



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 146 (Vol. 3, No. 44) Published weekly

March 12, 1982

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

MAY 1ST

Put The Stamp Of The International Proletariat On

NEW YORK

ATLANTA

L.A.

A Plan for Action and A Call for Volunteers

On Saturday, May 1st—with action mounting on Friday, April 30—three major citadels of U.S. Imperialism, New York, Atlanta and Los Angeles, must shake with the sights and sounds of International Workers Day. These cities must be marked with the stamp of the international proletariat for that day, as a stride toward the day in the future when they are seized and become citadels for the world proletarian revolution.

We aim to accomplish no less on May 1st, 1982. For this, the revolutionaries must achieve the most powerful possible concentration of forces so as to unleash internationalist activity that will pop and break through every kind of crack and crevice in these cities.

And so, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is issuing a call to Party members and all others willing and determined to make the necessary sacrifices to volunteer now to go to these places for the month of April, to work under the direction of the Party, to carry out all-around preparatory work, to take every possible revolutionary initiative to bring this about.

Youth, veterans, proletarians and other revolutionary activists from every city and area; immigrant proletarians and students from every country darkened by the

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Nicaragua: A Twisted View Through U.S. Spyglass

It was a classic scene and a classic scenario—in fact consciously designed to be so—as the State Department assembled the press to divulge its tightly-kept and allegedly-secret information about the Soviet and Cuban military presence in Nicaragua. Well, maybe you didn't believe the blatant and widely-exposed lies in the State Department White Paper on the subject a year ago, and maybe you were a little leery about Alexander Haig's recent claim of hard evidence of Nicaraguan

leadership of the guerrillas in El Salvador when his supposed "captured Nicaraguan military man" turned out to be a Nicaraguan student traveling from Mexico to Nicaragua via El Salvador. But surely, even the most skeptical among the loyal press corps would be convinced by Adm. Bobby Inman (the Deputy Director of the CIA) and briefing officer John T. Hughes (who gave the internal briefings during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis) presenting the latest U.S. aerial recon-

naissance of Nicaragua military installations and doing it in the same auditorium used during the Cuban missile crisis.

Inman and Hughes told the audience exactly what they were supposed to be seeing, so that they could know exactly what they were supposed to be regurgitating in the media. Good thing they did that, because the pictures weren't all that clear; save for the large display labels calling the shadowy shapes "Soviet-style" — (fill in the blank with whatever military

paraphernalia immediately comes to mind). A few great examples were, "Soviet-style physical training area" complete with soviet-style oval running track and "Soviet-style obstacle course" along with "Soviet-style barracks" to house the troops.

The next day the reason for this typically imperialist-style melodrama began to come into sharper focus with the

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International Women's Day Battle in W. Virginia

Dear RW,

On March 8, a very exciting International Women's Day program was held in Morgantown, West Virginia. The evening — sponsored by the Morgantown Women's Network — was planned to be a program of talks and discussion. As it turned out, when the program was disrupted by a group of reactionary Iranians, the whole event became a dramatic arena, making some of the most important questions facing both the women's movement and the revolutionary movement as a whole today come alive.

The Morgantown Women's Network is a group of women coming from a wide variety of outlooks — feminist, pacifist, anarchist, and Marxist-Leninist. They are women involved in health care, the ERA campaign, the El Salvador support movement, etc. It was initially pulled together by some women involved in the Women's Pentagon Action.

The IWD program itself included far-ranging and far-reaching elements. The invited speakers were: a black student from South Africa who had been in prison for political activity against apartheid, a woman from the RCP, an Iranian woman speaking on behalf of the Iranian Progressive Union from West Virginia Institute of Technology (a college in Montgomery, West Virginia, a small town east of Charleston), and a woman from Scotland who is a member of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

To understand what was behind the disruption, I have to give a little background. A little more than one week before this, the Iranian Progressive Union sponsored a program in Montgomery where someone from the Mojahedin was scheduled to speak. Members of the Hesbollah — reactionary thugs for the present regime (see accompanying article) — mobilized from over a three-state area and showed up to trash the program. The college administration canceled the program on the grounds that they "didn't have enough security." This was exactly what the Hesbollah had hoped to accomplish and is apparently part of an intensifying offensive against Iranian revolutionary students who are exposing the crimes of the Khomeini regime to the people of the world. As one of the revolutionary Iranians explained it to me, these attacks are part of an overall strategy on the part of the Iranian government (and clearly acting with the tacit approval of the U.S.) to create a "hostile" atmosphere on campuses with concentrations of Iranian students. The aim is to get campus administrations and/or local police to put a clampdown on political activity among Iranians, making it more difficult for revolutionary students to get out the truth of what's going on in Iran.

Some of these agents who came from as far away as Washington, D.C. and Michigan have been exposed as some of the Shah's ex-SAVAK agents whose skills are now being employed by Khomeini. According to the Iranian revolutionaries, most of the Hesbollah are not students and are here on diplomatic passports.

More determined than ever not to be silenced, the Iranian woman from the Iranian Progressive Union agreed to come to participate in the IWD program.

The program, which was held in a church basement coffee house, began with an introduction by a founder of the Morgantown Women's Network who turned it over to an RCP supporter who ran down a brief history of International Women's Day. She is the Network member who had initially pulled some people together to work on this particular program, as she put it, "hoping to have a truly internationalist International Women's Day."

The woman from South Africa spoke and then the woman from the RCP. Meanwhile several of the Hesbollah were drifting into the meeting room. They came in by twos and threes until there were nearly a dozen of them. Then the Iranian woman began to speak. No sooner had she begun to talk of the struggle in her own country as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, than the Hesbollah thugs began foaming at the mouth. One of them jumped up — "You're not an Iranian woman!" he ranted, trying to shout down the speaker. Waving pictures of Khomeini, another guy tried to take over the speaker's platform. An Iranian woman in the audience sprang to her feet to expose them as fascist goons, and the Hesbollah screamed that she was a "prostitute" and "lives with two men!" Then all hell broke loose. It really was chaotic. The Hesbollah screaming their putrid drivel; the revolutionaries exposing them and condemning the terror being unleashed against the people of Iran.

Some of the Americans understood who the Hesbollah were and what they represented, but a lot of them were downright confused and thought that this was some kind of "religious battle" among Iranians.

But one thing that did come through to everyone on the spot was the contempt that these Hesbollah had for this program — especially seeing women who refused to be bullied and intimidated by their disgusting slanders. "This is our International Women's Day celebration and you're not going to disrupt it," one American woman shouted, moving forward to help drive them out. Women definitely took the initiative — physically forcing them out. It was a back-and-forth scuffle. Each time they tried to force their way back inside, women and men, Iranians and Americans would move them out, one by one. We thought that we'd finally got them out when all of a sudden the one and only woman among the Hesbollah — an American woman — begged to come back into the basement, saying, "Please, my husband is still in there. Let me get him out." She then went in and got her husband who was literally whimpering in a corner, thoroughly terrified by the prospect of facing these "godless" women!

The Iranian sister took up where her speech was interrupted, but the whole atmosphere in the room had changed. Not

everyone was altogether sure what had gone down but the fight with the Hesbollah had brought home what the sister was saying about the intensifying repression in Iran and about our common struggle against imperialism.

When she finished, the discussion began and it was like water boiling over. There were dozens of questions on the floor. The fight was still confusing to many. The RCP's speech had stirred up both interest and important differences. Questions and comments were coming from all over the place.

At this point, while there was still a real charged but tentative feeling in the air, the woman from Scotland, who is with the SWP of the U.S., took her turn to speak about the "women's movement in the United Kingdom." In the middle of this struggle over the future, it was like a blast from the past. She proceeded to run down how women in the United Kingdom had made "progress" around this issue or had faced "setbacks" around that issue. All of it on the narrowest, most economist basis possible.

The "struggle" was reduced to "fighting Reaganomics." But the real capper was when she said that we have to remember how "American women are looked to for inspiration by women in

other countries" — and to make clear she was not talking about internationalist and revolutionary action in the belly of the beast, she cited the kind of example set by American women's participation in the Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C.! I couldn't believe it! It's bad enough to spread the lie that the line of Solidarity Day — which boils down to bargaining for a "fair cut" of the spoils of worldwide imperialist plunder — that *this* is the example for women. But in the context of this International Women's Day it was ridiculous. This was right on the heels of hearing about the 14-year-old girls standing up to the Khomeini regime and being executed in Iran; of hearing about the struggle of the people of southern Africa who must fight underground; and right in the room, a discussion had begun to tussle with some of the most fundamental questions of women's oppression, revolution and internationalism. She hadn't even mentioned the fight. It was like *nothing* had happened.

She stepped down and the discussion began again. Things jumped from one topic to another. Questions about the Party's line on the ERA came up and focused on: does "legal or formal" equa-

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Who Is The Party Of God?

Hesbollah — members of the "Party of God" — club and knife-wielding thugs of the Khomeini regime responsible for murder, rape and countless other crimes committed against the Iranian people. Since 1979, one of the regime's main instruments aimed at suppressing the revolutionary forces in Iran and the masses generally.

Who are these Hesbollah and where do they come from? While their leaders are reactionary mullahs close to the Islamic Republic Party, the ranks of the Hesbollah are a mix of hardened reactionaries (including ex-SAVAK agents of the Shah); lumpen and criminal elements; and intensely religious, politically backward youth (many of whom have only recently arrived in the cities from the rural areas) who are under the sway of the reactionary propaganda of the mullahs. In some of the poorest city neighborhoods and villages of Iran, Hesbollah recruiters dangle large salaries and benefits (including food cards, free clothing, and arms) in front of these youth; and this goes hand-in-hand with the poisonous line that they owe all this to Imam Khomeini and they are duty-bound to "defend Islam" against "atheistic imperialist agents" (the left) and "monafaghin" (the Mojahedin, "those who have betrayed Islam").

In Iran today, the Hesbollah are com-

monly viewed as carrying on the family tradition of "Shaman the Brainless" — a reactionary, pro-imperialist goon (and a fanatic grunting body-builder to boot) who was tapped by the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1953 to assemble (that is, to bribe) "demonstrators" demanding the overthrow of the Mossadegh government and the return of the Shah to the throne. This reactionary force of cutthroats and mercenaries was then pointed to by the U.S. imperialists as an example of the "Iranian people's support for the Shah" (how fitting!) and was used to beat down any resistance from the masses in the streets against this U.S.-backed coup.

Beginning in early 1979, any street demonstration of the left or the Mojahedin in Iran would almost invariably be attacked by phalanxes of club-wielding Hesbollah, chanting "There is only one party, the Party of God; only one leader, Ruhollah (Khomeini)." These Hesbollah had a particular role to play, for they would carry out the government's dirty work against the revolutionary forces while the regime disclaimed any responsibility for their reactionary attacks. Thus, government spokesmen would explain, "They're just ordinary, poor Moslems who love the Imam and hate these atheistic communists who are trying to overthrow the Islamic Republic..." At the

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Bob Avakian Responds to Anarchists' Letter

ANARCHISM & THE

COMMODITY

PRINCIPLE

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of Revolution magazine (issue No. 50). The first part of these excerpts (serialized in RWs 136-144) dealt with the question of the party. The current excerpt (which began in last week's issue) takes up some points about anarchism. In particular, in this excerpt and the last one Bob Avakian is responding to a letter from the "Anarchist Eclectic" which was received by the RW and originally printed in December 1980 as part of a debate around the RCP, USA's then-draft New Programme and New Constitution. This letter was reprinted with last week's excerpt. Bob Avakian's remarks are edited from a tape. Other topics from these tapes will appear in coming issues of the RW.

BA: I want to go back to this letter because I think it does concentrate a number of things about anarchism more generally. As far as the writer is concerned, no one is going to tell him what to do. In particular, no state is going to impose anything on him. But in his criticisms of the draft Programme on this point, you can see that this petty-bourgeois outlook, the individualism, swings wildly from left to right within the same letter. First of all, there's this whole thrust of opposition in the letter to the state and any kind of repressive organ, which seems very left; then all of a sudden you get to the part where he criticizes what the Programme says about prisons. He doesn't even quote the whole thing, but the Programme says basically that as the revolutionary situation fully ripens and the uprising occurs the proletariat is going to open the prison doors and, it says, "guns in hand" offer the prisoners the opportunity to take part in the revolutionary army and in the revolution. But it is very clear that there is going to be a question of leadership, a question of a line, and that there's not going to be a blanket thing where every prisoner regardless of what they think and what they've done is going to simply be handed a gun and told "go do whatever you want," as if there is no content or no leadership to this. And that's very clear in the Programme.

But what does he immediately say? "All I can say is that any motherfucker I see endangering the lives of the families of the revolutionaries, let alone the revolutionaries themselves . . ." and now here already there's "the families and the lives of the revolutionaries." The individualism begins to come through. He doesn't start off saying endangering the interests of the revolution or of the masses of people, but it's "any motherfucker that's

endangering the lives of the families of the revolutionaries, let alone the revolutionaries themselves, by releasing all the prisoners indiscriminately from their incarceration is going to find out first-hand how well Uncle Sam taught me to shoot back in 'Nam." Here we go already. He goes on and says, "I wholeheartedly support the release of political prisoners, but will fight to the death to protect my three daughters . . ." We've gone from the revolutionaries' families to the revolutionaries and now it's him and his three daughters in particular, "from the murderers, rapists and psychopaths one often finds in incarceration."

This last part could have been written by any John Bircher, frankly. The John Birch outlook is also one of the petty bourgeoisie and in that case a reactionary expression of its opposition to the status quo, that is, to the domination of big capital and in many ways the capitalist state. But obviously its political program and ideology serve imperialism and the imperialist state in which it finds itself. If you took that sentence by itself, "I will fight to the death to protect my three daughters from the murderers, rapists and psychopaths one often finds in incarceration," you wouldn't be able to tell whether it was written by an anarchist or a John Bircher. The writer is obviously setting up a straw man to knock it down here, because the Programme is not talking about "releasing the murderers, rapists and psychopaths" just randomly and "indiscriminately" as he says, to go carry out murder and rape and psychopathic acts. Where does he end up drawing this conclusion from? This is a very concentrated expression of this outlook.

Then along with these repeated things about "down with ikons, down with turning Marxism into the Catholic Church" and so on, he goes on and says, "You speak venomously of 'counterrevolutionary crimes'" (I don't know why it's wrong to speak venomously of counterrevolutionary crimes), "I'd really appreciate a set guideline as to just what you mean. Without this, crimes against the revolution could be anything from 'aiding and abetting the enemy' to 'having one ear longer than the other.' Clarify, goddamnit, clarify!" First of all there is a great deal of clarification; in particular a class content is given in the Programme to these statements, which sets the framework for when it's talking about "counterrevolutionary crimes." Because of the individualist and anarchist outlook, this author has been unable to grasp clearly the class content that sets the context for this, that gives it its content. But what is he saying here? On the one hand, the rights of the individual are going to be trampled on and people are going to get suppressed just for being different. And he asks how is this going to be decided? Where are the criteria? But just a little bit earlier in the letter, he's going to take this into his own hands, with his own armaments and his own train-

ing he's received in the bourgeois army, and decide who is a rapist, a murderer and a psychopath and therefore should be dealt with according to the methods and means that he was taught by Uncle Sam in 'Nam.

Ultimately this is an expression of what Chang Chun-chiao pointed out in 1976 when Deng Xiaoping and other rightists were making use of anarchism as one tactic in their assault on Mao and the proletarian dictatorship in China. Chang said that the anarchists say that they are opposed to the rule of a small bourgeois clique, but really they oppose either real (or pretended) bourgeois cliques in order to impose their own bourgeois clique. Or another way of expressing this outlook is "Nobody should have the right to make anybody else do anything, but if anybody gets in my way or fucks with me or my three daughters I'll blow them off the face of the earth." That's a rather sharp expression of the petty-bourgeois, individualist character of this anarchism. The outlook that comes through is that nobody should push anybody else around, but if anybody steps on my toes, then they are going to get it. And that's an important point to grasp about this outlook; even though it expresses itself in the form of rebellion against any form of state and repressive apparatus, it ultimately ends up actually reinforcing the capitalist system, ideologically as well as practically.

The Commodity Principle

Another aspect of this comes through when the letter talks about how the draft Programme says that planning cannot be left to the planners. Now the Programme is not arguing that you don't need planning or you don't need planners. Specifically what it's talking about is the struggle in the ideological and the practical realm between bourgeois methods and practices in relation to planning versus the proletarian method and practice of applying the mass line, drawing on the ideas and experiences of the masses, and concentrating them, first of all and most importantly, with the science of Marxism-Leninism in terms of one class line against another. And also, of course, this proletarian method obviously includes concentrating the masses' ideas and experiences using scientific and technical knowledge, because there are certain scientific laws and principles and certain technical laws involved in production and in running the economy. The reason I said first of all using Marxism-Leninism on a general basis is that even the scientific and technical laws have to be taken up with the outlook and be under the command of Marxism-Leninism and the proletariat's interests. So that's what the Programme is talking about. But all of a sudden, pretty much out of nowhere, comes this statement in the letter: "Some individuals have years of training behind them in planning, unification and low-level leadership. To waste this talent would be both counter-productive and counter-revolutionary in its implications." Well, no one has talked about wasting this "talent," that is, no one has denied the need for planners, in fact the Programme deals with the real question: you need experts and specialists, but this poses a very sharp contradiction which can contribute to the restoration of capitalism if it is not handled correctly. This is treated extensively and as a very important problem in the period of socialist transition to communism. And yet the way it is dealt with in this letter is as if the poor little people on the lower level management are being slighted, and as if these long years of their experience — and not even just their experience, but their "talent" — is going to be wasted. Well again, I think the class outlook of the author of this letter comes through here rather sharply. Sometimes it assumes a very radical form, but here again, its elitist outlook and elitist stand sticks out all of a sudden. This stands out even more sharply when you read what's said here in comparison to the way this contradiction is actually treated in the Programme.

Then on the other hand you get the left expression of this outlook, where there's strong objection (and again distortion) raised against the idea that the choosing of students for college will be done on the basis of politics in command. Now it's true that this can get perverted into meaning that if you are just a good flunkey for whoever the party leadership is and, as is said here in the letter, "parrot the party line," then you'll get to advance and get a career, and if you oppose that and rebel against it, you won't. That can happen. That's also a question of

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The following testimony was given on December 6, 1981 by Karen Stamm, a member of the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA) at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism. Testimony has been edited by the author for publication.

A number of years ago, I was going to a meeting of population controllers disguised as an employee of one of the organizations. When I got there I took a lot of notes and listened to what was said. The head of the United States Office for Population in the State Department made a remarkable statement. He was a doctor and an epidemiologist. He tried to explain why he was so interested in population control and he said as an epidemiologist, in his view the most challenging epidemic in the 20th Century was the epidemic of people. I thought I would start that way because some of the previous speakers referred to the Nazi idea of people as bacteria. These kinds of ideas are very much alive.

Today Native American people living on reservations are living on land that contains oil, coal, uranium and other strategic minerals that are absolutely

necessary to this government's policy of energy independence. As a result, Native peoples have been targeted for various kinds of genocidal programs and among them a sterilization program carried out through the Public Health Service, the Indian Health Service branch. Other parts of that program include child-snatching, where children are boarded out to non-Native families or sent to boarding schools where they learn cultural ways that are different from their own.

This government has a program in Puerto Rico which is probably the grandfather of all our population programs. It started back in the 1930s. It was part of the industrialization program in Puerto Rico known as "Operation Bootstrap." As part of an attempt to industrialize Puerto Rico, turning it from an agricultural island to an industrial island. It was understood that fewer people would be needed. And one of the ways to make sure that there would be not too many people to protest the fact that fewer people would be needed, was to have fewer people. Hence there was always a heavy emphasis in Puerto Rico on population control through sterilization.

Why sterilization, why not some other method? Sterilization is permanent, it

New York Tribunal Testimony U.S. Global Savagery Against Women

takes control away from women where not freely chosen. How can it be made attractive to people in certain situations where it will otherwise not be attractive at all? For instance, if there were no other method of birth control available. If abortion is not available and women are moving into the work force in huge numbers and there's no form of child-care available, they simply cannot afford to have more pregnancies. When there's very scarce medical care and sterilization is one of the few things that actually masquerades as medical care, people can be induced to accept it as a health measure, although making it available has nothing whatsoever to do with people's health. The result of the really intense program in Puerto Rico is that by 1968 over 1/3 of all Puerto Rican women of reproductive age have been sterilized.

Today in New York City the rates of sterilization among racial groups in the city are still strikingly dissimilar. A few years ago, Hispanic women were sterilized at a rate six times that of white women. Actually, it's no longer quite so true, but still there is a tremendous discrepancy.

This government gives through the State Department, huge sums of money yearly for population control programs. In 1975 for instance, this government gave over 154 million dollars for population control. We now give over 200 million dollars. One of the most so-called successful programs of course was in India. In India the government there administers the program itself with very little logistical help from the United States government. You may remember that in 1976 Indira Gandhi, under her so-called emergency, decreed the compulsory sterilization of, in this case, men. If they refused to go for sterilization after having a certain number of children, then the program made acceptance of certain kinds of public benefits contingent on sterilization. In other words, you couldn't have a job, you couldn't get housing through the government, you couldn't get food supplements, medical care, other kinds of licenses or official documents that you needed unless you agreed to this kind of sterilization program. The way the bureaucracy worked was that individual local departments of government had to meet their sterilization quota. And in order to meet that quota, men would be rounded up in municipal garbage trucks and carried off to sterilization camps, where they would be forceably sterilized and given the necessary certificate. This was put an end to by the uprising against Gandhi which got rid of her first regime in 1977. It made birth control and population control (and they are not the same thing) so totally unpopular that it is very hard today in India to enlist people at all in a population program... as a result of this kind of coercion.

This government, in response to demands of the drug manufacturers, sponsors what is called contraceptive dumping. The government will buy, where it is permitted to do so, unsafe contraceptives for instance the intra-uterine device called the Dalkon Shield. You may remember the Dalkon Shield. Many people here may have used it. It is regarded as unsafe because it causes infection. It was taken off the market in 1975 but that didn't stop its manufacturer from offering millions of these shields to the State Department, knowing they were unsafe and they were unsterilized. In other words, they had not been put through a chemical or other sterilization process. They were not packaged in a sterile way for use in the Third World after a whopping discount of 48%. The manufacturer knew it could no longer use the product here

since the FDA had taken it off the market, so it had to in order to keep up its profitability dump it overseas and of course the government was only too happy to help it do that.

We now have a controversy with Depo-Provera. Depo-Provera is a long acting female hormonal contraceptive given by injection. It is carcinogenic, without doubt. It has been given to over 5 million women in over 70 countries. It is given by the UN. It is given by population agencies that get money from the State Department. The controversy over it stems from the fact that it is banned from use in the U.S. but that does not stop its manufacturer, Upjohn, which has plants overseas (for instance in Europe) from supplying it to the same agencies that would ordinarily get it from a plant in this country. What its manufacturer is now seeking to do is to have it legalized for use in this country so the Third World nations will no longer accuse Washington of having a double standard about women's health.

One other really shocking event occurred in Guatemala. There was a new form of sterilization being studied there in which substances called Para-formaldehyde, which is a relative of formaldehyde, and a corrosive agent called Quinacrine, would be injected into the fallopian tubes of women and the tubes would then be scarred shut, as a result of the chemical scarring. In order to induce people to participate in this kind of experiment, women who had no access to medical care, who were terribly poor—they were peasants—were offered free medical care and free trips to the big city if they would agree to participate in this experiment and of course, it was not explained what this experiment was. They were sterilized by this method and to make bad worse, these women, not suffering from any disease, were then given hysterectomies—total removal of the uterus—so the experimenters could actually examine the tissues to see if the injection of the formaldehyde or quinacrine had really been successful. In other words, women's health, the health of women's families in the social sense, had been completely sacrificed to corporate greed. On the political side, there's a lot more at stake. We have been—we, the United States that is—has been in the business of doing this since the end of WW II.

It was first conceived of as a paramilitary program. It was an adjunct to this military occupation of conquered areas and perhaps the most telling example would be that we used these programs rather freely in Vietnam in the so-called strategic hamlets.

Many population control organizations have what you might call liberal propaganda. That is, they appeal to people to end hunger, misery, in the world, by instead of fighting against maldistribution of wealth and power—saying the only problem is that there are too many people and that we should therefore, in our kindness and compassion, allow people to make themselves fewer.

Most of the money and push for this has gone through, as I said, A.I.D., the Agency for International Development, which two years ago, was handled by a man by the name of Rei Ravenholt. He was the epidemiologist I spoke of in the beginning. In a secret interview with the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*—and I say secret because he didn't know he was talking to a *Dispatch* reporter—he told the truth. If I told you this, you might say "Well, it's extreme," but Ravenholt was saying this so this is from the horse's mouth and he gave four justifications for having population control programs. They are, first, the

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Murder, Frameup of Revolutionary Nationalists at Brushy Mountain Prison

On February 8, officials at the Brushy Mountain State Prison resorted to murder and terror to stem the growing tide of revolutionary Black nationalist sentiment that is rising throughout the Tennessee prison system. About 7:00 in the evening, seven white prisoners in the maximum security wing of this maximum security prison mysteriously managed to saw through the bars of their cells, squeeze through the opening and take four guards hostage. They began running down the gallery shouting, "Ku Klux Klan" and firing a .25 caliber pistol, somehow mysteriously stabbed 22 times last June 5, authorities immediately fingered three officers of Alkebu-lan, declaring that the men were seeking "revenge" against the convicted assassin of Martin Luther King, Daka Adui Dakua (Dock Walker), the association's chairman of education, Mpinduzi Aminisha (John Willie Partee), chairman of culture, and Simba Hawa (Jerome Ransom), vice-president, have all pleaded not guilty in the attack.

The February 8 murders are the culmination of a series of vicious assaults on revolutionary nationalists that began more than a year ago. The focus of this attack is the Alkebu-lan Association, which nearly all Black prisoners at Brushy Mountain relate to in some way. When Brushy Mountain's most notorious inmate, James Earl Ray, was attacked and stabbed 22 times last June 5, authorities immediately fingered three officers of Alkebu-lan, declaring that the men were seeking "revenge" against the convicted assassin of Martin Luther King, Daka Adui Dakua (Dock Walker), the association's chairman of education, Mpinduzi Aminisha (John Willie Partee), chairman of culture, and Simba Hawa (Jerome Ransom), vice-president, have all pleaded not guilty in the attack.

There are indications that Ray's stabbing was actually orchestrated from high places in the federal government. Ray's wife told the press she believed that the stabbing stemmed from her recent trip to New York to talk with a publisher about a book to reveal King's "real killer." This information could very likely implicate the FBI or other government intelligence agencies. Despite the fact that Ray himself has refused to make any statement at all about his attackers, saying he will not violate "the prison code," the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation has insisted on prosecuting this case anyway, showing their determination to frame-up these brothers.

That the recent murder of two Black prisoners and the injury of two others could have taken place without the hand-in-glove cooperation of the prison administration (to say nothing of the possible involvement of higher levels of government) defies the imagination, so Warden Herman Davis has already set out to make one lone prison guard the fall guy. Within four days of the shooting, it was

announced to the press that Guard R. L. Potter was suspected of supplying the gun to the white inmates and had resigned after flunking a lie detector test.

This feeble action failed to stop a flood of charges that the warden had been informed of the plot to kill the Black prisoners long before. A source on the prison staff told the Nashville *Tennessean* that Davis had detailed accounts of the assault from prison guards as well as from a variety of "snitches." But this is only half the story, since over the last six months Black prisoners, over protests by themselves and sometimes their lawyers, have repeatedly been set up for attack like sitting ducks by the prison administration, which has deliberately placed them in close proximity with reactionary white prisoners. This was documented by the efforts of the Southern Prison Ministry and Jinx Woods, attorney for a Black inmate who was constantly threatened by whites. Woods kept records of her constant appeals to authorities not to send Barney Conley back to Brushy Mountain where she knew his life would be endangered, but all this was ignored. Conley was stabbed by whites on February 5.

In response to this evidence of their own involvement in the murders, the authorities have taken the familiar tack of painting the whole affair as a criminal matter of "gangs" pure and simple. The press has repeatedly referred to "rival gangs" of Blacks and whites involved in the February 8 incident, and recently the director of the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation lent his official weight to this explanation. In an attempt to wrap up his "investigation" on February 17, Arzo Carson stated his belief that the white prisoners' assault on Blacks was motivated by drug dealing, not racism.

"All the defendants are whites," he said. "The fact that they passed up several Blacks and made no attempt to shoot them makes me believe it wasn't just an attempt to shoot Blacks. We haven't yet established a motive. We do believe it may be related to the activity of handling drugs within the prison. We will continue to investigate that."

But as Mr. Carson very well knows, "gang activity" was the farthest thing from the minds of the prison authorities in their frantic efforts over the last year to frame up, lock down, and set up the members of the Alkebu-lan Association for stabbings and murder. Alkebu-lan defines itself as "a cultural/political/educational organization, its purpose is to give members of this association an understanding and knowledge of self-determination, education, politics, econo-

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ATLANTA!

PROCLAMATION:

Only the People Can Close the Case of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders

The following proclamation was issued by the RCP and RCYB last week in Atlanta. It is being posted throughout the city and has met with an enthusiastic response. It has also been met with attacks from the authorities, as two people have already been arrested after distributing the proclamation at Atlanta Jr. College.

From the hallowed halls of justice in Atlanta the high and mighty who rule this country have delivered their message: Wayne Williams guilty. The nightmare is over. The good guys finally got their man. **THE CASE IS CLOSED!**

It was their best shot. Experts, fibers, and a host of witnesses. Yet millions of people know damned well that their "verdict" is a lie and a sham and that they are the ones who stand accused. As it dragged on it became clear that the disgusting, outrageous show they paraded before us for 2 months was not just a cover-up. It was in fact a perverse extension of the very murders themselves.

We have something to say to all those strutting peacocks nervously patting themselves on the back for a "job well done": Your covers are thin. In fact you have only served to show much more clearly who has been really behind these murders all along. You only arrested Wayne Williams in the first place as a desperate move to stifle the growing anger, and "prove" your ridiculous lie that there was no racism involved in the murders. His guilt or innocence has never been the issue here—you didn't have to "prove" anything because your purpose was not to solve the murders, but to shore up your blood-stained "city too busy to hate, Black Mecca" image. Your trial, just dripping with lies, phony "evidence" and endless cover-ups is an indictment of you and your holy legal system. To put it bluntly, the whole thing stinks from top to bottom. And we're not just talking about the trial.

We're talking about two years and thirty, forty, maybe more Black youth struck down. We saw all manner of crocodile tears rolling down the cheeks of every spokesman of the rulers of this country—white and Black. But actions don't lie. FIFTEEN youth were murdered before any of you even acknowledged Blacks were being systematically murdered. After the day care center at Bowen Homes exploded and not only could you no longer cover it up but your ability to "keep things under control" (meaning keep the people down) grew very thin indeed, you did go into high gear—to cool the people out and (we're not afraid to say it) even to help the murderers. The killers grew bolder, more systematic and more blatant—and swarms of cops and FBI swept up hundreds, even thousands of Black youth for "curfew violations" and hundreds more for "questioning." Racist scum the likes of J.B. Stoner were openly calling for the murder of thousands of Blacks—and everyone from psychics and newspaper editors to the FBI and Lee Brown were just positive it was a Black man doing the killing. KKK and Nazis training in the woods were touted nationwide as "survivalists"—and Blacks who armed themselves to protect Techwood Homes were "vigilantes."

This scene is all too familiar. There's nothing new about Black bodies floating in rivers. This system was literally built using the flesh of Blacks as mortar and their blood as nourishment. It's a system that cannot live without the most brutal exploitation ever known by mankind aimed at oppressed nationalities, not just in these borders but worldwide—a system that has set the world's record for the most vicious terrorism against Blacks throughout its history, whose whole putrid ideology reeks of the "superiority of the white race." And after falling all over themselves crying "there's no racism here" they have the unmitigated gall to claim that that was Wayne Williams' motive. Nothing is too low when you live in the sewer.

But there is one thing new here—the 1980s. The U.S. is wracked with crisis and those who rule must suppress those who can send them reeling. They don't just hate Black people, they are scared to death of the explosive potential of the oppressed of this country and the world, and especially the youth. They haven't forgotten—in fact they still have their nightmares of their walls rattling and searing from the flames of the rebellions of the '60s. They can deny it all they want, but that is what's behind all this madness they are openly and desperately unleashing from Buffalo to Miami to Atlanta. As if to make sure the point is crystal clear, they just extended the curfew 6 months (through the summer—get it?) after the case was "solved."

All of this is not just an outrage—it's a challenge, one that cannot be allowed to pass by. It is no longer a mystery who stands behind this, one of the most heinous crimes against Blacks since this country's origins. The widespread outrage and anger has to be galvanized and led and turned into powerful action. That's the job of everyone who's hatred for this system burns deep, and who sees in this crisis not only the ugliness of this system but the opportunity to strike a real blow at it. This is a call to take up that challenge.

DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH THIS PROCLAMATION!

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE

Jacksonville, FLA. In early March an angry crowd of 200 Blacks and whites, mostly youth, charged a demonstration led by KKK leader and FBI informer Bill Wilkinson. The troop of six hooded Klansmen scurried to the safety of the Duval County Courthouse, and the waiting arms of the cops, the county sheriffs and a Chief Circuit Court judge. Once inside, the Kluckers were immediately provided with the "protective custody of the law." His Imperial Wizard could be heard saying, "I fear for my life."

Only moments before, the Klansmen had been evicted from the same courthouse by the same judge who granted custody. In a bit of irony it turns out that the same sheriff who quickly provided his cops for protection had been the focus of the Klan's demonstration. The sheriff had recently fired one of his long-time employees, a well-known and also long-time local Klan Kleagle in an effort to shore up the cops' image a bit. But this publicity stunt was ripped to shreds along with the Klansmen's robes.



Greensboro Investigation

What Does the Justice Dept. Mean by "Any Relevant, Related Events"?

On Monday, March 8, the U.S. Justice Department officially announced that a special grand jury will be convened on March 22nd to investigate the November 3rd, 1979 Greensboro massacre, in which 5 anti-Klan demonstrators (members of the Communist Workers Party) were murdered by Klan and Nazis. The role of federal agents in the planning of the massacre, the FBI "investigation" of the CWP for three weeks immediately preceding November 3rd and the subsequent acquittal of the gunmen in November, 1980 have all revealed a stinking trail of calculated murder, from Greensboro up to the highest levels of the government.

So is the Justice Department now rushing in to set things right? Hardly. This is, after all, the same Justice Department that has been investigating the

massacre since the day it happened; the same Justice Department that declared in April, 1980 that they found no civil rights violations committed by the Greensboro police (whose admitted agent led the Klan caravan to the demonstration site and who were conveniently out to lunch when the massacres happened); and the same Justice Department who is right now defending all the federal agents and officials facing civil prosecution by the Greensboro Justice Fund for their involvement in planning, carrying out and covering up the massacre.

This special grand jury is an insidious and potentially broad attack. In announcing it, a Justice Department spokesman said it "will be a full inquiry into the events of November 3rd, the activities that led up to the violence, and any relevant, related events." There is already

one grand jury operating in North Carolina's Middle District (which includes Greensboro) and the seating of another speaks to the breadth of the investigation planned. Before bringing any charges, the grand jury has the power to subpoena witnesses and grant "immunity" to those who plead self-incrimination. Witnesses are not allowed to have an attorney present while they are questioned and if they refuse to answer any questions, they can be jailed for contempt of court for as long as the grand jury continues (up to 18 months).

Because they have been campaigning for federal prosecution of the Klan/Nazis since December, 1980, the CWP wants to paint this grand jury as a concession to public pressure. A spokeswoman for the CWP in Greensboro has announced that they will cooperate and "we will help in any process that is genuinely designed to bring to justice the people who were responsible for November 3rd." The federal government, up to its neck in the whole bloody attack, launching an effort "genuinely designed to bring justice"?? According to the same CWP spokeswoman, that is still an open question. "It will be easy to tell from the line of questioning whether it is an attempt to prosecute people responsible for victimizing innocent people or whether it is a witchhunt." In fact, they have already cooperated with the investigation that led to this grand jury. Last fall, three members of the CWP (plaintiffs in their

civil suit against numerous governmental officials and the Klan and Nazis) agreed to interviews with the Justice Department and the FBI. After those interviews, they publicly stated that the government seemed interested only in their activities and asked little or nothing about the Klan at all. At that time, the CWP refused to continue with the interviews. But now, putting all this aside, the CWP is calling for cooperation with the political police and courts, a strategy which can only be described as foolish—at best. Already, the Justice Department attorney in charge of the grand jury has stated that some CWP members have "potential criminal liability" and might be indicted "before the Grand Jury is over."

Of course, above and beyond the CWP itself, given the general impact of the massacre and trial—that in one way or another, events in Greensboro brought diverse forces into motion—the potential scope of this investigation is indeed broad. This obviously includes the RCP which was singled out in the now famous "report" of the *Institute for Southern Studies*—dubbed "The Third of November"—as "provocateurs" whose prior actions around Greensboro brought down the Klan/Nazis on the CWP. (See our exposure of this suspicious document in *RW* No. 128.)

Now it remains to be seen exactly what the Justice Department means by "a full inquiry" into "any relevant, related events." □

Murder, Frameup

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mics, and cultural consciousness." Members studied African history, the history of Black people in the U.S., and took up Mao Tsetung as well as the study of other revolutionary works. In a letter to *Arm the Spirit* newspaper, Kijana Amani, president of the association, says: "We want to let the people know that there are conscious-minded men here at this Kamp that will not be made cowards and spineless reactionaries. We believe that there must be a revolutionary change in the minds of the men in these Kamps nationwide in order not to send the criminal mentality back to society. Therefore, set out across this imperialist state in Koncentration Kamps the men of the Alkebu-lan Association are doing a job that has long been needed in this state, changing those criminal minds into revolutionary minds."

Alkebu-lan was formed in January 1979 in the midst of the tense racial situation in Brushy Mountain. Located in an isolated spot in the mountains of east Tennessee, the prison's 400 inmates are 80-85% white, the guard staff is entirely white and only one Black, a teacher, is on the warden's staff. In this atmosphere a small but active number of Kluckers flou-

rish among the guards and prisoners and have the sympathy of some of the white prisoners.

Other whites, however, began to work with Alkebu-lan, making prison officials understandably nervous. A very significant development occurred in January 1981. A meeting of the Alkebu-lan Association was attended by 30 Blacks and 30 whites to discuss problems with the prison administration. One observer from an organization which follows events in the prison said, "It was incredible to see the enthusiasm generated by this meeting." Prison officials freaked out. On January 24, all whites were banned from attending Alkebu-lan meetings. Guards trashed the association's equipment, destroying typewriters and other materials.

The prison administration began harassing Black inmate leaders by constantly shaking down their cells. Alkebu-lan was tagged as an organization "bent on the destruction of whites." Finally in mid-April white inmates Linticum, Brown and Kirk provoked a violent confrontation with Black prisoners in the pool room. These three are the vanguard of the white prisoner-reactionaries and would lead nearly every serious attack on Blacks up to and including the February 8

shooting.

As a result of the pool room incident, Black inmates Mitchell and Nichols (later killed) and Paul Hawkins (later wounded) were transferred to the Tennessee State Prison at Fort Pillow. Much to the chagrin of the authorities, some of these prisoners used this as an opportunity to spread the Alkebu-lan Association to Fort Pillow. To nip this in the bud, all were transferred back to Brushy Mountain within a month despite their protests that they would be set up for attack by the administration.

Shortly after their return, on June 3 a group of about 30 Black and white prisoners started a hunger strike to protest the administration's attempts to foment racial divisions. The stabbing of James Earl Ray occurred only two days later and was immediately seized upon as the pretext to shut down the Alkebu-lan Association completely. Kijana Amani was locked down in this cell and the three Alkebu-lan officers were charged.

A letter from a prisoner to Skip Gant, the attorney defending the three, described why they were charged. "What is it about these three brothers and who are they? All three of these brothers are dedicated strugglers in the cause of all our oppressed New Afrikan people here in amerikkka and we all have dedicated our lives to do anything necessary to free our people from amerikkka's imperialism, capi-

talism and racism. Each of the subjects have proven themselves servants of our people's especially herein by sacrificing their time and energies to elevate the consciousness of our people both herein and out there too; that is why they have been singled out as the accused perpetrators of the offense."

In early August a new strike by Black and white prisoners over restrictions in visitation policies was followed by another wave of repression. Outside visitors were banned and assaults on Black prisoners by the same whites continued. Eight Blacks were stabbed, including Hawkins and Conley, who were transferred out of Brushy Mountain again only to be returned on January 21. Less than three weeks later Conley was stabbed. The next day the seven whites went on their deadly shooting spree.

None of the whites has yet been charged with anything. They are to appear before the grand jury for indictment on March 22. Just one indication of the reactionary climate being whipped up around this case is that Bill Wilkinson, of national KKK fame, has offered to pay the legal defense of the seven. Given Wilkinson's ties with the bourgeoisie, this is a sure sign that the attention of the feds is being focused on Brushy Mountain prisoners—if they have not been involved right from the beginning. □

Global Savagery

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decline of population growth rates in poor countries will increase those nations' standard of living. That's pretty fantastic, coming from a government that makes sure that those nations do not live at a decent standard of living and would not do anything other than what it's presently doing if there were fewer people living in them. Resources divided by population equals well-being—we're trying to lower the denominator in that equation. Second, we will be in a reprehensible position unless we help these poor countries balance their births and deaths. This is an obscure reference to the fact that in order to maintain imperialist installations overseas, this government has to make it palatable or safe for its employees to go there and one of the ways that it does that is by eradicating certain tropical infectious diseases. In other words, how many people do you think you can get to go someplace that is completely malaria infested? As a business, you would be a lot more successful in bringing employees over if it

were "cleaned up." When they talk about the birth and death rate in that context, they're talking about the fact that what they've done is that they have officially lowered the death rate by an infusion of Western technology without doing all of the things that have been done in the Western nations that have led to a balance of birth and death rates. For instance, the same kinds of public health measures we enjoy, imperfect as they are, have not been introduced in many developing nations. That is, water supply, inspected food supply, etc. Third, population control is needed to maintain the normal operation of the U.S. commercial interests around the world. Without our trying to help these countries with their economic and social developments, the world would rebel against us, destroying the U.S. commercial presence. The self-interest thing is a compelling element. And fourth and last, he said continuation of the population explosion would result in the terrible socio-economic conditions abroad that revolution would result. These revolutions could be harmful to the U.S. It's interesting that in a very top branch of the United States government, people actually tell the truth to themselves.

Today, within the United States, there are many forces that are presently trying to deal with these problems, both on a

domestic and an international level. Since we are talking about the international aspect, one of the most important things that's happening is that women in this country have been realizing that we have a community of interest in terms of our health, with sisters overseas. As a result, we have realized that whatever we can do here is worthless unless we can make sure that the government and the corporations don't simply take it beyond the borders and dump it elsewhere. In order to do that, there's a tremendous campaign now to ban Depo-Provera nationally and internationally, to force the government to recall, internationally, the Dalkon Shield. What we need to do is to set up systems that are responsive to people's health, and what we will not tolerate is governments and corporations making decisions that affect our lives and health on the basis of their so-called national security needs and their dollar demands. In order to do that we have to have control over the technology that we do not now control. Until that happens we will not be able to have programs completely in our interests. We are beginning to get these issues out to people, we are beginning to make these demands. We also have joined with any other organization that is specifically opposing a population control program in its own country. During

the emergency in India, for instance, we worked with people from India living here who were very much opposed to Indira Gandhi's program. We've been working for years with people concerned with independence for Puerto Rico because the population control program in Puerto Rico is intimately tied up with Puerto Rico's colonial status, as the United States' wholly-owned colony. We've been working with Native American groups for self-determination for Native Americans against the genocidal programs against them.

We'll go on working like this until we have reproductive freedom, which means the right to decide to have children or to not have children, in our own interests, for ourselves and for our brothers and sisters everywhere.

Thank you. □

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal can be contacted by writing to: War Crimes Tribunal 339 Lafayette St. New York, New York or by calling: (212) 674-7820

1950s Nevada Tests

How the U.S. Nuked Its Troops and Why



July 6, 1957—soldiers in an open field are illuminated by the largest domestic nuclear blast in U.S. history.

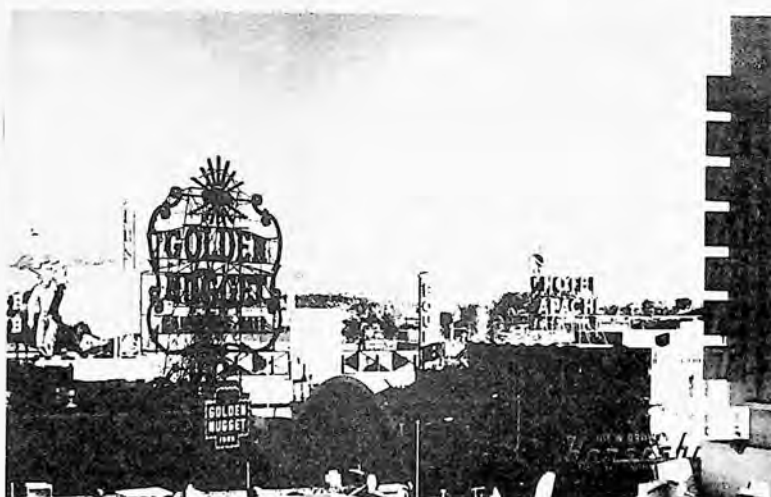
August, 1957. The 82nd Airborne troops were in position on a small hillside. "Turn and face away from the direction of the shot three to four minutes before zero and shield your eyes with your arm," came the order. The paratroopers knelt down on the open ground. Less than 3 miles away a 44-kiloton atomic bomb, three times the size of the one dropped on Hiroshima, exploded. The world around became one of incredibly bright light for about 8 seconds. Even through their closed and shielded eyes the soldiers could see their own bones as in a giant X-ray. Two shock waves and a tidal wave of debris tumbled the soldiers like bowling pins, throwing some 15 to 20 feet.

As the mushroom cloud formed overhead and vegetation burned, the battlefield came to life. Helicopters carried infantry to assault ground zero, still enveloped in thick clouds of radioactive dust. From nearby trenches soldiers attacked at rout step. Handgrenades flew and over a hundred "enemy" encampments, trucks, jeeps, mortars, small arms, artillery pieces, and tanks were captured.

As the war game ended army technicians with geiger counters ferreted out the soldiers that were "too hot," ordering them to remove their field jackets and shake them out. After a whiskbroom dusting of the boots, decontamination was complete; the troops were ready for another atomic exercise a few days later.

One potentially fatal flaw in the imperialists' plans for waging world war is the reliability of their own troops to carry out their orders. This is a key question worrying military analysts, considering that the troops face almost certain death on the "integrated battlefield" of chemical/biological/nuclear war.

Autumn Forge war games in Europe this past year focused in part on this problem. But the longstanding nature of the imperialists' concern has recently been coming to light. The source of this exposure are the "atomic veterans,"



Las Vegas hits the jackpot—atomic cloud from a test about 60 miles away towers over the Golden Nugget gambling hall.

many of whom are now dying and angrily denouncing the top military. A recent example is a former Army medic, Van R. Brandon, who broke more than 25 years of silence in early February to say that he had followed orders to prepare phony records hiding exposures of soldiers to high levels of radiation at these kinds of atomic tests. Brandon decided to risk possible treason charges after two of his seven children were born mentally retarded, two others developed arthritis, one of his grandchildren had to have her blood changed at birth and Brandon himself developed degenerative discogenic spine disease.

The U.S. conducted massive secret military exercises under actual atomic conditions involving close to 500,000 GIs from 1946 to 1962 in the Marshall Islands and in Nevada. At first, the government was mainly interested in perfecting the bomb and military hardware for the atomic battlefield. The Bikini Islands served this purpose from 1946-1951.

But by the early 1950s, Pentagon planners began to seriously worry about a problem summed up in a 1951 U.S. Military Liaison Committee memo: "The psychological implications of atomic weapons close to our own front

lines in support of ground operations are unknown." Actual troop training for "A-combat" was begun and the main U.S. testing grounds were moved from the Marshall Islands to Nevada.

The military defined its primary mission in Nevada as "troop indoctrination under nuclear conditions." The effects of tests on weapons and equipment were assigned a lower priority. The "attitudinal problem" especially was pinpointed for further study—too many GIs felt they were risking body and limb to carry out combat in an area that had been nuked a few minutes previously. This "attitude" had to be studied, computed, graphed and, hopefully, thoroughly squashed.

The military actually assembled two armies in Nevada. One, over 300,000 GIs recruited from 1951-62. The other, a small army of psychologists and other behaviorists to study the soldiers, contacted through John Hopkins and George Washington Universities as well as elsewhere.

For psychological purposes, a mock battle plan was devised. Supposedly the Russians had invaded and captured the West Coast. The troops were to launch a counterattack, beginning with a nuclear

burst, during which they would be "protected" in nearby trenches, followed by an offensive against ground zero. Researchers observed and overheard conversations of these soldiers by remote TV and listening devices. Lots of questionnaires tested the changes in attitudes. Lie detector tests assured accuracy.

The think tank boys from GWU, after long years of studying laboratory rats, thought they had the problem licked when after only a few tests, they wrote in a 1951 report: "Widespread and thorough indoctrination, careful planning, strong leadership, together with (test site) experience will result in a reasonable attitude toward the weapon. . . Remove the mystery and de-emphasize the radiation hazard and the thing is accepted in its proper proportion."

Definitely some solid advice here—solve this attitudinal problem with lots of combat training and modern public relations. And so the "Armed Forces Talk" was written and distributed to troops before they got to the Nevada testing grounds. "Maybe you have read books in which it is claimed that areas under an atomic blast will be

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On Wednesday, March 10, at the latest court proceeding in the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants in Washington, D.C., the battle lines were sharply drawn. Prior to the hearing, the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants held a "Public Speak-Out" in front of the D.C. Courthouse to protest and expose the government's railroad, particularly its recent moves to suppress the material concerning its classified "foreign intelligence" wiretaps against the defendants. The Speak-Out featured statements from, among others: faculty members of the Antioch School of Law, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, the Leonard Peltier Support Group (New York), Sue Harp (the wife of the government-murdered revolutionary prisoner Carl Harp), Dr. Manning Marable, Iranian revolutionaries, and Brother Joseph Izzo, a radical clergyman. Following the Speak-Out, the Committee and numerous supporters attended the scheduled hearing.

Opening up the proceeding, D.C. Superior Court Judge Fred Ugast announced that the entire case had been "turned on its head." According to Ugast, the defendants' attempt to "turn a matter of assault on a police officer, breaking police lines and rioting" into a political battle "is a case of the tail wagging the horse." In essence, Ugast stated that the defendants' seizing of the initiative to wage an offensive that would sharply expose the political heart of the government's attack was totally out of line. Ugast then proceeded to attempt to "order" the railroad back in line by moving to completely bury the politics of the case and to expedite the schedule of the government's "purely criminal" railroad.

In what amounted to an hour-long proceeding with a 50-minute monologue by the judge, Ugast ruled against the defendants' motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds that the government had not complied with the 1979 court order compelling them to disclose their electronic surveillance against the defendants. He also set up a detailed schedule of court proceedings over the next few months and ordered the defendants to appear in court on June 4. Ordering the defendants to appear on that date is part and parcel of the ruling class's preparations for bringing the railroad to trial, and more, is a continuation of and sharpening up of the attack on Bob Avakian, who is demanding political refugee status in France.

The hearing was originally scheduled to deal with the defendants' arguments for dismissal on the grounds involving electronic surveillance and with their arguments against the order compelling the defendants to appear. However, it was obvious from the beginning that Ugast had another agenda already planned out — an agenda whose thrust was an attempt to gut the defendants' exposure of the government's political attack. The first item on Ugast's agenda concerned the issue of electronic surveillance. Ordering the defense attorneys to "reserve their comments" until he was through, Ugast launched the ruling class's attack by announcing a whole series of vague and blanket rulings on the questions related to electronic surveillance. Although his rulings were clearly designed to cut off the political exposure of the ruling class tied up in this case, in fact, it went a long way to illustrate just how much they want to bury the exposure and how determined they are to push ahead with their railroad.

Admitting that it was obvious that the government had carried out electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian and the other defendants and that there is "a history of executive abuse in intelligence areas," Ugast went on to state that while all this "would be valid" in a civil suit, it had no place in a "criminal case." Smugly acknowledging "excellent" arguments presented in the defendants' legal brief, the judge went on to deny the defendants' motion to dismiss. Of course, in denying the motion, Ugast carefully glossed over the political arguments made by the defendants — simply reducing the entire motion to a question of the "timeliness" of the government's "complete response," that is, the government's refusal for more than two years to disclose its electronic surveillance against the defendants. According to Ugast, this blatant stonewalling by the government wasn't at all political — just an inexplicable delay. What's

A Smile On His Face, A Knife In Your Back

Judge's Performance in Mao Defendants Hearing

more, the judge even attempted to repeat his outrageous assertion that somehow the government's refusal to disclose this material — material that would play a significant role in showing how this case is part and parcel of the government's decade-long attempt to destroy the RCP and its leadership — was essentially the same thing as an alleged procedural delay by the defendants. Therefore, the defendants' motion to dismiss on the grounds of the "untimeliness" of the government's response doesn't hold water, after all, "both the defendants and the government have done the same thing."

The defendants had argued that the absurdly tiny amount of material that the government submitted as the sum total of its spying on Bob Avakian and the other defendants for more than a decade was in fact no response at all and amounted to yet another coverup maneuver by the ruling class. In exposing this, the defendants had even submitted an affidavit from a former FBI agent testifying that, based on his intimate knowledge of the dirty work of the political police and on his study of the materials in this case, the government was lying through its teeth when it claimed that the material they had turned over was all they had on the defendants. Also included in this argument was the fact that the government had conve-

niently "neglected" to search the files of a number of the various police agencies, most especially the National Security Agency — the main agency concerned with electronic surveillance.

Of course, Ugast never even bothered to comment on any of this in his carefully controlled ramblings. Instead, he ruled that the government had insufficiently responded in two areas. First, Ugast ruled that the response from the FBI was "incomplete." Naturally, the judge's objections to their response had absolutely nothing to do with any concern over the tiny amount of material that they had turned over to the court. Instead, Ugast was primarily concerned with tightening the FBI's story by making sure that they followed all the rules. Ugast's order amounted to telling the FBI to properly list the various files and indices that they had searched for information. Secondly, the judge went on to make a show out of ordering the government to search the files of other police and intelligence agencies — the Park Police and Army Intelligence. Not surprisingly, he never came close to uttering a word about the National Security Agency. In this ruling, however, Ugast added a little something extra to the pot — something obviously designed to bolster the government's charade of a "criminal trial." While the government

Flash

As we go to press, the RW has learned that on Friday, March 12, Judge Ugast, obviously feeling some heat, withdrew all but one of the rulings he had made in the previous hearing. Claiming that he "didn't understand" the questions involved and that supposedly the prosecution "misled him," Ugast withdrew his denial of the defendants' motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds that the government has failed to comply with the court order compelling them to disclose their surveillance material. He also withdrew the entire schedule he had designed to push the railroad ahead and set a new one focusing on the electronic surveillance issue, with the first major hearing date set for May 14. At the same time, however, Ugast maintained his insistence that the defendants appear in court on June 4.

As of March 12 the government has been ordered to continue and expand their search through the files of the political police, including now the National Security Agency, for surveillance against the defendants from 1968 up until the present, including even the defendants against whom charges were dropped last summer.

Statements in Support of the Mao Tsetung Defendants

On March 10th outside the D.C. Superior Court, where arguments in the Mao Tsetung Defendants case were going on, statements were read by and from a wide variety of people and organizations denouncing the continuation of the railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants and bringing to bear their experience with political surveillance and the political police. In addition to statements printed here, the court was sent statements from the Black United Front, Washington, D.C.; Attorney Leonard Weinglass; the George Mason University Community for Peace and Social Justice; and 8 professors from Antioch School of Law. A statement from the National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants was also read.

Statement from Leonard Peltier Support Group, New York

Greetings Friends, Brothers and Sisters: We send you this message of strength and encouragement in your efforts to defend your party members and supporters and expose the U.S. government's attempt in refusing to release documents

detailing the machinations the government used against the defendants. As we all know too well, the federal government has used similar tactics against other movements. It becomes very easy to use these attacks as isolated instances, especially when they are presented to the people at large. That is why it's important to have speak-outs like the one today, to illustrate and make the connection that these attacks and the suppression of evidence is commonplace in an overall offensive against freedom-loving people. We have witnessed these types of actions in the case of our brother, Leonard Peltier.

We cannot over emphasize the need to expose the court system, be they state or federal, in their complicity in railroading activists. The courts are part and parcel of the ruling circle's arsenal of weapons used against the people. We must also never make the mistake of believing the courts have handed down justice if we win a battle on that front. A victory in the court means that we were successful in mobilizing enough support from the people to expose the government's lies and corruption. We ask the Mao Defendants and their supporters to continue their

has been ordered to search the files of the Park Police and Army Intelligence, in doing so Ugast did a little "creative reinterpretation" of the 1979 court order by limiting the remaining search to just these two agencies and imposing a limited cut-off date. Now the government is only compelled to conduct a search for the time from January 1, 1979 until July 1, 1979. After all, nothing else in these files would have any "relevance" to the case at hand.

For the Government—Anything Goes!

As far as the government's attempt to suppress the classified "foreign intelligence" wiretap material and U.S. District Court Judge Smith's recent ruling stamping the material "legal" and not disclosable, Judge Ugast simply took up the ball from Smith and continued running with it. Acknowledging the federal court's decision, Ugast stated that "the government has the right to raise whatever privilege they feel is appropriate." A case in point: none of the material suppressed by the government is even legally covered by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), the "privilege" invoked by the government to cover up their spying; in fact, the material predates this law. But, of course, according to Ugast, this has nothing to do with whether or not the government has complied with the order to disclose its electronic surveillance.

Commenting further, Ugast basically stated that the government couldn't possibly be using the "foreign intelligence privilege" to cover up and suppress their political spying. According to the judge, the reason they had never even mentioned the fact that they intended to use this "privilege" until late 1981 (when the battle over this material really began to heat up) was merely the result of the fact that back in 1979 "no one knew" that the government would turn up foreign intelligence wiretaps against the defendants. Sure. No hint of this could have possibly come from the documented fact that for more than a decade the political police, in attacking the RCP, had always shown a great deal of interest in the internationalism of the party and had even investigated the possibilities of portraying the RCP as an "agent of a foreign power." Add to this the fact that in a letter to a Chicago attorney dated August of 1979 the FBI refused to answer questions about its "ongoing investigation" of the RCP on the basis of not wanting to harm or impair an investigation in "foreign intelligence or counter-intelligence areas" and the judge's plea of government ignorance is even more absurd.

In addition to essentially upholding the federal court's decision suppressing the electronic surveillance records, Ugast added his own little personal touch to the

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fight and to continue to document and expose their enemy's tricks in their war to suppress the truth. In the spirit of total resistance,

Leonard Peltier Support Group
New York

Statement by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee supports any appeal which the defendants in *United States vs. Robert Avakian* might take from the order handed down on February 23, 1982 by U.S. District Court Judge John Lewis Smith. It is the view of the Committee that to declare that it was legal to have conducted electronic surveillance prior to May 18, 1979 on the say-so of the Attorney General without first having procured a warrant is to stand the rule of constitutional law on its head. Over and over again, the United States Supreme Court has emphasized that "The mandate of the Fourth Amendment requires adherence to judicial processes and search

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Nicaragua

Continued from page 1

announcement in the form of a "leak" from "official sources" that the U.S. government has authorized paramilitary action against Nicaragua, involving a CIA-directed 500-man force drawn from the security services of Venezuela, Colombia, Chile and other Latin American countries, a 1,000-man commando force trained in Argentina, special action teams of "former" Green Berets to do demolition work and other "highly sensitive" operations—all of which is to be directed from a chain of commando camps across the border in Honduras. This is an old game for the U.S. imperialists—first the false advertising for the setup and then hit them with the "response" that will, of course, be required.

If it wasn't for the bloodiness of their intentions, the aerial-photographed circus could have been viewed almost as a clown act. In their desperation to portray a "massive Soviet military buildup" in Nicaragua, the government ringmasters proceeded to make a big deal out of two Soviet cargo helicopters! They repeated a whole host of fantasyland figures on Cuban advisors and Nicaraguan troop totals that U.S. officials have been running out to the press for the last year, apparently on the theory that the same lie piled on top of itself over and over will eventually reach the truth. It is, of course, no secret that the Soviets have given military aid including some tanks and so forth to Nicaragua and the State Department did show pictures of Soviet T-55 tanks. But apparently even one of these pictures turned out to be of a U.S. tank left over from the good old days of U.S. puppet Somoza. Good work gentlemen. And then we have the expansion of the Nicaraguan airfields described as "proof" that Soviet MiG jets are on the way. According to Nicaragua these charges are based on an original study done by a U.S. company and paid for by the U.S. Agency for International Development in 1976 and the money for the construction was borrowed from the Central American Development Bank in Honduras during the Somoza regime, just part of the nearly \$2 billion in debts to Western financial institutions built up under Somoza and carried over by the Sandinistas. This is different, say the U.S. officials; the airstrips will be longer than the ones that they designed.

Naturally these latest State Department exposures failed to show any appropriately-labelled aerial photos of U.S. military installations in Nicaragua before their butcher Somoza was overthrown nor in El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Turkey, the Philippines, Europe, Africa, etc., etc., etc. Was this an oversight? Absolutely not! Why all of those military bases all over the world are a necessary and established part of the "free world," legitimate means to defend what the U.S. has stolen fair and square. How can the U.S. intervene where it already dominates? No, it is anyone who challenges the U.S. who are the interventionists, be they the revolutionary people of these countries who are fighting for national liberation or other imperialists and their lackeys, namely the Soviets and the Cubans. And as we all know any and all opposition to the U.S. automatically is directly headed up by Moscow. Why else would anyone want to revolt against the benevolent rule of U.S. imperialism unless they were brainwashed automatons controlled by the KGB?

The funny thing is that it is absolutely no secret at all that the Soviet Union and Cuba are heavily involved in Nicaragua, especially politically, and have more than a little influence in the government. They have indeed supplied some direct military aid as well. (Interestingly the U.S. failed to mention that France is supplying Nicaragua \$15.8 million in military aid.) This is well-known and what imperialist superpower wouldn't be doing precisely this on the former turf of its rival. The U.S. quite openly does the same thing wherever possible in the reverse situation where they are trying to move in on the Soviets. Many are aware this is all part of imperialism and it's no surprise even if it arouses the greatest hatred. So ironically it can be seriously argued that these latest State Department revelations with all their outrageous imperialist logic and bellicosity actually make the Soviets look

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Dear RW

Wanted to say thanks for the free sub to your newspaper. My name was sent in by a friend here at the state pen! He's the guy that won the law suit against the officials here at the pen over your newspaper. Anyway I got a brother in the pen and a girlfriend that's in a girls detention home. I was wonderin' if they could get a free sub until they hit the streets and for sure they'll enjoy your paper as much as I do. Thanks again!

You guys really got your shit together! I'm not sure if they'll let my brother have your paper cuz he's up in a different joint but you can try it. If they don't he can always file a civil rights suit against 'em! Ha, ha.

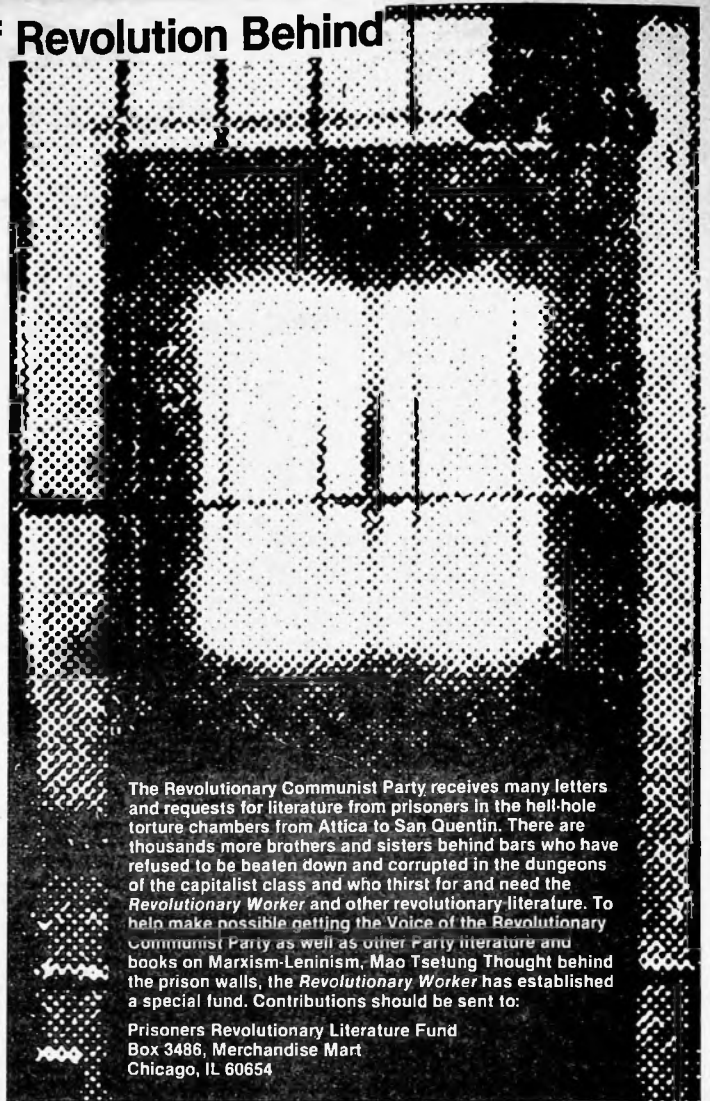
I am a mother of an inmate in the XX State Pen. I'm very interested in receiving your paper "Revolutionary Worker." I would be happy to make my donation the first week of each month, for any literature you can send. I am a Native American and very interested in what's happening inside the prisons & etc. This (prison—RW) is really something else, hard to believe what's going on inside those walls. Thanks for your time and hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

good and provides them with a huge target to attack the U.S. And this is exactly what they did, for example, issuing the following statement hot on the heels of the briefing: "There is no question as to where these dirty insinuations come from: the 'proofs' were supplied by the deputy director of the CIA Robert Inman and the deputy director of the intelligence department of the Pentagon John Hughes." The charges were termed "fantastic."

Certainly, few who have lived under the boot of U.S. imperialism will become any more fond of it by these recent revelations. People in Central America recognize the U.S. lies right and left. The fact is that the Soviet influence in Nicaragua right now is not mainly measured in the amounts of military hardware. It has a real political influence in the government and it has a certain amount of spontaneity on its side since the U.S. imperialists are so thoroughly and broadly exposed for the dogs that they are. And in actual fact, the Soviets and Cubans are stressing that the Nicaraguan leaders try to maintain their historic compromise relationship with pro-U.S. bourgeois elements at all costs and even rely mainly on U.S. economic aid right now to prop up the economy. It is true that some military preparations are being made for the future and that this historic compromise is only a means to an end which the Soviets hope is their domination of the region, but the fact is that the role of the Soviets and Cubans to date, in Central America, falls mainly in the realm of political maneuvering to take advantage of U.S. weakness and the tremendous mass opposition and struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Basically, this show-and-tell fiasco proved absolutely nothing, besides the already well-known fact that the U.S. is a bellicose and lying imperialist power that has no qualms about publicly regurgitating these lies over and over again. This much was practically admitted by the *New York Times* in both a "news analysis" article and an editorial. The *Times* admitted that there was nothing new in the accusations, and further that Secretary of State Alexander Haig's claim that the U.S. had "overwhelming and irrefutable" evidence that Nicaragua was funneling weapons to the guerrillas in El Salvador remained unproven. Nevertheless, this "exposure" was buried amid an avalanche of reproduced photographs from the event, and the complete word-for-word transcript of the spy officials' remarks—very much a part of the basic method here. And so was the announcement of covert actions. While this "exposure" undoubtedly revealed only a glimmer of the actual U.S. military activity at work in and around Nicaragua, it does constitute a prime part of legitimizing whatever further military action the U.S. takes now or in the future. The way



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

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

has got to be prepared for the heavy stuff that is in store sooner or later. This being the case, there is an implied threat implicit in all this hubbub aimed squarely at the Nicaraguan government and those opposed to the U.S. in Central America. In other words: we are clearing the way to "take whatever actions may be appropriate" so you better come to terms with us on our terms. Coincidentally the recent "peace plan" announced by Mexican President José Lopez-Portillo (which has been receiving much interest)—in its Nicaraguan component—called for the trade-off of U.S. support for paramilitary activity directed against Nicaragua in exchange for a drastic reduction in Nicaraguan military forces and weaponry. By publicly announcing that it supports such activity, the U.S. is putting this openly on the table as a big bargaining chip should such negotiations come to pass.

Topping off these threats was Alexander Haig's viciously cute reply to a reporter asking whether the U.S. was trying to "destabilize" Nicaragua in order to overthrow its government. "We never topple any government. We just want governments to live by the rules of law and peaceful change." In other words—YES!! In fact, while the words were somewhat different, the answer to this question was identical in meaning to another statement Haig gave in a recent *L.A. Times* interview. In reference to what the U.S. would tolerate in Central America, Haig was asked whether the Allende government of Chile was a "choice of free people in a free election." His answer: "There was a lot of activity and external support there, but it was rejected by due process."

As if to assure everyone that no aspect of this "due process" was being overlooked, U.S. officials were anonymously quoted the following day saying that the CIA had adopted a "millions to moderates" plan in Nicaragua—giving \$19 million to individuals and organizations within Nicaragua that are slavishly enamored of the U.S. This was put in opposition to the other covert action announcement, with U.S. officials saying that they had considered the paramilitary stuff—and that they knew about

the plans of Argentina, Venezuela and others to carry it out—but that for the U.S., the donations to "moderates" was a "less risky course." In other words, if anything goes wrong, these other guys can take the blame. But as to the countries mentioned, nothing they might do in Nicaragua could go down without U.S. approval, funding and masterminding—and this is also a fact that is well-known throughout Latin America. Basically, adding this element to the pot in the way they did was a tacit admission by U.S. officials that both operations against Nicaragua are in motion.

These latest revelations and maneuverings around Nicaragua take place with the U.S. in the midst of great difficulty and turmoil in all of Central America, especially El Salvador and now Guatemala. With the Lopez-Portillo plan and other proposals for various kinds of actions by the U.S. being heatedly tossed around and considered in U.S. think tanks and government circles, any number of tactical steps including some form of negotiations with various parties in the region could take place. As Haig said in a recent hearing, "I can assure you that President Reagan has never rejected the concept of exploring every conceivable means possible to bring about an... acceptable outcome to this crisis in the region." However, it is clear that the important thing is not really the particular tactics they employ in the short run. Anything they do only hastens or forestalls a much higher stakes battle involving increasing military action of one form or another. The deep and fundamental contradictions facing the U.S. in Central America will not disappear and cannot be maneuvered away. And very importantly the situation in the region is very closely linked to the whole world situation. Haig very clearly made these very points when he said, "This situation is global in character. There are local manifestations of global problems, the solution of which is not going to be found by the level of assistance we give to El Salvador or don't give, or of the number of American advisors." Seems that Mr. Haig is quite aware of exactly on what level the solutions to U.S. difficulties in Central America can be found. □

How the U.S. Nuked Its Troops and Why

Continued from page 7

uninhabitable for 20 years, 50 years, a century," said the handbook. "This is not true. The radiation from an atomic weapon, when burst in the air, is all gone in a minute and a half. After that time, no significant radiation exists on the ground..."

"Dust may be on your shoes, on your clothes or in your hair, so that when you come back, you too are radioactive. These low-level radiation dust particles on your clothes and shoes may be removed by brushing off the dust with an ordinary broom. If you get rid of the dust, you get rid of the radiation." Just pick yourself up, dust yourself off...

Initial atmospheric atomic tests were conducted in 1951-52 with troops dug in four miles away, advancing close to ground zero only after radiation decreased. But even as the psychological effects of these tests were tabulated, the top brass demanded still more evidence as to their troops' obedience under "more realistic" atomic warfare conditions. The commanders wrote a report in 1952 complaining about radiation exposure limits: "It was impossible to make the maneuver realistic. The usual performance requirements... were absent."

So in early 1953 these limitations were removed. The amount of radiation soldiers could be exposed to was doubled, from 3 to 6 rads. Combat units in trenches were moved from 7,000 to 3,500 yards from ground zero from which they

immediately attacked ground zero with tanks, helicopters, and handgrenades, including maneuvers requiring them to crawl under barbed wire. Several more years of tests and mountains of studies were compiled.

An experimental program was also launched for volunteer officers who wanted special glowing honors—they could crouch in trenches 2,000 yards from the blast and take a one time shot of 10 rads. In fact to the delight of their commanders, six officers volunteered in 1957 to stand *directly underneath* a nuclear blast at 18,000 feet. This was later summed up as a public relations coup as these six spoke to Rotary clubs and Elks clubs across the country assuring everyone that "all of us survived in good shape." (We do not know if this led the Elks, et al., to criticize the government for planning a nuclear war in which everyone "survives in good shape.")

Very important for troop indoctrination for the nuclear battlefield was the radiation threshold myth—that somehow there is a radiation exposure that has to be reached before ill effects occur (discounting the "ill effects" of being vaporized right off the bat, that is). From these early atomic tests up until today the military has never admitted the direct relationship between "low-level radiation" and numerous fatal diseases.

The actual so-called radiation threshold was never clearly defined—and for good reason. Its level depended on



The fate of American plastic dummies in a nuclear blast was tested in Operation Doorstep, March 17, 1953. This simulated home was 7,500 feet from ground zero.

circumstance. For example, there is the combat definition: as long as you can stand on your feet, shoot a gun, throw a handgrenade or drive a tank, you're not overexposed.

In a 1957 indoctrination lecture the Army's psychological unit expanded on this definition: "Your bodies can withstand considerably greater doses of radiation than normal background because the ef-

fects are repaired almost as rapidly as they are produced. . . . A total of 25 to 50 roentgens will produce temporary blood changes if it's received in a brief period—but it will not cause illness. Radiation sickness usually occurs somewhere in the 75 to 125 roentgen range. You know you've got radiation sickness when you get nauseous and start vomiting. But you could recover from serious radiation illness (and return to combat—RW) at doses as high as 200 roentgens if you get the proper attention. . . . All of this brings us to one critical question. How much radiation is safe? We can't say for sure what is absolutely safe, but what we do know is that you can get quite a bit of radiation without any real significant risk of danger."

In the Nevada tests the radiation threshold was set at 6 rads for the troops and 10 for volunteer officers. But the actual amount of radiation received was top secret, as revealed in Van Brandon's recent exposure. He belonged to a small, highly-elite group called the Combined Operations Nuclear Medical Evaluation Team which collected and recorded the radiation badges worn by some of the soldiers. They kept two sets of books; one to show that no one received an exposure above the approved limit, the other the actual amount. This second set of records was brought in every day in a locked briefcase attached to a man's wrist by a set of handcuffs. Access was limited to Major or above. The information remains locked in government vaults today.

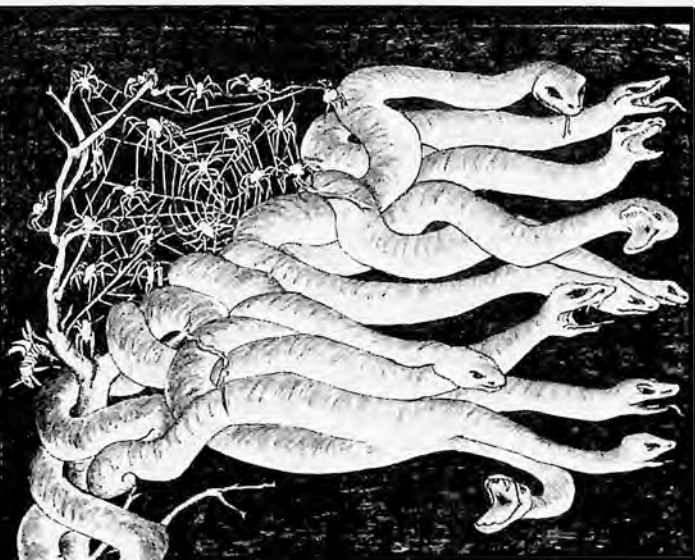
While the whole concept of a "radiation threshold" below which the troops can "safely fight" is ridiculous and has been the subject of much exposure, the government has waged a prolonged campaign to debunk such exposure, suppressing especially the scientific research into the dangers of "low-level radiation" and its links with disease and death.

But today, of course, the "attitudinal problem" of the troops when faced with exposure to "low-level radiation" is but one of a myriad of contradictions faced by the imperialists. The "threshold" of "safety" propagated on those Nevada test sites envisioned the imperialists' own safety, and events in any case are bound to prove the impossibility of that threshold. []

Reprinted From Revolution Magazine Available in pamphlet form

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On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

YOU CAN'T BEAT THE ENEMY WHILE RAISING HIS FLAG

Anarchism

Continued from page 3

line and of class struggle. But how is it treated here in the letter? He says, "The student has the inalienable right to demand, and receive, an advanced education within the limits of her or his own personal capabilities." Here again we have just the rights of the individual, and really the petty-bourgeois outlook that people should be able to go as far as their own abilities and capabilities take them. This is ultimately nothing other than the capitalist commodity principle, that all commodities ought to exchange at their equal value and whatever value they have is dependent on how much labor has gone into producing them, and there should be a fair and common standard. But that's really ultimately as far as the critique goes, especially in the economic sphere. This is closely tied in with the anarcho-syndicalist line I focused on earlier (see last week's excerpt — *RW*), the line of turning over the means of production to the workers in the individual factories; the whole petty-bourgeois, almost artisan—in this case intellectual artisan—outlook comes through.

The letter opposes the whole idea that education also has a class character, and that there is a very sharp question precisely of preventing the development of a bourgeois elite from among the intellectuals, that this will continue to be a tremendous problem because of the mental/manual labor contradiction and the overall division of labor in society, and that the question of line, class content and class struggle has got to be in the forefront and decisive in this. All this is opposed in the name of the inalienable rights of the individual to go as far as his or her abilities can carry them.

This petty-bourgeois ideology also comes out in the political sphere in a more openly bourgeois-democratic expression when the writer upholds that people should elect their leadership on the basis of the "old 'one man/one vote' concept of government." Well, we know that's a principle of bourgeois democracy, that some form of it is practiced in every bourgeois dictatorship which still has a democratic form. And that is not only "no guarantee" that the interests of the proletariat, the interests of revolution, the interests of advancing beyond class society throughout the world will be upheld, but in fact in that form it actually works *against* those interests. That form, bourgeois democracy, with its one man/one vote, is an ideological and institutional weapon of the bourgeoisie. It's one of those things that has to be ruptured with and beyond. So here again in the political sphere the petty-bourgeois radical, and ultimately bourgeois-democratic, viewpoint of the anarchists sticks through very clearly.

A little later the letter refers to how the draft *Programme* deals with the rights of the people, including referring to the point that "the bourgeoisie and their agents" and "all proven counterrevolutionaries" will not have the same rights as the people to organize demonstrations, to take part in public debates, to be represented in debate, to have their viewpoints represented in the mass media and so on (except insofar as they are used as negative examples perhaps). Commenting on this, the writer comes back to the old anarchist ideological and political stand, "Just who gets to decide who is counter-revolutionary and who is not?" Well, it's obvious from this whole thrust of this letter (giving it its best expression) he thinks every individual ought to decide, but getting it down to the nitty gritty and the real nut of it, this viewpoint is that "I am going to decide" because "I am going to decide who's a rapist, a psychopath and a murderer, and if they endanger my three daughters then I will blow them away the way Uncle Sam taught me in 'Nam.'" This is directly in opposition to the idea that the proletariat, with the leadership of its vanguard party, and ultimately through its state, has to make these determinations, and on the other hand that there is a very sharp question of class struggle and of line involved in the proletariat actually being able to do that and increasingly mastering those spheres and transforming them in its interests and in the interests of the world revolution.

Freedom and Necessity

Even if you take the best expression of his view, that every individual has to decide, still the interests of the bourgeoisie and reaction will emerge. It's like what we were talking about earlier about some of the "participatory democracy" of the early SDS meetings (see *RW* No. 137). Things don't exist in a vacuum. There are real contradictions that are asserting themselves and finding sharp expression in different ways in society, and they will set the framework. Ultimately it is the material conditions of society and of the world as a whole that will determine what are the sharpest questions that have to be taken up. These material conditions (governed by the underlying fundamental contradiction of the whole world process) will pose the general framework within which people's freedom, collectively and secondarily individually, will be grasped and developed. Freedom cannot be grasped or developed outside of all necessity. Dialectical materialism in no way denies but in fact gives correct emphasis to the importance and role of individuals and their actions, which can and do react back upon the material world and the collective in very significant ways. But nevertheless in an overall way even the choices that individuals are confronted with, what they decide to take up as well as the general effect that their actions can have, will be determined by these larger contradictions of society and the world at the given stage. In a class-divided society all these actions will not only be determined in this way but they will have a class character and react back upon these general conditions in one direction or another. Even in communist society that will still be true although actions will not have a class content;

they will have a social content and will react upon these contradictions in a reactionary way or a way that pushes things forward. No one can escape that general framework, that general truth, although they can react back upon it and change it in that way. To think that each individual can go off and simply decide for themselves what's revolutionary and counterrevolutionary just isn't materialist; of course in one sense each individual does have to make those choices, but that takes place within this larger context that I've been talking about and assumes a social content in this larger context, independently of the will of anyone. Because of this individuals will be drawn by this very process and this very reality to group together around the interests of one class or another or one social stratum or another, or at least the development of society in one direction or another. Therefore to think that somehow individuals can existentially decide what to do just doesn't measure up. First of all it's not even true that they decide existentially, in a vacuum, just out of their own internal principles, divorced from society; in fact ultimately this framework and these contradictions and conditions we're talking about are decisive even in setting the terms for the decisions they take, as well as setting ultimately the terrain upon which their actions can have influence. In this context, people do have freedom in which way they act. But even so far as that's true, still their actions do assume a class character or have a social content, and they will find themselves lining up with one kind of force or another, depending upon the content of their thoughts and actions.

Agnosticism vs. Objective Truth

It goes back to the philosophical point that there is objective truth, even though it's never completely known, never exhausted by reality itself in the sense that there's never a moment when new things don't emerge and when reality is not changing and when matter is not in motion and going through transformation. There is never such a time. And there is never such a time when man's knowledge is complete and exhausted either. Nevertheless there is objective truth; it does proceed through contradiction but it does exist and it does develop. Looking more generally than any particular stage of society, the objective of mankind is to bring their actions more and more into correspondence with objective truth in order to react most effectively or most powerfully back on objective reality and further change it. And the objective of mankind is not only to change it but also to shape it and to master it to serve their largest interests, and especially the more mankind becomes conscious, the more that a communist consciousness develops and becomes dominant in society. That question is a question of motion and development too; the more the material conditions and ideological consciousness develop, the more people are able to grasp their interests. The interests of society change and also people's ability to grasp what those interests are changes, although it proceeds through contradiction too. So there is objective truth.

This is the ideological dimension. Tying together some of the earlier criticisms that I was making of the anarchist outlook in the ideological realm, and of existentialism, what it ends up denying is precisely that there is objective truth and it is ultimately an expression of agnosticism and, yes, eclecticism. That's why it's not wrong that they say the "Anarchist Eclectic." If they had only added a word and made it the "Anarchist Eclectic Agnostics" then they would have even been more fully correct, because this is an agnostic position. Individualism is an agnostic position. It says "Who are you to say what's right and wrong?" And it will come down to saying, as this letter does, "I will decide what's right and wrong. If it has to be decided, I will decide. I will decide even with my gun that I got and learned how to use from Uncle Sam in 'Nam.'" Even though this guy is clearly opposed to the Vietnam War, still it's "I will decide even out of the point of a gun if it comes down to that — if somebody has to decide, I will decide." That's the bottom line.

First of all, this viewpoint will ultimately assume this extreme individualistic expression. But second of all, even in its better expression, if you will, it is a theory which wants to establish the idea that there is nobody who can say what's right and wrong for anybody else; this is only an expression of the theory of knowledge which says that there is no objective truth. Once you admit there is objective truth then you admit the possibility that people can be right and wrong, that is, that some people and their ideas can, in the main aspect, reflect reality correctly in its motion and development, whereas other people or ideas opposed to that reflect reality incorrectly in their principal aspect. Once you admit philosophically that there is objective truth, even if you see it in motion and development and even if you see that it's not possible to absolutely grasp all of it, then you are bound to admit that there is right and wrong, correct and incorrect. Then you also admit the possibility that some people, at any given time, grasp that truth and other people don't or are even opposed to it, and therefore one group of people has the right to say to another group of people, "These ideas are correct and you must act this way."

Now the ultimate test is not, does one group say to another, "This is right and you are wrong and therefore you must act this way." The ultimate test is, in fact, what is right and what is wrong, who is correct and incorrect. It is also true that as you move beyond the division of society into classes, you move beyond the need for one part of society — even if it is correct, in opposition to others who are incorrect — to impose a solution to disagreements by force and by coercion in the sense of a repressive apparatus. But you never eliminate the need for people to act in accordance with objective truth.

My thinking about this is that in communist society

(and as one of the things that will be necessary to get there) people who find themselves opposed to what is held to be the truth at that time in a particular context, will nevertheless carry out what is held to be truth at that point while reserving their opinions and their differences and their criticisms and finding the ways to raise them and continually struggling out the question until they are either proven right or proven wrong by the further development of things. That's what we try to do for example today in the vanguard parties. In some way or other, in a much fuller way I'm sure, a similar process will have to go on in communist society. If you are going to get to the point where you don't need a repressive apparatus to force one part of society to carry out the dominant idea at a given time, then you are going to have to get to the point where people will voluntarily unite in action without it being blind obedience and ideological enslavement. I don't exactly know how that's going to work out, but to me that's what's necessary. That's a crucial component of what's necessary to make the rupture to communism in the ideological sphere — which obviously goes together with ruptures and leaps in the material sphere, but also has a certain dialectic of its own, although ultimately it not only interpenetrates with the material but is ultimately determined by it in an overall sense. So these are some points, ideologically and politically, on the criticism of the anarchist line.

A Revolutionary — Not Conservative — Critique of Anarchism

What I'm trying to drive at through all this is what is really necessary to make a correct criticism of anarchism and of left-wing ideas — particularly left-wing opposition that, as Lenin said, arises in opposition to the sins of so-called "communism," of revisionism, of social democracy, and of betrayal of revolution in the name of "communism" or "socialism." In order to be able to divert and channel these movements toward the proletarian revolution, it is necessary to be able to make a revolutionary critique of them; that is, to analyze them from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, which is, in a qualitatively different and greater way, a thoroughly revolutionary stand and has a thoroughgoing revolutionary critique of all of society and of tradition's chains. That's absolutely essential if you are going to be able to divert and channel these tendencies toward the proletarian revolution and to be able to unite with the very positive thrust of a great deal of this anarchist trend — I think I would even say overall most of it. These anarchist tendencies have arisen precisely in opposition to the right opportunist sins and outright betrayal of the so-called communists, socialists and so on in a good part of Europe and even in the U.S. as well.

On the other hand, all that does not get away from or reduce the importance of, but precisely emphasizes, the fact that these things ultimately have a class content, and that the outlook and program of anarchism (whether it's anarcho-syndicalism or other forms of anarchism) is ultimately an expression of the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie and as a political program, while it will have many things in opposition and sometimes very radical opposition to the established imperialist order, to the bourgeois dictatorship, it also ultimately has many aspects which in the final analysis reinforce and serve that system. In order to be able to divert and channel this trend, there is both a question of uniting with the very positive thrust that it's assuming at this time, but also recognizing there is going to be a long-term struggle; at the same time there has to be sharp struggle all along the way, and especially at decisive points and over decisive questions (not so much secondary ones) against the anarchist ideology and politics, because they are an expression of interests which are different from and ultimately opposed to the proletariat's interests. Even while a basis does exist for unity against the common enemy, which is the imperialist system and the bourgeois ruling class and its dictatorship, still there is a very sharp contradiction that also has to be grasped and handled correctly. That does not lead to downgrading the possibility or the importance of uniting with this positive thrust; it lays a basis for both uniting and struggling, both in the immediate and over the long term, in a much more correct way and for actually being able to much more powerfully divert and channel these things as part of the overall stream leading to the proletarian revolution.

It's like Lenin put it, communism springs from every pore of society. Another way of saying the same thing from a slightly different angle is that the proletarian revolution is itself made up of many diverse currents and streams which have to be led by the vanguard forces toward the goal of proletarian revolution, even though many of them have currents and offshoots which go against that revolution. And that is precisely where the difficult task comes in of actually being able to give Marxist-Leninist leadership, being able to apply Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to correctly handle the dialectic of unity and struggle in order to be able to in an overall way direct these things toward the goal of proletarian revolution.

(To be continued)

Correction

In last week's excerpt, entitled, "There's Nothing More Revolutionary Than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought", the sentence that begins at the top of column 3, page 21 should read:

Well, obviously the outlook of someone who considers himself a rebel but wants a constitutional guarantee that there is going to be a role for rebels has some real limitations, even on that level.

(The following report comes to us from a 30-year, retired, Black sergeant drafted into the U.S. Army in 1941.)

As long as I can remember May Day has meant one thing to the Army, "low profile." By low profile what I mean is that as much as possible the Army tries to act like May Day is not happening. What I mean is that diversions are created to keep people on the post that day. Other events aimed at grabbing the attention of GI's are held. Once it was organizing a big band to come play.

But what really sticks out in my mind are those May Days where it was impossible for the Army to keep low profile. The May Days in Vietnam and in Germany. I was not one to actively seek out May Day and internationalism in those days (during the Vietnam War—ed.). But I remember in Vietnam how we were restricted to post on May first. We were told by the officers that if we left the compound that we would be kidnapped or murdered by the Vietnamese. But I can see they didn't want us out there because we did (even if we didn't want to) represent U.S. imperialism and possibly our presence would

MAY 1ST

Correspondence

have touched off major disturbances — so this is one of the ways I mean the Army and May Day means "low profile." I also believe the brass was very worried by what kind of influence such a day could have on our minds. I know in Germany this was the kind of thing that they were very worried about.

I just have to admit, though, it is not like GI's might not have gotten killed by the Vietnamese on May first. The majority of Vietnamese who worked inside our compound fought against us during the Tet offensive and it was kind of strange

finding the barber, the janitor, and other helpers who you worked with, now shooting you. It made you think. But it's really clear to me that our safety was not the brass's main worry on May first, fear of the people rising up in opposition to U.S. domination and their safety is what they were worried about. In short, all my 30 years in the Army, I would have to say, May Day is not the day that the Army felt or acted very strong — the most I could say I remember about their approach to May first is "low profile." □

We received the following communication from prison:

Comrades,

Myself and others read the RCP's May Day call to action in your last two editions. We must heartedly hail your call to action as a long awaited proclamation! Let all Revolutionary Peoples answer by response of action. As Spokesmen for the National Liberation Front we extend our Solidarity, and pledge that we shall be active on May 1st, the international Workers Day!!!

For the National Liberation Front
XX and XX

Stamp Of The International Proletariat

Continued from page 1

oppression of imperialism and fired by the struggle against it—all of these forces must converge on these cities with their revolutionary understanding and stand, with their experience and enthusiasm. All of this will be propelled by the understanding that—especially in a world stretched tight by the pull of the forces toward war and revolution—*anywhere* in the world where advanced forces can take this kind of internationalist offensive, it will have a profound impact *all over* the world. And these concentration points have been chosen precisely for their importance today—and tomorrow—to the world revolution. In these places especially, as the battle mounts toward May 1st, particular advanced thrusts made by sections of the masses—including breakouts from factories and schools—will be watched all over the world and will be significant precisely *because* of their advanced character.

Volunteers from other cities, including places where there are some areas of strength of the proletarian internationalist trend, can lend some of that strength to making all this happen. The San Francisco Bay Area, for example, which has been an historical center of political activity and forces, including for our Party, can not only carry May Day action forward there, but also strengthen the revolutionary forces in the focal cities where the battles are bound to be sharp.

This May First must advance on the path set out on in 1980 and developed and deepened through May Day 1981. These are times which demand—and times when a section of the masses really does yearn for—something that goes beyond the stifling see-saw of "Reaganism versus anti-Reaganism," punctures all this and strikes a way through. As we said of last year's May Day, "This was no calm affair of a 'loyal opposition.'" This was revolutionary May Day, whose very diversity of forms, unified under a common red banner, gave a picture in embryo of the armed insurrection that lies in the future."

From all this it should be clear that in these three focal cities we are calling for far more than people rolling into town, being "bodies at a

demonstration," and rolling out. Those who come in advance (and those who choose to come on May 1st itself) will be playing a crucial political role in preparing and unleashing diverse internationalist outpourings of the masses taking place on April 30 and May 1, continuing well into the night.

Neither will other places besides the focal cities be quiet on May Day. Passivity is not what is required by the conditions that are brewing today. April 30 all over should be a day of preparatory activity, with red everywhere and with debates and even breakouts developing. Many revolutionaries—including, but not limited to, those trapped behind prison bars—will find themselves in other places than the focal cities on May 1st itself. Some proletarians will have selected (and raised money for) representatives to take part in the actions in the focal cities. In this way, responsibilities for May 1st in many places will come into new hands. As is normal in revolution, "the unexpected" may occur and one or more such places may even become the high point of May Day action in the country. In such circumstances, forces on the spot should rise to the occasion and meet the challenge of leading all this forward to the maximum.

"Many deeds cry out to be done." This battle plan must not only be taken up but further deepened and developed as the weeks toward May Day unfold. Let this May Day see unprecedented leaps out of the stifling bounds of reformism and the bourgeoisie's imperialist boundaries—both physical and spiritual. As the draft call for May Day says, "Let May 1st, 1982 reveal the dream of international proletarian unity coming to life in unified actions stretching from the nations oppressed by imperialism into the very citadels of capital itself; let it politically foreshadow, if only for a day or two, and help prepare the way for, the not-too-distant days when the proletariat will liberate territory and seize power now here, now there, pushed back only to surge further forward, emancipating as much of the world as possible from the twisted chains of imperialism. Let then the May 1st sun shine everywhere on red flags of revolution, blooming like roses pushing up the concrete, unconquerable life amidst the rubble and decay of the dying."

Down With the Old Order and Fight to Bring Alive the New!

Make a Living Force of Proletarian Internationalism!

To volunteer to be selected by the Party to serve on these battlefronts, contact the address nearest you listed on page 2.

Court Rulings on Walla Walla

A "Sweeping Reform" Swept Under

On February 16 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco delivered one more in a long line of judicial attacks on prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. This court ruling serves to illustrate the essence of what has become known as the "Tanner decision." In May of 1980, U.S. District Court Judge Jack Tanner heard four days of testimony in "phase one" of a class-action lawsuit filed by prisoners at Walla Walla against the prison administration and Washington state. In his decision, Jack Tanner supposedly found the penitentiary to be "cruel and unusual punishment" and ordered what the press described as "sweeping reforms" at the prison.

Tanner's ruling — coming on the heels of a year of intense struggle by the Walla Walla prisoners, marked by two major uprisings at the prison as well as further attacks by the administration and guards — sparked widespread exposure and protests across the state. Thus a speedy hearing was held, designed to derail outraged protests on both sides of the prison walls.

The guidelines supposedly aimed at "easing of the crowding" have, in actuality, provided the basis for building two new 500-bed prisons in the state and turning over the once federal facility at McNeil Island to state control. Also, a new "Special Offenders Center" at the Monroe State Reformatory site was con-

structed to house and "treat" some of the state's more "troublesome" prisoners.

But while the Tanner decision was necessary to mask this intensification of repression under the guise of "prison reform," there were nonetheless certain problems posed by the ruling. And so the state of Washington appealed Tanner's ruling to the Circuit Court. On Feb. 16, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco finally ruled on this appeal, stating that in Judge Tanner's decision, "the District Court went too far," and adding, "the 8th Amendment (of the U.S. Constitution, against 'cruel and unusual punishment') is not the basis for broad prison reform." Of course, the Tanner ruling was broad only in the smokescreen it attempted to provide the prison administration. But among the problems posed was the fact that Tanner's decision set targets for lowering prison population. Not only were the targets not met but the prison population is actually higher now than when Tanner's decision was issued. The position of "special master," created by Tanner to supposedly oversee the implementation of the order, has been abolished by the Ninth Circuit ruling and, significantly, the Appeals Court specifically reversed a section of the Tanner decision which ordered the prison administration not to retaliate against the prisoners who filed the lawsuit. Now the whole case goes

back to Tanner for a thorough going-over and a new ruling. Obviously the "letter of the law" has to be brought into line with the "spirit of the law"!

Meanwhile, the U.S. District Court for eastern Washington in Spokane had begun the first hearing on the second phase of the prisoners' lawsuit. Tanner's original ruling dealt only with ordering changes in the prison itself, while this second phase will deal with prisoners' claims for monetary damages stemming from the "cruel and unusual punishment" meted out to them. This hearing centered on the most notorious, brutal and well documented of the prisoners' claims. The claims stem from the night of July 8, 1979, when a gang of guards, called the Prison Tactical Squad, charged onto a tier of the prison's segregation unit. Some prisoners, supporting a rebellion in another wing of the prison the previous night, were tearing up their cells. The guards went methodically from prisoner to prisoner in their one-man cells, mercilessly beating them with clubs and lead-lined gloves. Some were dragged by their hair, rammed into walls, knocked to the ground and kicked. Some were worked over on their bunks, then chained to their cells and beaten again. Carl Harp, the revolutionary murdered by prison authorities last September, yelled at the guards in protest at the beatings. Carl was then

tortured in a similar manner, held down on his bunk while a guard shoved a nightstick up his rectum.

Prisoners' testimony to this calculated assault was voluminous, including two tapes of the incident made by other prisoners, photographs of the injuries incurred and testimony given by Carl Harp before his murder. A doctor from the Walla Walla hospital who treated Carl testified that he had an inch-long tear from the anal rape by guards. The attorneys for the state claimed that Carl injured himself, despite the fact that Carl was in restraints at the time, and that he supposedly raped himself in order to have something to pin on the administration!

The hearing also served to show that Associate Superintendent Larry Kincheloe was the one who ordered the tactical squad into the segregation unit and that he was in phone contact with the prison superintendent, James Spalding, during the whole time. The guards who testified indicated that the entire operation took place under the orders of the prison administration.

Twenty-four hours after the close of this hearing, the jury returned a verdict in favor of the prison administration. This amply demonstrated that the outcome of the second phase of the prisoners' lawsuit will be like that of the first. □

Support

Continued from page 9

ches conducted outside the judicial process without prior approval by judge or magistrate are *pro se* unreasonable under the Fourth Amendment." *Katz United States*, 389 U.S. 347, 357 (1967). This is especially true with respect to surveillance conducted by electronic means, for as the court has further recognized, "Few threats to liberty exist which are greater than that posed by the use of eavesdropping devices." *Berger v. New York*, 388 U.S. 41, 63 (1967). By removing the protective mantle of the Constitution, the ruling of the U.S. District Court exposes the American people to this greater of all dangers.

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee further believes that it is hypocritical in the extreme for the present Administration to espouse a "new Federalism" while it is at one and the same time asking the "Federal" judiciary to interfere in state court proceedings by entering the order of February 23, 1982. The U.S. District Court has accepted the government's invitation to do just this. It has also accepted the government's invitation to rewrite a statute of Congress so as to authorize the interference. Although this is a clear example of the kind of "judicial activism" which the government has denounced, the Administration is strangely silent on this occasion.

Even in the face of these facts, the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee remains confident that the proper respect for the Constitution will prevail on appeal and the ruling will be reversed.

Statement by Dr. Manning Marable, African Studies Dept., Cornell Univ.

The crisis in American capitalism has produced a growing degree of authoritarianism by the state against all progressive forces and oppressed people. The laws, designed theoretically to protect civil liberties, have been twisted to buttress the repressive forces of proto-fascism. The recent trial in Albany, New York, of two members of the CWP on virtually no substantial evidence is one indication of the great lengths that the FBI and local authorities will go to smash any and every political agency of change. Certainly this is even more evident in the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Justice can only be served by opening the surveillance information to the defendants in open court. If this is not done at once then the charges must be dismissed. The Mao Tsetung Defendants have been targeted, along with other progressives, because they represent the fundamental forces of liberation in this country. We demand political justice for the Mao Tsetung Defendants by any means necessary.

Press Statement of the National Lawyers Guild.

The National Lawyers Guild president, Michael Ratner, criticized sharply the government's use of electronic surveillance in the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, *United States vs. Robert Avakian, et al.*

The prosecution of the defendants arises out of an anti-Teng Hsiao-ping demonstration in 1979.

All 11 have been charged as principals in the commission of an assault or aiding and abetting in an assault against police who patrolled the demonstration.

Recently, after the government refused for three years to produce documents obtained by electronic surveillance requested by defendants in pre-trial discovery, Judge John Lewis Smith, Federal District Court for the District of Columbia, ruled that the warrantless information seized by electronic surveillance of Bob Avakian and other Revolutionary Communist Party members was legal for reasons of "national security".

Ratner questioned the prosecution's contention that the case is purely a criminal matter. "The fact that the government first claims no surveillance existed, then admitted its existence but then called it 'unimportant' supports the conclusion that the foundation of the case is one of political harassment; curious also is the Attorney General's contention that the material is 'too im-

portant to release'."

Ratner went on to question the government's invocation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to shield wiretaps despite the fact that the taps predated FISA.

On behalf of the Guild, Ratner called on the government to release all information gained through electronic surveillance of the defendants.

Statement by Susan Harp, wife of Carl Harp, murdered in Walla Walla prison on September 5, 1981

The government's refusal to turn over surveillance materials on the RCP is another blatant attack on anyone who dares speak out against the government or whomever the government supports.

This surveillance material is needed by the defendants to defend themselves properly. Access to any so-called evidence has been denied.

I believe fascism is alive and well and getting worse every day. We have seen new surveillance, harassment and arrests of Black Nationalists, tying them into everything, even where later the government is forced to let them go where they cannot make the charges stick.

Today is Carl's birthday. If he had been a passive slave in the prison system he would still be alive. But because he chose to speak his mind and expose the corruption, he was murdered, thus silenced.

Unless people become aware, we will find ourselves with a large fence built around the United States and we'll all be living in one big prison.

The case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants is proof of how frightened the government is of organizations of people voicing their opinion. Any such group of any strength or backing will find themselves harassed or jailed.

Today over 300,000 people are in the prison system. The government tells us that unemployment leads to crime. Yet the government is the sponsor of unemployment and its solution is to build more jails and prisons.

The issue in this case is not over any so-called crimes. This case is a power play by the government to squeeze out the RCP because of its outspoken opposition to a government which hopes to keep people beaten down so they won't question why they have to struggle just to survive.

For Bob Avakian to demand political refugee status in France only shows how much "democracy" there really is in this country. Drop all the charges.

March 8, 1982

Sue Harp
Wife of Carl Harp

Statement by the Union of Iranian Students, Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the Union of Iranian Students we condemn the repression of the RCP revolutionaries by the U.S. government and we demand that all charges be dropped against Bob Avakian and others who have been charged with so-called terrorism activity.

The Union of Iranian Students
Washington, D.C.,
supporters of the
Organization of PEYKAR
(Struggle) in the Path to
Emancipate the Working Class.

Statement by Brother Joseph Izzo, C.F.X.

At a time when U.S. Foreign Policy is directed toward the repression of human rights and the self-determination of peoples in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, South Africa, and the Philippines, we find a similar pattern of repression here at home. The case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is a classical illustration of the government's attempt to crush dissension and to support the patriarchal power privilege of the ruling class.

The Reagan administration seems intent on increasing secrecy and spying upon U.S. citizens by the FBI and CIA while invoking national security as a cover-up of their own desires for more dictatorial rule. Ronald Reagan's love affair with the 1950s is bringing this country dangerously close to the fascist mentality of the Joe McCarthy era.

As a member of a Catholic Social Justice Center, I call upon my sisters and brothers in the churches to recognize the underlying issues at stake in the Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants case. We are *not* talking here about dangerous terrorists although the RCP supports proletarian revolution. We *are* talking about the repression of free speech and assembly and the distortion of our constitutional democracy by the patriarchal elite in this country. This case deserves the support of all who care about the protection of human rights.

Brother Joseph Izzo, C.F.X.

Statement by Tom Parson, Research Associate, Coalition on Government Spying

I am writing at the request of Attorney Bruce Bentley, who has asked that I make a statement regarding my knowledge of police surveillance and activities relating to the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). I am familiar with this issue since I worked for several years as a Research Associate for the Coalition on Government Spying. The Coalition is a Seattle organization representing the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Friends Service Committee, and the National Lawyers Guild. The Coalition joined with 41 other plaintiffs in a public disclosure lawsuit in 1977 which succeeded in opening the Seattle Police Department's intelligence files for the first time. The Coalition also was instrumental in getting the Seattle City Council to pass an ordinance prohibiting the collection of political files by the Seattle police.

As a Research Associate, I have had the opportunity to examine and study countless documents regarding political surveillance conducted by local, state, and federal police agencies. The most abusive kinds of governmental action had been well documented and described in numerous excellent books on the subject. The overall pattern of government harassment directed against political groups is also accurately described in the "Memorandum Summarizing Past Efforts of the FBI and Other Law Enforcement Agencies to Harass, Disrupt and Destroy the Revolutionary Communist Party," submitted to the Superior Court of the District of Columbia on November 4, 1981.

My examination of documents released by the Seattle Police Department as a result of our disclosure lawsuit leads me to believe that police interest in the RCP's political activities has been nationwide and ongoing, long after the police proclaimed an end to political surveillance. In Seattle, the police admitted having collected improper political files during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1974 they apparently purged such materials from their files, and claimed to have ended the practice. However, the records obtained in our lawsuit showed that the police in fact continued to collect a great deal of information about political activities of groups and individuals, unrelated to any criminal investigation.

In a document dated August 2, 1977, for example, a Seattle police informant describes a meeting of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association. Of special interest to the informant was participation in the meeting of members of the RCP and another political party. The political differences between these parties and factions is described. The informant also shows an interest in "shoving matches" which supposedly took place. The meeting also included an election for the position of National Steering Committee, and the informant further describes having dined and met with the leaders of one of the groups in both Seattle and Chicago.

The details and interests demonstrated in this document are remarkably similar to those described in the above-mentioned "Memorandum." As recently as 1977 in Seattle, the police were collecting information exactly parallel to information used by the FBI and local police elsewhere to disrupt and discredit the RCP. The FBI's Counter-intelligence Program repeatedly exploited exactly this kind of factional dispute between groups; FBI informants in many instances nationwide sought to get close to the leadership of various political groups, involve themselves in internal leadership elections and struggles, and then use their

position and inside information to disrupt the political activities of the people involved. While the Seattle document does not clarify how the information was used locally in this case, it represents the same kind of interests focused on elsewhere.

Other 1976 documents from the Seattle police also show patterns similar to those described from Chicago police files in the "Memorandum." RCP members' residences and car registrations were checked through police computers, apparently as a result of having parked cars near their homes, possibly due to a meeting being watched by police.

Continued Seattle police interest in the RCP has been documented as recently as May 1981, despite Seattle's police intelligence ordinance which prohibits the collection of political information unrelated to a crime. The details of this continued surveillance are described in the attached "Outline of Materials Open to Public Inspection," dated June 24, 1981. In essence, these most recent documents indicate that the Seattle police continue to collect flyers and newspaper clippings about the political views and activities of the RCP, even including such things as a flyer on a dance benefit, and a newspaper subscription drive. Most of the information collected has no relation to any legitimate police concern. This kind of information is still a part of local police files in Seattle.

Tom Parson

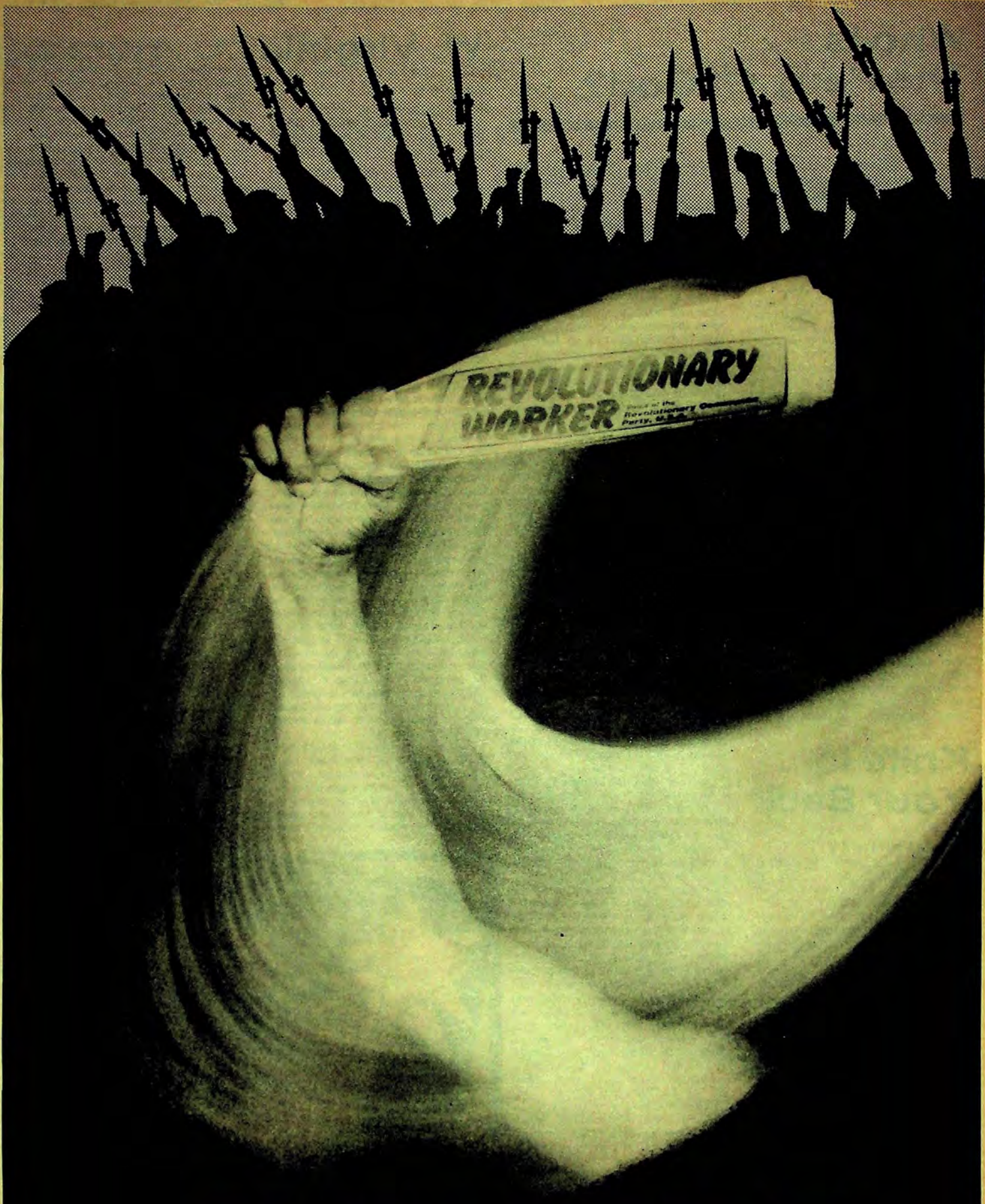
Knife In Your Back

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cover-up. Proudly citing his experience as the judge in the Tabatabai murder trial, an outrageous attack on Black Muslim activists (see *RW* No. 144), Ugast announced that the only question remaining to be resolved in connection with both the classified and unclassified surveillance material was "relevancy." Of course, he also made it quite clear that "relevancy" in this case is simply a question of whether or not the material directly relates to the supposed question: "Did or didn't the defendants hit a cop?" (or "aid and abet" — whatever the government wants that to mean). And although he stated that he would make this decision around April 7, in fact, he very quickly made the position of the ruling class on this question absolutely clear. "I understand your theory . . . but I think the material is of doubtful relevance and until I'm shown to be wrong, I'm ruling against a broader spectrum to the case." Not surprisingly, in speaking to this relevancy question Ugast conveniently forgot to even mention the fact that one of the government's foreign intelligence wiretaps was in fact authorized on January 29, 1979 — the very same day of the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping and the subsequent police attack on it. How *obviously* irrelevant!

Following along the same basic line of attempting to suppress all of the politics in the case and push the railroad full steam ahead, Ugast also used the hearing to speak "off the cuff" — and totally off the supposed subject of the day — to the issue of a pre-trial hearing on a motion to dismiss the indictment on the grounds of selective prosecution. (This is the same hearing that the government filed a motion last fall to prevent.) The defendants were ordered to present to Ugast the evidence that they plan to use in this hearing by May 3. Supposedly on the basis of this presentation the judge will then decide whether to hold the hearing. This decision will be made on June 4, and at the same time, Ugast will also rule in a very sweeping way on all of the remaining grounds of the defendants' motion to dismiss. Of course, the electronic surveillance material, which Ugast and the other legal henchmen for the ruling class are attempting to suppress and rule "irrelevant," would be a key part of the evidence presented in this hearing, since it will help to document the ruling class's overall political attack on the Party. With this in mind, it is not too hard to guess what the decision on this hearing will be. In fact, Ugast himself provided a powerful hint to this effect, as well as an expo-

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