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Party, U.S.A.

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Massive Roundup of Palestinians in Beirut

U.S./Allies Dig In



U.S. Marine mans position at Beirut International Airport.

As the last U.S. Marines—at least for now—finally disembarked and finished deploying in positions around the city of Beirut last week, Lebanese president Amin Gemayel solemnly proclaimed the Green Line to be “abolished” and the city to be “unified” at a ceremony held near the now famous Museum crossing. On cue, a Lebanese military band launched into a fractured rendition of “Yankee Doodle”—a somewhat gratuitous gesture that reflected not mere ceremony, but cold imperialist reality. Yes, the “peacekeepers” were back in force. Continuing declarations that the single-minded purpose of their Noble Mission was to “stay the hand of violence”, to “tame the feuding factions” etc., stood in sharp contrast to the ensuing scenes of Phalangist goons running wild in the

Palestinian Hamra District of West Beirut only blocks away—dragging people from their houses, herding them into trucks and transporting them to detention centers for “interrogation” by Lebanese intelligence.

In the past two weeks—i.e., ever since the return of the U.S., the French and the Italians—the ugly nature of the “vigorous peacekeeping role” mandated for these imperialist contingents has been all too starkly revealed and more, flaunted. The reign of terror against the Palestinian and Moslem populations of West Beirut is now under direct “international” auspices. In a series of massive raids which are continuing as we go to

press, the Phalangist-run Lebanese army has moved into West Beirut and the refugee camps nearby to arrest thousands of Palestinians, leftist Moslems and other “undesirables” as part of the campaign to “establish the central authority of the Lebanese government.” And to facilitate this whole operation, the U.S.-led international troops have been energetically performing precisely the sort of duties the Israelis performed in Sabra and Shatila only a few short weeks ago.

As the Lebanese army has gone into West Beirut, French Foreign Legion-

naires, along with some Italian forces, have sealed off the targeted area (a 56 block section of West Beirut), stopping and searching vehicles, detaining “suspicious” persons and generally securing the perimeter and protecting the raiders’ flanks while they carried out the arrests. The U.S. Marines have lent their

Continued on page 6

Tylenol: A Sample from Imperialism's Medicine Chest

The government task force investigating the deaths of seven people in the Chicago area who swallowed cyanide-laced Extra-Strength Tylenol had barely been formed before their first conclusion was announced: the drug's manufacturer, McNeil Labs, and its parent corporation, Johnson & Johnson, were absolved from any possible guilt in the

murders. Everyone from Illinois Attorney General Tyrone Fahner, head of the task force, to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), to McNeil Labs and the press declared that the only possible explanation was “a lone madman” running around salting bottles with poisoned capsules.

Why are they so sure? Or, to be more specific, why has every effort been made to limit the scope of the investigation to finding this “lone madman” while downplaying or covering up other cases of contaminated Tylenol in other parts of the

country which cast considerable doubt on this theory? Why have these other cases been declared unconnected or irrelevant to the Chicago murders? Why have the investigators and the press so fastidiously directed the glare of the public spotlight away from the manufacturing process used in the production of Tylenol, a process which includes mixing cyanide with one of three main ingredients of the capsules?

It seems that the investigators have tried very hard to overlook, or is it to obscure and eliminate a very important piece of evidence that should be a starting point for a serious investigation: the pharmaceutical companies' long history of producing drugs that poison, cripple and kill, not only in the U.S. but even

Continued on page 14

From Death Squads to Death Truck

4 Salvadorans Murdered in Texas

The headlines were terse: "Four Illegal Aliens Dead in Truck" — 3 Salvadoran men and one woman, on the very doorstep of the "Land of Freedom," suffocated to death when abandoned by smugglers in the south Texas desert. They had been left to die with twelve other Salvadorans in the rear of a tractor trailer truck, sealed air tight, for nearly 24 hours in the sweltering Texas sun. The coyotes (smugglers) had tried to set some foam on fire in the compartment in order to burn the Salvadorans alive or to consume their oxygen all the more rapidly, but had failed and then left them to die.

"What makes these people do these things?" — the comment of the Texas Border Patrolman who was first on the scene was consistently featured in articles on the murder. "These people" naturally meant the Salvadorans themselves, not the coyotes. Why sure it was a vicious thing the coyotes did, and the U.S. authorities made certain that proper attention was devoted to channeling blame in the direction of smugglers in general — though it is well known that the coyotes generally work with the border authorities and rarely operate outside their channels — at least not for long. But they were not about to pass up the opportunity for attacking the victims themselves: these "illegal aliens" who do these irrational things, and besides, they're breaking the law anyway... everything is said except "so what do you expect?"

The tenor of INS media handling of this incident has stood in marked contrast to the handling of the incident just over a year-and-a-half ago when the media let flow a stream of crocodile tears over the 12 Salvadorans and the Mexican who died of thirst and exposure in the Arizona desert. Few tears this time — just terse, stark descriptions in official-ese: "the illegal aliens were found dead in the truck" — "It wasn't a pretty sight" — pictures of the survivors, "Salvadoran aliens" — no longer is it a "tragedy in the desert," or in fact much of a tragedy of any sort at all. The murders are in fact an opportunity welcomed by the bourgeoisie to spread the terror among immigrants which they have been rapidly escalating in the last year. The shrill calls to "gain control of our borders" have sharpened considerably. A few months ago while a massive media campaign about "illegal aliens stealing Americans' jobs" was launched, Operation Jobs went into gear. It was a wave of repression in immigrant neighborhoods, with INS night raids on homes and jobs, concentration camp-like

holding areas complete with a very visible military presence. On the heels of this calculated trial run have come new legal measures against immigrants, including the beefing up of the INS and the planned use of an ID card system akin to the infamous passbook setup in South Africa. The government routinely denies Salvadoran immigrants political refugee status and deports hundreds monthly, back to the arms of their fascist henchmen in El Salvador. Many are tortured and killed. Along with the coverage of this case, the press has widely and rather matter-of-factly noted that these murders were by no means unique; articles generally observed that there had been several other murders of immigrants coming into south Texas in the past months, including the separate shootings of four Salvadorans and of two Mexicans in the Brazos River area.

Even as the INS and media plainly sounded the theme of "really, this is just what immigrants should expect," the actual hand of U.S. imperialism itself in these murders and many, many murders of Salvadorans was obscured. The same Border Patrolman, obviously a prize catch, was again a media favorite: "Things must be pretty bad over there to make these people go to these lengths to try to get to America." Following hot on the heels of this comment was the *New York Times* short "factual" comment:

"The Central American nation of El Salvador has been torn by a civil war and a poor economy." Why those poor people "over there" with their *internal* problems — but of course the U.S. has nothing to do with that, now does it? On the very day the murders were discovered Salvadoran army troops — not only equipped and advised by the U.S. many of whom were even trained at U.S. army bases — were reported to have conducted their latest massacre, this time of over 500 civilians in a search-and-destroy-style operation. The U.S.-backed death squad regimes have murdered tens of thousands "over there" in El Salvador in the past three years alone.

On top of all this, the changing and contradictory press reports on the details of the murders in Texas may indeed indicate that the hand of the U.S. authorities was directly involved in them. This is entirely possible. Perhaps future developments will tell more about what the involvement of U.S. authorities was in these killings. But the least that can be said of this incident is that one way or another the blood is on the hands of U.S. imperialism. Their direct henchmen and the rats which multiply in the filth of their rule are but partners in the crime — small fry when compared to the butchers who rule this "land of freedom" and oppress the biggest part of the world. □

"Misuse of Flag" Conviction Upheld in Georgia

As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that the Georgia State Supreme Court has upheld the conviction of a local RCP supporter and an Iranian revolutionary on the misdemeanor charge of "misuse of the national flag." The two had been railroaded, convicted and sentenced to the maximum one-year jail term in September of 1980. Since then the case has been on appeal.

The trial and charges had stemmed from a November 29, 1979 demonstration in front of the Atlanta Federal Building in support of the Iranian revolution, a demonstration held at that time to uphold the November 4th seizure by Iranian revolutionaries of the U.S. embassy and its spy-hostages in Tehran. The Atlanta demonstration had been one of a number of actions by revolutionary forces in the United States that had struck a powerful blow at the calls for reactionary national chauvinism spewing

from the mouths of the U.S. government and its puffed-up patriots.

At the time of the arrest there was widespread support for the two, support that the government hoped to intimidate and crush under the weight of the justice system. The conviction and sentencing made the front page of both major Atlanta newspapers as well as local TV spots, as the authorities gloated over their victory and issued a threat to all those who had risen to the challenge of the times in internationalist action.

The recent state Supreme Court decision could mean that the two will be ordered to begin serving their sentence, even while the case is appealed to the federal level. It is interesting to note that the defendants and their supporters found out about this development as the news was covered on an early morning radio show! We will have more on this case next week. □

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Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

EL SALVADORS, AFGHANISTANS, AND WORLD WAR 3

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

World War 3 will be a continuation of El Salvadors and Afghanistans — and of the contention in the Middle East, the Horn of Africa and many other parts of the world between the two imperialist blocs. This is important to understand because there are honest as well as dishonest attempts, and honest and dishonest elements attempting, to separate the two; that is, to separate things like El Salvador and Afghanistan on the one hand, and the potential of a world war or development toward world war, however they see it, between the blocs of East and West, on the other hand. And there are people, both honest and dishonest, who are opposed, for example, to U.S. aggression, domination, interference in El Salvador, just as there was a mass movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. And sometimes these same people are opposed to Soviet intervention and aggression, etc. in Afghanistan and other places. But many of them are at the same time still singing the old tune that "if my country is invaded or really endangered by an aggressor then of course I will defend it." This will translate, even if they haven't consciously made the translation (and many have), but will translate in the real world in any case into, "when the world war comes," and of course, unless it's prevented by revolution it will come, "when world war comes I will defend my country and I will side with the United States of America against the Soviet Union and the Soviet aggressors" (because they will be the aggressors by definition in that situation, if one applies this kind of methodology).

Now it's ironic that even the revisionist Communist Party in the USA continues to run this line. A number of years back Gus Hall was asked what he would do if the Soviet Union invaded the United States and after insisting repeatedly that he couldn't conceive of such a possibility, he finally said, "well of course if my country was actually invaded then regardless of who the aggressor was, or who the invader was, I would defend my country. But of course the Soviet Union wouldn't do that." Now this of course reflects a very sharp contradiction for the Communist Party, a potentially explosive one, that they are in fact trying to carry out within the U.S. itself the historic compromise strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists and their international allies. This is a potentially explosive contradiction because this requires them to be patriotic, and they do attempt to appeal to a social base that is very philistine and patriotic and to reinforce that philistinism and patriotism in the U.S. itself.

But there are others affected by this line who do not owe allegiance to the Soviet Union, its whole international line and international apparatus — which in fact does exist; we don't have to be J. Edgar Hoover or be haunted by J. Edgar Hoover's ghost to know that in fact it does exist. And what we do know, in opposition to J. Edgar Hoover, is that just as in the case of the U.S. and its allies, this is an imperialist set-up which serves imperialist interests on the part of the Soviet rulers and has since the time of Khrushchev. But in any case there are others who don't owe allegiance to this, and who oppose the El Salvadors and the Afghanistans on the part of the imperialists, but who still take the stand that if the U.S. is threatened or invaded, or aggressed against by another power, and of course this means the Soviet Union, then they will defend their country. This is because these people, or many of them, have not broken with and ruptured beyond the bounds of bourgeois democracy and in particular seeing the self-determination of nations or countries, regardless of whether they're imperialist countries or oppressed nations, as being the highest principle to which they adhere. This does lead them at times to take progressive stands in defense of this principle against imperialist domination and imperialist invasion, etc., but it also doesn't enable them to take a basically correct stand in the context of a war between imperialists.

A Rupture Required

And these honest and dishonest elements — the dishonest elements being not only the pro-Soviet revisionist CPUSA but many consciously pro-U.S. imperialist elements who seek to infiltrate and to seize leadership of things like opposition to El Salvador — these dishonest as well as honest elements will however on a monumental question like world war end up in the same place, unless there is, on the part of these honest elements, a rupture with this viewpoint of seeing bourgeois democracy and in fact the right of self-determination regardless of the kind of nation one's talking about, the right of self-determination of nations as an abstract and absolute principle. Of course it's correct to uphold the right of self-determination for oppressed nations who are denied that right, but there is no real question, certainly no progressive content to the notion, of the right of self-determination for imperialist nations because that has been replaced by the question of their right to plunder and oppress and in fact deny self-determination to oppressed nations throughout the world. In fact this is very much at the heart of what the imperialists *do* fight each other over. And this is very much at the heart of what the sharpening rivalry between

the two imperialist blocs is heading toward — a war of redivision of the world, a major part of which will be to see who can control more El Salvadors, Afghanistans, and so on throughout the world as a whole.

World War 3 will be a continuation in that sense of El Salvadors and Afghanistans, will be a continuation of the efforts by the imperialists to exploit and plunder, especially in the third world, and it will be a continuation of the contention between them including as a very important part, the contention over larger spheres of influence and areas of domination in the third world. It will be a continuation of El Salvadors and Afghanistans in that sense, *but* it won't be the same. It won't be the same as U.S. domination over El Salvador and the resistance to that, or Soviet domination in Afghanistan and the resistance to that. It will take the form of and the content will be directly and immediately an inter-imperialist war and the task will be to turn that into a war against imperialism in all the various parts of the world and generally throughout all the countries.

Only, therefore, revolution and a proletarian internationalist position holds the possibility of leading the way forward and has the basis to actually lead the way forward out of this madness. Here a point should be stressed which we've stressed many times before but can't be stressed too many times: everything else, any other approach, reformism in general, disarmament schemes and so on, while they may of course and do in fact draw in many honest people with genuine concerns and the general desire to struggle against the horrors of nuclear war, or against the outrages of imperialist domination in the third world and so on, but ultimately reformism of this kind, disarmament schemes, etc., as a programme and as an overall approach are completely unrealistic.

I'm reminded of what I read in the accounts of the massive anti-nuclear weapons demonstrations that were held in New York City on the occasion of the United Nations conference on nuclear weapons, which of course united many different people with many different outlooks, including many imperialist spokesmen who were unfortunately in the dominant position. But also involved were very large numbers of genuinely concerned and honest people who want to struggle against the danger of nuclear war, even if they don't have a proletarian outlook on the question. I'm reminded of the comments of some of these people quoted in the papers when they said, "after such a massive outpouring the leaders of the various powers, in particular of the United States and the Soviet Union, will have to listen now." Well, the fact is they will listen, but Caspar Weinberger made very clear they will listen only in order to develop better tactics for doing what they recognize they have to do anyway, which is get prepared to redivide the world and prepare therefore to fight a war against the rival imperialist bloc in order to do so. That will also be exactly the response of the leaders of the social-imperialist Soviet Union. They will listen in order to be able to better tactically maneuver in order to line up people on their side in this coming showdown. In other words, it's like the line in the fairy tale, "All the better to eat you with," and this will be the way in which they will adopt various disguises. So this kind of notion is completely unrealistic — the notion that any fundamental change can come about simply by holding massive demonstrations, however much they may genuinely reflect real mass sentiment against the horror of nuclear war and the prospects of such a war and, at least in some aspects, against the imperialist powers responsible for this. However much that may be true, these will not force the imperialists to listen in the sense that it can cause the imperialists to go against their own interests or against the very compulsion by which they are driven to seek a redivision of the world in order to prolong their system and to seek, each of them, to further their interests and to maintain their position in order to keep this system going.

Now this is not, obviously, a pretty picture. What is shaping up in the world is not a romantic, idyllic scene. But again the question is: what in fact is realistic in the face of all this? What in fact can make a qualitative turn in the interests of the great majority of the masses of people in the world and ultimately and fundamentally in the interest of human society as a whole, what is realistic in that sense? What can wrench the future out of all this madness? It is only revolution led by the proletariat and guided by its internationalist outlook that is realistic. This is a question that must be in concrete terms and from many different angles debated and struggled and exposed over and over again to the masses of people who are being drawn into motion against the horrible prospect of nuclear war and against this concentration of what the imperialist system is all about.

So in these imperialist countries — in the United States and the rest of the imperialist countries of its bloc or in the Soviet Union and its bloc — you cannot defend your country without defending El Salvadors, Afghanistans, and so on. And everyone will be put to the test whether or not to stand in fact with imperialism and its Afghanistans and El Salvadors or to rise up against it and move toward abolishing all that, along with the horrors of nuclear war which imperialism has now brought us to the threshold of.

FREE HÜSEYİN BALKIR—RIGHT NOW!

HÜSEYİN BALKIR DOIT ETRE LIBERE IMMEDIATEMENT

HÜSEYİN BALKIR DERHAL FREIGELASSEN WERDEN

LIBERTAD IMMEDIATA PARA HÜSEYİN BALKIR!

SERBEST BIRAKILMALIDIR!

HÜSEYİN BALKIR MUSS SOFORT FREIGELASSEN WERDEN

Letter from Darnell Summers

The following is a letter written by Darnell Summers to the West German and French governments in protest of the arrest and attempted extradition to Turkey of Hüseyin Balkir.

Upon becoming aware of the complicity of NATO members in their latest vicious attempt to extradite a Turkish revolutionary, Hüseyin Balkir, who faces death upon his return to Turkey, it has become crystal clear to me that the German and French governments are engaged in a concerted effort to crush revolutionary struggle and also in the expulsion of revolutionaries into the waiting arms of their government with the end result being imprisonment or death. My own recent experience with extradition proceedings carried out by the Federal Republic of Germany and orchestrated by the U.S. government vividly shows to what extent the Western imperialist bloc will go to railroad revolutionaries. While imprisoned in a Mainz prison for five months I witnessed firsthand the utter sham and hypocrisy of bourgeois justice. I watched while a member of the infamous "Grey Wolves" (a fascist goon squad operating both in Turkey and Germany) walked away from prison a free man, escaping extradition after being accused of having bombed a schoolhouse in Turkey, killing over 100 children. His release was engineered by the same courts which repeatedly and ruthlessly denied every attempt by myself and my attorney to expose the manufactured evidence in my case and also the political vindictiveness of both governments in their efforts to frame me, thus facilitating my extradition. As the "Grey Wolves" bare their fangs and pounce on the immigrant Turkish workers (*gastarbeiter*) implicitly serving the needs of the bourgeoisie to discourage rebellion and ultimately revolution by intimidat-

tion and violence, workers who take a firm internationalist stand challenging not only reaction in their home country but the worldwide plunder of the working class and also say no to war preparations instigated by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, find themselves hunted and tracked down to the ends of the earth with the threat of extermination their constant companion. Hüseyin Balkir, after being granted political refugee status in France and a UN passport, and on top of that having had his Turkish citizenship revoked, entered the Federal Republic of Germany only to have the legal assurances of safe passage stripped away by an arrest warrant signed, sealed and delivered by Interpol (the U.S. bloc's international police agency).

Tens of thousands of Turkish workers, among them a significant number of workers playing a conscious role towards proletarian revolution, rising up in Turkey and West Germany, have inspired revolutionaries the world round. The sheer desperation exhibited by the bourgeoisie in launching this extradition witchhunt to stop revolution from being fomented in Germany and also to prevent the virus of revolution from spreading to and from Turkey clearly illustrates their vulnerability. As in my own case, the constant exposure of the devious schemes to whip their camp in line to promote their plans for World War Three will only fan the flames of rebellion among those they seek to suppress. I demand that Hüseyin Balkir be immediately released. I demand that all extradition proceedings against Hüseyin Balkir be immediately dropped.

Darnell Summers
political prisoner, USA
out on \$75,000 bond

Hüseyin Balkir, a leading revolutionary from Turkey, is being held by the West German government for extradition to Turkey, where he faces death. This is being done despite the fact that Balkir has been given formal status under the United Nations Convention as a political refugee in France; despite the fact that while visiting his parents in West Germany he was traveling under the protection of a UN passport; and despite the fact that the Turkish junta had previously revoked his citizenship. The West German government's persistent refusal to free Balkir regardless of formal protests from Amnesty International, the UN Human Rights Commission and the French government (from whom any real vigorous protest almost certainly would have been heeded) takes place in the context of general attacks in West Germany and France on revolutionaries and the right of asylum. The U.S. government, too, is hardly a disinterested observer, as the recent extradition of Black revolutionary Darnell Summers from West Germany to the U.S. shows, not to mention the fact that it was the U.S. which installed the Turkish junta in the first place.

Already 14 people residing in West Germany have been shipped back into the hands of the junta. At least one of them is known to have disappeared without a trace on his arrival. On September 12, the day before West German authorities arrested Balkir as his train was about to cross the border into France, the Turkish junta announced a list of 76 people living abroad whose arrest the junta demanded. Clearly there is more at stake here than mere West German "obedience" to Turkey's request, since at the same time the West German government is flouting international law which forbids them to extradite Balkir to Turkey.

The internationally-orchestrated plans to deport this alleged member of the TKPM-L (Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist) and the TIKKO (Workers and Peasants Liberation Army) silently and swiftly, at a minimum political cost, have hit a major obstacle — the campaign to free Hüseyin Balkir which is being waged widely in West Germany, France, and across the world. But Hüseyin Balkir is still a prisoner in Cologne. It is vital and urgent to send short telegrams demanding his release to the West German authorities at the address below, copies to the French authorities and to the Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners, as well as to the RW, so that we can appraise and report on the campaign. Postcards, letters, petitions, etc. are also urgently needed. (For more about this case and about Hüseyin Balkir, see RW No. 173).

Oberstaatsanwaltschaft
Reihenspergerplatz
5000 Köln 1,
West Germany

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

Committee in Solidarity with
Political Prisoners
Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 252
4100 Duisberg 11
West Germany
Phone: 0203-407244

GLEN VAN SLYKE
ATTORNEY AT LAW

October 2, 1982

Oberstaatswaltschaft
5000 Köln 1, Reihenspergerplatz
West Germany

Re: Extradition (refoulement) of HUSEYIN BALKIR,
a political refugee, to Turkey

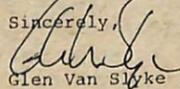
To Whom It May Concern:

As an immigration attorney who has defended the rights of political refugees from Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka and El Salvador here in the United States, I am shocked at the announced plans of the District Attorney of Köln to extradite Hüseyin Balkir to Turkey, a country where he was imprisoned and tortured for 45 days in 1977, which revoked his citizenship in 1981, and which now holds over 150,000 political prisoners.

At the time of his arrest in Aachen on September 13, 1982, Hüseyin Balkir was the holder of a United Nations passport and had been granted political refugee status by the government of France. Since he had used these valid documents to travel to Germany on previous occasions, it is clear that he is neither "a danger to the security" of West Germany nor a "danger to the community" of West Germany. It is equally clear that "his life or freedom would be threatened" in Turkey, since his picture appears on wall posters in Turkey with shoot-to-kill orders, and he is accused in the government-controlled press in Turkey of membership in the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPM-L).

Accordingly, detaining Hüseyin Balkir in West Germany, and attempting to extradite him to Turkey are in clear violation of Articles 26, 28 and 33 of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which your government is a party.

I strongly urge you to refuse the Turkish government's demand for extradition (refoulement) of Hüseyin Balkir and release him from detention immediately so that he may return to France.

Sincerely,

Glen Van Slyke

cc: Ministère des Relations Exterieures
Quai d'Orsay
Paris 7^{ème}, France

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

On October 4, Ben Sasway stood in a San Diego courtroom and, as he had from the very beginning, reiterated his opposition to U.S. militarization, to draft registration and the draft itself. A few minutes later, Sasway became the first man sentenced to federal prison for draft resistance since the Vietnam war — two-and-a-half years in prison. And there isn't even a draft, yet. It hardly takes a crystal ball to imagine the future sentences for such challenges to the U.S.'s necessity.

But using the Sasway case to deliver just that message has been the government's point from the beginning. Ben Sasway is an outspoken resister who sent a letter to President Carter announcing the political and moral grounds on which he was opposed to the draft. (He also made this clear in many other public ways.) Of course, in his trial none of this political evidence was "legally admissible" — it being a simple matter of failing to sign a registration card. After all, as everyone well knows, there really isn't a military draft now, is there? Then, immediately after this legal claptrap had been dispensed with, everybody proceeded to drop the cynical little charade and get down to the matter at hand. Sasway got convicted and the judge immediately sent him to jail without bail. Some blamed this on the "hanging judge" at Sasway's trial, faulty reasoning short-circuited by the federal court of appeals which upheld the ruling, arguing that Sasway "would very likely continue to advocate a subversion of this country's judicial process in this matter which goes to the heart of the national interest." The prosecutor chimed in with a post-trial statement for network TV, hoping that "when other individuals see that we are prosecuting these cases and that we are going to enforce the law, it will provide an incentive for them to register." Now, two-and-a-half years in prison — an added "incentive."

The occasion of sentencing provided the opportunity for a new round of messages delivered by the U.S. Attorney. In arguing for a jail term, he first made the point that this was "a contest between man and the system... deciding who it is who makes the final decision..." Now that Sasway was safely convicted, his politics were once again suitable for reintroduction into the court proceedings. "The defendant's actions in this case have been widely perceived as being based on a moral stand. In fact, what we are seeing here is a political stand. His actions have been motivated by his political beliefs about a draft, and what happens after that." It would seem that political opposition to "what happens after that" is a very serious matter these days.

But the government has not only gone after those whose opposition is on clearly political grounds. The first person convicted for refusing to register, Enton Eller, did so on religious grounds, as did Mark Schmucker, a Mennonite who was convicted in Cleveland shortly after Sasway's sentencing. Significantly, the Mennonites have been one of those

groups that has been automatically granted Conscientious Objector status in the past, not only during Vietnam, but even World War 2! In other words, it is being made patently clear that no opposition of any kind will be tolerated.

In the case at hand, for example, Sasway has refused to knuckle under. If the judge thought that 40 days in jail would soften up the 21-year-old college student, he was rudely awakened by Sasway's reiteration of his refusal to cooperate at the time of sentencing. Most likely, all the officials had already realized that Sasway wouldn't crack. In fact, both the prosecutor and the judge didn't even bother to order Sasway to register (as was done in the Enton Eller case) because, as the U.S. Attorney later said, "It would have been futile."

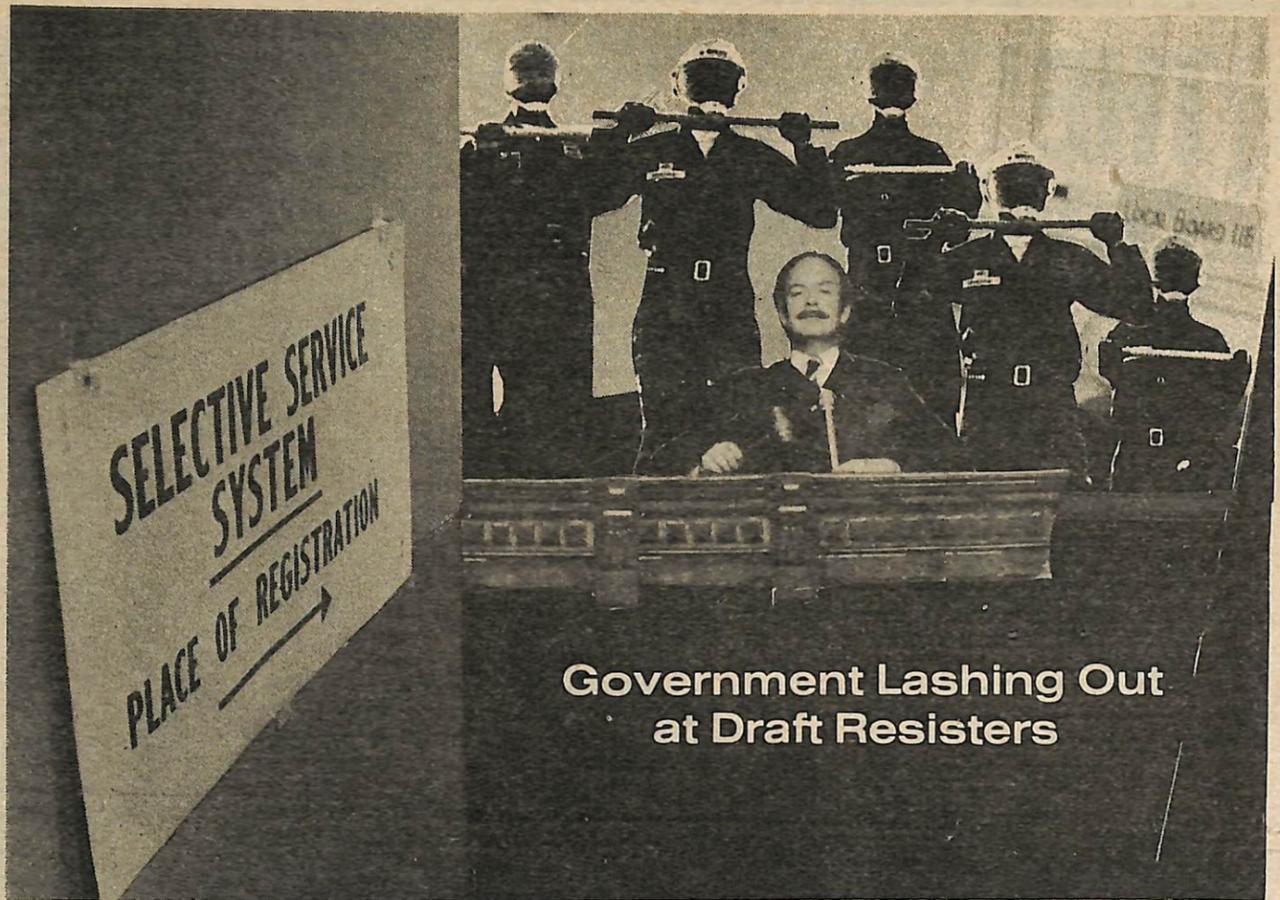
There does seem to be a very concerted effort, however, to downplay the significance of Ben Sasway's stand, and by extension, that of many others. For example, the Selective Service Administration chose the day of Sasway's sentencing

to proclaim that the compliance rate for registration had been climbing over the past several months, and was now all the way up to a whopping 94.2%, with "more than 170,000" who had originally failed to sign up now having done so. This "hot news" story somehow became a companion piece for every TV and newspaper report on the Sasway sentencing. Left not so emphasized was the fact that 500,000 are still officially admitted to have refused, while government sources privately admit that there are about a million young men who haven't complied. Also not publicized at this time was the recent admission by Selective Service that they have a new problem: millions of those who have registered have since moved and failed to notify the proper authorities. And there was one item that none of the major media would touch at all. It seems that another San Diego youth, inspired by Ben Sasway and angered at the sentence, "went public." He held a press conference to read a letter he had just sent to the government stating

that he had been in violation of the draft law for two years, and had no intention of signing up, now or ever.

It is, of course, quite possible that there have been more sign-ups since the government began to lash out. The fielding of a massive imperialist army is not something the bourgeoisie takes lightly. The coercive power of the state will increasingly be brought to bear. And combined with this, world developments as a whole will dramatically effect the tenor and mood. The sudden jolt of some regional skirmish, for example — or the outbreak of world war itself — could obviously be extremely coercive.

But this — the stakes involved here — actually serve to underscore the fact that the one million current disobedient non-registrants (and the section of the more politically aware among these) are hardly a healthy sign for a ruling class driven toward inter-imperialist war. □



Government Lashing Out at Draft Resisters

Sasway Sentenced to 2-1/2 Years

"Don't You Ever Forget What America Did To Them"

Dear RW,

I have been reading the articles in the RW about the Indochinese refugees with great interest and thought I would write in an incident which happened in San Jose, California.

Recently the city opened up applications for federally funded housing subsidies. Since they haven't been taking any applications for two years, many people have been desperately waiting for this opportunity to apply. 1600 appointments for these applications were opened up and the Housing Authority had told people to call in (do not come in, they warned) on the morning of July 19, 1982, and they would get an appointment to make application for the grants. On July 19, upon calling the Housing Authority, people found out that the telephones were down. After continuing to call for hours, people got fed up and just went down to the Housing Authority offices.

When I got there I found about 400

Vietnamese and other Indochinese refugees and 50-100 other people, mainly Black and a few Hispanic. The Housing Authority told people to go back home and continue calling because eventually the phones would be working, however, of course there was no guarantee that you would get an appointment. In addition, the hundreds of immigrants from Indochina had come down and already been given appointments. (I would dare to speculate that the Housing Authority had told them to come down for appointments because they couldn't or wouldn't deal with the language problems on the phone.)

Of course all of this made for a pretty nasty contradiction between the people, particularly the Blacks and the refugees. A few more backward Black women targeted the refugees as the enemy in the course of struggling with the petty bureaucrats of the Housing Authority: "How come Nguyen Van Troi and his twelve kids gets an appointment

and we don't, they're not even American citizens and we are." Of course this was done by mimicking people's names and accents, etc. The Housing Authority bureaucrats were gloating in this backward nonsense, and the struggle became pretty heated. . . .

In the midst of all this with the press and everyone there, up stepped an older Black woman in her 60s, with a brace around her neck. "Just a minute," she said as she began to speak to the other women. "Do you know what this country did to these people and their land? They sent in 1/2 a million soldiers, they raped the women and murdered and maimed over a million of their people, men, women and children. They destroyed their land, so they couldn't grow food and farm like they had done for generations. They forced these people from their homeland in tiny rickety boats, many dying and families torn apart never to see each other again. That's what this country, the U.S. government did to these

people, it is no wonder that they are standing here, and you should be ashamed of yourselves ridiculing them. What you say about them is the same kind of trash that racists say about Black people, that we have lots of children and are looking for a handout. These people are our brothers and sisters and don't you ever forget it, or what America did to them." And then she stepped back. You could have heard a pin drop, for the silence that fell over the crowd, and then people began whispering and talking to each other. "She's right," over and over again people said to each other, as they continued talking to each other about what she had said. . . .

One final note: while the *San Jose Mercury* reported on all the bullshit that went on not one word was printed about this incident.

A supporter in San Jose

THE SOVIET UNION

A Call for a Debate:

Socialist or Social-Imperialist?



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

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

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

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

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

Beirut

Continued from page 1

assistance as well though publicly it has been kept low-key.

Only two weeks after the Sabra/Shatila massacre, and the cynical U.S. "outcry" which followed it, the imperialist peacekeepers are now presiding over the roundup of several thousand Palestinians *right in the same Sabra and Shatila camps* as well as in the Burj al Barajneh camp nearby.

The round-ups have been described in the press as "the biggest show of force yet by the newly re-grouped Lebanese army." What is meant here, of course, by "re-grouped" is that Gemayel is indeed carrying out his promise to "disband and disarm" the Christian militias—i.e., by issuing them Lebanese army uniforms and magically transforming them into "impartial" and "independent" Lebanese government troops. Reports noted that newly "reintegrated" Phalangist units spearheaded the operation and were the most "energetic" in whisking people off to the government's detention centers as the "peacekeeping" forces waved them through. How appropriate—first the Israelis level West Beirut and direct and protect the Phalangists in carrying out the Sabra/Shatila massacre; then they defer to the U.S.-commanded imperialist forces who themselves direct and protect the "newly re-grouped" Lebanese army in carrying out mopping up operations—i.e., more roundups, beatings, tortures, and "disappeared" persons.

One Palestinian, who was detained, described his experience during one of the raids, which observers on the scene noted were directed not so much at particular individuals but indiscriminately and at random: "I showed my U.N.R.W.A. card (official UN documents which have given Palestinian refugees legal status in Lebanon since 1948—RW) but they said come with us. We went to a gas station where others were being rounded up and were blindfolded by having shirts tied around our eyes. . . . The soldiers shoved and said 'bastard Palestinians, dirty Palestinians' . . . Blindfolded we walked in a line with a hand on the shoulder of the man in front and were clubbed from time to time with rubber truncheons. . . (after interrogation) I was sent to a room full of people to bursting. We could barely stand. I was kept there three days. . . no bread, no cigarettes, only water. . ." Death threats, he said, abounded and many persons arrested were "missing." Lebanese officials stoutly denied that

the raids, which they insisted were only "identity checks" were aimed at Palestinians. Moslem leader Shafik al-Wazzan, who while accepting Gemayel's request to stay on as Prime Minister the day before had declared that "as our Arab brothers they (the Palestinians) can have special status" and that "a Lebanese government agency will continue to deal with all Palestinian questions", now shrieked that the government agency in question—i.e., the reconstituted Lebanese army—was merely ferreting out "illegal aliens, convicted criminals and persons whose papers were not in order." Interesting euphemisms, and a "special status" indeed, particularly considering that the raids came in the wake of further reports being floated in the press about a "Lebanese government plan to expel or force out all but 50,000 of the estimated half a million Palestinians in the country (one variation of these reports has it that all Palestinians will be relocated in new camps near the Bekaa Valley and other areas on Lebanon's periphery).

With the Israelis now out of the picture in West Beirut and the official stamp of approval bestowed on Gemayel's storm-troopers by the "peacekeepers", it is hoped that from now on such activities can be facily described as a "purely Lebanese" operation.

Just how wide the scope of such "purely Lebanese" operations could possibly become was apparent in reports that the Lebanese government is now "urging" American officials to expand the territory controlled by the Marines and that the U.S. was duly "considering" this request. This is naturally being couched in terms of the Gemayel government's desire to see more "restraint" imposed on the activities of Israeli forces (by their own imperialist sponsors, of course)—part and parcel of keeping up the ludicrous appearance of U.S.-Israeli "differences" as a reason for expanding the direct U.S. role in Lebanese affairs. The heights of such cynical pretense and the guffaws capable of being provoked by it were revealed in one press commentary last week which stated: "The Lebanese, (American) officials said, want the Americans to take positions on both sides of the north-south road leading to Baabda—and to patrol it—to harass, psychologically but not militarily, the Israelis moving up and down that highway. The Americans have said they are reluctant to take such action, which could put the Marines in military conflict with the Israeli army." A spokesman for the Israeli High Command quickly assuaged any U.S. "fears", remarking in

his best dead-pan: "We do not expect to fight the Marines."

Whether or not the intention is to go through with a massive expulsion of Palestinians, the raids are nevertheless an integral part of the process by which the U.S. and its puppet Gemayel are moving, in the words of one news report, "to swiftly restore some of Lebanon's shattered institutions and with them public confidence in his (Gemayel's) leadership." Among Gemayel's achievements cited in this regard are "the reinstatement of capital punishment and revival of the country's judicial apparatus after years of chaotic gunbarrel rule. He now plans to create a rapid deployment force of soldiers and police for internal security emergencies." No chaos or gunbarrels here. Just a permanent "internal security emergency" that must be dealt with to bolster the confidence of a grateful Lebanese citizenry! These measures and the latest raids, along with the fact that many Lebanese masses are being arrested along with the Palestinians, highlight the stubborn fact that in the process of restoring "peace and stability" to Lebanon the U.S./Israeli/Phalangist juggernaut is confronted at every turn by a decidedly hostile population that can only be dealt with by tried and true imperialist methods of terror.

According to U.S. Shuttlemaster, Phillip Habib—and, if anyone, Habib should know—the three nation peacekeeping force and the Lebanese security forces now have "a joint program of restoring some degree of law and order through the Lebanese authority." However, given the rather blatant and brutal nature of the roundups, it was deemed necessary to once again stress imaginary "differences." This variation on a by now well-played theme was run out after the raids had already gone on for a week and a half as the ambassadors of the U.S., France and Italy expressed "concern" that the raids were being aimed at Palestinians and that those detained were being "poorly treated." Why, Italian troops were even being forced to stop Lebanese troops from beating one Palestinian! The honorable ambassadors were promptly reassured by Lebanese authorities that the searches were only "part of the effort to re-establish order in Beirut"—oh, OK—and Gemayel ceremoniously declared that four Lebanese soldiers were being "severely disciplined." As the *NY Times* wryly explained, "One State Dept. official said that with Mr. Gemayel due to meet with Mr. Reagan in Washington on Oct. 19, it was important that the Lebanese govern-

ment not be seen as ruthlessly disregarding the plight of the Palestinian homeless in its country."

Of course, "re-establishing order"—and not only in Beirut—has been a key U.S. objective. These imperialists have accomplished the evacuation of the PLO from Beirut and forced the capitulation of Arafat and other PLO leaders (who have remained so far rather silent about recent developments in the Lebanese capital). At the same time, the U.S. actions in Lebanon have been aimed at securing a more general U.S. "peace" in the region—in other words, a Camp David type "settlement" between Arab regimes and Israel, including the notorious Black September "Palestinian autonomy" plan—in preparation for world war against its Soviet imperialist rivals.

But such U.S. achievements by no means preclude the possibility of further fighting and it is also a fact that much unfinished work remains to be done if the U.S. is to really knock together its Middle Eastern "strategic consensus" on the terms it requires. Attention is now being turned to the Bekaa Valley and last week there was a flurry of U.S. diplomatic shuttling designed to explore the question of whether it is possible to negotiate the "withdrawal of foreign (translation: Syria and the PLO) forces" or whether other means will be necessitated. There have been Israeli claims of movement by the PLO units from northern Lebanon as well as evacuated PLO fighters from Syria going into the Bekaa Valley and reports that the Soviets have been replenishing Syria's destroyed weapons stocks with more sophisticated models. Meanwhile, according to some sources, the Israelis have increased their forces (most of which are now squared off against the Bekaa) in Lebanon to 90,000 and have replaced most reservists with battle seasoned veterans in preparation for a winter offensive.

The high level meetings of Secretary of State Shultz and Habib last week with Syrian officials underlined that Syria's attitude will be a key factor in determining how the "withdrawal of foreign forces" question is handled and that U.S. "offers that can't be refused" are being unceremoniously dropped on the table. As of this writing, Syria has reiterated its willingness to withdraw simultaneously with Israel, but has said it "can't influence the PLO." There is, however, ample precedent for Syrian cooperation in "influencing" the PLO (e.g., in the 1976 civil war in Lebanon when they joined Israel in attacking the PLO). In the present situation, simply withdrawing

Continued on page 7

There is yet another side to the U.S./Israeli barbarity in Lebanon. It has come out that before the Israeli troops withdrew from West Beirut, they thoroughly ransacked the Palestine Research Center, the official repository of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the location of the most thorough chronicle of the Palestinian struggle. The director of the research center, Dr. Sabry Jiryas, reported that the Israeli troops took away its entire library of 25,000 volumes in Arabic, English and Hebrew. They also took its printing press, computer, microfilms, manuscripts, diaries and other archival documents; then they smashed up what was left. Explosives were used to blow open the safe to get at the most sensitive material. They also broke into the Institute for Palestine Studies, a private research center, which publishes the *Journal of Palestine Studies*. There the Israelis took several publications as well as the official stamp of the Institute. Both institutions had diplomatic immunity.

The *RW* talked to someone who had just returned from Beirut. He told of seeing Israeli troops coming out of the Palestine Research Center loaded with books. He walked up to them and demanded to know what was going on. We are removing "terrorist documents," he was told. An Israeli officer added, they are "one of the fine prizes of the war."

The Palestine Research Center, whose contents were seized in almost their entirety, contained the world's largest single collection on Palestine. Besides simply the gathering of such a tremendous amount of material in one place, much of the contents taken by the Israelis was irreplaceable, unique documents from Palestinians and others. A great deal of it had been smuggled out of Israel at great danger.

What did the "terrorist documents" consist of? No doubt much of them will be turned over to Israeli intelligence for a first appraisal. For besides the books which are accessible publicly there were files and diaries which the Israeli authorities have never had an opportunity to examine before and which are obviously useful to Zionist political police and other imperialist agents like those in Egypt and Jordan. Some of the most valuable booty will also be the collection of land deeds and other land-related documents that had been deposited at the Center. Indis-

pensable to the creation and subsequent expansion of Israel was the "disinheriting" of the Palestinian people, their expulsion from the land; for they owned and controlled the vast majority of land throughout the territory now constituting Israel. As the Palestinians were driven off — through terror like the Begin-led Irgun massacre at Deir Yassin, or through the later "legal" means used to disqualify Palestinian land-owners and turn the land over to the Israeli state — Palestinian refugees, beginning in the mid-60s, deposited records of the holdings in what became the central archives at the Center. But the value of these documents goes beyond the question of who is really entitled to what parcel of land. For with the seizure of Palestine in '48 the Israelis set out to systematically wipe out the Palestinian character of the country — changing names of cities and towns, churning out new maps and history texts with the areas redone to reflect Zionist claims. It is this which is more fundamentally challenged by the Center's historical records.

Even before the establishment of the Israeli state in '48, Zionism had sought to create and nurture the myth that Palestine was "a land without a people" for "a people without a land." In the late '60s, Golda Meir, then Prime Minister of Israel, stated that "It was not as though there were a Palestinian people and we

came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." Of course, this reasoning has been somewhat transformed in past years, and especially in recent months. Changing imperialist necessity dictates the brand of recognition of the "Palestinian problem" exhibited now in Lebanon — a combination of merciless butchery and cynical imperialist negotiations which addresses and manipulates this "problem" in accordance with the advancing of Western interests in the region. At the very moment the Israelis were raiding the Research Center, it is quite likely that some U.S. official was droning on about "legitimate Palestinian rights," given the frequency of such statements recently.

The "fine prize" of which the Israeli officer spoke was the bits and pieces of the heart and soul of the Palestinian people. They had already lost their land; they had already been scattered to the winds by the sword of the imperialists; and now even as more brutal massacres and expulsions take place, they also witness this atrocity against their culture. Stolen or destroyed were diaries that captured the flavor of the life of prior generations, literature and music expressing the spirit of a people. One Middle East specialist with whom the *RW* spoke told of a Palestinian professor who had one of the largest personal libraries in existence at his

home in Beirut, including the history of his family captured in documents down through the years. It was firebombed during the Israeli occupation.

The accumulated memory which the Israelis have attempted to eradicate is one written in the fiery language of resistance to imperialist oppression. Contained in the Center archives were not only documents from the diplomatic efforts that took place surrounding the establishment of the Israeli state and which contribute to an understanding of the imperialist maneuvering concerning that, but also the story of the origins and development of the Palestinian resistance itself: newspapers, statements of the various organizations on the questions posing themselves before the resistance, speeches, diaries of figures involved in the movement. In short, there was much of the history of the resistance which is invaluable for summing up its lessons not only to further advance the Palestinians' fight but for the world revolutionary movement as well.

These Palestinian archives were not a mere academic documentation, but a concentration of the spirit of an oppressed people. All oppressors try to deny that such a spirit threatens them, and indeed, that such a spirit even exists. But the Israelis, through their criminal raid, proved exactly the opposite. □

Israelis Ransack Palestine's Past

Continued from page 6

from the Bekaa may prove to be more in line with Syrian interests as well as the better part of valor. But if President Assad and his Soviet advisors decide there is something to be gained by resisting, it will serve the U.S. just as well to unleash its Israeli attack dogs to teach him a lesson in current Middle East realities and perhaps, in the process, prompt a more sober Syrian assessment of the wisdom of its Soviet connection. In this light, one aspect of the return of the U.S.-led international force and its overseeing of the suppression in Beirut and surrounding area has been to free up the IDF to better deploy itself for precisely such a development, as well as to consolidate its stretched out forces and better police areas it already holds.

Certainly the triumphal re-entry of the U.S. Marines, et al., has amply demonstrated the U.S. need for a direct military presence in Lebanon to get the job done right. And more is riding on the presence of the U.S. Marines et al. than only the outcome of events in Lebanon. As yet another former Carter administration official, Robert Hunter (now a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Institute for Strategic Studies) put it last week:

"We had no choice but to be actively engaged (in Lebanon)... Part of that was to get the American people used to the idea that we might deploy forces abroad in support of our interests where there might be a danger to those forces.

"There was an awareness that's not just shared by this administration that many countries have been taking us less seriously because we have become so hesitant about the deployment of forces since Vietnam."

Secretary of State Shultz further clarified the basic principles involved in his Address on World Problems to the UN last week. After railing on generally about the Soviet adversary and the threat of war he turned specifically to the immediate matter at hand: "All of us have



One of the camps where Palestinian prisoners are being held, near Nabatiyeh.

witnessed in the past several months a graphic reminder of the need for practical peace negotiations in the Middle East... This most complex of international conflicts cannot be resolved by force... nor can it be settled by the rhetoric of even the most carefully worded document. It can only be resolved through the give and take of direct negotiations leading to the establishment of practical arrangements on the ground."

Indeed, the events in Lebanon over the past few months have been a graphic reminder of the actual relationship between imperialist force and imperialist negotiations (though Shultz did his best to muddle things around). The Israelis, and now with the latest raids the U.S. imperialists themselves, have been directly attending to practicalities "on the ground." These have already given rise to "the give and take of negotiations" and, it is now being predicted, is also convinc-

ing the Syrians, and hopefully the PLO forces remaining in Lebanon, of the urgent "need" for a negotiated withdrawal. If not, we can expect yet more "practical arrangements" to be made on the ground, in the air and, perhaps, at sea, if it is deemed necessary to bring in still more "peacekeeping forces." In any case, this time Yankee Doodle and a variety of other imperialist dandies will be only a strut, and a shot, away. □



At crossroads squatters' camp

Robben Island, the desolate and notorious island prison located off the Cape coast of South Africa, has been used by the apartheid settler regime for decades as a dungeon for black Azanian political prisoners. The ranks of the prisoners swell with each new upsurge of the Azanian people. Together with the army and police, and numerous schemes such as the bantustan reservations and the whole apartheid set-up, Robben Island has been one of the chief weapons used by the South African regime as they attempt to squash the struggle in Azania. Over the years many hundreds of Azanian revolutionaries have been condemned to spend the better part of a lifetime, and oftentimes a whole lifetime, in the cells of Robben Island. The RW was recently able to speak with an Azanian revolutionary, a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), who had been locked up on the island for 15 years for his political activities with the PAC. The brother was arrested as an 18-year-old high school student and was released after serving his full sentence in 1978 at the age of 34. Excerpts from our interview follow.

I served 15 years for PAC political activities. It was during 1963, during the crackdown in 1963, that I was arrested. We were arrested at Hilbron High School, around Pretoria, which was one of the schools known for political activities. During the '60s, from 1959 up to the formation of the PAC and after, there was an intensified campaign to organize students for the PAC and most of the political activity going on was in the high schools. In particular, we had Kilnerton High School in the Transvaal which was one of the real kernels of Pan-Africanism during those days. We had another high school, Hofmeyer High School, in Atteredgville around Pretoria where a lot of PAC political activities were going on. We also had the Orlando High School in Soweto.

During those years, as you might know, the ANC (the pro-Soviet African National Congress — RW) and the PAC were both banned after the proclamation of the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960. These two organizations were ban-

ned and most of the leaders, Mangaliso Sobukwe, then president of the PAC, P.K. Leballo (also of the PAC — RW) and many others were imprisoned for the Sharpeville Shooting/Pass campaign thing. Well, despite the banning of the organizations there was still a lot of political activity going on and one of the biggest emphases of the PAC was the intensified campaign of organizing. And as I said, most of the organizing started in the high schools and, of course, extended into the rest of the African community....

In 1962 the PAC, among other things, extended its campaign outside South Africa by sending people for military training. And at the same time, we had the Paarl riots where the PAC members were already involved in physical confrontation with the South African police. The Paarl riots were activities of the PAC which started around the 16th of November, 1962. One could regard those who were involved as the most revolutionary or militant forces of the PAC. Many of them were shot. I remember around 50 to 60 of them were killed, although the subsequent police report said that only 7 people were killed. Also in 1962, a Commission of Inquiry was set up... basically meant to target the PAC because all over, the Western Cape in particular, and in the Transkei, there was a lot of Poqo (PAC's military arm — RW) activity going on. This commission was established with the intention of focusing attention on the PAC and if possible completely destroying it. Information was laid before this commission that Poqo was the military wing of the PAC and that its nerve center was in Maseru (a city in Basutoland, now Lesotho, where PAC headquarters in exile was located — RW) where P.K. Leballo was and that instructions for some attacks were coming from Maseru. In 1963 part of the commission's report was that the PAC was in fact intensifying its campaign around the Cape, the Western Cape and portions of the Eastern Cape, and was existing in the Transvaal, around Pretoria, around Johannesburg as well as other portions of the country.

It was, in part, this commission which

contributed to an intensified campaign by the police to try to eradicate the PAC and the Poqo military wing. The South African police were working hand in hand with the Basutoland police, Lesotho was called that at the time. Although the South African government denied the fact that they were working hand in hand, the South African police were in Lesotho to eliminate or get rid of PAC refugees there. The other thing that came up at the time was that there was a list of almost 10,000 people which was found at PAC headquarters in Lesotho and which was given to the Security Branch of the South African police. That is one of the things which made members of the PAC suspect that the South African police had a definite hand in various bomb attacks on P.K. Leballo and on the PAC headquarters in Lesotho.

But in spite of this, a lot of organizing was continuing. It was also the intended purpose of the PAC to start the armed struggle in 1963. With the crackdown in 1963, the government started picking up a lot of people. They had among other things a list of cell members in various places around Pretoria, Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Durban — so they started picking up people they knew. And of course, the other thing, in this crackdown the South African government had to employ a lot of police informers who worked hand in hand with them, who could spy on people. It was in the same period when the Minister of Justice introduced the so-called 90 days detention act. Even throughout the moving of this bill, he emphasized why it was necessary for him to be granted new powers with this new bill — that among other things PAC was constituting a threat, spreading what he referred to as racial hostility in South Africa and that it must be destroyed.

It was during that time that I was arrested together with 40 to 50 other PAC members at Hilbron. I was a student there. I was 18 at the time. We were arrested about the 23rd of March and of course we were held in Pretoria. In Pretoria we were the fourth group to be arrested.... We were detained under the

Criminal Procedure Act which demands that once a person is arrested he must be brought as soon as possible before a court of law. Now, by "as soon as possible" is meant that it be immediately after he is arrested, that is, within a period of 24 hours. But we were arbitrarily kept and we were remanded in our cells, never brought formally to court. And at the same time, the Minister of Justice, P.J. Dorster, was coming up with the 90 days detention act, firstly to detain people who were suspected of being involved in political activities and to hold them for as long as possible incommunicado.... And among other things, in anticipation of the release of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in 1963, there was another clause which P.J. Dorster was trying to bring about. That was detaining people for preventive purposes... and this even applied to those people who had already completed their prison sentences. I remember one parliamentary debate where he was asked who in particular he had in mind. He said, he had Sobukwe in mind and that he intended to keep Sobukwe in jail until this side of eternity; it was understood that he would be kept indefinitely. (Sobukwe was finally released in 1969 after serving 7 years in solitary — RW.)

We were subjected to torture by the South African police. The other thing which was evident was that there was strong opinion from the minister himself that the purpose of this 90-day suspension was to make people talk. You wouldn't be released until you had satisfactorily answered the questions of the interrogators. With me in particular they used two methods. The one method was the shocking method. What they do is they take you and you have to take off all of your clothes and then they put you in the bathroom, 6 or 7 at a time. When you are wet you come out. You are not supposed to dry yourself off and then they tie a stick around your hands and they handcuff you. Then they get you in a crouching position and they have set up a generator with electrical appliances which they attach to your handcuffs and they start generating electricity — when you lose consciousness they untie you and drag

Interview with Azanian Fighter

15 Years on Robben Island — 15 Years of Revolution

you back into the bathroom and pour water all over you, which makes it much more painful. The other method was to be interrogated by a different set of interrogators. You stand there naked, exposed and cold, and they question you. If there are two sets of interrogators, one questions you for three or four hours and then they leave and the other comes in and so on. You are virtually kept awake. You are not allowed to go and relieve yourself.

First of all what they wanted to know during those days was whether you were involved in the activities of the PAC. Well, most of us denied this, we felt that it was not for us to prove ourself guilty or to admit anything. But the greatest emphasis was on withholding information. But like always when you are a group we had some of the people cracking down because of what was done, but the majority of us didn't break.

This was our treatment for the full 90 days all the time, any time. They kept threatening us with death, saying that the state had given them all the rights, all the power — "We must beat you up until you tell the truth." One lieutenant used to put

it very simply; he used to say that the purpose of the investigation was to break our morale and if they couldn't break our morale, they would break our necks. . . .

The youngest of us at that time was Ernest Moseneke, he was the youngest, one of the youngest PAC members. He was a cell leader and the police really tried to break him. He was constantly kept under threat by the police. I remember when there was a time when he was so swollen up that even I personally didn't know him until one of the other guys said to me, "You see that guy?" I said "yeah," and he said that that was Moseneke. He was the youngest, at that time he was 15 or 16. He was with the Atteridgeville group. We also had Japhta Masemola, who is presently serving life. He was one of the dedicated members of the PAC since 1958, he was also one of the people who was terribly tortured by the Security Branch.

In our case, the Hilbron case, we were charged under the General Law Amendment Act, the so-called Sabotage Act. We were 15 who were brought before the Supreme Court in Pretoria and we were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the

South African government, conspiring to overthrow the South African government by force and with being members of the Pan-Africanist Congress, a banned organization. We were also charged with attempting and even conspiring to murder the authorities at the Hilbron High School and constituting an embarrassment to the South African government. The first accused was Make Malede. He was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. Seven of us were sentenced to 15 years in prison and the rest 10 years.

After our conviction we were mixed with the other groups from Pretoria who were convicted. In the first group, the Atteridgeville group, Japhta Masemola was sentenced to life imprisonment and John Nkosi was also sentenced to life imprisonment. They were charged with conspiracy to violently overthrow the South African government, and, among other things that they had obtained bombs from the South African Defense Force, stealing bombs of military range. And, of course, we were also with the Mamelodi group. (Mamelodi is a Soweto type township near Pretoria — *RW.*) In the Mamelodi group three people were sen-

tenced to life imprisonment — all of them are still in Robben Island. They had similar charges but worse still, they were charged with hijacking a state vehicle which contained dynamite. . . . It was later, in late July, that we were transferred to Robben Island Prison. During those days we were transported by what they call "escort trucks." They were extremely cold. It was winter in South Africa, very, very cold, and we were each given a blanket, and a half a loaf of bread as our provisions. We were taken by surprise, around 2:00 in the morning, just taken and thrown into the trucks and driven off. It was a whole morning's drive and a whole day's drive with one rest station . . . we had our meals and slept at the rest station with the handcuffs and shackles on. Early in the morning, the same time, about 2:00 or 3:00, we left and drove to Capetown, and from there we took a boat to the island. . . .

Robben Island is basically meant for holding South African political prisoners. In 1963 in particular, there were "Verkampte" Afrikaners who saw to it that we were kept under constant torture,

Continued on page 10



Soweto, February 1977 — students burn their books and boycott their exams.

Robben Island

Continued from page 9

with all of the authorities endorsing the whole thing. We were subject to torture, beatings, hard work. The more vicious warder (prison guard — RW) seemed to win the most favor from the authorities. The conditions were inhuman — Robben Island is very cold and we were not even given sufficient clothing or blankets or even sheets. The first thing you get is a shed and trousers and that's all. We didn't have sufficient food and what there was could be easily taken away. Any warder could grab your dish at any time or take you to the chief warder and come up with a false charge against you. The most popular charges which the warders preferred were "being disobedient" or "refusing to work" or "refusing a lawful order." I remember we had Johnson Mlanbo who didn't want to communicate in Afrikaans with the warders. The warders didn't approve of anyone speaking English. All communication was supposed to have been in Afrikaans. So many of the political prisoners on the island — some coming from rural areas and who had never even heard Afrikaans, had never been in school and couldn't communicate in either Afrikaans or English and only spoke Xhosa or Sutu or Zulu — even they were forced to speak in Afrikaans. . . . We were always beaten up by these warders. In particular there were these three brothers who were quite notorious. They used to use the ordinary common law prisoners to supervise the political prisoners — this supervision meant that they were used to beat us up, victimize us, force us to have acts of sodomy. These three warders used to choose some of the youngsters among us to be raped by the common law prisoners . . . if you complained you were taken to isolation and assaulted again . . . They told us that since we were soldiers we shouldn't expect to be treated as humans by the enemy. . . .

Johnson Mlanbo was a classic example. He was beaten up by the common law prisoners and then the three brothers, the warders, dug a deep hole and stuck him in it with only his head sticking out of the sand. Then they urinated in his mouth and called it "Russian vodka" because the Boers believe that any peasant that is a political prisoner is a communist, and communists must be given inhuman torture. . . .



Streetfighting in Soweto.

These were the normal conditions on Robben Island. With the arrest and imprisonment of more and more Azanian revolutionaries over the years, resistance to these barbaric conditions began to grow. Hunger strikes were launched and international attention was focused on this dungeon of the apartheid settler state. Even the Red Cross was forced to visit the prisoners on the island and "investigate" their grievances. Among their demands the prisoners included: an end to the classification of political prisoners into four different categories with varying sets of privileges and recognition of all political prisoners as such; an end to the torture and beatings; that the most barbaric of the guards be removed; that the prisoners be given sufficient clothing, shelter and food. After a while the Red Cross announced that they were working on what they called a "gentlemen's agreement" with the South African government. In the fashion of true imperialist gentlemen, this agreement stipulated that the South African rulers would take into account the "recommendations" of the Red Cross while the Red Cross would agree not to publicize the complaints and demands of the prisoners. And, as in every supposed reform of the apartheid system, a few cosmetic changes were made while the basic backbone of the prison remained the same — the attempt to

"break the morale or break the neck" of the liberation struggle. An example of the "concessions" granted by the South African government was the abolition of the quarry, that is, political prisoners were no longer made to spend the entire day breaking big rocks into little rocks.

However, even these "reforms" were quickly cast aside with each new upsurge among the Azanian people and the arrival of a new generation of revolutionaries on Robben Island.

I was on Robben Island after the Soweto uprisings. The numbers of political prisoners sent to the island after the Soweto riots increased, many new people were coming in. The authorities stepped up the same methods that they had used back in '63. When the youth came into the prison they were even isolated from us. . . . This was exactly because of the new uprisings. The South African prison system is actually a paramilitary type of institution. They react depending upon the intensity of the political activity in Azania. So they try to get even or break us by starving us and so on . . . They put a lot of pressure on the BCM (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania) people that came in after Soweto.

In addition to physically attempting to break the Azanian revolutionaries, the South African rulers exert every effort to politically isolate and break them. All news and information coming in or out of the prison is highly censored. Oftentimes the only source of news is tidbits gleaned from things like boxing magazines. In spite of this, very few Azanian revolutionaries imprisoned on the island have broken. Prison "trustees," the common law criminals referred to, were mixed in with the political prisoners in order to spy on them and prevent political meetings and discussions. Still, information on the struggle in Azania did make its way into the prison, political discussions and meetings were often held, and even memorials and commemorations of significant events in the history of the struggle of Azania were marked in various ways. Of course, par for the course, the pro-Soviet and reformist African National Congress, also imprisoned on the island, steadfastly refused to participate in these memorials, though invited by PAC. ANC even attacked some of the more significant events being commemorated.

We used to get pieces of information about the struggle and the situation from people just coming into the prison and illegally through visitors. Mainly we used to get information through people who were just recently convicted and sentenced, so we were always able to make appraisals about the situation at home. Of course, news was always very late on the island. There were journals, government journals produced for propaganda purposes, with information on South Africa and the bantustans and so on. At least we could use them to get information on what was happening as far as the bantustans were concerned and what the government was doing to try to propagandize against the liberation movements. Of course, the government always tried to exalt the bantustan leaders.

We also held commemorations and memorials. We used to commemorate the deaths of people who were involved in the

struggle in Azania. We commemorated the Sharpeville shootings. The ANC would not participate in the commemoration of the Sharpeville shootings. I remember that after Biko (a leader of the BCM murdered by the South African police — RW) was killed, for instance, we called for a few minutes of silence, and the ANC refused to recognize Biko as a leader, they said he was just a student leader. . . .

The PAC on the island, we identify very much with the Soweto uprisings. We regarded Soweto as an effort of the African people to confront the racist regime. We regarded it as an aspect of the African revolution to emancipate themselves from the whole oppressive system. That was our reaction. . . . On the other hand, there was outright denunciation of the riots on the part of the ANC as "suicidal." There were even physical exchanges between us because we felt that it was our brothers and sisters that were dying, being killed by the police.

Robben Island and the other prisons holding Azanian revolutionaries are only one arm of the state's attack in South Africa. Once a revolutionary is released from prison, the attacks and harassment continue as the other arms of the state apparatus swing into play.

What was always our emphasis, the PAC's emphasis, was that once a person gets out of prison he must still go and operate as a Pan-Africanist Congress member — either you operate effectively by forming underground cells at home or you skip the country to undergo military training, to infiltrate back and fight. This is very dangerous because you are under constant surveillance by the security police and it would be really naive to try to operate openly . . . It is a difficult situation. Once you get out of Robben Island, the police start "lobbying" you to be their informer. When you get out of Robben Island, what the police usually do is they screen you before you are left to go home. At times they even drive you to your home. What they do is they tell you, "Man, you served 15 years on Robben Island and you've been left behind. You are old — look, you went in young and now you are 34. We could be of assistance, we could give you money, we could get you a house, give you a car. But, you have to work for us, you have to cooperate." Once you come out completely against them, they start harassing you; coming to knock at your place early in the morning, 2:00 a.m., to search; keeping you unemployed. They stop you from getting a house and they try to deport you to the bantustans. And even in the bantustans, they keep you under constant surveillance.

Political prisoners on Robben Island, in particular the PAC political prisoners, we believe in the continuation of the struggle despite where we find ourselves. And not only that, we feel and believe that in the ultimate, and it is evident to the South African government, we will finally overthrow the South African government. The South African prisons cannot "rehabilitate the prisoner" — their concept of rehabilitation of a political prisoner can only mean that you cooperate, give in to the system, be counter-revolutionary. We cannot be compromised inside or outside the prison. □



Demonstration against Bantu Education, June 1976.

Keep the Fort Mac 2 on the Streets

The Government's Valuable Admission

For the past 6 months, every representative of the U.S. government who has had an open hand in the prosecution of Walter Burney and Rich Newburger—the Fort Mac 2—all the way from federal prosecutor "Bo" Stubbs to special agent John Glover, head of FBI in northern Georgia, and more, have repeatedly sworn with blank, angelic looks on their faces that this is a simple "criminal" case with no politics involved.

Now—days before the Two are to be sentenced for their conviction on two misdemeanor damage to government property charges (they face a possible one-and-a-half years in federal prison)—a section of a federal probation department pre-sentencing report on Rich and Walter has been publicly released. It sings quite a different song indeed. The probation pre-sentencing report is one of the main means judges use in determining the "proper" sentence to mete out in a case. It is principally supposed to be a survey of the defendant's prior criminal record. And what, for example, does the report say about Rich's "prior criminal record"?

"An interview was conducted with Capt. Schuchardt of the Washington University campus police regarding Newburger. The captain was familiar with Newburger and reported two incident reports where Newburger was handing out

communist literature on the campus. No arrests were made regarding these incidents . . .

"The St. Louis Police Dept. Intelligence Unit has been contacted and they are familiar with Newburger's activities in the St. Louis metropolitan area as it relates to his political activities with the 'Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade.' Two large files were reviewed which referred to the national and local activities of this youth brigade. According to intelligence file material, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) evolved from the Revolutionary Union in 1975 and openly advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. They characterize the party as a 'militant, semi-covert, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organization ideologically oriented towards the teachings of Chairman Mao Tsetung.' "

This is just the beginning of the government's report on Rich's "prior criminal record" that relies on police intelligence units, newspaper articles, and an FBI report to aid in determining what sentence is "appropriate" for his "criminal" conviction of making an internationalist political statement from inside the jaws of Fort McPherson on April 7th this year.

Oh, of course, the report cites the several times Rich was arrested on minor misdemeanor charges while carrying out

his extensive "criminal activity"—distributing revolutionary literature to high school students (that's called "trespassing") and demonstrating in support of the Iranian revolution. All of these cases were "nol-prossed" (not prosecuted). But these are merely minor examples to add to the government's overall point—that what is at stake here is certainly much bigger than some petty damages to an office (no matter how much they may have whined in the trial that that was the "only issue involved here").

In one lengthy paragraph a report is cited "from the Federal Bureau of Investigation dated Dec. 5, 1979." It describes in lurid detail the burning of an American flag at a demonstration on the Washington University campus in St. Louis in support of the U.S. embassy takeover in Iran. "_____ stepped up to the flag, lit a lighter and placed it against the flag which burst into flames after which it fell to the ground." While stating only that Rich was allegedly at the demonstration, the report pointedly and in detail described the convictions and sentencing of two of the participants (one for over a year and one for 18 months). Quite a subtle hint!

The report on Walter, in typical racist fashion, lists as legitimate arrests several occasions when he was picked up by

police in his home town of Cleveland. In fact, he had been picked up simply because he is Black and a crime had been committed someplace in the area. It also uses the worn out trick of describing Walter as working with the "Communist Workers Party."

The release of these reports, coming as they do on the heels of a partial defeat of the government in the trial of the Two (they had originally been charged with destruction of military communications lines—a sabotage felony carrying 10 years, but the jury voted 10-2 for acquittal resulting in a hung jury), is an indication that the government has no intention of letting this one go by without making it clear just what it is they are really after in this case. And it may also be a rather crass and self-exposing attempt to isolate the Two from the broad support they have gotten throughout the past 6 months.

It comes at a time when ever broader forces are joining the battle, demanding the Two not spend one day in federal prison. Along with letters to the judge (some of which are reprinted here), an important editorial appeared prominently in the *Signal*, the Georgia State University newspaper, denouncing the case as an act of political repression. These pre-sentencing reports are a counterattack that will surely explode in the government's face. □

Letters in Support of the Fort Mac 2

Judge Evans:

I have sought and watched the carefully planned, but not so successful railroad of two slaves, who dared to stand up against this rotting (soon-to-buried) form of democracy.

Walter Burney, a Vietnam vet, who had all the authorization and freedom to go into a country your iron fist of imperialism found to be not so easy to hold onto, and Richard Newburger, a youth whose message is that you shall not do so easily to the youth of the future, what you have done to the proletariat in the past. What these two men represent is what you face in the future from proletarians all over the world — opposition to your plans to destroy human lives for your sadistic idea of democracy.

I watched the representatives of the bourgeoisie make idiotic fools of themselves, trying to cover up their exposed fangs, by their ridiculous charges of destruction of communications. Well, the proletariat is putting you on trial, and we all know what the verdict is, don't we? Your crimes of murder and torture, all over the world have not gone unnoticed. . . . To continue to lock up and hold for ransom those forces who stand in opposition to your kind of future, will not go unanswered.

May it be your maximum security political prisons, or your minimum security so-called freedom on the streets, the light of the proletarian future grows brighter every day. The day will come when your type of freedom and democracy will be a horror of the past.

Free the Fort McPherson 2!

With deepest contempt,
A class-conscious proletarian slave

Honorable Judge Orinda Evans:

We write to you concerning the case of the Fort Mac 2, Walter Burney and Rich Newburger. Our understanding is that the two have been convicted for misdemeanors.

While the prosecutor warned against allowing this sort of thing to go on because of its effect of encouraging further incidents, the political nature of the case speaks for a sentence commensurate with the "crime" that the two were convicted of.

The militaristic drive of the government will be shown to be truly out-

rageous if the two are sentenced harshly.

Your sentencing decision will be an indicator regarding the level of desperation in clamping down on anti-war activists that the government intends to show.

As anti-war activists ourselves, we are watching the outcome of this case very carefully.

Sincerely,
Henry Park
speaking for the
Harvard-Radcliffe
RADACADS

Dear Judge Evans:

I am writing in regard to the upcoming sentencing of Messrs. Walter Burney and Richard Newburger.

As a professor of ethics, social and political theory, I find it astonishing that the charges these men have been convicted on could carry a maximum sentence of 1-1/2 years. Surely this is an extreme jail sentence for a misdemeanor involving two nail holes in a door. Political dissent, particularly that of a non-violent nature, has a long and honored tradition in this country, and it is to American dissenters and theorists that the intellectual world turns for an understanding of the concept of civil disobedience. H.D. Thoreau and M.L. King, Jr., for example are well-known to the world principally *because of* their stands on and defenses of civil disobedience. Surely it would be ironic were Burney and Newburger, two political dissidents with no previous criminal records, to serve time for participating in an activity which American political thought has long defended — the ability to dissent from the politics of one's government without fear of lengthy imprisonment.

The issue, as I see it, is not a matter of holes in doors or harm to property. It is rather the question of the extent to which the government wishes to repress and thereby prevent political dissent. Your sentencing in this trial will be an indication of how far the government wants to go, and I urge you to consider the role of such dissent in a free and open society.

Sincerely yours,
C.G. Luckhardt
Professor of Ethics
Georgia State University

Judge Orinda Evans:

Richard Newburger is well known to me as a patient and a friend. I have been continually impressed by his integrity and vision. His actions at Fort McPherson, as his actions have characteristically been in the past, were focused on heightening public attention to war preparations and particularly Fort McPherson's central role in them. Destruction of government property was not the purpose of his actions and was really quite minor.

Richard Newburger and Walter Burney should receive no sentence. If they are given any harsher sentence than community service, I must conclude that the government's primary purpose in this case is to suppress exposure of its war preparation activities. In that case the effect will be quite the opposite of what the government intends.

Sincerely,
Loreen H. Lindley, M.D.
Lutheran Medical Center, St. Louis

Judge Evans:

The trumped-up judicial proceedings against the Fort Mac 2 — Walter Burney and Rich Newburger — only reveal the government's desperate but hopeless attempt to intimidate and squash the conscious revolutionary struggle against the accelerating moves toward imperialist world war. Your courtroom is one of the many stages for the struggle between progress and reaction. If you jail Walter and Rich, the effect of that cowardly act will only further expose the court as an instrument of oppression and a key weapon in the imperialists' futile efforts to extinguish the bright flames of revolution.

I have personally known Walter Burney for over three years. He is a man of high moral principle who conscientiously acts in the interests of mankind. That is why he, and Rich, entered Fort McPherson, exposed the role of this military facility in the U.S.'s war plans, and proclaimed the May First Call for Internationalist action at the Fort.

I am proud to stand with Walter and Rich in upholding this bold political stand and action.

Edward J. Lessin
Psychologist

Free the Fort Mac 2

The sentencing of the Fort Mac 2 on their conviction last month in federal court — carrying a possible 1-1/2 years in prison and \$1500 fine — is set for October 12. Letters, statements and telegrams can and should be sent early in the week to:

Judge Orinda Evans
1988 U.S. Courthouse
75 Spring Street SW
Atlanta, GA 30303

Copies should be sent to:

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

For more information call:
(404) 627-8311

"We are not going to let up now. We want people to be at Electric Boat on November 6th when they launch another Trident sub, the *USS Georgia*, and to be in court on November 9th when they sentence us." This was the response of the Trident Nein outside the New London Courthouse moments after they were convicted of conspiracy and criminal mischief, both felonies, and criminal trespass, a misdemeanor. Throughout the course of this blatantly political trial the state has bent its every effort toward maintaining the charade that this was a simple case of destruction of "private property." The "private property" involved just happened to be a Trident submarine, one of the most advanced pieces in the U.S. arsenal for nuclear war. On July 5th, the sub, the *USS Florida*, was renamed by the Trident Nein "USS Auschwitz: Oven Without Walls" in paint and blood. The Nein then took hammers to its missile hatches and two sonar spheres at the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard in Groton, Connecticut. That this act of political protest by militant pacifists took place was never a point of contention in the trial, though the *entire* case of the prosecution rested on proving in detail the startling fact that the sub was defaced. This they established through testimony of a string of government witnesses consisting of police, Electric Boat officials, a Navy corpsman, and an FBI agent. This testimony in this supposedly non-political trial, of course, was presented in a manner that made it clear that the government considered the defendants to be "saboteurs" and their actions "a breach of security" of the U.S. While the trial was going on, the House and Senate Armed Services Committee held hearings on the "serious breach of security at the Electric Boat plant." Allusions to "sabotage" and "international terrorism" filled the press in the area in the wake of the smashing action of July 5th.

In spite of constant attempts by Judge Hendel to prevent the Trident Nein (eight of whom acted as their own lawyers) from presenting a political defense and exposing the Trident sub and U.S. war

Trident Nein Convicted

"We're Not Going to Let Up Now"

preparations using the grounds that this was a simple case of destruction of "private property," he could not prevent precisely this from happening throughout the 3-1/2-week trial, especially when the defendants took the stand in their own defense (see last week's *RW*). Prior to this the court had refused to allow testimony from defense witnesses on the effects of nuclear war and on various official arms agreements signed by the U.S. imperialists. (He did agree to let one defense witness, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, enter testimony into the record for appeal purposes, but without the jury present.)

Aware of the effect of the defendants' testimony, which was quite powerful, the prosecutor made his final remarks to the jury. He pointedly declared that they dare not acquit in this case for that would "send out a clarion call across the country that Connecticut did not uphold the law concerning private property." At the beginning of the trial during the seven days of selection of the 6-person jury, the prosecution hammered away at one key question: "Will you put all other feelings and considerations aside and decide the case solely on the basis of the facts and the law as given to you by the judge?" Anyone who hesitated on this question was disqualified. Again in his closing remarks the prosecutor warned the jury to

"put aside all political beliefs" and put their stamp on this political railroad and not "violate their oath."

In keeping with the prosecution's final remarks, the judge's initial instructions to the jury were the standard sanctimonious ritual language that would be used in any simple case of trespass and conspiring to and damaging "property of another." Minutes after the jury retired for deliberations they asked for further instructions as to "What would constitute a reasonable grounds for the defendants to believe that they had a right to do what they did?" After going through the motions of consulting with the defense and prosecution, the judge recalled the jury and laid down the law once again. Thirty minutes later the jury returned guilty verdicts on all counts. After the verdict was read, a supporter of the Trident Nein rose and denounced the court. As he was hustled out the judge quickly closed the session.

Outside the courthouse the press interviewed both the Trident Nein and the six jurors who, along with a crowd of supporters, were engaged in intense discussion. Graphically illustrating the allegiance to bourgeois democracy U.S. imperialist-style that is so pervasive among the mainstream of the loyal citizenry, several of the jurors said that although they were "bound by the law,

(they) agreed with the Trident Nein," and two put on Trident Nein buttons. Obviously, these are members of quite a contradictory element in this society — an element which pledges its allegiance to the rulers and their state apparatus by stamping a political railroad with their approval and at the same time somehow agreeing (perhaps sincerely) with those they helped convict precisely for challenging the military arm of that same imperialist democracy. Contradictory, indeed. Commenting on the outcome, the Trident Nein said, "Even though the jurors may have some agreement with the protests, they don't understand deeply enough and they went with law and order . . . but we are not going to stop Trident or really change things unless people break out of that straightjacket . . . one way or another people are going to have to overrule this whole business."

On the steps of the New London Courthouse the Trident Nein called for a major demonstration at the Trident plant on November 6th. They pledged that testimony that was blocked at the courthouse would be extremely relevant at this demonstration. On the next day, November 7th, a pre-sentencing rally is scheduled to be held in New Haven. Before then several people who were arrested for disorderly conduct at a September 11th anti-Trident protest are scheduled for trial because they refused to "promise not to break the law again." This includes two of the Nein who are charged with "misuse and mutilation of the flag" and "Jane Doe 1 and Jane Doe 4," two women who refuse to give their names, eat, or otherwise cooperate with prison authorities until "the court confronts the real issues . . . which is the government's genocidal policy."

Without a doubt the actions of the Trident Nein and the response of the ruling class to them has served to further rip the lid off of the imperialists' war preparations and expose their true nature. As much as the government fears this kind of militant resistance and attempts to crush it, they are finding it rather difficult to stop its spread. □

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Target Seattle Finale Disrupted

October 2 saw the arrival of the much-heralded grand finale of the government's nine-day Target Seattle campaign — a "peace" rally in the Seattle Kingdome. As the featured speaker former Watergate Prosecutor Archibald Cox began to speak to the audience of 13,000 (clearly a big disappointment to organizers), he was rudely interrupted. An internationalist contingent jumped from the lowest tier of seats to the stage below. With a crash they knocked down 7 x 4 foot plywood boards painted to represent the flags of the imperialist nuclear weapons-toting countries. They then proceeded to tear up a huge paper American flag as they raised red flags and one of them declared, "The red, white and blue rag is the most hated flag in the world, representing the most hated country in the world. It flies above the mass oppression from El Salvador to Beirut and it is under this flag that the U.S. imperialists and its bloc are preparing to wage world war, nuclear war against their rival imperialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union — but the international proletariat has another program, a program for pushing history as far forward as possible through the process of world revolution!" The contingent raced out of the arena with cops chasing them all the way.

Cox continued on in his speech like nothing had happened until suddenly a revolutionary leaped to the stage, forced his way to the lectern and grabbed the microphone from him. "Archibald Cox, I would like to take this opportunity to denounce you and Target Seattle on behalf of the international proletariat. Target Seattle is a cruel hoax. . . ." Cox stood at the revolutionary's elbow, babbling to himself in confusion and disbelief. The huge sound system was immediately shut off until the revolutionary, who continued to agitate, was evicted from the Kingdome. As the pro-

gram continued, the revolutionary who had seized the mike spoke to a crowd of hundreds finishing the statement begun inside. Questions were shot out from all sides. "Why can't we convince the government to give up their nukes? Everyone would lose in a nuclear war?" "Isn't the freeze a first step in the right direction?" Questions and struggle went on for quite some time.

Afterwards the press blacked out coverage of the disruption and went out of their way to make the comment, "Target Seattle succeeded admirably in presenting varied and well-reasoned viewpoints, with a remarkable freedom from hecklers." Such remarks reveal both that quite the opposite was the case and the importance that has been attached to carrying through with Target Seattle and its political purposes. The reality is that throughout the whole nine-day affair there has been much questioning among the broader sections of society that Target Seattle was aimed at as well as a good deal of exposure of what the ruling class was up to. Among a whole range of political forces, debate has raged and a revolutionary pole on the question of nuclear war was clearly planted. □

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW*, issue No. 174, in the letter to the *RW* entitled "The Frame-Up, the Lock-Up and the Rebels at Sioux Falls Prison," the sentence at the bottom of the first column should have read: "One brother was physically attacked by a guard but the guard lost the fight and there were too many witnesses to frame the brother so the Administration waited for an opportune time to attack all of us at once and put us in the hole to stop us from exposing the Administration's gestapo tactics."

Courtroom Defiance in Brinks Case

The pre-trial hearings of six defendants accused of the Oct. 20, 1981 Brinks assault in Nyack, New York has not gone well for the ruling class. Despite the political fanfare which has heralded the Sept. 13 opening and the massive show of military strength—snipers, SWAT teams and endless rows of policemen and police dogs and police metal detectors—still the bourgeoisie has run into a serious political problem: defiance from the defendants.

If this really was the simple criminal trial all the authorities claim, then there would be no problem. The fact that four of the defendants have declared themselves prisoners of war and refused to cooperate in any way might even be seen as easing the prosecutor's job of dredging up some evidence against them. But what really is at stake here is not a legal determination of what happened in Nyack that day, a simple determination of whether these people did or didn't dare to try to expropriate a few bags of money from the biggest expropriators and criminals of all time. What is at stake in this trial is the whole broad attack that the authorities have launched against revolutionary nationalists, an attack which includes the indictment and jailing of 18 people for "racketeering" by a federal grand jury, in addition to the police murder of one "suspect," Mtayari Fundiata, a number of near-murders and murderous police raids, and so on. In other words, what is really at stake here is the ruling class' attempts to silence through jailing or killing some revolutionary nationalist forces and to prepare (politically and practically) for more silencing later, while at the same time launching a side blow at some middle forces who might oppose them in this. What happens in the Brinks trial will have a lot to do with how and to what degree the rest of this campaign can be carried out, including most particularly the federal "racketeering" trial which is the other shoe in this drama.

Day 1. The courtroom is ringed with cops and a row of prison guards stand at attention over the defendants. Enter the judge. The defendants refuse to stand. Judge Stolarick calls the court to order. Disorder breaks out.

Kuwasi Balagoon was the first to speak, "I am a New Afrikan revolutionary. In this matter I intend to represent myself," adding later, "I'm taking a political defense... the point is my right, my right to self-determination." Other statements continue. Judith Clark: "This court will never seek justice for the theft and enslavement of millions of African people; for the armed robbery and continued occupation of Native American, Mexican and Puerto Rican land and sovereignty... Today, you have the power to impose this mockery on us. But tomorrow, our children and even some of yours, will dance on the ashes of this blood-soaked empire..."

Four of the defendants demanded to represent themselves or to be designated as prisoners of war and freedom fighters. They refused to recognize the right of the U.S. government to try them at all. Judge Stolarick kept his voice in check, intoning, "I understand, I understand," but with a distinct look of growing grief creeping into his face.

Over and over again, defendants or their attorneys would interrupt the proceedings, arguing that the court had no legitimacy and that they would not participate. The courtroom was punctuated with political chants. Defendants would turn around to give salutes and smiles to supporters in the courtroom or talk and laugh and righteously mock the "almighty power" presiding over them. On the second day of the hearing, Sekou Odinga, who had been kept up all night due to prison transfers, requested a postponement because of exhaustion. When this request was denied, he simply put his head down and went to sleep. Attorney Chokwe Lumumba refused to heed warnings to observe "court decorum," addressing the judge as "Mr. Stolarick."

At a certain point several of the attorneys refused to sit at the defense table and sat instead against the courtroom wall, reading newspapers, and would not answer the judge. Twice several of the attorneys attempted to walk out of the courtroom. Since their former clients had declared that they would not cooperate in the trial, now they had no clients, and nothing to do with the case, these lawyers said. The judge ordered guards to block their exit. Scenes like this continued day after day.

On Sept. 20 the court session opened just after the news had broken about the slaughter of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Sekou Odinga spoke out, saying that the real issue before the court was "the massacre of the Palestinians." Defendants and attorneys donned black armbands in condemnation of the massacre of the Palestinians. When Judge Stolarick ordered the armbands removed, which they all refused to do, Chokwe Lumumba asked the judge whether he wasn't issuing this order "because you side with the Israelis?"

Defendants also demanded that they be allowed to wear political T-shirts in court, which the sheriff had prevented them from doing. "You allow the sheriffs to wear the American flag, which is the sponsor of the massacre of the Palestinians, but you deny our right to our political statement," challenged David Gilbert. And the moment did not pass without some humorous mocking of the judge—"We don't tell you how to dress," said Lumumba, "I think your black robes look silly."

The defiant stand of the defendants supported by their lawyers presented serious obstacles. Certain decisions and adjustments would have to be made in order to proceed at all. Should four of the defendants and their attorneys be forced to remain in the courtroom where challenges and disruptions would certainly continue? Or should they be removed from the courtroom, which would undercut the validity of the trial that the authorities need to stage?

But Sekou Odinga persisted in his protest that the government had no legitimacy. And the judge moved swiftly, ordering him and three others back to jail. As they left, chants of "Long Live Palestine!" rang out.

It seems that some of the decisions the political police have had to make include trying to incapacitate the defendants, with four of them charging on Sept. 29 that their prison food has been drugged. "The idea we would do anything like that is crazy," crowed the sheriff, this from the head of the same police who held Solomon Brown by his ankles and bashed his skull into the floor until they broke his neck. Frankly, given how this case was going—and how the authorities have gone after their goals since it began—it would be crazy to think that they wouldn't resort to any means they could to restore law and especially order to the courtroom.

However much the authorities' future moves may be affected by what happens in the Brinks trial, they are not waiting for it to end before unfolding further assaults. While the trial on state charges was proceeding in Rockland County, N.Y., a federal grand jury convened in New York City in the wake of the Brinks assault a year ago was extremely active.

The grand jury was set up under the federal RICO ("Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations") statute, a law which despite its cynically appended Italian-sounding name has been chosen for use against political organizations. Conveniently, the RICO statute defines "racketeering" as an act or threat to commit acts such as robbery, kidnapping and "obstruction of criminal investigation." Further, to be targeted under RICO, one doesn't even have to be accused of committing any such crime, but only of being associated with others or with an organization so accused.

In the last year this federal grand jury has subpoenaed and jailed 18 people, all of them political activists and most of

them associated in one form or another with the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano revolutionary nationalist movements. Many people have been jailed for refusing to talk before the grand jury. Now that grand jury has concluded that indeed a "criminal enterprise" does exist, and has issued new indictments, which in some cases add new names to the list and in others amount to indicting for "racketeering" people already in prison for refusing to cooperate with this sham. New indictments are expected in this case, and in a general way the whole case is preparation for much broader assaults in the future.

All these practical and political assaults and preparations for more attacks would not be complete without an attempt to orchestrate public opinion.

An underlying, bass beat has been supplied by publications like the Harvard-connected *International Security Review*. Its scholarly-toned and footnoted attempts to prove "speculation that foreign powers may have been involved in the support, planning or execution of the criminal act" (the Brinks case) revolve around such brilliantly convincing arguments as, for instance, that many people active in the Sixties know each other and that almost 20 years ago one of the defendants *actually received 75 rubles a month from the Soviet government*—just like thousands of other U.S. exchange students in the USSR.

A piccolo note in this political orchestra has been played by *Rolling Stone*—piccolo not because of any high note in its efforts, but because of their squeakiness. A lengthy and dull diatribe against the Weather Underground done in connection with the Brinks trial contained a headline which captured its essence: "Beneath the Facade of Revolution, Their Lives Were Consumed by Violence, Drugs and Sexual Politics." Somehow we just can't believe that drugs (really!) or sex, or even violence (especially if done with a certain kinkiness—and imperialist flair) really offends these extremely hip reactionaries. The article's target, it turns out, is anyone who doesn't know that now that the Sixties are over, it's time to Grow Up and Give In, describing the Weather Underground as "Japanese soldiers who wandered for years in the jungle, not aware that their war was over."

A reedy Sept. 26 *New York Times* article entitled "In Symposium: Radicals, Reformers and Bank Robbers" goes straight to the heart of the matter. After contrasting the Brinks trial with all kinds of half-baked reformism, a half-baked "leftist" the *Times* has dug up remarks: "Many worry about the popular impression the publicity surrounding the trial will leave." Oh yes—mustn't let those "bad" revolutionaries taint "good" leftists now. And what is the conclusion? "In order to be taken seriously politically, the left has to agree that the United States is worth defending; this does not necessarily come naturally."

These attempts to erect a loyal left in order to better attack revolutionaries—and to neutralize middle forces with tired old talk about "foreign powers" or doped-up crazed lunatics—show something about just how seriously the ruling class does take what it is doing around the Brinks case. No one would go to such lengths just to round up a few people who don't know that "their war is over." The bourgeoisie is very much looking forward here—including towards their next war. And just as class-conscious and revolutionary forces can see that all this "critical examination" is really meant to facilitate the bourgeoisie's efforts to raid, kill and jail as broadly as possible around this case as well as to serve its political ends more generally, in the same way the class-conscious and revolutionary forces can really examine the stand and political lines of all those involved, including those such as the Weather Underground whose pro-Soviet revisionism is not at all in opposition to tailing and promoting American patriotism and whose strategy,

looked at not from the point of view of "their war is over" (or should be) but from the point of view of proletarian revolution across the world, turns out to be anything but "too revolutionary."

The ruling class takes revolutionary nationalists seriously enough to make them the focus of this attack exactly because for revolutionary nationalism the United States is not worth defending, and more than that, it must be overthrown. It is not our country right or wrong; it is wrong and not our country. This is also exactly one of the aspects which makes revolutionary nationalism a powerful ally of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend. Revolutionary nationalism has never been tolerated at any time by the U.S. imperialists, who find it especially urgent to attack it right now faced as they are with the spectre that especially in the tumultuous times ahead, the revolutionary resolution of national oppression and many other issues will become not only mass political questions but also practical questions.

In light of all this, the fact that the defendants have exposed U.S. imperialism for the blood-soaked, world-devouring system that it is, including around its current heinous crimes in Lebanon, as well as its oppression and murder within its own borders, and opposed it on that basis, is quite contrary to the authorities' plans around this case and quite a problem for them. □

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?



Burning Questions of Our Movement

"The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain."

"... In a word, the 'plan for an all-Russian political newspaper,' far from representing the fruits of the labor of armchair workers infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work."

Quotes from "What Is To Be Done?" by V.I. Lenin

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RW No. 171, September 10, 1982

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ENCIRCLEMENT TO COME

RW No. 161, June 25, 1982

Tylenol

Continued from page 1

more throughout the world: from thalidomide to DES to the Pill — there are hundreds of examples. Instead what has been cranked up is a concerted campaign of disinformation designed to protect the purity of the Johnson & Johnson image, those wonderful people who diaper your babies and put bandaids on their boobies. But they are aware that it is not just the reputation and the public trust of one drug company at stake here. An October 5 editorial in the *New York Times* hinted at it: "Random murder is the way of the jungle; does society offer no protection? Acts of God can be mitigated, and at least recognized as part of the natural order. The acts of aberrant minds are hard to guard against, impossible to accept. Hurricanes are easier to cope with than psychopaths."

There you have it. The main threat posed to otherwise orderly and rational society is "aberrant minds"—such as a lone Tylenol murderer. It's not the anarchistic, bloodthirsty system itself that is the scourge of all human society, not these pushers of drugs, manufacturers of poison gas and stockpilers of nuclear weapons. The problem they face is that there is so much shit underneath the surface of their "natural order" that the slightest scratch reveals far too much. The boldness of the cover-up in this case is truly anarchy.

In fact, McNeil Labs tried to straight-up deny, and then was forced to admit that cyanide is indeed used in its quality-control testing. Providone, one of the components of the Tylenol capsules, is mixed with cyanide prior to production to test for the presence of lead. The Providone is then mixed with the other ingredients. Supposedly the cyanide-laced test batches of the Providone are then thrown away. But it is certainly not out of the question that some could get mixed in with the other components, or even in individual capsules. But to lay to rest any suspicions that anyone might have, a toxicologist from the Cook County Medical Examiner's Office quickly flew out to Pennsylvania and put the official "clean bill of health" on the McNeil Labs plant. (The Medical Examiner's Office is well known for its quick verdicts vindicating other agencies dedicated to the "health" of the community — for instance the "justifiable homicide" labels it routinely stamps on victims of the Chicago Police Department.)

Withholding and discrediting information revealing the scope of the poisonings has been another key element in this "investigation." Literally hundreds of other Tylenol related incidents, including more deaths, have been reported to the FDA and the Illinois task force since the first Chicago death. In Livingston, Texas, for example, a 72-year-old man lapsed into a coma and died. But even though a bottle of Extra-Strength Tylenol was found on his kitchen table, the FDA immediately ruled this an "unrelated incident." In Cleveland a woman was hospitalized after taking Tylenol and was found to have traces of cyanide in her blood. The FDA dismissed this case as well, explaining that "some (unnamed) toxicologists say minute levels (of cyanide) are not unusual."

Some of these cases have been harder to sweep away — among them the strychnine found in Tylenol capsules in Oroville, California, north of Sacramento. (McNeil Labs has not yet admitted whether strychnine is used in the manufacture of Tylenol and when directly queried by the *RW* the Illinois task force said "Oh, we have no way of knowing that.")

On Thursday, September 30, the same day as the first Chicago death, Greg Blagg, a 27-year-old butcher became ill after taking three Extra-Strength Tylenol. After being hospitalized for several hours, Blagg returned home, looked inside the capsules and found a pink powder which turned out to be strychnine. On Friday he took the pills to his doctor. The doctor had Mrs. Blagg go to the same drugstore and buy two more bottles of Tylenol. He found that one of these was also contaminated with strychnine. They immediately phoned McNeil Laboratories. The manufacturer told the doctor to mail the capsules to

them. The company put out no alert about possible strychnine poisoning in California, claiming this was only one of "hundreds of such calls" they had received recently. The other bottles of Tylenol remained on the store shelves until Monday, when McNeil representatives quietly arrived and removed them, refusing to answer any questions. In fact it was not until Tuesday that officials in Oroville, or the store itself, found out about the incident.

The next Tylenol/cyanide-related death was reported in Philadelphia. This time it was an apparent suicide from last April which authorities re-examined after the Chicago deaths. A bottle of Extra-Strength Tylenol which had been found beside the body of the victim was tested and found to contain cyanide. Obviously someone committing suicide would not go to the trouble of filling other capsules in a Tylenol bottle with cyanide.

It was only a matter of days before the local authorities and the Illinois task force ruled that both the Oroville and the Philadelphia cases were "unrelated" to the Chicago Tylenol case. No public explanation was given in either case why they were declared "unrelated." In fact Illinois Attorney General Fahner said that of the hundred or so cases reported, they had only investigated 30, and unless some dramatic new evidence (?) was unearthed, they would consider any future reports as "unrelated."

What really seems to be unrelated is this widespread, nationwide incidence of Tylenol poisonings that has apparently been going on for at least six months, and the official theory of a lone madman. Is this alleged madman killer flying around the country, in addition to making the rounds in Chicago, with cyanide in one pocket and strychnine in the other?

Nonetheless, authorities and the press have gone to considerable lengths to try to strengthen the lone madman theory and to use it to block other avenues of inquiry. In the Chicago area 100 agents, including 30 from the FBI, have been sent out with instructions to track down a random killer. Within a few days the task force even produced a psychological profile of the suspect. A police psychologist appeared on TV describing in detail what kind of personal characteristics this "madman" would exhibit. Undoubtedly this effort is being supplemented by FBI and police artists busily sketching possible or imagined profiles of what this crazed individual actually looks like.

More sharp detective work produced a list containing the names of about two dozen "potential suspects". This included people who had voiced anger in the past at Tylenol or particular stores. Others were "disgruntled present or former employees" involved in Tylenol distribution in Illinois. The disgruntled employee theory was given a lot of emphasis in the press. And task force spokesmen revealed that about 10 of these people had been put under surveillance. They may not turn out to be involved in the cyanide poisonings, but being staked out all day by unmarked FBI cars might do wonders to mute their disgruntledness.

There has also been a rather interesting and unusual extension of suspect lists. The Secret Service added the names of people put under surveillance during presidential visits to the Chicago area. This could add a new dimension to the whole thing: perhaps all that was required to come under suspicion of being the "madman killer" was to be under surveillance by the FBI or political police. In fact there was a hint at this, and the possible uses to which this or similar incidents in the future might be put by authorities when the word "terrorist" was floated out in relation to the deaths. It is no secret how the imperialists have used the charge of "terrorism" to cover their own crimes and attack opponents. And there is little reason to doubt that there is a "task force" in some government building "investigating" and mulling over many different aspects of the Tylenol case.

It is of course entirely possible that the Tylenol cyanide deaths are the work of a crazed killer or killers unrelated to the manufacturer. But the fervor with which investigators and the press have prompted and pursued this theory stands in contrast to the increasingly threadbare evidence to support it. (They may even come up with someone supplied with a

Continued on page 15

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Continued from page 14

motive to charge and convict, as they did in the Atlanta murders last year). The question that needs to be looked into further is *why* they are so intent on convincing people *a priori* that this is the real answer.

The *New York Times* Oct. 5 editorial, in its haste to lend credibility to the lone crazed killer theory, inadvertently blurts out the crime they are trying so desperately to hide. "The Tylenol poisoner bears a special odium. Instead of killing outright, he subverted medicine to an agent with which the victim killed themselves." It leads one to ask "who are the experts subverting medicine to an agent with which the victims kill themselves," experts whose exploits would dwarf the activities of a whole army of lone madmen? It does not take a great detective to realize that the possibility that the drug companies have the blood from these murders on their hands in one way or another must be rated as extremely high. Nor to realize that this is exactly the possibility that the investigation is intended to obscure.

The drug industry is an extremely profitable one. It has been able to cash in on disease and death in a big way. Tylenol, the leading non-prescription pain reliever in the U.S. with a 37% share of the market, has been a gold mine for Johnson & Johnson. Although it accounts for only 7.4% of the company's total sales it nets 17-18% of total profits. The cyanide poisonings will likely deliver at least a short term financial body blow to the company. (A recent poll taken in Chicago showed that 29% of the people polled will refuse to buy any drugs, prescription or non-prescription, while 22% said they would buy no non-prescription drugs.)

Cutthroat competition among the drug companies in the "pain killer" market has intensified in recent years by various scientific studies warning that aspirin can cause dangerous side effects in loss of blood-clotting ability. More recently it has been linked to the development of Reyes Syndrome, a disease with a 25% mortality rate that affects children aged 5-16. It produces fever and severe headaches that can quickly lead to convulsions and coma. The overall effect of the publicity finally given to this discovery has been to expand Tylenol's share of the market and to shrink the share of children's aspirin manufactured by Bayer and other companies.

(The possibility that these Tylenol murders themselves might have been spawned by vicious competition between rival drug companies is something that was raised by Johnson & Johnson spokesman Wayne Nelson. After the strychnine poisoning in Oroville, California, the outraged Nelson charged that the whole affair was an "attempt to sabotage the product." Even Illinois Attorney General Fahner, forced to concede that the cracks in the "loose nut" theory were becoming too wide to completely ignore, explored this angle. The *Times* reported that "The Attorney General did disclose that his team has been in contact with the Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington to explore the possibility that the Tylenol poisonings were part of a possible stock manipulation... it was learned that at least one caller to the task force's special line, a professional drug exporter, had suggested the possibility of industrial sabotage.")

But let's put aside for a minute such familiar topics in the business world as market shares and industrial sabotage. Let's talk about "subverting medicine to an agent with which the victim killed themselves." A 1976 study showed that if children who have contracted the flu or chicken pox take aspirin, their chances of developing Reyes Syndrome are increased. At this time the FDA ignored the study and did not issue any warning. By December 1981 the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta had completed four studies that conclusively linked Reyes Syndrome to aspirin, but the FDA still refused to issue any warning. It only took action four months later because two lawsuits were filed against it. During this four-month-period 14 deaths from Reyes Syndrome were reported to the CDC. The \$50 million per year children's aspirin industry is still disputing the studies and trying to get the FDA to repeal the warnings issued.

Or take the case of Flexin, manufac-

tured by McNeil Labs, and widely promoted for treatment of muscle spasms and gout. In 1955 McNeil submitted an application to the FDA to market this drug, despite the fact that the company had received a report from a doctor involved in testing the drug on patients that one woman treated with Flexin for four months had died of hepatitis. McNeil didn't report this case until 1961. In January 1956 the drug was released to a potential market of 3 million users. By August 1956 six cases of liver damage, including one death, had been reported in patients using Flexin. Again, McNeil executives were aware of and never reported these cases. In June, 1958 McNeil sought and received FDA permission to promote the drug to a wider market for use against gout. At this point they admitted to having "occasional reports" of jaundice from Flexin users. In reality, McNeil had received reports of 7 deaths from hepatitis and 29 of the people developing liver damage. The FDA approved the expanded promotion. A year later the company released a drug called Flexilon, containing Flexin. It admitted receiving 32 reports of side effects of hepatitis with jaundice, but in reality had heard of 39 hepatitis cases, including 11 deaths. In 1961 an exposure in a medical journal induced McNeil to admit it had received reports of 54 cases of liver damage, 15 fatal, from Flexin usage. It was only in October of 1961 that the drug was taken off the market.

The most famous case in this country of mass crippling caused by the marketing of damaging drugs was thalidomide, put on the market in 1960 by the William S. Merrill Co. Company salesmen were told that the drug's safety had been "firmly established." Before FDA approval had been received in the U.S. the drug had already been marketed in 20 other countries. A year later an FDA doctor reported that limbless babies were being born to mothers who had taken the drug during pregnancy. The FDA left it up to Merrill to inform the 1000 doctors through whom the drug had been distributed on an experimental basis in the U.S. They notified 10% of them.

The drug industry spends about three times as much on advertising and marketing as other U.S. manufacturers. An important method is free distribution

of samples and promo literature to doctors. In many cases, the only source of information the doctor ever refers to about a particular drug is this promo lit. The drug manual considered the bible of the medical profession, the *Physician's Desk Reference*, is one huge advertisement, with drug descriptions and recommended dosages written by the drug companies themselves.

A classic and well-documented case of another method of boosting sales is the drug Chloromycetin, the Parke-Davis brand of chloramphenicol. Patented and introduced in 1949, it is an antibiotic used primarily for the treatment of typhoid fever (of which there are only a few hundred cases per year in the U.S.), and is an alternative drug in a narrow range of other diseases (of which there are a couple of hundred thousand cases per year). Clearly a drug with a small market. In 1950 reports were published linking chloromycetin with aplastic anemia, a serious disease with a 50% mortality rate.

What was the reaction of Parke-Davis? Over two years after these reports, the company advertising contained the statement that the drug is "notably free of untoward reactions." It was prescribed for millions of people as an all-purpose antibiotic, including children and newborn babies. The babies to whom it was given almost invariably died as did many children and adults. After test results showing that serious blood disorders could result from the drug, the FDA ordered its use restricted except in fatal diseases. But the company ordered its salesmen to continue promoting the use of the drug with no restrictions, and sales climbed.

In 1962 an exposure run in the *New York Post* showed that people who had been given the drug for minor infections had died. But the company waited for the bad press to blow over and continued promoting the drug and sales rose again. Only the negative publicity from a Senate subcommittee hearing on drugs caused a continuing decline in sales. But the Department of Defense stepped in to shore up the company's sagging profits by buying up 10 million capsules of Chloromycetin and distributing them to the South Vietnamese army and civilians.

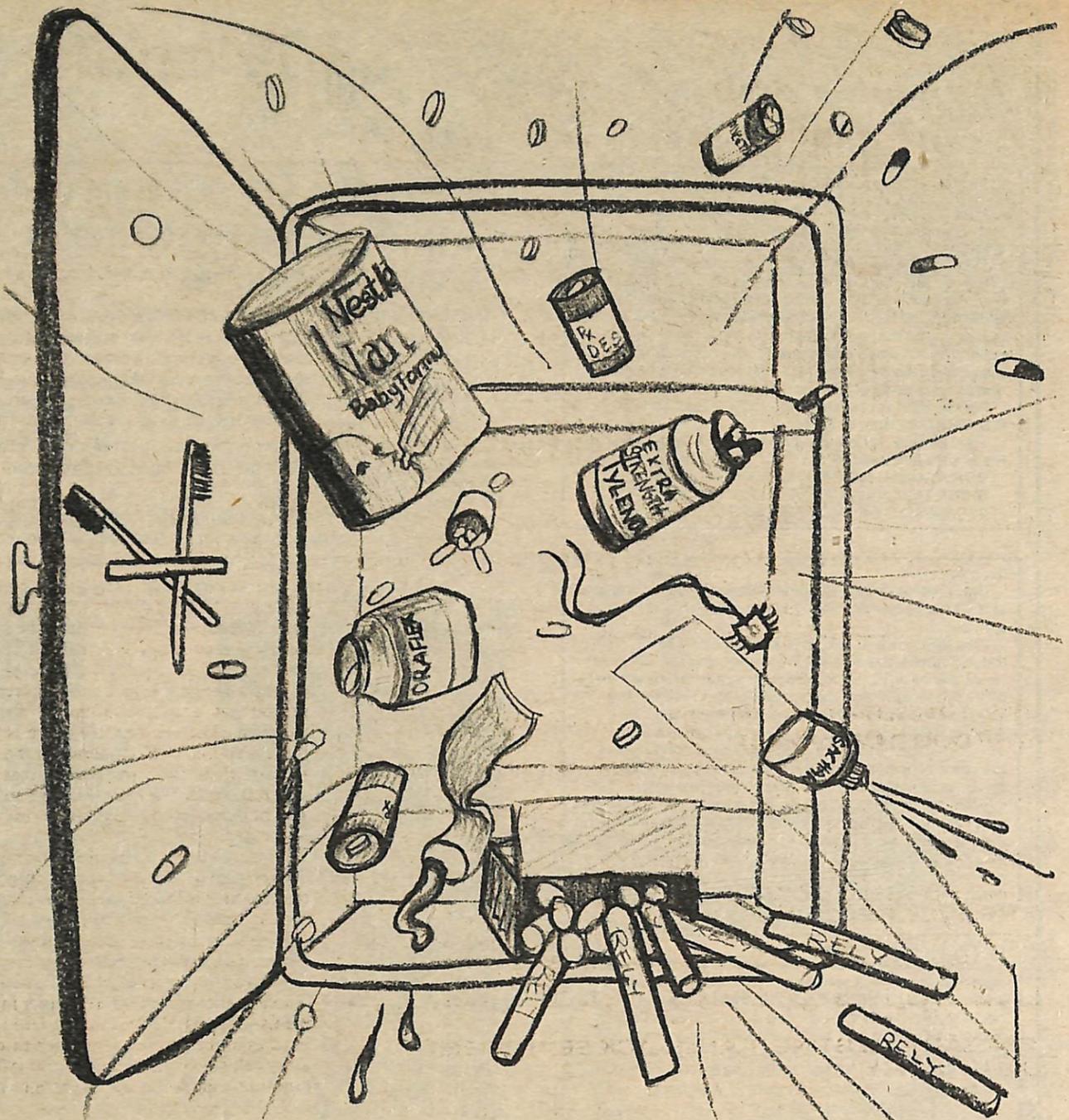
The oppressed nations are a favorite testing and dumping ground for drugs

and pharmaceutical products that have been exposed as unsafe in the U.S. The countries of the third world are giant laboratories and captive markets for the pharmaceutical companies.

Before it was forced off the market two million Dalkon Shield IUDs had been distributed in the U.S. Women who had the device inserted developed septicemia (blood poisoning), septic abortions caused by a poisoned fetus, ectopic pregnancy (with the fertilized egg in the fallopian tube instead of the uterus) and pelvic inflammatory disease. These problems were by no means limited to the Dalkon Shield, though it was one of the worst IUDs on the market. By 1974, of the 12 IUDs on the market, the FDA had been forced to recall all but three. But even here it tried to cover up the dangerous symptoms associated with these intrauterine devices.

But the sordid story of the Dalkon shield did not end with its withdrawal from the U.S. market. In 1972 when the public clamor against it, spurred by documented medical evidence, began to mount, the manufacturer, AH Robin Co. looked for another outlet. That was provided by the Office of Population of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). AID has a huge budget for its efforts to promote population control in the third world and they bought up Robins' stock of the Dalkon Shields. Not only were these deadly devices foisted on tens of thousands of unsuspecting women, the shields bought by AID were shipped out unsterilized — with only 100 inserters for every box of 1000 IUDs. Each inserter was to be used for 10 women, greatly increasing the risk of infection.

These are just a smattering of countless examples that could be given. Besides the efforts to find the "lone killer", the government and drug companies have launched, with great fanfare, plans to put seals on non-prescription drug bottles like Tylenol, based again on the premise that the pills on the inside must be protected from madmen on the outside. In fact, it is simply another attempt to seal the cap on this investigation and to prevent any deeper exposure of the criminal activity of the drug industry and the rotting "natural order" it is part of. □



Excerpted from a longer letter.

I must say that I trust that all prisoners in general and political prisoners in particular have voiced their support in writing in regard to the battle to win refugee status in France for Bob Avakian, chairman of the RCPUSA.

We the prisoners of the bourgeois ideology of justice should acknowledge the importance of this issue. We know only too well of the daily crimes and repression of human rights that go on in prisons, thus the endless violations of person and property. Our testimonies are of these and other inhuman acts that reach back outside and into the arms of the law (police).

Please send your statements to RCP Publications, P.O. 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

This letter is written by a prisoner of political belief at Fishkill Prison, Beacon, N.Y.

**BOB AVAKIAN MEANS IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL!
SHINE THE LIGHT OF REVOLUTION BEHIND THE
PRISON WALLS OF THE PEOPLE'S MINDS.**

Greetings RW,

Upon reception of this communique I hope it finds you and all the people of the RW in good health and in good spirits.

I received my first two RWs by mail this week and I thank you very much. Also, I'm writing you this short letter in thanks again for making it possible for myself and other progressive and Revolutionary-Minded Brothers to have the opportunity of reading your, or should I say, reading the people's paper. Let me say before I close out, your paper, the RW is very informative and right to the point concerning world issues. Keep up the good work. And another thing I'll have to interject before closing out, and that is, we, the progressive Minded Brothers over here at San Quentin Prison's Max A hole send their Revolutionary regards to all the people out that a way. And I'll be sure to pay for my subscription at a later date when I have the money. Again, thank you all very much.

To: *Revolutionary Worker*,

I am from Okeechobee, Fla. I was talking to a brother here that had one of your papers and he let me read it and I was very interested in it. He was telling me it is free, I would like to start getting it, he also said I could give contributions if I could, I will send my contribution when I can, it may not be very much because I am in prison in another state but I will do what I can. What I am trying to say is can I start getting your paper.

Thanks

P.S. By the way I will be here for the next 90 years.

Sincerely yours,

RW,

I am a prisoner at Washington State prison, I wrote and requested a free RW from you a long time ago, which you have been sending. I am presently waiting to be transferred to another prison for they don't like me at this one, so I am writing everywhere I get mail from and asking them to stop sending mail to me until I contact them again in the future. So please take me off your mailing lists and put someone in my place till I contact you again, you send a lot of the people RWs here and it's easy for me to read someone else's meantime and you probably have new people requesting the RW. Anyway, stop mailing to me till you hear back.

A call to prisoners in the U.S. imperialists' dungeons:

At this time, in the battle to win refugee status in France for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCPUSA, statements are needed from prisoners documenting political repression and "routine" acts of torture—repeated beatings, denial of food, bedding, clothing, prolonged periods of isolation, administering of drugs, sexual violations, etc.—on the part of police or prison personnel. This testimony will be a vital part of exposing the nature of bourgeois democracy and the torture and terror inherent in the normal functioning of the justice system in the U.S.A.

Please send your statements to the address below. You may want to do this through your lawyer or relatives or friends on the outside. We will notify you that we have received your letter.

RCP PUBLICATIONS POB 3486 CHICAGO, IL 60654

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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