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## Barricades Going Up In Iran

From one end of Iran to another, the crackle of gunfire is being heard and bursts of machine-gun fire are splitting the air. Revolutionary slogans on the walls of working class neighborhoods—"Death to the IRP, Death to Imperialism!"—are being taken up as battle cries by hundreds of thousands of people whose hatred for the reactionary tyrants of the ruling Islamic Republic Party (IRP) is boiling over into armed resistance and struggle.

Fascist gangs of Hesbollahi and Pasdaran (so-called "revolutionary" guards) have in recent days stepped up their campaign of bloody suppression of the masses and Iran's revolutionary forces—staging nationally coordinated, around-the-clock raids of houses of known communists and Mojahadeen, executing hundreds of revolutionaries on the spot, and attacking the masses in the streets, knifing and disemboweling people of all ages in an attempt to terrorize them into submission. In scores of cities and towns, spontaneous demonstrations among the outraged masses have grown from hundreds to tens of thousands in the space of a few hours, and have just as quickly developed into armed clashes.

Things in Iran are rapidly developing toward a revolutionary crisis; the reactionary Islamic rulers' authority over the masses is daily weakening and their own forces are fractured and faction-ridden. In this spreading political chaos and popular rebellion, many of the top leaders (and henchmen) of the ruling Islamic Republic Party have tasted some of their own medicine. In separate incidents, Khomeini's chief military aide, Hojitolislam Khomeini was wounded by a bomb; the head warden at Tehran's notorious Evin Prison

(where "official" public executions of more than 70 revolutionaries have been carried out to date) was assassinated; and at the IRP's headquarters in south Tehran last Sunday, 72 of the top IRP government leaders, including Supreme Court head Ayatollah Beheshti and 27 members of Parliament, were killed and buried in rubble after a powerful explosion.

The Iranian government did its best to hype up their funeral march by declaring a two day holiday, even burying them in Tehran's "martyr's cemetery"

alongside tens of thousands of revolutionaries who died fighting against the fascist Shah and his U.S. masters during the 1977-79 revolution. However, there are millions of people in Iran today who are shedding no tears for Beheshti and these other reactionary dogs. How could they, when the word has spread widely of the brutal execution of twelve girls aged 12-18 and all supporters of the Mojahadeen, after they took part in a street demonstration against the IRP last week. When their "judge," one Ayatollah Gilani, asked

them their names, the girls replied, "Mujahed" (Crusader), and to the question "child of?" each replied, "The People of Iran!" After Gilani had them photographed to "establish their identity" he turned them over to an Islamic firing squad. Or take the four student supporters of the Mojahadeen who attempted to fly back to Iran from West Germany last week: they were arrested and immediately executed as they got off the plane. The charge: "Taking part in activities against the Islamic Republic abroad."

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### Israeli Election

## Zionist Snakes Choking On Own Venom

**July 2**—The inconclusive results of the recent elections in Israel show the likelihood of continuing and growing political turmoil in the Zionist state, at a time when Israel's role as the "lead pipe cinch" of U.S. imperialist military and diplomatic maneuvering in the Middle East is more critical than ever.

The protracted election struggle is the most violent and bitterly contested since the Zionist state was called into being with the collaboration of U.S. and Western imperialism in 1948. The stakes for the U.S. in the election were especially high. This accounts not only for the remarkably intense publicity accorded the race in the U.S. media, but

for the fact that direct U.S. involvement in orchestrating the election itself was more blatant than ever. Whatever the outcome, the U.S. wants the firmest control of the show ever. The campaigns of both principals—Prime Minister Menachem Begin, head of the Likud Party, and Shimon Peres, leader of the Labor Alignment—were run by top New York media consultants right down to the last bumper sticker. The campaign was punctuated first by the so-called "Syrian missile crisis" and then by the Israeli jet strike at Iraq's nuclear facilities.

When Prime Minister Begin was forced to call for new elections early this

year, most U.S. commentators predicted a landslide victory for Shimon Peres and the Labor Alignment. Until the victory of Begin's Likud bloc in 1977, the Labor party had occupied the dominant position in every Israeli government since 1948. Its leading members have extensive experience as collaborators with U.S. and Western imperialism, and the connections to match. Peres served in Israel's first government, under Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, as Director-General of the Ministry of Defense. It was Peres who cemented Israel's special relationship with France, which in the 1950s

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## Men Now, Women Later

# Supreme Court Upholds "Sweeping Powers" to Raise an Army

On June 25, the Supreme Court upheld the current men-only draft registration law by a 6 to 3 majority amidst cries of outrage and mock outrage from various quarters, including the bourgeoisie itself, at the Court's supposed rejection of the "equal rights" of women to be press-ganged into serving as cannonfodder in defense of America. The decision also dashed the hopes of the anti-draft activists who filed the suit against the government hoping to trip the government up in its draft registration plans on the basis that the male-only draft was unconstitutional because it discriminated against women. Perhaps this high court decision will persuade at least some of those who believed this reformist ruse to cast away illusions about the nature of imperialism. The Supreme Court in its decision voiced by Justice William Rehnquist was straight and to the point: "The case arises in the context of Congress' authority over national defense and military affairs, and perhaps in no other area has the Court accorded Congress greater deference. In rejecting the registration of women, Congress explicitly relied upon its constitutional powers... As the Court noted in considering a challenge to the selective service laws, 'The constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies and to make all laws necessary and proper to that end is broad and sweeping.'" Case closed! The decision made clear that the Court was not against the draft of women should Congress deem it necessary, only that it was up to them to raise an army as they wished.

This open declaration of intent by the bourgeoisie should not be overlooked. They intend to raise an army, very likely with large numbers of women in it at the appropriate time, and that's that.

Meanwhile, however, they are playing various kinds of ruses around the question of the drafting of women precisely to create public opinion for this and their war preparations generally. And they are trying to suck as many people as they can into these ploys. This suit was supported by forces like Eleanor Smeal of the National Organization for Women who are on a campaign to prove that women are just as capable of loyally defending America as men are. She expressed her concern that the decision would give the impression that "no woman is capable of defending the country—and we know that's untrue." She was joined by the *New York Times* who in an editorial titled "The Women's Draft Can't Be Deferred" stated, "Equal exposure to military service is surely a symbol of sexual equality, and it is more than that. It is a doubling of the Pentagon's potential personnel assets, a fresh source of national strength... That only men should interrupt their careers to honor an obligation to society is not a doctrine that will stand much longer in American society... And if there are to be workable plans for a draft... they had better recognize that Americans increasingly expect imaginative use of the entire pool of men and women." Clearly what we have here is simply a cheap attempt to paint fighting and dying in the service of U.S. imperialism as the highest and most necessary realization of the fight for the equality of women. It is, of course, never mentioned here that the bourgeoisie has no intention of doing anything other than dramatically stepping up its all around oppression of women whether or not they are fighting in their army.

At the same time and for the same purposes the bourgeoisie comes at it

from another angle for a different audience than Eleanor Smeal and the *New York Times*. They have their Phyllis Schlafly's running around promoting the line that a woman's place is at home chained to the bedpost and the stove. Schlafly argued before the Supreme Court that a woman's role in "defending the country" was to dutifully tend the house raising a new generation of cannonfodder while her husband was out defending the country in other ways. Thus the bourgeoisie has covered all the reactionary bases here with the single-minded intention of recruiting all the able-bodied it can for its military. In fact women are already being drawn into the armed forces through the enlistment set-up. They are already even being trained for combat though they are not yet allowed to be at the front except in so-called non-combat roles such as medics, etc. As the *New York Times* admits, "The armed forces do not shrink from assigning women to a vast array of military jobs, including quite hazardous ones."

So, basically the actual registration of women is not a necessity right now, while preparations for drafting them in the future are being made including in the public opinion sphere. In fact, as the Supreme Court decision reflects, many among the bourgeoisie feel that it is better, given the widespread opposition to the draft generally, to wait till later to conscript women.

As Rehnquist pointed out, "Congress did not act 'unthinkingly' or 'reflexively and not for any considered reason.' The question of registering women for the draft not only received considerable national attention and was the subject of wide-ranging public debate, but also was extensively considered by Congress in hearings, floor debate and in committee." In fact, the whole idea of draft registration has been a "subject of wide-ranging debate" including in the streets and campuses all over the country, and it was exactly to try and minimize this outpouring of protest that Congress decided to exclude women temporarily from registration. Real fears were expressed that their inclusion would help to create such a movement against the draft as to be counter-productive to the goal of gearing up for the war effort—a crucial part of which is building up the imperialist armed forces.

Thus, a spokesman for the Defense Department, which had previously argued for including women in registration because it needed a larger pool of personnel, expressed relief at the Supreme Court decision "that there will be no disruption of the current Selective Service System." Some anti-draft forces have stated that Selective Service officials had been eagerly anticipating the decision, planning to begin prosecution of at least some of the more than 500,000 men (according to the *L.A. Times*) who have refused to register. Furthermore, as the *New York Times* so succinctly pointed out, "it (the decision—*RW*) allows policy makers in

Congress and the White House to consider the possibility of revising the draft free of the prospect that the Constitution might require the inclusion of women."

As to what the "Constitution might require"—well, this has always been a question of the political necessities of the bourgeoisie at any given time. Obviously, those who had hoped that the "discrimination against men" argument would work did not understand this. They also apparently didn't understand the very basis of the Constitution—but Judge Rehnquist was more than willing to explain it for them. "The Constitution requires that Congress treat similarly situated persons similarly, not that it engage in gestures of superficial equality."

Ah yes, here we have the essence of jurisprudence. The masses of women, for example, being "similarly situated," must be treated similarly—that is, they must be subject to every form of degradation and oppression from child pornography to Marie Osmond laws against sexual intercourse, from forced sterilization to forced childbearing (as in the Court's recent abortion ruling), from discrimination in work and pay to constant reminders that their "place is in the home," as well as the more general miseries of life under imperialism. The masses of Black people, for another example, are also "similarly situated" in ghettos and other segregated neighborhoods, and they too must be treated similarly—police murder, destruction of their culture, rat-infested, overcrowded housing, etc. On the other hand, those who are "similarly situated" in the upper reaches of Beverly Hills must also be treated similarly in accordance with their similar situation. Now, if you are to entertain any funny notions that the oppressed should be treated similarly with those who oppress them, then you would be going in for one of those "gestures of superficial equality" and it would be clearly unconstitutional.

Judge Rehnquist used this homely adage of "situated similarly" to argue that current policies excluding women from combat are OK. Of course, it will also be OK when the imperialists are forced to change those policies—and include women in combat. After all, then they will be "similarly situated" with men—right on the "integrated battlefield," with its combined inundation of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons all dropping on the "integrated troops." But on the other hand, those troops will in no way be "situated similarly" with either the generals or the rest of the bourgeoisie that they serve, who will rather be situated in air conditioned, underground shelters, and therefore "constitutionally protected." As ever, in military as well as civilian life, we can't have any "gestures of superficial equality" obstructing the fundamental precepts of U.S. imperialism.

We must thank the Court for its excellent exercise in the splendid logic of bourgeois democracy here. They have graciously provided superb material for exposing the essence of "equality under the law" for the masses of people under U.S. imperialism. That their own imperialist logic cannot be used to defeat them is graphically evidenced by this entire Supreme Court decision and all the political moves by the bourgeoisie around the question of women and the draft. For the masses of "similarly situated" people the way forward continues to be to oppose all of the imperialists' war preparations including the draft at this time. However, there should be no illusions as to the imperialists' intentions and ability to actually raise their army including eventually through the draft, very likely including women. In that case, both men and women alike must work to seize the time when the time is ripe to use all the military training and arms that the imperialists have been forced to give them for the opposite purpose than they were intended for. That is to strike the imperialist system itself down. At that time, the ruling class will rue the day that they were forced to drag women into their armed forces and put guns in their hands. □

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# Mitterand's Nutcracker and the French CP

On June 23, newly elected French President François Mitterand offered four cabinet posts to the French (revisionist) Communist Party. When U.S. Vice President George Bush went to meet Mitterand a week later, there was a French CP minister sitting right next to him in the place of honor. Why, the reader might ask, is the U.S. ruling class taking this so calmly? Why did Bush, who had just recently jettied around Europe to explain to the U.S.'s allies why they had to support U.S. mass murder in El Salvador to keep CP members out of the government there, merely murmur that the inclusion of similar forces in France was "bound to cause concern"?

Mitterand's new "Socialist" government now includes four representatives of what has been one of the most openly pro-Soviet parties in Western Europe. Although it is true that they are only four out of 44 ministers in all, this is misleading, because several of these jobs are pretty juicy. Charles Fiterman, deputy to French CP head Georges Marchais, is now Minister of Transport, which makes him not only head of the nationalized trains, planes, shipping, etc., but also formally (although not really) the number three man in the government. The other appointments are Jack Ralite, former theater and movie critic for the French CP daily *L'Humanité*, as Minister of Health; Marcel Rigout as Minister of Vocational Training; and Anicet Le Pors, Minister of Administrative Reform. All this does not amount to a decisive hand in the government or anything like that. But neither does it amount to the "nothing" that many U.S. press commentators have tried to make of it.

The main point here is that the French CP entered into this government from a position of weakness, not strength, and that their inclusion is part of the French bourgeoisie's offensive against the French CP and not principally a concession to it.

Mitterand and his Socialist Party

took away even more votes from their "allies" in the French CP than from the other parties in the recent rounds at the polls. In the presidential elections, the CP was reduced to less than 16% of the vote, as large numbers of former supporters (and even many members) voted for Mitterand. Then, in the subsequent elections for the National Assembly, the CP lost almost half of its seats (falling from 86 to 44) while Mitterand's Socialists won control by boosting their seats from 117 to 285. It is this unprecedented weakening of the French CP in the context of a tremendous advance in support for the "left" overall that gives the entrance of the CP into the government a very different meaning than it might have in other circumstances.

"There in a nutcracker," was the way one Mitterand aid reportedly described the way the CP is "caught" in the government without being in a position to have a decisive influence on it. The CP could not refuse the offer without suffering even more erosion and worse, especially in the heady "unity of the left" climate created by Mitterand's victory. But surely CP head Marchais is not unaware that by offering the CP these ministries, the bourgeoisie and its man Mitterand, has come to bury the CP, not to praise it.

For one, in return for entering the government, the CP agreed to a two-year minimum of "absolute solidarity"

with Mitterand and his government. This agreement to support the government includes a pledge of "solidarity on the enterprise level," which means that the CP is supposed to use its control of one of the two main union federations and its strength among the workers in basic industry to support all government decisions and policies. It should be realized that much of France's basic industry is government-owned; for instance, the steel industry, where there have been important strikes and plant occupations and other struggles against layoffs and shutdowns during the reign of Giscard D'Estaing, Mitterand's predecessor. The only hope Mitterand has of achieving "social peace" on the part of the working class is the cooperation of the CP and, supposedly, that's what he's bought with the four ministries.

More important than the CP's present ability to affect various sections of the masses is the effect entering the government will have on the CP itself. Joining the employer is not a good way to become more popular with the employees. Being a part of the government and thus bound to support it, instead of enjoying the position of being more or less in the opposition will surely present some problems to the CP which could lead to more losses. At least this is the Socialists' hope. There is also the hope of buying and splitting off some CP elements and en-

couraging divisions within the party. Success in this gambit would be an achievement of long-term significance. It would be a major step in improving France's ability to drag the French masses into a world war.

Of course, the French CP has not at all lagged in its promotion of patriotism and the other necessary *accoutrements* to imperialism—"Marchais stands for France, Giscard stands for decadence" was a recent CP slogan. But the French CP's very real imperialist patriotism, which arises from its designs on becoming an imperialist bourgeoisie, or part of one, is tied to their pro-Soviet stand, since the only way a big place can be cleared in French capitalism for these would-be bourgeois is on the basis of the power of the Soviet alliance. This is objectively true despite the question of how much these revisionists publicly praise or condemn the USSR. Therein lies the main present difference between Mitterand's Socialists and the French CP—and therein lies the French bourgeoisie's necessity to continue and step-up their attack on the CP, even though by "peaceful" means, while at the same time they are working to "paint French imperialism pink" (as we said in *RW* No. 107) with Mitterand's election.

U.S. columnist Joseph Kraft remarked that "The Mitterand bet makes good sense." Good because the French bourgeoisie seems to be in a position to get away with it, but a gamble nonetheless. The "joint agreement" signed by the Socialists and CP exemplifies both aspects of this. The U.S. press has labeled this joint agreement a complete capitulation by Marchais, because this man who once was considered a bulwark against the kind of anti-Soviet declarations that have become fashionable in the Italian and other European revisionist CPs has been forced to sign a

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## Mao Officially Attacked in China Party Meeting

## Revisionist Hua Becomes

Revisionist  
Scapegoat

China's revisionist Communist Party held the 6th Plenary session of its 11th Central Committee from June 27 to 29 and two major decisions were announced: the publication of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party," including the long-awaited official summation of Mao, and the dismissal of Hua Guofeng as party chairman, to be replaced by Deng Xiaoping's right-hand man, Hu Yaobang.

The headline in the Chicago *Sun-Times* read, "China Finally Closes Mao's Red Book" (you can almost hear the imperialists heave a big sigh of relief—"Finally!"). Actually, the Red Book of Quotations by Chairman Mao has not only been closed by the revisionists for some time, it has in effect been banned. Of course here the *Sun-Times* is referring to the "Red Book" in the sense of Mao's line, which has also been banned. But the new historical document does indeed represent an end to a certain phase in the revisionists' attack on Mao, with its official-stamp of approval from the Central Committee.

The historical document and especially the evaluation of Mao has been reported to have been under preparation for more than a year, and in fact it has been at the center of contradictions between different forces within the revisionist camp. Deng's forces originally hoped that the trial of the Four would create a favorable turf for quickly carrying out the Central Committee meeting to push through the evaluation. Settling the question of Mao will be central to pushing forward capitalist restoration in the economy as well as carrying out an organizational purge in all levels of the party of forces opposed to Deng.

However, one of the effects of Chiang Ching's and Chang Chun-chiao's firm stand in defending Mao and making a close link between their actions and Mao's line was to heat up the contradictions within the revisionist camp between the Deng forces and those who are opposed to the speed and openness with which Deng is attacking Mao. These latter forces are made up, in substantial part of those who, while belonging politically to the right, were able to move up or maintain their position during the Cultural Revolution by going along with the mass movement to a certain extent. They therefore had a certain stake in at least slowing down the pace of criticism of Mao and the Cultural Revolution. Although they despise Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, these forces fought to prevent the immediate executions of these two revolutionaries, since they had made the link between themselves and Mao so clear. This struggle between the opposing forces among the revisionists gives the reason behind the long delay in holding the 6th Plenum, first scheduled for earlier this year, and the delay in finalizing their summation of Mao.

There will be more analysis of the resolution and party history and summation of Mao in the *RW* in the future as the full text and surrounding developments become available. But even from the excerpts already published, it is clear that the document goes further than ever before in attacking Mao, and there is not much that can be considered "concessions" on Deng's part. Even the "concessions" are quickly swept away with further attacks. For example, in discussing the period of the Great Leap Forward (in the late 1950s) the document says, "Although Comrade Mao must be held chiefly responsible, we cannot lay the blame on him alone for all the years." But immediately following this is the claim that, "During this period, his theoretical and tactical mistakes concerning class struggle in a socialist society became increasingly serious, his personal arbitrariness gradually undermined democratic centralism and party life and the personality cult grew graver and graver."

Not surprisingly, the most virulent

attacks come around Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution. The documents for the first time officially pin the "blame" for the Cultural Revolution directly on Mao: "The Cultural Revolution, which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setbacks and serious losses suffered by the party, the state and the people since the founding of the People's Republic... Chief responsibility for the grave left error of the Cultural Revolution, an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, does indeed lie with Comrade Mao Tsetung." The document rehashes the revisionists' silly argument about Mao violating his own Thought (while they, of course, "creatively" developed it): "These erroneous left theses (about continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—*RW*) upon which Comrade Mao Tsetung based himself in initiating the Cultural Revolution, were obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Tsetung Thought... These theses must be slowly distinguished from Mao Tsetung Thought." Mao is also charged with the responsibility for putting Lin Biao and Chiang Ching in important positions.

The historical document, however, does more than attack Mao. It pushes Deng Xiaoping to the fore, and pushes him as a man who steadfastly stuck to the correct line even while Mao was going wild with the Cultural Revolution. In 1975, according to the document, Deng took charge of the day-to-day work of the Central Committee "with the support of Comrade Mao Tsetung," and lo and behold, "The situation took an obvious turn for the better." But Mao, who supposedly endorsed Deng, "could not bear to accept systematic correction of errors of the Cultural Revolution by Comrade Deng and countered the right-deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts, once again plunging the nation into turmoil." Then referring to the 1975 Tien An Men riot, a counter-revolutionary incident against Mao and the Four instigated by the revisionists to prepare ground for seizing power, the document states that "The movement was a demonstration of the support for the party's correct leadership as represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping."

While the revisionists have already gone very far in open criticism of Mao with this document and will continue to push for even more, they are trying to avoid negating Mao's name, especially his role in the democratic stage of the revolution. No matter how much the revisionists may try to rewrite history (judging from their new document they should be given an award for "creative historical writing"), they cannot erase the fact that Mao is inextricably bound up with the legitimacy and prestige of the Communist Party. According to the *New York Times*, even Hu Yaobang, well-known for his vicious attacks on Mao, described Mao as "the greatest national hero in Chinese history" in his first speech as party chairman. For the same reason, they must continue to uphold in name Mao Tsetung Thought even as they have carved out its revolutionary content, especially the developments in Mao's thinking in his later years.

Actually, upholding Mao during the years of the democratic revolution of liberation from feudalism and imperialism and condemning him during the years of the deepening of the socialist revolution, as this revisionist document does, is an exposure of its authors and endorsers. They are further revealed as bourgeois democrats, who supported aspects of the revolution that liberated China from feudalism and from foreign imperialism, but could not support the thoroughgoing socialist revolution, and increasingly became its

main domestic targets.

## Hua's Severe Scolding

The fact that not much compromise for those forces who urge caution in criticizing Mao was involved in this document is shown by the extremely severe summation of Hua Guofeng. Hua, of course, is the most visible example of those who, while being in the revisionist camp, actually benefited from the Cultural Revolution by stepping into the shoes of high officials who had been knocked down by the masses. The document states flat out that, "obviously, under his leadership it is impossible to correct left errors within the party, all the more impossible to restore the party's fine traditions."

Hua's dismissal, which was announced one day before the historical document was made public, came as no surprise. Already at a meeting of the National People's Congress last September, Hua had been stripped of his post as premier, and bets were being laid on just how long he would last as party chairman. Speculation increased around the time of the trial of the Four when Hua disappeared completely from the public eye for almost 2 months. Some rumors even had it that Hua had been placed under house arrest. The revisionists now confirm that Hua in fact had "offered to resign" at a politburo meeting last November. Since then he has been an outcast, obviously shunned by the other revisionist heavies. Deng and Hu reportedly stayed away from a May Day cultural performance where Hua was the ranking guest. And on the list of names for the funeral committee for Sun Yat-sen's widow Soong Ching-ling who died in late May, Hua's name was unceremoniously dumped toward the end among other mediocre officials.

Quite frankly, the rather humiliating treatment Hua has been receiving does not do justice to the indispensable role he played for the revisionists as a whole, in the preparation and the actual carrying out of the coup as well as in the efforts consolidating their rule following the coup. A brief overview of Hua's recent history will serve to verify his unique contributions to the revisionists' cause.

Kicked down from the Hunan Secretariat in 1966 after being attacked as a "royalist," Hua was one of those that were knocked down early in the Cultural Revolution but came back rather quickly. Since those like Hua were promoted to higher positions in a certain sense at the expense of people like Deng, they had a certain stake in going along and defending aspects of the Cultural Revolution, although fundamentally they were with the revisionists in their political outlook.

By the early '70s Hua was working in Peking directly under that patriarch of the revisionists, Zhou Enlai. By 1975, Deng Xiaoping had been rehabilitated at the insistence of Zhou and was working furiously toward the goal of turning China into a capitalist country—the very reason for which he was toppled during the Cultural Revolution. Deng directed the drafting of the "Three Poisonous Weeds": the "General Programme," the heart of which was putting the development of the economy above everything else, and two other reports, one on industrial management and planning and the other on science and technology which attacked the advances made during the Cultural Revolution in those areas. Based on the revisionist premise that "modernizing" China—as opposed to carrying on the class struggle domestically and interna-

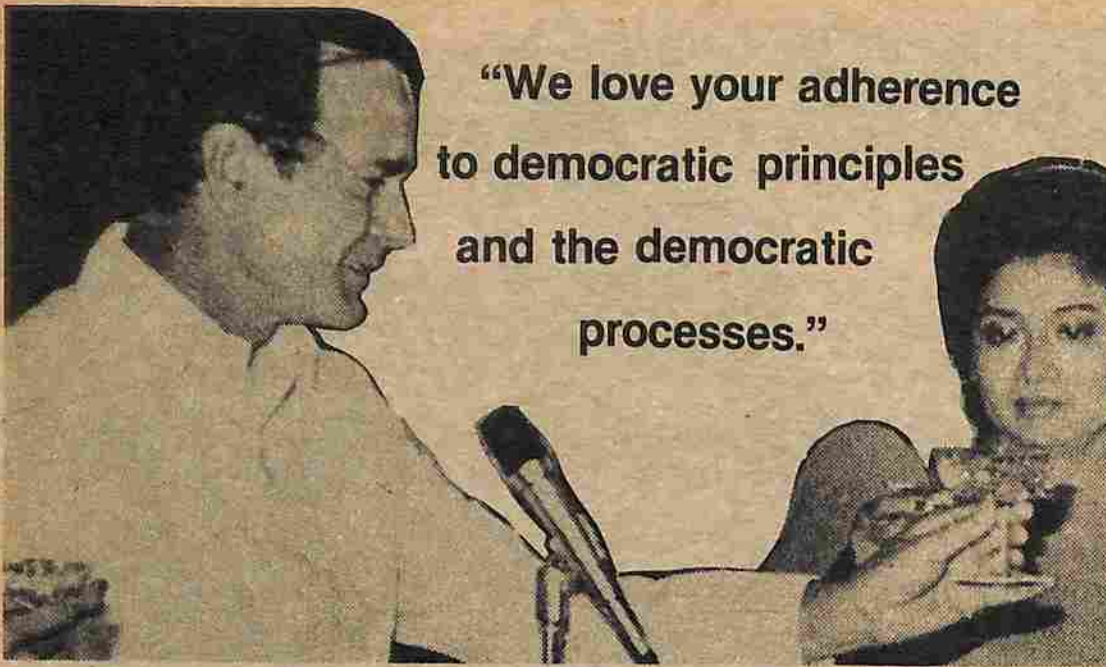
tionally—should be put above everything else, the "Three Poisonous Weeds" put forward an overall economic plan that would mean dependence on foreign technology which would be obtained by bartering away China's resources, like oil, and the imposition of highly centralized management and strict rules and regulations to push workers harder.

What is so revealing about the "Three Poisonous Weeds" is that all three principals in their current organizational reshuffling are linked to it in some way. The "Three Poisonous Weeds" was drawn up under Deng's guidance, and both Hua Guofeng and Hu Yaobang were directly involved in the writing of certain parts of it. Now that the revisionists' grandiose schemes of "catching up and surpassing the West" and "modernization by the year 2000" had ended in a complete flop, all this is blamed on Hua and his "left errors" and his "impetuously seeking quick results in economic work." But the economic program that Hua carried out so "impetuously" is precisely the program of the revisionist camp as a whole, formulated several years before the coup in their "Three Poisonous Weeds." It is not just Hua but the revisionist clique as a whole who expected the western imperialist countries to provide them with all the necessary advanced technology they needed as long as they displayed sufficient slavishness and promised to hand over China's natural resources.

In the National Conference on "Learning from Dazhai" in late 1975, Hua stepped into national prominence. His keynote speech at the conference revealed his particular style of revisionism. Full of empty talk about revolution and upholding Mao's line, not too far beneath the surface is the real essence that pushes the revisionist garbage about "modernization" being the "new historical mission" of the Chinese people. The speech quoted Mao's statement about how the country still practiced the commodity system and an 8-grade wage system but left off the crucial conclusion that "If people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." By cutting out this last part, Hua was trying to gloss over the essential point Mao was trying to make—that unless conscious political struggle is waged to restrict bourgeois right, there would be a capitalist takeover inevitably. Hua's role in the whole "Learn from Dazhai" movement, initiated by Mao, was to disarm Dazhai of its most important lesson of transforming people's consciousness, and making it just a question of raising production by "farmland capital constructions." Hua continued to be associated with Dazhai after the coup, calling for the creation of so-called Dazhai-type counties (with a high degree of centralization) all across China. Now that the revisionist agriculture policy lays stress on the so-called "responsibility system" with its breaking up of big villages into smaller ones and the open promotion of the profit motive, Hua is being blasted for his "leftist errors" in promoting Dazhai.

## How Hua Climbed to the Top

It is claimed in the U.S. media that  
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**"We love your adherence to democratic principles and the democratic processes."**

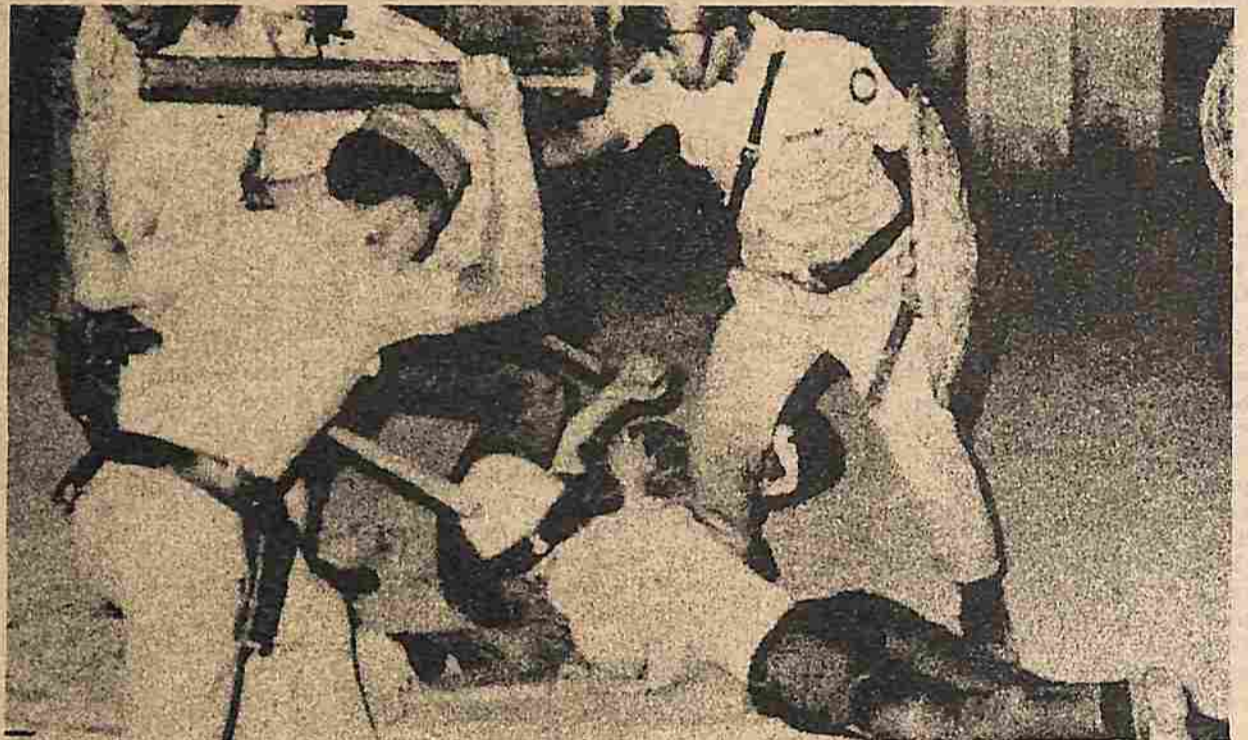
**Vice President Bush's toast to Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos in Manila following his presidential swearing in.**



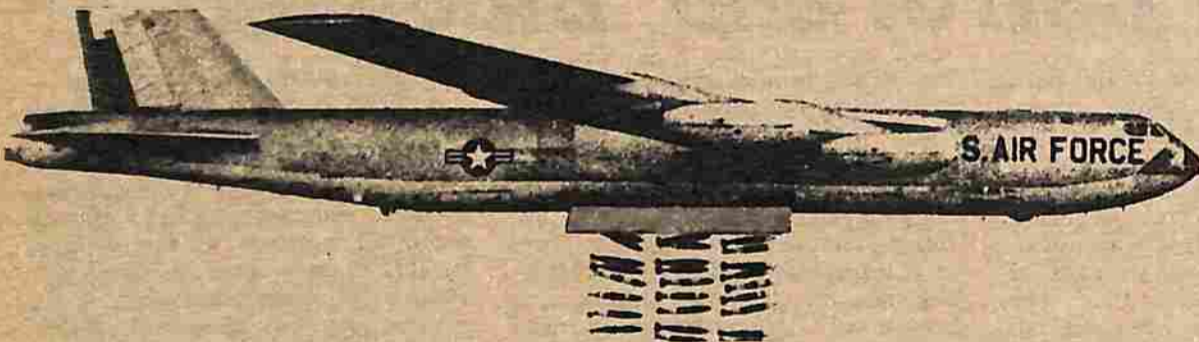
**Marcos—who declared martial law in the Philippines in September of 1972.**



**When martial law was declared all schools and universities were shut down. Hundreds of students and professors were arrested. Above, a school checkpoint set up when schools were re-opened. In some cases military men took over administrative positions.**



**Police in Manila beat protestor with clubs.**



**During the Vietnam war, Subic Naval Base in the Philippines was used extensively as a base of B-52 operations against Vietnam, but it's hardly nostalgia that makes Bush show such tender feelings for Marcos. The Subic Naval Base and the Clark Air Force Base figure very heavily in U.S. preparations for a global showdown with the Soviets.**



**U.S. advisors and Philippine officers inspect arms captured from Muslim rebels. The army has made it a common practice to torture and kill captured revolutionary fighters. In one example a captured rebel was beheaded and his head was paraded around villages by Philippine constabulary soldiers until they were forced to retreat by furious villagers.**

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# Imperialism's Nightmare on Africa's Cape



Soweto youth.

In the last few weeks, South Africa's apartheid regime has instituted a widespread security crackdown in response to a heightening upsurge of struggle among the Azanian people. After boycotts and protests ruined their Republic Day festivities early last month (a day which celebrates the institution of apartheid rule), the authorities braced for the June 16 anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising—an uprising that has come to represent the stuff from which South Africa's white rulers' most frightened nightmares are fashioned. As 5,000 people pressed into the Regina Mundi Church in the Rockville section of Soweto for a memorial to the 600 blacks murdered during the rebellion, South African police dressed in battle fatigues moved in, firing tear-gas canisters point blank into the church. For over two hours, security forces rampaged through the streets administering beatings with 4-foot-long hard rubber whips known as "sjamboks" as knots of rebellious youth taunted them and pelted them with stones. In the cities of Durban and Port Elizabeth, the situation was deemed so volatile that memorials for the Soweto Rebellion were banned in advance under the infamous Riotous Assemblies Act. The government's fears were not unfounded, as in the black township near Durban molotov cocktails were thrown at a government

building.

Hot on the heels of these and a variety of other disturbances, South African police have begun massive arrests of black leaders and activists under security laws permitting indefinite detention without trial. These include a number of leaders of the "unregistered" black trade unions (reflecting the increasing political role in the struggle against the government being played by the Azanian workers) and several noted black journalists, including staff members of *The Sowetan*, a black daily newspaper in Soweto. A large number of student activists have also been arrested, most of them associated with the Congress of South African Students (including its president, Wantu Zentile) and the Black Students Society of Witwatersrand University—a predominantly white institution where student protestors burned a South African flag several weeks ago. Two whites have been the target of government action as well. Sammy Adelman, the chairman of the Student Representative Council at Witwatersrand, has been banned, and Andrew Boraine, who is the president of the National Union of South African Students and the son of a member of the South African parliament, has been arrested and detained indefinitely. The arrests came only days after the June 16 incident at the church in Soweto, where among

other things leaflets appeared calling on the people of Soweto to "organize and act against the enemy."

Obviously, South Africa's rulers and the U.S. imperialists as well, are extremely uptight about the signs of a growing upsurge on the part of the Azanian people—signs which are coming just as the U.S. has been compelled to discard some of its previous hypocritical mouthings of "concern" about the ugly picture of apartheid rule and to more openly embrace the South African regime. Indeed, it was only a year ago that U.S. policy journals abounded with handwringing about how apartheid was an "obstacle" to their strategy in southern Africa and "deeply abhorrent" to the other black states they are attempting to consolidate under their imperialist sphere of influence with the South African regime serving as the sergeant-at-arms. But with the quickening pace of developments toward war, such diplomatic niceties are being increasingly shoved aside for a more bottom-line policy. The fact is that South Africa—with its vast mineral reserves (an essential requirement for the U.S. bloc war machine), its strategic position astride major oil routes that traverse Cape Horn, and its economic and military stranglehold on the countries of southern Africa—is a vital linchpin for U.S. domination and con-

trol of this entire area, and U.S. imperialism has always supported it as a key junior partner.

This does not mean that the U.S. is comfortable with some of the "unpleasantness" of apartheid rule, or more to the point the real political problems it creates for them, particularly since the resistance of the Azanian people has shown signs of resurgence, beginning with the strikes, school boycotts and outright rebellions that flared up in April of 1980, and is more and more threatening the internal stability of the South African regime. On the one hand, the development of the world situation has dictated the U.S.'s necessity to more visibly support South Africa's rulers come hell or high water. Witness, for example, the recent U.S. veto, along with its bloc partners Britain and France, of economic sanctions against the Pretoria government (after going along with such cosmetic, wrist-slapping measures for a number of years), as well as the U.S. sabotaging of the UN-sponsored plan for a settlement in South Africa-controlled Namibia (Southwest Africa), which drew a stinging condemnation from the heads of 50 countries at last week's meeting of the Organization of African Unity, which passed a unanimous resolution denouncing "the unholy alliance between

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## The US/Israeli Raid on Iraq and Since

# "Consensus" by Carrot and Bludgeon

U.S. imperialism's diplomatic machinations since the bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor, including the United Nations Security Council's debate on the question, has fully exposed both U.S. complicity in the raid and the carrot and bludgeon tactics employed by the U.S. in whipping its various Mideast cohorts into formation.

The feather-light "slap on the wrist" delivered by the U.S. to Israel after the raid was further exposed recently when the Reagan administration announced a go ahead to ship Israel six more F-16 fighters in mid-July, even though it had not yet approved the transfer of four other F-16s that had been suspended after the Israeli bombing attack. A day later, apparently embarrassed by the twisted and naked revelation, the same spokesman said, "no decision had yet been made." But the message was clear.

In our June 12 article, "U.S. Unleashes Israeli Raid on Iraq," we raised the question, "If the United States has been eagerly cultivating Iraq over the past few years, weaning it away from Soviet influence and employing the Hussein regime as a club against Iran, why would the U.S. now endorse an Israeli blow against Iraq..."

The answer to this question has a lot to do with the terms in which U.S. imperialism is building its cherished "consensus"—a club in which membership is not necessarily "free and voluntary" and in which the U.S. imperialists set the rules and appoint the Sergeant-at-arms. The Sergeant-at-arms is Israel, and Iraq, of all the Arab regimes in or gravitating toward the U.S. orbit, has

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

At the United Nations at the end of June, the U.S. orchestrated a game of charades in which everybody knew their role: the U.S. was calling the shots, Israel was to get a token "slap on the wrist"—and Iraq was reduced to lobbying with the United States as a supplicant for redress of its grievances, a small-time *capo* bowing to kiss the Godfather's ring. The Security Council vote formally condemned Israel, as had happened on previous occasions, but imposed no sanctions. U.S. delegate Jean Kirkpatrick made a strong speech reaffirming the U.S.-Israeli alliance. The *New York Times* crowed that "according to many envoys here, this marked the turning point in relations between Baghdad and Washington." The U.S. is obviously full of hope that its "punish Iraq into further submission" technique is working.

The draft of the Security Council resolution had been worked out in direct negotiations between Kirkpatrick, who was in constant consultation with the White House and the State Department, and Iraq's Foreign Minister Saadun Hamadi. It was very

clear what "turning point" had been reached: Iraq was made well aware that it would be forced to settle for what it could get from the U.S.—no more. These were the explicit ground rules that governed the negotiations. Yes, the United States would be willing to vote for a superficial condemnation of the raid—no, the resolution would not direct Israel to pay reparations to Iraq. No, no arms embargo against Israel would be imposed. After it was all over, the Iraqi government was to earn a pat on the head from the schoolmarm Mrs. Kirkpatrick for its "cooperative spirit, restrained position, and good faith."

Israel, predictably, screeched its opposition to any condemnation of its actions at all. But while it was in the interests of U.S. imperialist diplomacy overall to play the key role in engineering the condemnation and freezing the Soviet Union out of the process, Kirkpatrick made a point of giving a pro-Israel speech which in essence said "not to worry"—what's one more UN "condemnation"? Kirkpatrick's remarks even went a long way towards an open and formal U.S. justification of the Israeli raid: "...Although my government has condemned Israel's act, we know it is necessary to take into account the context of this action, as well as its consequences. The truth demands nothing less."

"As my president, Ronald Reagan, asserted in his press conference, I do think that one has to recognize that Israel had reason for concern, in view of the past history of Iraq... (Iraq) does not even recognize the existence of

Israel as a country."

"...President Reagan said Israel might have sincerely believed it was a defensive move..."

"The strength of the United States' ties and commitments to Israel are well known to members of this council. Israel is an important and valued ally. The warmth of the human relationship between our two peoples is widely understood."

"Nothing has happened that has in any way altered the strength of our commitment or the warmth of our feeling. We, in the Reagan administration, are proud to call Israel a friend and ally."

On the same day as the Security Council vote, new revelations were spilled to the press which make it even more obvious that the U.S. directly knew about and authorized the Israeli air raid.

Last October 9th, Israel had formally requested the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to provide information "about how much damage could be inflicted on a nuclear reactor with 2,200-lb. bombs."

The NRC "routinely" studied the matter—a purely theoretical interest, of course—and passed its conclusions back to the Israelis.

The bombs specified by Israel in its request to the NRC were the same type actually used in the reactor raid.

The *Times*, straight-faced as ever, reported a spokesman for the Israeli Embassy as saying that the NRC study "had absolutely nothing to do" with the Iraqi raid. "There was not the slightest connection," he said. □

## Vets Testify at War Crimes Tribunal

# The Mood of the Troops in Vietnam

Following is testimony given at the Los Angeles hearing of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal by Vietnam Veterans. The first excerpts are from testimony by a veteran of Company N of the Airborne Rangers, 75th Infantry Air Attachment, Number 173 Airborne Brigade, who was in Vietnam in 1971.

...I'd like to relate a few personal experiences that I encountered while I was in Vietnam that have changed me.

When I arrived in Vietnam I was 18 years old. My father and my brother had served in Vietnam before I did. My father was a career man. He had spent over twenty years in the army. When I got to Vietnam I was attached to the 75th Infantry and they were attached to the 173rd Airborne Brigade. We were considered the most elite unit attached to the 173rd. Our motto was, "Live by chance, Love by choice, Kill by profession." We thought we were so bad, as a matter of fact we were so bad, that we enjoyed collecting human ears and we made them into human ear necklaces. The person with the longest human ear necklace was considered a hero when he got back to the base. He would receive all the free beer he could drink, get a lot of attention, and everyone treated him like a real hero.

One other routine that we had besides collecting human ears was the routine of nailing our unit patch to the enemy's head. We'd attach a patch like this and we'd take a small nail and nail it into the individual's head once he was killed in action just to show anyone who came into the area that we had been there and we were responsible for these actions. These are just some of the kinds of incidents that opened up my eyes to a government that was condoning this kind of activity. As far as truly being bad like we really thought we were—in one incident that tells how really bad we were was one evening we were sitting up on a hill when we were out in the field. We were overlooking a valley. In this valley there were about seven NVAs, North Vietnamese soldiers, who were walking to this heavily wooded area that was to our left. We called in an artillery strike that saturated the area for about 45 minutes to an hour. We figured that anything in that area would be dead. About 30 minutes later it took us awhile to notice, but some individuals were coming out of the area. And before I had even noticed, about 20 or so had already come out. It really dawned on us. We said, "How could anyone live through such massive bombardment?" But out of the area walked about a hundred and four NVAs. They had survived this massive attack that U.S. artillery had laid down on them. This tells you something about the drive that the people had against the oppression of American imperialism.

We were told later on, the next day, to go into the area and investigate. My team captain, he was about 19 himself, we just sat up on the hill and told them that we went down there and we didn't see a damn thing. And I guess that speaks for how much courage we had.

Testimony by a member of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-imperialist):

My name is Larry and I'm an Army vet and I'm proud to say that my entire period of service was spent in disservice to U.S. imperialism. I'm here to testify about, to describe, the mood of the troops during the latter part of the Vietnam War, in 1971 to approximately 1974, during which time I did active duty GI organizing.

At the time I enlisted in the military, I did so with an understanding that the Vietnamese people were not my enemy, that the government was; that we couldn't and shouldn't rely on this government that had caused us to be in Vietnam in the first place, that had murdered tens of thousands of Vietnamese people; and that the only way the war in Vietnam was going to end was for the U.S. to lose militarily. For that to happen the U.S. Troops would have to stop fighting the Vietnamese and start fighting the government, the U.S. government, in any way shape or form they saw possible. With that understanding, based on conversations I had with people in Vietnam Veterans Against the War before I went in, I enlisted to do just that. This is also why I am testifying here today because there is a need for people who were cannonfodder for the U.S., who are currently cannonfodder for the U.S. and who in the future the U.S. will "hopefully" use as cannonfodder, to understand the exact nature of this system so that they can have some rational basis to decide who they are going to go down with: whether it be the people of the world or with the system which has the blood of millions of people on its hands. The way I'm going to testify about the mood of the troops will be through relating several incidents which happened.

When I went in, the draft had basically stopped. They had just started the all-volunteer Army hoping that the problems they were having with their military would stop now that they got people who were "entering on their free will." The first incident that I'll relate happened about the fourth week of basic training. The battalion chaplain came in and he was going to give us a talk about how this was our spiritual duty to be in the military. He sent all the drill instructors out. We didn't find out until later that this fool who had been to Vietnam had gotten flight pay as a door gunner while still a chaplain. This guy was supposed to be our spiritual advisor. If we had any trouble doing what we were being trained to do, we were supposed to go talk to this idiot. He had us in there and he sent all the drill instructors out so he could have a heart to heart talk with the men without them having any fear of intimidation. So he sent all these dudes out. He starts laying down this trip about Vietnam, how it was our duty to go over there to kill commies for Christ and garbage like this. About five minutes into this the place exploded. Guys were telling him to go shove it. People weren't going along with that. He quickly left and the drill instructors came back and started screaming at us. But I could tell from right there I was in some pretty good company with the ways the guys were responding. Up until that time I had been real timid about

what I was going to do while I was in there. I'd been basically talking to guys about what did they think about the war in Vietnam. After this I had a pretty good idea about what they were thinking.

The next incident happened when I got brought to Fort Sam Houston. I was going to be a medic, or they were going to train me to be a medic. We had just gotten in. We were in the company for about three days. The executive officer of the company, this first lieutenant, he got up on the stage and started screaming at us about how we had messed up the barracks, how we weren't good soldiers and all this other crap. About half way through this tirade of his, every guy in that auditorium, which was about 300 of us, stood up and started screaming back at him, yelling "Bullshit!", that he didn't know what the fuck he was talking about and as far as we were concerned he could shove it. He responded, "I don't believe I just heard that," until every guy stood back up and started telling him the same thing. He said, "I still don't believe I heard that," and so we obliged him one more time. By that time he was fit to be tied. As we were sitting down, one guy was slow in sitting down and he said, "I

"set up" because the Army knew that they would refuse because they were ten organizers from VVAW. They busted them, but one thing they weren't counting on was that the rest of their troops would become outraged about this. Guys started to refuse to do duty, to go to training. This was happening all over this post. Throughout the company formations, they'd basically tell them to jam it until they set these ten guys free. Within five days so much hell was being raised on that post and starting to be raised at Fort Hood, Fort Bliss, Fort Sill, that the Army thought better of it and released all ten of these guys.

Question: Did you have a sense of the kind of interaction that was going on with the political movements outside the Army and their effects inside the Army and the actions people took?

Larry: There was a direct interaction. For one, there were these photographs floating around for awhile during the Moratorium Day in 1969. Hundreds of GI's in Vietnam wore black armbands during the Moratorium, saying: we may go out on the patrols, we may go out and do some things, but we ain't going to open fire unless fired upon; we're declaring our own ceasefire for that day. The sense I got was that what was



G.I.'s wear black armbands on patrol during Moratorium Day in 1969.

want to talk to you." By that time everybody just went nuts and said if you go after him you go after all of us. They backed down going after that guy for disrespect to an officer.

The reason why I'm relating these things is because, although it is not directly connected to resistance in Vietnam, it gives the indication that if they couldn't get their troops fresh from basic training, fresh from eight weeks of terror that they tried to impose on us, trying to get us to be mindless zombies which they can mold, they certainly weren't going to be able to get people to go out and do their stuff.

A final incident that I'm going to relate has to do with guys consciously refusing to take part in preparation for Vietnam. There was this MASH unit that was getting ready to be sent to Nam from Fort Sam Houston. They required that their hospital be set up. Ten guys in this one unit who were supposed to help set up this MASH unit, refused. They were

going on outside the military was having a direct impact on what was taking place inside. As much as they tried to isolate us they couldn't. Guys were getting news from the alternative newspapers. They were really searching for the answers for why this was happening. One other thing which I should have related. Prior to the U.S. getting its butt kicked in Vietnam there were at one time up to 241 GI newspapers around the world going to every branch of the service. And let me say this, none of these papers were upholding John Wayne. They were all calling for the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam and they were also starting to take up even larger questions like what kind of system this is, what's the nature of it and whether we have any business, more like *not* any business fighting for it, but when we do fight where do we point these guns? And a lot of the answer was, we point them at the people who gave them to us. □

The next hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal are scheduled for Chicago, Atlanta and New York City. For further information contact:

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

## New Facts

# Deeper Indictment of Police in Damián García Murder

Information gained in a recently concluded trial in Los Angeles has added startling new facts which show even more conclusively that the murder of RCP member Damián García was a COINTELPRO-style police hit. Comrade García was murdered on April 22 of last year in a housing project in the East L.A. barrio while he and several others were building for Revolutionary May Day, 1980.

Ever since the murder, more and more evidence indicting the bourgeois state in this murder has been accumulated. The uniformed police that had been swarming around Damián and the rest of the May Day Brigade on the day of the murder suddenly disappeared just before the attackers confronted them in an East L.A. housing project; the stabbings of Damián and Hayden Fischer, who was seriously wounded, were highly professional; of the 12 revolutionaries present only those two (Damián and Hayden), who together with another revolutionary had raised the red flag over the Alamo one month earlier, were targeted for execution; one of the attackers said, "You hate the government. I am the government. Your flag is red. Mine is red, white and blue," just before the attack; LAPD officers had personally threatened Damián's life one week earlier.

One week after a "Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damián García" was printed as an ad in several newspapers, including the *L.A. Times*, signed by over 6,800 people, the LAPD held an unprecedented news conference to respond to the exposure of the

murder. At the conference they attempted to breathe new life into their fabrication that the assassination was really a matter of "gang violence"—a story the authorities have stuck to and embellished all along. They announced they had found Damián's killer. Most conveniently, the supposed killer, George Arellano, had himself been killed three weeks earlier; he wasn't going to be around to make any embarrassing statements. The man they said had killed Arellano was never brought to trial even though they had several witnesses to the murder.

Three weeks ago, Hayden Fischer was tried and convicted in a Los Angeles courtroom on charges stemming from an incident which occurred on April 12, 1980—ten days before the murder of Damián. At first, this incident seemed unrelated. But through the course of the trial itself, as well as some preliminary hearings, much of relevance to the murder of Damián was revealed. In particular, the new facts further expose the LAPD's claim of "gang violence" as regards Damián. It is quite possible that what in fact occurred on April 22—Damián's murder—(or something similar)—was planned by police for a date 10 days earlier.

On April 12th, two trucks carrying the May Day Brigade had been traveling through L.A. agitating around May Day. When they arrived at the intersection of Manchester and San Pedro in Watts they were set upon by 6 squad cars and a police helicopter. Hayden Fischer was arrested for "interfering with an officer". However, it became

clear in the course of Hayden's recent trial that the real story is not what happened at that intersection that day, but the deadly trap set by the LAPD a few miles away in the area of two housing projects, Nickerson Gardens and Jordan Downs.

During the preliminary hearings in Hayden's case the South East Police Division activities log was turned over to the defense. It was immediately apparent that the LAPD, and in particular the Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID—the red squad), was paying a great deal of attention to the May Day Brigade and the RCP this day. PDID called the South East Division at least twice during the day to relay information on the Brigade (how many people, where they were, identifying them as the RCP, etc.) and to find out if they had arrived in Watts. The LAPD Central Division also called and said that the demonstrators were on their way to Watts.

In and of itself, this isn't particularly surprising. The May Day Brigade had been surveilled and harassed by police everywhere they went. And even an *L.A. Times* article after Damián's murder admitted that "The PDID keeps close tabs on the RCP." Another police log routinely handed over to the defense had only a brief description of the incident at Manchester and San Pedro. This log ended with "See Sgt. Preciado's log for further details on their (the May Day Brigade's—RW) activities in Nickerson Gardens and Jordan Downs."

Preciado's log opened up a whole

new picture of what was going on on April 12. He had come in early to "work planned demonstration in Jordan Downs." At 10 a.m. he set up a command post with five more squad cars (12 cops) at a school near the projects. Throughout the day this command post was updated on the May Day Brigades, receiving reports from two helicopters, from the Central Division, South East Division and others. On the stand during the hearing, Preciado was asked about his LAPD assignment. He said he was a sergeant and a supervisor for LAPD's CRASH program (Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums). CRASH is one of the key LAPD gang programs. Later, during the trial, it was learned that every one of the cops in the command post was a CRASH officer. Why was a CRASH command post set up to deal with the RCP? Preciado tried to pass it off saying that they just happened to be available. One of Preciado's superiors, Watch Commander Gillette (who apparently told him to set up the command post) went him one better, insisting throughout the hearing and trial that the command post had nothing to do with the expected RCP demo. But every entry in the CRASH command post log is related to the May Day Brigade.

This new information prompted a re-examination of the South East Division log, and in the process of this review something else stood out sharply. PDID's first call to the Division reports the May Day Brigade's present position, warns South East to expect trouble, etc. and ends saying, "Z units working the area notified." "Z units" is the LAPD code name for the CRASH units. Not only is it clear that the CRASH command post was set up to deal with the RCP, but also, PDID was (not at all surprisingly) fully aware of

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## Correspondence

The New Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party speaks about all the studies that have been done about "why can't Johnny read?" pointing out how they usually blame Johnny or his parents, ignoring the essential point which is that "Johnny" isn't supposed to read at least beyond a very low level.

While this ugly fact of American life is usually smothered and concealed under mounds of pious hypocrisy about "universal compulsory education" and how this "great society" gives everyone a "basic education and an equal chance," there has recently come to light a rare and open confession by the bourgeoisie about their real education policy.

Frank Torres is a 23 year old Spanish-speaking man from Queens, N.Y. Abandoned when he was seven he grew up in a city-operated child care home and went all the way through the school system there, graduating from PS181 in 1975 unable to read or write—totally illiterate. As he said, "I could not even read a street sign. I am painfully embarrassed by the fact I cannot read." He filed a \$3.5 million negligence suit against the City and the Board of Education.

Torres described how because he spoke only Spanish, teachers decided he was retarded. "Teachers would usually tell me to sit in the back of the classroom and go to sleep, because I could not read or write." In court, he was armed with results of recent tests proving he is not retarded.

How did the court respond to these charges? Try to disprove the facts of the case? Try to prove Frank Torres was

retarded? or lazy? or rebellious? Try to prove that the city had made an "honest effort" to educate him and couldn't be held accountable for failures? Or even make the racist claim (in line with current governmental cutback policies) that bilingual education is not a right or the City's responsibility? (Obviously the aspects of national oppression alone in this case are an outrage.)

But no. The court's ruling was not based on anything so "technical" or particular. The Manhattan Supreme Court Justice ruled against Torres exactly on the more universal grounds put forth by the City's lawyer who had argued that the City "has no legal duty to teach Torres to read or to provide a vocational program. It was only required to cause Torres to go to school."

We thank you bourgeoisie for this rare burst of honesty. Just take these youth and keep them off the streets in your prisons—oops schools until they're 18.

Does this all seem like a rare case—an unfair example? A recent survey of graduates of the Boston public schools found them reading at an average 5th grade level.

As the RCP New Programme continues: "the essential fact (is) 'Johnny' is not supposed to read, beyond a very low level, in a society such as this; education for the masses of people in capitalist society is not supposed to do anything more than prepare them for a lifetime of slavery for the capitalist class with just enough basic knowledge to run a machine or some similar task—or a short life as a soldier in the imperialist armed forces."

A comrade  
in New York City

To the RW:

Last week the local Chicago CBS TV station ran a "news story" on the supposed issue of city alcohol licensing laws which allow clubs and bars to stay open until 4:00 a.m. and the supposed "anger" and "complaints" this is giving rise to among residents in areas where the bars exist. In fact the brief "news story" wasn't "news" at all but a two-fold attack—first on progressive currents within music today as well as on musicians and popularizers, and second on Black people as a whole.

The bar that CBS somehow managed to find and focus on in the story is the Wild Hare and Singing Armadillo Frog Factory. It is a small club that brings Reggae music to Chicago. According to the report, some weeks ago the Wild Hare secured 60 signatures on a petition to the city for a license to allow them to stay open past 2:00 a.m. (their previous closing time) until 4:00 a.m. These were all signatures from persons living within a close distance to the club (as required by city ordinance). However, the CBS reporter found 2 persons, both white, one having lived in his home 25 years, the other 10 years, who don't like the X club staying open the extra hours. One complained about the "noise" and the other about people from the club "urinating in the streets" of "his" neighborhood. The attack is hardly even covered up.

First, why single out *this* club? To my knowledge The Wild Hare is one of the only, if not the only, club that specializes in presenting Reggae music in the Chicago area. It also does things like funding radio programs to get air time to present Reggae music and

discussion of trends within it. Second, the attack on *this* music in particular was hardly veiled. The camera showed a shot of an older white man complaining that the "music" from the club wasn't really even "music," just a lot of "noise" and then switched to a shot of a Black drummer in the middle of a drum solo. Third, the racism running through the "story" was blatant: the other "respectable (white) resident" complained that the club drew the sort of people who "urinate in the streets," and the camera obligingly then switched to a shot of a Black band in the club as they played.

Clearly the development of progressive and even revolutionary stirrings in the cultural sphere freaks out the bourgeoisie and they are stepping up their attacks, both ideologically as in this "news story" whose point was to create public opinion both generally about Reggae music (while promoting racism overall) and specifically against this club, and also in outright attacks which this story no doubt is supposed to help lay the ground for.

A reader

\*Editor's note: While the Wild Hare does regularly feature Reggae, it is not the only club in the Chicago area which does so.





Bob Avakian in Paris, at the Wall of the Communards.

## Radio Interview with Bob Avakian from France

# "This Is Our Chance, We Can't Afford To Lose It"

*In the week before May First, 1981, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, gave a number of radio interviews from France, where he is now seeking political refugee status. A number of these were run in the Revolutionary Worker around the time of May First. The following interview was given around the same time to radio station KRE in San Francisco. KRE aired a short, edited segment of this interview as part of their news program on May 1. Here, from an original, pre-editing tape, we have excerpted major segments of the interview because of its longer lasting value beyond May First.*

**Q:** Do you feel that the Reagan administration is really being very effective in mobilizing the forces of the working class here?

**BA:** The Reagan administration? Well, as you know, I've been forced into a situation of having to seek political refugee status, asylum, so to speak, in France. And I'm not directly in the U.S., but I'm able to follow our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, which is educating people every week and preparing them for revolution. And I don't believe that; I know who Reagan represents, and I think more and more people see through the two parties that they have there—whether it's Democrats or Republicans or they bring forward Anderson or whatever—all these people are representatives of the ruling class of imperialists who have been responsible for everything from the degradation and oppression and brutality people have to go through in the ghettos and barrios to where they work, to El Salvador to Vietnam; these are the same kind of people that are being rebelled against in Brixton; it is the kind of people that have been rebelled against in Miami. Reagan is, I think, a perfect symbol at this time of the rotting imperialist system, and of the rotting position of U.S. imperialism in particular. It's a bloodsucking system all over the world, not just in the U.S. You can see how the rulers of the U.S., not just people like Reagan, but his whole class and their kind, whether in the Western countries or whether in the Soviet Union, which is just as imperialist, these people are decadent, they're dying, they're on their deathbed and they want to try to drag hundreds of millions of people in a nuclear war down with them to see which band of these cutthroats can come out on top. Reagan is a decrepit, decadent, reactionary fool and dog, and he is a perfect symbol for U.S. imperialism which is on its way out historically and for the whole imperialist system which is on its way out historically.

**Q:** Do you think that by Reagan being so reactionary that he in fact really helps mobilize, you know put a fire under, the revolutionary movement?

**BA:** Yes, but the system would be the same if Carter was in, and Carter already did all these things like demanding the stationing of nuclear weapons all around the world; he was making preparations for world war, trying to whup down the Russians and get ready for nuclear war to see if they can hang on, taking a stand of, "Look, we stole all this stuff fair and square, ain't no Russians goin' to come and take away from us what we stole from the people of the world fair and square." But Reagan being

in there kind of brings it all out to a high point, it's a perfect image, and I think it makes it clear, so many people can see that if the ruling class in this country brings forward a Reagan, that shows you what kind of system it is and what they've got in store. In other words, Reagan is a symbol, he's a symptom, he's not the cause, but he does reflect what this system is trying to do and what it has in store for people.

**Q:** Atlanta. I'm sure you're familiar with that.

**BA:** Oh, yeah, right, definitely.

**Q:** Yesterday they found number 26.

**BA:** Is that right? 26 now? Oh, goddamn...

**Q:** What's behind Atlanta?

**BA:** I believe it's the same class of people that's behind Atlanta. I mean, you've got to ask yourself, like, I did read one article in our paper where it says, the police go to work—once again against the masses of people! What have the police done? They're obviously, you know, very, very likely to be directly involved in it, and certainly in the context of this whole situation they are showing what their true role is, which is to repress the people. Here the people are beginning to rise up, get themselves organized, push aside the police, recognizing that all the police are doing is trying to carry out more terror, which they do all across the country, and are trying to break up the very actions of the people to put an end to this outrageous degrading and demented attack. It's just another attack on top of all the previous attacks for years and hundreds of years which you and your listeners are all too familiar with, on Black people and on oppressed people not only in the U.S. but throughout the world. And here people are, and we say they should do it even more on May 1st, take things into their hands, organize themselves, recognize the role of the state, of the police, of the armed forces of the government and the ruling class, is to keep the people oppressed and enslaved and to keep them even from stopping such outrageous things as this. And I personally believe and I think the evidence points to the fact that if the police aren't involved in actually carrying out the murders, they're obviously involved in preventing the murderers from being caught and stopped, which the masses of people themselves have come close to doing and are going to have to rely on themselves to do. And I think it's an obvious thing, it's part of the whole system and it's not a new thing, but it's just a new form of the same old thing, and it's a particularly outrageous one.

**Q:** Bob, do you think that with the Atlanta situation, the Buffalo situation, with the rise of the Klan in this country—do you see that the actual day of the revolution will be far off because of racial tensions and so forth becoming so acute by the things that are going on... and seeing that this racial tension will be brought to a very powerful climax?

**BA:** In a sense we have to understand that being brought to a climax is not a bad thing, because who is responsible for this? Sure there are a number of white people who are so used to taking bribes from the very people that are exploiting them, taking bribes from the plunder of the world that they go along with the system. There are some like that, and we can't close our eyes to that. But who is responsible is this same system that's doing the same thing to people all over the world, and they are definitely intensifying their exploitation, their oppression, their attacks and brutality on Black people. That is true, because they have to when they're in a crisis like this and when they're trying to in fact to carry out the logical extremes of their system, including even world war. But let us be clear. In terms of their actual interests, the great majority of people in this society, of whatever nationality, have no interest in going along with this system. They're exploited and oppressed under it, whether they're white, Chicano, Puerto Rican—and that's not to deny or try to cover over the very real inequalities and differences that exist and have to be and are being and will be increasingly fought against by conscious and class-conscious proletarians and revolutionaries.

But by intensifying this oppression and exploitation, there is a rule, a law of history that is that wherever oppression exists, there will be resistance; and where oppression and exploitation is intensified, over time it will bring forward more resistance. And we can see that this kind of resistance, like happened in Miami, happened in Chattanooga, this is going to be on the upswing. It's the same kind of thing, the same kind of system with many of the same kind of problems that exploded in Brixton. We say this is very good, we hail it because we think this can be a spearpoint for revolution to overthrow all this. One thing I think is significant that we put in our paper, in a very poor, white working class neighborhood in Atlanta, a housing project called Cabbagetown, where we took out a banner there denouncing the killings of Black children in Atlanta about 50 people in the neighborhood there that we were able to reach in a few days' work came

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# The Trial of Annie Small

"What's *criminal*, is that Mrs. Small had to stand trial at all." This is the way one supporter expressed the anger and outrage that still smoldered even after a Black and white jury in Cincinnati found Annie Small not guilty in the shooting death of her white neighbor, Clyde Henson, Jr. On Wednesday, June 24, after 3 intense, courtroom-packed days, the jury issued its verdict in a trial that had galvanized sentiments across Cincinnati—especially in the predominantly white, working class neighborhood where Annie Small lived.

The Smalls had moved into South Fairmount 10 years ago. As Mrs. Small and many of her neighbors would testify, they had gotten along just fine—except for the Hensons. In fact, Mrs. Henson had been known to openly brag that she was right there with her kids throwing rocks and eggs the first day the Smalls moved in. After all, she often ranted: "What gives these niggers the nerve to move up here?" More recently, it has been Clyde Jr., who had returned home on leave from the Marines, who had continued to carry out the family tradition with gusto. Indeed, Clyde Jr. and a few of his good 'ol boy buddies have subjected the Smalls to a campaign of increasing racist terror. Hurling racial insults, followed by rocks, were their everyday antics. Gasoline had been ignited on the lawn, concrete slabs tossed through the window awnings, the Small's car ruined by B-Bs, etc., etc., etc. In fact, Mrs. Small's husband Edgar was driven from

the neighborhood on the verge of a nervous breakdown. In 1979, when Clyde Jr. and his wife moved into the Henson household, the harassment intensified—especially now that Annie Small was alone and, being a woman, considered "easy prey."

All of these 10 years of living terror did not go unreported to the local police. The police had been to the Small's residence at least 5 times just to deal with complaints against Clyde Jr. alone. But all this was dutifully noted down in the police report with a "no suspect" accompanying each entry. And, in 1976 when Mrs. Small hauled Clyde Jr. into court for property damage, the cops didn't even show. Of course, the honorable Judge Crush threw the case out. Crush is well known among Blacks and others in Cincinnati for his openly racist statement during the upheavals of the '60s: "The trouble with Blacks is, they multiply like rabbits and we don't need anymore little Black bastards running around."

It seems that Clyde Jr. was quite the mixer with the KKK. In fact, there were a number of times when good ol' boys from Alabama and Mississippi would gather at Clyde Jr.'s for a little "socializin'." Ol' Clyde Jr. did everything a good little Klukker should when it came to Mrs. Small—except wear his hood in public.

All this—10 years of being intimidated, insulted, degraded and terrorized came to a head on the morning of January 25, 1981. Mrs. Small had

just returned from church. Clyde Jr. pulled his van into position blocking any escape by car from the Small's driveway. Then he and some of his buddies began "playing football," bouncing the ball off the plate glass window on Mrs. Small's house. "I stood at the door and asked them not to play football on my lawn," Mrs. Small would later testify. This brazen uppityness was just too much for Clyde Jr. He bounded up onto her porch screaming: "Nigger! I'm gonna kill you today!" In the background a reactionary little chant had arisen from Clyde Jr.'s friends: "Get the little bitch. Get her!"

Clyde Jr. proceeded to kick Mrs. Small's dog three feet into the air and off the porch. Mrs. Small tried to close the door. Clyde Jr. grabbed the storm door and, repeating his threat, kicked out the bottom. Mrs. Small could not hold the front door as Clyde Jr. rammed it into her again and again. "Go back. Go back," Mrs. Small screamed. "I'm gonna kill you today, you black bitch." Mrs. Small testified that she ran from the door and picked up a gun that she kept by the phone. "Don't come in," she warned. "I'm gonna take that gun and ram it up your black ass," Clyde Jr. answered, stepping closer. Mrs. Small fired the gun right into Clyde Jr.'s twisted face. He took a couple of more steps and then tumbled backwards, through the storm door and onto the porch. Ten days later, Clyde Jr. would be dead.

Of course, when the police arrived

they stayed around this time, arresting Mrs. Small for "aggravated assault" and placing her under a \$10,000 bond (after Clyde Jr. died the charges were upped to "voluntary manslaughter"). The story the prosecution began immediately running was that Clyde Jr. was on Mrs. Small's porch *apologizing* for the rowdy football game when she shot him down in cold blood!! A wave of outrage swept Cincinnati, as a number of Black ministers, feminists, the Anti-Klan Network and others formed a loosely-knit defense fund. The bourgeois media virtually dropped blackout curtains around the whole episode. In fact, it wasn't until the night before the verdict that one of the Black ministers finally appeared on the local t.v. news.

Mrs. Small's trial was standard bourgeois-legal fare. As neighbors (all but two defense witnesses were from Annie Small's neighborhood) braving intimidation and threats came forward to testify, only the incidents in which *exact* times, dates and details were ruled admissible. In fact, Judge Gorman tried to pick up where the outside intimidation had failed, badgering the witnesses about why had they stepped forward *now*. The implications of perjury were all but stated by this judicial mummy. Indeed, when a white neighbor, a student, testified that he and other neighbors were originally afraid to come forward because they feared reprisals, the judge and prosecutor cried out in

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# TESTIMONY ON POLITICAL PERSECUTION

## The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika

The following was sent to the National Office of the Mao Tsetung Defendants Committee along with the article "Short History of the U.S. War on the R.N.A." which appeared in the *Black Scholar*, Jan/Feb. 1981.

### REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS:

This is a brief note to reaffirm the view of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika on the domestic and international practices of the United States of America.

It would be incorrect for the United States to be deemed a democratic country. Democracy is substantively absent economically, politically and socially in the USA and its occupied territories. More political prisoners exist in the USA than in any country in the world with the possible exception of South Afrika. Political prisoners in the USA are called criminals, however, and not granted the recognition they deserve.

The USA is also an imperialist. It presently exploits and controls the New Afrikan nation in North America which is located on the land now known as Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Any professed belief or practice of democracy by the USA is a fraud. The enclosed materials recount incidents of repression against the BLACK NATION in North America.

### FREE THE LAND!

Chokwe Lumumba,  
Mid West Vice President

### Ex-Panther

It has often been said, that the wise learn from the past. By studying the errors of the past, we are theoretically able to make sound assessments of present and future events. Yet it is clear that the powers that be do not expect that people in fact do this. The case of Bob Avakian and the members of the Revolutionary Communist Party is a clear example of this.

Many years ago another vanguard party existed in this country. It was the Black Panther Party and I was a member of that organization. The ruling class through its agents in the police departments, FBI, and others systematically sought to destroy that organization. The harassments came in many forms from petty stopping party members for numerous driving violations to outright murder as in the case of Fred Hampton.

The reaction of people to charges of police harassment was at first, that the party was lying and the Panthers were paranoid. Over time it became apparent that the charges were in fact true.

Now we are faced again with the situation of a party and its chairman being harassed by agents of the ruling class. And it is critically important that we speak out against these attempts at political genocide. We cannot afford to sit back and let the events of history bear out the facts that the RCP is in danger. Just as agents sought to imprison Huey Newton, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, they seek to imprison Bob Avakian. Just as they beat up members of the Panther Party, they attempt and in fact do beat up members of the RCP as the demonstrations of May Day, 81 clearly reveal.

We have often been told that the right to dissent and voice objection is a fundamental freedom in this country. This is simply not true. This government systematically tries to intimidate revolutionary-minded people and if it fails in that effort then it has no moralistic hesitations about killing them. We cannot afford to allow them to succeed again. Stop the attacks against Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. □

## From the Plantation

I, XXX, hereby wish to voice my support for Bob Avakian and his attempt to gain political asylum in France.

Bob Avakian has fled the imperialist United States Government because of his ideological commitment to communism.

I can personally testify to the inhumane treatment inflicted upon Bob Avakian, by the U.S. Government, in that I spent many years of my life on a plantation in Mississippi where I was intimidated, harassed and persecuted by the plantation owners, who were flunkies of the U.S. Government.

From the plantation, I went to the army where the treatment was worse than ever.

My efforts at becoming a decent, law-abiding, American citizen proved fruitless due to frequent harassment by Mississippi as well as Federal police which resulted in the loss of my job, family and fortune. As a result, the U.S. imperialist system, forced me to resort to crime.

I feel that I was more harshly treated than the other prisoners at Sing Sing and Denamore prisons in New York State as well as in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia.

I can fully sympathize with the suffering and mistreatment that Bob Avakian is currently going through in that I myself have experienced similar mistreatment.

In essence, I was ostracized from society and placed in prison and then ostracized from prison society by being placed in solitary confinement, beaten, harassed, assaulted and hounded by prison officials and other prisoners at the instigation of prison officials.

I feel that the same thing is happening to Bob Avakian.

I also feel that Bob Avakian has done the right thing by fleeing this country in light of the persecution inflicted upon such people as prisoner Martin Sostre,

George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and other prisoners murdered or threatened by prison officials.

Other Americans who were murdered for their political and humanitarian beliefs include Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and Viola Liuzzo of Detroit, Michigan, who was murdered by the Ku Klux Klan because of her activities in the Civil Rights Movement.

The 5 Communist [Workers] Party leaders recently killed in Greensboro, North Carolina by members of the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi groups is just another example of U.S. imperialism.

All of the above examples of injustice clearly indicate that France has the obligation to grant Bob Avakian the political asylum he requests, otherwise he could suffer the same fate as the examples above indicate.

XXX

### Pigs Attempt Murder

My name is Dolly Fong. In less than two years, I have been arrested about 12 times or more (hard to keep count after awhile) while selling the *Revolutionary Worker* or agitating. Half of all the arrests were directly related to May Day 1980. On May Day 1981 I was not only arrested for assault on the police but also inciting to riot after I was nearly beaten to death at the hands of 12 San Francisco TAC Squad bloodhounds. Most of the charges have ranged from assault on police (everytime I've gotten beaten up I got this charge), littering, obstructing the sidewalk, disturbing the peace, inciting to riot, and more than once, I was arrested for the singular charge of resisting arrest. A couple of these arrests stand out very blatantly in relation to the overt and covert methods the United States government used to crush the Revolutionary Communist Party and our Chairman Bob Avakian.

Beginning with the most recent: On

May 1, 1981, I was part of the proud red march on Mission Street in San Francisco. We advanced two city blocks before the police set on the march like a pack of mercenary dogs and started to beat everyone in sight, to try to halt the historic advance of our red flag. We dodged in and out of store fronts along the street and in between, trying to regroup on the street. About the third time the pigs charged at me. A couple of others and I jumped inside this small restaurant to escape them, but they came running in there too, swinging their clubs. As the one or two pigs were unable to grab us they called for reinforcement and about another ten of them rushed the narrow doorway. Two of us ran for the back door, hoping it would empty into a street but found it dead ended as a small isolated alley. The dogs were on us in split seconds—12 of them in helmets, steel boots, blue jumpsuits, clubs, guns and froth oozing from their mouths. They beat us for a good 10 minutes (I am 105 pounds and the other revolutionary was maybe a few pounds more, but not much.) 15 stitches on his head. I was struck on the head at least ten times, got 3 broken ribs, one in two places, a broken right hand, a broken left finger and as they tried to pull us out, they grabbed me by my blood-drenched hair, and tried to choke me unconscious while the other swine continued to try to beat and break my knees, legs, nose and sternum. In other words, they tried to kill me. Their lethal intent was more obvious on the way to the jail when I was then locked in a full paddy wagon for about an hour and was only taken to the hospital as I was going into shock and only because the other arrested comrades raised hell.

As I often have been agitating in the Mission District both last May Day and this May Day, I was well known to the  
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## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

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

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

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

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

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

# Imperialist Tales

# of Religious Feud

# Can't Hide Reality

# of Irish Struggle



Mounted trooper of the anti-

What becomes fairly obvious even upon the most superficial examination is that present-day Northern Ireland is thoroughly penetrated and thoroughly dominated by Britain and other imperialist powers. Since 1972, Northern Ireland has been ruled directly by the British Parliament at Westminster via their Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, out of his Northern Ireland office, in alliance with the reactionary Protestant regime there. It has only been through the massive infusion of financial supports for social services and as incentives to lure foreign investment, that Britain and its Protestant loyalists have been able to keep the rotting Northern Ireland economy from collapsing altogether. And, it falls upon the shoulders of some 13,000 British Army Regulars (backed by an entire apparatus of repressive "Special Powers," Protestant para-military terrorist organizations, and assorted other "special bodies of armed men") to keep

their rule intact. How can anyone miss the ugly and wart-ridden toad of British imperialism squatting squarely, and rather prominently, in the foreground of the landscape of Northern Ireland? Yet there are those, who dutifully serve the interests of the imperialists (as well as the imperialists themselves), who relentlessly try to drown the struggle ripping across Northern Ireland in torrents of bourgeois double-think: "It's not political—it's criminal," they shriek. "It's nothing more than a centuries old religious conflict," they recite, as if by sheer redundancy their incantations can turn fact into fantasy, and further—that people will actually believe them! But what we find after we dig deeper and clear away some of the layers of crud that they have piled on for years and years and years, is that the "centuries old religious conflict" has really been the centuries old struggle of the masses of Irish people, the vast majority of whom are Catholic, against

British rule in alliance with reactionary pro-British Protestants and whose oppression of the Irish people has taken on religious form.

This has everything to do with the particular history of how Britain was able to consolidate its domination of Ireland, namely with the use of Protestant settlers, especially from Scotland. In essence then, what appears to be a question of religion is actually a question of national subjugation and the fight against it in Ireland. There is an 800-year-long history of the struggles of the Irish people against their subjugation by Britain, covering a period from the 1100s, right up into the present. But it wasn't until 1609 that Britain was able to actually establish a firm foothold in Ireland. It was then that the British rulers turned to using massive influxes of Protestant settlers as their pry-bar, their lever to colonizing Ireland. The Corporation of London (i.e., the city's governing body)

was called on to find and contract settlers to go to Ireland. The Corporation preceded to form a management firm, innocently named the Irish Society, to see to all the details, etc., of the settling and the bringing of the Gaelic clans to heel in order to provide British colonialism with unfettered access to plunder Ireland. These settlers were predominantly Scottish, and it is part of the historic record, that due to the Protestant Reformation in England, they were Protestants. They came, in many instances, to escape poverty, the debtors' prison, or worse. A significant section were Presbyterians (or Dissenters) who came to escape persecution by the established Church of England—a fact that at times put the settlers at odds with the British rulers and, upon occasion, was part of the basis for instances of unified resistance by Protestant and Catholic against the colonial overlords. It is also part of the historical record that the majority of the Irish at this

## Karl Marx on British Rule in Ireland

The following are excerpts from a letter on the Irish national struggle from Karl Marx to Sigfried Meyer and August Vogt, two members of the International who emigrated from Germany to the U.S. in the mid-1860s and carried out revolutionary work in this country as part of the International.

Marx to Sigfried Meyer and August Vogt

April 9, 1870

On January 1, 1870, the General Council issued a confidential circular drawn up by me in French (for the reaction upon England only the French, not the German, papers are important) on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore on the attitude which the International Association should take in regard to the Irish question.

I shall give you here only quite briefly the decisive points. Ireland is the bulwark of the English landed aristocracy. The exploitation of that country is not only one of the main sources of this aristocracy's material welfare; it is its greatest moral strength. It, in fact, represents the domination of England over Ireland. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains its domination in England herself.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were to withdraw from Ireland tomorrow, you would at once have an agrarian revolution there. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland involves as a necessary consequence its overthrow in England. And this would fulfil the preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruction of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England herself, because in Ireland the land question has hitherto been the exclusive form of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of life and death, for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it is at the same time inseparable from the national question. This quite apart from the Irish being more passionate and revolutionary in character than the English.

As for the English bourgeoisie, it has in the first place a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is equally interested in reducing, by eviction and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that English capital (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with "security". It has the same interest in clearing the estate of Ireland

as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies her own surplus to the English labour-market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at

once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it. . . .

England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the only country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Working Men's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent. Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation. . . . □



ops of the Irish Republican Army on drill during the course of the Irish war 1918-1922.

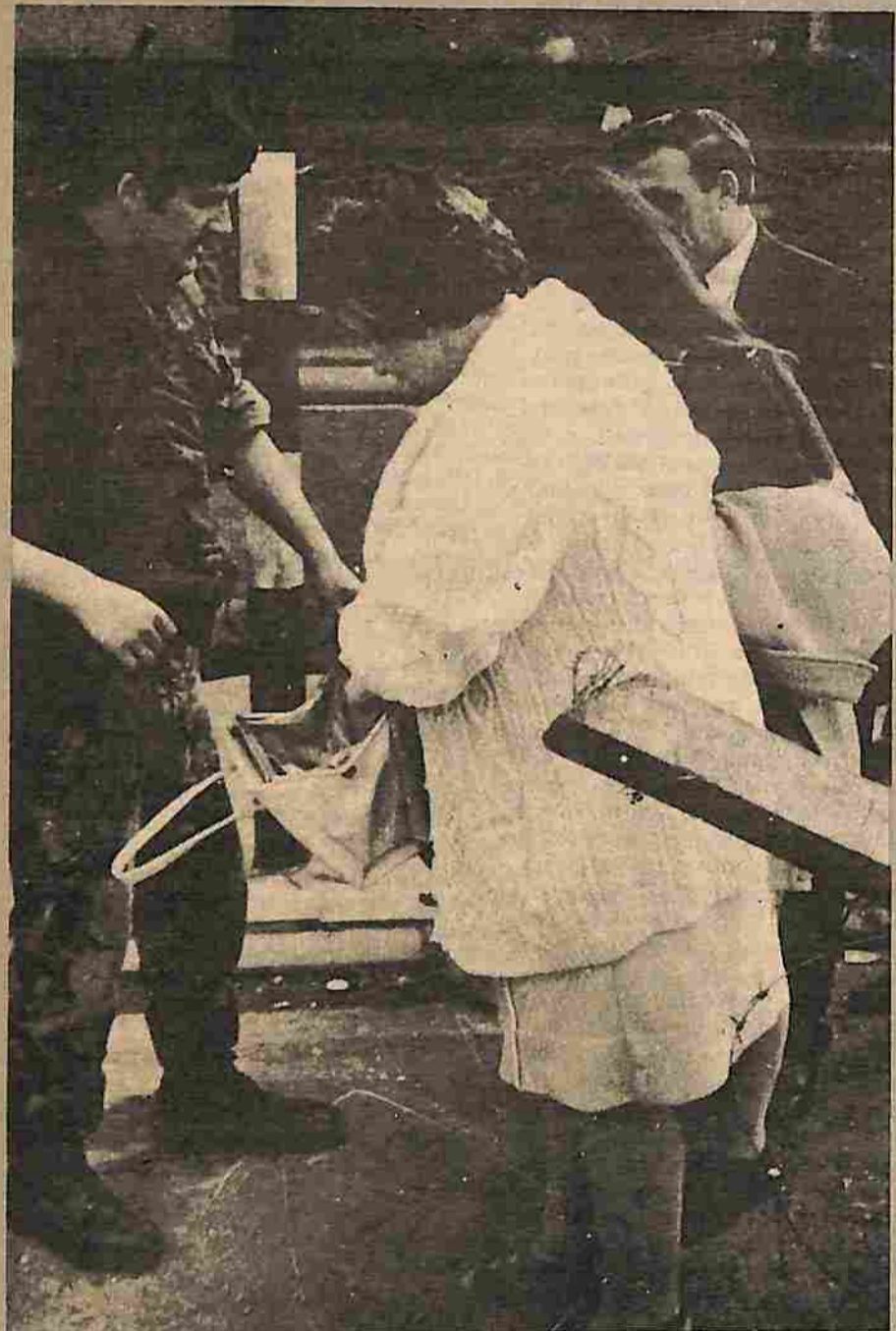


British "ingenuity" in the suppression of the Irish people is demonstrated once again. Today it's "white noise" torture chambers and "non-lethal" plastic bullets. Here (above) it's a mobile gallows-on-wheels, used by British troops in the execution of rebels during the 1798 United Irishmen's Uprising—just in case they captured a rebel miles from the nearest tree!

time were Catholics. (Interestingly enough, this too was a product of Britain's attempts to dominate Ireland, when earlier forays into the island only succeeded in Catholicizing the clans.) The aims of the British rulers were clear: colonize Ireland. And, they had struck upon the use of Protestant settlers as the vehicle by which these aims would be achieved. What becomes quite evident is that the religious contradictions were first and foremost manifestations of the national oppression of the Irish people by the British. And as the domination of Ireland by Britain developed, from early colonialism to its present-day form, so did the inevitable intensification of national oppression and the Irish people's resistance to it. So too, did Britain and their allies among the Protestants more and more develop a whole structure of Protestant supremacy solidifying a systematic set-up of oppression based on religious differences and fanning religious contradictions that existed since the settlers first arrived hundreds of years ago.

British interests by stomping the Irish into submission. In 1690, in a desperate effort to break the British colonial yoke, a number of Gaelic clan chieftains joined with King James II, who was attempting to restore the Catholic church to the throne in England. The uprising was subsequently crushed by the armies of William of Orange. William's ascension to the British throne brought with it a new level in the subjugation of the Irish. A series of Penal Laws/Anti-Popery Laws were instituted in 1704 to rip all avenues of political expression and political power from the hands of the Irish-Catholics and to prevent them from obtaining any in the foreseeable future. To underscore the point that these laws were part and parcel of Britain's colonial domination

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Daily life in Northern Ireland, now under military occupation by some 13,000 British troops. Here, shoppers are detained, questioned, and frisked at one of the numerous "checkpoints" in Belfast.

Map at left shows the 6-counties of present-day Northern Ireland and three of its principal cities. The three counties—Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan—were originally part of the province of Ulster. They were consciously severed when Britain partitioned Ireland in 1921 in order to ensure a 2:1 Protestant majority in the north. (Inset depicts the 26-county Republic of Ireland and the 6-county north.)

# Irish Struggle

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of Ireland, whose people were Catholic in their majority. British implementation of the laws was highly uneven. They were used against the masses of poor Presbyterian Dissenters as well as the Irish-Catholics. And further, a number of Catholic landowners (the ones that did not side with James II) found many ways to skirt the laws. They either put their lands in trust to Protestants while reaping the economic benefits, or gave formal submission and allegiance to British rule. It was also at this time that the Dublin Parliament, made up exclusively of loyal Protestant landlords, was set up in Ireland in an effort to even more securely entrench Britain's hold on Ireland via these local overseers.

It should be pointed out that these repressive laws were hardly what one would call "anti-Pope." In fact, due to an alliance against French expansionist aims in Europe (to which direction James II had turned for aid), William of Orange and Pope Innocent XI were as thick as thieves—up to and including the backing (financially and spiritually) of William's suppression of the Irish! Indeed, as evidenced even by events today, the history of Papal aid and acquiescence in the subjugation of the Irish people is nearly as long as the history of British attempts to do so. The Penal Laws were once again a way for Britain to tighten the colonial leash.

Britain's colonial rule over Ireland developed virtually unchallenged for the next 100 years. A substantial linen industry was developing in the province of Ulster to the northeast. And, due to its non-threatening position, vis-a-vis industry in England, it continued to blossom, trading with both Britain and Europe on a competitive level. It was from this that a Protestant capitalist class began to develop. But Ulster, and its industrial development, was an exception and in stark contrast to the rest of Ireland. Due to a number of factors—it being the Protestant settlers' gateway into Ireland, and its close proximity (12 miles across the Irish Sea) to the British mainland, and first and foremost a land tenure system more favorable to the Protestant settlers that enabled an agricultural base to be built up to support industrialization—Ulster took off on the path of rapid industrial expansion. Meanwhile, southern and western Ireland was being mercilessly ravaged and economically distorted to suit the needs of the British rulers. Vast stretches of land lie fallow, as British absentee landlords and their local Protestant landowning counterparts who controlled the Dublin Parliament did nothing more than collect the rents from the Irish tenant farmers. (It should be noted that due to the relaxing of the Penal Laws, this period also saw a further growth of Irish-Catholic landowners.) At every point in the economic development in these regions of Ireland, where trade and manufacture developed into conflict with British economic expansion, the colonial leash was yanked in order to beat down these potential threats. Through the use of the Navigation Acts—initiated to break the hold of the Dutch on trade by declaring that all imports/exports to Britain must be in British ships—all trade between these areas of Ireland and Europe was thwarted. The woolen industry in Ireland was completely destroyed; the export of live cattle was altered to become export of cattle products only; the brewing and glass manufacturing industries were severely curtailed and restricted. Meanwhile, at the bottom of Irish society, hardly benefiting from developments in Ireland's trade and manufacture and at the mercy of the British and local Protestant landlords, were the masses of Irish people, tied to the land and brutally exploited. Indeed, British colonial rule, intervening as it had so early in Ireland's history (when the relations of production still revolved around the primitive clan structure), was extremely thorough in its control and distortion of Ireland's economy. That Ireland was deformed by British

domination is an understatement, to say the least.

It was these harsh and restrictive colonial policies followed by the British and Protestant landlords in Ireland, that compelled a section of the rising Protestant manufacturers (principally among the Presbyterian Dissenters) centered in Ulster into conflict with the British as they sought freedom to develop their interests. At the same time, peasant organizations were arising across the face of Ireland, exacting reprisals for landlord abuses and outrages. In 1761, the Whiteboys (named for their white shirts) were formed unifying Catholic and Protestant tenant farmers into active resistance to the landlords. Even in Ulster, the heart of the Protestant population's concentration, predominantly Protestant peasant organizations like the Oakboys and the Hearts O' Steel, sprang up and carried out resistance to the landlords. Indeed, from 1761-1778, a virtual state of war raged between the loosely-knit and local peasant organizations and the forces of terror unleashed by the landlords. After 1778, agrarian resistance was reduced to a more local and isolated nature, ebbing in the face of its own limitation and landlord reaction.

It was upon this foundation of mass social unrest and resistance that the Society of the United Irishmen, led by a Protestant lawyer, Wolfe Tone, was able to develop as the leading center of resistance to British control of Ireland. Indeed, the United Irishmen, politically led by a section of the Presbyterian Protestants among the manufacturers in Ulster, was very successful in uniting the outraged masses of peasants, both Catholic and Protestant, under the banner of religious persecution. In 1798, an attempted uprising against Britain led by the United Irishmen (modelled after and inspired by the French Revolution) was brutally crushed.

The British acted swiftly to the threat posed by this uprising. Aiding their bloody and brutal suppression was the Mother Lodge of the Orange Order, which had been organized by Protestant landlords backed by Britain in 1795. The Orange Order was formed for the express purpose of uniting reactionary Protestant elements on the basis of Protestant supremacy and loyalty to the British Crown, to carry out systematic terror against the Irish-Catholic masses and to disintegrate the bonds of Protestant/Catholic unity that peaked with the uprising of '98. Presbyterian Dissenters were barred for a number of years during which time a number of inroads were made to bring the Dissenters back into the loyal Protestant fold. These ranged from the post-1798 uprising terror tactics of repression, to the Royal Grants by the British government to Presbyterian ministers to buy their services. By 1834, when the doors of the Orange Order were thrown wide open to all non-Catholics, these ministers and their flock swept in. The principles of Protestant supremacy and loyalty to Britain upon which the Orange Order was founded are well illustrated by the song below, excerpted from the 1975 edition of the *Crimson Banner Songbook*. The song is entitled "The Orange and the Blue," and continues to be popularized among the Protestants in Northern Ireland today:

"Against the altar and the throne  
the democrat may prate,  
But while I am an Orangeman,  
I'll stand for Church and State...."

Let not the poor man hate the rich,  
Nor the rich on poor look down,  
But each join each true Protestant  
For God and for the Crown...."

And, at the same time the Orange Order was being whipped up into an anti-Catholic/pro-British frenzy, the British government passed the Act of Union in 1801, abolishing the nominal self-rule held by the Dublin Parliament and instituting direct-rule via Westminster—and backed by a garrison of British troops hastily dispatched to the island. This was an effort to bring Ireland tighter into the British orbit; for greater and more thorough economic exploitation, military security on Britain's western flank, and for a measure of political stability in the wake of the rebellion. The Act of Union brought Bri-

tain's colonial rule over Ireland to its zenith. In the following years, the Protestant bourgeoisie and large sections of the Protestant masses were solidified into a reactionary force for perpetration of British domination of Ireland.

The Act of Union had a profound impact upon the economic development of Ireland. By breaking down the barriers erected earlier under the Navigation Acts that had placed severe restrictions on Ireland's trade with England and the rest of Europe, Ireland was swept up into Britain's rapid industrial growth and its entrance upon the world scene as the foremost imperialist power. What it meant for Ulster was a tremendous boost to the already burgeoning development of industry there. Linen, engineering, and shipbuilding mushroomed. But throughout the rest of Ireland, British imperialism even more thoroughly and more harshly subordinated Ireland to its needs. The production of meat and wool for Britain became the watchword of the day, as massive tracts of land in Ireland were forcibly turned from small-scale tillage into pasture lands, and Ireland turned into England's back 40. Evictions, coupled with widespread famine, cleared the lands and concentrated massive landholdings into fewer and fewer hands. Between 1855-1866, some 1,032,694 Irish men, women and children were replaced on the land by 996,877 head of livestock—nearly a one-to-one ratio! Karl Marx, who along with Fredrick Engels had written extensively about the "Irish Question" during this period, poignantly describes the decimation of Ireland and its people:

"England, a country with fully developed capitalist production, and pre-eminently industrial, would have bled to death with such a drain as Ireland has suffered. But Ireland is at present only an agricultural district of England, marked off by a wide channel from the country to which it yields corn, wool, cattle, industrial and military recruits." Indeed, Marx, observing the massive emigration of the Irish, bitterly and sarcastically stated that Ireland may soon be completely empty of people, "that thus she may fulfil her true destiny, that of an English sheep walk and cattle pasture."

But important developments were taking place in Ireland, events that heralded the rising demand—first voiced in whispers and then accompanied by the sounds of guns—for an independent Ireland. By the 1820s, the demand for the repeal of the Act of Union was the most popular slogan in Ireland. It was taken up by the budding Irish Catholic bourgeoisie and the landlords, and a growing number of Catholic peasants who were seeking an end to the most heinous conditions—conditions that claimed one million Irish lives through outright starvation and another million Irish through emigration. Indeed, so widespread had the movement become that in 1829, the British Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act that, after several decades, gave some paltry rights to Catholics in the form of running for office. And by 1849, due to the Encumbered Estates Act which enabled bankrupt English absentee landlords to sell their landholdings in Ireland, some 3,000 estates passed into the hands of new Catholic landlords, thus strengthening the developing bourgeois forces among the Catholics.

During this period there were several attempts at uprisings among the Irish Catholics that the British were able to suppress with the aid of the Orange Order. Still powerful forces were coalescing and aligning, led by the developing Catholic bourgeoisie. By the 1880s, the demand for an independent Ireland had been raised to a fever pitch. A whole new resurgence of nationalism gripped Ireland, as the Gaelic language was rescued and Irish culture in general was promoted in an effort to build a new national identity in the struggle for Irish independence. But it wasn't until Britain was bogged down in the inter-imperialist bloodletting of WWI, that the demand for an independent Ireland was translated into an actual attempt to overthrow British imperialism and seize power. Led by forces who saw Britain's problems with the war as Ireland's opportunity (most notably, James Connolly, a Marxist), the Easter Uprising of 1916 was launched in Dublin. Lenin and

other revolutionaries at that time firmly supported and upheld this uprising and its goals to free Ireland from the clutches of British imperialism. He along with others, including the Irish delegation of the Second International, condemned in no uncertain terms the social-chauvinism of the opportunist leaders of the Second International who attacked the Irish uprising and James Connolly, calling the rebellion a "putsch." In fact Marxism had a significant influence among some of the forces among the masses in Ireland who were rising up against Britain. The Bolshevik revolution especially became an inspiration to many of the Irish masses in the period that followed.

While this attempt at a bourgeois-democratic revolution was brutally put down and most of its principal leaders executed, it kindled nationalist sentiments into a raging brush fire across Ireland. Within two years an "illegal" Parliament (The Dail) had been set up in Dublin, proclaiming itself the sole legitimate representative of the Irish people. Simultaneously, armed guerrilla warfare pummeled the combined forces of the police (Royal Irish Constabulary), the British Army, and the mercenary Black and Tans (who had been recruited from the ranks of British convicts and ex-army officers). Things were fast coming to a head in Ireland. It was fast becoming clear that the British imperialists and their Protestant allies could no longer rule in the same old way. Something had to be done.

In 1921, the British government proposed a treaty, ending the conflict and partitioning Ireland into its present-day configuration: granting the 26-county Republic to the south, and forming the 6-county British possession of Northern Ireland. The desperate imperialists leaned heavily on the Catholic bourgeois forces, threatening all-out war if the treaty wasn't signed. A truce was declared while the nationalist forces discussed the proposal. In January, 1922, a close vote of The Dail (64-57) approved the treaty and the partitioning and led to the formation of the Irish Free State, but not without significant opposition. The Irish Republican Army's 19 divisions split (11 against the treaty and 8 for it); already armed clashes were taking place between anti-treaty and pro-treaty elements. At the same time, in Ulster, a vicious campaign of anti-Catholic, anti-nationalist terror was being unleashed by the Protestant bourgeoisie and its Orange Order in an effort to pave the way for securing British control of the north. Indeed, between June 1920 and June 1922, 428 Catholics had been killed, 1,766 wounded, 8,750 driven from their jobs and 23,000 made homeless!

By July 1922, sharp armed struggle raged across southern Ireland between Republican forces and the new government. Under an ultimatum from Britain to the new Irish government—crush the resistance or we rescind the treaty and go back to direct rule—and with the aid of borrowed British artillery, the government forces levelled the anti-Treaty forces' headquarters in Dublin. The brutal repression that followed effectively defeated the opposition. An Irish Catholic bourgeoisie was now in power in the south which was granted formal political independence under dominion status as part of the British Commonwealth (the Republic of Ireland was not officially established until 1949), complete with an oath of allegiance to the King of England.

But while relative formal independence was granted, economic control and dependence on British imperialism's neo-colonial rule heightened. The Irish bourgeoisie struggled to establish a viable national economy. Due to the previous distortion of Ireland's agriculture (pasture land to the neglect to industry except in Ulster), the new government had to legislate aid to the farms in order that they might compete in the export market. But given Britain's overwhelming economic dominance, free trade by the Irish was faced with incredible competition in the world market and export earnings from agriculture were falling behind those needed to finance industrial imports. By the 1930s, free trade policies were scrapped in favor of protectionist barriers. In response, Britain imposed tariffs on food and

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# Ronald Reagan's 4th of July "Cracker" Nostalgia



The June 28, 1981 issue of *Parade* magazine treats its millions of readers to a special Fourth of July message from the President complete with full-page pictures of Ronald Reagan holding a miniature American flag. The magazine claims that this rare piece of prose was penned by the hand of the Commander-in-Chief himself "on a yellow pad at Camp David." After reading the one-page article imaginatively titled by the author, "What July Fourth Means To Me" by Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, *Parade* can safely be taken at its word on this one. We are looking forward to another essay by Reagan in the fall titled "What I Did On My Summer Vacation." Here we see this decrepit spokesman for a decrepit decaying system at his best displaying his broad expansive knowledge of a full range of subjects from his childhood fun with fireworks to the 56 men who signed the Declaration of Independence—men who "had pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" and men who Reagan carefully points out were "men of means and education; they were not an unwashed rabble. They had achieved security but valued freedom more." (These men were indeed *real men* of prowess for according to Reagan "they sired a nation that grew from sea to shining sea.") And before leaving the reader with his final solemn "Happy Fourth of July," Reagan treats him to deep insights and profound truths such as the following: "In recent years, however, I've come to think of that day as more than just the birthday of a nation. It also commemorates the only true philosophical revolution in all history."

While all of Reagan's reflections on this "little band so unique we have never seen their like since" that sired "the greatest nation on earth" cause even the greatest of minds to stop and ponder, by far the most revealing part of the article, intentionally or unintentionally, is the beginning nostalgia. Here Reagan demonstrates his lust for the fireworks on a world scale that the U.S. imperialists are feverishly preparing for recalling: "We'd count and recount the number of firecrackers, display pieces and things and go to bed determined to be up with the sun so as to offer the first, thunderous notice of the Fourth of July... I'm sure we're better off today with fireworks largely handled by professionals. Yet there was a thrill never to be forgotten in seeing a tin can blown 30 feet in the air by a giant 'cracker'—giant meaning it was four inches long." Yes, today the fireworks at hand are "handled by professionals" and they are much bigger than those Reagan toyed with as a boy and capable of blowing things significantly larger than a tin can far higher than 30 feet, but the imperialists and their spokesmen are just as small in stature as ever. □

## Snakes

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was Israel's major arms supplier. Peres established a web of personal connections with military and intelligence circles in France that, according to the Zionist monthly, *Midstream*, culminated in France's decision to cooperate in building Israel's first nuclear reactor. Since then, Peres has consolidated his reputation in the West as a reliable henchman and team player—a reputation he shares with other top leaders in the Labor Alignment, including Yitzhak Rabin. Rabin, the Prime Minister in the government which preceded Begin's, caused murmurs of approval in the Western imperialist press—and last-minute predictions of a possible Labor victory in the elections—when he decided to bury the

hatchet in a personal feud with Peres and join the Labor slate as candidate for defense minister.

### Begin's History

Menachem Begin's political history is, of course, no less that of a reactionary lackey of imperialism; but its circumstances are somewhat different. Prior to his accession to power in 1977, Begin was considered a kookie outsider in Israeli politics. Begin was a far right lawyer in Poland when the Germans invaded Warsaw in 1939. Begin left Warsaw for the Soviet Union—where he was arrested and sentenced to eight years hard labor in the Arctic for anti-Soviet activities. Released in 1941, he enlisted in the reactionary Free Polish Army, and arrived in Palestine in 1942. There, he created a neo-fascist terrorist organization, the *Irgun Avai Leumi*, which conducted attacks against British

forces and Arabs alike. It conducted some of the most infamous massacres of Palestinians ever seen.

Following the founding of Israel, Begin headed a small party considered extremist even by Israeli standards, primarily because of its uncompromising expansionist platform and its criticism of the "shackles" imposed by U.S. imperialist foreign policy on the fulfillment of the goal of "Greater Israel." In 1973, Begin achieved a greater base of political power through mergers with several other parties and the formation of the Likud bloc. Prior to the elections of 1977, the Labor Party was rocked by a series of widely publicized corruption cases and financial scandals. The Israeli economy was already entering the economic crisis which has continued to intensify to the present day. Likud was also able to capitalize on its base among the growing numbers of Sephardic (Middle

Eastern) Jews in Israel, which emerged as a major factor in an Israeli election for the first time in 1977.

Begin's 1977 victory was greeted with expressions of dismay by most quarters of U.S. and European imperialists, primarily for fear that a Likud government would prove too rigid in its expansionist policies to allow an accommodation between Israel and the pro-U.S. Arab regimes, which in some form or another is indispensable to U.S. strategic policy in the Middle East.

How "sincere" these expressions of concern were is a matter for conjecture. It became evident with the announcement of Begin's cabinet that whatever his personal or political idiosyncracies, his government would remain true to the policy of its predecessors: working to achieve Zionist aspirations through serving as a loyal tool of imperialism. Although Begin brought into the

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# Revisionist Scapegoat

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Hua was "Mao's choice." But this is clearly not so. The death of Zhou Enlai in January 1976 raised the stakes for both the revolutionaries and the revisionists, and the contention between the two sides focused directly on the issue of who would succeed Zhou as premier. Mao and the left wanted Chang Chun-chiao, but they were not able to push this through because the balance of forces were against them. At the same time, the right was not able to put forward their most outspoken political representative, Deng, because he was increasingly coming under fire from the mass criticism campaign launched and directed by Mao. But the right, who had powerful forces on their side, was strong enough to push for Hua, who was politically in their camp but not so exposed and therefore not such an easy target as Deng. For the revolutionaries, one good point about Hua was that although he was in the opposing camp, he himself did not command much of a personal following and did not have a substantial power base. Mao's thinking was that the best hope for the left lay not in staking everything on personnel, which was beyond their ability anyway, but in deepening the mass political movement to expose Deng's rightist line. At the same time, by putting Hua in the position of having to publicly support the campaign against Deng, Mao hoped to increase the contradictions within the right, as well as lay the basis for exposing Hua's opportunism. Under these conditions, Mao had to go along with Hua's appointment as acting premier, and later as premier and vice-chairman, but he stepped up the struggle against the line that Hua, as well as Deng and all the revisionists were pushing.

The revisionists took further offensive by staging the April 5th riot in Tien An Men Square as a sign to their camp and social base nationally. Such signs and slogans as "The time of Chin Shih Huang (the first emperor, a historical figure used by the rightists to refer to Mao) has gone already," "Long Live the Four Modernizations" left little doubt who was behind the affair and

what its aims were. The riot was quelled with a combination of PLA units, police and militia.

One of the statements made by Chiang Ching during her trial referred directly to this incident: "I was not responsible for the suppression of the Tien An Men incident. You can ask the Minister of Public Security at that time to come and act as my witness." That minister was Hua. Chiang Ching was pointing to real contradictions within the revisionist camp between the outspoken revisionists like Deng who were the main targets during the Cultural Revolution and those who were more slick and managed to stay in office, like Hua. The immediate result of the riot was that Deng was removed from all posts and Hua was named premier and vice-chairman. Actually, it was not a bad deal for the revisionists. Deng kept his party membership and a basis for coming back (as he eventually did) and Hua was nominally second behind Mao in standing. Very crucial was the fact that by forcing the revolutionaries to take organizational measures against Deng, the mass political struggle against his line was actually short-circuited before it could develop widely and deeply enough. Therefore, Hua's role in their organizational suppression of the Tien An Men riots in his role of Public Security Minister is not a simple matter.

Hua, with his lack of a power base, was not the prime mover or the architect of the revisionist coup. The right would have had to move to take power even without Hua, if it had come to that. But of course Hua played a very vital role for them, providing an outward appearance of an orderly succession and sowing confusion with his reputation of being "endorsed" by Mao. An example of the kind of role he played in the crucial days of the coup was the defusing of the potential uprising in Shanghai. Leaders from Shanghai as well as a good number of middle, even advanced elements, were either swayed or confused by Hua. A carefully worked out plan for an uprising, which would have had a tremen-

dous effect not only in China but internationally, never happened.

In the period after the coup, portraits of Hua were hung next to every portrait of Mao, and widely distributed posters showed Mao sitting next to Hua and telling him, "With you in charge, I am at ease." The revisionists now repudiate all this as evidence of Hua's creation of a personality cult for himself, as if he had gone on some megalomaniac binge. Although Hua himself might indeed have illusions of grandeur, the revisionists as a whole directed and fueled the Hua "personality cult," as feeble as it was with his mediocre boring personality, in order to preserve as much as possible the cover of an orderly succession from the Mao years. In this period, in an appearance at a restaurant Deng Xiaoping was said to have quipped, "Keep on criticizing Deng Xiaoping." This was both Deng's sarcasm and his tactical advice.

That the revisionists' grandiose schemes of "catching up with the West" and "modernization by the year 2000" has turned into a complete flop is now also being blamed on Hua and his "ultra-left" line. In fact the revisionists now connect the two years they associate with Hua's leadership—from the coup to the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee where Deng's line and influence came to the fore—with the "10 years of turmoil" of the Cultural Revolution and the failure to break from the "ultra-left" thinking. This is pure fabrication on the part of the Deng forces. The economic program being carried out in that first two years of revisionist rule was precisely the program of the revisionist camp as a whole, as formulated in the "Three Poisonous Weeds," pure and simple—the "weeds" which were drawn up under Deng's overall guidance and in which Hua and Hu Yaobang had significant roles to play.

In summing up Hua's role, the article by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA in the International Journal "A World To Win" compares Hua to the historical revisionist figure Kautsky. "Hua Guofeng's role vis a vis Deng Xiaoping has an historical precedent in the relation between Kautsky and the Scheidemanns and Plekhanovs in the Second International. These latter two, of course, were well-known for their open and undisguised calls to 'defend the fatherland' during the first inter-imperialist war and their complete subservience to the bourgeoisie. Kautsky, on the other hand, struck a 'centrist' pose. But does history have a different judgment of Kautsky than the open revisionists? If anything, one can only say that Kautsky, by uniting with the Right, by drawing up theoretical excuses for capitulation, by demanding the Right not be driven out of the socialist movement while attacking the Left bitterly, played a more destructive and vicious role in combatting the revolutionary proletariat. The same can be said for Hua Guofeng."

### Hu Yaobang—A Deng Clone

Hua's replacement, Hu Yaobang, has always followed Deng's political ups and downs. Hu was accused of being Deng's follower during the Cultural Revolution and was sent to the countryside. When Deng returned to the political scene in 1975, Hu followed, becoming head of the Academy of Sciences. Then when Deng was toppled again after the Tien An Men incident, Hu again followed in his footsteps. Since his rehabilitation after the coup, Hu has steadily risen up in the ranks being named last year as the general secretary of the party, a post last held by Deng before the Cultural Revolution. Hu has been playing the role of the spearhead in breaking new territory on criticism of the Cultural Revolution and Mao. His remark that "Mao's errors have been the cause of great misfortune for the party and the Chinese proletariat" touched off a new round of heightened attacks on Mao last year, and he later said, referring to the Cultural Revolution, that "nothing was correct or positive during the 10 years. The whole thing was negative."

The recent moves by Deng at the 6th Plenum show on the one hand some of the strength of the Deng forces. They were able to force through a consensus

on the long-awaited historical evaluation of the party history and organizational changes. But what comes through more fundamentally is the precarious nature of their position. For example, the central committee had been expected to take up the question of the economy, but this subject was not even touched on. Apparently the main struggle over the wording of the historical document, in particular the evaluation of Mao, was so intense that it was all that Deng could do to get some agreement on the Mao question. The economy, however, continues to be a huge problem for the revisionists with rising inflation and unemployment being the most visible signs of extreme dislocation caused by the breaking down of socialist economy. They can hardly blame all this anymore on the Cultural Revolution or the Four, and now with Hua, the perfect whipping boy gone, the future can only hold even sharper falling out within the ruling clique.

Hu and Deng are sure to face real trouble, including from the revolutionaries of China. According to the *New York Times*, Hu gave evidence of this in his speech: "Comrades at a lower level must respect and obey the leadership of comrades at a higher level," he said... Mr. Hu raised his medium-pitched voice several times to the level of shrillness in making his point."

Deng's appointment as the head of the military commission, a post traditionally held by the party chairman, indicates the serious nature and the difficulties the Deng forces are facing in regards to the military. According to a Taiwan source, a document from the Central Committee secretariat last year lays out extremely serious discipline problems in the military. In the army in the Jiangsu Province, for example, there is such talk as "What business does the central secretariat have controlling the military? Where does Hu Yaobang stand in the hierarchy?" Four of the 8 divisional commanders involved in transfers within the province simply refused to follow orders. Deng, who has some influence in the military, obviously felt that a stronger hand was needed to control the military than the lesser-known Hu.

What portends to be even more decisive in the future for the revisionist rulers is the pressures of the fast developing international situation. This point was brought home by the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Haig to Peking only a few days before the opening of the 6th Plenum, and the announcement of the possibility of the U.S. supplying arms to China. There were reports of a politburo meeting just prior to Haig's trip where a sharp battle took place between those pushing for even more craven capitulation to the U.S. and those wary of the U.S. and advocating turning to the Soviet side. The outlook for the future is definitely not as the revisionists state in their historical document: "China has now returned to the 'scientific principles of Mao Tsetung Thought' for a 'period of peaceful development.'" □

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## Dirty Work by the High Court

# Agee's Passport Revocation Stands

Last week, the United States Supreme Court by a vote of 7 to 2 upheld the actions of the State Department in stripping former CIA agent Phillip Agee of his passport under regulations authorizing such revocation when "the Secretary determines that the national's activities abroad are causing or are likely to cause serious damage to the national security or the foreign policy of the United States."

After spending nine years as an undercover agent and participating in at least two coups, as well as constant bribery, manipulation and murder for U.S. imperialism in Latin America, Agee came out of the cold in 1974, and publicly embarked on a "campaign to fight the United States CIA wherever it is operating." His first book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* (1974) exposed every agent, contact and method used throughout Latin America, forcing the CIA to completely reorganize its Latin American operations. In 1978 he published a second book, *Dirty Work*, exposing CIA activities in Western Europe and helped launch the *Covert Action Information Bulletin* which regularly uncovers CIA agents and their

clandestine skulduggery around the world. Agee—who has been living in exile, deported at the request of the U.S. from one European country to another—originally had his passport revoked in 1979 by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance after he created a stir by publicly proposing that the Iranian hostage crisis could be resolved by having the U.S. government exchange CIA files on Iran for the release of the hostages. More recently, his continuing exposures (as well as others) have inspired a so-called "Covert Action" bill which would make it a crime to divulge the names of U.S. intelligence agents, even if this knowledge is already public. Now in the decision on Agee's passport, Chief Justice Warren Burger screamed: "Agee's disclosures, among other things, have the declared purpose of obstructing intelligence operations and the recruiting of intelligence personnel. They are clearly not protected by the Constitution. The mere fact that Agee is also engaged in criticism of the Government does not render his conduct beyond the reach of the law."

This ruling, however is obviously aimed at far more than simply curtail-

ing Agee's own conduct, for his personal ability to travel and obtain further exposures on the CIA's activities. As lawyers for the ACLU have pointed out, the broadness of the court's ruling provides the government with the legal justification to revoke the passport of, say, any journalist who travels abroad and writes an article criticizing U.S. foreign policy—not to mention the prior effect of intimidation such government license would have on what little objective reporting of the U.S.'s international role there is in the first place. But more, this ruling is clearly intended to provide the government with yet another weapon against anyone who dares speak up and expose them—all on the basis that the U.S.'s national security or foreign policy was likely to have been "seriously damaged." It is an unmistakable message to any and all concerned that, particularly as world events are propelling them toward war, the U.S. rulers are less and less willing to tolerate any kind of opposition to their murderous dealings on a grand scale and their intricate web of imperialist oppression that stretch to every corner of the globe.

But there is a little problem for the U.S. rulers here—i.e. what about their "sacred right" to freedom of speech, to political beliefs, to travel, etc., and all that other good stuff that is supposed to be the essence of "American democracy"? Well, as Chief Justice Burger put it, Agee posed a danger not because of his beliefs but because of his *conduct*, adding that "The protection afforded beliefs standing alone is very different from the protection accorded conduct." All this is quite a blatant exposure, so blatant in fact that even certain circles in the bourgeoisie are nervously speculating that this ruling went perhaps a little too far, at least for the time being. Even the *Washington Post* (while shedding no tears for Agee) politely pointed out that: the Supreme Court ruling casts in a rather ridiculous light the U.S.'s pious claim to be the international repository of "human rights." Since, as the *Post* put it, the right to travel abroad has traditionally been trumpeted as "the mark of a free nation." □

## Snakes

Continued from page 15

cabinet a number of his old chums from Poland, the critical ministries were reserved for long-time Laborites and experienced and trusted flunkies of the U.S. Moshe Dayan, commander of Israeli forces during the 1967 war, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ezer Weizman, nephew of Israel's first president, got the Defense portfolio. The Begin government went on to "play ball" with the U.S. and Egypt at Camp David. The Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement served to cement Egypt into the U.S. bloc and laid the foundation for the evolving U.S. imperialist policy of attempting to unite Israel and the bourgeois pro-Western Arab regimes in an "anti-Soviet strategic consensus."

There have, nevertheless, been secondary contradictions between the U.S. and Israel during Begin's tenure. A major source of friction has been the Likud policy of establishing settlements on the occupied West Bank of Jordan: an area considered a prime location for the establishment of some sort of phony, imperialist-imposed "autonomous region" where the Palestinian people may be herded and kept in line under Jordanian supervision. The settlements, small at first, have increased until now there are 22,000 "settlers" on the West Bank, organized in paramilitary units; most of them are fanatical Zionist zealots who have sworn never to leave territory which they (and official Likud doctrine) claim is theirs by the direct stipulation of God.

The U.S., especially during the Carter administration, has issued numerous statements deploring the settlements, and officially, the Reagan administration also does not support them. However, as the recent hypocritical "condemnations" of Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor demonstrate, such official statements are largely intended to placate Arab opinion, and do not necessarily reflect what the U.S. is really up to. There are differences within U.S. policy-making circles over how much weight to place on a "settlement of the Palestinian question" in the overall scheme of things, and no clear means of achieving a settlement soon seems to be at hand. Since the U.S. protests of Israel settlement policy have been ineffectual, it must be concluded that they are not meant to be taken too seriously. The U.S. might not be pleased with Begin's West Bank policy, but so far has not considered the issue worth a showdown. It is likely, however, that the U.S. has held off in anticipation of

Begin's disappearance and the emergence of a new Labor government, whose West Bank policy is a faithful reflection of that of the U.S. State Department.

Most U.S. media post-mortems on the Israeli election, after it had become clear that Begin would probably be able to hold on to power, at least temporarily, carried on about the West Bank issue. The *Washington Post* complained that Begin had ignored the vague provisions of the Camp David accord which mumble about the rights of the Palestinians, stiffly observing that "...he has acted to insure they would be unresponsive by promoting a West Bank settlement in a manner contemptuous of the spirit of the agreement and by offering a version of Palestinian autonomy seemingly calculated to repel all self-respecting Palestinians. He has made ever more explicit his religious and Party commitment to holding on to the West Bank forever..." The *Post's* following comment, "The American government, and others, have a bit of time to analyze the emerging political configuration in Israel...to release Mr. Begin in particular from his—from Israel's—Camp David vows would be recklessly foolish"—seems to be a call for forcing Begin into line around the West Bank question, and, failing that, to "do something" to fix the political configuration.

### U.S. Troops in Sinai

The issue is broader than policy toward the West Bank, of course. An editorial in the *New York Times* following the election, under the byline of Anthony Lewis, begins with reciting the litany of Begin's sins on the West Bank, predicting that the second Begin government will be narrower and more obdurate than the first, fretting that Begin is about to appoint a maniac (General Sharon, currently in charge of constructing settlements in the occupied zone) as Minister of Defense, etc. But Lewis then throws the whole Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement into the picture, charging that Begin's policies have "embarrassed" President Sadat of Egypt.

It is doubtful that President Sadat is capable of embarrassment, if his nauseous public bootlicking of Jimmy Carter and other "close friends" is any guide. What Lewis is alluding to is the possibility that some hitch may develop in the scheduled 1982 withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the last portion of the Sinai desert, Egyptian territory which they occupied during the six-day war of 1967. Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai is a key provision of the Camp David accords. Negotiations are still proceeding to install some kind of "peacekeeping force" in the Sinai to insure Israel's security. It is anticipated

that the U.S. will be the main, if not the only, element of this peacekeeping force. The U.S. has big plans for setting up military bases in the Sinai as part of its preparations for a U.S.-Soviet military showdown in the region.

All of this is, of course, highly critical to the U.S. imperialists' vital interests. But negotiations for an arrangement satisfactory to all parties have proved difficult. Further, within Begin's Likud Party there is a significant faction which is making no secret of its opposition to Israeli withdrawal from its remaining posts in the Sinai. This faction is led by Moshe Arens, Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs & Defense Committee, and they are not without influence. In an atmosphere of heightened tension—or under any circumstances in which Egypt could be once again plausibly portrayed as a potential "aggressor"—it is possible, some U.S. analysts apparently fear, that the whole Sinai deal could be jeopardized.

However, again, the public hand-wringing is not necessarily to be taken at full face value. State Dept. officials are quoted in the *Times* as predicting that Begin, if he could consolidate his grip on a new four-year term, would "in the short run be the best hope" of concluding agreements both on the Sinai withdrawals and the stalled talks on so-called Palestinian "autonomy."

"At the start of the Reagan administration," the *Times* article states, "State Dept. officials had almost uniformly expected and hoped that Shimon Peres, the Labor leader, would be the next prime minister..." but that over the last two months they had "expected Prime Minister Menachim Begin's Likud bloc to triumph." It seems likely that Begin was able to come to an understanding with his U.S. employers on outstanding issues around that time. U.S. cooperation in the attack on the Baghdad nuclear plant surely would not have been forthcoming had the U.S. been seriously interested in dumping Begin. Apparently, one important reason for what seems to have been a U.S. decision to ride it out with Begin was the fear that a change of government—and the consequence of having to deal with the Likud as a "hard-line" opposition—would do much more harm than good in the delicate maneuverings that lie ahead.

If this is actually the case, then we should expect a new "surprising" fit of "reasonableness" from Prime Minister Begin in the months ahead.

### Israel's Instability

But the picture is still further complicated by the fact that the elections produced no clear-cut victory for either Labor or Likud. The Labor Alignment gained one more seat in the Knesset (the

Israeli parliament) than did Likud. But neither major party won a majority. More than 30 parties campaigned in the election, many of them winning no more than one or two seats. The question boiled down to one of coalition partners: Begin was able to strike an agreement with the National Religious Party and several smaller groupings under its wing, and has come out claiming that he is capable of forming the next government.

Under Israeli law, however, Israel's ceremonial president has the power to ask whomever he chooses to attempt to form a government in the event that no party attains a majority. Peres initially insisted that he should be given the first crack at knocking together a coalition. But speculation has been that the president will give the nod to Begin, despite Labor's one-seat plurality. All this maneuvering could take weeks; and, in the end, it is possible that new elections will have to be called.

Beneath all of the parliamentary complications, the internal basis for the stability of the Zionist state is being rapidly eroded. The Israeli economy is a shambles. Inflation is roaring ahead at 130% a year. To bolster his popularity in the months prior to the election, Begin artificially sliced prices and raised wages, but these temporary measures will boomerang in the period just ahead. Immigration to Israel is slowing to a trickle; emigration is picking up speed. Contributions from the overseas Jewish communities, which have been held in thrall to Zionist ideology since World War 2, aren't what they used to be. The number of oppressed Arabs within Israel is rising steadily, as is the number of Sephardic Jews; the original European ruling elite is a minority within their own Zionist creation. Rebellions in the Arab communities are a daily occurrence, and brutal repression cannot quell them. The disintegration of the formerly superficially stable colonial society has been marked in recent years. Begin's mobilization of gangs of Sephardic youth to carry out "storm trooper" actions against the Labor Party (which Labor and the U.S. media bewailed as "fascistic," ignoring the fascistic character of Zionist Israel as a whole) provide just a superficial glimpse of the unravelling of "democratic" niceties.

The potential for major internal upheavals, including mass rebellions among the subject population and violent infighting between various reactionary political parties, is growing. The South Africa of the Middle East, for 30-odd years the chief enforcer of U.S. imperialist rule in the region, not only exists in mortal terror of the millions it has brutalized and uprooted from their homeland; it is slowly choking on its own accumulated venom. □

## Our Chance

Continued from page 9

out. They were white people, poor, white working-class people, people who don't have anything to lose but their chains and are beginning to recognize that their true and natural brothers and sisters are the Black people and other oppressed people in the same situation as them. They wrote statements of outrage on a banner that was taken over to the various areas where these murders have been concentrated. That's a small thing, but it's the kind of thing that our Party is working to build, and we think these kinds of attacks, and more than that, the response and the rebellions back against them, can be the kind of thing that can be a spearpoint, a driving force for revolution to put an end to all this. So let the ruling class bring it to a head, because they may bring it to a head, but it may not end up the way they want it to end up, and that's what our job is—to see that it doesn't.\*

**Q:** Why are they after you?

**BA:** Because the same system and the same ruling class which is carrying out all this madness, intensifying attacks on people and preparing people—I'm not saying this for rhetoric, I'm not saying this to jive, I'm not saying this to sound heavy, I'm saying it for people to think about seriously—they are getting ready for World War 3 and they're going to drag the whole world into it, with all the hell and madness and destruction that can mean for people, billions of people all over the world. And they can't stand for a Party such as ours which will not compromise with them. I didn't come over here for any other reason than the fact that our Party is determined to maintain its revolutionary position, and that the ruling class will not allow that, and me being the leader of the Party, they are going to try to get me out of the way, even to the point of not only putting me in jail for hundreds of years, which they have hanging over my head, but they could kill me in their jails or otherwise. I came here because I'm not going to devote my time, as I said in the statement released at the time, to merely try to stay out of their murderous clutches and to dodge their assassination attempts.

And when I come back it's not going to be crawling on my belly, I'm going to say this right now and people can judge me and our Party by it. I'm not coming back crawling on my belly or apologizing for being a revolutionary, I'm going to say that straight up. When I come back it's going to be to finish what we started. In the meantime we're going to be working, other people, the Party as a whole, to be carrying out that work. And everything I'm doing is consistent with that. I want people to know that and understand that. Anybody can say that, but I'm saying it so people can judge me, and judge our whole Party.

**Q:** Why go to Paris, France?

**BA:** We had to make a decision based on the concrete situation and the reality and contradictions that we're faced with. It was a tremendous loss for the international proletarian class of people and for the oppressed people throughout the world when China (which under Mao Tsetung it was a beacon and a base area of world revolution) was snatched away by sniveling dogs like Deng Xiaoping who came crawling up to make deals and make their peace and to carry out the murdering business of imperialists like those that run the U.S. So in the world today, there is no state, there is no government that is run by the revolutionary working class, and that stands for and promotes the interests of the international proletariat. There is no revolutionary government that stands for and promotes the international revolution. So therefore we have to deal with the concrete situation, including that fact. And in France, there is, among the masses of people and among many intellectuals, there is a tradition of asylum which is supported strongly by many. We have to recognize contradictions, we have to make use of contradictions, but I'll say again, that everything that I'm doing is consistent with the unchanging basic principles of our Party to make revolution and not just for the benefit of the people in the U.S., but for the benefit of and to advance the cause of the whole proletarian class and oppressed people throughout the world. I think that if people think about it they can understand what I'm

\* From this point on, the interviewer's questions became almost inaudible on our copy of the tape, so from here on the questions were constructed from the context by us—RW.

saying.

**Q:** What about your future?

**BA:** Well, we've made the prediction and we think it's a real possibility, that a revolutionary situation and a real chance, which doesn't come very often, to find them not just in trouble like they were during the '60s and during the Vietnam War but able still to maneuver, able still to have some reserve, but to find them and all the people like them, both lined up with them and on the other side of the barricades from them, all the imperialists stretched to the limit and fighting each other and therefore us, and not just us but people throughout the world, having a chance to rise up and make tremendous gains in the revolution, finding them weak and vulnerable and fighting themselves. We think that this may be a real chance that they'll come to that situation and their reserves will be thin, and we'll be able to turn the situation around and maybe rise up and make revolution in the U.S., and certainly make tremendous strides for revolution throughout the world. That's the most important question. My view and the view of our Party has always been that we will be and we will go and we will do whatever we have to do to advance the whole world revolution, the cause of freeing all the proletarian exploited and oppressed peoples throughout the whole world and advancing the whole world beyond this barbarous stage. And when I would come back would be dependent on the advance and the whole course of the revolution throughout the whole world and how the best contributions could be made to that. But I don't think the time is very far off when tremendous gains can be made in the revolution, and that would include perhaps the possibility that I should and can come back and be a part of that directly in the U.S.

**Q:** Couldn't the opposite happen? There are a lot of backward people. Couldn't the U.S. government organize a reactionary onslaught?

**BA:** Yeah, well they've done some of that, but look how desperate they are. I mean they have to take a bunch of CIA agents, and you know what that means, that means people who are responsible for pulling coups like in Chile, like in Indonesia and other places where hundreds of thousands of people in Indonesia, tens of thousands in Chile were murdered outright as a result of those coups that the CIA pulls off and put in the murderous governments. They are so desperate, they have to hold up people like that, and I'm talking about their so-called hostages, who are the kind of people who designed programs in Vietnam to murder whole villages and wipe out whole villages—they're so desperate they've got to have a Reagan for president and they've got to have people like that, so-called hostages, and they have as heroes. And yeah, there are some people that are either blinded by a few things that they've been able to get on the backs of the people of the world or are just plain ignorant as to the real events in the world. We've been turning around a lot of especially the latter category of people who are just ignorant.

But let's look at their desperation. Let me just give you a simple example. I'm out of the country, but people like yourself can comment on this and people can judge. Even let's say something like when the green ribbon thing started up somewhat spontaneously and sometimes became red ribbons in response to Atlanta. And from every report I've gotten, that caught on tremendously, even among white people, not just among Blacks, more than the yellow ribbons; and from all reports I got, except for government employees, White House cooking staff, and other State Department flunkies and CIA agents, the yellow ribbon thing was not that big a thing among people. And I know I was around when at different times they tried to get people out waving the flag, and they were desperate to find some government employees to put on the television. You see I was there, and people weren't doing it. So I think that we can't be taking—yeah, if they start up a war for example, there will be a wave of chauvinism, but the simple fact is that there is going to be a war in which they're going to put people through hell, and that superficial chauvinistic stuff which does not correspond to the interests of the majority of people will not hold when people see the kind of madness and hell that they are intending to and will put them through. And we're going to be able to be there to explain to people the real cause and the real way out of it, which is revolution. So yes, we have to be realistic and take those things into account, but we can't just look one-sidedly

or superficially.

**Q:** Question inaudible.

**BA:** The thing is, the way I feel about the question of May 1st is this way: May 1st is a concentration of what we've got to be about. It's an opportunity and it's an obligation, because the conditions are shaping up, not just in the U.S. but throughout the world, where we might actually have the chance, if we get organized enough, get educated enough, get united enough to rally around the red flag of the international proletariat tightly enough to be able to go out with a programme, as represented by the *Programme* of our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, which is coming out also on May 1st, to be able to win over the intermediate, even to neutralize the wavering forces, to be able to isolate sufficiently and find weakened enough and without reserves, our enemy, and be able to rise up and strike them down together with people throughout the world and make tremendous advances toward getting rid of this.

We have always said, we have always insisted that it's a basic principle of Marxism and Leninism and Mao Tsetung's teachings, Mao Tsetung Thought that we stand on, that the people have to consciously liberate themselves. May 1st is a tremendous step toward that but it goes beyond that, it comes down to wielding in a consistent way the newspaper, the main weapon we have now, the *Revolutionary Worker*, the newspaper of our Party. It comes down to organizing around it, to going into the many struggles where people rise up, where people question, where people revolt, raising up the newspaper and organizing people to take up that political line and that understanding, to grappling with this theory and struggling to understand the whole world, and preparing ourselves consciously so that the thousands, the tens of thousands, the hundreds of thousands that we move and influence now, can be the leaders, and can build on the influence it spreads and lead forward consciously to revolution, the millions and tens of millions of people who will be drawn into motion with all the swirl and upheaval that's coming in the years ahead. Both the tremendous horrors of things like world war and the even more vicious attacks but also the opportunities of finding these gangsters who hide way in the bowels of the earth while they drag the people into this war, to dig them up and really give them a proper and decent and fitting final burial in terms of their system—to give a burial to that system. And I'm not just selling wolf tickets, I'm not boasting, this is what in fact history has put on the agenda, the chance where everything comes together and we might have a chance to do it.

See a lot of people tried to work for revolution in the '60s and gave their lives, especially people in and around the Black Panther Party as well as others, were heroic, they sacrificed and they fought and they didn't do it for nothing. We've learned a lot, we're able to go forward from there, but more than that the situation is getting more favorable, because at that time our enemy, the U.S. imperialists who rule over us and the people all over the world and their kind like them in the Soviet Union and other countries, they still had enough strength, they still weren't stretched to the limits, they didn't have to go at each other's throats the way they're preparing to do now. This time, we will be able to take many of the reserves that they had and rally them into our camp. Many of the middle forces who were wavering but began to come to our side in the Vietnam war struggle, in the struggle of Black liberation and other movements in the '60s, this time they're not going to be able to create as many splits although they will work very hard to do it, they will have some short-term success, but they're going to be stretched, they're not going to be able to pass out as many crumbs and favors, they're not going to have the strength. Internationally, one's not going to be able to help out the other that much, as they're going to be fighting at each other's throats and stretched to the limit. This is our chance, we can't afford to lose it, so let's move forward on May 1st, break out and break free and prepare to move and actually start moving together with people like ourselves, the proletarian class and oppressed people toward that goal of revolution, concretely and realistically breaking out and taking history even more firmly and boldly into our hands.

Thank you a lot and I hope you're able to use this.

## The Trial of Annie Small

Continued from page 10

unison: "Ladies and gentlemen of the jury; you have not heard that!"

Of course, what the jury was permitted to hear, and see, showed an obvious effort to nail this woman who refused to know "her place." The only photos showed as evidence (and quite probably the only ones taken) were of the blood-

stained porch where Clyde Jr. had finally fallen. There was not a single photo of the inside of the house, the busted doors, etc. And, not a single fingerprint was dusted for. Even Mrs. Small's nephew was jumped by a couple of good ol' boys—Clyde's "supporters"—in the courthouse elevator.

But, in the face of the intensifying outrage that was building in Cincinnati, the judicial hanging of Mrs. Annie Small—a hanging that was passed from the dead hands of Clyde Henson, Jr. into more "legal" surroundings, that is—did not go through as planned.

It was now the media's turn. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, silent for so long, ran an article the day after the trial in which they dug up the fact that Mrs. Small's daughter-in-law had been convicted of manslaughter in the death of her husband a few years back. But the point they seized upon was the quote, attributed to Mrs. Small, that she said to her daughter-in-law: "Why didn't you aim lower so he'd have a chance?" In fact, the Assistant Prosecutor commented that she should've remembered her own words (read: Annie Small shot to kill, therefore she is a murderer). This article was run a full 5 columns

across the page and illustrated with a none too subtle photo of a house that had been blown up in Kentucky. Get it, all you good ol' boys?

But howl and threaten as they might, the case of Annie Small is a vivid picture of the living hell that Black people—and women—face in this best of all possible worlds called America. But Annie Small's case is something further still. It is an even more vivid illustration of what the rulers fear right down to their bowels—an example of the proud, straight-backed demons that can, and will, rise from this hell to haunt them. □

## Cape Continued from page 6

Washington and Pretoria." But, at the same time, the U.S. has also been forced to keep up something of the pretense that various "changes" and "reforms" may still be in the offing in South Africa.

There is no dearth of ridiculous efforts by the U.S. rulers to convince people that South Africa's rulers are truly concerned with "improving" the economic condition of the country's black majority. In a recent *New York Times* article we are told, for instance, that "A sharp bureaucratic battle, with major political implications, is being fought among white administrators over the issue of whether to make more housing available" in the impoverished Soweto ghetto. Here some 1.5 million blacks live crammed into shacks made of tin or bricks generally with no electricity or running water, and literally tens of thousands of houses would have to be built even to house the existing black population "adequately" (that is, something like ten to a room by Afrikaner standards). However, after ploughing through the *Times'* lengthy analysis, including an account of the "heroic efforts" of one South African administrator who threatened to resign unless more houses were built, we find that the government now "hopes to have 300 houses built by the end of the year"—a truly stunning display of progress!

In another *Times* article on South Africa's booming gold industry, we are told that "there has been marked improvement" in the living and working conditions in South Africa's hell-hole mines where half a million of the country's blacks slave for the enrichment of the Afrikaner rulers and their Western investment partners. And recent material distributed by the South African embassy in Washington makes the claim that medical care in South Africa's mines is "equal to the best in the world." Here are glowingly advertised such medical wonders as the fact that "at least 21 gallons of fresh air are pumped underground for every worker operating there" (generously, South Africa's gold magnates take great pains to supply their workers with the minimal requirements for breathing). What is not mentioned, of course (and what is noted only casually in passing in the *Times* article) is that no less than 5,455 miners were killed on the job between 1970 and 1979 (and these are only the "official" figures)—an average of more than one worker dead for each day of the last decade. And the real toll is certainly far far higher.

There is ongoing speculation in the U.S. press holding out the vague possibility of various political changes and the claim that sections of South Africa's rulers are genuinely interested in removing some of the "excesses" of apartheid rule. This has usually been presented as a "struggle" between the *verkrampes* (hard-line whites) and the *verligtes* (literally "enlightened" whites). In particular, the recent elections (all-white, of course) in which the Nationalist Par-



Family stands in front of their one room home with hundreds of similar homes in the background.

ty retained its dominant position over its Progressive Federal Party rivals have been hailed as a mandate for carrying out various "reforms" promised by Prime Minister Botha, although it is admitted that "the lives of blacks will be little changed." As one observer pointed out: "To whites, change is generally understood to mean the easing of ludicrous hotel and park bench restrictions"—i.e., what is known as *petty apartheid*—restrictions that have become somewhat of an anachronism even for South Africa's rulers, considering that blacks are now allowed into white areas like Johannesburg during daylight hours so that the various white businesses may relieve them of their meager wages.

As another liberal commentator writing for *Africa* magazine pointed out: "After 33 years in power the *verligte* Afrikaner nationalist has become more sophisticated. He realizes that these crude manifestations of apartheid are unnecessary, are bad for the economy and not vital to the sustenance of apartheid." Of course, there are no differences whatsoever between the *verligtes* and the *verkrampes* on the necessity of denying black majority rule, preserving the Race Classification Act (under which South Africa's 27 million blacks are legally and forcibly classified into racial, tribal and sub-tribal groupings for separation), the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act (which forbid sex and marriage between blacks and whites), the Influx Control and Pass Laws, etc., etc.—since these are the basic foundations of white minority rule. How "sophisticated" can an Afrikaner nationalist afford to get anyway?

It is not very surprising, then, that

for all the claptrap in the media about the hoped-for evolution of apartheid into neo-apartheid, "sophisticated" apartheid or whatever else they are calling it these days, the authorities are as usual pulling out the bottom line of their Internal Security laws to deal with the growing threat to their rule, which has always rested on the crack of the "sjambok" and staccato of the machine gun. Indeed, the need to preserve these and other basic pillars of apartheid was indicated by testimony given by Chester Crocker, the current State Department official in charge of African affairs, before a House Foreign Affairs Committee last year not long after the wave of renewed upsurge by the Azanian people began, in which he warned that western governments should not "fall into the trap of an indiscriminate attack on all aspects of 'the system' (of apartheid), as though each were equally odious and none more important or urgent than any other.... Given the accelerated pace of change in Southern Africa and the rapid rise of black expectations of internal change, does it really make sense to call for the scrapping of the country's security laws?"

From the imperialists' point of view, of course not. And included in the testimony before this same House committee were some interesting examples of the progress made in the South African legal sphere in the past three decades, such as the retirement of the 90-Day Detention Law and its replacement by a 180-Day Detention Law. Then there is the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 (which enables authorities to prohibit public gatherings of more than 12 peo-

ple for up to 48 hours), which was amended in 1974 to prohibit *any* gathering, public or private, of more than one person for *any* length of time, when invoked. Some laws, however, are considered basic and have not been changed, such as the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953, which reveals something of the Afrikaner notion of "reform." This law, designed to outlaw even peaceful civil disobedience, makes it an offense to violate any other law "by way of protest against any law, in support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law"! The penalty is still a fine not exceeding 600 rand or imprisonment not exceeding three years *and* a whipping not to exceed ten strokes. After all, progress does have its limits. A mere ten strokes—why, that was perfectly reasonable to begin with!

Clearly, South Africa's imperialist-backed white settler regime has no intention of reforming the apartheid system upon which its whole rule rests, as the recent arrests and the government's unleashing of their security forces shows. Nor does the U.S. wish anything but the most superficial cosmetic changes, along with the brutal suppression of the struggle of the people of Azania. The problem is that with each passing day, the very workings of this system, including its vicious political repression, call forth growing resistance, and the imperialists are sitting on a volcano in South Africa that is rumbling louder with each passing day, threatening to erupt with perhaps quite devastating results for their whole exploitative set-up. □

## French CP

Continued from page 3

document, which calls for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, no outside intervention in Poland, the inclusion of the Soviet SS-20 missiles in the current arms control talks, and so on. There is some truth to this, in that the declaration is a far cry from, for instance, the French CP's infamous support for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. But there is another side to it as well. As Marchais himself later pointed out, everything in the joint agreement is something that the Soviets themselves call for. After all, haven't they repeatedly said that they would like to withdraw from Afghanistan, that they don't want to invade Poland, that they really crave disarmament, etc., but the U.S. won't allow it? Just like U.S. rhetoric, only in reverse. Marchais claims that his signing the joint agreement represents no change at all from his previous positions, including his endorsement of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The upshot is that as propaganda the joint agreement does overall favor the

U.S.-headed war bloc through which the French bourgeoisie seeks to serve its own imperialist interests. The hand of Marchais and the Soviets may be weakened. But maybe not. "The Communists are not in because they have any leverage on us," explained a Mitterand official, quoted in *Newsweek*, "but because we want to have leverage on them." This much is true. But *wanting* and *accomplishing* are two different things. Whether the French CP is ultimately strengthened or weakened—that depends both on future developments in France (it is not inconceivable that the French CP could re-enter the opposition all the stronger for having been in the government) and even more on international developments, especially the balance of forces between the two superpowers. The fact that the French bourgeoisie has had to take these risks is not, overall, a sign of their strength but rather of increasingly hard necessity.

### Italy

What worries the U.S. the most is not France—which is presently in no danger

whatsoever of being lost to the U.S. bloc because of the CP—but other countries in Europe, including Portugal and most especially, Italy. This was the substance of the Reagan administration's statement on the entrance of the CP into the French government. What France does is "France's business," it said, meaning that the U.S. is willing to go along with it (otherwise the U.S. would make it its business), but the U.S. is "generally" opposed to CP members being included in any way in European governments. In less public ways now (and rather blatantly in the past), the U.S. has made it clear that Italy, for instance, has no business at all letting even one CP member into the government and that the U.S. would consider it its business to stop it if they tried it. The difference is not that the Italian CP is more pro-Soviet than the French. In fact, their rhetoric is quite the contrary. The Italian CP supports the Pope in Poland and generally has declared itself in favor of all kinds of anti-Soviet activities. The difference is that the French CP is too weak, right now, to represent much of a threat to U.S. bloc interests, while the Italian

CP, the second most powerful party in the country in its own right and even more so when stacked up against the crisis-ridden and divided Christian Democrats it is second to, is powerful enough to represent a very real threat indeed, especially if a situation of major turmoil and realignment begins to develop in Europe, a situation which might tempt the Italian CP to accept Soviet aid and go for broke.

The bourgeoisies of the various imperialist countries are preparing for a war to redivide the world. Exactly how they prepare depends very much on the particular circumstances and conditions in the various countries. There are several ways to skin the cat. As we pointed out in the first article about Mitterand's election, in the concrete conditions of the class struggle in France today, Mitterand's "socialism" represents a specific form of trying to convince the French masses that they have something to fight such a war for. So, too, what is behind the inclusion of the CP in the Mitterand government is that the CP has been drawn in not to promote peace with the USSR but to prepare for war. □

# IRP Explodes

The U.S. is already stone-cold mortified by the spreading resistance of the Iranian masses (and they must be starting to have nightmares about how quickly things "got out of hand" only several years ago in Iran), but the powerful bomb explosion that blew away many of the key pro-U.S. IRP leaders and government figures last Sunday has added to their problems. Likewise, the bombing has generally been welcomed and celebrated by the progressive and revolutionary masses in Iran, especially the end of the reactionary Mr. Beheshti, whom many Iranians call "the second most hated man in Iran, after the Shah."

The facts surrounding the bombing establish very clearly that whoever planted the bomb had to be highly connected and wanted to get Beheshti, for sure, and possibly much more of the IRP leadership. Last Sunday, according to reports, nearly all of the cabinet officials and parliamentary members of the IRP were holding their weekly meeting in the basement of the IRP's headquarters in southern Tehran—a long, two story building built back in the 1930s. The bomb was planted in a garbage can close to the podium where Beheshti was going to speak, and it went off about 10 minutes into his speech. Whoever set it off was not only technically skilled, but very familiar with the IRP's operations. Further, they made sure that Beheshti did not get out alive, for the bomb was so powerful that it collapsed the roof of the large room they were meeting in, and killing 72 out of the 90 IRP politicians trapped inside.

In the wake of the explosion, the official government line was to blame it on the U.S. While there is certainly plenty of reason to accuse the U.S. imperialists of attacking Iran in a myriad of ways, this charge has been cynically used as a tactic by the Iranian government (and is also consciously being utilized by the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party forces who have received many posts in the Iranian media for loyally supporting the IRP's reactionary program) in order to rally the masses around themselves as broadly as possible—and then to try to whip them up to attack the Mojahadeen and the left, whom these shameless demagogues have been calling "American agents"! Three days after the bombing, Ayatollah Khomeini—who has been playing a reactionary role in supporting the IRP and attacking the revolutionary forces—came out and directly accused the Mojahadeen of setting off the bomb, calling them "blind people who

claim they are crusaders for the people."

The Mojahadeen, who have many connections inside the government and a great deal of military experience and have organized armed militias in many parts of the country, have the capability of undertaking such an action; and neither they nor the Marxist-Leninist groups have denied responsibility for it, either. But the real point is that the government is making no bones about trying to use the violent demise of 72 of their own to prepare public opinion in Iran for new and more savage attacks against the Mojahadeen and the left. This began on Wednesday, with the arrest of nearly 50 Mojahadeen supporters in Tehran after a gun battle; *all of them* were accused of setting off the bomb!

## U.S. Hitmen Squirm

At this point, the circumstances surrounding the bombing do not point the way of the U.S. imperialists. Certainly the various arms of the U.S. state—including the CIA, the FBI and various Special Operations Groups—are no strangers to such "mysterious" explosions and assassinations, either here in the U.S. or around the world. In Iran, in the wake of the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, the U.S. worked hand-in-glove with counter-revolutionary terrorist groups such as Forghan, to assassinate the head of the Revolutionary Council and several other more progressive religious leaders close to Khomeini. The students who seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 unearthed official U.S. documents proving that the head of the political section at the embassy, Victor Tomseth, had been in contact with Forghan, as well as his chief in the State Department.

However, this particular "hit" does not appear to be theirs. To begin with, their man—Ayatollah Beheshti—was buried in rubble. Beheshti was the man inside the IRP the U.S. imperialists were counting on to come out on top in the struggle for power, having dealt with him many times before, and because of the immense power he commanded inside the IRP. This was only admitted publicly in a brief statement by the State Dept. after the explosion on Sunday night. They had clearly been trying to conceal their connections with Beheshti earlier in order to size up the IRP's ability to consolidate power and to avoid giving him the kiss of death, but now they felt it was necessary to both signal other pro-U.S. forces in the IRP to move into the vacuum quickly,

and give them a green light to keep up the bloodbath against the left, as well as a political warning to the pro-Soviet forces inside the IRP who have been gaining in strength and influence in the recent past.

The very brief official statement issued by Secretary of State Haig the day after the bombing pointed to these same concerns. After "categorically" denying that "there was no, absolutely no, American involvement" (which is not exactly a stunning confirmation of the truth), the tight-lipped Haig warned that, "It is important that the events in that country be able to proceed without interference of any kind." Just in case someone didn't understand that he was talking about the Soviets, State Department officials were "privately" expressing concern to reporters that "Iran may be headed into another period of major disorder that could invite Soviet interference."

Particularly in such a crucial area of the world as the Persian Gulf, which the U.S. bloc is preparing as a major theatre in fighting World War 3 with their rival Soviet imperialist bloc, "disorder" and "instability" are code words for a situation where they fear the Soviets may get the upper hand and beyond that, they can see the elements of an even greater nightmare—the masses in a country such as Iran rising up in revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and their reactionary lackeys. "Disorder" of the sort created by the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion of Iran or the recent Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear plant is one thing; but just when they had high hopes of bringing a "stable government" (read pro-U.S. reactionary government) into power and decisively crushing the revolution... oh, oh, here comes the mass struggle of the Iranian people again.

At the same time, it cannot absolutely be ruled out that the bombing was an inter-bourgeois hit. Beheshti had a lot of enemies in all quarters. It is possible that some pro-U.S. monarchist faction or group associated with exiled reactionaries in the army might have had reason to get Beheshti out of the way to give further impetus to a U.S.-backed "government in exile" to fill the leadership vacuum. Or it could have been a desperate move by a group of army officers who had been previously aligned with Bani-Sadr and were about to be pushed out of the picture, although most bourgeois sources have ruled out a direct link to Bani-Sadr.

It could also, more likely, have been a preemptive strike launched by the more pro-Soviet faction in the IRP,

who sensed that this was an opportune time to knock out their pro-U.S. rivals in the party grouped around Beheshti before they had time to consolidate their power and move against them. Though a relative newcomer to the world of imperialist assassination and murder, the Soviets have provided many recent examples of this, as in Afghanistan with their crudely disguised assassinations of first Prime Minister Taraki and then Amin to make way for the "election" of their current favorite puppet, Babrak Karmal.

There is some evidence that points in this direction of some kind of Soviet involvement. First, there is the fact that Ayatollah Rafsanjani (the speaker of Iran's parliament and one of the most prominent Soviet-leaning clergymen) and Prime Minister Rajaii were called out of the meeting only several minutes before the bomb went off. Rajaii's chief aide, Behzad Nabavi, a hardened opportunist who is widely known to be a former Tudeh Party member, was not at the meeting either. So the U.S.' man Beheshti gets sent to meet Allah, while some of his chief rivals get to keep invoking Allah's name as they commit crimes against the people and pursue closer ties with their social-imperialist "friends" to the north. Just a coincidence? Possibly, but still there is no doubt that as a result of this one well-placed bomb, the Soviets have gained a few steps over the U.S. in their close quarters contention within the IRP.

As part of the Soviet imperialists' current strategy of trying to burrow into the reactionary IRP government from within, the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and Fedayeen (Majority) have now established themselves more clearly than ever as diehard enemies of the masses of people. In many places, their members have been seen fingering Mojahadeen and Marxist-Leninist fighters and pointing out their houses to the fascist gangs and Pasdaran. This is truly the nauseating product of the marriage of reformism and support for whatever advances the interests of Soviet social-imperialism in Iran today; these revisionist goons are actively assisting the IRP's attempt to drown the revolution and the masses in blood. But already the pro-U.S. reactionaries are beginning to pay for their crimes, and the pro-Soviet revisionists are sure to get what's due to them as well at the hands of the Iranian people, who are quite capable of determining real friends from mortal enemies. □

## Barricades

Continued from page 1

But in unleashing this all-out assault, the IRP has truly picked up a rock only to drop it on their own feet. Every new deadly attack on the revolutionary forces, every new outrage and atrocity committed against the masses has not broken and cowed them into submission. Instead, as with the massacres committed by the Shah's troops, this has produced a rising wave of resistance. Tens of thousands have taken to arms, in many cases led by the militias of the People's Mojahadeen (a revolutionary Islamic group, by far the largest revolutionary organization in Iran today) and by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups. All revolutionary groups are calling for the overthrow of the IRP government. Increasingly the masses' attempts to defend themselves are passing over into armed guerrilla struggle and barricade warfare in scores of cities and towns, from Amol in the north to Bandar Abbas in the far south.

### Beginnings of Armed Struggle

Fierce street battles in Tehran have occurred all week, pitting squads of Mojahadeen, Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionaries against the

Pasdaran and gangs of Heboollahi. In the northern city of Amol on the Caspian Sea, an area where the revolutionary forces have a particular strong base of support among the people, barricades have been set up in the city and the IRP-led forces have been repulsed several times from reestablishing their control over the city. Throughout much of the south of Iran—where top IRP leaders such as Beheshti and Rafsanjani were run out of several cities a few months ago by outraged masses due to their attempts to prevent the people from mobilizing to fight against the U.S.-supported Iraqi invasion of the country—the IRP had already lost their authority among broad sections of the people. In Isfahan, a large city swollen with refugees from the war, one armed street clash last week left at least 12 dead.

In Shiraz, a popular demonstration against the IRP and their bloodthirsty gangs went over to taking decisive action against the local tyrants who had been giving out orders to the Heboollahi—7 reactionary mullahs were captured by the people, sentenced and executed in the streets.

In Bandar Abbas, a port city further south on the Persian Gulf, there was a spontaneous uprising among the people, after a squad of Pasdaran approached a literature table that was being manned by a number of Mojaha-

deen supporters, pulled their guns and cold-bloodedly shot them through the head for the "crime" of selling revolutionary literature. When word of this spread, many hundreds of people armed themselves and engaged the Pasdaran in a gun battle when they returned. In this case, as well as in more than a few others, the "revolutionary" guards and the "Party of God" thugs have been forced onto the defensive in the face of such mass armed resistance.

In the heat of the struggle breaking out all over, layer upon layer of the religious and "revolutionary" political rhetoric utilized by the leaders of the Islamic Republic is being stripped away, exposing the ugly features of a reactionary government increasingly headed into the grip of imperialism, to broader and broader sections of the masses. Khomeini continues to hold broader, anti-imperialist credibility among the masses than the IRP leaders. But even that is diminishing somewhat as his actions lend support to the consolidation of a reactionary government. For months now, especially with the economic devastation wreaked by the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion last fall, the basic conditions of life for the masses of Iranian people have been getting less and less tolerable. Unemployment is hitting record levels, inflation is pricing many goods, including many necessities, out of the reach of the ma-

majority of the masses.

But the decisive immediate factors in breaking open the situation have been the fracturing of the government and the IRP's driving out of the bourgeois forces around ex-president Bani-Sadr in their drive to monopolize and consolidate power, and even more decisively, their all-out attempt to crush the revolutionary movement in Iran by murdering, arresting and executing the revolutionary Moslem and Marxist-Leninist forces and to crush and demoralize the masses of people in general. There can be no doubt about this. In order for these reactionary, pro-imperialist clerics of the IRP to consolidate their power, they must destroy and uproot the organized forces of revolutionaries which concentrate politically and organizationally the revolutionary sentiments among the masses of people. Fundamentally this shows the profound weakness of the IRP—their inability to deal with the opposition and revolutionary ferment which has been growing among sections of the workers, students and petty bourgeoisie in the cities, among the peasants and oppressed nationalities and even among their own soldiers. And, in turn, the vicious measures of the IRP have only fueled this ferment.

### Reactionary Coup-plotting

An IRP-led coup and bloodbath had

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# Barricades

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been plotted for quite some time, though it was only towards the beginning of June that they were able to make their move. According to information printed on June 7 in issue No. 125 of *Haghighat* (*Truth*, organ of the Union of Iranian Communists, the UIC) there was an actual three-stage coup plot hatched by a group of eight reactionary pro-U.S. clerics and other political figures, led by Ayatollah Beheshti and including Hojitoislam Khomeini, Defense Minister Chamran (who has since recently been killed at the Iraqi front), and Prosecutor General Ardebili (who has just been appointed to Beheshti's post as head of the Supreme Court). The rough outlines of this coup plot were: First, a change was to be made in the composition of the security force guarding Khomeini's residence. With some of the coup plotters' forces in position, they were to be "attacked" on a certain day by "revolutionaries." Second, the guards would repel the "attack" and under this pretext launch coordinated raids on the houses of all known Mojahadeen and revolutionary leftist groups in Tehran, killing them on the spot, as well as capturing and executing Bani-Sadr and his top aides. All this was to be carried out by 1000 specially picked and trained army men and Pasdaran, organized into squads of 17 men each. Third, after this bloodbath carried out in the name of "protecting the Imam," a new government would be installed.

This is essentially the "plan" that the IRP has been attempting to put into motion, but it ran into difficulties right from the beginning by the disclosure and publicizing of many of its details by the UIC and others (Khomeini personally attacked the UIC by name after they exposed the coup plot in early June, ordering the masses not to read "the leaflets of the Union." The IRP's newspaper, which has many pro-Soviet Tudeh Party members working on it now, has cranked out reactionary Islamic/revisionist charges against the UIC, calling them "agents of the U.S." and "American Maoists." In addition, Bani-Sadr disappeared on June 11 before they could capture him; and most importantly, their bloody coup plans ran afoul of the revolutionary masses, who are increasingly not impressed by the use of Khomeini's name and chants of "Allah o Akbar" (God is Great) in blessing the butchering of the progressive and revolutionary forces in the country.

## Further Cracks Appearing

The street fighting and popular uprisings that are spreading throughout Iran, as a major section of the masses rise up to meet this reactionary clamp-down, have been fueled by—and in turn fueled—other forms of opposition and resistance to the IRP's authority. The forces around the deposed President Bani-Sadr have been emboldened and have managed to start publishing their newspaper *Islamic Revolution* again. Bani-Sadr himself issued a challenge last week to the IRP and Khomeini, offering to return to stand trial (he's being charged with treason) under three conditions: that he be allowed to release the files he has accumulated detailing the corruption and foreign connections of the principal leaders of the IRP; that he be given three hours of TV time to defend himself; and that the borders be closed (presumably to keep the IRP leaders from fleeing) and special army units dispatched to take the place of the present border guards.

This episode is an example of how the contradictions among the ruling (and former ruling) groups in Iran are adding fuel to the fire, but also quite a typical example of the weak-kneed and vacillating resistance being put up by Bani-Sadr and the sections of the bourgeoisie centered around him. Not only has he *not* come out in support of the armed resistance of the masses, he is still only threatening to release these "incriminating documents" on the IRP. Why, one might ask, hasn't he done so already—unless there might be some material that would require him to "take the fifth" (on grounds of self-

## Ayatollah S.M. Beheshti:

# Born 1929, Blasted Away 1981

According to an admiring *Time* magazine special a little over a year ago, Beheshti was "a wily political pragmatist who use(d) ideology as a means to power." Beheshti was indeed a ruthless political infighter and a practiced demagogue—specializing in snorting out fiery denunciations of "imperialism" in the name of Islam when it became necessary. But most importantly, these were all qualities that advanced him as a premier political representative of the Iranian bourgeoisie and landlord class, both before and after the revolution that toppled the Shah from power in early 1979.

● Back in the early '60s, Beheshti apparently did quite well for himself writing religious texts for the Shah's public schools. According to a university professor who knew him then, "He never argued with anyone." This was at a time when the Shah and his U.S.-trained armed forces were crushing a massive wave of popular upheaval among the people, which led to the massacre of 15,000 people in 1963 and the exile of Ayatollah Khomeini from Iran.

In 1965, Beheshti's political career took a big step forward when he was named spiritual leader of a mosque for Iranian immigrants in Hamburg, West Germany, funded by the Iranian government. From 1965-70, Beheshti distinguished himself by opposing the activities of revolutionary anti-Shah students in W. Germany. He repeatedly refused the use of "his mosque" for use in hunger strikes protesting the torture and execution of tens of thousands of political prisoners in Iran, and he would not allow any criticism of the Shah to appear in a newspaper published by Islamic student associations with funds supplied by his mosque. Beheshti returned to Iran in 1970, and during the '70s received a job as religious counselor to the Ministry of Education. In this capacity he reviewed textbooks for use in the schools to see if they were

"morally fit" (under the Shah's fascist dictatorship, no less!) for the nation's youth. In other words, his job was to give an Islamic stamp of approval to the imperialist-style education and corrupt Western culture being introduced in truckloads into Iran at the time. Up to the late 1970s, Beheshti had no criticism for the Shah's fascist regime. As one of his clerical colleagues at the time put it, "Beheshti would never side with anyone."

● However, as a revolutionary crisis developed throughout Iranian society, Beheshti took a reading of the political winds and showed up in Ayatollah Khomeini's entourage in Paris in the fall of 1978. Like many other religious figures tied to the bourgeoisie who had previously made their peace with the Shah's regime, when the revolution came they saw their chance to jump on board and try to take the helm of the movement. Beheshti became Khomeini's main organizer in Tehran, and soon became known among progressive and revolutionary circles for his fierce anti-communism and, when it came to opposing imperialism and reaction, his compromising political stands. In January of 1979, as the mass struggle was building up momentum towards an insurrection and U.S. imperialism was desperately trying to find a way to salvage its position in Iran, Beheshti, together with soon to be prime minister Bazargan, had a series of secret meetings with some of the Shah's top generals (who were being directly advised by the U.S. embassy and military mission in Iran at the time) to try to work out a deal that would hand over power to the Khomeini forces without smashing the Shah's army. Such a deal never came to pass, largely because by then the U.S. and the Iranian people were on a direct collision course, but Beheshti's bourgeois nature was amply demonstrated at this crucial juncture in the revolution. Also in January, revolutionary leftist forces in Iran were

rapidly growing in influence and were beginning to call their first independent demonstrations and marches; Beheshti, along with other high-ranking Khomeini aides, helped organize attacks on them by the now familiar gangs of Islamic thugs and tried to red-bait the left out of the ranks of the "Islamic revolution."

● Immediately after the popular insurrection in February 1979 that brought down the Shah and much more of his U.S.-backed regime than Beheshti and others wanted, Beheshti set out to organize the Islamic Republic Party as a bourgeois-feudal political machine, based around the network of mosques in the cities and countryside alike. Utilizing his position as secretary-general of the IRP and the required doses of "anti-American" rhetoric, Beheshti became an increasingly influential political figure in Iran. Within a year he was head of the Supreme Court, while other IRP men steadily took over nearly the entire government apparatus throughout 1980. Like the other top leaders of the IRP, Beheshti aggressively pushed to "Islamicize" much of the economy, especially those controlled by the state under the Shah, and developed step-by-step into a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie with growing ties to imperialism. Beheshti personally became a director of the state-controlled Islamic export-import company, one of the biggest nationalized "Islamic banks," and of the Mostazafin Foundation, a multi-billion dollar "charitable" foundation for the "dispossessed" that was formed out of the huge holdings—including extensive landholdings—of the Shah's Pahlavi Foundation. And finally, Beheshti consistently advocated brutally suppressing any popular resistance to the developing reactionary regime, whether from the Kurdish people, the revolutionary forces, the peasants or the workers' councils. □

incrimination), and more importantly would upset his continuing hopes to ride out the storm and weasel his way back into power by keeping on good terms with sections of the army and other elements in the bourgeoisie and government bureaucracies.

Further evidence of the cracking of the IRP's authority is that over the past weeks at least 1000 Pasdaran have quit. In some cases they have publicly denounced these reactionary pogroms against the masses of people and the revolutionary forces (who had over a period of time been making some headway inside Pasdaran units in countering the reactionary politics and brainwashing of their commanders). One former member of the Pasdaran wrote a very moving letter to *Haghighat* recently, explaining how he had made up his mind to quit. After going through 20 hours of questioning about his political beliefs, he had been selected from his unit several months ago to receive special "riot training" at an army base. After going to several classes, mainly dealing with techniques for suppressing the revolutionary forces, he quit, thoroughly disgusted.

As the struggle sharpens up even further, more and wider divisions are bound to open up in the reactionary armed forces, including the army which has been playing a largely behind-the-scenes political role up to now. Top army commanders have made a number of announcements recently about how they are going to show loyalty to the Islamic Republic and the motherland by pledging to launch new offensives against Iraq. This is clearly nothing but political maneuvering to build up their credentials as "true patriots" who are "above politics"—all in preparation for sending their forces against the masses, which

might not be that far off in the future. No doubt, the senior army commanders know that this may require them to pay a very high political price. For it was only three years ago that these same regular armed forces were brought out into the streets of Tehran and dozens of other cities to gun down the people. As many of these officers undoubtedly remember, they eventually lost control over large sections of "their soldiers" altogether, many of whom went over to the "enemy."

Thus, the massive fracturing of the government, the bloody measures of the IRP against any and all opposition to the consolidation of their reactionary regime, in the context of an insoluble economic crisis and the continuing dead-end war with Iraq, have once again thrown the masses into intense political turmoil and many are beginning to sense the actual possibility of bringing down the regime. The situation is heading closer to nationwide civil war as new sections of the masses are drawn into the fray.

What most marks the present situation is not the strength of reaction, but the growing degree to which things are being thrown up for grabs. There are increasing opportunities not only in the major cities, but also in the areas of the oppressed nationalities. And the countryside, where the regime has basically left intact the semi-feudal relations and in fact has acquired an increased stake in them, there is a vast reservoir of potential. All this poses challenging new opportunities for genuine revolutionaries to lead the masses in waging mass armed struggle to overthrow the IRP regime and carry forward the anti-imperialist new-democratic stage of the revolution to victory. This is a very favorable situation for the international

proletariat.

## U.S./Iran Press Blackout

These reports are all about a week old, due to the fact that no incoming calls to Iran have been able to get through for a number of days, and the systematic news blackout in force. With the breadth and intensity of the mass resistance that is developing all over the country, the Iranian government is suppressing and censoring the news with a vengeance. As for the U.S. imperialists, they are extremely uptight, to say the least. Their various news services, TV stations, newspapers and other mouthpieces are all obediently hushing things up. However, the news about Iran that has been chosen as "fit to print" is increasingly labelling the people's just and revolutionary resistance to the IRP as "acts of terrorism." Thus, in the twisted speech of U.S. imperialism, executions of 12-year-old Mojahadeen girl fighters are not "terrorism", middle of the night raids and assassinations of revolutionaries, Marxist and Moslem alike, are not "terroristic." It is even quite permissible to utilize SAVAK torturers in the prisons overflowing with revolutionaries who perfected their trade under CIA/FBI teachers under the Shah—this is termed meting out "stern Islamic punishment" in the U.S. press. Without yet *openly* embracing the IRP, the U.S. is making it very clear that it supports the sanguinary suppression of the Left, as the necessary means to restore "stability" in Iran. Thus, a recent *New York Times* column written by an "Iran expert" who gets his briefings from the State Department and CIA, concluded: "One way or another the hardliners' triumph is a necessary condition for any return to stability." □

## Underground Work in the Suburbs

D. Bracker and D. Bloomfield, B&B for short, are two guys assigned to carry out work in the suburbs. The suburbs being difficult turf for such work these days, they go about their business rather quietly, almost "underground" you might even say. Their task is to get to the local youth who are their target, their "mission" as they call it. And they have a set goal to recruit two of these youth per month. "Going zero" means failure to meet their goal; and going zero, while it certainly does happen to the best of 'em, is strictly n.g.—it doesn't put B&B in good stead with the organization.

To avoid going zero and get in with the youth they have developed tactics to make inroads into the community. "Know your community and be known in your community" is their motto.

Their tactics are real subtle—like taking their outfits to a different laundry everytime they wash, or leaving their car parked very conspicuously when they go to a restaurant. They rap with the local merchants, Nick the tailor, Pete the barber, Tony the restaurant owner and the guy who runs the bowling alley are all sympathetic. These are guys that B&B call C.I.'s or "centers of influence"—it's their lingo for someone who might help influence a potential recruit.

Mostly they hang out at electronic game parlors talking to the youth or just hanging around where the kids can see their jackets and hats—maybe get interested in joining up. They hang out at high schools, sometimes giving a short rap or just visiting a class to bring in a poster or something like that. They

always take the long route through the school to class so that more kids get to see them in their outfits. One day they brought a poster into the mechanics class—the teacher there is also a sympathizer—and created quite a little stir.

As reported by the *Chicago Tribune*, which recently ran a story on the suburban adventures of B&B, it was a poster of Goldie Hawn as "Private Benjamin." Because, you see, these two guys skulking about between Space Invaders and the high school locker room are recruiters for the U.S. Army. Their assignment is to con some nice, educated, healthy, white suburban boys and girls to sign up—potential leadership material in an army which is replete with undesirable elements (from the standpoint of the imperialists), many of whom have been compelled to join the

army for economic reasons and not out of more lofty patriotic sentiments. Yet, as the pitiful story of their "underground" work above indicates, it is not smooth sailing for these imperialist recruiters, even with suburban youth. Two recruits per month is not exactly a staggering quota for these guys. Chrissake, they've got state power behind them. Anyone who thinks *revolutionary* work is rough these days should take heart. □

### CORRECTION

In *RW* No. 110, in the article "The Genetic Effects of Nuclear War" (page 7), there is an error in Dow Woodward's testimony. The co-discoverer of the effects of X-rays on heredity in 1927 should read "Stadler" instead of "Sturdevant."

## Damián García Murder

Continued from page 8

the activities and was feeding them information.

At the time the cops had estimated the revolutionaries would arrive in Watts, the Brigade was being tailed by at least one helicopter and by Central Division patrol cars; awaiting them in the area was the command post, a PDID squad car and the South East Watch Commander Gillette who attempted to time his arrival at Nickerson Gardens to meet the May Day Brigade. A trap had been set to go off. But, apparently, when the Brigade was stopped, harassed and detained at Manchester and San Pedro, these plans fell through. While this intersection is in the South East Division territory, all 6 squad cars detaining the Brigade were from the neighboring 77th Street Division. From South East only Commander Gillette went to the intersection, taking charge and trying—according to his own report—to bring the incident to an end as quickly as possible. All this adds up to the likelihood that Gillette saw the incident at Manchester and San Pedro as interfering with what was planned for the projects. This could also explain why Preciado disgustedly summed up the incident saying, "They (the May Day Brigade) baited them (the 77th Division cops) and they bit." Not a single cop from the command post went even to check out the scene, even though this was the very demonstration they were set up to deal with! Obviously, they had other plans.

What were these plans? Another disclosure from Hayden's recent trial shed some light on this. On April 11th—the day before the trap was set—Homicide Detectives were put in

charge of all bookings, reports, etc. related to the demonstration on the 12th! The head of detectives, who gave them the assignments said it was part of their responsibility to "be prepared for whatever happened." One of these detectives tried to squirm out of this saying that while he knew about the demonstration ahead of time, and had talked to other cops about it, he had gotten no assignment in relation to it until the evening of the 12th. But he was followed to the stand by the head of detectives who *contradicted* that story. This chief pig still tried to pass it off as unimportant, however, claiming he assigned the homicide detectives because they are "the most experienced" officers. But why do you need "the most experienced" cops to be in charge of routine booking, etc.? Obviously, homicide detectives are "most experienced" at dealing with homicides.

On April 22, in the East L.A. housing project, Damián García was murdered by police agents (and, again, Hayden Fischer was seriously wounded). The circumstances of that murder bear an unmistakable resemblance to the police set up in Watts on April 12th. All along LAPD gang experts and the CRASH unit itself had been involved in the murder and coverup. A Hollenbeck Division Homicide Detective named Boozell investigated and made reports on both Damián's murder and the killing of his supposed killer, Arellano. According to another Hollenbeck Homicide Detective, both Boozell and his partner Valenzuela worked with and are "very familiar" with the East L.A. gangs. On the Coroner's Report on Arellano's death, Valenzuela is listed as

saying he "personally knows" Arellano. The other main investigators of the Arellano killing were from CRASH.

The LAPD has *extensive* gang-related operations. It's certainly possible that they used some of these operations to involve gang members in the attack. At the same time, the murders had all the markings of a trained, professional killer, and the LAPD gang relations would make it very easy for them to rig it up to look like "gang violence." In fact, CRASH (originally set up with Law Enforcement Assistance Act funding) is well set up to carry out just such an operation. CRASH is set up independently within the police department. It has its own funding, its patrol officers, detectives, investigators, secretaries and it has its own command structure. Each CRASH Bureau encompasses several separate Divisions and the orders come from Operation Central Bureau. CRASH deployment of cops, operative decisions, etc., are all coordinated centrally (even if the officers involved are assigned to specific divisions). Interestingly, the Central Bureau has jurisdiction over both the South East Division and Hollenbeck (where Damián was killed). CRASH has continued to follow RCP activities. CRASH was involved, for example, in the arrest of two RCP supporters in Watts on May Day 1981.

Throughout the lengthy course of legal proceedings against Hayden Fischer, the existence of and the nature of the command post and other police activities on April 12 were deliberately concealed. Key PDID files, that could no doubt explain much, were not turned over to the defense. Different cops

were constantly contradicting themselves and each other about their activities. All the South East Division tapes and radio calls for April 12th were mysteriously destroyed. Police fell all over themselves trying to explain how they knew ahead of time that anything was planned by the May Day Brigade for April 12th in Watts. The Watch Commander, who talked to the homicide detectives on the 11th about the expected demonstration, and gave police a briefing about the expected demonstration at 6:45 a.m. on the 12th, actually claimed repeatedly in the hearings and the trial that the first he heard about any expected demonstration was when PDID called at 9:30 a.m. on the 12th! Other officers claimed they knew about the demonstration from a leaflet announcing it. But no such leaflet ever existed, in fact, there was no demonstration as such planned and no public announcement of any kind about May Day Brigade activities on the 12th. Obviously, the police had to have gotten their information from some kind of intelligence operation, probably PDID.

The exact details of what police had set up on April 12th are locked up in police files. It could have been a dry run, an actual effort to attempt what was accomplished ten days later, or some other vile plot. People active in the Brigade at the time have informed the *RW* that Damián was with them that day. In any event, facts revealed in Hayden Fischer's trial have deepened the exposure of the concerted attack on the RCP, and in particular have shown some of the mechanisms by which the police organized the murder of Damián García. □

## TESTIMONY

Continued from page 11

porks and they outdid themselves as I was getting patched up in the hospital—talking about how well they knew me and how much trouble I had given them in the Mission, blah, blah, snort, snort. Last May Day, they threatened to kill me. I was arrested with 18 others in the Mission the week after May Day and mysteriously solely let out the same night, solely on a "mistaken arrest" story. Then, the following week, we had a march in the Mission where they arrested two or three other women on a warrant for me as they looked to grab me, but couldn't identify me amongst the other demonstrators. They told one of the women they released, whom they had mistaken for me, to tell me that I was going to be a dead rat if they got me. When I surrendered with a lawyer, on the \$1,000 warrant, the pigs said no

warrant was on their main computers but they just conveniently kept the warrant in their back pockets as they crawled the streets.

Choice statements exposing the bottomside of this great system of fear and hypocrisy have been such winners as: one pig telling us he could bust us for looking ugly on the sidewalk to show us what a communist state is like (!), and a couple of times one pig screeching that I should go for his gun if I am such a revolutionary and not distribute the paper 'cause that's just hot air, and on one arrest right before Bob Avakian's trial rally on November 18 out here, the restrictions on my own recognizance bail was that I do not agitate ("disturb the peace") near the Revolutionary Worker Center in Oakland until after November 19. They've also shown their prehistoric side often with racist originals like: "Are you one of the boat people?", "chink", "bitch", "go back to

China", and other such high IQ stuff.

It seems that people do have to be rather politically naive or blind, or both, to think all these arrests are some type of isolated criminal charges and not part of an overall program including arrests of thousands, enormous bail ransoms, beatings, the murder of Damián, and most especially, it should be seen that the leashes go all the way to the top authorities who want to get their filthy, bloody paws on our Chairman to crush this Party, and the developing prospects of revolution here and worldwide. Even in the '60s with hardly as much on the line for the imperialists, I and others got busted for demonstrating against the Vietnam War (my first profound lesson on the "freedom" of this country being like an oasis to a thirsty desert traveler.) In 1970 when I was arrested for a phony rap of assault on a pig in a demonstration protesting the invasion of Cambodia, the bail was \$1500. I was recently

arrested in the very same city agitating around opposing the US-USSR war moves, and held on \$3,000 bail for the single charge of felony resisting arrest. This took place in Berkeley, California.

In San Jose, California I was arrested at a lunch time hotdog restaurant for "littering" when the cops surrounded me and I threw bundles of the *RW* over the police lines to the people on the other side. I was taken downtown and thrown in a room, *handprinted*, polaroid pictures taken and held for an hour before they took me to Elmwood Women's Facility. (This is known Red Squad, FBI procedure). When I was taken to the holding cell, the cop put his gun on the counter (they usually put it on the shelf in a box) and told me to "go for it. Go ahead, blow me away!" Of course there wasn't a soul around.

Dolly L. Fount

# Irish

Continued from page 14

animal imports from Ireland—the very staples of the Irish economy. It was a conscious neo-colonial catch-22 initiated by the British imperialists: money from exports were desperately needed to finance industry, but exports were severely tariffed by Britain. The limited size of the home market further exacerbated the economic crisis. In 1938, the Irish government signed an extensive trade agreement with the British, the terms of which were quite favorable to the imperialists. Indeed, British dominance in the economic sphere became so great that an American firm called in to analyze Ireland's economic woes during the post-WW2 depression of the 1950s, reported Ireland's dependence so strong "as to be incompatible with the status of political sovereignty" (i.e., independence)! Today, the Republic of Ireland's economy is still thoroughly distorted and dependent upon imperialism. Both the U.S. (which is responsible for 50% of all fixed foreign investment in the Republic) and Britain (to which over 75% of all Irish trade still flows) jointly ravage the dependent Irish economy. So what developed in the south after the partitioning of Ireland was a neo-colonial form of imperialist domination with the Catholic bourgeoisie there tied increasingly economically and politically to Britain and secondarily, to other imperialists. The form of this domination, however, was different than what developed in Northern Ireland, which was still ruled directly by the British and their loyal Protestant bourgeoisie, openly subjugating the Irish Catholics in the most brutal manner.

The British imperialists were in fact very careful and very conscious in how they partitioned Ireland. The 6-counties was the most highly industrialized (for all the reasons noted earlier), and it was the most politically secure. Its large concentration of Protestants, overwhelmingly under the leadership of the Protestant bourgeoisie, saturated with the poisonous ideology of Protestant supremacy and its undying loyalty to Britain guaranteed that. The British imperialists put a lot of conscious calculation into establishing some sort of economically viable entity there. Indeed, historically, Ulster province was made up of *nine* counties and not six. And in an effort to consolidate an area that was politically secure and firmly in the hands of its allies, the British government lopped off the two southern-most counties (Cavan and Monaghan) and the county of Donegal in the northwest (see map). Thus a guaranteed majority (2:1) of Protestants was consciously set up on the 6-county side of the partition.

But, as already noted, the partitioning of Ireland hasn't changed the fundamental fact that *all* of Ireland is dominated primarily by British imperialism. And it is this reality that has provided—and provides today—for the powerful interpenetration of political events between the two regions. In 1972, when British troops massacred 13 demonstrators in Derry, protestors in the Republic burnt the British Embassy to the ground. And, so too today, the struggle in Northern Ireland is spilling over into the Republic in important ways that bode ill for the Irish bourgeoisie in the Republic and most especially for British imperialism. It was with this understanding in mind, of the tremendous impact that the two areas have upon each other, that the British enlisted the Republic's Gardai police force to conduct joint border security with its armed forces in an effort to root out anti-imperialist strongholds on both sides.

But it is hardly surprising that it is in Northern Ireland where the sharpest focus of the anti-imperialist struggle is concentrated. Indeed, the struggle in Northern Ireland is the engine pushing the entire struggle against British imperialism in Ireland forward. For it is in Northern Ireland that the trappings of the centuries old setup—not "religious" difference per se, but the oppression of the Irish people by the British, in alliance with the Protestant bourgeoisie—still remains intact.

Catholics in the urban areas of Northern Ireland are herded into ghettos unfit for habitation, while the Catholics in the rural areas along the border are consigned to eke out a living off the land. Except for the small minority who have made it into the middle classes—either through schooling, small businesses, or small landholders—the great mass of Catholics are consigned to the slag heap in Northern Ireland society. At every turn they run right into a wall of systematic oppression; for everywhere they turn they are confronted with the Orange Order. The Orange Order permeates every aspect of Northern Ireland. Its philosophy: Protestant supremacy and union with and loyalty to Britain. The Orange Order provides the reactionary ideological glue that cements intra-class unity among Protestants. Every Protestant politician (at least those that want to reach office) belongs to an Orange Order Lodge. The Order nominates directly at least a guaranteed *minimum* of 20% of the members who sit on the Ulster Unionist Council, the governing body of the Unionist Party. Local Unionist Party councils and the Orange Order decide where every house in Northern Ireland is built. This enables the Protestant rulers to perpetuate the structure of Protestant supremacy, unleashing terror and suppression in the Catholic areas, and buying the allegiance of the Protestant middle classes and the working class. It means that Catholics are pressed into places like West Belfast's Divis Flats housing project, where an average of 8 people and 23 rats jockey with each other in each of its 740 apartments!

The same situation applies with regards to employment. There are Orange Order Lodges set up along the lines of the skilled trades—Carpenters' Orange Lodge, Shipwrights' Orange Lodge, etc., etc. And of course hiring is done on the basis of religion and membership in the Orange Order. In fact, to this day, workers in the Belfast shipyards (and probably other areas of employment as well) must carry identification cards—Orange ones for the Protestants and Green ones for the Catholics. And even where companies owned and operated by foreign capitalists might have tended to break down reliance on the Orange Order for employment, two things mitigate against this. One, most of these imperialist investors pay conscious attention to "local peculiarities." And two, it is the local councils and the Order that decide where foreign factories are to be built. What this has meant in the most recent past is that while traditional textile plants, which hire Catholic women, close their doors in West Belfast and the western part of the province, electrical plants have opened in Protestant East Belfast and synthetic textile concerns have opened in the predominantly Protestant city of Carrickfergus. This, along with the systematic exclusion of Catholics from the more skilled and better paid jobs and their being pressed into unskilled and peripheral employment, has meant Catholic unemployment figures in West Belfast are over 50%. In some areas, like the Falls Road neighborhood, unemployment stands today at 60% with 25% of the eligible workforce there *never having worked a single day in their lives.*

Organized official and "unofficial" anti-Catholic terror is a constant reality in Northern Ireland in an effort to enforce the subjugation of the masses of Irish-Catholic people there. On the official side there is the British Army, its Northern Ireland auxiliary the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR), and the civil police the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). On the "unofficial" side there is a number of Protestant para-military death squads, the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) being the biggest. It is common knowledge, that in addition to official encouragement and support, the UDA's members can be found in both the RUC and in the UDR.

The UDA was formed in late 1971 by a core of petty bourgeois small shopkeepers in an attempt to stem the tide of the anti-imperialist upheavals shaking Northern Ireland at the time through sheer terror. The UDA's most notorious period was their torture and assassination campaign carried out between 1972-1975, in which nearly 200 Catholics met their deaths under a reign of random

assassinations. Political leaders of the anti-imperialist organizations, like the Provisional IRA, etc., as well as Catholics in the official government like the Social Democratic Labor Party, were assassinated. Any Protestants who associated with Catholics, or had Catholic boyfriends/girlfriends were also targeted.

While the UDA (and its front group the Ulster Freedom Fighters) do not claim formal ties to any of the Unionist political parties, it is closely linked to the Ulster Vanguard Party which was formed in 1972 by William Craig, a member of the British Parliament and a member of the Orange Order as well. The UDA is also elbow-deep in neighborhood extortion and protection rackets inside the Protestant community. Indeed, the links between official party politicians, the Orange Order, and all manner of paramilitary thugs is as vast as it is complex in Northern Ireland. Today, the UDA, the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF, a smaller, but equally, reactionary group) and a number of other splintered paramilitary organizations act as vigilantes; a political terrorist force at the beck and call (both explicitly and implicitly) of the Protestant ruling class in the service of British imperialism.

Part and parcel of this whole structure aimed at suppressing the Irish Catholics who are denied basic rights, herded into ghettos, and subject to all manner of police and paramilitary Protestant terror, is a very entrenched and blatantly propagated Protestant supremacist ideology. This ideology has the defense of British rule as a central component and holds sway among large sections of the Protestant population of all classes. For example, in the educational sphere, as well as the cultural life of Northern Ireland, this reality continues. Indeed, in the Protestant schools, Ireland, as an historical entity does not exist. In the standard text, *Britain's Heritage*, there is mention of Scotland and Wales, but none of Ireland. According to the latest syllabus, the history of Ireland begins only with the creation of Northern Ireland—but the study of this is rated optional! And, one cannot find a Protestant newspaper where some anti-Catholic slur in the form of a cartoon is not readily available. Indeed, all the foul stereotypes are regurgitated endlessly in the Protestant "funny" papers. Images of Catholics as being dirty, alcoholics, smelly, having too many kids, welfare spongers who should be exterminated, etc., etc., etc., abound. Take for example this excerpt from another venomous little ditty, popularized in that same songbook referred to earlier:

I was born under the Union Jack,  
I was born under the Union Jack,  
If guns are made for shooting,  
Then skulls are made to crack.  
You've never seen a better Taig,  
Than with a bullet in his back.

(Union Jack of course is the British flag and Taig is Protestant slang for a

Catholic—RW).

And this ideology is able to be widely propagated and accepted on the basis of maintaining large sections of the Protestant masses in a better off, privileged position. It is the defense of this privileged position and hundreds of years of Protestant supremacy that is the material basis for the widespread pro-British sentiment among the Protestants in Northern Ireland. Though there have been instances where some sections of the Protestants have broken through this and joined the Catholics in struggle against the Protestant bourgeoisie and the British (for example, during the struggles there in the '60s), and while there may certainly be breakthroughs, even significant ones, in the future (particularly among the youth) as things develop in Ireland and worldwide, this thoroughly reactionary set-up continues to have a strong hold to this day. It is because of this that the British are able to get over somewhat with their portrayals of the struggle in Northern Ireland as a "centuries old religious conflict" by pointing to the situation there today and conveniently neglecting to mention the fact that their own domination of Ireland is the foundation upon which Protestant rule and the whole Protestant supremacist structure rests. In addition, since the Protestant bourgeoisie rules as a direct instrument of Britain, all struggles by the Catholics against this and British occupation are simply portrayed as religious affairs based on some kind of ancient religious fervor on the part of the Catholic masses. The reactionary absurdity of these cheap ploys should by now be abundantly clear.

The tasks of the struggle in Ireland today, both in the North and in the South, remain to kick out Britain and other imperialists from Ireland and move forward from there. While the exact path that this struggle will take cannot be predicted and will undoubtedly be very complex, the struggle in Northern Ireland today is pushing things forward toward this goal. It is having profound political effects on the struggle in the south. And the struggle in Northern Ireland has been greatly affected itself by the recent outbreaks of struggle in Europe and national liberation struggles around the world, and in turn, has lent its strength to the international struggle against the imperialists of all stripes. In this light, the British and the imperialists generally have great cause for worry. Imperialism's hold on Ireland is being threatened and big changes on a world scale are up ahead. And all the various lies and slanders on the part of these imperial rulers directed against the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and masses of people around the world, be they in the form of calling them "criminal acts of international terrorists" or "centuries old religious conflicts", etc., are nothing more than the desperate screams of a beast doomed to extinction. □

## Meg's U.S. Trip Bagged

Britain's Royal Family has quite obviously been stung and shaken by their Prince Charles' reception at the Royal Ballet's staging of "Sleeping Beauty" in New York two weeks ago. No, no. Not by his *official* reception; nor by the quality of the performance itself. It was the exposure of British imperialism's occupation of Northern Ireland, by the thousands of demonstrators across from the recital hall and, most especially, the stunning condemnation Charles received during the ballet from demonstrators in the audience—right in the \$1,000 boxes usually reserved for "his kind" of people—that has sent the Royal Family into a rather advanced state of apoplexy.

Indeed, it was against this backdrop that, "on the advice of the government," the Queen's little sister cancelled her previously scheduled trip to the Royal Ballet's performances in Washington, D.C. Princess Margaret, readers may remember, on her 1979 trip to Chicago was quoted as grunting that "the Irish are pigs" at a dinner party with Mayor Jane Byrne.

The cancellation of the Princess' trip comes as a result of the growing exposure of British imperialism's role in Northern Ireland. It is exposure that the Royal Family is becoming quite testy about, especially coming so graphically from inside the shores of Britain's ally, the U.S. A statement issued by a member of the British Parliament, in the wake of Princess Margaret's cancellation, succinctly captures the desperate fears of Britain's rulers.

"It is regrettable that the American people have driven the British Government to give this advice to Princess Margaret. I am disappointed that she cannot go to America. However, I think she has been correctly advised. I am sure all of us would want to spare Princess Margaret from what Prince Charles had to suffer...."

Such a pity isn't it that Princes and Princesses, and imperialists of all stripes these days can't even attend the ballet without fearing encounters with "the mob" and exposure of their crimes and their rule. □

# Special 1 Month Drive to Raise Funds for the Revolutionary Worker

This is a call to all co-conspirators to raise thousands of dollars toward our main weapon against imperialism, the *Revolutionary Worker*, through a special 1-month fund drive. Many thousands of dollars from *RW* sales and regular contributions are spent each week to produce the *RW* and this will continue to expand and increase. In addition, funds are needed now beyond the regular sales of the paper, building off the tremendous advances in its distribution over the past two years, to finance operating expenses and further expand and strengthen the influence of the *RW*.

This includes:

- developing *RW* distribution in new areas of the country
- initiating new foreign language editions
- dissemination of the *RW* and revolutionary literature to prisoners
- increasing the *RW*'s ability to cover major outbreaks
- international mailings of the *RW*

Co-conspirators will come up with many creative ways and various fundraising projects. These projects in the main will not only raise money but will demonstrate the tremendous class-conscious enthusiasm for revolution and through this the influence of the *RW* will expand to include even broader numbers of revolutionary fighters. It would be very significant and deepen proletarian internationalism if: Black residents of a housing project would take on the task of raising funds toward a foreign language edition of the *RW*. . . groups of autoworkers would contribute to the Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund. . . farmworkers would see to it that the *RW* is able to reach people's hands where it has not been distributed before. There are countless possibilities and we urge all co-conspirators to get together to discuss their plans to carry out this special drive. It's in your hands. Contact your local distributors and correspond to the *RW*.

## CREATE PUBLIC OPINION . . . SEIZE POWER

Money raised through this special drive can be turned in to the *RW* in your area (see addresses below) or sent to the national address: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Please specify that it is for the fund drive.



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