In 1974 I was the object of another accusation because I was beginning to work and to raise the consciousness within the neighborhood with high school students. In 1975 in one of Somoza's textile factories I was fired for trying to form unions after working there for a year and a half. I feel I did a lot there and for the bosses it wasn't convenient to have my presence there in the factory as well as other compañeros who worked for the same cause. In 1975 the struggle was continuing and I already had a certain political formation beginning to get oriented with the students from the revolutionary front. In 1976 I was one of those who began to form a student organization, XXX, and it was in the school XXX in Managua where I began to deeply develop my political life.

In 1976 on December 24th at 7 p.m. one woman accused me and I was captured in one of the urban buses—me and another comrade—and we were taken to a nearby commando. There we were interrogated and tortured and because we didn't say anything positive we were the objects of torture day and night. When it was 11:00 at night right at Christmas Eve, and as you guys know with everybody having their banquets, I was in a cell in isolation and a soldier came up to me from the guards and brought me food and promised to let me go if I would give information and he also promised to give me 100 cordobas. I said I don't have anything to sell. And he told me just keep on eating, and as I was eating he would beat me. Then he took me to another jail cell where my comrades were also in jail. There we were hosed down and we were beaten with pieces of hoses. At around 12 midnight some evangelical people came up. They came to bring us food and I let them know exactly what we were going through and experiencing. These people organized a group of people and the next day very early in the morning people were protesting and they were offering the guard money to let us go because the guards were planning to kill me and the other compañeros because the other compañeros told the guards they were going to denounce them to the press when they became free. We were free about 10:00 in the morning on December 25th. The first thing I did was to go to the house of another compañero and this comrade was much more advanced in the revolutionary struggle. He gave me advice, he told me to go underground and that is how I began my underground life, clandestine, because my name was already in the hands of the authorities. That is how I lived in several neighborhoods in Managua conspiring and also harassing the guards day and night.

In 1978 when Chamorro was murder-

ed on the 10th of January I was in a secure house in an isolated area of Managua. And I understood that this had a tremendous significance, something we needed to seize upon because the masses of people were outraged given the crime that had occurred which was planned by Yankee Imperialism in coordination with the genocidal National Guard of Somoza. And throughout the northern highway and the entire Pan American stretch of highway of Nicaragua the popular proletarian masses led strikes against the establishments of the bourgeoisie. Many establishments such as those were burnt down.

In 1979 on April the 15th I participated with another comrade who was already part of the Sandinista movement in a certain neighborhood, XXX, which was also called "May 1st." We organized several squads and each patrol that we passed by, we would harass them and attack them. Then again I had to move to another secure house and that is where, again, we were exposed by a woman. So me and some compañeros, we had to go seek refuge in the embassy of Mexico. Safe passage in the Mexican Embassy was denied to my comrades but I did not apply for that, I applied for refugee status. A comrade came to get me out of the embassy because I was feeling that being within the embassy I couldn't really do anything. It was then that the conditions for leaving the area through the embassy of Mexico were given to me and so I had to make use of them. I went back to pick up on my activities in a neighborhood where I had previous experience. Finally, at the beginning of May, on the very important day for the international proletariat, I was captured by a military patrol. I was known by many people and they began to organize different protests and gather money in order to bribe the guards. But they refused it and they took me to a nearby commando. My mother who had been residing in the United States since 1976 began to get worried about the situation since she knew nothing about my activities. She began to pull strings through my stepfather who is an American to be able to come here to this country. I didn't want to come to the United States because getting to the airport was like giving myself to the very same guard. Days after I was set free from the commandos that took me prisoner, I could not even be trustful going to the airport. But officials gave guarantees to my Mom that they would let me pass. I had no problems with emigration. They let me pass. But I felt that when I left Nicaragua, I felt that it was the act of a coward. That is why I promised to return to Nicaragua someday including also I made an oath to my comrades to let the people in the United States know what is going on in Nicaragua because I sort of knew that in the United States there was a revolutionary force as there is in other countries in other parts of the world. I had before heard of the Communist Party which Angela Davis is part of, then later on I noticed that it wasn't one; there was something very confusing about this party and it didn't make too much sense to define myself with them. I'll confess that since I first set foot in the United States wherever I go, I talk to people about organizing to prepare for revolution in the United States because there is nothing strange about revolution burning in the backyard of the White House....

### Arizona Memorial 3

*The following is a transcript of a videotape sent to the tribunal of the Arizona Memorial 3 with slight editing for the sake of clarity. The Arizona Memorial is a structure which was built over the sunken battleship Arizona lying on the bottom of Pearl Harbor. It is a national memorial which is cynically dedicated to the over 1,000 men who sacrificed on the altar of imperialist war.*

*Rae Seitz: Good afternoon. Behind us is Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The white structure you see in the middle of the harbor is the Arizona Memorial. On April 16, 1980 we entered the Arizona Memorial and took down the American flag, letting it drop into the harbor, and attempted to put up in its place a red flag. Ask anyone the story of Pearl Harbor and chances are what you'll get*

## UGNAYAN Letter Rips Gunpoint Elections in Philippines

*The following letter was sent to us by UGNAYAN (Alliance for Philippine National Democracy), a coalition of groups and individuals in the U.S. opposed to the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines.*

1 June 1981

Dear Editor:

After almost 9 years of brutal repression, rigged elections, phoney referendums and plebiscites, the Marcos dictatorship is now trying to stage its new circus act: the June 16 elections.

We of UGNAYAN join the national democratic forces in the Philippines, the United Democratic Opposition, and other anti-fascist forces in condemning this election as another trick to perpetuate Marcos' rule.

The January "lifting" of martial law deceived no one—not even the Pope. How can anyone believe Marcos' propaganda that the Filipino people are now going to have a real choice when Marcos and his henchmen still control the media, the electoral apparatus, the military and police, using public money and government agencies to enforce their self-serving decrees?

With more than 2,000 political prisoners still held in jails; with strikes prohibited; with freedoms of speech

and press still denied; with the continued arrests, detention, or summary execution of dissenters; with the intensifying genocide of the Moro peoples, Igorots, and other minorities; how can anyone believe that Marcos' martial rule has suddenly changed?

and press still denied; with the continued arrests, detention, or summary execution of dissenters; with the intensifying genocide of the Moro peoples, Igorots, and other minorities; how can anyone believe that Marcos' martial rule has suddenly changed?

One recent example of continuing repression is the death penalty arbitrarily imposed on two well-known fighters for people's democracy and national independence: Bernabe Buscayno, better known as Commander Dante, and Victor Corpuz, a lieutenant of the Philippine Military Academy. We ask everyone to denounce this obscene mockery of justice and demand humane treatment for all political prisoners.

We urge freedom-loving peoples everywhere to expose and denounce the farce of the coming elections. We urge everyone to demand the genuine dismantling of martial law and an end to U.S. support of the Marcos regime (through rental of military bases)—an end to gross violation of human rights, to exploitation and impoverishment of millions, to tyranny.

In solidarity,

The Coordinating Committee  
ALLIANCE FOR PHILIPPINE  
NATIONAL DEMOCRACY

is that on Dec. 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on America and awakened a sleeping giant, a peaceloving country, and forced it against its will to enter WW2.

*Joanne Kishi: The real story that they try to hide is that the attack on Pearl Harbor was the culmination of over 50 years of economic and military contention between American and Japanese imperialists over the Pacific Basin. When Japan occupied northern China, it conflicted with the interests of France, Holland, and Great Britain. On July 26, 1941, when Japan announced that it would exercise a protectorate over Indochina, the United States acted swiftly by establishing economic sanctions against Japan and forced Great Britain, France and Holland to follow suit. The choice then for Japan was to capitulate completely, give up all of its empire which it was trying to expand, or go to war with the United States. As Secretary of War Henry Stimson put it: "The president brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked, perhaps next Monday, for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning and the question was what we should do. The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition."*

*Rae: A surprise attack? Hardly. The U.S., in probably one of the most well kept secrets of WW2, had broken the Japanese diplomatic code a full year before the attack on Pearl Harbor and was for almost a full year reading everything between Japan and its embassies worldwide. As Hawaii's Governor Burns said in his memoirs, a week before Pearl Harbor was bombed, the special agent in charge of the FBI approached him and said: "We expect to be attacked by the Japanese within the week" and instructed him to send out men to see what could be uncovered. This was revealed years after the attack. Most of the ships which were in the Harbor during the attack were WW1 vintage ships ready to be drydocked. The bigger battleships and carriers were already out to sea. Although the U.S. imperialists did suffer some damage in terms of ships and over 3000 men killed there, no way did they suffer the kind of damage a real surprise attack would have brought down. In fact to once again quote Secretary of War Stimson as he wrote in his diary upon hearing of the attack on Pearl Harbor: "While I was sitting at lunch the President called me up on the telephone and in a rather*

excited voice asked me, 'Have you heard the news?' I said, 'Well, I have heard the telegrams which have been coming in about the Japanese advances in the Gulf of Siam.' He said, 'Oh, no. I don't mean that. They have attacked Hawaii. They are now bombing Hawaii.' Well, that was excitement indeed. ... The British were very much excited about it and our effort this morning was in drawing our papers to see if we should all act together. All thought that we must fight if the British fought, but now the Japs had solved the whole thing by striking us directly in Hawaii." 3,290 lives were lost in Pearl Harbor in what was probably the biggest fraud the U.S. government and imperialists pulled off on the American people and the people of the world as their ploy to whip up public opinion in favor of the U.S. entering WW2.

*Masaaki Hirota: Taking down the flag was a simple political act but the government has always tried to cover it up and paint it as a criminal act with criminal trespass and property damage charges. It is clear that the harassment is not going to stop there, however, as recently I was called into the Immigration Office. They called me in and said that 20 years ago, I lied about my political affiliation when I was being naturalized. This was when I was 11 years old. What is clear is that they will try to squash anybody, particularly immigrants, who see this country for what it is, who have seen it from the outside and coming here, who do see the kind of country this really is where any kind of political expression we make will be squashed.* □

### CORRECTIONS For RW No. 108, June 5, 1981

In the article entitled, "Testimony From L.A. Session of War Crimes Tribunal," on page 7, the introduction to the first testimony refers to Archie Fire Lane Deer. The testimony itself refers to Arthur Fire Lane Deer. Archie Fire Lane Deer is correct.

In that same article, continued on page 16, in the last column, the fifth line from the beginning of the final paragraph, refers to the Cortega. Instead, it should read: the CORDECA.

Also, the phone number for further information on the War Crimes Tribunals was in error. For information, call (213) 384-7840.

# Letter From Colombian Revolutionary May 1st—A Great Challenge To The Advanced

## May 1st. A Great Challenge to the Advanced

When I had the opportunity to write a few summary words on what occurred in the New York "Garment District," I thought, other comrades had already said enough on this matter in the pages of the *RW*. But, seeing things differently, one concludes that it is very probable that as yet we do not have all the information of the real impact that the revolutionary political agitation caused, nor that we yet have grasped the great advances that were made there, and that they must be seized on to benefit the revolutionary proletariat.

During the final preparations for May 1st, some advanced asked where the "demonstration" would be. They thought it would be a public square, or a park far from the centers of exploitation. Or a site where those "mobilized" would gather to listen to fervent speakers, who with a historic closing speech, would send them home contented, to wait for the next May 1st to "celebrate" it once more, with chants of long live this and long live that.

This was one of the erroneous and traditional left concepts that was overcome and it should be buried forever. We do NOT need anymore inflated actions that do nothing to direct the thinking of the workers to break with the system and leaves it the same as before, without a single effect from the transforming struggle of the proletariat.

Even though the situation in Garment didn't have the impact of a great march,

it can be said with much objectivity, that the step taken by the communist revolutionaries and their political propaganda (from the days before, and the day itself), largely broke through that relative norm of passively enduring the exploitation. It broke through the customary passive resistance. It made a giant step forward towards the open and beligerent expression of the longing for revolution of the proletariat. It occurred in a largely internationalist area, fertile ground for the fusion of networks and revolutionary circles around our main weapon.

The deeds related in the *RW* are very significant and have thrown out a great challenge to us.

In one of the factories where the red flag was taken up, the revolutionary politics of the proletariat was stirred up and struggle broke out against a few reactionaries, a woman worker exclaimed, "this should go on everyday!" What is the significance of her words?

Compañeros, it is simply and plainly that May 1st has not ended and should not end on the First, since we are in the midst of great tasks.

It is undeniable that our work and direct contact with the masses tests our political line and gives a great breadth to the understanding of the consciousness of the subjective forces and the spirit of the proletariat. If we don't want to tail this process, this should push us forward to take decisive action in accordance with reality.

On this day new forces leaped to the fore of the battle, with the slogans of

the international proletariat. And observing things from the Marxist-Leninist point of view, we see that it is our duty to give continuity to the work that has been initiated, that it is urgent to be on time with the actual advances and the overall situation.

It is not redundant to quote the words of Lenin:

"What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation (in our case nearing it in leaps and bounds—P.P.), explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation." (*The Collapse of the Second International*)

The urgent necessity to press forward in intense organizational and political work, becomes clearer than ever in the same way that the importance of raising the red flag, the symbol of international proletariat and of creating public opinion becomes clearer every day. That is to immediately make a reality of yearned for networks operating around the *Revolutionary Worker*. Networks of conspirators which we call for emphatically which we should concentrate all our energy in our daily practice to build.

This last point is related to the understanding that we have on the process of the objective changes, that are occur-

ing, of the approaching revolutionary possibility to violently overthrow this decrepit, dreadful imperialist system. It also has to do with whether or not we are consistent on the importance of being impatient and to this impatience at the service of proletarian revolution worldwide, as was formulated correctly recently by Bob Avakian.

The news we receive from various places in the U.S. and other parts of the world about May 1st, that tell us of its subsequent fallout and the great political earthquakes that are occurring, demonstrate an inspiring panorama full of great expectations. Are these not sufficient reasons to be impatient and stubborn with the obstacles that present themselves to us at every point in the class struggle and which many times do not permit us to advance as we would like?

If that is the situation, then let us make this leap. Let's orient all our practice to the creation of the subjective factor, without which it is impossible to make revolution. Let us build the organizational, ideological and thinking capacity which the proletariat needs to launch the seizure of power and transform society.

How long will this task take—no one decides this—but the political awakening of the oppressed could surprise us.

Pablo Pueblo  
New York, June, 1981

## Statement Denounces Conviction, Continued Harassment of UN 2

On June 9th, Federal Court denied a stay filed by the attorneys for Glenn Gan, one of the UN2; the stay would have prevented prison officials from transferring Glenn to Minnesota before a writ to keep him in California can be argued. The judge who denied the stay stated that Glenn's attorneys had no proof that Glenn was being harassed, and even if they did they couldn't argue it in that court. When a supporter called the Western Regional Director of Federal Prisons to protest these latest attacks, the mere mention of Glenn's name was met with, "No, he's not being discriminated against. This isn't unusual..."

Some groups and individuals have begun writing letters of protest to:

Western Regional Director of Federal Prisons

Milt Edmunds

330 Primrose Blvd.

Burlingame, California

These letters are demanding that Glenn be kept in California and that Glenn receive the parole hearing he is eligible for, but can't get as long as prison officials keep him "in transit."

The following is a letter from the Citizens Commission on Police Repression:

CITIZENS COMMISSION ON  
POLICE REPRESSION  
STATEMENT ON THE CASE OF  
THE "UN 2"

June 9, 1981

The Citizens Commission on Police

Repression condemns the attempts by the Federal Prison Authorities to isolate and harass Revolutionary Communist Party supporter Glenn Gan, whose appeal for his conviction of "assault on an internationally protected person" is pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although Gan is currently in the facility at Los Angeles, California, he is now evidently to be transferred to Sandstone, Minnesota. Since Gan's family lives in California, this can only be interpreted as an act of retribution by the prison authorities. Their excuse that the Pleasanton facility is "overcrowded" is invalidated by the fact that prisoners are still being transferred there from other facilities.

Although the actions of Gan and fellow defendant Steve Yip may technically be considered assault, their protest was obviously meant as a political statement and not as an attempt to inflict bodily harm on the U.S. and the Soviet UN representatives. Under these circumstances, the Citizens Commission believes that the one year sentences Yip and Gan are now appealing are extremely excessive and are politically motivated.

The Citizen's Commission demands that Glenn Gan be allowed to remain at Pleasanton and that all efforts to harass and transfer him be ended.

For the Citizen's Commission,  
Michael S. Balter

Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Malayalam, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil. \$1.00 plus 50¢ postage.

Available from:  
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

TO THE  
MARXIST-LENINISTS,  
THE WORKERS,  
AND THE OPPRESSED  
OF ALL COUNTRIES

Joint Communiqué of  
Caylon Communist Party  
Groupe Marxist-Léniniste du Sénégal  
Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo  
Mao Tse Tung Kreðsen (Denmark)  
Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)  
New Zealand Red Flag Group  
Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)  
Organizzazione Comunista Proletaria Marxist-Leninista (Italy)  
Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile  
Parti Internationaliste Proletarienne (France)  
Reorganización Comuniste, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA  
Union Comunista Revolucionaria (Dominican Republic)

# TESTIMONY

Continued from page 13

reregistration. But still we were rejected, in a letter sent to my house. When we went to the administrator in charge of student activities, he refused to speak to us and called the police and had us arrested, initially on outrageous bonds totaling \$4000. Then the bond was lowered, but we were banned from campus until the court matter had come to its final conclusion, which was months later. Then I received another letter in the mail from this same administrator (Dr. John Binder who, by the way, is a colonel in the Air Force) saying that our group had been denied reregistration because of the fact that we got arrested in the incident just mentioned in which he had called the police. At the same time, a member of the RCYB who went to the high school in Kent was sought by the police, entered a dormitory where he was staying with a friend, and arrested him and sent him to the detention home in Ravenna. He was charged with trespass for being on the Kent State campus with us the day that we got arrested. He was then put under house arrest, eventually having a juvenile hearing. His sentence was that until he was 18, he could not associate with the RCYB, he had to obey his parents, and obey all laws, or else he would serve out 3 months in the detention home.

Being deregistered meant not having free access to university facilities and a few other privileges, like being funded by student government. So we had to rent facilities like tables or rooms. This went on for a while until the rules got changed. No longer could a nonstudent group rent facilities, now they had to have a registered group get the facilities for them. So now a new attack was being perpetrated because any group that tried to get rooms for us came under attack by the administration. This happened to the Left History Forum in an attempt to help us hold a forum on Iran, to Dr. Edward Crosby who got us a room for a forum on patriotism vs. revolution (when we got to the room the doors were locked and the entire undercover police squad was in the hallway making their presence very known), to Rev. Jacobs who helped us put on a teach-in on war and was told that if he ever did that again that the religious group he sponsors would be deregistered, to SCANN (Student Coalition Against Nukes Nationwide) for helping us put on a program for International Women's Day, to a group of Iranians who participated in that same International Women's Day and were told that they would get in trouble if they ever even did anything with us again. The message was clear: the rule change over how to use university facilities was to force us to approach other groups for support, which was not hard to do in and of itself, but then the administration would threaten these groups for working with us, thus preventing us from doing things but also trying to drive a wedge between us and other groups. All these incidents mentioned above took place between the time of deregistration and the present.

Along with this, other forms of harassment have been consistent. People in the brigade followed around campus by the red squad and verbally threatened with things like "We're going to get you." And once when a

brigade member was distributing the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and agitating, the undercover police brought out a tape recorder to put his agitation on tape. All this was done very blatantly in front of many students. Also the use of police photographers is very common, both at demonstrations blatantly coming right up into our faces for intimidation, but also at other occasions, like just in walking in the student center and once in the student center parking lot.

Students who support the politics of the RCYB have also been harassed by the police and other agents of the Kent State administration. Dorm students were told that they would be expelled if they distributed the *Revolutionary Worker* or put up stickers advertising the RCP's *Draft Programme*. Dorm students were also put under more subtle forms of harassment like siccing the residence assistants over to warn them of stereos being too loud when there was no stereo playing, and that they would receive a white slip (disciplinary notice) for it. Another student, a long time activist himself who is a regular reader of the *Revolutionary Worker* has had his house watched by the police and once a letter for a brigade member was delivered to this activist's house even though the brigade member had his own apartment but at the time was staying with the activist for a few days. This was done right at the time of a major trial of another brigade member, where people's cars were followed not only in Kent but also into Ravenna, and a lot of the harassment indicated above was stepped up.

This trial was for charges brought up in the course of building for May Day 1980. After the May Day Brigade was on campus one day in late March 1980 and they marched into a building and a classroom to spread the message of May Day, an investigation was done into the activities of the May Day Brigade in the whole state of Ohio, and then indictments were issued. Two were named warrants and the rest were "John Doe" or unnamed warrants—kept in reserve to arrest anyone they wanted. The police refused to say who the warrants were for or what the charges were. One day, two weeks later in the first week of April, I was approached by an undercover policeman who said, "XXX, I want to talk to you." I replied "What are the charges?" and he kept insisting that he only wanted to talk to me. People gathered around and tried to separate me from the policeman in his 3 piece suit so a squad of regular police were called in as reinforcements. Eventually I was grabbed by the police and dragged into Dr. Binder's office where I was thrown against a wall, handcuffed and told I was under arrest for the charge of "riot," which in Ohio is defined as disorderly conduct committed in a group of 4 or more. I was then dragged back through the student center in front of scores of people and when I yelled out that they couldn't stop May Day, the undercover policeman (Officer Davis) said to me, "Well, we're sure going to try."

While I was being booked, one of the routine questions I was asked was what kind of a car do I have and I replied that I didn't have a car, the police said to me "Oh, what happened to your

Oldsmobile?" Interestingly enough, my car had been destroyed under very suspicious circumstances the week before. My car had been parked outside the well-known house of a friend in Cleveland and at about midnite we heard a huge bang. When we went outside, we saw my car smashed and sitting on the front lawn of the next door neighbor. Witnesses said that a big black car had cruised slowly down the street and when my car was spotted (with a "We won't work that day, will you?" bumper sticker on it), the black car turned off its lights, backed up, rammed my car in the back, and then slowly drove away and turned its lights back on.

Once again, high bail was set (\$1000 cash) and reduced when the conditions of my release were to be banned from campus until the legal matter was settled. At my arraignment they tried to set another hearing on May 1, 1980. When it finally came to trial (just days before school was to start in the fall), it became known that the charges had been brought against me not by the teacher whose class I supposedly rioted in, but by the head of the undercover police, officer Reinhard. And all the witnesses for the prosecution had been sought out and recruited by Dr. Binder or the police. The police called up selected students on the class roster and asked them to testify. One girl whose parents work for the university received a very nice job there weeks after she agreed to testify. Another one was approached by Dr. Binder to testify, this guy had been used before to snitch on other political activists who had held a "sleep-in" in the dorm protesting repressive dorm policy. And the teacher who testified admitted to me the night before the trial that he knew the administration was using this trial as a political vendetta against the RCYB.

After I was convicted and had a presentencing investigation, the head of the probation department made open threats against me in his office, telling me that I better go back to California if I knew what was good for me, saying that he was going to call my parents, producing a 3" file on my activities since I arrived at Kent years before, then saying shit like you're an intelligent girl why are you doing this, have you ever been anywhere else in the world and see how other people live, etc.

When time came for my sentencing, the judge (Carnes) made outrageous statements on the record about how I have a number of past arrests and I was facing felony charges in Cleveland (alho I hadn't even gone to trial on it), that I had a history of "violent behavior" and that I was a threat to life and property (all of my previous charges had been disorderlies and trespass). He then sentenced me to the maximum (6 months) and hauled me off immediately to jail, while normal procedure is to allow you immediately to file an appeal and await sentencing until the appeal is resolved. When I was brought back into court days later from jail, the judge refused to release me, saying that I had violated my bond by leafletting on campus (which is a total lie and they have never proved) and then said that I could be released only if I paid \$2500 bond and was banned from the City of Kent! People in jail commented about how bond is supposed to guarantee that a person not leave a town rather than not enter one. I

refused these conditions and was brought back to jail. 2 weeks later, I was brought back to court again and offered a "reduced bond" of just being banned from campus, which we refused, since that was the whole purpose of this arrest, to drive and keep brigade members and the newspaper off campus and intimidate those who supported our politics.

After it was clear that we were not going to accept those conditions, harassment began in jail. All the women prisoners were threatened with having additional charges put on them in jail for disorderly conduct and destruction of jail property when nothing of the sort was going on. The matrons started to spread rumors about me that I was dangerous. Our food was altered in some way during this time, because we could taste something strange and felt sick and sleepy. People's visitors were told that I was brainwashing them. Finally after a little more than a month, unexpectedly, a sheriff's officer came to my cell with a court order *ordering me out of jail* on the same conditions that had been refused time and again.

Another person associated with the RCP was arrested by Kent State police for "desecration of the flag." They didn't arrest him on campus, but drove all the way up to his home in Cleveland (an hour away) to arrest him. When they came to the door, a woman answered it and the police said, "You're not his wife, what are you doing here?"

The administration also at one point, in the height of the controversy around the hostages in Iran, tried to ban the *Revolutionary Communist Youth* newspaper from campus. This was not the first time the paper (and also the *Revolutionary Worker*) had come under attack by the administration. Because by denying us the use of tables in the Student Center and elsewhere, you are not allowed to "solicit" any literature. So people distributing the papers were constantly harassed, both by the police and reactionaries, "are you selling that paper?," "you're not allowed to sell that paper without a table," etc. And open threats of arrest if the paper continued to be sold. But at a certain point, moves were made to outright ban the paper (RCY) from campus. Dr. Binder and one reactionary member of the student caucus tried to pass a regulation against the paper before the student center advisory board, which sets policy for the student center. This went on for quite a while until they were forced to drop it.

This same kind of harassment continues on today. In fact, a few days later at a May 4 rally (the 11th anniversary of when the ruling class killed 4 students and wounded 9 others at Kent State for protesting the U.S. invasion of Cambodia), the police tried to isolate and surround the RCYB (literally surrounding them) to keep them away from the students. I am still banned from campus (it's now over a year), and even the legality of this ban is in question since I am not banned by the university but by the state (in the form of the court). It is clear from all of my experience at Kent State that political harassment against the RCYB and RCP is a daily fact of life and the orders for this harassment come from the highest ranks of the administration, if not higher.

XXX

## Iran

Continued from page 7

the IRP camp, including big feudal landlords, political figures like Dr. Ayat who participated in the 1953 CIA coup that returned the Shah to power, pro-Western leaders like Beheshti and Prime Minister Rajaii, as well as others who have no doubt flocked to the IRP. With the declaration of "loyalty" by the army (with its scores of U.S.-trained officers), it is quite possible that the U.S. is, for the moment at least, seeking to cut their losses and pursue their contention for domination in Iran through their base of support within the IRP, as

well as those who have just been knocked down somewhat.

Overall the situation is very unstable and very much up for grabs. With the very possible development of armed conflict between these bourgeois factions in the period ahead in which either the U.S. or the Soviets might stand to dramatically gain or lose influence, there is growing potential for imperialist intervention in Iran, either direct or indirectly—through regional allies. At the same time this situation—these cracks among the ruling classes—could provide new opportunities for revolutionary action by the masses to carry forward the revolution against both imperialist blocs.

For their part, the Soviet imperialists have also been fishing in Iran's troubled

waters. They have built up considerable influence among sections of the IRP, with members of the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party now occupying important posts in the radio and TV ministry, appearing openly with leading members of the IRP, and generally, in conjunction with diplomatic and economic efforts by the Soviet Union itself, trying to steer the Iranian government in an anti-U.S., pro-Soviet direction. For these pro-Soviet revisionist forces, a crushing defeat of Bani Sadr and the pro-Western liberals would be an important victory that would place them in better position to eventually take power themselves and/or to call on the Soviets to intervene to "protect" Iran from U.S. imperialism.

For the masses in Iran, the fall of

Bani Sadr won't represent the "demise of democracy" any more than the ascendancy of the clerics represents the "triumph of anti-imperialism." Of course, in the struggle between these two factions of the bourgeoisie, which will undoubtedly intensify, the President will wage it in the name of preventing dictatorship, while the clergy will fight under the banner of preserving Islam and fighting "the Great Satan."

But no matter what their catchphrases and slogans, both these forces are incapable of leading the Iranian revolution forward, and equally destined to serve imperialism. For the masses of the Iranian people and proletariat, their future lies in using the growing turmoil among the rulers to fight for their independent and revolutionary interests.

# Mexico

Continued from page 5

that Mexico today is not even self-sufficient in beans and the corn for tortillas to say nothing of foodstuffs such as wheat and sugar. Over \$1.6 billion of Mexico's new found oil revenue this year alone will have to go to buy basic food supplies from the United States. And this, while in some places over half the useable land lies fallow.

But the vast majority of U.S. capital investment in Mexico is in industry. Direct investment in Mexico by U.S. firms totalled \$4.7 billion at the end of 1979—69% of all foreign direct investment in Mexico. And this is overwhelmingly concentrated in the most dynamic sectors and profitable sectors of the economy. No more than 2% of this was in the agricultural sphere as 55% of the top 500 U.S. manufacturing firms and 71% of the top 100 have invested in Mexican industry. Important industries include auto (450,000 cars and trucks a year are produced), steel (6 million tons a year), electronics and electrical equipment, rubber, chemicals, garment and other consumer products for the U.S., and of course oil which accounts for 74% of Mexico's total exports. But this is not even half the story. 70% of Mexico's colossal \$34 billion foreign debt (a full 10% of all the total external debt of all the countries oppressed by imperialism) is owed directly or indirectly to U.S. banks and financial institutions. The most important of these lenders are Citibank, Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Chemical Bank, and Morgan Guaranty Trust. And a large part of this foreign debt is so-called secondary debt, that is, new debt to pay for old debts. Its debt service charges alone were \$9 billion last year. Thus Mexico's economy is not only dominated by the U.S. but quite literally mortgaged to it and subject to the financial necessity of the U.S. On top of and part of this, Mexico which does 70% of its trading with the U.S. had a balance of trade deficit of over \$3.2 billion last year alone (\$2.5 billion with the U.S.). This is largely due to the necessity to import huge amounts of equipment from the U.S. for its oil, steel, and petrochemical industries. This has created severe problems for Mexico, including contributing to its high inflation rate.

## Mexico's Oil Boom: A Curse In Disguise

With López Portillo's visit, much to do has been made about Mexico's newly discovered oil supply. Oil production has more than doubled in the past four years and is now at 2.5 million barrels a day, over half of which is exported, mostly to the U.S. Mexico is now the world's fourth largest producer of this vital strategic commodity which the U.S. needs desperately and eyes hungrily more, more and more, especially with the possibility of trouble in obtaining supplies from the Middle East—an area of sharp superpower contention and a likely site for the outbreak of war. Typically the exploitation of Mexico's vast oil wealth is portrayed as the magic solution to Mexico's economic problems—a way to pull itself up by its bootstraps and even gain some independence from the clutches of imperialism. Nothing could be further from the truth. This so-called solution amounts to nothing more than giving a patient more of his sickness in order to cure him. (The U.S., of course, has no intention of curing the sickness it has caused in Mexico.) The exploitation of Mexico's oil wealth has only further distorted the Mexican economy and subjugated it even further to the U.S.

In order to develop its oil resources, Mexico has had to borrow heavily from the U.S. and import virtually all of the technology required to get it out of the ground. This has only further boosted its foreign debt and trade deficits. And even if it was not the case that Mexico had to rely on the import of U.S. technology to tap its oil resources, the reliance on a single export would cause

tremendous distortion and crisis throughout its economy. The further distortions of the economy caused by the oil boom have forced much of the extra revenue from oil to go toward importing essential products from the U.S.—for example, food as mentioned earlier. And so it goes. The more the oil wealth is developed, the deeper Mexico finds itself mortgaged to the U.S. For the U.S., however, it is not simply to obtain the maximum possible profits that it is investing so heavily in Mexico. Because it needs the oil, especially in light of approaching war and because it cannot allow the Mexican economy to collapse, which it will without continual infusions of U.S. capital, it has to continue its huge capital exports even though the profitability of them is actually declining. This applies particularly to the huge flow of loan capital to Mexico. López Portillo has, of course, publicly vowed that he has a plan to deal with the pending disaster to Mexico's economy as a result of the oil boom. He has vowed to avoid what has happened to Iran, Nigeria and Venezuela among other countries. This, however, amounts to nothing more than public posturing in order to soothe the political tensions in Mexico. This is a problem that both Mexico and the U.S. have to try to find some way to deal with, however.

Both Mexico and the U.S. are well aware of the potential for great internal crisis in Mexico that could develop. Thus a big topic for heated discussion between the U.S. and its compradors in Mexico is the subject of making some kind of adjustments in their trade relations (tariffs and trade restrictions, etc.) in order to improve Mexico's dismal trade picture. López Portillo would like the U.S. to make some concessions on this front, though anything on this front would be of only small and very temporary benefit. The U.S. however has great problems of its own and fears the impact of such concessions on its own economy. Both parties in this "warm and personal friendship" find themselves beset by great contradictions, the only way out of which can only cause new and greater contradictions, worsening things all the more.

It stands as a stark contradiction to the masses of people in Mexico that U.S. imperialism has created a tremendous acceleration in the development of the productive forces in areas of the economy like oil and industry while they are subjected to grinding poverty which grows worse the more these industries are developed. Modern offices and oil installations that are capable of producing great material wealth stand next to slums and the most backward conditions in the countryside. The GNP grows at the apparently healthy rate, by capitalist standards these days, of 9%, though at most a handful of servants to the U.S. ever see any of it as most of it flows out of the country altogether. As Karl Marx observed, "The accumulation of capital at one pole means the accumulation of poverty, misery and degradation on the other." This can be seen most starkly in the countries dominated by imperialism. And certainly fewer and fewer people can fail to at least sense the absolute insanity of all this and that something will have to be done about it.

## Reagan's New Immigration Plan

A central topic of discussion and source of great problems for the U.S. and its lackeys in Mexico has been the question of Mexican immigration to the U.S. There are an estimated 9 million Mexican immigrants both legal and "illegal" in the U.S., with an estimated yearly "gross flow" (that is, counting everyone who comes to the U.S. even if they return to Mexico) across the border put at 1 million. It is also estimated that one person in five, in Mexico depend in some way upon income from employment in the U.S. Faced with both massive and rapidly growing unemployment, Mexico wants to deliver up as many Mexican people as possible to be superexploited in the U.S. and in U.S. owned *maquiladora* sweat shops just inside the Mexican border. Peasants who have been forced off their land are flooding the cities in Mexico. Mexico City, for example, has a population of 14 million with hundreds of thousands of people living in

shanty towns and shacks. Some areas of the country involving perhaps 10 million people live outside the money economy altogether, living a life of extreme poverty in the rural areas. The real unemployment and underemployment rate is at least 40% and the figure is bound to grow. Even the expansion of the oil industry will not make a dent in this situation as it is by nature highly capital intensive. To the Mexican leaders and the U.S. too, this is a very dangerous situation and could turn into literal social dynamite.

The U.S., as the largest employer of foreign labor in the world, has relied and continues to rely heavily on the superexploitation of Mexican workers within its borders in agriculture, service and manufacturing sectors of the economy. These workers, along with others from other countries form a significant part of the lower tier in the U.S. dual labor market. Immigrant workers from Mexico have been a major factor in the economic growth in the U.S. from the days of building the railroads onward. Also significant is that a very important part of the temporary U.S. economic recovery from the 1974-75 recession was the reliance on and expanded development of industry employing workers in this lower tier of low wage and high exploitation jobs that immigrant workers, along with oppressed nationalities generally, are concentrated in. And more than that this continues to be an important factor in helping to offset the growing economic crisis within the U.S. economy. Thus the U.S. bourgeoisie has no intention nor any desire to totally cut off immigration and resort to massive deportation of Mexican workers at this time, despite the fact that they promote the most sinister and vicious chauvinistic campaign against immigrant workers, including deportation raids and hideous propaganda crusades enlisting the active participation of its labor lieutenants and labor aristocrats.

However, there are limits to how much immigration the U.S. economy can absorb. Faced with a deepening economic crisis, the U.S. does want to both restrict immigration to a certain degree and rationalize it also so as to be able to have some control over how Mexican labor is employed in the U.S. Thus the Reagan administration has proposed its new "guest worker" plan or a new "bracero" program under a more euphemistic name. Under this plan, still only in the tentative stages, a pilot program will be begun where 50,000 Mexican workers will be granted "guest worker" status and be graciously allowed to "seek employment" though they would of course not be eligible for welfare, food stamps, or unemployment insurance. Most likely, these "guest worker" visas will be granted in accordance with the labor demands of U.S. employers for seasonal work, in effect amounting to no more than the government acting as a labor contractor legally supplying workers to labor under the same type of slave labor conditions as under the infamous *bracero* program. Supposedly this and the "amnesty plan" described below will reduce the flow of "illegals" by increasing the number of legal workers in a controlled and restricted way.

Also part of the proposal are two provisions similar to what Carter proposed in 1977, including a so-called "amnesty plan" for those who have been "continually resident" in this country for at least 5 years before Jan. 1, 1980. They would be allowed to apply for permanent resident status and presumably granted it if they could prove that they have never left the U.S. during that 5 year period. Of course, the government could exercise great freedom in actually granting permanent status depending on its needs and desires. Everyone who actually applied would be registered with the government and if the U.S. decided not to accept their proof they would be subject to deportation. Secondly, like Carter's proposal, legislation would be enacted "prohibiting employers of 4 or more employees from knowingly and willfully hiring illegal aliens." This will only serve as an excuse for harassment and deportation of all immigrant workers by the employers whenever the need

arises. To add to this it is proposed that all job applicants be required to show identification including a new "counterfeit-resistant Social Security card." (Perhaps passbooks à la South African style will be next.) This would represent a real step toward the establishment of some kind of universal identification system desired by the bourgeoisie to keep tabs on immigration and facilitate the location and potential deportation of "illegals". Not coincidentally, also part of the proposal is a "moderate increase" in the enforcement budget of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to hire more Border Patrol agents, investigators and other personnel.

All of this is still in the proposal stage and there can be a number of changes in it if it is indeed enacted. Nor does it mean that if the plan is enacted it will not be changed or scrapped as the political and economic situation heats up both in the United States and Mexico. And certainly enactment of this plan will not stop deportation and other further attacks against immigrants from Mexico, now or in the future. But the intent of the proposal is clear. It is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to rationalize and restrict immigration from Mexico within certain limits. It also represents an attack on workers from Mexico and Latin America generally and goes hand-in-hand with the bourgeoisie's attempts to whip up anti-immigrant worker sentiments among the masses of people within the U.S. All this is an important part of trying to politically weaken and subvert the revolutionary struggle in this country to which immigrant workers are a great strength, playing a key role in propelling the struggle against U.S. imperialism forward.

Unfortunately for the imperialists there is actually very little they can do to stop the flow of immigrants from Mexico into this country despite Reagan's proposal or any other one they come up with. It is their very economic system, including its imperialist plunder of Mexico, that is effectively tearing down the national border between the two countries albeit through the course of extreme oppression and the compelling need of the masses of people in Mexico for sheer survival. Nevertheless the barriers are being battered down. As long as grinding poverty and massive unemployment exist in Mexico and they will as long as U.S. imperialism exists and as long as the average wage in Mexico remains 1/7 to 1/13 of that in the U.S., as it will continue to as long as U.S. imperialism exists, people from Mexico will immigrate to this country, whether the bourgeoisie chooses to call them "legal" or "illegal." And fundamentally this is a very big political problem for the bourgeoisie even if there are those among them who, for various reasons, push for not even making an attempt to limit immigration.

## Growing Desperation Behind the Calm Facade

In the beginning of this article it was pointed out that the U.S. finds itself facing a situation in Mexico and the Caribbean area fraught with contradictions and growing more and more out of control. Beneath the pleasantries during López Portillo's visit, immense difficulties loom for both parties concerned. One can find numerous articles these days from the bourgeoisie with titles such as, "Mexico: The Domino that Counts." The U.S., on the one hand, must do everything it can to promote stability there and use Mexico as much as possible to act on its behalf in the region. On the other hand, there are severe limits on what it actually can do in light of all the other contradictions it faces. And in fact, whatever steps it does take to resolve some of its problems in Mexico will end up only making things worse for them (though this will not be a straight line process or not be marked by some temporary successes). It needs Mexico's oil desperately and it needs to reap as much as it can from Mexico generally, especially with a growing economic crisis hitting its bloc. But U.S. plunder of Mexico brings with it growing economic and political instability in Mexico. Mexico

Continued on page 18

# Mexico

Continued from page 17

needs to have more immigration northward to the U.S. and the U.S. too recognizes this as an important "safety" valve for Mexico. But this puts strains on the U.S. economy. And the U.S. can only hope to slow the flow of immigration somewhat, even if it tried to so in a massive way. If such a step is taken in the future, this in itself could create great political problems both within the United States, to say nothing of Mexico itself.

But one thing is clear. The bourgeoisie cannot afford to nor does it have any intention of playing it cool in regards to Mexico though it will certainly maneuver politically as much as it can and even make some necessary concessions to buoy up the Mexican economic and political situation. They are even making plans for future eventuality up to and including drastic measures to hold on to this strategically vital country. In fact, as one academic article on "Mexican social issues" quite offhandedly remarks, "While Mexico has not been invaded by the United States lately, there is a strong possibility that the range within which the Mexican political system would be allowed to vary... is at least partly limited by the United States' perceptions of its strategic interest. The United States presidents have been and presumably will be more willing to exercise United States muscle against Mexico..."

A more immediate example of what the U.S. is trying to pressure Mexico into doing is participating in what is termed, "a mini Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean and Central American region. This plan was a topic of discussion between López Portillo and Reagan this past week. The idea is to use some of Mexico's petrodollars along with Venezuela's and Mexico's carefully maintained anti-U.S. image including López Portillo's "personal friendship" with Fidel Castro, in order to economically and politically bolster up various crisis ridden regimes in the area and step up the flow of U.S. "military aid" in the region. There are grave political and economic risks in this for Mexico. For example, Mexico really doesn't have any petrodollars to spare. But neither is the U.S. able to bail out its failing regimes in the area. El Salvador, for example, is wracked by a massive economic crisis and there are a number of other regimes facing similar situations. The employment of Mexican and Venezuelan petrodollars would not only mess up the economy of Mexico and Venezuela but also react back on the U.S. itself, to whom they have to pay back on its loans and so forth. This would also risk exposing Mexican leaders broadly for the U.S. imperialist lackeys that they are. Thus, both Mexico and the U.S. are approaching this deal tentatively and cautiously and it may not ever happen. Nevertheless the U.S. has a great necessity to prop up these regimes, desperately needing to prevent rapid erosion in preparation for world war with its Soviet rivals. In the face of this, the U.S. may well be willing to take

whatever risks such an arrangement would entail, including the risk of unleashing domestic upheaval in Mexico.

As a final note, the prospects for just such an upheaval breaking out in Mexico are not only very great but are building right now. A recent issue of *The Economist* magazine points out the imperialists' real fears regarding Mexico. "Turmoil in Central America has brought out the domino board. The concern over El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala, so loudly voiced in Washington, carries with it a wider, whispered worry: Mexico... (the U.S. fears) that the armed chaos in the small states to Mexico's south might... spread to the north, to the rich oilfields of Campeche or the shanty towns of Mexico City." Later on the article runs the following scenario in the usual "international terrorism" lingo: "Mexico's last revolution began among country peasants. The next one is likelier to spring from the urban dispossessed. Mexico City... is a terrorists' seedbed. Hundreds of thousands of people already live outside the law, in anonymous shanty towns, without amenities, electricity or any social code not their own."

"So far the occasional outbreaks of political violence have been contained... The country's police force is well informed, effective and not given to niceties. But if bombings and kidnappings were to become a weapon of the extreme left... they could rapidly grow out of control. One likely starting place is the 300,000-strong university in the heart of the city: an unwise concentration of political mercenaries."

This little imperialist scenario, complete with appropriate rabid mouth, is

only provided here for flavor and certainly not intended as a correct view of how things are developing in the revolutionary struggle in Mexico, but it unfortunately neglects to mention a very important and active part of the struggle in Mexico, the struggle of the masses of peasants in Mexico's countryside. In recent years there has been an upsurge of struggle in the rural areas in the form of armed land seizures. In 1975 alone peasants occupied tens of thousands of hectares in Zacatecas, Veracruz, Hidalgo, Chiapas, Tamaulipas, Sonora, Nuevo Leon and Oaxaca. In Sinaloa alone there were 76 land occupations. Cattle ranchers, police and soldiers assassinated more than 100 campesinos throughout the country. The high tide of struggle continued through 1977 and in fact the land seizures have never stopped, just ebbed in number. Recently there have been reports of some very organized armed seizures involving significant numbers of peasants in a number of places in Mexico. Also neglected in *The Economist* scenario is the large Mexican proletariat—a slight oversight to say the least. Any speculation about which domino will fall next in Central America aside, the struggle of the Mexican people, both in Mexico and the U.S., is something which Reagan and his "warm personal friend" López Portillo are taking very seriously into account, even as the very workings of the imperialist system lay the basis for heightened revolutionary struggle on both sides of the U.S./Mexico border. □

## A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL  
MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL  
No. 1, May 1981

"To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

—From the joint communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

Available from

RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

"A World to Win" is available now  
in English, and will soon be  
available in Spanish and French.  
\$2.00 (plus 50¢ postage)

## 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

## Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.  
—Now available as a new pamphlet

ORDER FROM: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486  
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

# Israel

Continued from page 8

which might materialize 5 years from now. Wouldn't some Arab regime, then, be justified in launching a similar strike against Israel nuclear facilities? William Safire imperialist-hack-pundit, provides the answer:

"The answer is no: Israel, its people so often threatened with extermination, is not threatening to incinerate the Arab world. No nation has cause to fear an atomic attack from Israel any more than one from the United States. Weaponry whose purpose is to deter is not weaponry whose purpose is to terrorize; there is a huge moral difference."

Iraq had no nuclear weapons, yet somehow Israel has a "moral" right to hold a hoard of them and to destroy its nuclear reactor. And how were the U.S.-built fighters that conducted this raid used—to "deter," or to "terrorize?" And then there's the fact that the U.S. is the only country ever to have used nuclear weapons on anyone. With "morality" waving, U.S. imperialism announced the dawn of the nuclear era by incinerating two Japanese cities. It seems ridiculous to have to remind anyone of this, but Mr. Safire apparently hopes people will forget it and "trust" U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

Thus, all of the nauseous moralizing about nuclear non-proliferation, etc., is beside the point, and does not shed light one way or another on the real political interests of U.S. imperialism behind the Israeli raid—or the complexities and contradictions within it. The fact is that the worst, most depraved moral scum of the earth, the top imperialists, already possess nuclear weapons, and all the imperialists view the question of "non-proliferation" strictly from the standpoint of how it affects their own power and interests: the "restrictions" they attempt to impose are geared strictly to these ends. Most hideous of all, perhaps, was the pious and oily statement by Begin that Israel was forced to strike when it did because "reliable sources" had revealed that the reactor was about to go into operation, and that an attack after that time would have endangered the "innocent residents of Baghdad." It is our ethics and always has been: fight the good fight, but armed men against armed men. Never use arms against innocent and unarmed civilians." Cynicism without limit from a man who personally commanded the massacre of 250 old Arab men, women and children in 1948 in the village of Deir Yassin. Begin's social objective, in line with the whole history of Israel, was just the opposite, to ensure Israel's ability to slaughter unarmed civilians at will without fear of retaliation. The daily quota of slaughter from the skies in Lebanon is testimony enough to Begin's "code of ethics."

## Why Would The U.S. Back It?

An analysis of the actual reasons for the Israeli raids swiftly whisks away these grotesque tales of imperialist "morality" and reveals the real landscape on which this move was made—and helps to explain its seemingly contradictory character. If the United States has been eagerly cultivating Iraq over the past few years, weaning it away from Soviet influence and employing the Hussein regime as a club against Iran, why would the U.S. now endorse an Israeli blow against Iraq? If U.S. imperialism is striving to unite the various regimes in the Middle East in an "anti-Soviet strategic consensus," why encourage a move that would appear certain not only to alienate Iraq, but intensify the contradictions between Israel and every other Arab regime? And why now, in the midst of delicate negotiations over the Syrian missile crisis?

The answers to these questions have a lot to do with the terms in which U.S. imperialism is building its cherished "consensus"—a club in which membership is not necessarily "free and voluntary," and in which the U.S. imperialists themselves set the rules and appoint the Sergeant-at-Arms. The Sergeant-at-Arms is Israel, and Iraq of all the Arab regimes in or gravitating toward the U.S. orbit, has been most vociferous in

its anti-Israel rhetoric and actions, displaying pretensions toward covering its oil resources into the military might necessary to try to replace Israel as the region's dominant military power. This is, of course, unacceptable to Israel; it is also unacceptable to the U.S. And regardless of the immediate potential for Iraq's nuclear reactor to provide Hussein with nuclear weapons capabilities, the reactor was the chief symbol of Hussein's dreams of becoming a regional heavyweight.

The U.S. imperialists are indeed pleased with the progress they have made with Iraq, and they now speak openly of it. U.S. Secretary of State Haig testified to Iraq's potential significance to U.S. strategy in Congress prior to his April Mid-East tour. But this doesn't mean that the U.S. is entirely satisfied, either; there is still substantial Soviet influence in Iraq. Hussein turned his back on the Soviets to cozy up to the West, but may as easily turn tail again tomorrow. At present, it is the French and Italians who exert the main direct influence in Iraq, which leaves the U.S. somewhat short of the measure of control and confidence they would like to see. Saddam Hussein is not necessarily considered trustworthy. The Soviets still have some influence in his regime, including in some sections of the military. His rule has already been weakened by internal dissension over Iraq's failure to win a decisive victory over Iran; Iraq still has not seized the Iranian oil city of Abadan, after more than nine months of fighting. Hussein's difficulties are likely to be increased by the humiliation suffered at the hands of Israel. It is possible that the U.S. is gambling that shaking things loose within Iraq will bring a change for the better. The U.S. hops they have the Russians in a bind, who dare not move too openly in Iraq right now for fear of blowing their chances in Iran. Early returns indicate some success for the U.S. gamble; a carefully-worded official statement by the Iraqi government condemning the raid did not criticize the U.S. at all.

While on the face of it, striking at Iraq would potentially open up a rift with other Arab regimes, the U.S. was apparently calculating—as has been broadly hinted in the press—that other Arab regimes would actually be pleased to have Iraq knocked down a peg or two. Iraq's relations with the traditionally pro-U.S. regimes of the Arab League have been cool. It would not be surprising, in fact, if Begin's sudden surprise summit meeting with Egyptian President Sadat was, in part, called to inform him that "something was up"—to tell him, as a courtesy, to be prepared to write his statements of "condemnation" in good time.

There has been talk that this raid will further isolate Sadat from other Arab states. But the gamble may be that the longer-term effect will be quite the opposite. Although the Sadat regime in Egypt, signatory to the peace agreement with Israel and slavish bootlicker to the U.S., is "an outcast" in the Arab world and denounced as a traitor regularly at Arab conferences and forums, it has probably not been lost on other Arab regimes that Egypt's own nuclear facilities are still intact, while Iraq's spanking new reactor lies in smoking ruins. A lesson from the U.S. courtesy of its Israeli messenger boy: learn to lick boots like Anwar, and there'll be no problem. Egypt, which has learned to live with U.S. imperialist domination and Israeli regional superiority, is being held up as a model for other Arab countries to learn from, and Iraq, which prefers to flaunt its "anti-Zionist" credentials and spout "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, is being held up as a teacher by negative example.

The impact of the raid on Syria has to be two-fold. On the one hand, Syria is a bitter enemy of Iraq, and doubtless is pleased (despite the obligatory condemnation from Damascus) to see Hussein get bloodied. While Syria's tactics (and main imperialist sponsor) have changed of late, this is still the same regime that a few years back cooperated with the Israelis and their fascist allies in Lebanon at slaughtering Arabs, so any stirrings of noble sentiment of "Arab solidarity" are not likely to cloud the judgment of Syrian President Assad. At the same time, should Syria have

forgotten which imperialist power holds the main chips in the Middle East, the demonstration of Israeli military might certainly was intended as a forceful reminder. Syria has been attempting to throw its own weight around in Lebanon, backed with Soviet weapons and a Soviet friendship treaty. For tactical reasons, the U.S. has restrained Israel from taking out the Syrian missile placements in Lebanon or launching a campaign to boot Syria out of Lebanon altogether. For one thing, the U.S. and the Western imperialists have sufficient leverage and clout within Syria, and enough external means of bringing pressure to bear on Assad, to continue to entertain the possibility of prying Syria away from the Soviet orbit.

Within Iran, as well, the action can be interpreted as having a double-edged impact. The fact that the blow against Iraq took place on the eve of an Iraqi offensive against Iran can be seen as a signal that the U.S. while it could sic the Iraqi dog on Iran, can leash it as well. It is possible that the U.S. was opposed to planned the fresh Iraqi offensive against Abadan which was just getting underway; opposed, that is, because at present the forces that would be unleashed within Iran by such a defeat would not be favorable to the U.S. In this connection it is possible that a blow against Iraq might have been seen as strengthening the hand of the more overtly pro-Western forces within Iran, who have been taking a lot of heat for Iran's own lack of military success. And for Iran, as well as for the Arab regimes, it is also another signal to "get in line," another crack of the whip, another assertion of whose "strategic consensus" it pays to adopt.

This general outline of what the U.S. imperialists are up to in unleashing their Middle East "barking dogs" in the direction of Iraq, boiled down, reveals principally this: the U.S. imperialists, as they are forced to, are attempting to resolve the contradictions facing them as they desperately attempt to bang together a united "anti-Soviet front" principally through the employment of brute force, intimidation and terror tactics—i.e., the grease that turns the wheel of imperialist "patient diplomacy," "peaceful resolution of differences," and the "civilized conduct of international affairs." Furthermore, the move is a gamble, a calculated risk, which may introduce new and unforeseeable contradictions and a new set of "horseflies" for the U.S. but that the strike took place with general U.S. approval, and quite likely, specific approval and cooperation, is inescapably obvious.

The subsequent "sanctions" the U.S. has imposed on Israel tell this tale as clearly as any other piece of evidence. The message sent by the State Department to Congress, informing Congress that Israel "may have violated" U.S. law in using U.S.-supplied weaponry in an "offensive" operation, carried the absolute minimum "penalty": a delay in the delivery of four fighter aircraft. All other military equipment currently in the pipeline to Israel is unaffected. While President Reagan was described, according to a White House statement of June 10th, as "shocked, disturbed, surprised and dismayed," by the Israeli raid, the State Department letter made no mention at all of the earlier "condemnation" and took respectful note of Israel's claim to have acted in self-defense.

Leaks are issuing forth now from various corners of government reporting a supposed "split" within the administration on the question of penalizing Israel for its "misdeeds." William

Safire, in his "hail to the Nuclear Entebbe" article, charges that the Department of Defense is a "hotbed of pro-Arab sentiment in the Reagan administration," and that Defense Secretary Weinberger and his deputy, Frank Carlucci, supported what Safire termed as "proposed betrayal of Israel." This "proposed betrayal," as recounted by Safire, is a list of "harsher" penalties which Weinberger reportedly submitted to the National Security Council, including a cut in economic aid, a suspension of all military equipment deliveries, a demand that Israel submit its nuclear facilities to international observation, a vote to censor Israel at the UN and a call for Israel to compensate Iraq.

What is most likely is that the list of "penalties" Safire refers to is a list of potential options to be considered, accepted or rejected one by one, and not a "package" that "pro-Arab forces" within Reagan's cabinet were pushing for. Even if some forces within the administration are really lobbying for so-called "stronger measures," this reflects for one thing differing assessments of what is required to provide enough diplomatic cover over the U.S. complicity in the raid and to allow the Arab regimes which have been working hand in glove with the U.S. to conceal their own complicity. It may also have been the case that some forces, even fairly powerful ones, did not favor the raid, at least at this time. As we have said, the U.S. is sitting on a powderkeg and every course of action is a gamble. For this reason alone, there are bound to be differences. But then there are differences over almost every important particular policy choice on actions taken by the U.S. these days as it engages in close-quarter combat preparing for war. The fact that this action by Israel may also be the subject of such a dispute makes it no less an action taken on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

Some of these "differences" are clearly simply tactical tricks, aimed at strengthening the overall U.S. position in the area. It is being reported in the press that one so-called "punitive measure" being considered is to supply Saudi Arabia with still more AWACS Command Flash Reconnaissance craft, to fill the supposed "gaps" which ostensibly allow the Israeli jets to pass through Saudi air space undetected. If this is a sample of the wares of the "Arab lobby" within the Reagan administration, how curious it is that these advocates of "Arab interests" come up with proposals that are designed to serve U.S. imperialist strategy in the region. Israel and the Israel lobby in the U.S. are raising howls and anguish about the "penalties" imposed by the U.S.—the temporary delay in the delivery of 4 of the 75 scheduled fighters, 53 of which have already been delivered—basically is a matter of form, in line with the rules of the whole bizarre charade.

Any hired thug knows that the "boss" will deny any knowledge of the "messy jobs" taken care of for him; the boss must maintain his "deniability," that's one of the rules of the gangster trade, understood by all players. It doesn't have to be spelled out. The implication is of the latest demonstrations of U.S. imperialism's "carrot and bludgeon" tactics in the Middle East don't have to be spelled out for any of the parties for whose benefit the show was put on. Submit to U.S. imperialist gangster hegemony, or be crushed—that is the "moral lesson" that the U.S. sent out tiny, vulnerable Israel—just "Tiny" for short—to each its neighbors. □

## A Handsome Pin Cast in Silver

Available for Immediate Delivery

Limited Supplies

\$35

Prepay Orders to:  
RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486  
Chicago, IL 60654



# **New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA**

**Just published—  
May 1, 1981**

These documents contain basic principles and general guidelines for the struggle all the way to worldwide classless society, communism. But from this perspective they are written especially with the immediate situation in mind. This is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day in this country and the whole world.

These documents have been weapons in preparation since March 1980. At that time they were published as drafts for discussion and have been widely circulated. They have since been the subject of debate and discussion both within the Party and more broadly in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*. This process included comments and criticisms from comrades internationally as well. In this way, the drafts have been greatly strengthened, particularly in their proletarian internationalist character. Now, having been approved by the Central Committee of the Party, the final versions have been made public.

These are documents whose vision is worldwide and lofty, and at the same time which pose immediate challenges and give our Party's basic answer to the urgent situation facing the people of the whole world, including the masses of this country. Not only are the problems addressed, but so too are the basic solutions offered by the road of proletarian revolution.

With the publication of these documents, our Party calls on people to take them up and invites individuals and groups broadly to engage in serious discussion with us about them. Write us, meet with us—unite with us to carry them out.



**New Programme and  
New Constitution of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, USA.**

\$3.00 (include \$.50 postage)  
RCP Publications,  
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise  
Mart, Chicago, IL. 60654

## **Also published as a separate pamphlet New Constitution**

*Contains a section on the General Line of the RCP, USA and 11 Articles*

### **What does it mean to join the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA?**

from the New Constitution

Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of

the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

**New Constitution** available separately  
\$.75 (include \$.50 postage)