



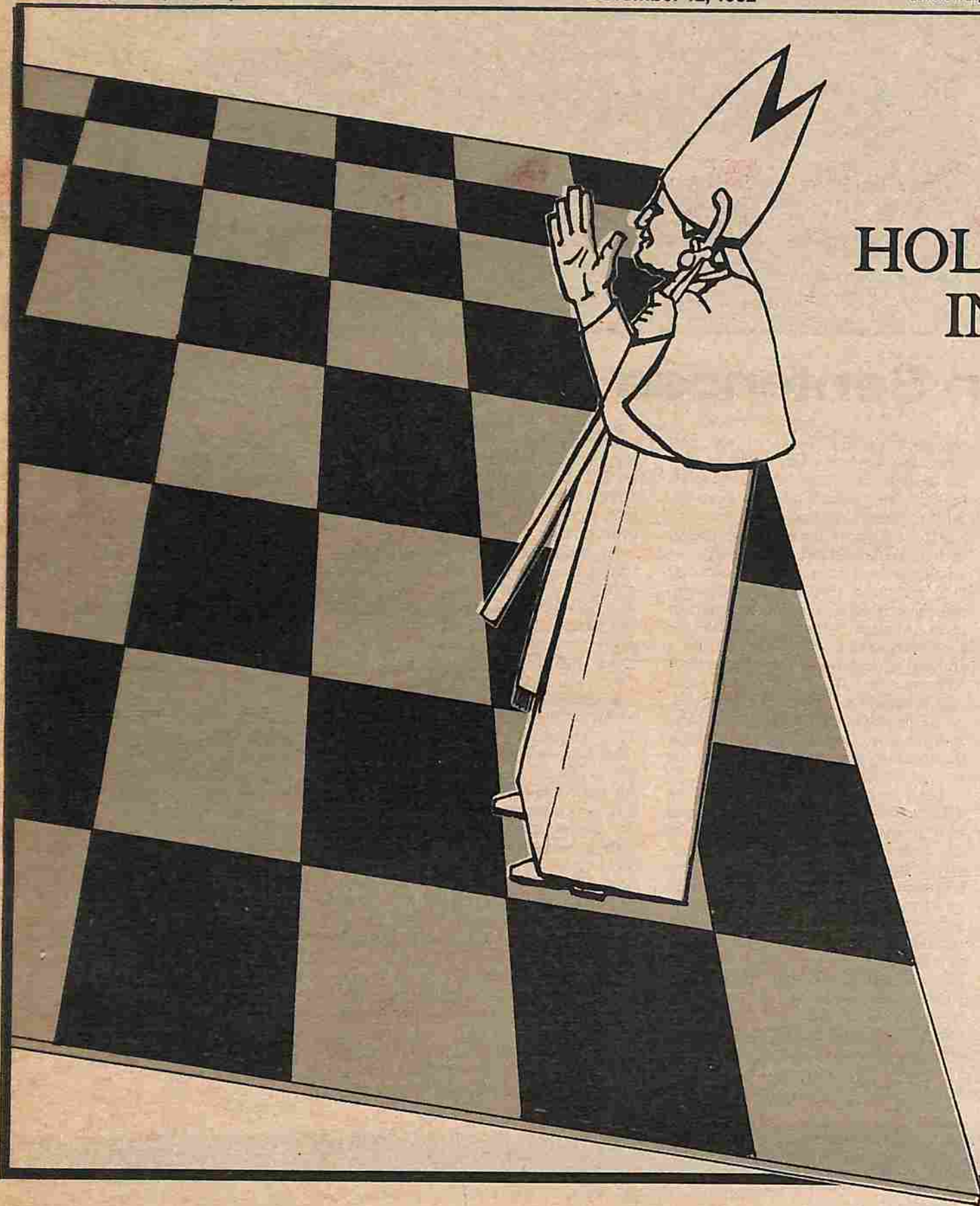
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 180 (Vol. 4, No. 28) Published weekly

November 12, 1982

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c



THE HOLY GAMBIT IN POLAND

A bargain has evidently been struck in Poland. The government has announced the impending release of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, interned since the revisionist hand slapped down across the country last December. The full import of Walesa's release remains to be seen; visible already, however, are the principal brokers in this bargain: the revisionist rulers of Poland and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, which is nothing but an agent of Western imperialism, and of the U.S. in particular.

The immediate background to the Polish junta's announcement was sharp resistance to the regime among some, and reluctance to join this resistance among others. Clashes erupted on Nov. 10, the anniversary of government recognition of Solidarity. In Warsaw, among other cities, thousands of young workers and students defiantly demonstrated, retreating and regrouping several times to challenge the government's teargas, water cannon and smoke grenades. After a demonstration of 15,000 was broken up in Wroclaw, what news reports described as a "hard core" of 2,000 youths took to the barricades, flinging molotov cocktails at police into the wee hours of the night. Likewise, in the steel center of Nowa-Huta there were running clashes between police and demonstrators, mostly young men who fired stones from slingshots and home-made catapults.

The riots last week were of the mold of several others since the imposition of martial law: while certainly not limited to young people, clearly a predominant role has been played by the youth. The mood here caused the British magazine *The Economist* to recently remark: "The immediate problem for the Jaruzelski

Continued on page 5

Trident Nein Sentenced

On Tuesday, Nov. 9, as 300 people jammed the New London, Conn. courthouse spilling out onto the front steps, the Trident Nein were sentenced for their July 5th anti-Trident submarine actions at the General Dynamics Electric Boatyard in Groton. The nine members of the Atlantic Life Community were convicted last month on two felonies and one misdemeanor each for taking hammers to the *USS Florida* sub and renaming it the "USS Auschwitz" in protest of U.S. preparations for mass incineration on a global scale. As with the whole trial the sentencing was a highly political attack on the growing opposition to imperialist war preparations in this country. All nine were given one year jail terms but with some novel conditions in the case of

8 of the defendants. These eight were given the option of getting their sentences reduced by amounts varying from 3 months to the full year if they agreed to pay "restitution" to Electric Boat amounting to \$1386.67 each at the rate of \$100 per month for the damage done to its nuclear "private property." All eight stated that they would refuse to pay a cent. The eight also got 2 years suspended sentences. George Veasey, a Vietnam vet, was given a flat one year sentence with an additional 3 years suspended sentence and 5 years probation.

The sentences were clearly very carefully thought out and with "advice" from high places. The demand for the payment of "restitution" to Electric Boat is an especially sharp example of the

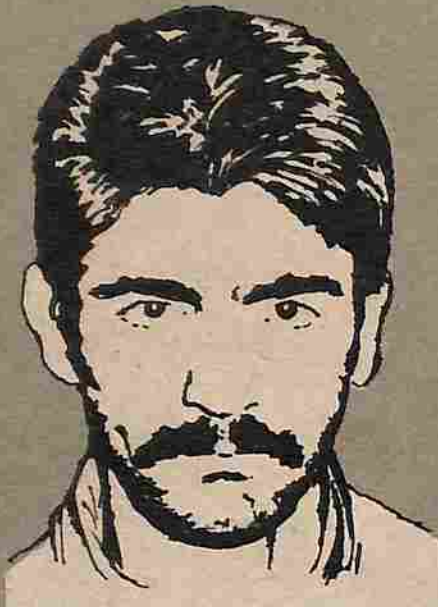
method of political attack used throughout the trial. While the government sought to exact revenge for the Nein's actions and wage its political attack, it tried to wrap it in the legal cloak of a trial of a case of simple "criminal destruction of private property." With this "option" of "restitution" they are attempting to mask a vicious political thrust and an attempt to force the defendants to renounce their political principles, all in the guise of offering them the "choice" of admitting their crime against "private property" and paying its owners their due. Veasey was considered by the court to be a particularly hardened criminal for his outspoken courtroom defiance and for his past record of "crimes" in opposi-

Continued on page 2

Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

Some Questions to Carl Sagan and Stephen Gould (See Centerfold)

STOP THE EXTRADITION OF HÜSEYİN BALKIR



In the last week, we have received copies of articles and appeals for telegrams and letters around the case of Hüseyin Balkir which have appeared in *The Ganakantha* (Bangladesh), *Jaikara* (India) and *Cuadernos El Trabajador* (Colombia). This gives an idea of the breadth of the continuing and still extremely urgent campaign to deluge the W. German and French authorities with telegrams, letters, petitions, etc., demanding the release of this leading revolutionary from Turkey. Balkir is being held by W. Germany for extradition to Turkey, where death awaits him, despite the fact that Balkir had been given political refugee status in France and a passport under the UN Convention, and despite the fact that the Turkish military junta has revoked his Turkish citizenship. (See *RW* No. 179.)

Send protests to:

Oberstaatsanwaltschaft
Reihenspergerplatz
5000 Köln 1
W. Germany
Ministère des Relations Extérieures
Quai d'Orsay
Paris 7ème
France

Copies should be sent to the *RW* and to:

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

Trident Nein Sentenced

Continued from page 1

tion to imperialist war and was given the harshest sentence.

The thin facade of "simple criminal trial" was shattered throughout the trial both by the exposure of the defendants and by the words and actions of the government itself. Government witnesses, consisting of police, Electric Boat officials, a Navy corpsman, and an FBI agent, made it clear that the government considered the defendants who violated the nuclear "private property" at the Trident plant 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 Committees held hearings on the "serious breach of security at the Electric Boat plant." Allusions to "sabotage" and "international terrorism" were all over the press in the area. And the comments of the prosecutor at the Nov. 9 sentencing further revealed what the real deal was. He began his remarks to the judge by emphasizing that he had "gotten input from additional sources, opinions of others who had more experience in such matters." After this very subtle hint of who he was speaking for, he commented that what the Trident Nein did was "really very little different from sabotage" and proceeded to ask for 2 year prison sentences with 3 years probation for each defendant in order to deter others from taking similar actions which would jeopardize the "national

defense," in the words of the pre-sentencing reports. Amazingly he still contended in court that, "social, political, and religious beliefs have nothing to do with this case."

After the judge issued the sentences, each of the defendants spoke briefly, denouncing the Trident sub program and U.S. war plans, pledging to continue to resist in prison, and calling on others to resist. George Veasey concluded the statements saying, "I am proud to be a criminal of this state, for I know from Vietnam what it is to obey the law—genocide, dropping millions of bombs on people so the rich could make out on it. And now the government is going to give a memorial to those who obeyed the law and 'gave their life for their country.'"

Three days before the sentencing of the Trident Nein, 600 people demonstrated in front of the Electric Boatyard as the 4th Trident sub, the *USS Georgia*, was being launched. Among the 600 protestors were three Electric Boat workers in ski masks. One had his wrists tied together as an exposure of the constant harangues about the U.S. being the land of "freedom and democracy" that the Electric Boat workers are subjected to. Also in the crowd was an active-duty Navy enlisted man who had recently been removed from sub duty. He was demoted and put on a month's correctional custody for his "attitude." The problem with his "attitude" was that after 2 years

of training and a tour of duty as a submarine radio man in the Mediterranean, he told his commanding officer that if he were on the radio and orders came to go into action he would "shred those orders."

In opposition to the 600 demonstrators, the government and Electric Boat organized a 15-man counter-demonstration made up of loyal Navymen and Electric Boat workers. Heavily guarded by police they milled about with American flags and picket signs which read "Americans for a Free America," "Stars and Stripes forever—Hammer and Sickle never," "Better Dead Than Red," etc. Their loudspeaker hailed the Trident and those who were building it and suggested that at best the demonstrators were dupes for the KGB. After several minutes of this, two protestors marched as close to the counter-demonstration as possible with a banner they had brought with them which read "Down with U.S. and Soviet War Moves—Patriotism is a Disease—Internationalism is the Cure" with a picture of the U.S. flag upside down and obliterated with a big black X. After going into a huddle, the "Americans for a Free America" came up with a freshly made sign reading, "Internationalism is the Anti-Christ." This exchange quite sharply revealed what some of the bottom line terms of the battle are for both sides as world war approaches—Patriotism, chauvinism and

the defense of imperialism vs. Internationalism and standing with the people of the world against imperialism of all stripes.

Many people stayed in the area after the demonstration and attended a Trident Nein pre-sentencing fundraising event in New Haven and then the sentencing itself in New London. The protest against the Trident submarine program continues to be a big thorn in the government's side. In the 6 years of anti-Trident protests, many thousands have participated in a variety of ways. The authorities have arrested 600 including 19 on Nov. 6. The actions and stand of the Trident Nein and the government's response to it have served to further expose the imperialists' war preparations and their attempts to crush opposition to them. The trial has been a rallying point for sections of the anti-nuke and anti-war movement. Their conviction has drawn in more opposition. The viciousness of the sentences in this case and this blatant political railroad against militant pacifists are an outrage that must be exposed and opposed by all those who hate imperialism and want to see it and its crimes ended. □

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker*
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654
IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

Alabama: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, AL 35201 (205) 787-0202
California:
Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
Los Angeles Area, Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 382-5428
San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
Georgia: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 11049, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 627-8311
Hawaii: Revolution Books 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
Illinois: c/o Revolution Books, 2525 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
Maryland: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
Massachusetts: Revolution Books 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
New York:
Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
North Carolina: P.O. Box 6214, Greensboro, NC 27405 (919) 273-0680
Ohio:
Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books 313 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 398-8865
Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
Oregon: P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 241-2441
Oregon: c/o RCBY, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 748-7258
Texas:
Houston, P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 928-2080
Washington State: Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558
West Virginia: P.O. Box 790, Beckley, WV 25801

SUBSCRIBE!

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

- English Edition Chinese Edition (bi-monthly) \$20
 Spanish Edition French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*. Please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order Chinese edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, San Francisco, CA 94108.

Order French from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

For institutions: \$30/year. Foreign subscriptions: \$50/year Airmail to Latin America, \$80/year Airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe; \$20/year Surface Mail.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)



A remnant of U.S. imperialism in Cambodia, a home built completely of flattened out Coke cans, constructed during the brief period between U.S. and Vietnamese occupation.

U.S. Squeeze Play in Kampuchea

As it has done every year since the Vietnam invasion of Kampuchea in the 1978-79 dry season, the UN General Assembly voted on Oct. 25 to accept the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and thus deny recognition to the Vietnam-installed Heng Samrin regime. Not surprisingly, the 90-29 vote was divided along U.S.-Soviet lines, with the Soviet-bloc countries casting the objecting votes. But unlike the previous years, this time the Democratic Kampuchea government is not composed solely of the Khmer Rouge but rather is a tripartite coalition including the Khmer Rouge, the Moulinaka faction headed by former ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) headed by former premier under Sihanouk, Son Sann.

It was in June of this year that the Democratic Kampuchea coalition was formed as a result of months of intense negotiations. Sihanouk was named the president of the coalition government, Khieu Samphan of the Khmer Rouge as vice-president in charge of foreign affairs, and Son Sann as prime minister.

In the formation of the coalition and the vote at the UN, the U.S. mostly stayed away from the limelights. The hated history of U.S. imperialism in Indochina places obvious constraints on the U.S. taking an open role in the region. The ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations, composed of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines) and China played the active roles in the process, while the U.S. remained as the director backstage. After the UN vote, the U.S. representative went out of the way to explain the U.S. vote for Democratic Kampuchea by saying that it was based on a "technicality" and the fact that there existed no other more viable representative for the UN seat, and then proceeded to attack the Khmer Rouge for "human rights violations" during its rule from 1975-78. But the U.S. is certainly no mere "neutral" and "objective" spectator of developments in Kampuchea; the formation of the tripartite coalition was a U.S.-approved and directed move to increase the pressure on Vietnam and its Soviet imperialist backers, while at the same time putting a squeeze on the Khmer Rouge resistance. A look at just how the coalition was hammered together reveals these U.S. intentions.

In January of 1979, a little over three years since the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea kicked out U.S. imperialism after a long, bloody and heroic struggle, Vietnamese invasion forces overran Phnom Penh, set up the puppet Heng Samrin government and declared "complete control" of Kampuchea. Just a few months previously, the Vietnamese leaders had put the final touches on their sell-out to Soviet imperialism by joining COMECON, the economic association serving Soviet imperialist interests, and signing a "treaty of friendship and cooperation" which is in reality a military alliance.

Faced with an invasion by an overwhelming military force, the Khmer Rouge retreated to the countryside and began a war of resistance. That Vietnam up to this day needs to keep a 200,000-strong standing force in Kampuchea — a country with a population of less than 5 million — to prop up its puppet regime shows the lie behind its claims of "quick victory" and "complete control." But while Vietnam has had its problems in Kampuchea (problems compounded by Vietnam's need to keep huge numbers of troops in Laos and on the Chinese border, as well as the deep economic and political difficulties inside its own borders), the Khmer Rouge has also had to operate under tremendous pressure. The Khmer Rouge forces are greatly outnumbered and out-gunned by the Vietnamese forces. Although a clear picture of the situation inside Kampuchea is difficult to obtain at this point, it is no doubt true that because of the long years of war and devastation, the Vietnamese have been able to break down at least some of Khmer Rouge's mass base with promises of "stability." Although it has bases inside Kampuchea, the Khmer Rouge also depends a lot on border sanctuaries in Thailand, a fact which gives the U.S. and its client regime in Thailand not a small leverage against the Khmer Rouge.

Yet another source of pressure is China, the only outside source of arms and other material aid for the Khmer Rouge (and even this aid must pass through Thailand). The Chinese revisionists' aim in backing the Khmer Rouge is certainly not to advance the genuine anti-imperialist struggle in Kampuchea. Rather, their goal is to use the Kampuchean struggle to suit the interests of the U.S. imperialist bloc and, in this context, serve their own

bourgeois interests of extending their influence in Southeast Asia and weakening the rival pro-Soviet regime in Vietnam. According to *Far Eastern Economic Review*, a senior Chinese official told American journalists during Haig's trip to Asia in June of 1981 that, "From the point of view of global strategy, there is no need to settle the Kampuchean conflict in an urgent way. The Soviets are spending U.S. \$5-6 million a day. Nothing should be done to lighten that burden." *Far Eastern Economic Review* followed this quote with the observation that, "All the evidence indicates that the U.S. is perfectly happy to follow this line." For the Chinese revisionists and U.S. imperialism, the Kampuchean people are nothing but punching bags to soak up the blows and thus drain the strength and resources of Vietnam and its Soviet backers, paving the way for driving Vietnam out of Kampuchea and setting up a pro-U.S. regime in its place, perhaps even creating conditions to wrest Vietnam itself from the clutches of the Soviet bloc and into the U.S. bloc.

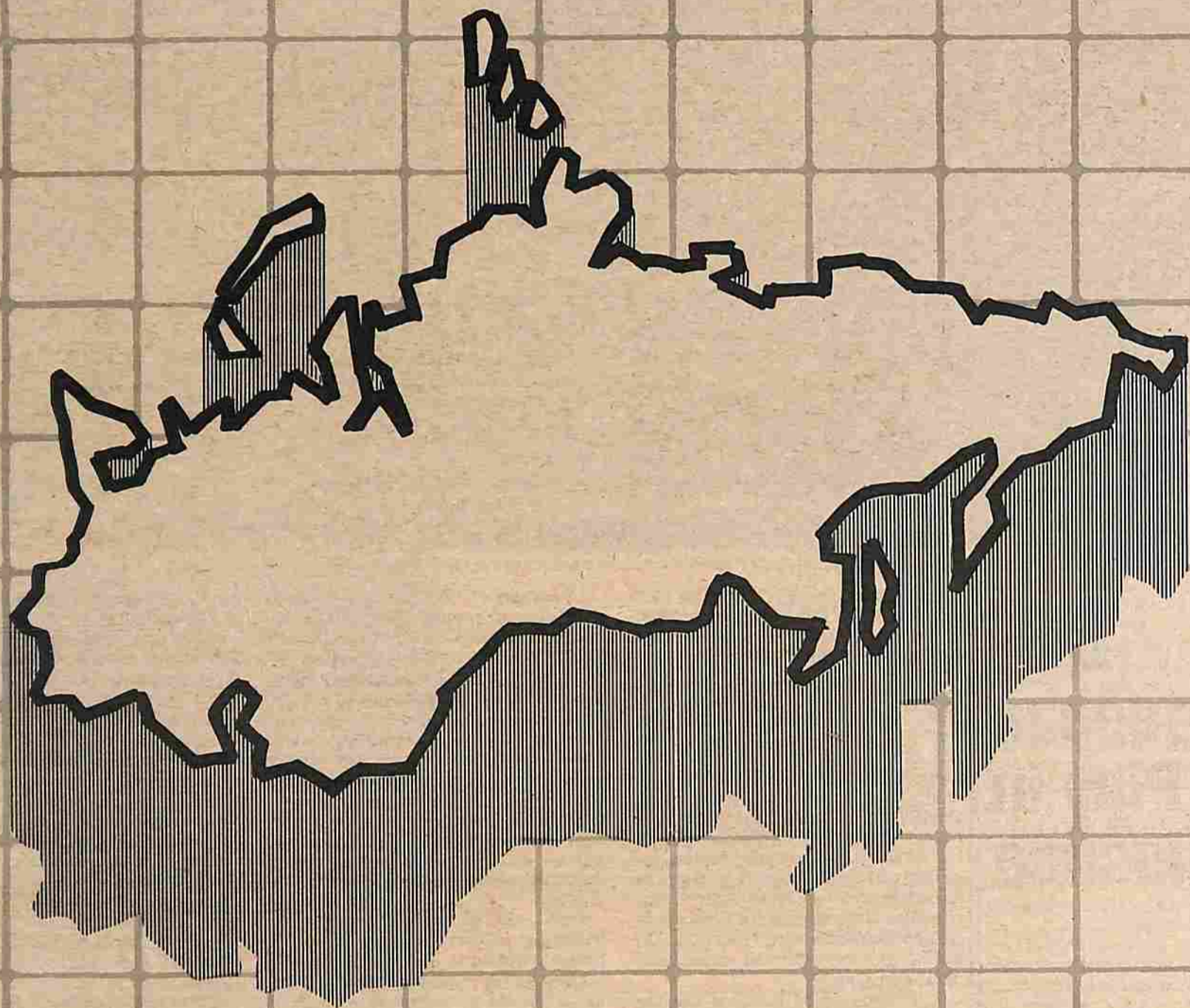
From this, it is clear that the proposal for the Khmer Rouge to form a coalition with Sihanouk and Son Sann, first put forward by China, was not intended in any way to create more favorable conditions for a revolutionary struggle of the masses against the Vietnamese occupation and all imperialist domination. It was meant to mold the resistance into something palatable to U.S. imperialism and amenable to its control. Even before the January '79 Vietnamese invasion, the Chinese revisionists were pushing for the return of Sihanouk as head of state of Kampuchea.

What is not so clear is whether the Khmer Rouge leadership was a willing and enthusiastic partner in this coalition idea from the start, or if it was more the case of being wary of the pitfalls involved but being forced to go along because of arm-twisting by the Chinese. In any case, when China began a serious push to forge the coalition in early '81, the Khmer Rouge made it known that it was taking the initiative to "welcome" the other forces to join the existing Democratic Kampuchea government to form a coalition, and that while sharing some power, it will maintain the leading position in the coalition, including after the Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea.

Continued on page 16

Советский Союз

социалистическое или империалистическое государство?



This is a Russian translation of the Call for Debate on the nature and role of the Soviet Union. It was accompanied by the following humorous note from the translator: "I am sending my translation of your call for the Conference. Unfortunately, I didn't see any possibilities to place your ad in Russian newspapers. There does not exist such a thing as a free Russian press. Some of the papers are under control of the KGB, others—CIA. What do you prefer?"

Отвратительные черты американского империализма очевидны людям всего мира. Но какова сущность Советского Союза — союзник ли он в революционной борьбе или империалистическая супердержава, стремящаяся подобно американскому империализму к переделке мира с помощью войны? Представляет ли СССР будущее человечества с борьбой по уничтожению классов и классовых различий, либо он лишь другая форма эксплуататорского классового общества? Все эти вопросы неизбежно встанут перед теми, кто пытается понять и воздействовать на политический ход событий, кто стремится понять перспективы и задачи революции в современном мире.

Революционная Коммунистическая партия призывает иностранных студентов, профессоров, рабочих-эмигрантов, участников женского движения, революционную молодежь, активистов из самых разных социальных движений, творческую интеллигенцию и классово-осознанных пролетариев, — т.е., всех тех, кто понимает важность и неотложность этих вопросов, — содействовать организации и принять участие в конференции о сущности и роли Советского Союза, которая состоится в ближайшее время в Нью-Йорке.

В последние годы накоплен богатый опыт, проведены новые исследования; взгляды некоторых изменились, а другие же, наоборот, ещё больше утвердились

в своих прежних воззрениях. Вследствие всего этого наличие огромный интерес, сочетающийся с имеющимися серьёзными противоречиями и обилием новых идей.

Конференция, на которой будут высказаны различные точки зрения, должна способствовать большей ясности означенной проблемы. Мы предвидим острейшие столкновения между представителями самых разных взглядов, и прежде всего между теми, кто признаёт сегодняшний СССР социалистическим, и теми, кто считает, что там восстановлен капитализм.

Ясно, что намечаемое предприятие потребует огромных и всесторонних усилий, необходимых для осуществления широчайшего участия и поддержки. Поэтому Революционная Коммунистическая партия призывает, как отдельные личности, так и организации, обращаться со своими предложениями и мыслями по поводу конференции и принять посильное участие в подготовке по её проведению.

Революционная Коммунистическая партия США

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



October 13, Nowa-Huta, street barricades during a series of confrontations between the authorities and demonstrators that lasted all afternoon.

POLAND

Continued from page 1

regime may not be quiet, stubborn resistance. There is now a danger of an explosion. A lot of young Poles are spoiling for a fight. They want revenge against the ZOMOS, the riot police. And the hot-headedness of the young is reinforced by the impatience of many other Poles. . . ."

Yet accounts in the West of events last week in Poland are not without substance. It was widely reported that the underground Solidarity leaders' call for an eight hour on-the-job general strike went largely unheeded. This, of course, is in no small part due to massive intimidation by the forces of martial law and threats of severe penalties. But at the same time, the general features of the period since martial law have been revealed around events of the past week. The approach of Solidarity leaders has been to angle for whatever was viewed as possible advances within the limits imposed by the authorities. For a time, the authorities left open the legal future of Solidarity. Even as revisionist rule was enforced at the direct point of a gun, it was accompanied by illusive promises that there may be some future role for the union, however impotent. So it was that Solidarity leaders have walked a difficult course in recent months — advocating peaceful protest when forced to, and opposing significant resistance to the regime. (One clandestine bulletin in August branded standing up to ZOMO as "wrong and politically harmful.")

These leaders (whatever the maneuverings of the Western imperialists with whom many of them are closely linked) are not leaders without a base among significant sections of the workers. They do typify and concentrate the social-democratic orientation of the movement as a whole which was understandably disorientated and demoralized when martial law was declared. The movement was not prepared — and given its outlook, could not have been prepared — for the dramatic leap which took place in December.

As we know, the door to Solidarity was abruptly slammed last month when the union was finally legally banned. It is

hard to imagine — given that the struggle has been pitched towards hopes that the union would somehow legally survive — that the regime's dictate would not have a big impact. Though, as we shall see, this impact was slyly cushioned by the revisionists.

On the other hand, the last months have revealed a distinct section of "hotheads" who are "spoiling for a fight." And while the point is not to draw hard and fast boundaries — the "hotheads," after all, influence those more prone to "quiet, stubborn resistance," and vice-versa — a force disrespectful of prior limits and generally outside the Solidarity mainstream does seem to be springing from the Polish political soil.

Enter, His Holiness

With all this in mind, we turn to the news of a week which was charged with a rapid-fire series of blockbuster developments. To begin with, the announcement of Walesa's release came — and who could not raise their eyebrows over this? — only three hours after the revelations of Brezhnev's death. Though Walesa's release had apparently been on the drawing board, it is inconceivable that the timing of the announcement was unrelated to events east of Warsaw. Obviously the death of the hated revisionist chieftain contained the potential for sparking ceremonious outbreaks. (At press time, however, we are unaware of any.)

According to the revisionists, sometime shortly before Nov. 10, Walesa wrote them a letter in which he stated: "I suggest a meeting and a serious discussion of the problems of our country. A solution can certainly be found with good will on both sides." One news account said that he signed his name using his former military rank — Corporal Walesa. But Walesa's agreement to "come to terms," to paraphrase the revisionists, is part of a larger package. This can be seen from the latest machinations of the Catholic Church hierarchy. Archbishop Josef Glemp met with the Pope in Italy just prior to his tour of Spain and from there issued a straight-out appeal (broadcast prominently by the Polish media) for Poles *not* to heed the call for demonstrations by Solidarity since this would "only

result in further repression." Then, after accompanying the Pope in Spain, he suddenly rushed home just two days before the scheduled protests for a meeting with Jaruzelski, declaring that "conditions are now ripe for the continuation of a dialogue." (Notably, this was around the same time that Walesa's letter was supposedly written.) The meeting with Jaruzelski produced a proclamation that both Glemp and Jaruzelski "had reviewed the current situation in Poland and voiced their joint concern for the preservation and strengthening of peace, social order and honest work".

The capper was the simultaneous "dramatic" announcement that the Polish government had agreed to allow the Pope to visit Poland sometime next June. Immediately the Western media, and no doubt the Polish media as well, focused on the teary-eyed response of selected Polish matrons wailing "Thank God, He is coming. This is just what we need." Glemp then cloistered all of Poland's Catholic Bishops in a three-day meeting at the Jasna Gora Monastery to isolate them from the expected demonstrations.

A bargain has been struck and it stinks both of U.S. and revisionist scheming. From Jaruzelski's side of the river, the view is that of cushioning the blow of the hammer after driving a final nail into the coffin of Solidarity. From the other side, that of U.S. imperialism and its operatives in the church, the picture is of special significance. There has in all likelihood been a certain reassessment in Washington about the situation in

Poland. There is no departure from basic U.S. strategy as regards Poland. This is the "historic compromise" in reverse, whereby the U.S. hopes to keep its political hooks into Poland, creating headaches for the Soviets in the short run but a major dislocation in the enemy bloc in the long run. Prior to December 1981, the U.S. viewed Solidarity and the workers movement as a key element in this strategy. But this seems to have run its course. No realistic assessment, least of all that of the U.S., sees a return to that period. What is realistic, however, is "Christian reality," as Glemp put it.

It is not simply that the church is consigned to the role of fireman — although the fact that a fireman is still needed in Poland is undoubtedly what has moved the revisionists into the agreement. The U.S., too, despite cheap demagoguery and hypocritical cheering of the workers' struggle, has always been dead opposed to the struggle going beyond certain safe limits. But more, through this *gambetto* — this "tripping up" — the U.S. desires to strengthen its hand under adverse conditions in a region which, after all, is enemy territory.

There is a basis, for reasons discussed earlier, for the maneuvering to get over among some of the Polish workers. There is an ebb in Poland. There may be a bargain, and there may even be some temporary stability and balance. But the ebb remains a highly contradictory ebb — filled with "hot-heads" and not-so-hot-heads, U.S. agents and revisionists, the Pope and other persons. The future of any *gambetto* is filled with danger. □

Leonid I. Brezhnev 1906-1982

The life and death of
this asshole will be dealt
with accordingly in the
next issue of the RW.

Vietnam Vets, Youth Testify

In RW No. 177 we called for Vietnam vets to testify in opposition to the Vietnam War Memorial Monument and the current political maneuvers of the imperialists to reverse correct verdicts on the Vietnam war. Last week's issue of the RW featured a special edition of *About Face*, prepared by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist) in cooperation with the *Revolutionary Worker* which included testimony from Vietnam vets, and as the dedication of the memorial gets underway in Washington D.C., we are printing here further testimony from Vietnam vets and others. In next week's issue we will have a full report on the maneuvers at the monument.

Dear RW:

A person in the RCP informed me that your bookstore is collecting veterans' testimony for future publications. I have enclosed an incident from my experience in Vietnam. I was told that it wasn't necessary to include my name; and I have chosen to leave things that way.

Our cargo ship was off-loading 750 lb. bombs and Bullpup missile fuel in Vung Ro, Vietnam. July, and it was hot and sticky. Thirty Vietnamese longshoremen were inside the cargo holds and continued loading the slings with pallets of bombs. Their work was exhausting. Up on deck, four merchant seamen and myself were painting bulkheads. We kept pausing every few minutes to go in and get water and more salt-tablets from the messhall. But the Vietnamese continued unloading the bombs without a break. I was carrying paint aft when I saw a Vietnamese longshoreman climb out of the hold and sit down on a cargo hatch. An American M.P. supervising the work motioned for him to get back into the hold. The man shook his head. The M.P. walked closer and yelled, "Get down there, I said." The man stood up. "No! Rest," he answered. He wiped his brow with his elbow. The M.P. repeated

the order. Again the man shook his head. The M.P. pulled out his .45 and aimed it at the man. The longshoreman sat back down and slammed his hand against the cargo hatch. "This Vietnam," he said. There was a pause. The M.P. raised his pistol, turned and called three other M.P.s on the pier. Quickly they boarded the ship. They reached the longshoreman and began dragging him toward a truck. The man kept yelling, "This Vietnam, this Vietnam," until the M.P.s threw him into the back, climbed into the truck and drove away. I looked down at the longshoremen. They couldn't see the pier, but they knew something had happened. They stared up at the open cargo hatch until another M.P. leaned over the edge and shouted, "Get back to work down there." Vietnam, I thought, and looked across the port area. The truck was already gone and with it the man who said no, the man who simply wanted rest.

Sincerely,
A friend
San Francisco

Building a monument to commemorate the people who were involved in the Vietnam war will make people think that the Vietnam war was right and another war that is similar could happen.

Seattle

The following testimony is from a 32-year-old Black Vietnam veteran who just got out of jail for the crime of taking a leak near an abandoned building in downtown Oakland, California:

I'll tell you what I think of the monument in Washington, D.C. I just quit a post-traumatic shock program in the VA Hospital. I quit because it's out of hand. . . They have a Vietnam Veteran's Choir and it is going to D.C. to sing the

National Anthem at the monument ceremony. I had to quit. This program is supposed to help the vets that are really having trouble from all what they did, and all what they went through in Nam. . . Don't get me wrong, I'm not knocking the whole thing, some people are okay, some people are trying to do right. But really the whole thing isn't right.

See, the choir is always changing. People are always coming into the program and going out. . . When you first come in, coming off the street, you want help. You're all excited and enthusiastic. The choir seems like a good thing to get you straight — get yourself together. Some can't handle crowds, some can't handle drugs or drink. Some is crying all the time — living all the shit they did and saw again. So the choir looks good. But just as soon as you start to feel good, just as soon as you is doing all right then your attitude changes — it seems like the program changes. If you are late to meetings in the morning, if you go out for a weekend and come back and your piss is checked and found dirty, if you rebel against certain ways things have to be done, you are not allowed to dress in street clothes. You have to wear pajamas and go to Gestalt therapy. You know what Gestalt is? I'll tell you what Gestalt is. Gestalt is standing with 50 to 100 guys in your pajamas and having your brain picked. You're asked how many times did you sleep with your wife? Your girl? What did you drink? Did you smoke weed? What are you thinking? Are you mad? Are you angry? Tell it all! It's brain pickin'. It's brain washin'. That's what pisses me off and a lot of guys who do start to get straight and feel good. Then all this other control stuff, it's just straight-up brainwashing.

So I quit. Look here. They say they are so concerned about the combat vet and all this stress. Hell, they use us. We were all taken to a patriotic parade. . . We had a reliable guide to lead us in the front. We were put in marching formation, singing marching cadence — all very "American." We were told to tell the congressmen that we might meet how happy we were. How good the program was. How every-

thing was okay. So here we are being paraded and what do they do? Boom! Boom! Boom! Off go these damn cannons. Anybody knows what that kind of noise is going to do to combat vets suffering stress. It freaked us out. Guys started turning, hitting the street, and freakin' like the enemy had overrun us. That was the biggest piece of bullshit I ever went through and showed me a lot about what was going on. We were literally herded into vans as quick as could be and driven back to the hospital.

So don't tell me about that monument. I'm just letting you know that the whole thing is sick, and I quit it. So they can put these guys up there to sing the National Anthem in D.C. Fixed-up combat vets being cured of post-traumatic stress. Bullshit! They are brainwashed Vietnam vets being hustled through again!

Your attempt to get us "all marching together again" by building a memorial to the Vietnam war won't work. There are many of us (draft age youth) out here who march to the beat of a different drummer. We envision and fight for a world community freed from the domination (political and economic) of small cliques of capitalists and run by the human race collectively. We uphold the struggle of the people of El Salvador, Afghanistan, Russia and America for a new world because we're bloody sick of the old one!

Victory to the revolution! To hell with national honor, turn the guns around!

Two draft age youth

Dear RW,

From the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to the Vietnam Memorial in D.C. the U.S. imperialists have done everything they can to hide and force out of people's minds the truth about Vietnam and this imperialist system. Right now as the imperialists the world over are heading deeper and deeper into crisis, the U.S. vampires have a desperate need to bury

The Return of GI Joe

I.D. cards that come with GI Joe toys, sent in by an RW reader after reading last week's articles on the Vietnam vets monument. GI Joe dolls were discontinued in the 1960s, but have been reissued and are being pushed currently with an emphasis on combat against "terrorism."

COBRA COMMANDER

Code Name: ENEMY LEADER



File Name: (CLASSIFIED)
Primary Military Specialty: Intelligence
Secondary Military Specialty: Ordnance
(Experimental Weaponry)
Commander-in-Chief

Birthplace: (CLASSIFIED) Grade: Commander-in-Chief
Absolute power! Total control of the world, its people, wealth, and resources—that's the objective of COBRA Commander. This fanatical leader rules with an iron fist. He demands total loyalty and allegiance. His main battle plan, for world control, relies on revolution and chaos. He personally led uprisings in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and other trouble spots. Responsible for kidnapping scientists, businessmen, and military leaders, then forcing them to reveal their top level secrets.

"COBRA Commander is hatred and evil personified. Corrupt. A man without scruples. Probably the most dangerous man alive!"

COBRA OFFICER

Code Name: THE ENEMY



File Name: (UNKNOWN)
Primary Military Specialty: Infantry
Secondary Military Specialty: Artillery, Intelligence
Birthplace: Various Countries Grade: O4 (or equivalent)

COBRA Officers are front-line fighters who lead COBRA attack units into battle. Many are also believed to be operating as spies at defense plants, nuclear power facilities, etc. All are martial arts experts, masters of disguise, deceit, and demolitions. Qualified Expert: AK-47 Assault Rifle; PM-63 Machine Pistol; M-16; Ingram M-11 Sub-machine gun.

"COBRA Officers are dedicated to destroying G.I. Joe and the American way of life. Beware...they are extremely dangerous enemies!"

MACHINE GUNNER

Code Name: ROCK 'N ROLL



File Name: McConnel, Craig S. SN: RA989091452
Primary Military Specialty: Infantry
Secondary Military Specialty: PT Instructor
Birthplace: Malibu, California Grade: E-5

Rock 'n Roll was a surfer in Malibu prior to enlistment. He was also a weight lifter and played bass guitar in local rock bands. Is familiar with all NATO and Warsaw Pact light and heavy machine guns. Graduated: Advanced Infantry Training (Top of Class). Specialized Education: Covert Ops School.

"Rock 'n Roll is cunning but naive, forceful but shy. Possesses a strong sense of loyalty to his teammates and is sincerely concerned about their well being. A man of honor and integrity who can be counted on to hold the line."

INFANTRY TROOPER

Code Name: GRUNT



File Name: Graves, Robert W. SN: RA52779823
Primary Military Specialty: Infantry
Secondary Military Specialty:
Small Arms Armoror Artillery Coordinator
Birthplace: Columbus, Ohio Grade: E-4

Familiar with all NATO and Warsaw Pact small arms as well as domestic civilian arms. Graduated: Advanced Infantry Training. Finished in top ten of his class. Qualified Expert: M-14; M-16; M-1911A1 (Auto-Pistol).

"Grunt is a highly motivated, systematic individual. He's a stand-up guy who doesn't blow his cool in a fire-fight."

On Warmongers Monumental Obscenity

the past. To do this they must drag some reactionary vets out to sing the praises of fighting for the red, white and blue, and "defending freedom."

The U.S. doesn't fight to defend people, it fights to defend and expand corporate interest. For the U.S. imperialist every man, woman and child in Vietnam was the enemy, just as it is here. By this I mean that while the U.S. killed the Vietnamese they were also killing people in the streets of Detroit, Los Angeles, Newark, etc. But this is nothing new. The entire history of the U.S. is built upon the blood and bones of the people.

But this is only one side of the story. With World War III on the horizon and nothing to offer the people except sop, the memories of GIs shooting down their officers, of whole companies refusing to fight and even better, GIs taking their weapons and joining the war against them, has the U.S. ruling class shitting in their pants. What happened in Vietnam is then nothing to what can happen this time around. Already people have seen the spectre of the future in this country in the streets of Miami. And it was not by accident that Vietnam vets were in those streets prepared to use the skills we learned in Nam against the slavemaster in his own yard.

Today U.S. imperialism is in the biggest bind they have been in since this shit house came into existence. Their imperialist system is going down the toilet and they only have world war III to redvide the world to save their ass. This means they have got to drag tens of millions of people into their military machine once again. They even plan to drag Vietnam vets into this war machine. Well they think we have forgotten. They think that we vets have lost our desire to kill them. Well they got another think coming. Vets in Miami were in the streets ready to use the skills we learned in Nam against their National Guard and that was just the beginning.

Vietnam is over but the war against imperialism has never ended. The U.S. is weak and we the people, their real enemy, the people the world over who work and slave to be finally thrown into the streets to starve and die when these

profit-mongering parasites can't make a buck from us, are on the threshold of ripping the heart out of this monster. While the imperialists prepare for war we the people must prepare to wipe imperialism off the face of the earth. We vets from all their imperialistic wars must be telling the youth who are in the service, who have just gotten out or who have never been in what this red, white and blue shit is all about. Open your mouths and speak 'cause these kids want and need to hear the truth. Let's finish what we started in Nam, let's kill this monster once and for all.

K.B.

A Vietnam Vet from L.A.

I am a draft age youth in Seattle, Washington. I find the plan for a commemorative statue in honor of Vietnam veterans to be a blatant example of government propoganda aimed at gaining public acceptance for a third world war. Any monument aimed at romanticizing or glorifying war can only serve to perpetuate war and its causes. If any monument should be made in memory of Vietnam, it should aim at reminding us of the evil and horror of war and all forms of murder.

To all of God's children,

As a minister and a citizen of earth, I'm appalled at the suggestion of a monument to blood-lust and murder. Who can forget the horror and anguish caused by the Vietnam conflict both at home and abroad.

The mass slaughter of innocent people caused by this war was inexcusable. How can a country which claims to be Christian (the President wants prayers in our classrooms) even consider a monument to such a blasphemy. I'll tell you how, the only "God" followed by those who consider this necessary is \$. Those who have all the \$ rule the country.

But fear not. Do not let these sinning, gross materialists lead you to hell. Merely use the God-given rights you

have and protest these activities of death.

Shalom

This is regarding the call for Vietnam-era veterans to testify about what serving U.S. imperialism is all about, which was printed in RW No. 177 (22 October 1982). Well, I'm a Vietnam-era vet, who testified at the War Crimes Tribunal, which was printed in RW No. 112 (3 July 1981). As I testified at that session not only did I refuse to serve in Vietnam but I also entered the military not to serve U.S. imperialism but to work for its defeat in Indochina. This letter, while not directly around what it means to serve U.S. imperialism since I didn't, has to do with why I decided to do what I did.

In part it had to do with my understanding of what was taking place in Indochina based on my conversations with members of VVAW. The town that I was living in at the time had a population of about 13,000 and a VVAW chapter of 45. The nearest place you could call a city was over 30 miles away.

Based on these conversations I grew to understand that this war was not being waged by the U.S. for freedom or democracy or the self-determination of the Indochinese people but was a war of genocide, of plunder, being waged by the U.S. against the Indochinese people.

However, just based on my understanding of the war, I didn't decide that in order to end it the U.S. would have to be defeated and that in order to do that, I and others who felt that the Indochinese people were our allies and not our

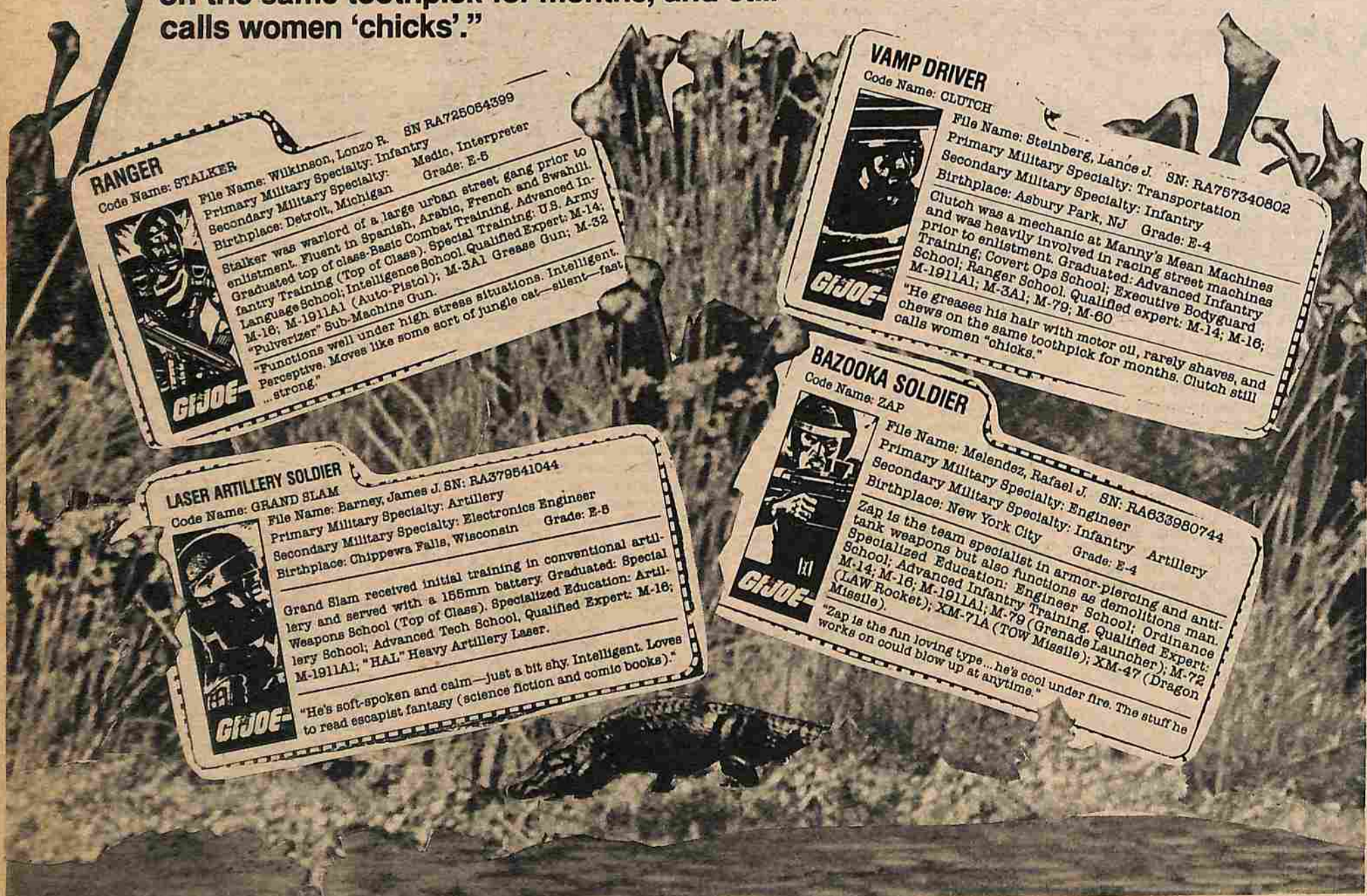
enemies would have to actively work for its defeat. No, if I had just gone on the knowledge of what the U.S. was doing in Indochina I would've probably worked for McGovern, etc. I doubt that I would've even seen that the Indochinese people were my allies, instead I probably would have seen them as a poor suffering people being done harm by a mistaken foreign policy or by a few evil men in high places.

Long before I even thought of what I would do if I had to go into the military or go to Vietnam, I had grown to hate the hypocrisy, the bullshit, the garbage that makes America what it is — a country built on the plunder and exploitation of the people of the world. You see I'm part Native American (Cherokee) and because I wasn't ashamed of it I got dumped on by some of my fellow students, teachers, etc. The strongest memory I have of grade school is the day in the 3rd grade, some 22 years ago, when I got tired of being race-baited and told some backward fools in my class in very precise terms exactly where they could go and do. For which I got suspended for a very brief period of time and my parents had to come to school to talk to the principal about my language and my refusal to apologize for it. The backward fools who were baiting me didn't even get told never to do it again. It was to them I was supposed to apologize to. And no, I never did.

This was just the start. Later in junior and senior high school I repeatedly clashed with some of my teachers and the more reactionary fellow students because I dared to challenge the lies in the history books when it came to the

Continued on page 8

"He greases his hair with motor oil, chews on the same toothpick for months, and still calls women 'chicks'."



RANGER

Code Name: STALKER
 File Name: Wilkinson, Lonzo R. SN RA725064399
 Primary Military Specialty: Infantry
 Secondary Military Specialty: Medico, Interpreter
 Birthplace: Detroit, Michigan Grade: E-5
 Stalker was warlord of a large urban street gang prior to enlistment. Fluent in Spanish, Arabic, French and Swahili. Graduated top of class-Basic Combat Training. Advanced Infantry Training (Top of Class). Special Training: U.S. Army Language School; Intelligence School. Qualified Expert: M-14; M-16; M-1911A1 (Auto-Pistol); M-3A1 Grease Gun; M-32 "Pulverizer" Sub-Machine Gun.
 "Functions well under high stress situations. Intelligent. Perceptive. Moves like some sort of jungle cat—silent—fast...strong."

VAMP DRIVER

Code Name: CLUTCH
 File Name: Steinberg, Lance J. SN: RA757340802
 Primary Military Specialty: Transportation
 Secondary Military Specialty: Infantry Grade: E-4
 Birthplace: Asbury Park, NJ
 Clutch was a mechanic at Manny's Mean Machines and was heavily involved in racing street machines prior to enlistment. Graduated: Advanced Infantry Training; Covert Ops School; Executive Bodyguard School; Ranger School. Qualified expert: M-14; M-16; M-1911A1; M-3A1; M-79; M-60
 "He greases his hair with motor oil, rarely shaves, and chews on the same toothpick for months. Clutch still calls women "chicks."

LASER ARTILLERY SOLDIER

Code Name: GRAND SLAM
 File Name: Barney, James J. SN: RA379541044
 Primary Military Specialty: Artillery
 Secondary Military Specialty: Electronics Engineer
 Birthplace: Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin Grade: E-5
 Grand Slam received initial training in conventional artillery and served with a 155mm battery. Graduated: Special Weapons School (Top of Class). Specialized Education: Artillery School; Advanced Tech School. Qualified Expert: M-16; M-1911A1; "HAL" Heavy Artillery Laser.
 "He's soft-spoken and calm—just a bit shy. Intelligent. Loves to read escapist fantasy (science fiction and comic books)."

BAZOOKA SOLDIER

Code Name: ZAP
 File Name: Melendez, Rafael J. SN: RA633980744
 Primary Military Specialty: Engineer
 Secondary Military Specialty: Infantry Artillery Grade: E-4
 Birthplace: New York City
 Zap is the team specialist in armor-piercing and anti-tank weapons but also functions as demolitions man. Specialized Education: Engineer School; Ordnance School; Advanced Infantry Training. Qualified Expert: (LAW Rocket); M-16; M-1911A1; M-79 (Grenade Launcher); M-72 Missile).
 "Zap is the fun loving type...he's cool under fire. The stuff he works on could blow up at anytime."

Message from a Cambodian Refugee

To the RW:

The Vietnam war ended over 7 years ago, but it still remains a big humiliation in the world history of U.S. imperialism that they could not kill or dissipate the spirit of the Indochinese people as well as revolutionary people of the world even if they could destroy and smash the bodies of millions of people with their huge weapons. Though the disgusting bourgeois ruling class in Washington, D.C. learned a lot of experiences in the Indochina war, nothing can and will be able to change their minds. They still want to keep on their hegemonist policies of being a warmonger to compete with their rival social-imperialist Soviet Union to dominate the world. They used to blame the Nazis-Hitler with the same ridiculous ambition during World War 2.

It's obvious that imperialist U.S. rushed to get in and set up another Vietnam war in El Salvador and tried to fight the innocent Lebanese in profit of Israeli aggressors and murderers. Moreover in Southeast Asia, the situation and condition of more than 100,000 Cambodian refugees in Thai camps are getting tougher. They are really getting oppressed and forced to go back to Cambodia to fight with 180,000 Vietnamese troops and Russians who are controlling Cambodia. This is the butcher plan of imperialist U.S., Thailand, ASEAN and some other countries, even though they know that those refugees are very tired of war and suffering. None of them can live in peace.

The bourgeoisie enjoys the comfort and luxurious lives in Washington, D.C. as they suck the blood, torture and commit genocide on people everywhere in the world, pretending to protect and set them free from social-imperialist Soviet Union. Now they are mocking suffering refugees in the rest of the world by bringing some of them to the U.S. in order to hide and overturn the verdicts on their atrocities, treating these refugees like propaganda speakers to oppose communism and the Soviet Union.

To systematically hide the epilepsy and trauma syndromes of Vietnam veterans who they have given up and forgotten for almost 8 years, to try and convince the young generation and create broad public opinion to get involved in nuclear war that is approaching fast, they are going to put on a big celebration to honor those Vietnam vets who are very muddle-headed and repent their opposition to war. In order to disguise their tremendous ambitions of making war and the truth behind the unveiling of this monument, they say the theme of the celebration is "Marching Along Together Again."

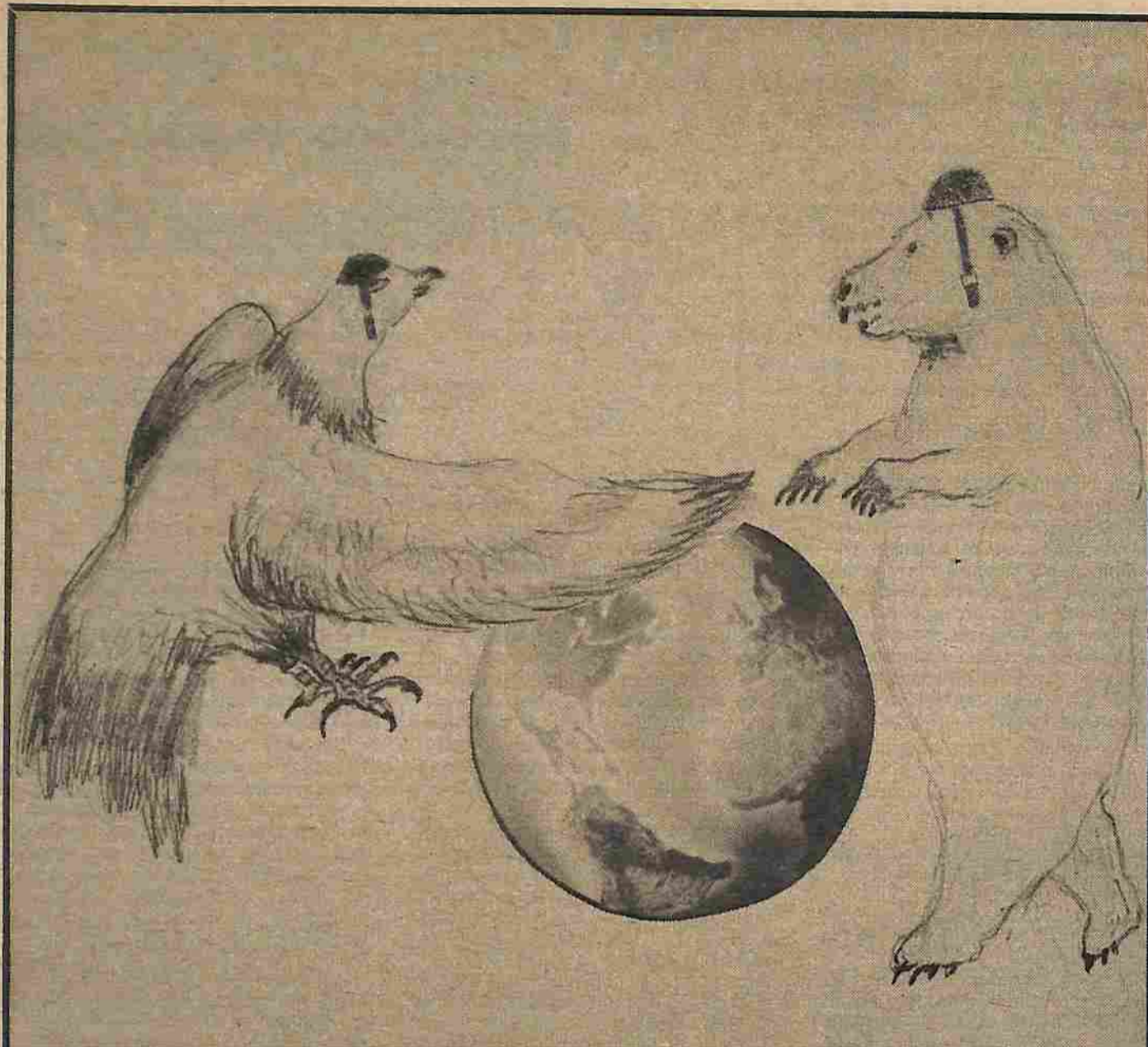
Bullshit, bourgeoisie! You don't have any chance to get Vietnam vets to fight for you again and use them as a model for the young generation. Nothing can intimidate the movement and the real revolutionary peoples that still oppose your imperialist system and will do so until the last second of their lives.

A Cambodian refugee

don't believe I need to mention here that I totally reject the so-called tribute (a bribe would be a better word) that U.S. imperialism is trying to get over with me. I will never forget the lessons that U.S. imperialism has taught me and here pledge my life that I will work not only to repay it with interest for all the misery and suffering it has sown throughout the world during its existence by joining together with others to bring it down; but, to work for the day when children will look at their teachers as if they are mad, when they describe the imperialist epoch in their ancient history classes.

With revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist greetings.

Member VVAW(AI)
Los Angeles



This cartoon was drawn by a Laotian youth who hates U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and says, "Reality teaches me in a hard way what imperialism means for the people. Inside the imperialist country, the ruling class tries to hypnotize people and send them to the battlefield. . . That is what this Vietnam war monument is about. They try to reverse the correct verdict on the Vietnam war and pat the back of Vietnam vets with honor and recognition, because they are in need of new blood and flesh."

On Warmongers Monumental Obscenity

Continued from page 7

U.S.'s history. Even though it meant I had to travel a bit of a distance to go to the area's larger libraries I went there to try and discover what the U.S. history really was. In part I had been spurred on by stories of my ancestors, in particular my great aunt on my father's side, which gave me a small inside view of the Native Americans' history of struggle against U.S. capitalism. I had begun to see the lies and now I had to find out for myself the real truth. Which I quickly learned one cannot find out in junior and/or senior high school textbooks which either glorifies and/or leaves out completely the crimes of U.S. imperialism. It was also during this period I saw my father being slowly chewed up and then thrown out of work, a cripple for life, by Ford. He has since had the glorious honor and all the pain and suffering that goes with it of being used as a guinea pig, as one part, then another of U.S. imperialism's medical establishment tried one of its miracle cures after another on him. This plus the privilege of getting to go on welfare and watching the last of my parents' pride die in order to feed us kids added to my hatred of this shit. All of this happened before I was 16.

Around my freshman year in college, I thought that perhaps I could help eliminate some suffering by becoming a biochemist, no less. I discovered to my outrage that even if I got a Ph.D. I wouldn't be helping mankind. No, instead the probability was that I would be doing biochemical warfare research for U.S. imperialism via some U.S. corporation, this was less than a year after the U.S. stated that it wasn't going to engage in

the research, manufacturing and testing of these weapons any longer. Either that or I would be working for some drug company devising some better way to numb the senses of people through some tranquilizer or other such drugs. So I dropped out of school fed up with the cutthroat competition and the lies of a better tomorrow under the U.S. ways of life.

However, prior to my quitting school, I had become involved, in a very peripheral manner I'm now sorry to say, in the defense of 3 Iranian students who were being threatened with expulsion and deportation for defying the University of Missouri at Columbia ban on demonstrations by doing something, I don't remember what it was, in support of the Indochinese people. The reason I say I'm sorry isn't for getting involved, it is for being involved only in the manner I stated. I only partially understood why they did this, just as I only partially understood what they were saying about the U.S. involvement in Iran. I began to sense that it was not just what the U.S. was doing in Indochina or Iran was wrong but the whole damn set-up was wrong. The wrongness of which I began to suspect would require just a bit more than me exercising my so-called democratic rights and privileges.

So I went back to the town my parents were living in to try and discover exactly what it was and maybe try to do something about it. After some discussions with some friends and the now radical youth of the area we decided that the best way to do that would be to start an alternative newspaper. We wanted to discover what was going on

in the world and write about it from our point of view (not that of some dried-up old prunes who had fucked it up already) and upon doing that, work on changing it. The paper's whole reason for existence was not to bring the system down but write about it, I don't remember us using the words revolution or U.S. imperialism even once during its entire existence.

However, the way the shit hit the fan with the first issue you would have thought we had printed the *Manifesto, What Is To Be Done?*, and a call for insurrection. Immediately after it hit the streets, I, because I was its editor and chief writer, started to receive death threats (one which came from the vice-president of the local Chamber of Commerce), lost my job and was blacklisted in the surrounding area, was arrested or picked up numerous times for anything including curfew violation even though I was 19 at the time and not living at home (something every pig in town knew). The curfew violation was used against me a couple of times to prevent me from attending demos and reporting on them. All this as I said for being the editor of a newspaper that just questioned what was going on in the world and not from a very radical position considering the times (1971, to be exact). It was during this time I had these discussions, conversations, etc. with people in VVAW. So you see this is why I did what I did: enlist in the U.S. military to work for its defeat and for the victory of the Vietnamese people. By this time my outrage at what I and others had experienced at the hands of U.S. imperialism had turned into hatred for the red, white and blue and everything it stood and fought for. (The hatred since stealed and transformed into a growing conscious understanding of imperialism since the '70s in no small part by the RCP and its (my) newspaper the *Revolutionary Worker*.)

So, it is for these reasons and others I

German Hospital Worker Reports From Beirut

The following account was written by a German hospital worker in Beirut during the massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila camps. Translated from the German by the RW.

On the day of Gemayel's election, I reached West Beirut, together with three other Germans, who like myself wanted to provide medical help. While the population of east Beirut ran jubilant through the streets, firing off rounds, to give expression to their joy — the Palestinians and Lebanese of west Beirut were unsettled. There was no way to exactly evaluate what they should now expect. The questions hung in the air, of whether Gemayel's troops would now invade northern Lebanon, and of what would happen to west Beirut and its Palestinian inhabitants.

On the following day, I was brought to Sabra, in order to work in a Gaza hospital led by the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS), specifically to help reorganize it. During the bombardments all patients had been forced to evacuate since even this hospital — despite its unmistakable red cross on the roof — was attacked. All stations were more or less deserted, and we filled the day gathering together the scattered materials needed to get one station ready for the patients we were already expecting to return. Then came the first two families, all victims of the phosphorus bombs of the Israelis. Their faces were crusted over and bloated; their extremities wrapped in bandages that had last been changed days before. They simply sought out beds, laid themselves down, and asked for pain killers to enable them to sleep through at least one night.

In the following days the hospital stirred itself to life more and more. Medical personnel from America, England and Norway came to help, as did various Palestinian doctors and paramedics. The stations swelled with patients and necessary bandage materials arrived from somewhere. And just like the hospital itself, the surrounding communities of Sabra and Shatila started to pulsate with life. In my daily walks I could see how the inhabitants started to burn the trash which lay in mountainous piles at the street curbs, how they pieced the water system back together and repaired those houses still standing. After a while even the stores opened again, and the streets filled with people who bustled back and forth on their various errands. Throughout this period, every day saw the departure of a group of PLO fighters from Beirut, going toward the Sudan, Greece and Syria. The Lebanese and Palestinian population sent their fighters off with flowers and tears. Never did I meet a person who would condemn the three months of resistance by the PLO forces. While at the same time, they had a lot to report about the bombardments of houses in which hundreds of civilians had holed up and in which they had then lost their lives. On the streets everywhere I found parts of the

fragmentation bombs (cluster bombs): long, crystal-shaped iron shards that had robbed 2300 people of their arms and legs during the war. (This statistic was pieced together by the PRCS with the help of all the hospitals of Beirut.) One day I found a huge, approximately 3-meter high bomb, on which someone had written in English and Arabic: "This is a gift from Reagan to Begin, and from Begin to the Children of Palestine." Before their departure, the PLO fighters had managed to disarm a large portion of the unexploded Israeli bombs in the various houses and streets. But despite this, there were numbers of bombs and grenades, which looked like children's balls, among the ruins. The Lebanese Army made no efforts to go through the communities of west Beirut to get rid of the remainder. Almost daily you would hear an explosion which had been triggered by a child handling one of these "balls" or by people starting to clear the rubble.

One evening, I sat on the steps of the hospital, as an ambulance brought in a wounded 14-year-old boy. And a little while later up came several screaming women. In answer to my questions of what had happened, I learned that the father of this boy had been killed by a detonated bomb as the two of them had walked together through the ruins.

Eventually, there were no more PLO fighters to be seen. Those who I had managed to talk to before their departure and the many remaining civilians I knew attempted to describe to me their situation as Palestinians. They told of their villages that the Israelis had leveled after 1948, how they had lived for decades as nothing more than refugees and how they had still not given up hope, how they somehow someday would regain their homeland and live in self-determination.

Despite all this, this war, which has led to thousands of dead and wounded, which has exposed the passive acceptance of the Arab states, especially Syria and Saudi Arabia, has left deep marks. My Palestinian co-workers and friends gave me an impression from the beginning as if this war had drained them, as if it had left them barely able to contribute optimal care and medical assistance. One day before the massacre in Sabra and Shatila a young nurse spoke to the heart of this: "Isn't it absurd that you make a patient well, so that he can be cut down an instant later?"

Three weeks after my stay in Sabra, life had normalized to the degree that my work in the hospital was no longer needed. This lasted until that Tuesday, when as Gemayel was assassinated, rumors spread like wildfire among the people. Even though they had hated this man, they reacted with dismay. A Palestinian nurse, who had worked in the Akka Hospital of Shatila, commented dispassionately on the deed: "Now Kataeb will come, and will carry out a frightful bloodbath like in '76." This nurse was taken that Friday, together with an Egyp-

tian, two Palestinian doctors, a Filipino and several patients, and shot to death.

On the fifteenth of September, in the morning, planes buzzed the western half of Beirut. I stopped counting at 25. Then came the first shots and in ever shorter intervals there were detonations in the immediate vicinity. The Israelis tried to force themselves into the camps, to provide "peace and order," as they announced in the news. What kind of peace did they have in mind? Later they put out that 2000 PLO fighters had remained in the camps, who they intended to disarm. These men were fathers and husbands living in the camps, who reached for weapons to defend and protect their families.

In a flash, the streets were deserted, and chaos broke out. In the course of the day approximately 2500 refugees crowded into the hospital, pressing their way into the halls, the staircases and any unoccupied spaces they could find. It was no longer possible to leave the hospital, and contact with Alhamra was broken, all because of the enveloping combat.

Thursday, workshifts were extended to 12 hours. Continuous streams of refugees entered crying and screaming that they were all being slaughtered. The first rumors surfaced of men who were shooting entire families in the camps, and were just as quickly confirmed as the first heavily wounded started arriving. One woman had her face entirely mangled by a wound that went through her head. Two patients with amputated legs and several wounded in the abdomen lay by us in the intensive care station which in the meanwhile had filled completely beyond capacity. We didn't know whether they would survive the complete absence of blood reserves. In the operating theater work went on until the early hours of the morning. And in the night from Thursday to Friday the sky above Shatila was brightly illuminated. Without pause, the Israelis shot parachutes up into the air that carried flares. Two things disconcerted me: until now shooting had started in the mornings and had quieted with the evening twilight. But this night there was uninterrupted shooting. And second, it no longer had a back-and-forth quality, like an exchange of fire; it was onesided, coming from a single direction.

In the night shift I had only managed to grab an hour's sleep, when an American co-worker shook me awake and insisted that all the Palestinian and Lebanese nurses and doctors had to flee the hospital. As I walked down through the hospital, it was apparent that the great majority of the refugees had disappeared. We were told that the Phalangists were in the camp and were quite likely to force their way into the hospital as well. Until the evening, all patients who could possibly walk were dispatched, and we were left with about 45 of them, one Lebanese man from our staff, and one Egyptian cook. The patients on the fourth floor were evacuated to the lower floors as we were being shot at, and smoke was wafting onto that

floor. A Pakistani friend, with whom I had worked before, was critically wounded on the 10th floor by two shots and rushed down to the lower levels. The last Palestinian woman who left the hospital was the Director, herself, who until then throughout the whole course of the war had never left the work. She explained to us that we could expect an ambulance from the International Red Cross which had finally been promised after heavy pressure. It came that night, to evacuate 2 patients, and we insisted on them taking 5 children as well. In the wagon, two doctors and nurses arrived to help us. Exhausted, we turned the work over to them, and despite the continuous firing finally sank into sleep.

At 6:30 the following day, a doctor was called down because soldiers were lining up before the hospital. I went down too, and confronted a group of cleanly dressed soldiers, who politely wished me a good morning. They claimed to belong to the Lebanese army, and said that we had nothing to fear. All were to come out and leave the patients behind. As we explained to them that we had heavily wounded patients, they said they were willing to allow at least one of us to remain behind. My German friend and a Swedish nurse ran back into the hospital. Meanwhile, I had had enough time to closely observe the men we were dealing with. On some breast pockets were sewn green strips which had Arabic inscriptions stitched in red thread. And on the shoulders of some, there was the insignia of a red dragon. And all during this time hundreds of women, children and old men were being marched past us. Many seemed to have been snatched straight from their beds, and were still dressed in their night shirts.

When all had passed, we were supposed to follow the soldiers — since they claimed to have something to tell us. But, they said, this could only happen someplace else. To the question of whether we would then be able to return to the hospital, we got an affirmative answer. Together we walked along the main street from Shatila in the direction of the airport. Right and left, the houses were partially caved in, and I saw corpses inside, and walked past a pair of dead old men whose wounds now swarmed with flies. After about one kilometer, we came upon about 600 prisoners, who were squatted left and right on the shoulders of the road. I recognized the Egyptian cook and his family, and the black man who wanted to return to his family in the Congo. Many people stretched before me who I recognized, people who had daily sat on the steps of the hospital and wished us "sabach al châr" — Good Morning —, who had always offered cigarettes or Pepsi Colas, and whose conversations had been filled with the simple dream of a piece of land from which they could not be driven — they were all sitting here and we had to walk between these two rows of them like through a gauntlet. Several pointed to the soldiers and cried: "Hadaad, Hadaad!" And the others simply stared into our eyes, without sound. As we left them behind, suddenly right and left of us sprang up mounds of up to 20 meters height. And since I had been in this area once before, I knew that aside from a piece of water work, the land had previously been flat.

Suddenly, we were brought to a halt, and our passports were given quick glances. The purpose was obviously to establish our nationality. Others came, with different uniforms, and with a sweaty appearance. One of them suddenly called a young man out of our group. He took

Continued on page 12



Palestinian youth tear down, and set on fire, a tent that had been erected on the bulldozed ruins of Ain al Hilweh refugee camp in southern Lebanon. Still fiercely resistant, many refugees reject these "humanitarian" gestures of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency knowing full well that this sort of housing promises nothing but a cold and incredibly damp winter, unprotected even in the barest, most simple terms, from further incursions by the murderous Phalange and their Israeli cohorts.

Reflections and Sketches by Bob Avakian

Some Questions to Carl Sagan and Stephen Gould

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

In *Cosmos*, Carl Sagan cites the example of Immanuel Velikovsky and his theory as put forward in his *Worlds in Collision* on the origins of parts of the solar system and so on. Without going into that theory here, the point that Sagan was emphasizing with that example, and that I want to address, is that he decried the fact that as ridiculous as Velikovsky's theories were and have proven to be, he was nevertheless suppressed and prevented from presenting these theories and this, Sagan said, was a real tragedy and something to be guarded against and fought against. In a slightly different vein, but taking up the same general theme, Stephen Gould in his book *Ever Since Darwin* also takes up the example of Velikovsky. While he puts less emphasis on the suppression of Velikovsky's ideas and theories (Gould gives the impression that Velikovsky was more subjected to ridicule than he was suppressed) Gould says this raises, and I think he's correct, important questions not only in the scientific realm but philosophically. That is, how is the ordinary person, or the person who is not expert in the particular field of science, to be able to evaluate theories and to be able to determine if a theory which on the surface sounds preposterous is really such, or in fact has a deeper scientific basis and is, in the main at least, correct. Both Sagan from his angle and Gould from his raise important questions that I want to speak to here.

First, on the question of suppression of ideas, specifically unpopular ideas and theories, and looking forward to the future socialist societies and even beyond that to classless communist society, how should this problem be taken up? What is the correct approach to this? What approach should we fight for even now, and what approach, when the proletariat is in power, should it apply and when we move to communist society should be generally applied by society to this question?

We can agree, on the one hand, that suppressing ideas which are held to be incorrect, even held to be ridiculous or unpopular, is in general not a good thing, and I'll come back to the fact that there are different class viewpoints as to why that is not a good thing, in general. But, simply agreeing that suppression of unpopular ideas, or ideas which appear ridiculous or clearly wrong, is in general not a good thing doesn't answer some more difficult and fundamental questions. For example, is it possible in one form or another to literally avoid the suppression of some ideas? I think an actual materialist analysis of this question would say that it is not possible, that in one form or another there always will be some kind of suppression. And I say one form or another because even if there is not political suppression and political persecution of people for holding unpopular ideas — and again I'll return later to the different class viewpoints about this — but even if there is not political suppression there is a simple fact, to put it in a certain way, there are only so many trees in the world at any given time; only so much paper can be produced, even so much microfilm — and no matter what various form of communication is adopted there can never be an unlimited supply of it. For that reason there never can be in the most literal, absolute sense the unlimited diffusion or popularization of all ideas without distinction for the reason that there are not unlimited productive forces — besides the fact that all productive forces simply can't be devoted to communication or else the basis even to communicate would dry up, if the material foundation of society is not being reproduced as a whole. So there are going to be objective material limits on this no matter what stage of society we're at, no matter how developed the productive forces. And this has a very direct political implication. It will always be necessary, even in classless society when there will be no states and no organs of political suppression of one part of society by another, to make distinctions and make conscious choices and to give more play, to give more diffusion, to give more popularization to some ideas rather than others. It will never be possible to avoid having to make choices like that and to find the correct means for making those choices.

A Question of Methodology

This also is closely linked to another question of methodology. If the notion of equal time for all ideas is, from a material standpoint, an illusion and not possible, at least not correct, it is also not possible nor correct politically nor methodologically, ideologically. And this is a question that I will put to all those who are agonizing over this question, is this in fact (even if it could be done theoretically) a correct method in approaching the sciences in particular? Is it correct in fact to give every idea equal weight? Does this reflect the correct relationship between practice and theory? Does it reflect the method by which knowledge is advanced and deepened, the method by which what is true is more profoundly grasped and concentrated and what is incorrect and proved to be incorrect discarded or recast in light of what's learned? No. The method by which that occurs is by in fact giving preference, if not in an absolute sense, at least giving relative preference to ideas which can be determined at any given time to be correct and applying those ideas and theories in attempting to change the world, and on that basis drawing more lessons.*

* Sagan, from his viewpoint, has also recognized that there are problems involved here. In his introduction to his book *Broca's Brain*, for example, he makes the important and relevant point that "The well meaning contention that all ideas have equal merit seems to me little different from the disastrous contention that no ideas have any merit."

Now it has been true, and this is the point that I think both Sagan and Gould in their own ways are attempting to get at, and has proven true very often in human society, that ideas which were held not only to be wrong but ridiculous at a given point proved to be correct later on or to have an important aspect of truth to them. Or even if they were never shown to be correct and their incorrect, even ridiculous, character was reinforced by the further accumulation of knowledge, perhaps in a negative sense they led to the advance of human understanding and human progress, because in refuting them more knowledge was gained that might not have been gained if those ideas did not serve as a particular focus of criticism, struggle and investigation. What all this touches on is that certainly in the transition from capitalism to communism, that is during the socialist period when there will be a dictatorship of the proletariat, this means that in the field of scientific inquiry, as well as all other fields, there must be proletarian leadership. And even when that transition has been made and communism has been achieved there will still be the need for leadership in some way or another. There will still be a need, in other words, for centralism at the same time as there is broad participation and debate and struggle among the people generally over these various ideas.

Non-Professionals Leading Professionals

Now this touches on the question which I believe Gould is at least indirectly raising, and touches on directly in his book: that is the question, as Mao formulated it in the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, of the non-professional leading the professional. Gould, for example, at the end of his essay "Velikovsky and Collision," says, "I will continue to root for heresy preached by the non-professional. Unfortunately I don't think Velikovsky will be among the victors in this hardest of all games to win." (p. 159, *Ever Since Darwin*) And generally beyond that he raises the fact that there has to be a way in which people, even scientists who are expert in one field, can evaluate scientific theory that requires specialized knowledge in another field. In other words, what's being gotten at here is that even for the scientists, let alone for the masses of people more broadly who are not at a given point trained in the sciences beyond a very basic level, there is the question: can they struggle through and evaluate what is correct and incorrect and in that sense can the non-professional lead the professional? Here I'm reminded of what Mao said about the opera; he said in the end the audience will reign supreme because, while you might not be able to sing a note, if you go to the opera long enough you'll be able to distinguish what's good and what's bad opera. And he was speaking to a much more fundamental point about the ability of masses of people who don't have specialized knowledge in this or that field, by taking up the scientific standpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, to be able to struggle through and evaluate what is correct and incorrect even in theories that require specialized knowledge. But this of course requires a back and forth first of all between people with the specialized knowledge and those who seek to lead them who do not have the specialized knowledge, and at the same time requires, even more fundamentally than that, the back and forth, as I spoke to earlier, between practice and theory.

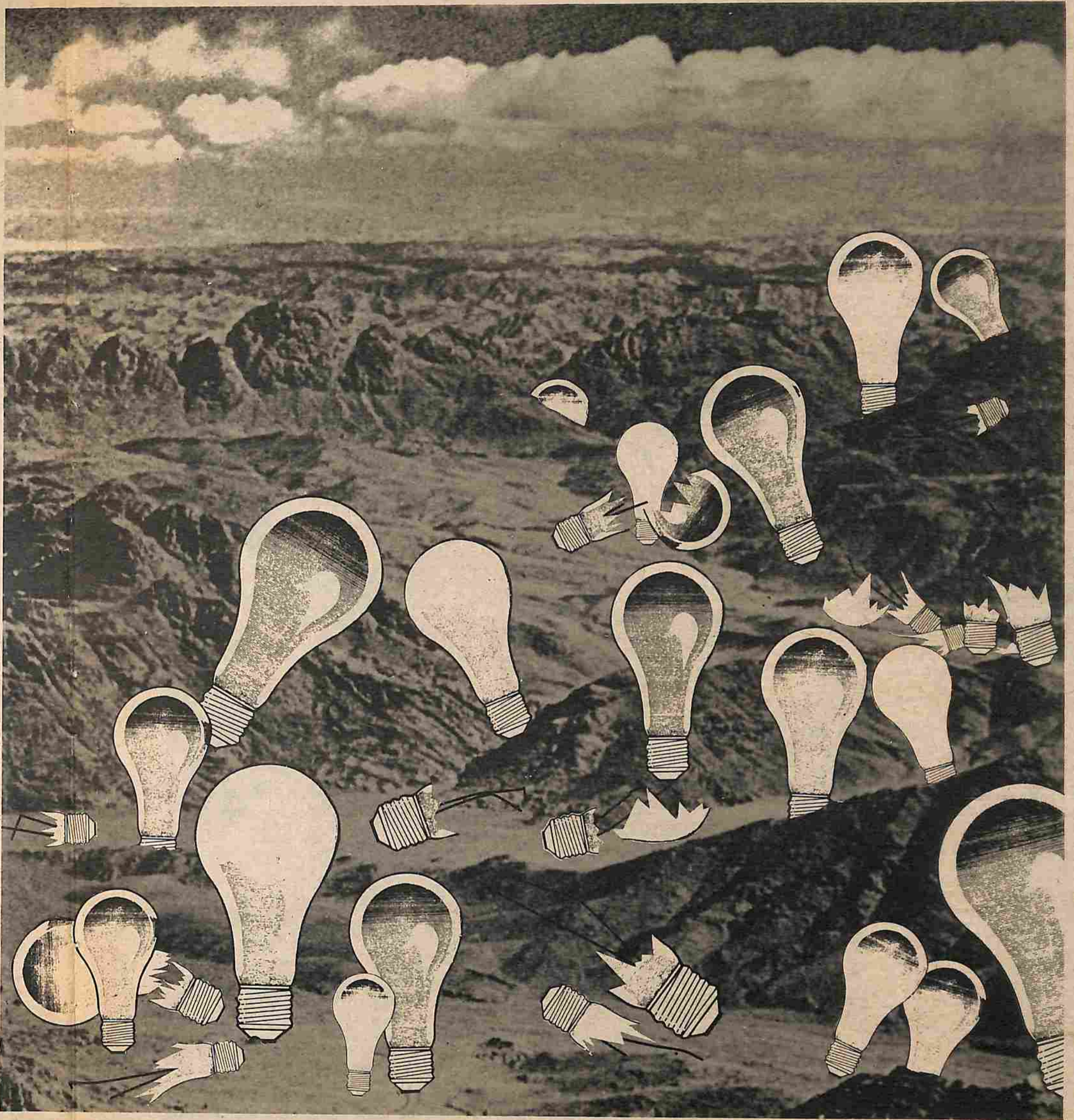
But if, as Mao said, it is a fact that the non-professionals must lead the professionals, what does this mean and why is that so? Well, if we say that the non-professionals cannot lead the professionals and that only people expert in this or that field are qualified to give leadership in that field, then we are guaranteeing that the division of labor in society will forever be perpetuated. And furthermore this will go along with the fact that in the final analysis there will be no correct basis for determining what's true and untrue because it will cut off practice from theory, and it will reinforce the notion of people with only a limited, specialized knowledge attempting to determine the truth about that area divorced from the broader experience of human society as a whole and its struggle to understand and transform the world as a whole. This is the underlying basis for why the non-professional must lead the professional.

100 Flowers, 100 Schools

But what does this mean for the non-professional to lead the professional — and this gets us back to the question about political suppression. What does it mean, particularly under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the proletariat to exercise all-around leadership, even all-around dictatorship, in the sciences as well as the arts and all other spheres?

First of all, straight up on the question of suppressing some ideas and theories. Can we say that there can be no suppression of ideas and theories, that is no prevention of their dissemination in society? No, we cannot. Ideas and theories which have been firmly established to be reactionary and harmful to society and whose dissemination in society will only in fact serve the cause of reaction and serve, insofar as they become a material force, to drag society back, these ideas can and should be suppressed. That is, they can and should be suppressed under the domination of the proletariat, and where and how and to what degree they should be disseminated should be determined by the proletariat, with the leadership of its party. But again there's the question of what does this mean and what's the content.

In general, I said earlier, we are against the suppression of ideas, even reactionary ideas and certainly unpopular ideas at any given time. But the question that is more fundamental is, why? This has to do with another point Mao made, that strong plants cannot generally grow in hothouses and masses of



people cannot really become masters of society, and the old division of labor of the generations and centuries cannot be overcome, unless people struggle through these various questions. This cannot be accomplished unless, with leadership and in an organized and systematic way, reactionary or ridiculous-seeming theories are presented to the masses of people to be taken up and criticized and struggled with. And this, as a methodological point, includes the aspect that the way must be left open that at least aspects of these things may prove to be correct, may prove to be true, or may prove even to serve progress whereas before it wasn't seen that this could be possible. Again, the point here is that the proletariat in exercising leadership and exercising dictatorship, does this with a definite scientific method which Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought provides. And that method says that there should be the contrast and struggle between ideas and that the masses of people should be exposed to and learn to struggle with ideas, with opposing ideas, even those which have been shown to be reactionary or seem on the surface to be not only wrong but ridiculous. This was formulated by Mao in his well-known policy of "Let 100 Flowers Blossom in the Arts and Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend in the Sciences," because he recognized that it was only through the struggle of conflicting and contrasting and opposing ideas that people could deepen their knowledge and the advance of human knowledge in general could come about. This has implications even beyond the dictatorship of the proletariat, even in

classless communist society.

Let 100 Flowers Blossom and Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend is a very important component of the proletariat's method for exercising dictatorship and giving leadership in the fields of the arts and sciences, as it must exercise dictatorship and give leadership in every sphere of society. It is because the proletariat as a class, and Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the proletariat, does not call for or have an interest in defending vested interests, defending vestiges of the past, preserving the status quo against further advance, but in fact has every interest in criticizing, challenging and breaking through to make new advances. The proletariat, and only the proletariat, can in fact through its dictatorship bring about the transition to classless society and open up whole new avenues for the future advance of humanity. This in itself will not solve some of the knotty problems and questions that particularly Gould poses about the difficulty of evaluating scientific theories in which people do not have particularly expert knowledge. But it will open up a whole new era where this question can, for the first time, really be taken up by humanity without the impediment and the interference of class-divided society and the ideology which seeks to obscure reality and the truth, and which prevents, through its very methodology, the actual approach to grappling with the struggle between opposing ideas to deepen the understanding of what is true and what leads to further advance. □

A Product of India

Not long ago, a friend of mine called me into their office. They work in a biological laboratory. On a desk was sitting a brown-papered parcel, which they began to unwrap. A large stamp indicated the package as a "Product of India." "I have to show this to you," they said.

I suppose on Mrs. Gandhi's trip to Washington, D.C. to discuss possible Western aid for the ravaged Indian economy, many topics of trade and investment were discussed with Reagan and his advisers. After all, India is a large prize, deeply coveted by the rulers in this country, and here was an opportunity to create some schisms in trying to wrench India away from Soviet influence and domination.

But the item before us seemed to have been passed over in the bourgeois journalists' appraisal of India's trade

potential with the West.

It was the skeleton of a small Indian boy.

Because of intensified competition between biological supply houses in the U.S., this potentially very profitable market in human skeletons has been a boon to a few enterprising corporations. While disarticulated skeletons have ranged from \$350 to \$500 previously, these Indian "high grade" skeletons — articulated (meaning all the bones come from one individual), sell for only \$150. And this for both the youthful skeletons of boys and girls.

For years the medical schools and laboratories of the Soviet Union have been supplied with Indian skeletons, and with this new "opening to the West," soon such skeletons will replace the rather awkward looking plastic and disarticulated skeletons throughout

America.

In the 1960's, the U.S. began a program in India that was to counter the rising liberation struggles throughout Southeast Asia, called the "Green Revolution." It consisted of supplying high yield grains to Indian farmers, and the necessary fertilizers to grow them. This was U.S. imperialism's answer to hundreds of years of imperialist plunder of the Indian people. But, of course, only the most wealthy farmers could afford the new grains, and fertilizers, and the means to use them. Their bountiful crops, in a capitalist framework, drove down the price of grains, throwing many farmers, mainly poor and middle peasants out of competition. They lost their farms and became the millions of homeless who inhabit the urban areas of India. Every morning, the corpses of the starved Indian people are carted off by

the dozens before sunrise from the streets of Calcutta, New Dehli, and Bombay. Such is imperialism's answer to the "world food problem."

The Soviets continued the imperialist plunder of India after the U.S. lost this possession in the early sixties, and as far as "developing markets already begun," we must give credit where credit is due. While U.S. imperialism created the "resource", Soviet social-imperialism "made it commercially feasible." This is the story of the skeletons of Indian youth now on their way to the "Land of Opportunity." It may not be the principal aspects of imperialist investment, but this is one item which sharply shows the depravity and parasitic nature of an imperialist system past due.

— A reader

Beirut Continued from page 9

him to the side, and after taking his passport, bashed him upon the head, and wrenched the tunic from his body. I screamed, in English, "Stop it!" and had to turn my face away. As I turned back seconds later, he was being led behind a mound. Shots cracked. And the soldier returned alone. A soldier standing next to me commented, also in English, "You do your job best, and we do our job best, OK?!"

Then we were ordered to remove our shirts, and taken to the UNESCO building. During the drive, we passed a bulldozer, and I saw massive vehicles with tank treads topped by machine guns. In the courtyard of the building, we were interrogated. A young woman in uniform, who clearly had played a leading role there, was refusing to believe a woman's story that she worked for MECC — Mid-East Council of Churches. "You? You are Christians? If you work for these Palestinian terrorists, then you are nothing but scum!"

We Germans were interrogated with special attention. I was asked if I am a member of the Baader-Meinhof group, why I was working for the Palestinians, and whether I knew how to shoot. What could he possibly have had in mind? That I might actually have told him that?

After this interrogation, he announced that they were going to follow the Geneva Convention, and that they took it as their task to annihilate their enemies.

At this moment, a wagon drove into the courtyard, and before our eyes a man was brought out who had freshly bleeding wounds in the flesh of his abdomen. They appeared to me like surgical incisions on a patient. As he was driven off, my interrogator cried out: "Now you see! This is the way we deal with the Palestinians!"

After these hearings we were to be turned over to the Israelis. Their headquarters was in the Kuwaiti embassy, not even 80 meters away. There we saw numerous men standing on the roof watching through binoculars. They cannot tell me that from that fifth-floor perch they could not see into Shatila, which was to a large extent made up of low barracks.

At some time in all this, fruit, bread and water was brought to us, after which an Israeli TV crew popped up. Two doctors and one paramedic from our group were taken to the stadium, which was only 200 meters from the Gaza Hospital, at their own risk. That was as far as they were taken, and they were told that the Phalangists were shooting in the camps, and that the Israelis were not exercising control over them. After these three had left us, the rest of us were taken along the coast to the American Embassy. And in the course of that trip we encountered Israeli tanks repeatedly.

Hours later I discovered that about 9:30 a team from ABC was in the camp, and were not able to count all the many bodies littering the streets. In the late afternoon the first official reports came over the BBC of many hundreds of dead in Shatila.

The Israelis ordered all Palestinian men between 18 and 68 years old to come to the stadium, so that they might receive a stamp on their papers. □



Ronald Reagan, commending the Marines on their recent action in Lebanon during a celebration of the 207th anniversary of the Corps, prophesied, with a tear in his eye, "When we get to heaven we'll find the streets are guarded by the U.S. Marine Corps."



The Israel/South Africa Connection

Twin Forests of Evil

From deep down at the tip of southern Africa—where gold and diamonds get carved out of the earth, thick crusted with African peoples' blood; where J.C. Smuts, perched eagle-eyed, guarded the strategic seas for the British Empire; and where god, the Queen and "Jannie" ordained the ritual of daily savagery on Blacks, "coloreds", Indians, Chinese—did "Jannie" Smuts extend his butcher claw to assist Chaim Weizmann, leader of the World Zionist Organization and Israel's first president. Not many a Zionist or Israeli apologist today cares to dwell openly upon the South African/Israeli camaraderie as their founding fathers once did, but Israel was forged in the furnaces of imperialism and stoked ever so adeptly by the skilled South African statesman, Jan Christian Smuts. "There is no country in proportion to its population," proclaimed Smuts, as he toasted the first anniversary of Israel at a banquet in South Africa, "which had done more, materially, for the National Home (Israel) than South Africa, according to its means."

J.C. Smuts, South African Prime Minister Botha's right hand man, and later Prime Minister himself, met Chaim Weizmann in England in 1917. To understand how and why Smuts eagerly assisted Zionism and aided in procuring the "promised land", it is helpful to look at Smuts' career in the service of her majesty's empire. The similarities in services rendered, methods deployed, the political and military roles between South Africa and Israel are stark. So much so that you might say that Israel and South Africa constitute a set of grotesque twins, birthed by British imperialism and reared to maturity by the U.S.A.

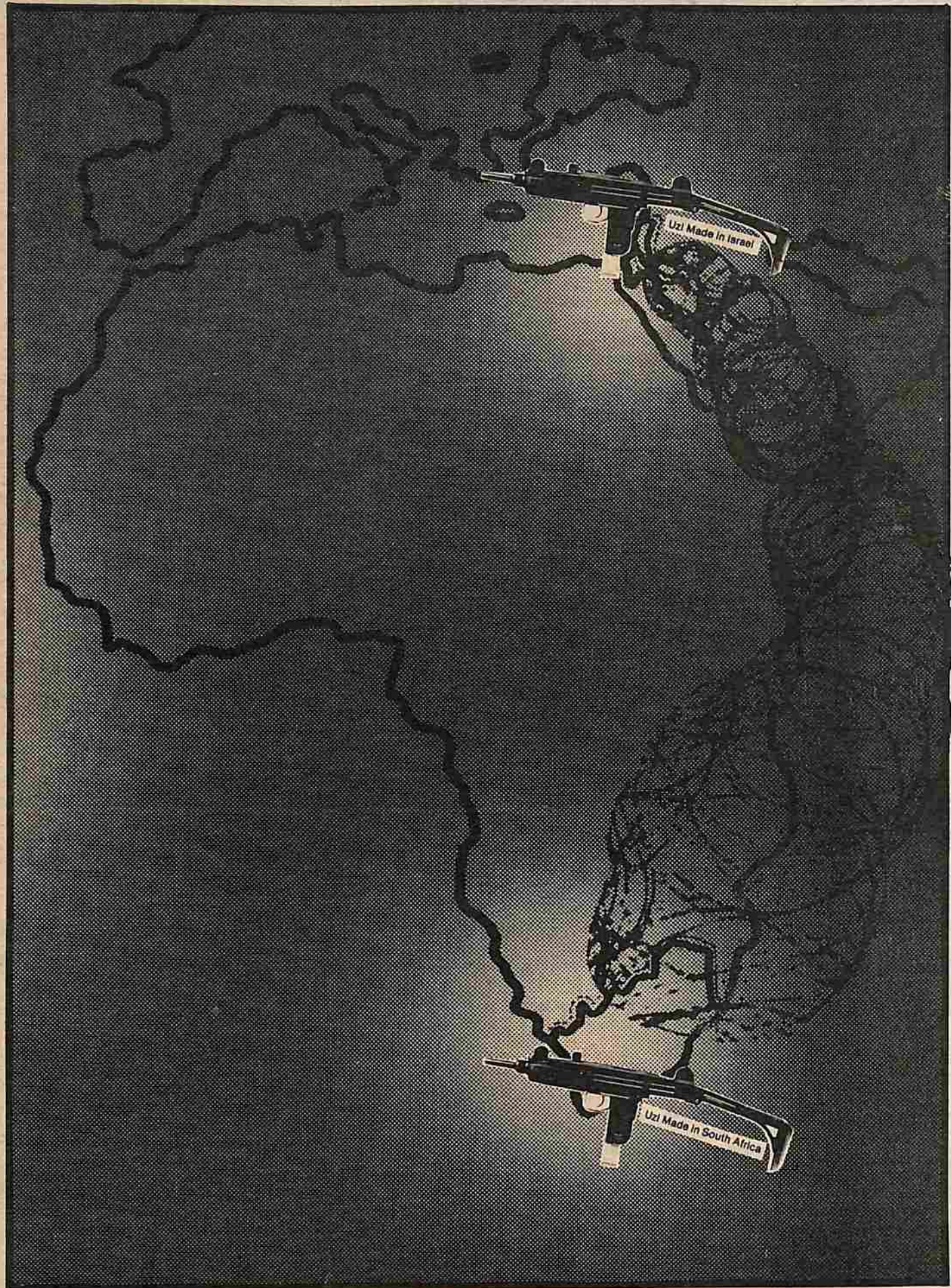
Smuts was an Afrikaner, the white elite (the two are synonymous in South Africa) descendants of Dutch and French colonialists. But by 1806 South Africa was staked out as British territory. Hostilities between the British newcomers and the Afrikaners was a contest among oppressors of the African people, and in 1899 when the Anglo-Boer war broke out, at the heart of the war was the rivalry between various Western powers for control of the resources and markets in Africa.

In the wake of the Boer war, the Afrikaners were "subjugated" in a generous settlement (like the plantation kings of the south after the U.S. Civil War) and they were soon partners of the British in exploitation, as advocated and personified by Smuts.

In this conflict Smuts fought against England and became a leading figure in South African politics, and as such secured his bargaining chips with the British. In many ways Smuts' view of tangling with the British parallels the Zionists sniping at the British troops in Palestine during World War 2 to press their "homeland" point. What Smuts wanted and got was the South African franchise within the British empire. What England got was a reliable ally in Smuts who, among many feats, staved off the anti-British secessionists and often pro-German sections of the South African ruling class. Smuts would later go on to frame this relationship as part of the "British Commonwealth of Nations". When self government was granted, the position of Prime Minister went to Botha, but by all historical accounts Smuts ran the show.

"Jannie" the Far-sighted Watchdog

Smuts' eyes, however, were never trained only on South Africa and he went on to function as more than the run of the mill flunkey puppet of British Imperialism. Smuts, an avowed disciple of Cecil Rhodes, had the mind of an imperialist and he regarded South Africa as his "division of labor" within the British imperialist world order. When Weizmann would argue for the creation of Israel because, "England would have an effective barrier and we would have a homeland," Smuts knew exactly what he meant.



The first Allied imperialist victory in World War 1 was won by Smuts when he routed the German imperialists in East Africa and was heralded as the "Conqueror of East Africa" in London. His vision and grasp of imperialism's interests were so keen that Smuts was summoned to London to direct the war efforts as a whole as a member of Lloyd George's War Cabinet. Among his services rendered to the empire was the establishment of the Royal Air Force. Smuts was the only "dominion" leader within the war cabinet and this position afforded him a special role with Smuts often dispatched to put down rumblings within the commonwealth. For instance, during a strike of Welsh coal miners described as being "in an ugly mood on account of pacifist agitation" Smuts arrived on the scene, and speaking as one British subject to another, argued that the miners return to work because, "the front is just as much here as anywhere else." Smuts also unsuccessfully interceded to try and quell the Easter Rebellion in Ireland.

We cite some of the highlights of Smuts' career to indicate both the fervor with which he fought for the Union Jack, his top notch position within British rul-

ing circles, and the powerful influence he could exert. This influence came to bear directly on the question of a Zionist state in Palestine.

Smuts himself was offered the post of commander of the Middle East campaign, a position he declined and instead joined the war cabinet. However, Smuts was a member of the watchdog Middle East Committee. He personally went to Cairo and Alexandria and drew up along with Commander Allenby the military plans for the conquest of Palestine. Smuts was also a behind-the-scenes figure in proclaiming the Balfour Declaration, the decree by England which favored the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine.

Settler State Twins

When Smuts, whose veins throbbed with settler regime experience, met Weizmann in 1917 it was a real meeting of two chips off the old block — perhaps "bloc" is more appropriate. Weizmann's contributions to the war effort were to go way beyond his discovery and production of acetone for the British war machinery. As the one who filled the shoes of Herzl in leading the Zionist movement, he pushed for British support of a Zionist state to

safeguard Britain's interests in the Middle East. Though Smuts was not the only leader in the British government who gave him a hearing, Smuts played an important role in seeing the creation of this settler state through, even against British opposition.

In his book *Trial and Error*, Weizmann wrote of their meeting: "A sort of warmth of understanding radiated from him (Smuts) and he assured me heartily that something would be done in connection with Palestine and the Jewish people. He put many searching questions to me, and tried to find out how sincerely I believed in the actual possibilities. He treated the problem with eager interest, one might say with affection."

Pinpointing the "actual possibilities" was very important. Great Britain was eager to seize recently discovered oil in the Middle East; Palestine, then under Turkish rule, was central for securing control of the entire region. By enlisting the Zionists, London could throw more forces against Germany and use the Zionist quest as a counter offensive against rising Arab nationalism. Though Britain never intended to actually follow through with the establishment of Israel,

A Piece of the Rock



Scientific discovery is not always reserved to the laboratories; sometimes it drops in unexpectedly. Such was the case on Monday night, November 8, in Wethersfield, Connecticut, a small suburb of Hartford. It was then that a 6-pound meteorite, about 5 inches in diameter, crashed through the roof, the second floor, and the first floor of a house owned by Mr. and Mrs. Donahue. After careening from the living room into the dining room it finally came to a stop beneath the Donahue's dining room table.

A geologist from the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory said that the meteorite probably came from the asteroid belt 100 million kilometers away from earth and situated between Mars and Jupiter. It is very rare that a meteorite is recovered (only about 2,100 have been recovered in all of recorded history) and they are a rich source of information about the solar system and its formation. As one scientist said, "they are a fascinating source of knowledge about space." But as with everything else in bourgeois society the cash nexus has inexorably asserted itself in this instance. To a band of earthly primitives who have the audacity to think of themselves as the champions of advancement and progress, the scientific value of the find was all well and good but a brief article in the *New York Times* quickly brought things down to earth. After all once this piece of the universe entered the earth's atmosphere and landed in a place called the

U.S. of A it acquired a new property, a property called "monetary value" which is the most important of all attributes of anything. And immediately therefore there was the question of who would own this celestial find.

Since it landed on the Donahue's speck of the planet it was by all natural laws their's. After all, it fell through their roof. And no one disputed this. The Donahues immediately checked with their insurance company to see if they were covered against "damage done by celestial rocks." They were. But this did not end the matter. As the police took the meteorite into custody for safe keeping in the Juvenile Division Room, speculation immediately began over what price tag would be put on it and which of the museums and scientific organizations would get their hands on it. The Smithsonian dispatched its curator of meteorites to Wethersfield to appraise the new find and seek its purchase. They had already purchased another meteorite which had fallen in Wethersfield 11 years ago for "an undisclosed price." The Peabody Museum also expressed interest in buying the meteorite for its collection. As the price calculating and bidding go on the police are guarding this newfound property behind a sign reading, "Do not touch."

It's not hard to understand why an advanced intelligence in the universe observing these goings-on would conclude that the earth beings have a long way to go. □

jected acquiescing to apartheid because Jews have a "deep rooted abhorrence of the very notion of discrimination... the Jewish people have been the classic victims of racial discrimination," Weizmann certainly had no problem befriending Smuts, who oversaw the slaughter of a black Zionist religious sect in South Africa. In 1921 when Smuts was Minister of Native Affairs the government sent troops to eject a religious encampment of black separatist Zionists in Bulhoek, firing on the crowd and killing 163, wounding 129. (In 1974 Moshe Dayan would go to speak before the South African Zionist Federation to talk about the problem of the "Oriental Jews" outnumbering those of European descent and requested that South African Zionists emigrate to Israel to help deal with the "problem." They did.)

Favors Returned

The bonds of friendship between Smuts and Weizmann continued unabated. And as the balance of world power shifted from London to Washington in the aftermath of World War 2, their friendship shifted, intact, with it. (The aging Smuts continued to play a key role throughout World War 2, advising Churchill and Roosevelt on military and political strategy, safeguarding the strategic Cape of Good Hope, keeping a more pro-German wing of the South African ruling class from coming to power, and deploying South African troops throughout Africa. Smuts was also privy to American plans to drop the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.)

In the wake of the second world war Britain was no longer able to dictate terms and the ascending America, which had already openly proclaimed support for Israel, saw its creation through. While Britain was miffed, Smuts assured Weizmann that the South African delegation to the UN had been put at the Zionists' disposal. A UN decree partitioned Palestine and Israel was formed.

The last act of Smuts' ministry was to declare *de facto* recognition of Israel, before England did. The first head of state to pay its respects to Israel was from South Africa.

When the state of Israel was proclaimed, Chaim Weizmann wrote of it, "We were face to face with the basic realities, and this was what we had asked for. If the State of Israel could defend itself, survive and remain effective, it would do so largely on its own..." What this meant was massacring the Arab masses with villages like Deir Yessin running red with the blood of Palestinians. Defending itself "largely on its own" was a blatant lie. As notorious and murderous as the Irgun, Stern gang and Haganah were, the following sheds some light on exactly what happened. On May 22, 1959, the *Zionist Record* reported this, "Jerusalem: Sensational admissions and revelations are made by Israel Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, David Ben Gurion in his personal forward and opening chapter to the Israel Army's *Official History of the War of Independence*... Only now has the green light been given by the Minister of Defense and the General Staff to unveil some of the secrets of the Jewish people's epic struggle for national independence. These are some of the revelations made by Mr. Ben Gurion:

"—Israel had only 10,000 rifles and no heavy weapons when war started;

"—South Africa with its relatively small Jewish community, contributed more to the Israeli war effort in terms of skilled volunteers than any other country in the world;

"—Whole Israeli regiments of volunteers were trained in Germany, Austria, France and Czechoslovakia in 1948;...

"—Without foreign volunteers, the establishment of Israeli air, naval and armoured forces, as well as of weapons development and military industry, would not have been possible. Since without these forces Israel could not have achieved victory in that war, according to the official history, it can be thus agreed that the War of Independence was won thanks to foreign volunteers who comprised one-fifth of Israel's total armed strength."

No matter what political party came to power either in Israel or South Africa their friendship and partnership in the services of imperialism has never been

seriously strained. This included the welcoming of Prime Minister Vorster to Israel in 1976 — Vorster was a pro-Nazi Germany force in the Nationalist Party of South Africa and had been interred in Great Britain during the war for almost 2 years as a Nazi supporter. As a guest of Israel, Vorster made a stop at the Yad Vashem Memorial built in Jerusalem to the victims of the holocaust to lay a wreath!

Some Israeli apologists may say, Wait, didn't Israel vote in 1961 to censure South Africa at the UN because of its apartheid regime? Yes, Israel did, but not because apartheid so suddenly offended them. Israel, as an outpost of U.S. interests in the region spoke out against South Africa at a time when national liberation struggles were breaking forth in Africa and the influence of Nasser in Egypt was spreading plus openings to Soviet penetration were greatly feared by both the U.S., Israel and South Africa. The *South African Jewish Times* would go so far as to point out that if Israel was indeed successful in curtailing stirrings of national liberation, South Africa would in the long run benefit, too.

The more recent history of the Israeli/South African connection is more widely known. What characterizes this friendship is that once Israel developed, the relationship became more *reciprocal* with Israel in a position to help out South Africa. We cite some of the military and economic ties developed between the two settler states in recent years. Militarily: In Israel's wars of 1956 and 1967 South African volunteers numbered many who took up combat positions, including in the Air Force. The *N.Y. Times* reported in 1971 that South Africa had sent a mission to Israel during the '67 war to "study tactics and use of weapons." In Israel's war of 1973 the number of combatants of South African descent was more than 1,500; over half made the crossing over of the Suez Canal. Israeli soldiers, as reported in the British magazine *The Economist*, took up positions with South African forces in Angola at the secret request of Henry Kissinger. South Africa manufactures the Israeli-invented Uzi machine gun. Israel has built long-range gun boats for South Africa and trained South African gun boat crews in Haifa. It was widely believed that the explosion of a neutron bomb off the coast of South Africa in 1980 was a joint effort with Israel. Economically: In 1976 Israel and South Africa established a joint committee at the cabinet level to promote economic, scientific, financial investments and joint projects between the two countries. The U.S. and European powers often receive exports from South Africa via Israel as unfinished products are shipped there, stamped "made in Israel" and sold on the world market. In many instances South Africa provides the raw materials and Israel the technology. The diamond-cutting trade has shifted from Amsterdam to Israel as diamond imports are shipped there from South Africa (the largest market for cut diamonds is in the USA). South Africa has supplied the needed materials and along with Israeli expertise built nuclear reactors in South Africa — this too has served to save the U.S. from political embarrassment. And during the earlier years South African Zionist investment resulted in the establishment of the Israeli national airline, El Al.

This friendship has been nurtured and developed in the framework of meeting the needs of Western, particularly U.S., imperialism. With Israel a proven regional police force in the Middle East and guarding the gateway to Africa next to its Egyptian neighbor, and South Africa posited at the strategic Cape of Good Hope, with its quantities of minerals necessary for the functioning of the U.S. war bloc and its advanced military forces, both constitute vital areas of U.S. interests, particularly in a showdown with its rival Soviet-led bloc.

There is in the hills of Judea a spread of trees named the Smuts Forest. It overlooks the Weizmann Forest, a fitting tribute perched atop occupied Palestine, fitting right down to the placement of Smuts overlooking Weizmann, to a kinship of plunder. There is no doubt, though, that *if* in the imperialist scheme of things, Israel had come *first*, the Zionists would have done all that they could to establish the infamous apartheid regime of South Africa. □

Twin Forests of Evil

Continued from page 13

preferring to grab the region as a spoil of war as a British territory, Smuts apparently backed the creation of Israel all the way.

In 1930 England issued the Passfield White Papers (and others later on as well) which, temporarily, put a stop to Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine. Smuts, at Weizmann's behest, contacted London to insist, "As one of those who is responsible for the Balfour Declaration, I feel deeply disturbed because of the present political situation in Palestine which is a retreat from that Declaration. The Declaration was a definitive promise to the Jewish world, that the politics of a national home would be actively pursued and its intention was to win powerful Jewish influence for the cause of the allies in the lowest hours of the war. As such it was approved by the United States and the other allies and supported in good faith by the Jews. It cannot be altered unilaterally by the British... I wish to insist that the government issue a declaration that it will carry out to the fullest the provisions of the Balfour Declaration in good faith, and that the Palestine politics of the government will be altered accordingly."

Smuts' consistent position was backed up with South African Zionists' investment of money and people, troops and leaders such as Abba Eban. These financial investments — and there should be no doubt off of whose backs in South Africa they came — financed the building of Jewish settlements in Palestine. In 1922 the Binyan Mortgage Company was set up by South African Zionists to provide the means for South African Zionists to relocate in Palestine, transporting them from one settler

regime to another.

In 1926 it was formally declared from Pretoria, "The Government of the Union of South Africa, which has watched for many years with interest and sympathy the endeavors of the Zionist Organization to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, an object which it regards as an important contribution to peace and civilization, wishes all success to this undertaking and is prepared through its representatives on the League of Nations and otherwise, to do whatever lies in its power to assist in the establishment of that national home." And in 1931 Weizmann went to the apartheid regime of South Africa to directly secure funding for the Zionist cause. About the oppression of the black peoples of South Africa, Weizmann wrote not one word in his autobiography.

Some of the most repressive laws against the majority black population were enacted under the Botha/Smuts government and ruthlessly applied as well when Smuts himself was Prime Minister and Minister for "Native Affairs," as they called it. The Native Land Act of 1913 made it illegal for blacks to purchase lands designated as "white only" and they were promptly evicted. The black population in their masses were herded onto 7% of the land. While laws like this compare with Israeli occupied territories there are differences in that the aim of the settler regime of South Africa was to contain and separate off the black masses, whereas founding a Zionist state in Israel required acts such as the Absentee Property Law of 1950 with the aim of driving the Palestinians completely out. And while onetime Israeli ambassador to the UN, Chaim Herzog, hypocritically re-

"United with the whole world
struggling against the bourgeoisie
our country will be the tomb
of capitalism and exploitation."

(fourth verse of Mozambique's national
anthem)

Seven and a half years ago, on June 25, 1975, FRELIMO, the national liberation organization which had led a 10-year-long armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, declared the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique. After 10 years of battling Portuguese colonialism, during which at least 25% of the country had been wrenched from the hands of Portugal and had been operating as liberated zones, FRELIMO declared that Mozambique was finally on the road to socialism. Since that time, and especially since 1977, which marked the consolidation of FRELIMO into the Soviet imperialist bloc, Mozambique has been continually pointed to as one of the best examples of the successful implementation of the Soviet "theory" of "socialist orientation and non-capitalist development." True enough, Mozambique today does indeed serve as an excellent illustration of the results of "socialist orientation" and "non-capitalist development."

In the seven and a half years since obtaining formal independence from Portugal there has actually been very little of substance that has changed in terms of Mozambique's relation to imperialism, outside of the fact that it is now under the wing of Soviet social-imperialism. Under the banner of "socialist orientation" and building up the productive forces, the Soviet imperialists have heartily encouraged the drawing in of Western imperialist economic investments and interests and Mozambique's continued reliance on them for "economic development" while maintaining their own very tight political and military domination over the country. While this set-up does present some problems for the Soviet imperialists, it is guided by larger Soviet interests which are strategic and pivot around the revisionists' preparations for world war to bring about a redivision of the entire planet in their favor. Added to this, and indeed part of the whole strategy, is the fact that the Soviets themselves suck off quite a bit of the foreign exchange that Mozambique brings in through their dealings with the Western imperialists in the payments for military supplies and Soviet bloc experts (the Soviets supply nearly all arms to the country). Along these lines, Mozambique's economy still depends to a large degree on providing services for the transport and export of the raw materials and other products ripped off by the various imperialist powers from the surrounding countries. All of its ports have been modernized and maintained to service these imperialists (this undoubtedly also fits into Soviet war plans), and consequently have been developed into what are known as the finest ports in all of Africa. The main port of Maputo, the capital city of Mozambique, has been specifically geared to meet South Africa's needs, with numerous facilities designed only to serve South African traffic. Today, South Africa's share of harbor traffic in Maputo alone is 40% and includes both the minerals from the South African mining region of Transvaal (including coal bound for Israel) as well as various imports destined for South Africa. Other countries such as Zimbabwe and Swaziland depend on Mozambique's transport system and harbors as their main access point to the ocean. In addition, Mozambique still relies on the supplying of somewhere around 40,000 migrant workers to the South African mining industry as an important source of foreign exchange. Even in something like the supply of electricity to its main urban areas Mozambique is dependent on South Africa and Portugal. Although Mozambique's gigantic Cabora Bassa Hydroelectric dam began operating in 1977, its main purpose was to supply electricity to South Africa and it continues to be run today lock stock and barrel by the Portuguese. What electricity is supplied to Maputo from Cabora Bassa is dependent on a power line supplied by South Africa. And, in their chase after "rapid development," Mozambique has bent over backward to entice imperialist investors into the country — joining COMECON, asking to participate in the renegotiation of

the Lome Convention (the agreement aimed at facilitating Western European imperialists' exploitation of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries) and has even provided guarantees of repatriation of profits in compensation in the event of nationalization in order to attract investment.

One of the most revealing sectors of Mozambique today, especially as regards the Soviet theory of "socialist orientation," is agriculture. In a country like Mozambique, where literally 90% of the people are peasants, the situation in agriculture is not only a tell-tale sign of what is actually going on in the country but is also a crucial question for any revolution that claims to have broken with the bonds of imperialism.

Under the Portuguese, Mozambique literally functioned as the farmland for metropolitan Portugal. Mozambique's agriculture was totally export-oriented and dominated. Gigantic plantations and settler farms dominated the countryside and their production was mainly limited to the growth of cash crops for export such as cotton, tea, citrus fruits, cashews and sugar. Only 10% of the arable land was actually in use, and over half of this land (including the most fertile soil in the country) was controlled by the plantations and settler farms. For the vast majority of peasants, subsistence farming was the rule and hunger and starvation were part of the normal peasant life. Small peasant farming made up 76% of all farming units in production and yet operated on only 24% of the cultivated land. And even then, most small peasant farming was carried out by the women since large numbers of the men were used as cheap labor reserves (actually forced labor until it was abolished) for the plantations and settler farms.

But how about now, under a "socialist orientation"? Today little has changed in Mozambique's agricultural sector. Certainly FRELIMO and its Soviet mentors claim to have carried out all sorts of sweeping agricultural reforms in Mozambique. However, the reality of the matter is that just as under the Portuguese, agriculture and rural development is geared mainly towards production for export and dislocation is not "being overcome," but growing more acute.

FRELIMO and their Soviet mentors claim that they are paying close attention to building the agricultural sector of Mozambique as the "base" for the industrial development of the rest of the country. In fact, what they have done has intensified the lopsided and distorted development of the country, particularly the enforced backwardness of agriculture. Today only 4% of the land is cultivated and Mozambique must import hundreds of thousands of tons of basic foodstuffs like wheat and rice each year. In general, the level of agricultural production in Mozambique today has still not reached the levels of 1973, the last year that these figures were compiled under the Portuguese. In fact, the only crops that have come anywhere near these levels of production or have shown any substantial increase in production since 1975 have been the foreign exchange producing export crops of sugar, tea, cotton and citrus fruits. Subsistence farming still remains the rule among the vast majority of peasants. Even when some peasants do manage to produce a surplus they are paid very little for it. Consequently most peasants haven't even attempted to produce the surplus. Essential consumer goods such as soap, salt and cloth are scarce in the countryside and even when available most of the peasants cannot afford the prices charged for them.

Under the Portuguese, Mozambique, in line with its function as a cash crop exporter and a major transit point for goods coming in and out of that part of Africa, had one of the most well-developed transport systems in all of Africa. When the Portuguese fled from Mozambique they destroyed much of that transport system, including exporting or destroying every single truck in the country. In addition to this, the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia also contributed to the destruction of this transport system during retaliatory raids into Mozambique supposedly aimed against Zimbabwean guerrillas based in that country. However, in the last 7 years Mozambique, together with various imperialist backers, has expended a great deal of money to rebuild this transport system. But for the

most part it has been rebuilt along the same lines — mainly to serve the surrounding countries and to get the home-grown export crops to the main port areas. Of the three main railroad lines servicing the Maputo port, one runs from Zimbabwe to the docks, another is Swaziland's only link to the sea and the third serves the Transvaal mining region of South Africa.

While the theory of "socialist orientation" supposedly includes the narrowing of the differences between the countryside and the city, in fact, as its implementation in Mozambique vividly illustrates, it only further exacerbates and rubs to the raw this contradiction. A system of exchange between the rural peasant farmers and the urban areas barely exists. In addition to contributing to the scarcity of consumer goods in the rural areas, this fact has also given rise to rationing of the basic staples in the urban areas, long lines at state-run stores to purchase whatever foodstuffs and consumer goods are available and a flourishing and massive black market operation. And, although the prices charged by the black market are often as much as ten times higher than the official prices, there are many goods such as fish, beans, and peanuts that have literally disappeared from public sale and are only available on the black market. Ruination of the peasantry has typically led to their mass migration from the countryside to the urban areas. Of course, Mozambique has taken steps to stem this migration. This has also been typical. In a move very similar to the passbook regulations of the apartheid regime in South Africa, FRELIMO has issued a Resident Card to all "official residents" of Maputo. It is impossible for any new arrival in the city to get this card unless they can prove that they already have a firm offer of employment. Without such a card it is impossible to use the various public services, including buses, health clinics and schools, nor is it possible to obtain the necessary food rationing card.

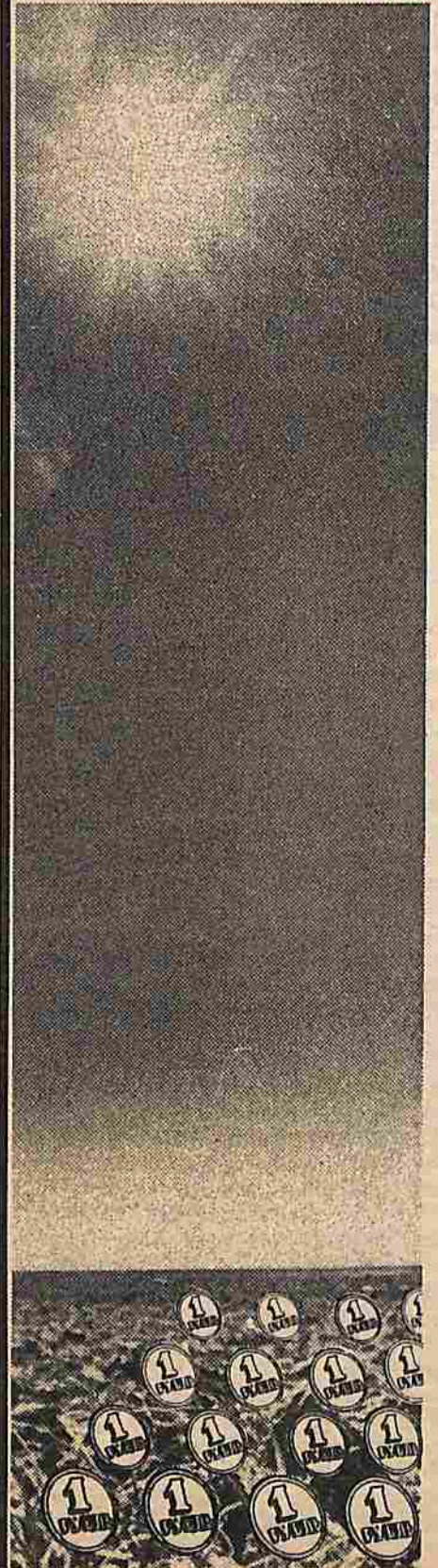
To be sure, FRELIMO and the Soviets dismiss all of this as remnants of the Portuguese colonial legacy, and they are quick to point to the "great social reforms" that have been instituted in the countryside as evidence of the changing nature of Mozambique. Among the three most frequently touted reforms are the formation of state farms, cooperatives and the "aldeias comunias" or communal villages. According to FRELIMO these three "new" forms of peasant production units are indicative of the socialization of the countryside. In actual fact, what they're indicative of is the unchanged nature of Mozambique in general, and the maintenance and intensification of the same old social relations and set-up in agriculture in particular.

Under the Portuguese, agriculture was totally dominated by huge plantations and farms. These farms grew cash crops for export, were managed by Portuguese settlers and worked by forced laborers (actually slaves) at first and then by wage laborers. The "new" state farms today are nothing more than huge conglomerates of the old Portuguese plantations and farms. And although a handful of these farms are engaged in the production of basic foodstuffs for internal consumption, such as rice production at the Limpopo Agro-Industrial Complex, for the most part these state farms are employed solely in the production of cash crops for export just as they were under the Portuguese. Although the Soviets and FRELIMO loudly claim to have ended the horrendous slave-like conditions that characterized the Portuguese plantations, in fact the state farms are guided by the same principles that ran the Portuguese farms and the agricultural workers staffing these farms remain wage slaves. About the only difference today is that instead of these farms being managed by Portuguese settlers, the "new" state farms, and the thousands of workers laboring on them, are managed and supervised by East German, Bulgarian and Cuban agricultural experts.

The Soviets and FRELIMO also point to the "cooperative farms" as being in the vanguard of the "collectivization process" in the Mozambique countryside and have referred to them as the harbingers of a great agricultural revolution among the peasantry. In reality the "cooperative farms" are, at best, complete failures. About the only coopera-

Continued on page 16

Pillar to Post in Mozambique



Judge Suspends Miracle Valley Lawyers

On November 5 Cochise County Superior Court Judge Matthew Borowiec suspended the two Chicago lawyers appointed to defend the Miracle Valley church members. Both lawyers, Stanley Hill and G. Severe Cole, are Black and had previously participated in the successful defense of the Pontiac Brothers. In addition, the judge ordered Hill and Cole to appear before his court on November 15 to explain why their actions should not be referred to the Ill. Bar Association for possible disciplinary action.

What heinous crime were these lawyers accused of? They were "clearly in viola-

tion of the rules of professional conduct," according to Judge Borowiec. Their "misconduct" consisted of public statements about the facts of the case and declaring the innocence of their clients and the guilt of the police.

Apparently, Borowiec was particularly upset by a leaflet put out by the Miracle Valley Legal Defense Fund entitled "Police Attack Black Miracle Valley Residents With M-16 Automatic Weapons." This leaflet, initiated by the lawyers, detailed the police attack and went on to say "Ten church members have been wrongfully indicted by an all-white

Cochise County Grand Jury on felony charges allegedly stemming from the incident..." This kind of statement should have been gagged according to the judge.

More about the exact nature of this suspension—whether it is only temporary or permanent—and any charges pending against Attorneys Hill and Cole will come to light at their Nov. 15th court hearing. But clearly there are worried voices being raised that maybe this blatant police attack and murder of Blacks is getting too exposed and further steps need to be made to stop this and to defuse the situation. □

Pillar to Post in Mozambique

Continued from page 15

tives still functioning today are those that are profitable, that is, those that have been engaged in cash crop production since their beginning; most have been broken under the weight of the more competitive state farms and by dislocation in general. Although FRELIMO has time and again referred to the cooperative movement as a crucial aspect of the advance of the "revolution" in Mozambique, in practice the vast majority of the resources available for the development of agriculture have been consciously funneled away from the cooperatives and towards the more profitable state farms. In the period from 1978 to 1979 FRELIMO allocated \$38.5 million for agricultural development and \$25 million of that amount was specifically earmarked for the purchase of machinery imports for the state farms alone. According to *New African*, all finance, technicians and other resources are almost exclusively given to the state farms. Since 1975 more than 3,000 tractors have been imported for these farms while only half of the necessary number of hoes and other implements required for small peasant farming were imported during the same

period. In some instances, tractors, staff and other resources originally assigned to the cooperative farms were taken away and reassigned to the various state farms.

But above and beyond these two "reforms," the real jewel of agricultural reform in Mozambique today is the supposed formation of the "communal villages." FRELIMO has described the formation of these villages as the "backbone of their rural development strategy." Supposedly the formation of these villages is part and parcel of the eradication of "traditionalism," that is, the feudal and semi-feudal relations dominated by the tribal chieftains who served as the props of Portuguese colonialism in the rural areas. (And to a certain degree, FRELIMO and the Soviets have had a need to uproot some of the feudal relations—but only to a certain degree.) Declaring that the communal villages were the base for the "creation of a new man in Mozambique" and were "great advances" towards "socialism," FRELIMO stated that these villages, formed by voluntary associations, would encompass all of the peasantry by the end of the 1980s. So far, less than 1500 of these villages, encom-

passing less than 15% of the peasantry, have been formed in the years since 1975—not that impressive of a showcase. While these villages have become a principal FRELIMO propaganda mainstay in Africa and internationally, this is just hot air: those that do exist are little more than irrelevant.

A handful of these villages are carryovers from the old set-up in the liberated zones during the anti-colonial war. In the northern parts of the country these villages are actually nothing more than glorified shelter areas for refugees returning to the country. Others are simply the old "strategic hamlets" set up by the Portuguese and now operating under the name of "communal villages." Among these, FRELIMO officials freely admit that a number of the villages in certain military zones had been created by the army literally forcing people into them in order to limit the influence of the South African-supported resistance movement among the peasants in Mozambique. Some of the largest of the "great advances" had been pulled together by taking advantage of natural disasters in order to evacuate people from one area of the

country and regroup them as a "communal village" in another area. In addition to all this, some of the villages created thus far very obviously had no greater purpose than simply serving as glorified dormitories for the workers on the state farms. Each communal village is supposed to have either a cooperative or a state farm as its economic base. In reality very few of them actually do. For the most part individual, subsistence farming remains the main method of peasant agriculture in these villages. And once again, indicative of the total predominance of the more profitable state farming sector, these villages also often serve as a convenient source of seasonal labor for the state farms at peak times of the year such as harvest time—this is so regardless of the fact that harvest time is also a peak time of prime importance for the subsistence farmers themselves.

Some argue that the situation in the countryside and Mozambique and the fact that their agricultural development is in the state that it is can all be attributed to after-effects of hundreds of years of Portuguese colonialism, the devastated economy following the war and the fleeing of the Portuguese, natural disasters and the continued subversion by South Africa and various imperialist powers. While all of this has undoubtedly had an adverse effect on the situation in Mozambique and on what it has been possible to accomplish since 1975, it still doesn't explain away or justify what is going on in Mozambique today. FRELIMO—much less, the Soviets—cannot be rescued by this line of argument.

What FRELIMO has done, under the domination of Soviet social-imperialism and waving the banner of socialist orientation and defeating underdevelopment, has been to implement policies and practices that not only are not designed to alleviate these problems but can do nothing else except exacerbate them. The heart of the matter is that all of this has been carried out as part and parcel of implementing the Soviet neo-colonial theory of "socialist orientation and non-capitalist development." The results achieved in this manner are the only ones that could have been achieved—Mozambique literally sliding from post to pillar, from Portuguese colonial rule to Soviet imperialist domination and oppression. □

Kampuchea

Continued on page 3

Turning Up The Pressure

For the U.S. and its ASEAN lackeys, however, the return of the Khmer Rouge to power is definitely not a scenario they want played out in Kampuchea—not because of some hypocritical "humanitarian" concern about alleged "atrocities" committed by the Khmer Rouge, but because the Khmer Rouge is definitely not their idea of the pliant U.S. client-state they envision. But they face a contradiction here: as much as they despise the Khmer Rouge, they must face the reality that at present there is no other viable force in Kampuchea fighting the Vietnamese. The Khmer Rouge, with its 30,000 troop strength, is still the largest and most cohesive of the resistance forces. Son Sann's group, a motley collection of disparate anti-communist elements based on the Thai border, claims at most 9,000 troops. Forces loyal to Sihanouk number only about 1-2,000. To ice out the Khmer Rouge completely at this point would very much strengthen Vietnam's position in Kampuchea, putting tremendous pressure on pro-U.S. regimes in Southeast Asia, especially Thailand. What is at stake is much more than regional interests of Vietnam and Thailand. The area is important to the global strategy of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, including control of critical sea lanes from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. For the U.S. and ASEAN, then, the problem has been to find a way to utilize the Khmer Rouge for their own ends, at the same time neutralizing it and strengthening the anti-Khmer Rouge forces of Son Sann and Sihanouk.

In counterpoint to the Khmer Rouge's insistence on forming the coalition on its own terms, Son Sann took a hard-line position of demanding that the top leaders of the Khmer Rouge, including Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan, be exiled and that his KPNLF receive enough arms to be able to match his strength with that of the Khmer Rouge before a coalition ever got set up. He declared that he did not want to be forced into "a tiger's cage without a stick." Son Sann probably received a nod of approval from the U.S. during his trip to Washington in May of '81 (which just happened to coincide with the visit of the Thai foreign minister). Sihanouk, meanwhile, took up the role of a "go-between," holding separate talks with Son Sann and Khieu Samphan.

After the first face-to-face meeting between all three forces in Singapore in September, the pressure on the Khmer Rouge was turned up. The failure of the several rounds of talks following the first meeting to produce satisfactory results was blamed on Khmer Rouge "inflexibility," while Son Sann was pictured as being more conciliatory. The scene was set for the final assault. In November, Singapore put forward a new proposal for what was termed a "loose coalition" of the three resistance groups. Under this formula, instead of the other two groups joining the existing Democratic Kampuchea structure to form a full-fledged coalition government, the three factions would come together in a loose coalition to coordinate military and political action, with each faction retaining its separate identity and forces. The coalition, under this proposal, would also be

automatically dissolved after the Vietnamese withdrawal, and a new government would be selected by UN "free elections."

What all this amounted to was the breaking up of the former Democratic Kampuchea government led by the Khmer Rouge to set up a completely new structure in which the leverage held by the Khmer Rouge will be considerably scaled down. Moreover, the provision for dissolving the coalition and holding UN elections after the defeat of the Vietnamese forces could only mean that after participating in the resistance effort, the rug would be pulled away from under the Khmer Rouge.

The scarcely disguised intentions behind Singapore's proposal were made even more stark by the reaction of the different forces to it. Son Sann immediately accepted the proposal. Sihanouk indicated that he would also agree to it if the other two groups agreed. But the Khmer Rouge said that because the proposal presented new questions, it needed time to study and would respond at a later date.

In December, China's official Xinhua news agency reported that the Khmer Rouge had asked soldiers and people in areas under their control to give their opinions on the loose coalition formula. The report said that "all the statements (by different Khmer Rouge units) expressed misgivings about the proposal for a 'loose coalition government.'" The report also quoted a statement from soldiers and civilians in one province that such a government would "open the doors wide for other sides to overthrow the system of the state and destroy the forces of Democratic Kampuchea." The Khmer Rouge knew that accepting the loose coalition formula would mean undermining their influence and padding the forces

of Son Sann and Sihanouk.

As for the Chinese revisionists' apparent objection to the Singapore proposal, as evidenced by the Xinhua report publicizing the Khmer Rouge's views, it was lukewarm and based on their own self-interests in keeping a toehold in Kampuchea through their influence with Khmer Rouge. In an interview with *Far Eastern Economic Review*, China's vice-foreign minister Han Nianlong criticized ASEAN for attempting to reduce the Khmer Rouge's role, but then went on to say that China was not showing any favoritism toward the Khmer Rouge: "Let it not be thought that Democratic Kampuchea has close friendship with China because (the Khmer Rouge) are communists. Prince Sihanouk is our old friend and we are also familiar with Son Sann." Han made it clear that China's objections were merely over tactical matters, not over the strategic goal of setting up a pro-U.S. government in Kampuchea. "The Kampucheans have said that they don't see the future of Kampuchea to be socialist, and we agree to that."

Around the time of Singapore's proposal, the central committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the official name of the Khmer Rouge, announced its dissolution. If this move was meant to deflect some of the intense pressure that was bearing down on the Khmer Rouge, it did not work—in fact the pressure only intensified. In February, the Malaysian prime minister attacked the Khmer Rouge for its "intransigence" in finding a solution to the Kampuchea problem and warned that, "It may no longer be worthwhile for us to support their position in the UN."

Welcome In Washington

The formal declaration of the forma-

Continued on page 17

Letter to the RW

How Prince Sihanouk Recruits His Troops

To the RW:

I recently read an article in the *New York Times* talking about thousands of Kampuchean refugees who are living in the Khao I Dang refugee camp, ten miles inside Thailand. The article talks about how these refugees have crossed the border back into Kampuchea after hearing a "plea" from Prince Sihanouk. As a revolutionary Kampuchean who myself lived in Khao I Dang from 1979 to 1981, and who worked there as a social worker, after my own escape from Soviet/Vietnamese imperialist-dominated Kampuchea, I feel there is another side to the story.

I still have communications with other refugees still living in the camp and often receive mail telling me their conditions in the camp. I would like to describe some of those conditions from when I was there and now.

Since October 1979, about half a million refugees have settled along the Thai/Kampuchean border, creating a crisis for the Thai government. The UN, in cooperation with the Thai government, planned to build new camps to handle the influx of Kampuchean refugees. At this point, Thai officials became worried that the Soviet-backed Vietnamese would invade Thailand by saying that the escaping Kampucheans were part of the Khmer Rouge. So in June, 1979, the Thai army forced the first wave of refugees (more than 30,000) back into Kampuchea and thousands of them were killed by shooting, starvation in the jungle or by mines planted by the Khmer Rouge after 1975 along the Thai/Kampuchean border. The reason Thai officials gave for repelling this first wave of refugees was that Thailand is neutral and doesn't want to become involved in the Soviet/Vietnamese vs. Khmer Rouge war.

In November 1979, the Thai government had a "sudden change of heart" and accepted some refugees because of international pressure. They were secretly "encouraged" by the ASEAN countries (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines), Japan and the U.S. Thailand also knew that the UN would support these refugees with monetary aid, and thus support the government coffers as well.

For a period of three months, over 100,000 refugees came to Khao I Dang.

It seemed like these refugees were happy to get a new place, the so-called "refugee holding center," to live without fear of fresh fighting between the Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge. But their new "homes" were nothing more than plastic tents provided by UNHCR (UN High Commission of Refugees). Each person was allotted two meters of space. Every ten days, the UN "regime" provided to each refugee 1 kilo of rice, some dry fish and vegetables and 3 liters of water per day.

Most of the refugees tried to search for and reunite with relatives and friends they hadn't seen since 1975. Some of them tried very hard to connect with their relatives or friends who had already received asylum in third countries, so they could get out of this new prison. Unfortunately, they had to spend at least \$4,000-\$10,000 depending on the size of the family, to buy their way out of the camps. They had to give this money to the Thai government or some other foreign countries (France and Canada) who would then, after being bought off, allow the families to leave the camps.

It took several months for the refugees to realize they were living under martial law. They realized they were caged in by a fence, guarded by Thai soldiers and they could get killed for doing such "criminal" things as trying to find firewood or buy more food for their families. In order to get this food, they had to pay outrageous prices to Thai smugglers. Furthermore, a lot of the refugees were robbed almost nightly by Thai-speaking bandits because they think that every refugee carried with them a mountain of gold. So those refugees who had a small tape recorder or radio were targets for these disgusting parasites. Many of these people wanted nothing more than to get out of the camp, emigrate to a third asylum country and live in peace without this oppression and suffering. They were placed in a very difficult situation as they had nowhere to run. There was a saying by many Kampucheans about their situation — "It's like being on the top of a mountain where if you go down one side, there are tigers waiting to tear you apart and if you go down the other side, there is a valley full of crocodiles."

This situation was caused and creat-

ed by none other than the CIA who was crawling all throughout Thailand, in league with Thai officials and the ASEAN countries. This I know because I saw in my camp one "social worker" who had very friendly relations with high-ranking Thai army officials and when all other social workers had to leave the camp at 5:00 p.m. curfew, this one man was allowed to stay and sleep in the army headquarters. For some strange reason, this man always tried to discourage me from leaving, telling me I had to go back and fight the communists.

On the surface, it looked like Thailand was nice to let some refugees cross the border. But the CIA had other plans for these people, like using them to go back to Kampuchea and "fight the communists." The "lucky" ones who were allowed to go to places like the U.S. and other Western bloc countries were used as propaganda devices in order to spread "commie horror stories."

In Sept. 1982, Prince Norodom Sihanouk visited the U.S. for two reasons: 1) he needed to convince and induce a lot of countries in the UN to support his future policy and his new coalition government by getting the seat in the UN; 2) he came begging the U.S. for military aid, financial support, anything so that "poor" Prince Sihanouk can defeat the Soviet/Vietnamese forces and regain all his treasures.

The new coalition government headed by Sihanouk consists of Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge, and Son Sann, ex-premier. A few weeks ago, I received a letter from Khao I Dang telling me about how Sihanouk is press-gang-ing all men 18 and up into his army, presently based in Sihanoukville, once called O Smach. These men are being imprisoned in bamboo cages and given the choice of either staying locked up or fight with Sihanouk against the Vietnamese. They are being told that no country wants them and that Sihanouk needs them. And, in a quote from *N.Y. Times*, Sihanouk is telling them, "I will lead you home." The quote should read, "I will lead you to death, in the name of Western imperialism fighting against Soviet social-imperialism." This is nothing new to this area of the world.

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

Available from
Liberation Distributors
P.O. Box 5341
Chicago, IL 60680
and at bookstores in your area

\$2.25
Please include \$0.75 postage

Kampuchea

Continued from page 16

tion of the Democratic Kampuchea coalition government was signed in June in Kuala Lumpur. ASEAN and the anti-Khmer Rouge forces claimed that there was considerable compromise on their part. Son Sann in particular complained that he had to make "very considerable concessions." Two clauses in the coalition agreement were pointed out as evidence of the "concessions" to the Khmer Rouge. One clause keeps each faction's individual identity intact, "including the right to receive and dispose of international aid specifically granted it." The main beneficiary of this stipulation will not be the Khmer Rouge, which is already receiving aid from China, but Son Sann and Sihanouk, who were previously prevented from receiving large, conspicuous amounts of aid because of their lack of legitimacy. Now aid from Western sources can be "specifically" directed toward the anti-Khmer Rouge forces. Sihanouk revealed recently that, "The American charge d'affaires in Peking told me, 'If you form a coalition, it will be easier for friendlier countries to help you. You and Son Sann would be welcome in Washington.'" Although the U.S. will most likely refrain from arming Son Sann and Sihanouk directly, aid is already starting to pour in from individual ASEAN countries, China and other U.S.-bloc countries like West Germany and Japan. Sihanouk is also reportedly pressganging refugees from camps in Thailand into his army, with go-ahead no doubt from the U.S. and Thai governments (see letter on this page). The net effect of all this, the U.S. hopes, will be to pump up the overall

strength of the anti-Vietnamese resistance, at the same time diminishing the relative strength of the Khmer Rouge.

Another clause supposedly favorable to the Khmer Rouge states that in case of an impasse in the work of the coalition among the three factions, the Khmer Rouge will have the right to resume its activities as the sole legitimate state and representative in the U.N. But Sihanouk, again, emphasized that there was not much conceded to the Khmer Rouge: "The Khmer Rouge would not benefit at all from leaving (the coalition)... If one day by their own action they withdraw the situation will be very bad for them. They have asked for this condition (about leaving) as a safeguard, but it is not a safeguard for them at all."

Beyond these "concessions," the coalition as it has been forged is basically the "loose coalition" formula that prompted such vigorous reaction from the Khmer Rouge back in December of last year. The Khmer Rouge dropped its insistence that the former Democratic Kampuchea institutions be retained and also accepted the dissolution of the coalition after Vietnamese withdrawal. What the thinking and struggle within the Khmer Rouge and its leadership over the coalition was is still unclear. Admittedly, because of the importance of China's aid and Thai sanctuaries to its very survival as well as the need to continue the fight with materially superior Vietnamese forces, the Khmer Rouge was extremely vulnerable to pressure to hew the U.S. line. But quite frankly, the present coalition will not open up more breathing space for the Khmer Rouge but instead

will further restrict the choices they have.

U.S. Big Stick In Indochina

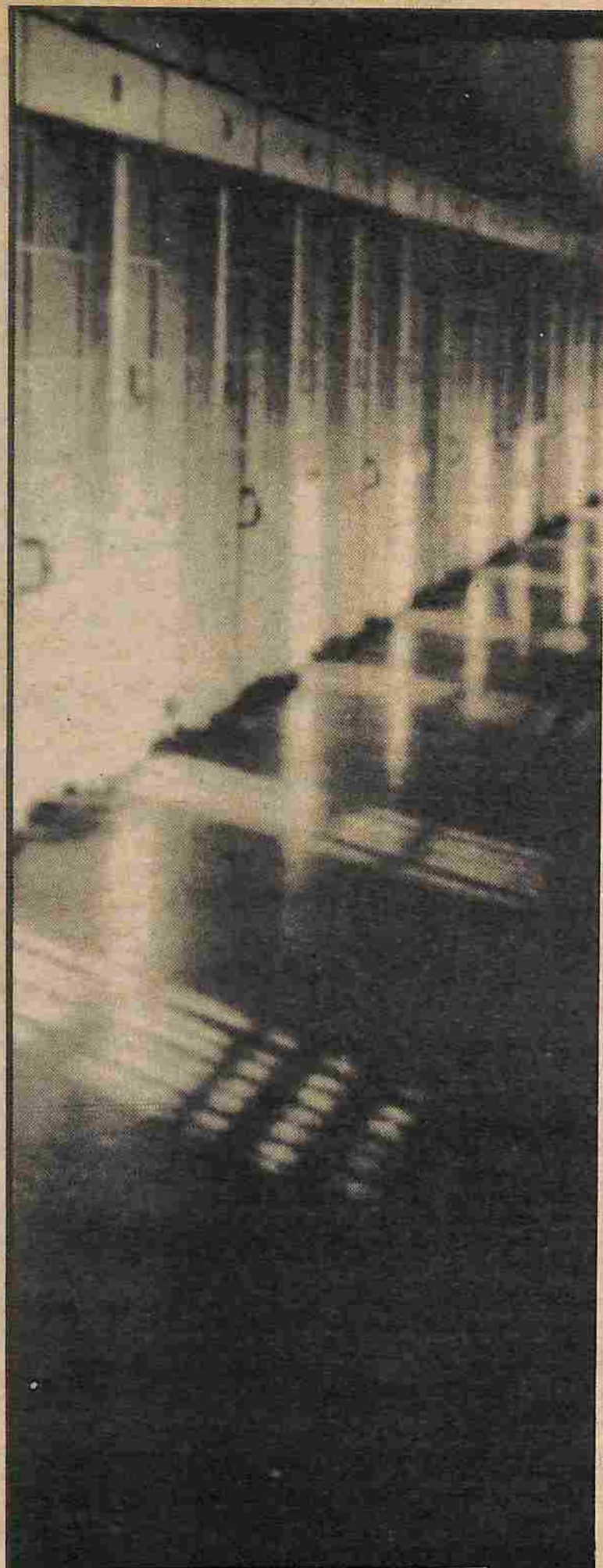
The hammering together of the Kampuchean coalition under U.S. terms indicates how the U.S. sees in the main it is going to achieve its goals in Indochina — not by trying to entice Vietnam away from the Soviet fold but by the use of the big stick, turning up the military, political and economic pressures to attempt to effect a forcible withdrawal of Vietnam from Kampuchea and even major changes in Vietnam itself. It is in this light that "socialist" France's flirtations with Vietnam must be seen. Right around the time when the U.S. and ASEAN were forcing the idea of a "loose coalition" down the throat of the Khmer Rouge late last year and early this year, France signed a \$32 million aid agreement with Hanoi, calling it "a logical extension of the cooperation programme between Paris and Hanoi carried out since 1977." This is a role that France, on behalf of the U.S.-led bloc, as well as with a view to furthering its own imperialist interests, has been playing lately among countries and forces tied to the Soviet bloc. The feeding of some sops by France to Vietnam is a calculated effort to drive a wedge between Vietnam and Soviet imperialism.

Since the Vietnamese invasion of 1979, the situation in Kampuchea has been more or less at a stalemate. Although far from wielding complete control of the whole country, the huge Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea will definitely not be easily moved. On the other hand, the Kampuchean people have continued their resistance even after major offensives by Vietnamese troops in each of the succeeding dry seasons after the initial invasion. The offensive to be launched by

Vietnam in the coming dry season is not expected to change this situation, especially with the formation of the coalition and the cranking up of Western aid to some forces in the resistance.

But pressure is mounting fast on both sides with the accelerating developments toward world war. Pointing to the increasing presence of the Soviet Union in Vietnam and areas around it, a U.S. naval officer said recently that, "The Soviet fleet presence in the South China Sea is not subtle. It demonstrates Soviet support for Vietnam and gives the Soviet Union the potential in the South China Sea to disrupt a good share of the world's commerce. Our impression is they have unimpeded access to Can Ranh Bay with an airfield and logistic capability provided by courtesy of the U.S. taxpayer. That access increases as Vietnam feels more threatened."

On the other side, aside from the forming of the Kampuchean coalition, the U.S. is stepping up its military presence in Thailand with great speed. From 1979 to 1980, the number of visits by U.S. 7th Fleet warships to Thailand increased more than 100% and the trend is continuing. There are 12 joint U.S.-Thai military exercises planned for this year, up from just 2 in 1976. The Cobra Gold '82 exercises earlier this year culminated in an amphibious landing by Thai and U.S. Marines in the southern coast of Thailand. The drive toward war can certainly supercede the present U.S. need to keep a relatively low profile in the area. The stalemate in Kampuchea may not last much longer, and may be shattered with a loud bang. □



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

Greetings Comrades,

As an inmate of the Polk Correctional Institution and a militant who is hidden far back into the prison's deepest hole (deprivation cell where there is no sight or sound of any other human), I feel the urge to describe to you all the hideousness of this concentration camp which is governed by racist and sadistic officials who delight in brutalizing Black and Hispanic prisoners, and who arbitrarily, and with injustice threw me in this dank dungeon where I am presently being held ten months and a half ago for merely filing a Civil Rights Complaint against the inhuman condition of this institution.

This place is unfit for the habitation of animals, let alone human beings. The buildings in which the men work and live are antiquated and decayed. Whenever it rains, the water seeps through the roof. Men's bunks and personal property get wet. A great many of the windows in the dormitories are broken out, and at nights all sorts of insects fly in to sting and torment a man's soul to unutterable anguish. Almost everyday some of the men finds cockroaches and worms in their food. There is no variety to the menu. We are served the same things day after day, and most of the time it's either cold or soiled. The mad dog honky guards frequently beat, intimidate, harass, curse, and spit on brothers here. Not too long ago, they beat a brother mercilessly. They bludgeoned his head and shoulders with their clubs as if he was a ferocious wild animal or poisonous viper that needed to be smashed. . . .

There's many other things that I would like to tell you all about this institution, but my imagination envisage that you all will not publish this letter if it's unduly long. . . .

November 1, 1982

Dear RW,

I have been very inspired lately to regularly read the letters from prisoners in your "Shine the Light . . . A Call to Prisoners . . ." section. I have been a regular reader of the RW for a long time. I don't remember when this page became a regular feature. It kind of snuck up on me. Anyway, I think it is an important part of the RW.

I guess we sort of assume that a high level of political thinking and struggle goes on behind the prison walls. But the rulers of this country certainly try to hide the truth about these brothers and sisters — who they are, what they think, etc. It is important and inspiring for us to be reminded each week by these concrete letters. More than inspiring, the growing level of struggle inside the prisons is a material reality that all revolutionary-minded people need to know about — a spark which must be fanned.

So, my wife and I finally decided to make whatever (small) sacrifices are necessary to send this check for the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund. We wish it could be more. We will be more conscious in the future about talking to our friends about making similar contributions.

"Death to the insect . . ."
Los Angeles

Monday, 25th October, 1982

Dear R.C.P.,

I would like to find out more about your Party and any information you can send me. I am a socialist and I am in prison at Attica, New York doing time and without funds at present and would like to receive your paper the *Revolutionary Worker*. I read your paper last week and found it very informative and interesting. I was very impressed by your paper and it is good to know people care about what is happening in the world today.

I would like to join your Party if I can. And would appreciate any information you can give me on this matter.

I have lived in the Caribbean (Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana) as well as England and I have seen my brothers and sisters in those countries oppressed by the Democratic Governments and Military establishment there. And would like to join you in your struggle against our common oppressors.

I cannot say much more for now, but look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours

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

New 'Evidence' in Pierce County Rape Case

As reported last week, on the morning of Wednesday, November 10, the trial of Lori Ann Newman, charged with manslaughter for the "crime" of defending herself from a rapist, was due to begin in Pierce County Superior Court in Tacoma, Washington. The trial never began. Instead on the afternoon before the trial was to start a deputy prosecuting attorney went to the courtroom and moved that charges against Lori be dismissed. Contacted by the RW shortly before the hearing was to start the deputy prosecutor claimed that "new evidence" had been uncovered and the prosecutor's office merely wanted to go before the judge to allow him to consider whether the case should continue. In fact the deputy prosecutor came to court with an order for dismissal already typed up and ready to sign. The "new evidence" in the case was an affidavit from one Walter Stout, a Pierce County Sheriff's Detective who had been "investigating" the case. In the affidavit Stout outlines what everybody already knew: that Lori Ann Newman has "consistently maintained" she was defending herself and nobody has ever contradicted this, that the man she shot, Renard Vaughn, was known to have beaten and raped other women, that this same man had broken into Lori's apartment on two previous occasions and one of these times raped her, etc. In fact all of this "new evidence" had been published in newspaper accounts of the case in mid-September, scarcely a week after the shooting occurred. None of this prevented the prosecutor's office from branding Lori's self-defense as "reckless," suggesting in court that when Vaughn raped Lori it was "purely voluntary," and so forth. Nor did this stop the same Detective Stout from telling the press that the case "should be formally presented and decided," that is, that Lori should be prosecuted.

If the prosecutor's claims of "new evidence" are not hard to see through, neither is it hard to see the reasons behind their hasty retreat in this case. The arrest of Lori sparked an outcry of indignation from neighbors of Lori, and, following on the heels of trials of several other women who have defended themselves in Pierce County, within days the case had become a major social issue throughout the Seattle-Tacoma area. The facts in this case were so obvious and clear-cut as to call attention not only to this particular outrageous prosecution, but to the Pierce County authorities' unrivaled record in the field of prosecuting women who defend themselves. (For more on this see RW No. 179.)

In the face of all this the Pierce County Prosecutor's dogged pursuing of this case — right up to the very eve of the trial itself — is in itself a glaring revelation of the authorities' dedication to maintaining and furthering the oppression of women. The Pierce County authorities did indeed encounter some "new evidence" in the course of all this — evidence that their prosecution of Lori Ann Newman was generating new and widespread resistance to their continuing persecution of women who defend themselves. And this "evidence" portends nothing but trouble for the authorities' future efforts as well. □

Correction

In RW No. 179 (Nov. 5, 1982) in the article on page 9 entitled "High Balls, Outrageous Charges in Miracle Valley" the first sentence in the sixth paragraph should have said that "In addition to the charges on these 10 people there are indictments still pending in court against 20 other church members. . . ." not "20 other church members. . . ."

Below is an Arabic translation of the Statement on the Vietnam Vets Monument from Vietnam Era Veterans, published in a special edition of ABOUT FACE included in the RW last week.

منظمة السود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام والمناهضين للحرب
(منظمة معادية للإمبريالية)

منظمة " أبوت فيس "

فيما يلي بيان أهدرته منظمة أبوت فيس ردا على قرار الحكومة الأمريكية بتخصيص

أحد المواقع الأثرية في واشنطن تكريما للجنود الأمريكيين الذين قاتلوا في
فيتنام.

بيان من الجنود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام

سبع أعينا أو نخون النحال العالمي ضد أي معتد امبريالي، شرقيا كان أم غربيا
وليتذكر الجميع أننا اقمنا في العاصمة سنة ١٩٧١ بانه " ١٠١ حتم علينا خسوس
حرب أخرى فانها ستكون حربا لاجتياح هذه الدرجات " والآن في عام ١٩٨٢ فاننا نقسم

السوق

بان " النحال مستمر " .
جو أوجو، أحد الجنود العاملين ضد الحرب في فيتنام ١٩٦٨، ضابط سابق في منظمة الجنود
الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام والمناهضين للحرب، منظم " لتحقيق جندي الشاه " و ديسوي
كاستول ٣ ١٩٧١، أول جندي أمريكي ممن خدموا في فيتنام سافر إلى هانوي دعمنا
للنحال الثوري للشعب الفيتنامي . . . في منظمة الجنود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام
والمناهضين للحرب، (منظمة معادية للإمبريالية) .

كارل ديكنز - أحد الأعضاء السود في قوات لويس ٦، وهي مجموعة الجنود الأمريكيين الذين
تمردوا على الأوامر في فيتنام سنة ١٩٧٠ . قضى سنتين في سجن ليفنورت العسكري .
رئيس لجنة الندوة التي اجتمعت سنة ١٩٨١ حول جرائم الحرب بحق الشعوب البروليتارية .
عضو في منظمة الجنود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام والمناهضين للحرب (منظمة معادية
للإمبريالية) . عضو في الحزب الشيوعي الثوري .

راندي رولاند - أحد المعنوشين الطبيعيين العسكريين، رمى الذهاب إلى فيتنام، كان ممن
بين الجنود السبعة وعشرين الذين اشتركوا في تمرد سان فرانسيسكو برينريديو ستوكيد
سنة ١٩٦٨، وقد قضى سنة ونصف في سجن عسكري .

الاب روي بروجوا - كان من ضمن البحرية الأمريكية في فيتنام، قس كاثوليكي يدعم
النحال الثوري في ريكال الوسطى، قضى فترة مع حركة الشوار في السلفادور سنة ١٩٨١ .
هارولد آبل، طبيب - رفض الخدمة العسكرية لاسباب دينية خلال حرب فيتنام، عضو سابق
في حركة الضباط المهتمين .

ملفن د. سكوتيا - أحد الجنود المتقاعدين، ومؤلف مسرحية "دلو العسل" المناهضة للحرب
في فيتنام .

ريك سانجر - أحد الجنود المتقاعدين الذين حاربوا في فيتنام، أحد الأعضاء في منظمة
الجنود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام، والمناهضين للحرب (سنتي ٧٣-٧٤)، قضى أشهر في سجن
فيدرالي لحرقه العلم الأمريكي تأييدا للاجتياح الاسرائيلي للقفار الأمريكية .

جورج فيسي: أحد أفراد قوات المارينز في فيتنام سابقا، عضو في " تريتديت بيتي"، وهي
مجموعة من سبعة من المعالمين من مجتمع الأطلنطى للحياة ركبوا غواصة الترانزيت الأمريكية
"فلوريدا" قاموا باعادة ديكور اثنين من اسيب اطلاق الصواريخ وقبضت شعبتين،
ثم دشنها بالدم والطلاء وسوها الغواصة الأمريكية "اوشغتر"

وب. ارهان - ضابط سابق في قوات المارينز ومن خدموا في فيتنام، مؤلف " الصمت
الأخرق " ومن مؤلفي " المناطق المنزوعة من السلاح: الجنود المتقاعدون بعد فيتنام"، ساهم
في كتابة " كس القلوب والعقول: قصائد عن الحرب بقلم المقاتلين المتقاعدين " و"السلام
هو حرفتنا: قصائد ومقتطفات عن الاحتجاج على الحرب "

باتريك فينجان - أحد الجنود الذين خدموا في فيتنام من الفرقة الأولى، اللوا ١٧٣
المحمول جوبا رفض الذهاب إلى ساحة المعركة بعد ستة أشهر، فقد أحد أخوانه في فيتنام
شائب رئيس فرع مدينة الباني للجنود الأمريكيين الذين خدموا في فيتنام .

دارينل ميرز - أحد الجنود السود الذين خدموا في فيتنام وعضو سابق في منظمة المقاتلين
الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام والمناهضين للحرب، موسيقى ثوري، تم تسليمه إلى السلطات
الأمريكية من العائيا حديثا بتهمة ملققة هي اغتيال أحد رجال شرطة ولاية ماسشوسيتس
في الستينات .

والتر بيرني - أحد الجنود السود الذين خدموا في فيتنام، شارك في احتلال نصب واشنطن
تضامنا مع الثورة الإيرانية، أحد المتهمين في قضية فورت مكفيرسون ٢ اللذين قاموا
سنة ١٩٨٢ باحتلال مركز فورستكوم في اطلنطا .

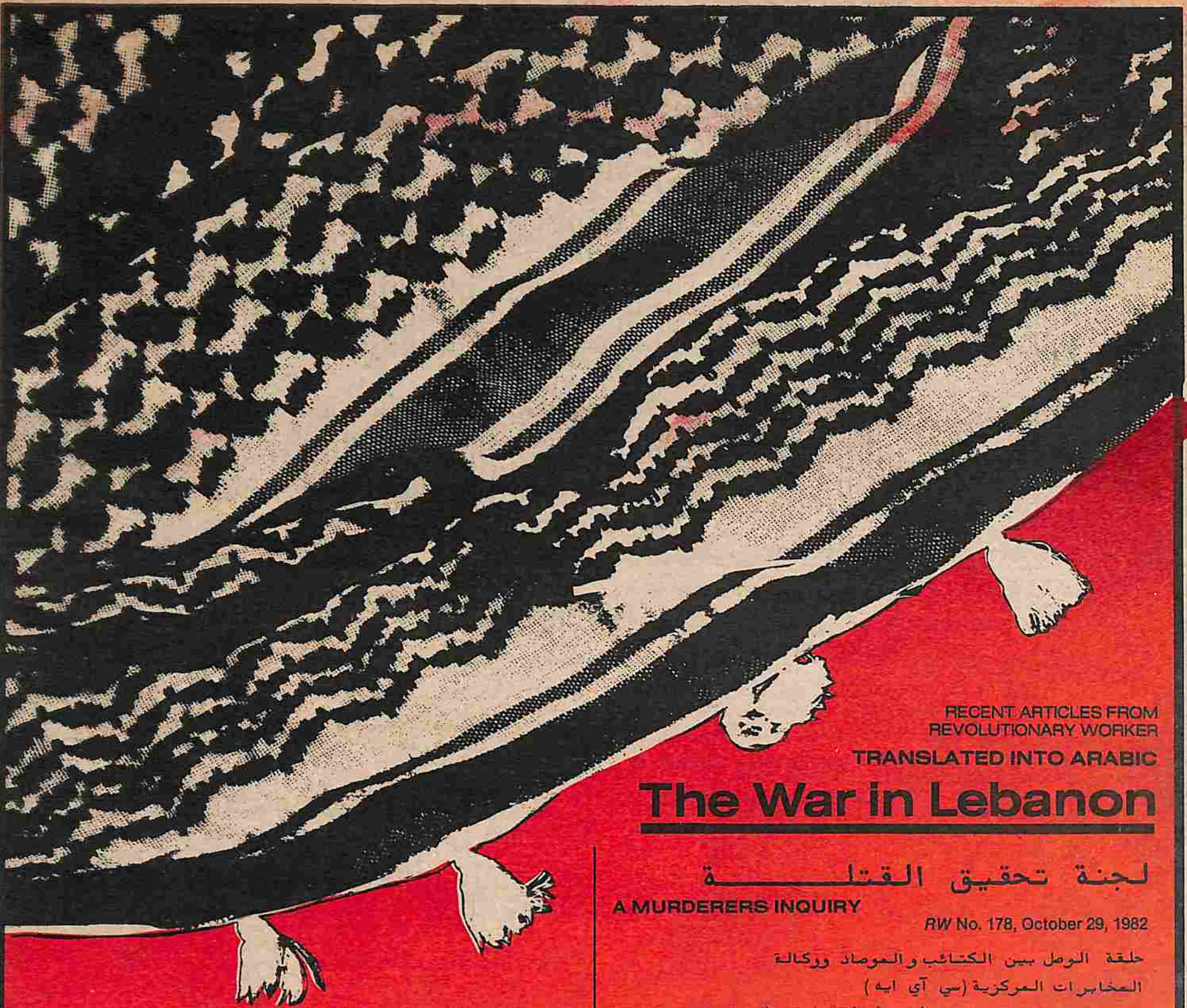
ان الاشخاص المدرجة أعلاه هم بعض الجنود الذين قاتلوا في فيتنام ووقعوا
هذا البيان الذي نعزم حاليا على هؤلاء الجنود السابقين، نرجوا الكتابة البنا وإسداء
آرائكم في هذا البيان، وإذا أمكن طبع وتوزيع هذا البيان على الجنود الذين قاتلوا
في فيتنام سابقا وغيرهم، واننا نرحب بأي نوع من المساعدة في نشر هذا البيان
والدروس المستفادة منه بشكل واضح وجمع التبرعات لتحقيق هذه الغاية .

يرجى الكتابة إلى : Vets Statement 204 W. 20th St. New York, N.Y. 10011

انهم يريدون ان يعتبروننا ابطالا لاننا خدمنا الوطن، ولذلك فانهم يعرضون
علينا التكريم والشرف، وحتى احدى المواقع الأثرية . يريدون ان يعتبروننا ابطالا دولة
قامت بحرق القرى واطلقت النار على كل ما يحرك ساكنا . يريدون ان يكرمونا اعترافا
بكوننا عملاء لآلية نزل رهية قامت بتعذيب المدنيين وديهم بشكل منظم، آلية أمطرت
وابلا من البنزين اللزج المحرق وعامل - أدراج وغيرها من السموم الكيميائية على رؤوس
كافة سكان فيتنام دونما أي تمييز بين شيخ أو طفل . ان هذا التكريم هو ليس الا
تديد دين سابق الاستحقاق مكافأة لنا على استخدام أحدث الأسلحة في تاريخ الانسانية
السلحة ارهابية تختر الدماء وتاكل كل البدن البشري، وهكذا نراه يقدمون على ترفنا
موقعا أثريا مكافأة لنا على كوننا أدوات في جيش امبريالي حديث حاول وقتل لأكثر
من عشر سنين ان يسحق ويطن ويصحو شعب فيتنام وأرضها لتعيدهما إلى العصر الحجري
مكافأة لنا لانتمنا إلى جيش مني بهزيمة مستحقة على أبادي شعب مصمم قاتل وانتصر
في حرب شعبية عادلة مذهلة العالم بأسره . فهل من اللائق أن نرفع الميداليات على
مدور حراس " اوشغتر " في العائيا النارية ؟ وهل علينا أن نقيم مسيرة مهرجانية
للطيارين الذين القوا القنابل الذرية العميقة على هيروشيما ناغازاكي أو الذين
القوا القنابل المحرقة على " دردن " ؟ لربما يتوجب علينا أن نبني نصبا لجنود
الحرس الوطني في السلفادور أو للحرس الوطني في جامعة " كينت ستايت " أولئك الجنود
الاسرياء .

انهم يريدوننا ان نكون فخورين بما فعلناه، ولكن ذلك ليس الا اضعاف أحلام،
نحن فخورون ليس بسلك الجرائم ولا بالامور العديدة التي اجبرنا على القيام بها بواسطة
ذلك النظام السريري المتوحش الذي يسمى أمريكا، نحن فخورون بمقاومتنا ومناهضتنا
للحرب وراعيتها الامبريالية، نحن فخورون بعشرات الآلاف من الذين بدأو يدركون الحقيقة
ووجدوا الطرق للمقاومة والثورة، هؤلاء الذين كتبوا وقرأوا ووزعوا ودعموا صحف الجنود
الثورية المعادية للحرب والتي بلغ عددها أكثر من ٢٠٠ صحيفة في جميع أنحاء العالم .
نحن فخورون بأولئك الذين عمموا المذكرات والعنوشات في ساحة المعركة وعلى السفن،
أولئك الذين رفضوا القتال أو تركوا أرض المعركة أو انضموا إلى الجبهة الأخرى، تلك
الفرق والوحدات البحرية الكاملة الذين ساروا وتمردوا على الأوامر، أولئك الذين لقنوا
الضباط المشهورين دروسا جديدة وأحيانا قاتلة، وأولئك الذين هجموا بشتى الطرق في
انتهار القدرة القتالية للقوات الأمريكية السرية . اننا فخورين بأولئك الذين عادوا من
الحرب إلى الوطن وشاركوا في الحركات المعادية للحرب والامبريالية، بما في ذلك الاندفاعات
الثورية المناهضة للقمع الوطني، وأولئك الذين رووا حقيقة ما رأينا وفعلنا، وأولئك
الذين ادخلوا العالم والهموه عام ١٩٧١ عندما رموا الاوسمة التي سألوها في خدمة
الوطن، " اوسمة الشرف " و " شعارات الفخر " رموها على درجات العاصمة خلال
كلمات وخطابات تنم عن الغضب والخطأ البازم . هؤلاء هم الابطال الحقيقيون من الجنود
والمتعاعدين من حرب فيتنام، وهم الذين يستحقون الشرف والفخر لقيامهم بالامور الصالحة
الذكر، انهم يريدوننا ان ننسى الحقيقة، وان نحجم عن كل أشكال المعارضة وأن نعبد
إلى أحضانهم، فنسرد دورنا ونلعب لعبة " صائد الغزلان"، وكم هم متلهفون على عكس
حكم الاجرام الذي ختم بالدم على دور الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية في فيتنام، وانهم
يتكبرهم لنا انما يحاولون تكريم تلك الحرب وذلك لتجميلها ولانفعال الروح الوطنية
في محاولة منهم لشرائنا والتعاضد... لهم، ولكن لماذا؟ لماذا يعتبروننا الآن
ابطالا لم ينالوا حظههم في الاكرام بدلا من اعتبارنا مذمتين مشهورين ؟ ان السبب
يعود لانهم على أبواب حرب أخرى، حرب مع اندادهم السوفيت، حرب اذا قورت مع حرب
فيتنام تبدو الأخيرة مجرد لعب أطفال، انها رغب هائل من أجل مجد الامبراطورية
وارباحها . انهم يخشون مقاومتنا، وهم بحاجة البنا لتشجيع وتدريب الأجيال المقبلة
من ملغفي العداقة لتشجيع الدورة المقبلة من استمرارات رفع الاعلام والخطب الوطنية،
وذلك لدعم حركاتهم العدوانية المعتمدة من أمريكا الوسطى والوسطى، وللمساعدة
في ضغل ذكرى فيتنام ودروسها وذلك لتمهيد الطريق إلى الحجم، سيد أن أبا من تلك
المحاولات لن نحدو بنا إلى الدنو إلى ذلك الحضيض، فلا عشرات الكتب والافلام السينمائية
والبرامج التلفزيونية، ولا تبذل الجنود المتقاعدين من فيتنام للمشاركة في استعراض
أو تمسح الحوج بإمكانها أن تدنو بنا إلى مستواهم، ولا تخليد الجنود نصب تذكاري
في واشنطن .

كلا، اننا لدينا مخططات مختلفة، وسوف لا ننسى الدروس التي تعلمناها بالدم، ولن



RECENT ARTICLES FROM
REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC

The War in Lebanon

لجنة تحقيق القتل

A MURDERERS INQUIRY

RW No. 178, October 29, 1982

حلقة الوصل بين الكتائب والموساد ووكالة
المخابرات المركزية (سي آي آيه)
الوسيط القاتل في لبنان

Phalange/Mossad/CIA Connection
DEADLY LIAISON IN LEBANON

RW No. 178, October 29, 1982

أمين الجميل في واشنطن

بناء قاعدة أمريكية في لبنان ما قبل الحرب

Amin Gemayel Goes to Washington

BUILDING A U.S. OUTPOST IN PRE-WAR LEBANON

RW No. 177, October 22, 1982

مشروع ريفان لفلسطين: الحكم الذاتي في أيلول الأسود

REAGAN PALESTINE PLAN: BLACK SEPTEMBER *
"AUTONOMY"

RW No. 170, September 3, 1982

لبنان: الطعم المر للسلام الامبريالي

LEBANON: BITTER TASTE OF IMPERIALIST PEACE *

RW No. 169, August 27, 1982

اسرائيل وامريكا في لبنان
المحور يستعد لغصا الشنا

U.S. and Israel in Lebanon

AXIS PREPARES FOR WINTER

RW No. 168, August 20, 1982

المواقف الامبريالية الرسمية
والضغط على منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

IMPERIALIST PARLANCE AND THE PRESSURE ON *
THE PLO

RW No. 167, August 13, 1982

الهجوم الأمريكي - الاسرائيلي على بيروت:
مسرحة

الشرطي الجيد والشرطي النقيح في الشرق الأوسط

U.S./Israeli Assault on Beirut

THE GOOD COP/BAD COP ACT IN THE MIDDLE EAST *

Excerpts from RW No. 166, August 6, 1982

اسرائيل: الطبيعة الحقيقية لشرطي المنطقة

ISRAEL: ANATOMY OF A REGIONAL COP *

RW No. 163, July 9, 1982

حصار بيروت والحصار الآتي

THE ENCIRCLEMENT IN BEIRUT AND THE *
ENCIRCLEMENT TO COME

RW No. 161, June 25, 1982

"Black September" Talks

OF BLOOD BROTHERS AND WAR BLOCS

محادثات "أيلول الأسود"
الاخوة في الدم والمعسكران الحربيان

RW No. 176, October 15, 1982

حملة اعتقالات واسعة للفلسطينيين في بيروت
(امريكا وحلفاءها يرسون اقدامهم في لبنان)

MASSIVE ROUNDUP OF PALESTINIANS IN BEIRUT

RW No. 175, October 8, 1982

مخططات الحرب الكبرى لقوات حفظ السلام

PEACEKEEPERS' BIG WAR PLANS

RW No. 174, October 1, 1982

طاعون "السلام" يجتاح لبنان
PLAGUE OF "PEACE" STRIKES LEBANON *

RW No. 174, October 1, 1982

المدن التي ارتكبها "المحافظون على السلام" في بيروت

"PEACEKEEPERS" MASSACRE IN BEIRUT *

Leaflet by the RCP, U.S.A.

الكلاب المسعورة والكلاب اللاهنة

ومؤتمر الأبنام الشعري

Biting Dogs, Running Dogs and

THE DOG DAY SUMMIT *

RW No. 171, September 10, 1982

أيلول الأسود ١٩٧٠

الملك حسين: صولجان النخاعة والعرش الملتصق بالدماء

Black September, 1970

KING HUSSEIN: SCEPTER OF DECEIT, *

THRONE OF BLOOD

RW No. 170, September 3, 1982

Available At Revolution Books in the Following Cities:

2525 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 528-5353
5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
2597 West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006 (213) 382-5428
138 West 10th St., New York, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
(Everybody's Books), 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108 (415) 781-4989
2438 13th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 265-1969

*Articles marked with an asterisk are available in a
collection. \$2.00