



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Hostage Ploy Loses Steam

# Imperialism Plays New War Games with Vietnam Vets

U.S. imperialism's got a problem. A whole lot of people are sick of their hostages. So...how about subjecting Vietnam vets to "national honor"?

ABC News Nightline, February 3: "America's welcome home of the hostages stands in marked contrast to the welcome that awaited most of the 3

million or so Americans who returned over a period of years from Vietnam...now, many of those veterans have been reminded yet again of the welcome that they did not get." Four days earlier, an American Legion-endorsed Vietnam veterans' demonstration gets lots of publicity for demanding recognition of the service they had contributed to the country. And then there are the newspaper editorials "questioning" whether the hostages are real heroes, or is it those who served in Vietnam (though, of course, it is carefully added that *all* deserve the nation's honor).

So what does this careful chorus of publicity prove? New-found concern for the plight of vets? You kidding? It just proves once again that there is nothing too cynical, too low, too underhanded for the politically pre-recorded media in this country in the bloody service of future U.S. imperialist war plans. Another shoddy attempt to prettify their Vietnam war in the name of "honoring" those who they press-ganged to fight, die and be maimed in their glorious imperialist cause.

When their red, white and blue and yellow frenzy began to run into broadening disgust, then it was time to divert this into "support for those who *really* served their country"—in other words, another version of the patriotic binge that had people puking in the first place.

For the U.S. imperialists it's been tough sledding these past years. Tough to get people prepared to fight

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### WANTED:

### YOUNG REBELS

### To Be Key Force Now in 100,000 Battle

Mao Tsetung said, "When young people grasp a truth they are invincible and old people cannot compete with them." In this spirit, the Revolutionary Communist Party is putting out a special call to young rebels to become a key force in scaling even greater heights in the battle to distribute 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers* on a sustained basis. This is a call to all youth, of all nationalities, from the neighborhoods of the oppressed and working class, the ghettos and barrios, the high schools and universities, to go on the offensive and go all out in playing the decisive role right now in pushing forward the overall preparation for proletarian revolution.

Let the rebel youth kick out everywhere in society, armed with the lethal weapon of the *Revolutionary Worker*, a weapon of revolutionary

exposure of every event in society and the world; a weapon to arm the masses with a class-conscious understanding; a weapon to develop revolutionary organization which is hidden and yet everywhere—the kind of organization needed to bring the monster of U.S. imperialism down. Let roving bands go into action in cities across the country spreading the conspiracy around the newspaper. Let them launch offensives in the hell-hole projects and neighborhoods where the working class and oppressed are concentrated, defying and outwitting the pigs in blue and other "unofficial" reactionary fools. Let them go high and wild with proletarian revolution among the people, learning warfare through warfare. At the factories and everywhere throughout society, let the youth go

out, stimulating others of all ages to take up the battle themselves. At every outbreak of struggle among the people, wherever the masses are protesting and debating the big questions of the day, wherever the old and twisted vicious hand of imperialism is clawing at the masses, let the revolutionary youth blow like a red twister, making new paths in the battle to create public opinion—seize power.

Imagine, how the yellow ribboned chumps will squawk as a tide of rebel youth hit the streets, in black berets, with red ribbons symbolizing the 100,000 campaign and going right in the face of the red, white, blue and yellow patriotic clap-trap. Imagine all the dead and boring walls of the edifices of imperialism touched by this boundless creativity. Let the mindless old fogeys who

dance around their ceremonial burnings of revolutionary papers and T-shirts, those grown-up robots who want to take the newspaper out of the hands of the youth, try it. And when the cries arise, as they do and no doubt will continue, that "you're too young, too inexperienced, too uncontrollable," that "it takes *men* to make a revolution,"—fine. Then let the youth respond by becoming even more determined and more thoroughly intoxicated with the only *ism* worth living and dying for—communism.

Rebel youth—It's in your hands. Go for it.



# U.S. Takes Aim at Puerto Rican Liberation

## 10 on Trial for "Seditious Conspiracy"

Chicago. Ten suspected members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional) went on trial here February 3 on charges adding up to a possible 80 years in prison. The objective of this case, however, is far more than to lock up these independence fighters for life. Besides a variety of criminal offenses, the bourgeoisie has levelled the highly political charge of "seditious conspiracy" against the ten. What this amounts to is an outright warning to the Puerto Rican people—as well as all revolutionaries—"stay in your place, slaves! No political struggle to free Puerto Rico from its subjugated condition to U.S. imperialism will be tolerated." As the law reads, the crime the ten are charged with is conspiring "to overthrow, put down or destroy by force the government of the U.S. . . . or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States. . . ." And the imperialists are definitely clear that Puerto Rico classifies as U.S. property despite their euphemistic designation of it as a "free associated state."

The seditious conspiracy law has been dragged out twice before in this century to attack the Puerto Rican independence movement at critical junctures. Far from being an indication of the all-powerful position of U.S. imperialism, the fact that the bourgeoisie has unsheathed this weapon for the third time shows their vulnerability. Opposition to their rule is growing at home and abroad, including the struggle in Puerto Rico, at a time when the U.S. is frantically trying to shore up its empire and its alliances for war. And this has increased their necessity to step up attacks on the masses of people and revolutionaries in particular.

Their underlying desperation was evident in the courtroom antics of Judge Thomas McMillen. An ex-military in-

telligence officer who still maintains ties with U.S. intelligence agencies, the judge looks as though he has been preserved in formaldehyde especially for this occasion. In a repeat performance of his conduct during the arraignment, Judge McMillen had each of the defendants, handcuffed to waist-band chains, brought individually before him. The judge attempted to coax the defendants to participate in the trial. But all ten—Elizam Escobar, Alfredo Mendez, Ricardo Dick Jimenez, Adolfo Matos, Dylcia Pagan, Lucy Rodriguez, Alicia Rodriguez, Carmen Valentin, Luis Rosa and Carlos Alberto Torres—refused to lend any legitimacy to this imperialist inquisition. As Carmen Valentin declared, "He wants to prove that there is justice and law for the Puerto Rican people. How can there be when this fascist government is occupying our country?" All insisted on not being tried in the courtroom of the imperialists who colonize their country.

After maintaining his fair and impartial facade for a while, suddenly the judge dropped the mask. When Dick Jimenez appeared the judge told him, "You can sit down and talk to the jury," and then looked on approvingly while two marshalls forced the handcuffed Jimenez into a chair. As he resisted and struggled and cried out for the independence of Puerto Rico, a pork-faced pig choked him repeatedly and finally dragged him out. A fair trial—U.S. imperialist style.

Outside a picket line of 100 supporters marched with Puerto Rican flags flying. Chants of "Esta Lucha No se Para"—the struggle will not stop—filled the air in solidarity with the staunch and uncompromising stand of the ten.

Apparently the authorities even fear a show of support for the defendants

inside their own courtroom turf. In a blatant attempt to keep supporters out of the court, the identification and signature of all spectators was required (handy for the FBI). The number of spectators was limited to only half the courtroom and each had to pass through two metal detectors to gain access to the court under the tightest security ever.

The second day of the trial consisted solely of testimony from FBI bomb specialist Thomas Deanes. He identified weapons and various paraphernalia for constructing bombs allegedly found in "FALN safe houses." The news media was filled with reports on the "FALN terrorists," but in reality terrorism has never been the issue in this case. The rule of U.S. imperialism is founded on terror tactics against the people of the world from South Korea to El Salvador, and they practice terror against the American people, when necessary as well, especially in the ghettos and barrios. As Freddie Mendez declared, "There is nothing so barbaric as the U.S. government. Since 1898 when the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico there has been a state of genocide against our people. You have always held us under the barrel of a gun. . . . We want you to leave Puerto Rico, to withdraw your troops. They arrested 21 people who protested the illegal bombing of Vieques, and then the FBI murdered our comrade, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, in jail. There is systematic repression against the Puerto Rican people. . . ."

As the trial continues, the judge has promised he will periodically check to see if the defendants have decided to participate in the proceedings. But this last-ditch effort to put the stamp of legitimacy on this criminal attack on the Puerto Rican people will no doubt fail. □

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# Cabinet Tiff Exposes Reality of Foreign Aid

No sooner had the yellow ribbons been tied on the Reagan inauguration, when the giddy blush of ruling class unity appeared to fade, as a little tiff broke out in the cabinet over the matter of "foreign aid." Last week, the Reagan administration Budget Director, David Stockman, proposed a \$2.6 billion reduction in the nonmilitary foreign aid budget proposed by the Carter administration. If this proposal were to become a reality it would be the biggest cut since the foreign aid program was begun following World War 2.

Stockman was immediately criticized by other ruling class voices. Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance points out that aid is a crucial diplomatic tool: "Where would we have been in Jamaica after Seaga was elected, if we hadn't been able to offer him some aid?" Some European bloc partners protested, Secretary of State Haig said he'd fight the cuts, and the N.Y. Times editorialized that "... a bigger national security effort demands more than a military buildup." In other words: in order to maneuver, contend with and prepare to go to war against the Soviets, U.S. imperialism and its bloc not only needs more nukes and so on, but other "aid" as well. Later Stockman met with Haig and agreed to less cuts, but a final decision has yet to be made.

In the course of this dispute, the imperialists let a little bit slip out, revealing the true nature of their so-called "foreign aid." One thing that should be apparent from the terms of the tiff is that U.S. imperialism's "aid" program has nothing to do with benevolence, charity or humanitarianism. It is just one more instrument of domination, subjugation and exploitation.

In the first place, even on the surface there is often little or no question of "give-away." Sometimes straight commercial sales—quite businesslike and profitable—are counted as "aid" simply because they are arranged by the U.S. government. Then there are the loans—actually the bulk of "aid"—which must of course later be paid back, with interest. And the money itself is often tied with stipulations that it must be used only for the purchase of U.S. goods. (Sometimes it must even be used only to buy from a list of U.S. goods that are doing poorly in the international markets.) This is what Lenin referred to as "skinning the ox twice"—getting profits on the loan and on the sale of goods as well. Or as a N.Y. Times story extolling the virtues of foreign aid put it some years ago: "... the United States is really getting two dollars back for every one lent—one immediately with the purchase of American goods and another when the loan is repaid." And further, "aid" is often a naked instrument of blackmail—funds or projects are allocated, withdrawn or held up for longer or shorter periods of time depending on whether imperialist interests, either economic, military or political, are fulfilled.

But more fundamentally, even if the "aid" consisted of nothing but "free gifts," they wouldn't really be free—for it plays an essential role in the imperialist penetration of the oppressed nations—in the process through which their resources are brought under imperialist control, their foreign trade becomes a means of ripping them off; capital from the imperialist countries comes to dominate their economies, exploiting and bringing under its sway masses of workers and peasants in slave-like conditions and creating super-profits to be sucked out of the country by the imperialists. And overall it is a process through which whole

economies are distorted and warped to fit the parasitic needs of imperialism.

This "development assistance," as they like to call it, is an essential mechanism of all this in the post-WW2 period. In penetrating, both physically and economically, into the countries under their domination, the imperialists soon find they need a basic infrastructure—transportation and communication systems, power plants, utilities, etc. Under colonialism, the local colonial administration could tax the companies operating within that colony in order to carry through such projects. With imperialism forced by and large to assume the form of neo-colonialism following the second World War, such financing had to take place through the imperialist state, with the result being foreign aid. Besides bilateral aid (from one imperialist power to a recipient country), an important mechanism for the imperialists has been the development of multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, which pool resources from the U.S. imperialist bloc for the purpose of funding key infrastructural projects through long-term loans. It is U.S. contributions to these multilateral institutions and particularly to the World Bank, that Stockman's proposal would cut very substantially. (Bilateral foreign aid and contributions to such multilateral institutions are together labelled "official development assistance", or ODA.) Of course, the bulk of U.S. "foreign aid" is military aid. Here the imperialist purpose is blatant—to set up bases and arm loyal lackies (the Shah of Iran was a classic example) as part of a global military and political strategy, and to arm these same comprador lackies in the oppressed nations against the masses of people in these nations (again the Shah is an excellent example of what the imperialists attempt—and of the essential weakness of their apparently awesome power).

But today the U.S. bloc and its empire is in a period of crisis. Capital accumulation is running up against its own inherent limits. It is a period no longer characterized by the expansion of capital into new areas, but rather by a frantic necessity to intensify the exploitation of what they already possess, while attempting to stabilize the precarious international financial system and prepare for a new slavemasters' war for the redivision of the world. In this context, ODA from the U.S. bloc countries has been declining proportionally during the 1970s—declining as a percentage both of overall capital flow to the nations under Western imperialist domination and as a percentage of the gross national product (GNP) of these imperialist powers. This is true above all for the U.S., whose ODA has dropped from 0.5% of GNP in the late 1950s and early 1960s, to 0.31% in 1970, to 0.19% in 1979. The sort of expansiveness that characterized that earlier period is simply no longer a possibility for the U.S. and its bloc—for it was an expansiveness built upon the new redivision of the world when U.S. imperialism emerged on top after World War 2. The whole bloc is now running up against the limits of that division, while at the same time they are confronted with a rival imperialist bloc, headed by the Soviet Union, challenging that division of the world.

Now the U.S. and its bloc must move toward a new war of redivision against this rival imperialist bloc. But for this very reason, the U.S. cannot let foreign aid go down the drain. It is precisely the movement toward war which makes all the more necessary the intensified ex-

ploitation of these countries, and secondarily the propping up of the countries dominated by U.S. imperialism. And for both these functions, foreign aid is essential.

This contradiction is reflected in the current flap over foreign aid. Their dilemma is that they not only need to keep foreign aid, but to extend it—the problem is they can't. Thus there is debate and struggle within the bourgeoisie on its quantity. Further, there are certain contradictions with the U.S.' junior partners in Europe on the subject.

But there is something else going on here as well. As we saw above, the decline in ODA has been going on for some years. Running counterpoint, particularly over the last year or so, has been a steady stream of laments from imperialist mouthpieces over this decline. The U.S. bloc's Development Assistance Committee, the World Bank's outgoing President and former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, an "independent commission" headed by former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt—all have raised cries of alarm over declining aid to the "less developed countries," and especially to the poorest ones.

This is the background against which the current scenario of announced cuts, protests, and final decision is being played out. Essentially it is a "good cop-bad cop" routine. Despite whatever contradictions they have as to amounts, distribution and emphasis, there is general recognition among the imperialists within the bloc of their

necessity for a greater squeezing of the people of the colonial and dependent countries—for "austerity," cutbacks and stepped-up exploitation. Further, they are very much aware that the increasing misery, degradation and oppression which their crisis will generate for the people of the oppressed nations will also bring forth bitter resistance, and that even their loyal compradors will be driven by fear of the masses below into gestures of rebelliousness. In this situation, along comes the bad cop, intent upon squeezing and cutting back without limit; in comes the good cop—"Oh no, don't do that"; finally they arrive at a "compromise" which embodies what they need to do in the first place. But through this little act they have, they hope, disarmed the resistance of their victim; and the resistance that does occur will, they pray, be oriented around an imperialist pole, under the leadership of the "good cop." Within this overall tactic, which will certainly be repeated beyond the current episode, both hatchet cutbacks and "humanitarian" protests obviously have their role to play.

And it is clear that underlying these roles is a very basic unity on this topic within the ruling class, both within the U.S. and the bloc as a whole—a unity which encompasses a basic agreement on the necessity to intensify exploitation, temporarily stabilize and prop up their crisis-ridden empire, and prevent Soviet inroads within it—all as part of an overall movement toward world war. □

## COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION

Talk by Bob Avakian  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the  
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

This major analysis originally appeared in the Revolutionary Worker, issue no. 49, under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to Do with It?"

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## Militant Outpouring of Solidarity with El Salvador in W. Germany

On January 31st more than 15,000 people took to the streets of Frankfurt, W. Germany in support of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. This massive display of open opposition to U.S. imperialism was not only a blow to imperialist efforts to keep their fangs sunk deeply into El Salvador but revealed quite a bit about the developing political situation in West Germany.

The size of the demonstration took both the organizers and the authorities by surprise. 2,000 had been expected but press estimates range from 15,000 to 20,000. The action was initiated by the German office of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR) of El Salvador and was supported by a wide range of left and progressive groups including a number of foreign students' organizations, women, university students and church groups as well as local groups in the anti-nuke movement and various anti-imperialist and Latin American support organizations. Also at the demonstration were pro-Moscow revisionist and Trotskyite groups. The broad range of support was in part responsible for the large turnout but there was more to it than that.

To the imperialists' chagrin the

thousands in the streets on the 31st, a large percentage of whom were not directly connected with any organization, reflected the fact that U.S. imperialism in general and its role in El Salvador and all of Latin America are widely exposed to broad numbers of youth, students and middle-class elements here. At a time when the U.S. rulers and their partners talk wistfully about an end to what they call "The Vietnam Syndrome" (by this they mean exposure of the imperialist nature of the U.S. during the Vietnam War), this demonstration revealed that this particular ailment is alive and spreading. On the day of the demonstration both the American House, a U.S. information agency, and the U.S. Consulate in Frankfurt, fearing that they would be targets, were heavily guarded by thousands of police.

West Germany is considered a bedrock of the U.S. bloc in Europe, economically, politically and strategically. This is because of the size and strength of its economy (second only to the U.S. in the West) and its position bordering on East Germany and Czechoslovakia. Recently, however the general crisis of imperialism has begun to assert itself as

well. Last-month unemployment jumped 8/10 of one percent to almost 6% which is very high by West German standards. In this situation and with war looming on the horizon the ruling class here had been shaken by the recent upsurge of militant political activity among sections of the youth and students. This has been highlighted by the ongoing squatters' struggle in Berlin which has been marked by mass street fighting with the cops on several occasions.

The upsurge and militancy found its way into the Frankfurt demonstration as well. At the rally a speaker for the ruling Socialist Party of Germany was booed off the stage, and in particular, when he said that the German government was as much against U.S. intervention in El Salvador as it was against the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, the demonstrators shouted down his hypocrisy. By the end of the day a contingent of mainly youth, anarchists and anti-draft sympathizers did one million marks damage to a number of banks and large stores along with spraypainting anti-imperialist slogans on walls all over the city.

Another barometer of the depth of

anti-U.S. imperialist feeling around El Salvador is the fact that in the last few months the leftist daily *Tageszeitung* has raised almost a million Deutsch marks in a Guns for El Salvador Fund. Included in this amount is money donated by a group calling itself "The Black Bean" which ripped off 15,000 marks worth of coffee imported by Tshibo (largest coffee company brand) from El Salvador, sold the coffee and gave the money to the fund.

Given the overall economic and political situation in the U.S. bloc and West Germany's key role, the powers that be are extremely worried about the growth and spread of the political upsurge, especially its potential to spill over into even broader sections of the working class youth and influence public opinion generally. In the past week there has been renewed streetfighting in Berlin and an anti-nuke demo in Hamburg saw similar actions. All this creates excellent conditions for the revolutionary forces, which are today relatively small, to develop. And in the face of a worldwide showdown between the imperialist blocs it creates even greater difficulty for the ruling classes to rally the masses behind their blood-soaked banner. □

### El Centro, California

## Salvadorans Stage Hunger Strike Against Deportations

"There is no hunger strike! There has never been a hunger strike here!" exclaimed Peter Laraby, head of the federal government's Alien Detention Center in El Centro, California. But the 40 signatures on petitions of Salvadorans on the hunger strike put the lie to his rantings. In fact, as many as 70 people may be participating in the strike. The strikers are demanding political asylum in the U.S., aware of the fate that awaits them at the hands of the fascist junta in El Salvador. The

January 4 edition of *La Prensa* carried reports obtained from Salvadorans who has recently been deported from the U.S. that upon arrival at the San Salvador airport, 40 of the 60 deported were executed on the spot, while 20 escaped.

The Detention Center in El Centro is one of the government's largest "holding tanks" for deportees, and is largely the same as a federal prison. There is extremely tight security, and many are induced to sign forms ("Voluntary

Departures") giving up their right to a hearing, and are then immediately shipped out. Those who ask for hearings are not given lawyers unless they ask for them specifically by name. The ACLU is trying to represent the immigrants, but can't, because the immigrants either don't know or aren't being allowed to ask for specific attorneys. Once granted the right to a hearing, bail is set so high that immigrants have to sit in prison for extended periods.

The Center holds over 300 im-

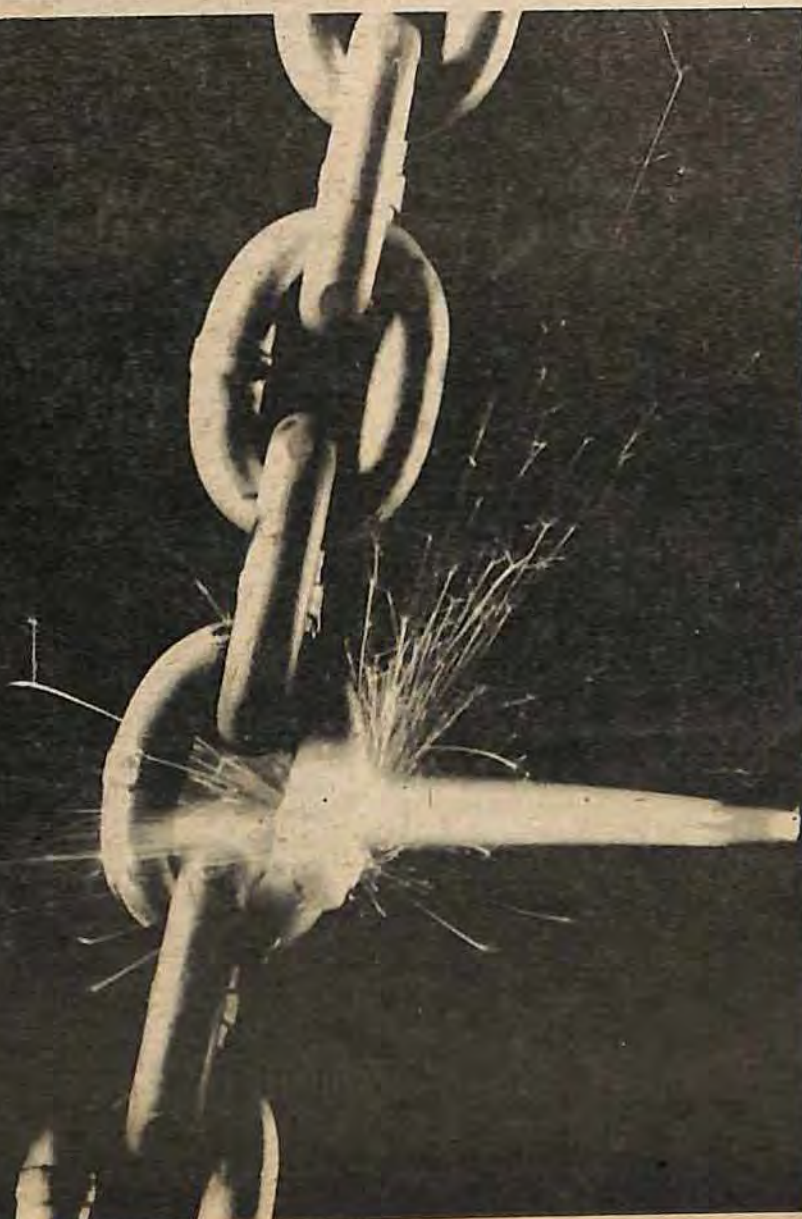
migrants, most of the 200 non-Mexicans are from El Salvador. On January 9 and 10, another 90 people were deported, most to El Salvador.

Outraged, many people in San Diego and the San Diego area are moving to stop the deportations. Early last week, Supervisor Laraby and his fellow workers at the Center arrived to find "SMASH IMPERIALISM IN EL SALVADOR" boldly spraypainted on their prison. □

## The Science of Revolution

This pamphlet has been written to arm millions now awakening to political life with this science of revolution. It is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, a series which summed up and served as an introduction to an important new book, *The Science of Revolution*, to be published by RCP Publications. This book will very sharply and thoroughly explain the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. This pamphlet serves as a very basic introduction to the profound lessons summed up in the book. As Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." The difference is that between fighting blindly or fighting consciously with your head up. The difference is that between random sparks of struggle or using a blowtorch to destroy the chains that bind us.

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# Facist Korean Dog Visits U.S. Trainers

Last week's chummy meeting in Washington, D.C. between President Reagan and South Korean military dictator, Chun Doo Hwan, received wide billing in the media as providing a preview of the Reagan administration's "fresh approach to the question of human rights." That it did.

Reagan's staff ordered the scheduled annual congressional report on human rights, which contained a section described as "highly critical" of the status of human rights in South Korea, squelched until after Chun left town. Reagan and Chun issued joint communiques which pledged the restoration of full, top level diplomatic relations, which had been toned down by Carter following Chun's martial law crackdown in the aftermath of the huge upheavals in South Korea last May. Reagan pledged that the 39,000 American troops stationed in South Korea would stay there permanently. And he granted Chun's most fervent wish—the right to buy as many F-16 fighters, the U.S.'s most advanced war plane, as his heart desires.

The contrast to Carter's policies is deliberate and obvious. But they represent pursuit of the same imperialist strategic interest—preserving the stability of a U.S. outpost in the face of revolutionary struggles and impending global conflict. Carter, it must be recalled, stopped his pledged withdrawal of U.S. forces as soon as the South Korean regime came into a period of serious challenge last year. The 39,000 troops not only stayed there, but played an important role in freeing up Korean forces to put down last May's rebellion in Kwangju. And on the other side, Washington columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak recently reported that shortly after Reagan's election victory, his National Security Advisor, Richard Allen, sent a secret letter to South Korea demanding that the plan to execute bourgeois-democratic opposition leader, Kim Dae Jung be scrapped. There followed private negotiations with General Lew Dyung Hyun, chairman of the South Korean Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Allen was blunt," Evans/Novak report, "Killing Kim would do irreparable damage to South Korea's relations with the world, particularly Japan and the U.S.; hopes of reviving the alliance under Reagan would disappear."

On January 20, only minutes after Reagan was sworn in, the word came from South Korea of the commuting of Kim's death sentence and the formal "lifting of martial law" (while keeping all the regulations passed during martial law on the books). Cosmetic surgery had been done.

Still, the shifts in U.S. policy are real enough, and reflect the changing requirements of U.S. imperialism in the face of revolutionary struggles and the need to batten down its military outposts as part of war preparations.

But the greetings U.S. puppet Chun received during his three city tour reveals the jam that both the puppet and the puppeteers find themselves in. This, and still more, of course, the situation back in Korea, compelled the *Washington Post*, while basically endorsing Reagan's moves, to express a "lack of optimism" that internal stability was on the horizon in Korea. The *New York Times*, while also supporting Reagan, ruefully recalled on this occasion Jimmy Carter's toasts to the Shah of Iran before he fell.

## The Reception

In moves reminiscent of the Shah of Iran's 1977 meeting with Carter, all stops were pulled to insure that Chun

would be greeted by "well wishers" in a display of support during his visit. Korean banks and some other Korean businesses were closed; employees were ordered to greet Chun at the airports and scheduled events in Los Angeles and New York, with implications that promotions and jobs were at stake. Buses and other transportation were arranged, and once on the scene, Korean and American flags were passed out.

In addition, Korean based businesses were urged (via cables from Seoul) to take out ads welcoming Chun—with several dozen full page ads appearing in the *New York Times*, *L.A. Times* and *Washington Post*, as well as dozens of ads in Korean language papers.

An employee of a South Korean export/import company in New York reported that employees received a cable from company headquarters in Seoul ordering U.S. employees to run a full page ad in the *New York Times* (it was too late) and ordering all employees to go to the Kennedy Airport and the Waldorf Astoria hotel to greet Chun. Women were ordered to wear Korean national dress, and employees were ordered to bring their families—with lists of family members compiled and photos to be taken as proof of attendance.

As a further step to insure that Chun would receive a friendly welcome, first and second generation Korean immigrants known to oppose the Chun regime received phone calls urging them not to do anything (like protest) that would harm relatives in Korea.

One source with close ties to the Korean consulate described to the *RW* the consulate's frantic preparations for Chun's visit as a "reign of terror," adding, "You wouldn't believe what's going on in there—stories that would make your hair curl."

But for all the desperate maneuvers on the part of Chun's U.S. "supporters" and his hosts, Chun was met with chants of "Chun is a murderer" in Los Angeles, his first stop, and these chants followed him throughout his visit. At every major event on Chun's behalf scores of first and second generation Korean immigrants demonstrated against Chun.

In Los Angeles, with the Korean immigrant population of 20,000, the largest in the U.S., an anti-Chun demonstration of 60 was on hand at the airport (along with 200 "well wishers") as Chun departed his closely guarded airplane and was greeted by L.A. mayor Tom Bradley a safe distance away. The Los Angeles media was careful to cover "both sides" with headlines like, "South Korean president cheered, booed, in L.A." But somehow the pro-Chun crowd of 200 was reported as 2,000 and the media completely forgot to mention that of the 200 pro-Chun demonstrators, 100 were made-in-U.S.A. "moonies." These are followers of South Korean fascist Reverend Sun Moon, CIA financed admirer of Chun and U.S. imperialism.

Again, reminiscent of the Shah's visit, the *L.A. Times* reported that during Chun's quick journey through Koreatown in Los Angeles, "Fights and scuffles broke out in the wake of the motorcade" between "protestors and supporters" and that "police were called in to break up the melee and disperse the crowd." But the *Times* failed to mention that it was the 100 Moonies who, after a few words with Chun's LAPD escorts, attacked the now 100 anti-Chun demonstrators, ripping up placards and staring fist fights. Further without mention was that the LAPD stepped in only after a number of street youth jumped in and quickly turned the

Moonies from hunters to hunted.

The demonstrations against Chun were organized by a coalition of 10 Korean immigrant groups, representing a wide array of forces, from bourgeois to radical anti-imperialist opposition. In addition to the demonstrations everywhere Chun went, there were demonstrations against Chun's visit in the Korean communities of Seattle, San Francisco, Chicago and Philadelphia. The coalition united around a 6 point statement which called on all Korean-Americans to protest Chun's visit, calling the protest "part of our struggle to support democratization and unification of Korea." The statement also noted that "Chun came to power with guns and knives," and that Chun's invitation to the U.S. "means that Reagan ignored the Korean people's aspirations for democracy." An open letter was sent to Reagan that read in part, "...you should be advised that the Korean feelings toward Chun Doo Hwan are the same as Iranian feelings toward the Shah. Your support for Chun Doo Hwan will without a doubt bring about the same result as experienced in Iran, or perhaps an even worse result."

Although the thrust of this letter and the demands revealed the wide range of forces opposed to Chun, one thing is very clear. The frantic efforts to organize pro-Chun rallies, and the media's great distortion of the anti-Chun demonstrations, revealed the threat posed by the demonstrations, the backing of the U.S. ruling class for the reactionary Chun regime, and the hatred of Korean people everywhere for this regime. □

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# BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE  
MAO TSETUNG  
DEFENDANTS RAILROAD  
AND THE  
HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD



# Drop All the Charges Once and For All! STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS

*This statement drafted by the National Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is now being circulated for signatures and donations and will run as an ad in the Washington Post around March 10, when a legal petition is due at the Supreme Court.*

To the U.S. Supreme Court:

We, the undersigned, condemn the continued and escalating government persecution of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In decisions of October 21, 1980 and January 2, 1981, the D.C. Court of Appeals reinstated the previously dismissed and outrageous charges which threatened each defendant with 241 years in jail. With this, the government has unmasked even further the political motivation that has been behind this case all along.

The government's legal vendetta against the Mao Tsetung Defendants originated with a demonstration against the visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping on January 29, 1979, which was attacked by police, injuring dozens and arresting 78. Immediate and continuing protests against the police attack and the flagrantly political prosecution which followed have poured into Washington. Yet so determined is the government to carry through this thinly-veiled act of political repression, that every

legal mechanism to prevent this political railroad has been closed off except for direct appeal to the Supreme Court. A petition is now being filed with the Supreme Court.

**WE DEMAND THAT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HEAR THIS CASE, AND THAT THIS BLATANT POLITICAL PROSECUTION BE DROPPED ONCE AND FOR ALL.**

The facts reveal undeniably the character of this case as one of political repression:

- Arrested on misdemeanor charges, the defendants were then charged with felonies, only to be followed by two grand jury indictments eventually upping the charges to 25 felony counts!
- The great majority of the charges are described as being committed by "unidentified attackers" or committed against "unidentified officers." Almost half of those indicted, including Bob Avakian, are charged with no specific criminal act. According to the government, "by presence and knowing participation each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place..."
- A pre-trial motion, filed by the government, gets to the heart of the political offense which it is actually prosecuting: "The government intends to introduce into evidence those portions of the speech made by Defendant Avakian at a press conference on January 25, 1979." "The government's theory is that Avakian's speech and the activity and statement at the church are admissible against all of the defendants because they were in furtherance of a joint enterprise in which all defendants were involved." In other words, the charge is essentially one of conspiracy, and the offense is Bob Avakian presenting his views and critique of the new government of China and of its alliance with the U.S. following the death of Mao Tsetung.
- In response to a defense request to combine the trials of two sets of defendants originally charged in different indictments, the government produced a new single indictment doubling the charges against all the defendants. In court, the government stated that it only "gave the defendants what they asked for." Under the pressure of mounting protests across the country, all the charges were thrown out by the trial judge who declared the government was obviously engaging in "prosecutorial vindictiveness."
- On appeal by the government the charges were reinstated by a 2-1 appeals court decision which by their own admission disregarded established legal precedents to redefine "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This provided convenient cover for the contradictory and politically motivated acts of the prosecution, clearing the path for the government to proceed full speed ahead with the railroad.

The obvious flimsiness of the government's case serves only to highlight more vividly the vicious and openly political nature of this attack.

While Klansmen and Nazis stand acquitted of murder in open daylight in Greensboro, while Miami police officers guilty by their own admission of murder are set free, and while the U.S. government steps up its preparations for war, 17 people, the Mao Tsetung Defendants, now face three life terms in prison.

This is not the first time we have seen such political attacks by the U.S. government. WE WILL NOT STAND BY SILENTLY AND ALLOW THIS BLATANT POLITICAL REPRESSION TO PROCEED. WE DEMAND THAT ALL CHARGES IN THE CASE OF THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS BE DROPPED AND STAY DROPPED.

## Tom Snyder's Banter with Covington Liberal Lobs Slow Pitches to Nazi

On January 29, late night TV viewers were given a rare treat. Notorious Nazi leader Harold Covington was welcomed as a "distinguished guest" on Tom Snyder's *Tomorrow* show, presented with national air-time apparently as a further reward for the Greensboro massacre of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators for which some of Covington's boys were recently let off. It was really the perfect match-up! Snyder, the agonizing bourgeois liberal, as usual doing his utmost to prettify the system while tossing slow pitches to Covington so he could whack them out of the ballpark. With Snyder acting as a willing foil, Covington proceeded to do some "exposure" on some of the finer points of bourgeois history, all of course from the Nazi point of view of nakedly defending bourgeois dictatorship, national oppression, etc. with no consoling or apologetic words to cover it up—the particular role of bourgeois-democrats like Snyder.

Take the following exchange on the U.S. Constitution:

**Snyder:** Here you are, a citizen of the United States of America... and saying the second amendment which gives people the right to bear arms is very important to us. But you would like us to disregard some of the other amendments and some of the principles on which this country was founded.

**Covington:** Specifically what?

**Snyder:** That all people are created equal.

**Covington:** That is not in the original Constitution.

**Snyder:** It's in the Declaration of Independence!

**Covington:** If you look at Article One of the Constitution, it specifies that Blacks are to be considered property, three-fifths of a person for census purposes. We are for the original Constitution of the United States as it was originally laid forth by the Founding Fathers of this country...

*At this point Snyder, appearing unsure whether Blacks were to be con-*

*sidered property or not; called for a studio technician to bring him an encyclopedia with the Constitution in it so he could check it out. Of course, this feigned block-headedness was merely for the purpose of lofting Covington another softball pitch:*

**Snyder:** (looking at the encyclopedia) The Constitution did not say Blacks are property.

**Covington:** That is what it means by three-fifths!

**Snyder:** How do you know it means that?

**Covington:** Because the Founding Fathers were racists, they owned slaves, and when they put that thing in there about free people they meant non-slaves. Slaves were not to be considered citizens...

**Snyder:** But Harold, you can't back up everything you say. You sat here and told me that the Constitution...

**Covington:** I read you the pertinent part of it!

**Snyder:** Uh... That's your interpretation!

**Covington:** No, it's the Founding Father's!

*This little confrontation between the blatant proponent of open, capitalist dictatorship in the USA and the "democrat," concerned with upholding it better by masking its true features, continued:*

**Covington:** I have repeatedly challenged the communist leader of North Carolina, Nelson Johnson, to a debate, anywhere, anytime, with just one stipulation: There will be no weapons, no violence and we'll see if we can meet on intellectual grounds. Johnson, and Bob Avakian, Jerry Tung and other of these communist leaders have repeatedly refused. Why? (Johnson and Tung are leaders of the Communist Workers Party—RW)

**Snyder:** That would be some intellectual conversation. We had Avakian on this show once. Of course he says that eventually all the people who are not true communists, revolutionary com-

munists, will have to be taken care of and you say that all the people will be carried out of the free Carolinas feet first. (Covington is for secession—RW) It'd be a great conversation, you know. He'd get us, the intellectuals, and you'd kill the Jews and the Black people. It'd be a hell of a conversation.

*Well, it seems the mere mention of Bob Avakian's name sent a jolt through Tom Snyder, leading him to retaliate for the televised drubbing he took in his interview with Bob Avakian, by resorting to cheap shot lies. (We must add that Tom made the tactical error here by making the general falsity of his statements more apparent to a very broad audience when he described himself as an intellectual.)*

*Meanwhile, the history lesson continued as Snyder flashed a picture of a Nazi concentration camp on the screen:*

**Covington:** I thought you'd show a picture like that.

**Snyder:** Well, that's part of Nazism.

**Covington:** Well, not really... yeah there were detention centers in Germany, but in New York I believe you've got a place called Attica. Let me tell you this, no one in this system has got a right to point one single finger at us as long as places like Attica and Central Prison in North Carolina and Soledad are operated. This system is just as in-

humane to the people that it confines as Nazi Germany ever was.

*True enough. Despite, of course, the disgusting fact that Covington and the rest of his Nazi ilk proudly uphold all this capitalist barbarism, here or in Germany. In fact, Covington didn't hesitate to brag about his own participation in more than one "democratic" atrocity as a mercenary who did double-duty in the service of the U.S. rulers:*

**Covington:** If you want to trade atrocity stories, I can tell you some from Vietnam and Rhodesia that I personally witnessed (read: helped commit—RW). We could sit here and swap atrocity stores all night.

*Covington, enjoying atrocity, went on:*

**Covington:** ...and what about the Japanese (internment—RW) during WW II?

**Snyder:** A blight on our history! We've been wringing our hands collectively for the past 40 years!

**Covington:** That's the difference between you and me. You wring your hands, I don't. Being a Nazi means never having to say you're sorry...

*A fitting summation of the "vast" difference between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism. Same content, different hand motions.* □



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## China's "Party Leader"

# Attacks on Socialism and Signals to Soviet Revisionists

In mid-December, the sharpest political attack against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to date was delivered by Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the revisionist Chinese Communist Party. Hu's statement was significant not only in regard to the class struggle within China itself, but particularly in regard to the rapidly accelerating international situation and the objective position of China's bourgeois rulers in light of this.

Hu's remarks were occasioned by the visit to China of Babis Drakopoulos, the leader of the Communist Party of Greece of the Interior, who had come to establish relations with the Chinese party. Hu reportedly had wide-ranging talks with the Greek revisionist, and was at the same time interviewed by *Avgi* (Dawn), the Greek party's newspaper.

The Chinese news agency *Xinhua* reported that Hu was asked by *Avgi* about his evaluation of the history of the Chinese Communist Party between 1957 and 1976. This alone was enough to expose the direction of this "interview." Here was a revisionist party—which, while maintaining some distance from the Soviet Union, has never drifted all that far away from Soviet revisionism—politely quizzing a leading spokesman of the Chinese Communist Party about a period in which the Chinese revolutionaries under Mao broke decisively with Soviet revisionism. Hu's response: "It is the unanimous view of our party that the decade between 1966 and 1976 of the so-called great cultural revolution was a period of catastrophe. Nothing was correct or positive during those years. The whole thing was negative...."

Hu continued: "The situation in the first ten years of the 1957-1976 period, however, was quite different from that in the second ten-year period. We were correct in many respects during that decade, though mistakes made in some respects also brought about damage. But they were not so serious as those made in the second ten years."

There is, of course, nothing new about the revisionists' deep-seated hatred of the Cultural Revolution. Also, there is nothing surprising about such a statement coming from the mouth(piece) of one Hu Yaobang, whom the Western press has described as a "close associate" of Deng Xiaoping. But one point of note is the fact that Hu's statement comes during rough weather for Hua Guofeng, still nominally the chairman of the Chinese party. Hu is undoubtedly slated as Hua's "successor" for the Party's top spot. As we have analyzed in past issues, an aspect of the current attacks on the Cultural Revolution (as well as the trial of Mao's comrades) has been the rivalry between the revisionist forces represented by Deng and those represented by Hua. For the latter, not *everything* was negative about the Cultural Revolution, and while they held a revisionist line, they were able to climb into party leadership, stepping into the shoes of high-ranking officials overthrown by the masses. Hua Guofeng was appointed to the next highest post in the Party, behind Mao, after the counterrevolutionary Tienanmen incident in April 1976. This was during the time that Hu says "Nothing was correct...."

To describe Hu Yaobang as a "close associate" of Deng Xiaoping is, to say the least, putting it mildly. Hu is characteristic of the revisionist bureaucrat and capitalist-roader knocked down during the Cultural Revolution. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, Hu was General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Youth League, a position he had held as long as anyone could remember. As a counter-offensive against Mao during the opening salvos of the Cultural Revolution, the revisionists opened the doors of the Youth League, enrolling no small number of

degenerate, counterrevolutionary elements. The League was abolished in 1966. Hu again emerged in 1975, having been appointed vice president of the Academy of Sciences by Deng.

It was at this post—and under Deng's personal direction—that Hu wrote the "Outline Report on the Work of the Academy of Sciences." This report was the third of Deng's infamous "Three Poisonous Weeds" (as the revolutionaries later dubbed them) which were widely circulated by Deng and represented a frontal attack on proletarian rule in China as well as a specific programme for capitalist restoration. The "Three Poisonous Weeds" (and Hu's "Outline Report" in particular) were criticized by the masses in China the following year, as the revolutionaries unleashed a campaign to "Criticize Deng Xiaoping and Beat Back the Right Deviationist Wind." But while this campaign, and indeed the struggle waged by the revolutionaries throughout

the early and middle 70s, was ultimately unable to prevent the seizure of state power by the revisionists, there are millions today in China who know exactly who's Hu.

So, both as an indication of the further isolation of Hua and the continuing need by China's current rulers to denounce Mao and the Cultural Revolution, Hu Yaobang's statement to the Greek revisionists is revealing.

But, as indicated, more to the point are the international implications of Hu's statements. It is likely that Hu's remarks are designed as a signal to the Soviets that along with dumping the Cultural Revolution, they are just as willing to embrace the Soviets, if necessary. The possibility of China "switching sides"—a possibility which certainly alarms various U.S. imperialist spokesmen—clearly cannot be discounted, especially in light of intensifying contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and Soviet imperialists and

their respective blocs. At present, Deng & Co. are content to grovel before the West in a vain attempt to realize their modernization schemes. But their pragmatism and underlying bourgeois stand, viewpoint and method weds them not to any particular variant of bourgeois ideology, U.S. or Soviet. As Deng puts it: "Black cat, white cat—what's the difference, as long as it catches mice?"

In this light, it is interesting to consider Hu's characterization of the period between 1957 and 1966 as "quite different" than the following ten year period and one in which "mistakes" were not "so serious" as after '66. Hu is essentially saying that the Chinese revisionists still had some maneuvering room before this blood and guts of mass struggle blew open against them after '66. Though he draws a distinction between this and the later period, his hatred of socialism is so deep he never

Continued on page 21

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# Poland Upsurge Still Unchecked

The recent upsurge of the workers and other sections of the people in Poland has reached another turning point as a new agreement was reached on Jan. 31 between the Polish government and the leaders of Solidarity, the organization which developed out of the strike wave last summer. What is particularly significant about the upheaval that has engulfed Poland in the past few weeks is that in large part it has erupted spontaneously and has signaled a growing impatience on the part of the workers with the compromising posture that has increasingly been assumed by Solidarity head Lech Walesa (and others in the top leadership) on the question of forcing the government to live up to its previously negotiated agreements. Things are still essentially out of control in Poland and events there have been accompanied by louder sabre-rattling on the part of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Both superpowers are watching the situation carefully with an eye toward advancing their respective imperialist interests.

Ever since between 5 and 6 million workers refused to show up for work on January 20 to back their demand for "free Saturdays," strikes began to spread like wildfire across the country, many without the authorization of the national leadership of Solidarity. In addition to the demand for an immediate five-day week the other main issues were access for the union to the press, radio and TV, release of political detainees, registration of a farmer's union and legislation to ease censorship, as well as numerous local demands such as those for the removal of corrupt government officials.

On January 22 Poland was swept by a series of short "warning strikes" by hundreds of thousands of workers in at least 10 cities that shut down hundreds of factories. Other strata were also propelled into motion as, for the first time, students began protest activity sitting in at the University of Lodz and raising a wide list of demands for autonomy from government authorities. 2,000 inmates at the Bialoleka Dworska prison near Warsaw went on a hunger strike demanding, according to one source, food "as good as police dogs get." On January 23, a protest of 60,000 workers in Warsaw halted production in 32 factories completely and shut down all public transportation between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12 noon.

In this context, Walesa was forced to issue a call for a nationwide work stoppage on Saturday January 24, declaring that "There must be an effective work boycott tomorrow to preserve the unity of the movement..." The following day between 80 and 90% of the workers in Poland stayed off the job in the largest job action since October, bringing most major industries to a halt. Walesa's dramatic concern for "unity" in the trade union movement however, reflected the dilemma faced by the national leadership of Solidarity as they have been increasingly confronted with militant actions by the workers that are spinning out of their control. The *New York Times* remarked that the union is "haunted by the spectre of a split," and revealed that "Some militant leaders have taken to complaining privately that Lech Walesa, their paramount leader, was too moderate and 'too much under the thumb of the church'."

Indeed, after returning from prostrating himself before the Pope in Rome where he received an unmistakable message from His Eminence to "cool it," Walesa was reportedly "sharply criticized" by the national coordinating committee of Solidarity at a meeting on January 20 for conducting negotiations with government ministers without consulting with them beforehand.

These contradictions were further exacerbated as a few days later on January 27 wildcat strikes once again erupted across the country. The biggest disruption occurred in Bielsko-Biala, an industrial city near the Czech border where 110 factories were closed down by workers demanding the dismissal of the provincial governor, the deputy

governor, the mayor, the chairman of the local court and the police commander. Other strikes broke out in Katowice, at over 100 coal mines in Upper Silesia, in Bialystok in Lodz, and in the city of Jelenia Gora, a coal-mining area in Lower Silesia, where 250,000 workers staged a general strike. Announcements of many of these "strike alerts" were reportedly telexed directly to foreign news organizations bypassing the national commission of Solidarity. "They are sick of words," admitted a Solidarity spokesman, "they want action now."

Walesa issued a statement pleading that "We have to stop all the strikes so that the government can say that Solidarity has the situation under control. We all have to concentrate on basic issues. There is fire in the country." Just how much fire existed was indicated by a national union official who, when asked how many of the strikes had been authorized, replied, "Not a single one!" In a feeble attempt to bring local chapters back under his direction, Walesa even issued a call for a one-hour nationwide warning strike for the following Tuesday—to be held during the workers' lunch hour!

Meanwhile, the Soviets began to crank out new warnings, sending western analysts scrambling to dissect the latest Soviet military maneuvers for signs of an impending invasion. *Tass*, the official Soviet press agency, screamed that the strikes were a "bid to aggravate the situation in the country" and the Soviet army newspaper, *Krasnaya Zvezda*, ran an ominous photo feature on its front page depicting joint Soviet-Polish army field exercises inside Poland. On January 28 the Soviet Defense Ministry's newspaper published an article written by a Polish party official accusing western nations of "very crude interference in Polish affairs" and declaring that NATO was attempting to detach Poland from the Warsaw Pact alliance—an ominous development considering that the Soviets have made it clear that an invasion would be automatic if there was the slightest suggestion that Poland was wavering in its commitment to the eastern war bloc. "The situation is not developing satisfactorily," remarked one Soviet foreign affairs specialist, "There is no sign that the government is reasserting control; on the contrary, there are signs that neither the government nor the leaders of Solidarity are able to control anything."

As if on cue, the following day the Polish government issued its strongest statement since the upheavals began six months ago as they simultaneously agreed to meet with Solidarity leaders in an attempt to end the walkouts. The televised statement screamed that "Anarchy and chaos are creeping into the life of the country, endangering the fate of the motherland and its citizens. The forces hostile to socialism are being activated." The statement also warned that "If the situation continues, the Council of Ministers will have to take the necessary steps aimed at insuring the normal functioning of enterprises in accordance with the public interest."—an implied threat that the government will not hesitate to declare martial law and bring out the army to suppress the strikers if necessary.

In light of the fact that one of the demands of the 10,000 students sitting in at Lodz University and several other nearby colleges is the abolition of compulsory classes in Marxism-Leninism, the government's cry that the "forces hostile to socialism are being activated" is full of double meaning, reflecting the complex nature of the political contradictions in Poland today. On the one hand, the masses are actively hostile to the Polish revisionists' phony, capitalist brand of "socialism"—and of course the U.S. imperialist press is twisting this to suit its own purposes, portraying it as "opposition to communism." But it is clear that where the people are spontaneously coming from is anything but a love of capitalism, in particular Polish state-capitalism masquerading under a "socialist" cover. One woman student declared, "What they say in the classroom doesn't correspond to the reality we see at all"—a telling indictment of the Polish rulers' claim that this revisionist country is a "socialist state." What the government's statement was mainly directed at, however, was forces who are indeed "hostile to socialism" and want to open the country to further penetration by western imperialism. The universities have been an important base area for elements very sympathetic to the West and there is certainly some behind-the-scenes activity by these "anti-socialist" elements involved in the student strikes.

None of this, of course, has been lost for a moment by the U.S. imperialists who also seized the opportunity to beat the war drums themselves in attempts to maximize any gains they are making in this latest crisis and up the ante for the

Soviets if they decide to directly intervene. Reagan declared that "So far detente has been a one-way street the Soviet Union has used to pursue its own aims" and accused Soviet leaders of reserving "the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat in order to obtain that." Secretary of Defense Alexander Haig also reiterated more firmly the position of the previous administration that "Soviet intervention in Poland would have the gravest consequences," declaring "I know of nothing today that would cause this administration of this State Department to depart from the strong affirmation of that view."

The increased blustering by the U.S. imperialists reflects not only the daily sharpening of rivalry between the imperialist war blocs, but also the increasing importance of the stakes in Poland itself. Both the U.S. and the Soviets are acting with eyes cast toward the future. The Soviets must attempt to stabilize this important member of their Warsaw military alliance, and of great concern is the inability of the Polish revisionist bourgeoisie to do so. For its part, the U.S. is well aware of the potential obstacles the political situation in Poland presents for the Soviets—especially as the outbreak of world war grows closer—and is jockeying to throw even more obstacles in the path of its imperialist rival. The fact remains, however, that even the spontaneous struggle of the masses of people lunging beyond the boundaries of any brand of bourgeois order is something which can ultimately only bode ill for imperialists east and west. Yet this is their contradiction, and events in Poland are an expression of imperialist crisis on a world scale. Above all, these events show that there are other actors on the stage of world history besides bourgeois governments and their flunkies. The masses of people should not be counted out.

On January 1, amid reports that power stations had only a few days coal left and that food shortages were becoming more serious as well as continuing government threats and warnings that penalties for sit-ins and factory disruption could range from 2 to 10 years in prison, Walesa emerged from negotiations with the government, and agreements in hand, declared "Its the greatest success we've ever achieved. We've never got so far." This, however, was highly debatable. Although the government said it would

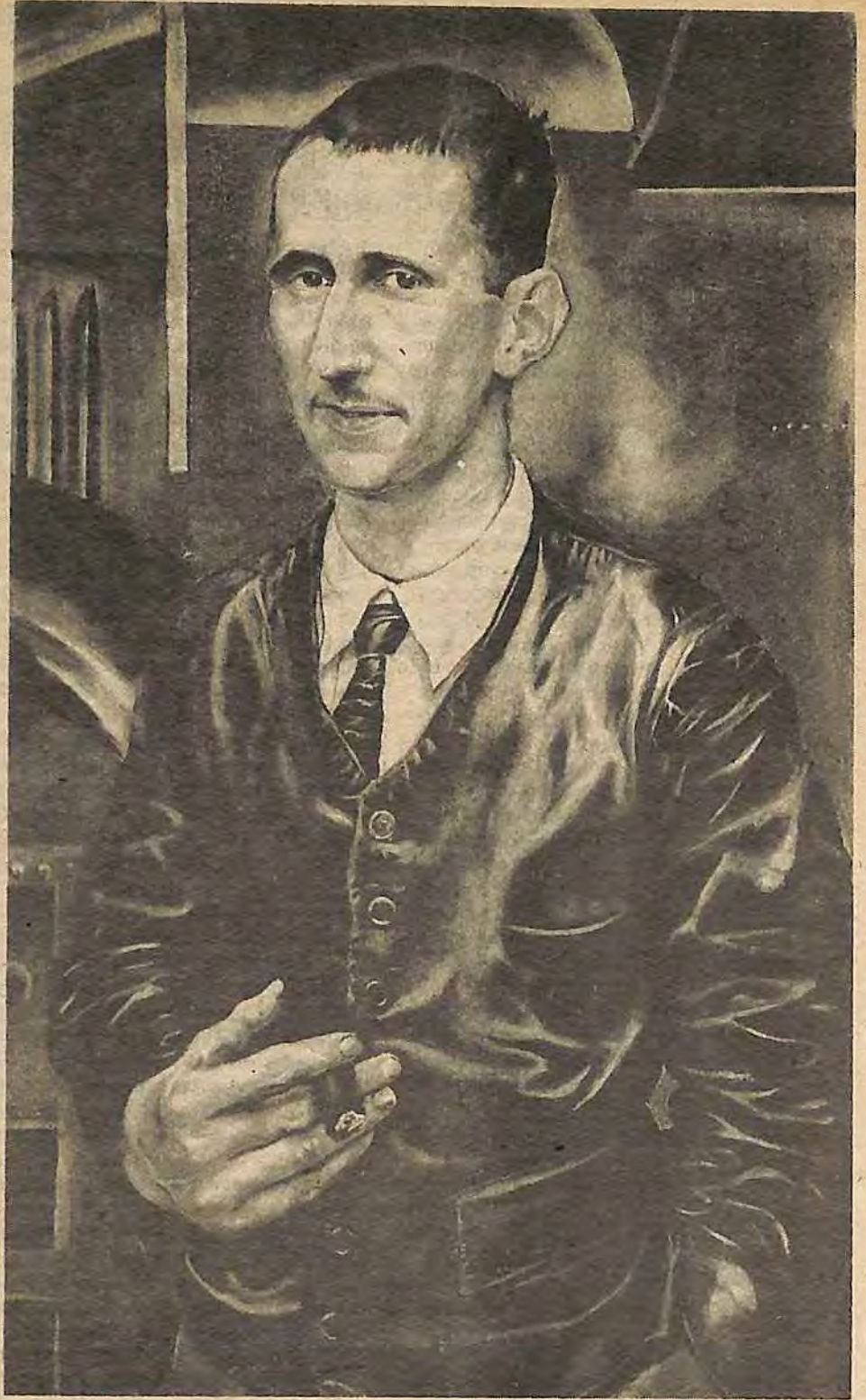
Continued on page 9



Farmers in Rzeszow, Poland, guard an entrance to the building where about 600 fellow farmers are staging a sit-in.



# Call to Evaluate the Role of Bertolt Brecht



Portrait of Bertolt Brecht painted by the German artist Rudolf Schlichter in 1926.

Bertolt Brecht. Almost everyone in this country has heard of Mack-the-Knife, but very few have seen any of Brecht's plays. Brecht is acclaimed as a giant of a playwright, a theatrical iconoclast, leader in drastic formal innovation—and reviled as the prime negative example of a revolutionary artist who, by putting his art in the service of Communist politics, inevitably destroyed it. His works are referred to as "classics," but they're an odd sort of "classic" which has rarely reached the lighted stage, never made it big on Broadway. From Eastern Europe to the Americas, respectable academic leftists and outright revisionists who have given up all claim to revolution claim Brecht as their own poet laureate. Yet when there are theater audiences and artists growing disgusted with the kind of entertainment dished up on Broadway and impatient with the introspective and increasingly ingrown "avant-garde," where people are looking for bold, rebellious theater which challenges tradition and the present order, they often find Brecht ready-at-hand—and many take him up.

This year his plays are on stage from New York to California, performed by students, small struggling troupes and prominent national theaters. A new volume of his poetry is out. Theater reviews scatter references to the "Brecht-beat," the "Brechtian style." The Berkeley Repertory and the Arena Stage in Washington, D.C., both well-established nonprofit theaters, each opened their fall seasons with *Galileo*, one of his last works. *Three Penny Opera*, his first smash hit in 1920s Germany, is now playing so often and so successfully that the royalties have been upped. Among other related offerings in Chicago, Pary Production Company, a small troupe dedicated to "Visionary Theater," is doing *From Berlin to Broadway With Kurt Weill*, a review which begins with songs originally written for Brecht plays. Red Flag Theater, a young revolutionary troupe in the San Francisco Bay Area, has been doing *The Mother* for much of the past year. And in only the second major New York production of *Mother Courage* since it was written in 1938, the Public Theater mounted a new Black version adapted by poet Ntozake Shange and reset from

17th-century Europe to post-Civil War U.S. Meanwhile, the San Francisco Mime Troupe, probably the best-known of the radical theaters of the sixties, was invited to Cuba and requested to do *The Mother*, and *Galileo* goes on stage in China. What gives?

Controversy rages. Whose artist is he? And is this art at all? Is he a fine dramatist, his *Mother* "unquestionably one of the greatest agitprop plays ever written"? Or is "the only thing more boring than a play by Brecht... another play by Brecht"? Did he translate "his self-hatred and despair into a worldview that was unredemptedly bleak" and "seek refuge in the rigid orthodoxy of Stalinist Communism"? Or are his barbed attacks on the capitalist order liberating in their revelations of the bourgeoisie's weaknesses? Were his plays good for the thirties but now "a little bit too simplistic, too 'black and white'"? What was his attitude towards the working class? Why are there so remarkably few revolutionary characters in his works—is it an indication of his "realism" or a reflection of unrealistic despair? Did he confuse the stage with a classroom? Why do his plays look so different from those the Chinese developed with the leadership of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line during the Cultural Revolution?

The debate around Brecht is a very good thing, far broader than those artists who are presently trying to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art; the controversy includes those who would like to smash all such revolutionary art and progressive artists who aren't Marxists but who want their art to be part of changing the world. Tied up in it are profound questions about the relationship between art and politics. And, because Brecht is very widely recognized as a Marxist artist, there is great heat about Communist theory and practice in the cultural arena generally, from the nature of Socialist Realism to the idea that art can't help but serve one class or another in class society. The field can't be left clear here to the bourgeoisie, which will always attack and distort that which is helpful to the oppressed and dangerous to them; it can't be left to the revisionists who do the same but dress it up in Marxist garb. Because the terms of this debate, the

lines being struggled over, will influence the direction revolutionary-minded artists take in this period, how conscious they are of the most advanced lessons learned by the working class and the artists who have stood with the oppressed internationally—and this will affect whose art, the outlook and values of which class, will find expression on the stage.

Brecht was no stranger to controversy. Not only was he denounced and banned by the Nazis as a degenerate Bolshevik desecrator of the "German national culture" and later called before the House Un-American Activities Committee while in exile in the U.S.; but within the international communist movement he was often embroiled in sharp struggle around political and artistic questions, from line struggle around the Popular Front against fascism which was adopted by the Comintern, to debates around the relationship between form and content in art concentrated in the struggles around Socialist Realism and formalism, even the terms of which are in striking contrast to those raised by Mao

Tsetung in *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. Did Brecht oppose the revisionism which was rampant within the International, and with what line? Are his plays and theories in the main revolutionary, of use in the broadest sense to the proletariat internationally, or are they, at bottom, off the track and quite acceptable to the bourgeoisie? Should Communists and revolutionary artists uphold and build off his work, and in what respects?

Summing up Brecht presents a challenge to the revolutionary working class and its Party, who must lead in the transformation of all society, and it can't be done without learning from artists who today are grappling with what kind of art they will put on the stage and all the questions that raises. To get at the heart of the matter requires going up against all kinds of holy icons, the muck piled up by the history of revisionism, including on matters of culture where there is a supposedly "Marxist tradition" of literature and art which has precious little in common with revolution. And it requires breaking with any economist refusal to deal with such questions and engage in the class struggle on every battlefield.

Based on preliminary investigation, we think that Brecht made some contributions, practically and theoretically grappling with many of the critical problems in creating revolutionary art—but that in order to take what is of use, we need to do some major surgery. In the spirit of rising to meet the challenges of this period of deepening crisis, turmoil and revolutionary possibilities, we are calling for investigation, correspondence and struggle on Brecht and related matters from all those who have experience and ideas to contribute to deepening the revolutionary line and unleashing more consciously and powerfully the creation of art which truly helps the masses to propel history forward. □

## Poland Upsurge Still Unchecked

Continued from page 8

grant the union a one-hour weekly TV program, there was no resolution of the question of the farmer's union and as far as the five-day week was concerned, the agreement could hardly be called a crushing victory for the workers. While the government agreed to recognize the "principle" of a five-day week, this was put off until 1982 as Solidarity leaders in the meantime went along with a 42-hour work week with work every fourth Saturday. Walesa promptly

cancelled the nationwide warning strike.

But clearly this latest agreement doesn't hold much water as far as the Polish workers are concerned and fresh upheavals are already brewing. Walesa raced to Biala-Bielsko after the failure of his personal appeal to end strike actions that continued to effect 120 plants, municipal offices and the transportation system. Several days later these actions forced the Governor

and three deputy governors of the province (who had been charged with corruption by the workers) to turn in their resignations. With the government set to rule on the farmer's union on February 10 and Solidarity leaders forced to announce the scheduling of as yet unspecified actions for that day, no one is kidding themselves that things have settled down in Poland. □



## Conspiracy Under Attack

## Seattle Restaurant Owner Busted

Their message was unmistakable. Back off from this co-conspiracy or else! When the cops busted into this small restaurant in the heart of the Black community on January 15, they were hell-bent on icing a well-known distribution point for the *RW* and holding up the owner and other co-conspirators who gather there as examples of what'll happen if people dare to raise their heads and look and struggle for revolution. In fact, as the owner was taken off to jail and the restaurant cleared, the landlord used the opportunity to clampdown with an eviction and proceeded to padlock the door. And since this original bust the authorities have been unrelenting in applying the thumbscrews to this distributor.

While the restaurant owner was initially held on minor charges, the State used the time they had him in their clutches to ferret out two outstanding warrants from another state. The charges are years old but in an effort to further intimidate the brother they are now holding the possibility of extradition over his head. That this "newfound" warrant was nothing more than a consciously planned maneuver is demonstrated by the fact that upon his previous release from prison the authorities had forsaken extradition on these same charges. No doubt they figured these warrants would come in handy some day—perhaps to "solve" a crime or better yet to slap this "uppity" Black man back in his place. Finally, 10 days later on January 26, the brother was released from jail. This was at the time of the national demonstrations in support of Mao's revolutionary comrades on trial in China, and he and other co-conspirators from the selling team hung a huge banner of Chiang Ching over the front window of the padlocked restaurant. The pigs watched the intense discussions raging in front of the building and watched too the

bundles of *RW*s being distributed right up in their faces.

It took less than 36 hours after his initial release for the tin-badged thugs to descend once again. This time he was hauled downtown on charges of trespassing inside his restaurant. It was in the middle of the night that the cops invaded. As he was being led to the door the only thing he demanded was to take along his stack of *RW*s. One cop sneered: "You're *still* with the revolution?!" "I sure am still with the revolution," was the defiant retort. Suddenly, appearing at the door in the middle of this latest bust, a former Black Panther wearing a Bob Avakian t-shirt and a Chiang Ching headband stepped inside. He had just returned from the support demonstration. Confronted with this terrifying apparition, beaming revolutionary red from every angle, the pig could only sputter, "If you don't get the hell out of here, I'll bust you for trespassing!" As he wiped the spit from his mouth and chin, everyone left.

The restaurant owner headed for a nearby tavern. Within an hour a police sergeant arrived with "orders from the top." The brother was *then* busted for trespassing. At the jail one of the cops made the authorities' aims crystal clear. "We're gonna put you out of circulation for a long time." The swine then tried to convince the owner

that he ought to chuck the whole deal because no one's interested in revolution anyway. Judging from the response he got and from the way he talked it was obvious that he was trying to convince himself! But try as the bourgeoisie might to extinguish the flames of revolutionary consciousness and struggle, it became clear that what they were dealing with was like a root fire—burning beneath the surface, under their very noses, only to flare up on another part of the field.

In fact, on the following day of this "trespassing" bust, co-conspirators visited a couple who had frequented the restaurant. They were eager to join in the conspiracy, the husband commenting that he had finished reading the Party's *New Draft Programme*. And on the spot they both began agitating for their son to take up the paper. He ended up buying a couple for himself and his friends.

One new distributor, an unemployed Black youth, took a huge stack of *RW*s to find other small businesses in the community who would start distributing the paper. He also took cans to collect funds for the paper, realizing that it was up to the masses of people to sustain the *RW* as a weapon for revolution. Another storeowner paid for his bundle of *RW*s in advance.

Since the harassment and intimidat-

tion was launched in the Black community, many of the *RW* organizers and co-conspirators had summed up that blasting out of the boundaries of the neighborhood and spreading the conspiracy even further was a top priority. When the busts at the restaurant came down they had begun circulating a petition among lawyers and other professionals—struggling with them over beating back the attacks and further spreading the influence of the *RW*. A number of people from the middle classes that they struggled with were truly inspired by the tit-for-tat battle being waged in the Black community. One lawyer spoke in astonishment over how one of the neighborhood taverns that is a distribution point for the *RW* was the scene of his first murder trial. "I couldn't believe it. From people basically killing each other to taking up revolutionary politics..."

Meanwhile a new co-conspirator had organized a fundraising night for the *RW*. During a presentation given on Bob Avakian's "Reply to a Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations" (soon to be a pamphlet), people sat on the edge of their seats. When it was over the room exploded with struggle and debate—with people making plans of how they too would distribute the *RW*, while others organized an *RW* reader circle. One woman took 50 *RW*s, commenting simply that her daughter distributed them at high school.

The padlock still hangs on the door of the restaurant. In the front window a small stack of books rests upon a ledge. Peering inside you can see a poster on the back wall, boldly proclaiming: "Become A Co-Conspirator! Get Your Hands On the *Revolutionary Worker*!" While the ruling class and their police think that they can keep this locked away, out of the hands of the masses of people, already experience has shown this to be a mere hallucination. □

## Report from an area on 100,000 Co-conspirators

A revolutionary Puerto Rican we met in a bar one night taught us something about actually spreading the conspiracy... Some of this came out in terms of the question of buying the *RW* and raising money for it. To those who said, "Yes, but 50¢ is too much," his reply was "50¢ is not enough for such a weapon. Where else could we get this

kind of information? Where else could we learn our strengths and our enemies' weaknesses? Where else could we learn to gather our forces to defeat this enemy? Isn't this kind of education worth far more than 50¢?" This line quite frankly made us and the way we struggle for the payment of papers seem quite wishy-washy... □



"Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is no literary task. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee, recently pointed out:

“To underscore the significance of this advance in our understanding of central task—and of the newspaper as our main weapon, in its various aspects—it can be truly said that it is only with these advances that we have really arrived at and begun to develop an actual plan for how to make revolution, for how to make all our work concretely build toward the goal of an eventual armed uprising and civil war. This is not to say that previously we did not carry out revolutionary work (with whatever weaknesses and errors there may have been in our line and actions), nor that we did not have a basic strategy—the united front—for revolution (for the necessary approach to the question of the alignment of class forces). But it is to say that it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by 'create public opinion... seize power,' and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future...

...Not only does the objective situation and its developments hold greatly heightened possibilities, and not only have we made real leaps in our analysis of this, but with the forging of our central task and the central role of the newspaper we have actually laid the foundation for concretely building for the revolutionary prospects ahead, for actually being able to seize upon and direct toward the revolutionary aim the many diverse strands or streams in which the class struggle breaks out—the many different ways that 'communism springs from every pore' of society—and it is up to us to strain to make further leaps to carry this forward and finally carry it through...”



# A Special Call to All Co-Conspirators —Donations & Sales Money—



Money—both sales and donations—is needed every week to publish future issues of the **Revolutionary Worker**. This is a special and urgent need right now to consolidate the leap to 100,000 sustained weekly sales of the paper. To accomplish this we are making a special call to all RW co-conspirators:

1. Collect donations wherever you are for the Revolutionary Worker and its leap to 100,000 co-conspirators. Turn in the money in person or by other arrangement to your local distributor, center or bookstore.
2. Make sure to turn in all sales money in the same way.

Note: To be sure of the authenticity of the RW co-conspirator asking you for money—be sure that he or she turns over to you, in exchange, the next issue of the RW (or, far preferably, a whole bundle)!

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# Imperialism Plays New War

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another—and far bigger—war in the cause of American “freedom and democracy.” And tougher still when they’ve got a whole lot of Vietnam veterans on their hands who have seen this “freedom and democracy” from the ugly underside beneath its paper

mask and are not too shy about saying so.

U.S. imperialism’s problem is not that there were “too few” heroes among the Vietnam veterans. Their real problem is that their failed war effort to enslave the Vietnamese people to the

U.S. produced *too many* heroes—heroes of the international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It produced far more of them than any other imperialist exploit in U.S. history. There were whole companies that mutinied in Vietnam in places like Fire Base Pace. There were plenty of GI’s who took action by fragging their gung-ho officers. The tales of GI’s like “Salt and Pepper”—a Black and a white man who took up arms together and joined the “enemy” still haunt the imperialists—why else are they trying Robert Garwood? And then there was Operation Dewey Canyon III where returned vets threw their medals on the Capitol steps, vowing that if they ever took up arms again it “will be to take these steps.” This past spring and summer the press featured worried stories about the Vietnam vets who had returned to utilize their expertise in the struggle against this system—like those who kept the pigs scurrying for their lives during the Miami rebellion. *This is the veterans problem, that concerns U.S. imperialism.*

As usual it is difficult to tell whether the U.S. imperialists’ response is more

reactionary or ridiculous. Their dream vision: Vietnam vets standing in line demanding “national recognition and honor”—maybe even yellow ribbons. Why stop there? How about whole contingents of U.S. forces lined up in Washington, D.C. demanding their “honors”? “We who invaded the Dominican Republic demand ours.” “We, those who landed in Lebanon,” demand ours, too.” “What about us mercenaries and assorted fools who invaded at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba?” “How about us—CIA operatives who assassinated Patrice Lumumba in the Congo?” “Don’t forget the home front—we of the 101st Airborne had some trouble quelling the folks in the streets of Detroit in 1967—but we did our duty!” “How about us—we helped put down Watts.” The yellow ribbons are clearly being promoted as the newest badge of courage and honor. And fittingly so. What better color for the latest criminal and cowardly stripe to be added to the red, white and blue?

### Economism

One aspect of the imperialist dilemma was spoken to by Margaret Hecker of



April 23, 1971. At a demonstration of over 1,000 Vietnam veterans in Washington, D.C., vets throw their combat medals, ribbons and awards at the steps of the Capitol building—and one vet declares, “The next time I fight it’ll be to take these steps.”



## Hostage Press Conference

# As Laingen “Touches America” Reporter Pounds U.S. Imperialism

Following is an article by Virginia Wohl, a reporter who has contributed to the Revolutionary Worker.

On the way to West Point it occurred to me how unaccidental it was to have this military academy as the U.S. entry point for the hostages. The symbolism of American endurance and military might was not meant to escape anyone. Looking around for Eisenhower Hall, I passed by blocks and blocks of concrete

buildings. MPs were stationed at various gateways. The whole complex is fortified by a huge rock wall. It bore an ironic resemblance to the embassy compound in Tehran and I knew just how “invincible” that was.

Some guy was on the radio talking about a local resident who’d made a connection between the hostages coming to West Point and George Washington’s venture there over 200 years ago.

## Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is now calling on all proletarians in this country, together with all progressive individuals and organizations, to join with us now in forging the initial plans for a series of mass hearings on U.S. imperialism’s war crimes against the peoples of the world. At present, there is a high-echelon effort under way to reverse earlier—and correct—verdicts on these crimes in order to commit still more (and more foul) acts. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people, and there are many, many people in this country—foreign born, veterans, and many more oppressed who have rich testimony to offer.

Our Party proposes that, in around a month, a panel would be formed and begin travelling across the country, collecting evidence and testimony in mass meetings from proletarians and others on these war crimes—past and present. It would culminate after around a month’s work and publish its findings.

\*\* Representatives of U.S. imperialism would also be invited to attend and defend their views and actions. Former hostages, certainly, would be challenged to appear, since they missed their opportunity for such a trial when they were in Iran.

\*\*\* Veterans, foreign born, all proletarians and progressive groups and individuals contact the RCP, USA locally or nationally and assist in making these plans and launching them into action soon.



## Games with Vietnam Vets

the House Veterans Affairs Committee, "If we are to have a defense posture in the future, and if we are to attract men and women to serve America, I think the way that we treat those who have risked their lives in the past in a very unpopular war, that their treatment is going to be important in terms of the recruitment of good talent to serve America in the future."

Of course there is no intention whatsoever to change the basic conditions that veterans are subjected to: unemployment, prison, decaying hospitals, national oppression, brutality. After all, *that* is a part of the system they fought and died for. The most that is intended is to shift the blame for the vets' conditions over to the anti-war movement, and perhaps to have Ronald Reagan make some empty but dramatic announcement promising to only snatch back two-thirds of the crumbs they have tossed at Vietnam veterans.

There is recognition that any overt attempt to appeal to the great majority of Vietnam veterans on a gung-ho, war-fever basis would quickly turn into its opposite. So, as a diversion, economism is being promoted in-

stead—trying to lower vets to the miserable state of being concerned only with their own condition, chasing after crumbs while forgetting what they have seen and know of this system and its crimes worldwide. With this, plus all sorts of poverty pimps and bourgeois politicians posing as "vets spokesmen," they hope to buy the silence—even a sort of participation—of a good number of vets on the war bandwagon.

It is in this light that we have to examine the role of people like Ron Kovic, who appeared on that February 3 edition of Nightline. Said Kovic, "We gave everything we had to America and we are not asking for a homecoming, ticker tape parades, or even to be called

heroes. We are simply asking you tonight to listen and to remember. For I believe that we represent the very best of our generation. We still have a great deal to offer our country. The faith and hope to build a new time. A time of peace and understanding. Thank you."

Well, as *at least* the imperialists know, they do want what the vets "have to offer"—but not for "a time of peace and understanding." This was made clear enough in the very same TV program when Ted Koppel interviewed another "vets spokesman"—Max Cleland, head of the Veterans' Administration. Koppel asked, "In future wars, can we hope to respond to 3 million people coming back." It is precisely *future war* that all this is aim-

ed at.

There is a lesson for veterans, and all class conscious proletarians, in all this. Their slogan cannot be: Better benefits and body bags (perhaps with a yellow ribbon twist tie?). Instead it must be: Continue to expose the war crimes and all crimes of U.S. imperialism and bring this sucker down!

We would like to hear and print the opinions of veterans on this, and their personal experiences. Please write the *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486 Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL. 60654.

## American Hearts' Imperialism

It was all supposed to come together in the symbolic rebirth of America. It made me think of how desperate, how old and dying and ripe for revolution this system is and what a battering ram the struggle of the Iranian people has been.

Eisenhower Hall. The room was already filling up with reporters and camera crews when I arrived. I thought I might not get in since they were beginning to become fussier about giving out passes. But in I went. Shortly afterwards any newcomers were ushered to an upstairs balcony way in the back of the hall. I just made it.

A John Cannon from the State Department issued directives on how the press conference would be conducted. When he said that the former Charge d'Affaires, Bruce Laingen, would be the moderator I thought what could be more perfect than to put this No. 1 lackey up front on center stage. Quickly I drafted my question.

Laingen opened the press conference with one of the most disgusting speeches I've ever had to listen to. Laingen was spitting out cute stories about school children sending messages of love for the hostages and for America. You could almost see fangs grow out of clean-cut Laingen's jaws as he envisioned the little ones maturing into fresh bodies for the armed forces of U.S. imperialism.

Laingen used his skills as a well-trained agent to "touch the hearts of all America." I knew damn well that a whole lot of people were about to vomit watching this on TV. The room oozed with sickening patriotism. One could just picture Laingen hard at work in Tehran, employing all his diplomatic skills to reorganize any and all reactionary allies of the U.S., all the while plotting, scheming, and communicating back and forth with his superiors in Washington, D.C. on how to subvert the Iranian revolution. It ran through my mind, this pack of spies is the best the U.S. can come up with to parade around as "heroes"... are they ever in trouble; big trouble.

One by one the hostages took their seats on the stage. A reporter in front of me gasped, "Oh, God, they're all going to show up." But not so. The first person I looked for was Subic, the GI who had shown the Iranians where the CIA computers were kept inside the em-

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**Chicago.** Two and a half years after the Pontiac Correctional Center in Illinois exploded in one of the most significant prison rebellions in recent years, it appears as if the largest non-military death penalty trial of the century will soon begin. The twelfth juror has been selected for the trial of the Pontiac 10, the first group of 16 Pontiac Brothers framed-up for the murder of three guards during the rebellion. The selection of six alternate jurors should now take two to three weeks.

From the beginning the battle lines in this critically important case have been sharply drawn both inside and outside the courtroom. The state has displayed an almost ravenous desire to stomp out the lives of the defendants with constant calls for the death penalty emanating from the state's attorneys. This is clearly intended as a warning to rebellious prisoners across the country.

With the trial only weeks away, the Pontiac Brothers' firm and defiant stand in the face of the electric chair has continued to gather support from various quarters nationwide. Prisoners and Black nationalist forces such as the Republic of New Afrika have been involved in the defense of the Pontiac Brothers; more than 300 Blacks and whites recently gathered in Chicago for an ecumenical prayer service in support of the 16; and the Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition has called for demonstrations to be held March 16 in Chicago and three other cities to rally for the opening of the trial. At the same time, the state is preparing for the legal showdown, attempting to marshal its own raggedy troops. These consist mainly of prisoner witnesses who have been bribed into testifying with early release, money and favors.

However, the state is not counting on the shaky loyalty of their bought and paid for witnesses alone to convict the Pontiac Brothers. The media has been the major weapon to discredit and slander the Pontiac Brothers by echoing the state's official line that the rebellion was not caused by the brutalization and degradation of the prisoners, but by a "gang plot"!

While there has been a lull in this "gangs" theme over the last several months, new lies and slanders abound. This time the target of the attack is the defense attorneys. On January 22 the *Chicago Law Bulletin*, voice of the legal establishment, ran an article under the innocuous headline "Defense Lawyers' Behavior in Pontiac Trial is Questioned." The story was later picked up and echoed by NBC News. In reality the *Bulletin* article accuses the Pontiac attorneys of every sin from "deliberate delay tactics" to "unethical conduct," to "making martyrs out of themselves and their clients." The article even

# Pontiac Frame-Up Approaches Showdown

resorts to quoting the statements of a former Pontiac attorney who is disgruntled with the case ever since his client asked that he withdraw because of his half-hearted performance. The article has the purpose of discrediting the Pontiac attorneys generally, but particularly within the legal profession at a time when many lawyers have actively come forward to criticize the actions of Judge Ben Miller, presiding judge over the Pontiac trial. Secondly, the article attempts to cool down the determined stand of the Pontiac attorneys in defense of their clients. A veiled threat against the lawyers is thrown out in the article in the form of quoting a "legal expert" who declares he would not hesitate "to prosecute, discipline and perhaps disbar" a lawyer for certain types of political activity that have been carried out in support of the Pontiac Brothers.

As far as the *Bulletin's* accusations of "delay tactics" by the defense attorneys, it has become abundantly clear throughout the Pontiac case that the state would very much prefer a speedy trial along the lines of a good old fashioned lynching. The Pontiac lawyers have been accused of "playing for time" when they insisted that prospective jurors be probed on their attitudes toward Black people, gangs and

prisons. They have been accused of filing "frivolous motions" for protesting the fact that 78% of the state's challenges were used to strike Blacks from the jury. Although the final composition of the jury is six Blacks and six whites, this is mainly due to the fact that there was an exceptionally high number of Blacks in the jury pool.

One of the prosecutors let the cat out of the bag, however, when he explained his real concern over delays to the *Daily Law Bulletin*. Time is a critical element in the state's case, he explained, which rests almost completely on the testimony of present or former Pontiac inmates. The longer the trial is delayed, the harder it is to keep track of the witnesses, he complained. All this is an inadvertent admission of what the defense has been saying all along—that bribery or the promise of getting the hell out of Pontiac was the sole reason these prisoners agreed to testify in the first place. Much of this has been exposed in the past, and was further exposed recently in the Black daily, *The Chicago Defender*. A former Pontiac prisoner and witness for the prosecution told his story to the *Defender*.

Said Ben Robinson, "I didn't see anything. I testified against the guys I thought the state wanted. Once I got out of prison I told them (state's attor-

ney) that the only reason I gave any information was because I wanted to get out of prison."

Robinson's statements reveal a lot about the kind of carrot and stick tactics utilized by the state to squeeze testimony out of unwilling potential witnesses. "I gave them the information because I was threatened," he said. "The state said if I didn't testify they would make a case against me... There are a lot of state witnesses out (of prison) like me. You had guys doing a hundred years. They would do anything to get out early." Robinson also revealed that he was given bigger and bigger prizes along the way as his information improved. First he was offered cigarettes and coffee at a time when the whole prison was under the conditions of an 8-month deadlock so brutal that quite a few slashed their wrists just to get transferred to another prison. According to the *Defender* article, the Illinois Department of Law Enforcement's own files show that Robinson's story went from sketchy to rich in information. This was when he was offered a release from prison three months early.

Once out on the street, Robinson said the state had its own method of keeping track of witnesses. He was offered money for living expenses if he would report periodically to a Chicago police officer. When he failed to do this the police officer came after him. Robinson said that the officer told him if he cooperated with the state the West Side (of Chicago) could be a pleasant place for him; if not it could be hell.

With the prosecution's "case" resting on this kind of foundation, it is hardly surprising that Judge Miller has continually been trying to pull in the reins on the defense attorneys throughout the jury selection process. Fourteen of the nineteen Pontiac lawyers are Black, a fact which alone undoubtedly irks the judge. And what the *Law Bulletin* calls the Pontiac attorneys' "hostile outbursts" toward the judge is definitely not in the script for the one-track railroad of the Pontiac Brothers that the state would like to engineer. Miller has held three attorneys in contempt of court and, in addition, has initiated an investigation of Leo Holt by the Attorney's Registration and Disciplinary Commission.

Even before the trial has started, every shenanigan of the state—and its friends—has served to open more eyes to the highly political nature of the frame-up of the Pontiac Brothers. The case has become a rallying cry among activists in the prison movement and certainly more broadly. It has focused attention not only on conditions in prisons, but on the whole systematic national oppression—especially of Black people—which is part and parcel of the prison system in the U.S.

**Break the  
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## Burglaries, legal harassment of Ward supporters

# Police Follow-up on Yulanda Ward Murder

On Wednesday, February 4, D.C. Superior Court Judge McIntyre took the latest step in the continuing scramble to cover up the November 2 political assassination of Black revolutionary activist Yulanda Ward. As we go to press, Judge McIntyre has just issued court orders denying legal motions filed by Yulanda's comrades demanding that the government disclose any surveillance of them that it has carried out and that the court quash grand jury subpoenas served on members of the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund, Jimmy Garrett, the chairman of the D.C. Black United Front and the co-chair along with Yulanda Ward of the D.C. Citywide Housing Coalition, to testify before the grand jury. Garrett, who had been subpoenaed on January 13, appeared before the grand jury on January 19, and was bodily ejected by federal marshalls and court bailiffs for attempting to make a statement exposing the coverup of Yulanda's assassination.

On November 2, Yulanda Ward was murdered by four gunmen as she and three companions walked down the sidewalk of a residential Black working-class neighborhood after mysteriously being turned away from a party to which she had been invited. As she and her friends stopped to leave a note on the car of some friends inside the party, they were approached by four men. They were frisked "ankles to head" (police style), and Yulanda was separated off from her friends. Within minutes, a bullet from a large-calibre gun had been fired at point blank range into her head. Yulanda had been very active in community and student struggles, and at the time of her murder had been attending a weekend conference of the student section of the National Black United Front. While the assassination was feebly disguised as a "common street crime," nothing could hide the stench of the state apparatus that hung heavy around the murder.

In the three months since Ward's assassination, that stench has grown increasingly pungent. At first the D.C. police maintained the cover that her murder was "just another street crime."

Almost immediately, they busted three Black men and framed them for her murder. And as the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund continued to agitate among the people about the murder and launched their own investigation, Alphonso Gibson, the chief of the homicide division of the D.C. Police Department tried to counter any implications of police involvement. "What is all this excitement about a Black woman being killed in the streets of D.C.?" asked Gibson. One week later, the D.C. police announced that as far as they were concerned, the case was closed.

What's come down in the ensuing months has shown that this was far from true. The cops had hoped to be able to quietly railroad their original "suspects" off to jail, and that that would be the end of it. In fact, the independent investigation by the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund has uncovered some very revealing facts proving that the pigs had never even opened the case, let alone close it. The three original suspects were arrested on the basis of identification by a "phantom witness" who had stood in the shadows and watched the murder. The investigation was never expanded beyond the oral and written statements of this phantom. Outside the initial interview and statements and one informal, hour-long session with the U.S. Attorney, the three eyewitnesses who had been with Yulanda when she was killed have never been questioned; in fact, it is only at the insistence of the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund that these three were even taken to a lineup of the "suspects." And although these eyewitnesses described the assassins as clean-shaven, two of the arrested "suspects" had full-grown beards. The host of the party was not questioned at all until seven weeks afterwards, and the bouncer who turned Yulanda and friends away from the party has never been questioned. There has never been any investigation done in the community surrounding the scene of the murder, and although more than a dozen people were on the scene immediately after the shooting, the police took no names and questioned no one besides the host of the party

(seven weeks later), and Yulanda's two friends who owned the car she was shot against.

Although this type of "investigation" is undoubtedly not all that uncommon when the police investigate the murder of a Black woman in the streets of D.C., it, together with other obvious police activities in the last few months, indicate that the police are much more concerned about covering up this particular murder than uncovering the murderers.

Just hours after Yulanda was killed, her apartment was legally sealed off, and no one has been able to enter it except the police. Interestingly enough, Yulanda's apartment was filled with files and information that she had gathered in the course of her political activities. The home of Jim Garrett, a close associate of Yulanda's, had been "burglarized" three times in two months with obvious signs that files and papers concerning his political activity had been rifled through. The D.C. Rape Crisis Center, which Yulanda had worked with and which has been involved in the activity to expose the truth about her murder, was also broken into, and a number of office machines were totally destroyed and files searched through. In addition, as the independent investigation launched by the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund had begun to pick up steam, the police began to warn Fund members that they may be liable for interfering in the cops' "case," and the police insisted that the investigation not be carried out.

When these tactics failed to stop the continuing exposure and agitation around the murder, the police adopted a new set of tactics. Suddenly, the "phantom" witness was deemed "unreliable and untrustworthy," and three "suspects" were released. The police began calling Yulanda's friends, and saying that they now had reason to believe the murder may have been an act of political vengeance. Then, three days after a press conference held by the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund exposing the role of the police in the murder "investigation," the police suddenly came up with four more "sus-

pects" (once again on the basis of identification by their "untrustworthy and unreliable" phantom witness), and served grand jury subpoenas on Yulanda's comrades. The subpoenas demanded that they turn over to the grand jury "all written, typed, recorded or otherwise possessed information concerning the homicide of Yulanda Ward." The fact that the issuance of these subpoenas was nothing more than a blatant attempt to harass and intimidate the members of the Memorial Fund was graphically illustrated in the court hearings to quash the subpoenas. The U.S. Attorney and the D.C. police stated that they needed to have Yulanda's friends testify, since they seemed to know a good deal about what went down at the time of the murder. To back this up, the U.S. Attorney cited leaflets and posters printed and distributed by the Memorial Fund which contained references to the size of the gun used and direct quotes from the killers, and the U.S. Attorney said that in order to build up its case the government needed to know the source of this information. In response, the lawyer for the Fund members simply reminded the government and the police that these particular bits of information had in fact been given to the Memorial Fund by the U.S. Attorney's office and the D.C. Police Department themselves.

On February 4, three weeks after the subpoenas had been issued, the court ordered Yulanda's comrades to comply with the subpoenas and testify before the grand jury that afternoon. At this time we have not yet received word about what the outcome of the grand jury appearances has been. However, the stand of Yulanda's comrades was sharply expressed in a statement from Jim Garrett a few days earlier, in which he denounced Yulanda's murder as a political assassination carried out by the state apparatus and exposed the grand jury subpoenas as yet another attempt by the state to continue to whitewash the murder and to intimidate anyone who dares to rip off their mask and carry out further political exposure of their bloody nature. □

## Pick up the pen

Correspondence from readers is literally crucial for the *Revolutionary Worker*; it's key in building the newspaper as the lifeblood of the revolutionary movement. The newspaper needs active, all-round political contributions from Party members, revolutionary-minded workers and all others who support the cause. All such people should correspond with the *RW* and work to develop this paper, the Party's voice, as their own revolutionary voice.

We need to hear from you. Reader correspondence is absolutely indispensable for the *RW*. The importance of such correspondence to the revolutionary press was spoken to by Lenin in 1899. In the midst of the struggle to create a nationwide newspaper, Lenin wrote:

"... Let us take one of the conditions for the success of this plan—that the newspaper be assured a regular supply of correspondence and other material from everywhere. Has not history shown that at all times when there has been a resurgence of our revolutionary movement such a purpose has proved possible of achievement even in respect of papers published abroad? If Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) working in various localities come to regard the Party newspaper as *their own* and consider the maintenance of regular contact with it, the discussion of their problems and the reflection of the whole movement in it to be their main task, it will be quite possible to ensure the supply to the paper of full information about the movement..."

Only through active correspondence can we forge a truly powerful, truly conscious revolutionary Party with its finger on the pulse of the objective situation in its development. There is a burning need for information on the pulse of the movement. Pick up the pen!



# Hostages Vie For John Wayne Honors

After weeks of whining and whimpering about the barbaric torture of having to eat lamb and rice and be led to the bathroom blindfolded, some of the 52 U.S. hostages have suddenly divulged that all along they had secret plans for a breakout mission while they were being held in Iran. Safe in the arms of their beloved Uncle Sam now they feel "comfortable enough" to reveal the uniquely American bravery and swaggering Marine Corp spirit that they were just about to demonstrate if *only* they hadn't been rescued in the nick of time. Sgt. James Lopez gave a great performance, describing with "natural machismo" (how red-blooded and American) a "kamikaze" plan he and his buddies were supposed to have cooked up to "Take down as many of them as we could, make it expensive for them." But the *RW* has learned of yet another more daring plan that puts Lopez to shame. We will now reveal to the world this inspiring example of patriotism above and beyond the call of duty that certainly ranks with the taking of Iwo Jima and would be a candidate for the next John Wayne movie if only the old warhorse were still alive. We have obtained a hitherto unpublished interview given by Hostage Sgt. Paul "macho man" Jones and Hostage Sgt. Charlie "blood and guts" Smith. Here's their story which we have titled:

## Taking Back the Sands of Tabas

**Paul:** Well, this may sound John Waynish, but I developed this plan, while they had us all locked up, to claim the sands of Tabas for America—to put it back where it belongs, in the hands of Americans. A number of us just couldn't stand the humiliation and embarrassment that befell our country after the rescue mission failed and eight of our men were burnt up out in that desert over there. I mean it was too much to take. We figured something had to be done and we were going to be the ones to do it. Sure we knew it would probably mean our lives but we were going to show the world what America and Americans are all about and take as many of those Moslem fanatics as we could with us. Unfortunately just as we were about to put the plan in motion we heard that a deal...

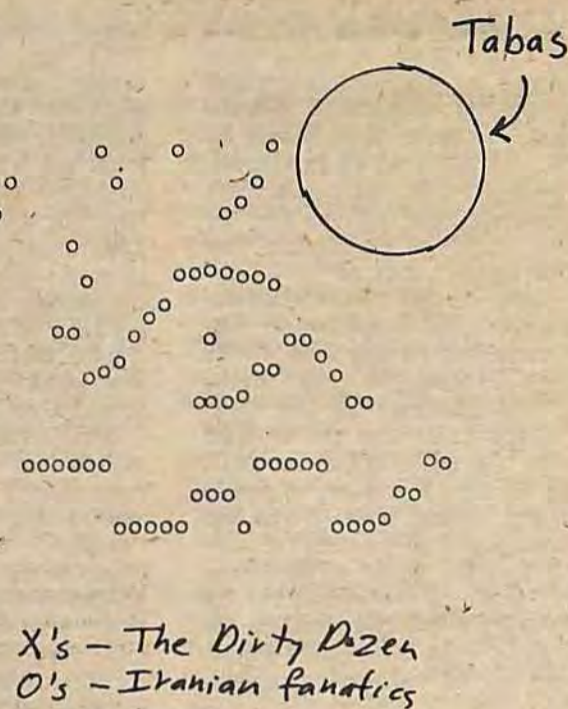
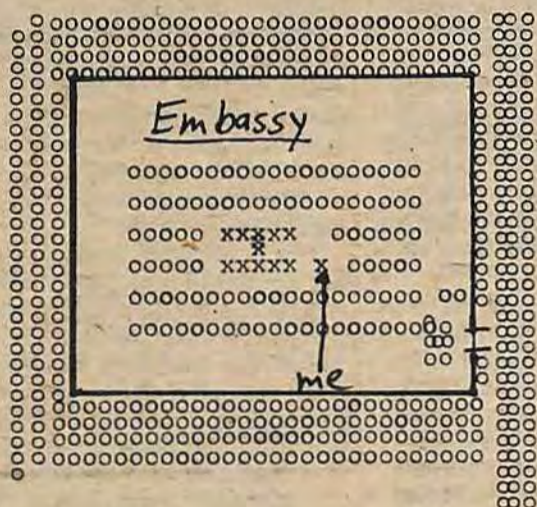
**Charlie:** Hold it a minute, Paul. I think you will recall that I was the one who originally had the idea for the raid. We had a crew which we called the Dirty Dozen that was gonna blast our way out of the embassy, commandeer a bus, grab every machine gun we could find and just mow anybody in our way down on our way to that godforsaken stretch of desert where we were going to plant the Stars and Stripes and dig in. We were going to hold Tabas as long as we could, either until we were shot or our provisions ran out. But certain people (present company included) in the group whose names I don't think would be appropriate to mention now, got cold feet and kept wanting to put it off.

**Paul:** Wait now, I think Charlie is distorting a few things. Perhaps he still has a touch of post-traumatic shock syndrome. A number of the weaker willed among our outfit have suffered from this, you know. The fact is, I for one on several occasions had to be physically held back by at least ten of my buddies from initiating the raid on my own. I took more than a few licks from those Iranian so-called students for that. They even made me stand out in a cold corridor and put my hands up against the wall while they snapped the waistband of my underwear. And the name of our group was the Magnificent Seven not the Dirty Dozen. There we were, Iranians to the right of us, Iranians to the left of us, Iranians all around us by the thousands, see. Now this stuff hasn't come out yet, but the people have to know the truth. I was going to lead the action no matter what hell we had to face. That flag was going to fly

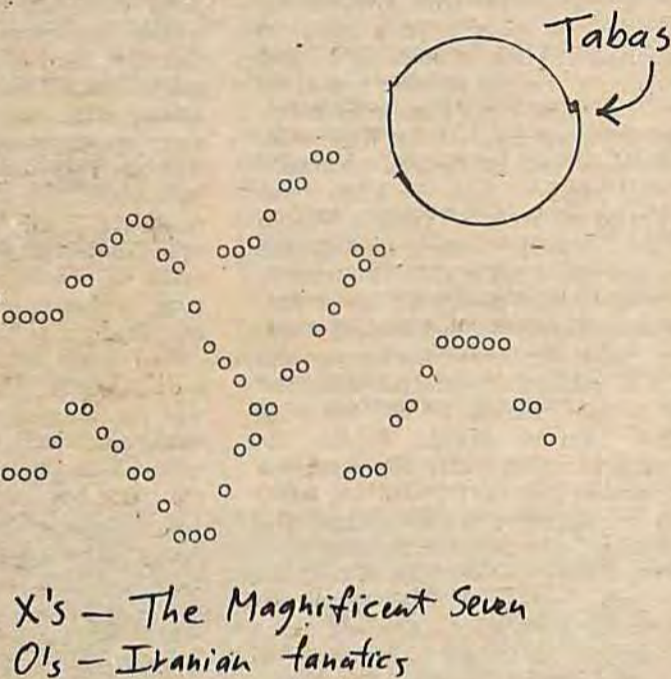
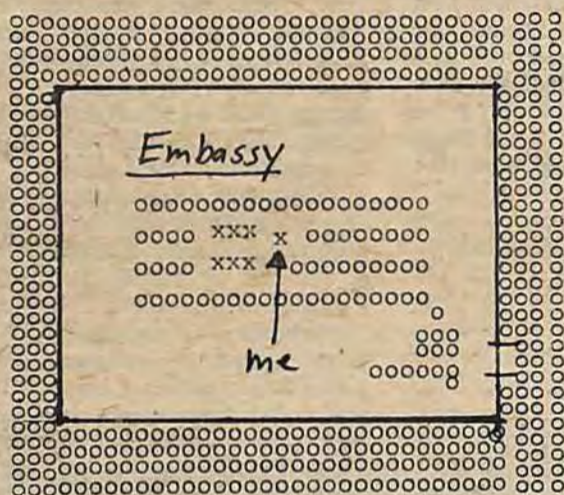
again on those burning sands.  
**Charlie:** Really Paul. You know that I was the one who had the idea and led the whole thing from the beginning. I even have a map of the plan here. See, the Xs are us and the Os are them.  
**Paul:** That's a fake. Here's the real plan.  
**Charlie:** You're a goddamn liar.  
**Paul:** I'm a liar! Why you...  
**Interviewer:** Hold it, before you boys have it out I would like to ask how you would feel about going back to Iran to finish the job you have so courageously planned? It's a remarkable story.  
**Charlie:** Well I for one am ready anytime as soon as I rest up a bit and finish my college education. I'm studying to be a neuro-surgeon you know.  
**Paul:** I don't know about anyone else, but I'm ready to go in a B-52 or anything else just as soon as I recover from my multiple sclerosis. Just let me at those Iranians...

Quite a story boys. Maybe Clint Eastwood will do the movie. Meanwhile just keep talking, millions upon millions around the world including the Iranian people are having a great laugh.

Charlie's Plan



Paul's Plan



## SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"...in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

44 pages, combined English/Spanish edition \$ .60

RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.



## Hostage "Settlement"

# How the Thieves of High Finance Have Robbed Iran

Since the return of the U.S. Embassy personnel from Iran, the airwaves have been filled with indignation at the "uncivilized," "barbaric," and "unlawful" conduct of the Iranian people for seizing and holding the American Embassy and the spies that ran it. In contrast, there are few institutions in the world that more epitomize the civility and respectability of imperialist society than the international banks—run by the gentlemen of high finance. A look at the financial side of the recent hostage agreement concluded between the U.S. and Iran, as well as the U.S. government's initial freezing of the Iranian assets can give us deeper insights into the nature of the "lawful" workings of this "civilized" society; and what we are confronted by is not simply a picture of robbery and plunder—but DOUBLE robbery to boot!!

As part of the settlement, American banks got paid \$3.7 billion out of Iran's frozen assets. This was repayment in full for the syndicated loans (those made by a number of banks in concert) contracted by the Shah's regime—not the new government—in the last years of the Shah's rule. *The Economist* magazine gloated that "The banks are getting back 100 cents on the dollar—a wonderful deal considering that Chrysler is offering them only 15¢ to the dollar."

But that isn't half the story! Consider where this money had gone (along with other loans from imperialist banks totalling about \$7 billion, as well as the rest of the wealth of Iran including some \$20 billion a year in oil revenues) after being loaned to the Shah's government or various comprador banks and industries in Iran.

To start with, by the late '70s, some \$5.5 billion a year went right back to U.S. corporations for arms purchases, and another \$18 billion a year went to various Western companies and banks (including some \$3.6 billion a year to the U.S.) for imports—mostly extravagant but useless industrial projects and luxury consumption for the upper classes.

On top of this, billions were simply stolen by the Shah, his family, and the clique of businessmen around them. For example, the Royal family took out an estimated \$1.1 billion worth of loans from a number of Iranian banks and companies that were never paid back, often after these companies or banks had contracted loans from the West. For example, the Shah borrowed over \$570 million alone from the Industrial and Mining Development Bank (in which Chase Manhattan had a 15% interest). This bank had received a loan of \$100 million from a consortium of banks managed by Iran Overseas Investment Bank, Deutsche Banke and Societe Generale in 1974; a \$200 million loan managed by Iran Overseas Development in 1976; a 13.5 billion yen loan managed by the Bank of Tokyo in 1977; and another \$150 million loan from the Iran Overseas Investment Bank in 1978 (see box for more).

During the revolution, two of the Shah's relatives alone took over \$1.8 billion out of the country, and some 180 top Iranian comprador bourgeois were exposed as having taken \$2.8 billion out. During his 38 year reign the Shah is estimated to have amassed a fortune of between \$25 and \$56 billion, much of it transferred abroad.

And where might we ask did this money, stolen from Iran, end up? Right back in U.S. and European banks! During the last years of the Shah's regime, fully \$15 billion in Iranian oil revenues were circulated through Chase Manhattan Bank, and much of the Shah's "personal" fortune was also deposited there. The godfathers of high finance in

turn used this capital deposited in their banks to extract more loans and to rake in billions more. These deals were so lucrative that there were always big kickbacks paid to the Iranian compradors in return for securing loans for this or that bank, and this is also why the international banks—particularly Chase—was instrumental in helping the Iranian bourgeoisie transfer funds out of Iran during the revolution. This is also why the demand for the return of the Shah's wealth struck a nerve with the U.S. imperialists.

Or as David Rockefeller, the ex-chairman of Chase put it, "We never feel we're dealing primarily with a ruler, though you can't overlook him. We try to make loans that are sound for the country, that the successor regime will find comfortable." (*New York Times* 11/11/80) Well, Mr. Rockefeller certainly couldn't be accused of overlooking the Shah! And what he means by "sound" and "comfortable" was well expressed when a cheer went up on the New York Stock Exchange after Reagan hinted that he wasn't necessarily bound by the deal with Iran: "sound" for U.S. imperialism, with their teeth "comfortably" situated in

Comparisons of loans made from western banks to Iranian businesses and subsequent loans made from these businesses to the Shah.

Loans made by western banks to Iran	Loans made from Iranian businesses to the Shah and members of his family
To the Agricultural Development Bank of Iran: 1977; \$130 million managed by First Boston Bank and Chemical Bank	From the Agricultural Development Bank of Iran to: Abdol Reza Pahlavi (Shah's brother) 1,686,824,291 rials (about \$24 million)
1977; 40 million DM. from a German Bank, Bayerische Landesbank	Mahmoud Reza Pahlavi (Shah's brother) 783,085,295 rials (\$11 million approx.)
1977; 80 million from First Boston and Chemical Bank	Shah's sister Ashraf's son Shahriar Pahlavi; 106,000,000 rials (approx. \$1.4 million)
1978; 10 billion yen from Mitsubishi Trust and Banking	Shahrazad Pahlbod (Princess Ashraf's daughter) 212,207,500 rials (\$2 million approx.)
	Gholam Reza Pahlavi 66,858,000 (approx. \$1 million)
	Shams Pahlavi 8,958,846,517 (approx. \$130 million)
To the Pahlavi Foundation: 1977; \$25 million from KBLux and NatWest	Pahlavi foundation owned by the Shah personally
To Iran Air: 1977; \$72 million from Iran Overseas Investment Bank	Iran Air lent the Pahlavi family 84,836,947 rials—about \$1.1 million through the Banke Taavone

the throat of the country upon whom they have bestowed their filthy loans.

In sum, billions were funneled into Iran that were never used to benefit the Iranian masses, but simply went back into the coffers of western finance capital. Now these finance capitalists have extorted yet *another* repayment from the Iranian people and on top of it they are squealing—like vampires—about how unfair it is that their

prey still bleed when they're bitten.

Of course all this is perfectly legal under "international law," which dictates that even their own banking procedures can't stand in the way of progress. (In the face of all this, we might just add in passing, that for these thieves to claim that the Iranian government just doesn't understand U.S. financial law is nothing more than

Continued on page 22

## He Loves Amerikkka

Where do you go when you're desperate for news on the so-called "surge of national homage" to the returned ex-hostages? For the bourgeois press in the San Francisco Bay Area it's been tough finding adequate quantities of the red, white, blue and yellow to fill the TV screens and newspapers. They've had to travel great distances to upper middle-class neighborhoods or photograph police cars with ribbons on their aerials. But one gold mine for media flag-waving has been local reactionary Iranians who've always supported the Shah. For all that would listen they've clinked the champagne glasses to freedom, prayed for Khomeini's overthrow and one has even sent \$1,000 Persian rug gift certificates to each of the hostages.

One touching story of patriotism concerns Ahmad Morgimi, naturalized and Americanized into one Adam Morgan, proprietor of Spotless Cleaners in San Anselmo. Hundreds of little flags yellow ribbons, big flags and Hallelujah signs have made this Marin County spot an imperialist visual feast. As the cameras roll Morgimi says, "I did it for the silent majority of Iranians still held hostage by Khomeini's regime. I came to America as a penniless immigrant, now I am rich. America gave me life, this is how I honor America."

The former member of the Iranian big bourgeoisie has good reason to honor America. He told our reporter that he was a big landlord and land developer in Iran in the late 1960s. He was worth millions but a thieves-type falling-out with the Shah caused him to have his assets confiscated in the name of the "King's revolution." A letter of reference from the U.S. embassy in Tehran authenticates his wealth at 3 times that of Iran's second largest bank. Here's a man with a great reason to be an American patriot. Without this country he could never have accomplished all this.

But he isn't resigned to his current life as a dry cleaner. He dreams of a return to the riches he once knew—with U.S. imperialism's help. "President Truman did a fine job in 1953 when he helped the young Shah come to power. Now 99% of the Iranian people are against Khomeini but they need direction. The U.S. should select a dozen Iranians like me to

speak to the Iranian people over the radio. They are like a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Bakhtiar is such a shepherd and the Shah's son is such a shepherd." Mr. Morgan's flag-waving could pay high rewards for him. But he must be certain that his return is well-prepared for by the U.S. and their thugs and assorted flunkies because the name of Ahmad Morgimi is well-known inside Iraq. Much of his wealth came as he constructed a suburb of Tehran called

New Karaj. To do so he had 7 villages bulldozed and the peasants were driven away from their homes so Tehran's rich could commute out of the city's smog and summer heat. He must be thankful to the Shah for sending him packing before the revolution because a co-developer of New Karaj, one El Ghonion, was one of the first hanged after the Shah's overthrow. A similar fate awaits Adam Morgan upon his return. □



A display set up in Adam Morgan's dry cleaners. Atop a marble pedestal sits a glass case which holds the shoes he wore while "getting rich in the U.S.". A plaque in front reads "My walk to freedom," and another on top of the case is a copy of an article he submitted to the National Enquirer. Yellow ribbons nicely complete this reactionary picture.



# Report from Walla Walla on Conditions of Black Prisoners

In RW No. 86 we reported that a dozen prisoners were thrown into the Segregation Unit at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla in the wake of a revolt staged by prisoners on December 29th. Since then the RW has received the following report from one of the Black prisoners who was thrown into Segregation following the rebellion. After we received this report, prisoners staged a 7 day strike, refusing to go to work in the prison industries or attend classes. Following this strike the prison administration retaliated by throwing over 20 more prisoners into segregation. We have also received a report that the prison administration has added another tier to the segregation unit to hold all the prisoners they have decided are too "dangerous" to allow in the general prison population.

In reference to your mailgram directed to me, which I received on January 6, 1981, concerning the feelings of the Black prisoners, now confined in the segregation unit of the Washington State Prison. I shall convey the general sentiments of those of us in prison for being activists in our struggle for equality.

The Washington State Penitentiary, located in the desert of a community called Walla Walla, is presently being operated by the most vicious, racist and assaultive elements of "man." For the Black prisoners, confinement here con-

stitutes misery and suffering, and this is a cruel place, because of the KKK mentality that prevails out of ignorance and insensitivity to the needs of the minority offenders. Blacks are met with the same racism, oppression, and degradation as those in the free community, in a different manner maybe, but with the same systematic practice. Blacks are constantly harassed, provoked, mistreated, and violations of civil and constitutional rights are a common occurrence. Our problems are political and the solution must be obtained through political channels.

The conditions of this penitentiary have not changed, although a federal judge ruled conditions were "cruel and unusual," and ordered the state to improve conditions. Guard brutality is commonplace. Programs for Blacks are inadequate to meet our individualized needs, and treatment is a farce. The tampering with mail, the beating of residents, the forcing of the taking of medication and the neglect of medical treatment are just a few of the many problems Blacks are subjected to, that plague this prison. Idleness is apparent, since over 45% of the Black population is unemployed or underemployed. The administration makes meager attempts to provide programs. Their efforts produce such trivial results as the fix-it shop and license plate production, but such jobs are not available in the free community, thus these efforts can only

be classified as failures. The administration's true intentions, which can be illustrated by documented facts, are to institutionalize the Black prisoner, to mold him into a mentality that believes all the rhetoric provided to society.

An example of the racism that permeates this institution manifested itself in the fullest and truest form after the December 29, 1980 disturbance. The catalyst for this disturbance was the negative treatment of the Blacks and other prisoners. Now, because the administration realized they are responsible, they are trying to employ the usual methods of covering up—by blaming "negative elements"—and if the public isn't careful they will be successful. Every Black who was locked up in segregation as a result of this disturbance was given upon appearance before the racist disciplinary hearing the maximum sanction allotted and possible. The administration called in their chief racist—Lieutenant Dodd—to administer what they tell the public was justice. One consumed with racism and fear is unable to see the racist nature of this penitentiary, which constantly manifests itself, especially in the instant case involving Blacks.

The minimal sanction rendered to Blacks was 10 days isolation, 20 days segregation, loss of good time for the reporting period... and 4 of the Blacks received recommendation that 2 to 3 years be added to their minimum sen-

tence... Since being in the segregation unit, combined with the trauma of being convicted by a racist, arbitrary, and discriminatory kangaroo disciplinary hearing the mood of the Blacks in segregation—there are 10 of us—is one that we are political prisoners caught up in a malicious plot of repression and retaliation by the racist prison administration. This is a deliberate attempt to silence the leadership of the Blacks and other minorities from exposing the racist practices and inequities, which are presently and have been ongoing with a total lack of regard to the order made last summer by Judge Jack Tanner, that racism and retaliatory tactics would no longer be employed toward minorities confined in the Washington State Penitentiary.

In the struggle,  
Bennie Washington

## Correction

In RW No. 85 a statement condemning the repression of Native American prisoners at Walla Walla was incorrectly printed as a statement by members of the Brotherhood of American Indians at Walla Walla. In fact this statement was written by a prisoner supporting the struggles of Native American prisoners. □

## As Officials Grandstand and the Press Chuckles

# Freezing Death Stalks New York

Worriedly trying to make light of the misery caused by the recent cold wave that has hit New York City and the eastern part of the U.S., a recent *New York Times* editorial entitled "The Good News About the Cold" reminds its readers to look on the bright side, saying in part:

"On the theory that thinking makes it so, this good news about the weather:...

"Women distressed by unwanted intimacies on crowded buses and subways are discovering that a foot-thick layer of down protects, and probably deters.

"Parents who wonder where their children are now know: next to the radiator.

"Joggers can feel even more virtuous by virtue of jogging at 3 degrees....

"The Hudson (a polluted sewer and garbage dump—RW), now a deep blue only where not choked with ice, reminds us that it is a great river, and not just a watery stretch between two states.

"And now New Yorkers, at least, have another reason to declare that adversity forms the character of New Yorkers."

Ha...ha...ha. How very cute and clever. And more to the point, how ridiculous and desperate an attempt to laugh off another criminal evil of the madness that is capitalism. The *New York Post* got even cruder, suggesting that the best ways to deal with the cold were either to get rip-roaring drunk or to write a pornographic novel to keep yourself hot-blooded! In recent weeks, at least 20 people have frozen to death in New York City alone. This figure added to those in other cities and including those who died in the heat wave last summer brings the total of official deaths due to the "weather" since last summer to over 1500. The actual total is most likely much higher. The victims, of course, are the elderly who, after

slaving their lives away making profit for someone else, are tossed off like so much useless waste to fend for themselves and subsist on a measly fixed income, and poor people generally who live in rat and roach-infested falling-down tenements, housing projects, and sometimes just plain old shacks.

This is the ugly reality behind the "America the Beautiful" that various chumps and fools have been chirping about as they wave their American flags welcoming home their 52 hostages. The frozen body of one elderly woman in New York had to be chipped off the floor of her apartment. She was frozen to the floor in a block of ice. Many bodies have been found bundled up in blankets as they desperately attempted to keep warm. One retired seaman tried to keep warm by soaking parts of his body in pans of warm water. He was found dead too. In many cities whole families are forced to bundle up in all their winter clothes and blankets and huddle together to keep warm next to stone-cold radiators and heaters that don't work either because the landlord doesn't want to shell out the money to fix them or because the utility companies have shut off their heat.

With this nightmarish situation, the bourgeoisie has unavoidably and once again provided the masses of people with a vivid object lesson in the glories and wonders of the free enterprise system. Why should slumlords (most commonly banks and other large financial enterprises) pay a bunch of money to fix a dilapidated heating system or replace it? That costs too much money. That's unprofitable activity and a fundamental violation of a most sacred law—profit, profit, and more profit. In Chicago, the ironically named People's Gas Company has seen fit to raise their rates in the middle of this winter—all according to the city,

state, and federal law, of course. In fact, People's Gas has followed the laws that their class has drawn up to the letter. Faced with increasing anger at gas shut-offs in the past, the city passed a law making it illegal for a utility company to shut off someone's heat for non-payment after the temperature went below 32 degrees. People's Gas followed this to the letter and started cutting people off when the temperature went below 55 degrees instead. The ambitious executive who thought of that ingenious move was no doubt given a promotion for his excellent grasp and application of capitalistic principles.

As New York's emergency switchboard was bombarded with complaints of no heat and/or no hot water, and as finding frozen bodies in these ramshackle tenements became an everyday occurrence, Mayor Koch and the rest of the "city fathers" became visibly "concerned." Faced with over 194,000 calls to the emergency number so far this winter, and with what the city termed a "riotous condition" in one of the housing projects, Koch & Co. moved to try to cool things down, heaping on still more cynical outrages in a desperate attempt to cover over the foul ugliness already so evident. With Koch leading the way, he and a couple of his city hall cronies "sacrificed their warm offices" and "braved the ravaging cold" to go down to the emergency phone-in center. There he personally took four calls from angry and heatless persons (the center had received 2,315 calls before the mayor's arrival at noon). Immediately, and with the proper tone of shock and alarm, the city politicians announced the launching of a new program to deal with the crisis situation.

New York's Governor Carey announced the opening of the state's National Guard armories to anyone who was without heat; Koch vowed a crack-

down on "unconscionable landlords" and promised to hire more housing inspectors and opened the doors of vacant city-owned apartments for a couple of hundred frozen-out people to stay at; and the Department of Housing Preservation and Development found more money to add to their budget. It was all a shuck and a jive of the first order.

Who knows what the Housing Dept. is actually going to do with the newly found \$715,000 (certainly not buy any new furnaces)—and even this pittance is only designated for use in "future crises of this magnitude." And Koch's new phalanx of tenacious and forthright housing inspectors, it seems, have to go through a "few weeks of training"—no doubt to learn new and more sophisticated techniques of closing their eyes except to bribes from landlords. And anyway, the city's housing inspectors had already inspected and approved all the broken boilers, the useless radiators, etc. weeks before the cold wave hit. Further, the vacant city-owned apartments that were so graciously offered have turned-out in the majority of cases to be burned-out, rat-infested, roach-infested and cold—just like the occupied city-owned apartment buildings. So much for the landlords Koch vowed to get. To date only one landlord has been sent to jail, for all of 30 days. Of course, in all of this, Koch neglected to mention that the biggest slumlord in New York is the city government itself, which owns huge sections of the city's real estate!

But of course, it is not these stark conditions of life for tens of thousands of people in New York City alone that reach the bourgeois press during this killer cold wave. No, instead it's reports and articles glorifying the "regentrification" (urban renewal) of downtown Manhattan, with its luxury hotels, modern centrally heated and cooled office buildings, etc., all specially available for those who have a yearly income of \$70,000 or more. While the ruling class of New York plan their "fantasy island," tens of thousands live in a freezing hell in Manhattan's (and the other boroughs as well) tenement slums, struggling just to keep warm.

Meanwhile, the magnanimous opening of the city's armories was quickly revealed for the public relations gimmick that it was when it was discovered that they could only accommodate 2500 people—a mere fraction of those

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# Rough Water for Supertankers in Puget Sound

On January 23 the Coast Guard began "tests" off the Northwestern tip of Washington state which were to provide the pretext for future federal regulations permitting oil supertankers into Washington's Puget Sound. Coast Guard patrol boats and two helicopters were on hand to make sure nobody disrupted the proceedings, but to no avail.

As the supertanker B.P. San Diego and two accompanying tug boats began the first day of tests, tiny inflatable rafts manned by members of the Green Peace Organization streaked towards the tanker. The tugs backed off and the tests came to an end while patrol boats gave chase, helicopters hovering above. By the end of the second day of tests, 12 people had been arrested and one had eluded the Coast Guard, escaping into Canadian waters. All 12 were charged with felonies carrying a possible \$50,000 fine and 5 years in jail. The Coast Guard had announced before the tests began that they would throw the book at anyone interfering, and the heavy charges were no doubt intended to intimidate those who in the future might consider protesting these plans to bring supertankers into Puget Sound.

Green Peace is an environmental group which opposes the supertankers because of the big danger of oil leaks as well as the havoc the enormous ships will wreak with the environment in general. What particularly irked officials was that the protests served to highlight the farcical nature of the coast guard tests. At one point in the test a tug attempted to bring the enormous supertanker to a halt after it cut power while traveling at 6 knots—half the normal cruising speed in the area. It took 29 minutes to stop the tanker which by that time had traveled another 2.2 miles and veered 22 degrees of course. This in a channel which at places is only a mile wide! At other points a tug ended up putting a large dent in the side of the tanker when attempting to steer it onto a new course, a line three inches thick snapped while trying to keep the tanker on course, and a whole series of tests was cancelled when the tanker started pulling a tug backwards through the water.

Of course, none of the technical difficulties revealed by these tests and brought to light of day by the actions of protestors, is likely to convince the authorities to relent in their efforts to bring supertankers into Puget Sound. Besides the various oil companies which have oil refineries on Puget Sound and stand to profit considerably if the larger supertankers are allowed, the bourgeoisie as a whole has compelling reasons to expand the shipment of oil to western Washington. At present the U.S. lacks the refinery capacity on the west coast to handle production from the Alaskan oil fields. So oil from Alaska must be shipped through the Panama Canal—a long and costly trip.

And as rivalry between the U.S. and Soviet Union grows more intense; the U.S. has a compelling necessity to find more secure ways to transport petroleum than a steady stream of tankers crossing the high seas.

As a result, a number of different ways of shipping oil from Puget Sound are being explored. One proposal is to build a pipeline that would run underneath Puget Sound and continue eastward to the midwest. A version of this plan called the Northern Pier Pipeline and backed by the likes of Getty Oil, US Steel, Burlington Northern Railway and Westinghouse, received the official blessing of Jimmy Carter over a year ago. But this project also faces substantial opposition by Green

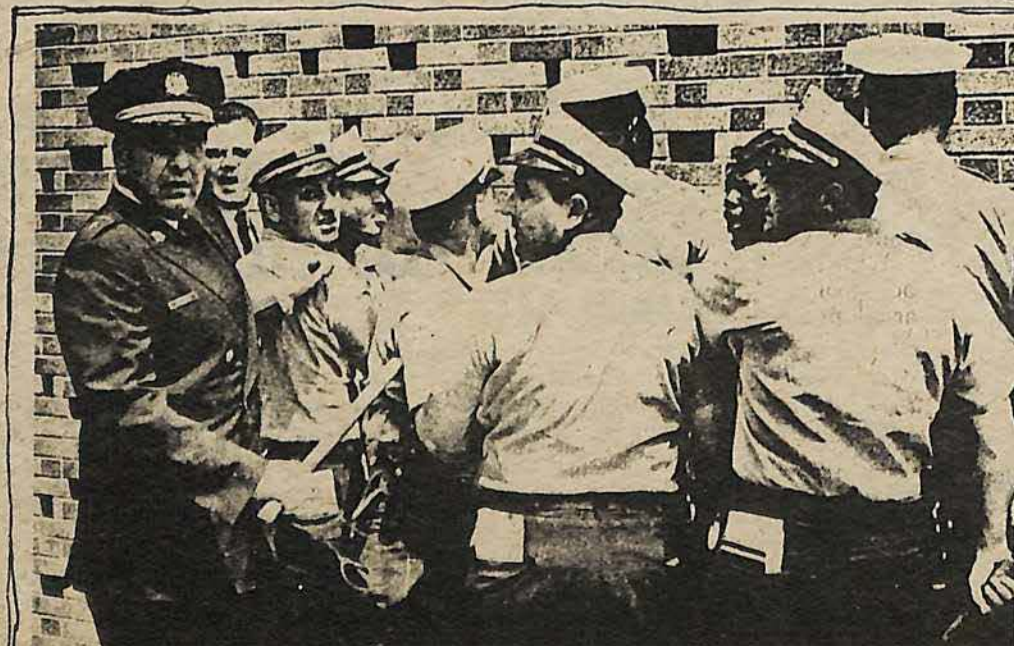
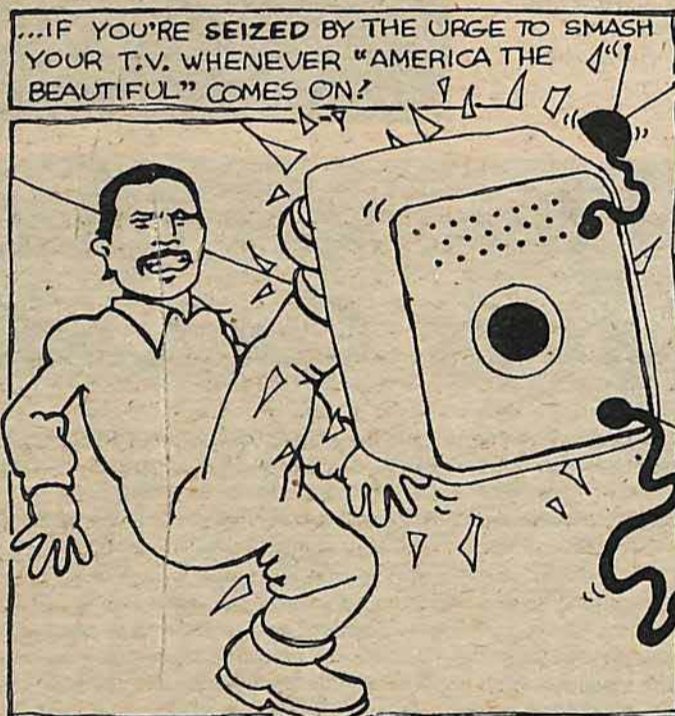
Peace, many other environmental organizations, and Indian Tribes whose lands and fisheries could well be ruined by spills from the pipeline. Financing for such a huge undertaking is also a problem.

So meanwhile, the U.S. has prepared plans to bring the mammoth tankers into Puget Sound and expand existing refineries in the area. A key part of this is the Coast Guard's moves to overturn existing federal regulations which bar supertankers from the Sound. And while competing interests among the ruling class are haggling over the best way to bring Alaskan oil to the refineries, what they clearly do not want to see, and what particularly gets them about the Green Peace protests, is

the direct challenge to laws, rules and regulations designed to exclude the masses of people from having anything to say about all this.

One sign of the furor kicked up by the Green Peace protests was the announcement, made by the U.S. attorney in Seattle several days after the coast guard had concluded the tests, that felony charges filed against those disrupting the tests were being dropped to misdemeanors. Attempts of intimidation with threats of heavy charges had backfired and, after a few days of frantic consultations, federal officials decided to back down in the hope of diffusing the situation. □

## The Hostage Syndrome



...AND IF EVERY TIME YOU HEAR THE WORD "TORTURE" YOU IMAGINE SCENES LIKE THIS ONE...

Philadelphia police chief Rizzo, with club, leads police in beating a Black girl demonstrating at the State Office Building.

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**REVOLUTIONARY WORKER**  
Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.





On Monday, January 26, successful demonstrations, called by the RCP and endorsed by many progressive and revolutionary groups and individuals were held at the Chinese embassy and consulates. Houston, Texas; San Francisco, California (above right), New York and Washington, D.C. (above left). Held in the wake of the sentencing of Mao's revolutionary comrades, the slogans of these actions were: Long Live Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao! Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution! and Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail, Revolution Will Prevail All Over the World!



## Statements of Support for Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

### Solidarity,

The Irish who have known 800 years of rule by British Imperialism stand against all oppression of people of all nations. We are the right arm of the Irish Republic and uphold Chiang Ching and her accomplishments for China and around the world.

Frank Hanratty  
Irish Revolutionary Council  
Irish Republican Army

The following statement was to be read by this ex-Panther at the San Francisco demonstration, but the brother had his nose broken the night before by the Oakland police when they waded into a crowd celebrating the Raiders' Super Bowl win.

I got into the Panthers right after the killing of little brother Bobby Hutton. My ex-old lady turned me on to Mao Tsetung and his teachings, and still to this day I think his philosophy is the way it's got to be. When China was a socialist country under the leadership of Mao Tsetung it was the highest form of society that man had ever achieved and inspired many people around the world.

After the Panthers broke up and I started to do other things, it wasn't until I met people selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper that my revolutionary spirits got rekindled, that I found there were other people who still uphold Mao.

Today what the ruling class is trying to do with Chiang Ching; they don't want her to continue what Mao Tsetung was doing when he was alive—to uphold working class revolution worldwide. It's time for those of us who have the Red Book to dust them off and hold them up high and to be like Chiang Ching.

Ex-Black Panther and Co-Conspirator  
East Oakland

To the judges in the trial of Mao Tsetung and supporters and to the puppeteers Deng, Hua and the other revisionist riff-raff:

The revolutionary spirit and iron will of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao stand in stark contrast to your reactionary drivel and plans to lead China down a capitalist road locked-arms with one of the blood thirsty superpowers. Your inability to conduct this railroad without meeting resistance at every turn is only a small sample of what is in store for your class worldwide when you try to arm the masses of people for imperialist war. Free Mao's Comrades! Long live the revolutionary outlook of the working class! Death to all reaction!

Donald Davis  
a member of the professional community  
in Baltimore, Maryland

As a woman being oppressed and harassed on the job and throughout this oppressive society, I see Chiang Ching represents the strength and beauty in women who are willing to fight their oppressors.

Alexandra Klevyitska Rymland  
Maryland State Dept. of Mental Health

I personally feel that Chiang Ching is the epitome of what every revolutionary across the world should be about and that is a policy on non-capitulation to imperialism wherever it rears its ugly head. I for one personally feel that Chiang Ching is the profound god-mother of this worldwide movement toward freeing the masses of oppressed people of the earth. One of the basic reasons we should all support Chiang Ching is because she is upholding Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line and it shouldn't take very much to remind us of the fact that it was Mao who first recognized the Black Panther Party's struggle against this madness that

is known as imperialism. Mao didn't just mouth off about being sympathetic to the Black Panther Party's struggle against imperialism. Mao went so far as to invite Huey P. Newton and other officials of the Panther hierarchy on a historic state visit to China. Understanding fully well all of this, it should present to each and every individual who reads this statement a personal challenge in terms of re-commitment to freeing all oppressed people of the world. When I speak in terms of re-commitment I mean anybody who has been about the business of revolution. This includes any and everybody who might have possibly aspired to be revolutionary. In closing I would like to say that even though I hardly qualify to

speak for the revolutionaries of the world, I would like for the word to go forth to Chiang Ching that if by chance the revisionist dogs of China's ruling class decide to chop off her head then the only thing I ask of the revolutionaries that are left in China—just point those lackeys out to me, save them for me.

Yours in commitment,  
an ex-Black Panther

Revolution will never die. This shall not be forgotten. This should be the stepping stone toward world wide revolution.

The Cosmic Rooster  
Baltimore disc-jockey

## Endorsers of January 26 Demonstration

The following is a list of endorsers of the January 26 demonstrations in solidarity with Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, Mao's revolutionary comrades, held in San Francisco, New York, Houston and Washington, D.C.

Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center  
The Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles  
Florynce Kennedy, attorney, delegate First World Feminist Conference in Copenhagen, July 1980  
Conrad Lynn, Attorney, Black revolutionary activist  
The 11th Hour Battalion  
Black Women's Revolutionary Council

Chico Feminist Women's Health Center  
Lisa Harkavy, feminist activist  
Pat McGuinness, abortion rights activist  
Max Beagerie, ex-activist, U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association  
Claudia Beagerie, ex-activist, USCPFA  
Iranian Student Association, University of California Berkeley  
Committee to Support the Continuing Iranian Revolution  
VVAW (A.I.)  
RCYB  
RCP, USA  
John Hurst, professor of education, UC Berkeley  
Robert Trapp, Black poet

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# Haitians Face Deportation Threat in Bahamas

In the Bahamas, up to 40,000 Haitian refugees are the target of a Bahamian government expulsion order and a program of mass arrest and mass deportations back to Haiti. The expulsion order includes not only the waves of refugees who have landed there in recent months as part of the desperate flight of hundreds of thousands of Haitians from the collapsing economy and the brutal terror of the Duvalier regime—one of the "showcases" of U.S. imperialist domination in the hemisphere. Thousands of Haitians who have worked in the Bahamas for years are being swept up as well, as the Bahamian regime orchestrates a chorus of racist hysteria against all Haitians and incites police and organized vigilante violence to drive the Haitians out.

The chief—and almost the only—industry in the Bahamas which has a permanent population of about 250,000, is catering to the U.S. and world tourist trade. Haitians at present make up over 10% of the population and an even greater percent of the work force. The

large influx of refugees of the Duvalier regime in Haiti, which has accelerated as the U.S. has instituted its own crackdown against so-called "illegal" Haitian immigration, is being blamed by the Bahamian authorities for "ruining the tourist trade"—marring the travel brochure image of the "tranquil Caribbean paradise" with ugly evidence of the hellish realities of U.S. imperialist rule at its doorstep. At the Bahamian port of Cayo Lobos, debarking Haitians and Haitian-squatter camps were violently attacked by platoons of Bahamian police, many being forced back into their boats after being beaten.

In early January, the government announced the deadline was January 18th for "illegal immigrants" to leave the country, or face arrest and immediate deportation. The threats were broadcast in Creole on the local radio stations repeatedly throughout the month. According to *Haiti Observateur*, by the expiration date 1,000 had already been "ready for deportation," awaiting a means of transport. Since there is no

regular air or ocean service between Haiti and the Bahamas, and since the U.S. will not permit refugees to come here, the Bahamian order to "get out" means little more than a prelude to rounding up thousands of refugees like slaves and crowding them into the holds of ships to return the "escapees" to the plantation from which they escaped.

In part because of the huge logistical problems involved in actually rounding up and returning 25,000 refugees to the "island hell hole" and also due to fears by the Bahamian authorities of mass violent resistance by the refugees, the government announced after the expiration of the January 18 "deadline" it would delay following through on the arrests. Bahama is said to be seeking "financial assistance" from the U.S. to underwrite the roundup. The U.S. Coast Guard has beefed up its patrol along the Florida coast, to prevent any refugees from attempting to escape arrest through slipping into the U.S.

The refugee crisis which is sweeping the Western hemisphere like a whirl-

wind is the vicious legacy of wreckage and ruin inflicted by imperialism. Literally millions of refugees from Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere in Central and Latin America are caught up in a cycle of flight from starvation and repression from one hell hole to the next; the sordid reality behind the picture postcard "Tropical Paradise" image of the Bahamas is a graphic exposure of this. But while U.S. imperialism frantically attempts to herd these refugees back into their pens, or to set up concentration camps in Caribbean outposts such as Puerto Rico—while muttering pious expressions of "pity" and "concern for the refugees' plight"—what they actually feel is not pity but fear. The refugees are not only resisting being "herded back into their pens," but represent yet another threat to the stability of the structure of U.S. economic and political control in the hemisphere, and yet another potential breeding ground for revolution. □

## Attacks on Socialism

Continued from page 7

states the first period was mainly positive. Of course, the "mistakes" of this period are the advances made by the proletariat after 1957 when the transformation of ownership of the means of production had basically been completed. By no means few, these included the Great Leap Forward, the development of the people's communes, the struggle of the early '60's between revolution and revisionism on the educational front, and other advances. As Mao was later to characterize revisionist opposition to the development of the proletarian revolution, especially in this period: "With the socialist revolution, they themselves come under fire."

But, as is well known, the other great hallmark of Mao's line in this period was his leadership of the international struggle against Soviet revisionism, a struggle of monumental significance which exposed the rise to power in the Soviet Union of a capitalist class headed by Khrushchev and rallied revolutionaries around the world to oppose this. Was waging this struggle also a "mistake"? Perhaps this is now the "unanimous view" of the Chinese revisionists. Certainly the resurrection in China of Peng Dehuai, would indicate that this is the case. Peng, China's Minister of Defense in the '50s, met with Khrushchev to plot the overthrow of Mao, but he himself was overthrown by the revolutionaries in 1959. And what about Liu Shaoqi—"China's Khrushchev" and principal target of the Cultural Revolution? In China today, there is no praise lavish enough to be heaped upon this renegade, as witnessed by the "testimony" by his widow against Chiang Ching.

Developing this theme, it's interesting to return to Hu's interview. *Xinhua* reports this little revisionist interlude as follows. "Discussing the trends of opposing a 'leading party' and demanding independence and non-interference in each other's affairs in the international communist movement, Hu Yaobang said: 'the trends of demanding independence and equality in the international communist movement date back to the 1940s. It is contrary to the principles of the international communist movement for one party to interfere with another party's affairs... The parties in Europe are opposing an international leading center... The practice of acting as a patriarchal party can only bring disaster and no advantage at all, to the international communist movement.'"

By "leading party," Hu is talking about the Soviets, otherwise the reference to the 1940s makes no sense. This was when Tito in Yugoslavia, Gomulka in Poland, and others opted

for an "independent development" of their respective countries (this in fact meant independence from the Soviets but dependence on U.S. imperialism.) Of course, much has changed in the world since then, specifically, the rise to state power of revisionism in the Soviet Union. But the example suits Hu's needs. Extremely remarkable here is the unstated inclusion of the *Soviets* in what Hu calls the international communist movement. It's almost as if they're all in the same ballpark—the Soviet party, the Chinese party, the different European parties—but that there's a few contradictions to work out in this new-founded (or *confounded*) "socialist camp," namely, the position of the Soviets as a "patriarchal party." To borrow a phrase from the popular culture of a certain imperialist power to whom these statements can only bode ill: Now, *That's Incredible!*

The particular pulpit from which Hu delivered this sermon is noteworthy. Drakopoulos is only one of a string of similar "Eurocommunist" clones to visit China in the last year. Also making the trek have been Carillo of the Spanish CP and Berlinguer from Italy, all seeking relations with the Chinese party. These parties certainly never broke with Soviet revisionism. In fact, they sided with the Soviets down the line in the early 60s, and now Hu, recounting Mao's "mistakes" during this period and later, welcomes them with open arms. (In passing, we should point out the delight with which the revisionist Communist Party of France has hailed Hu Yaobang. Its newspaper, *L'Humanité*, recently applauded the trial of "the defunct chairman, the Cultural Revolution and its crimes.") Of course, "Eurocommunism" also exhibits contradictions with the Soviets, stemming principally from operating in countries which are part of the U.S. alliance. As things move toward world war, a great deal of pressure will obviously be exerted on these parties, throwing them into internal crisis. The Chinese may well be seeking to use their relationship with these parties as capital and a bargaining chip in any future "reconciliation" with the Soviets. In other words, the terms of such an agreement could be outlined here, the Chinese offering to use their clout with the Europeans to smooth out potential bumps in the hazardous road ahead. Hu seems to be saying that part of the deal would be a guarantee that the Soviets not act as "patriarchs" and that the Chinese should be guaranteed their rightful place in this revisionist cabal. Keep dreaming, Hu—it's gotten you this far!

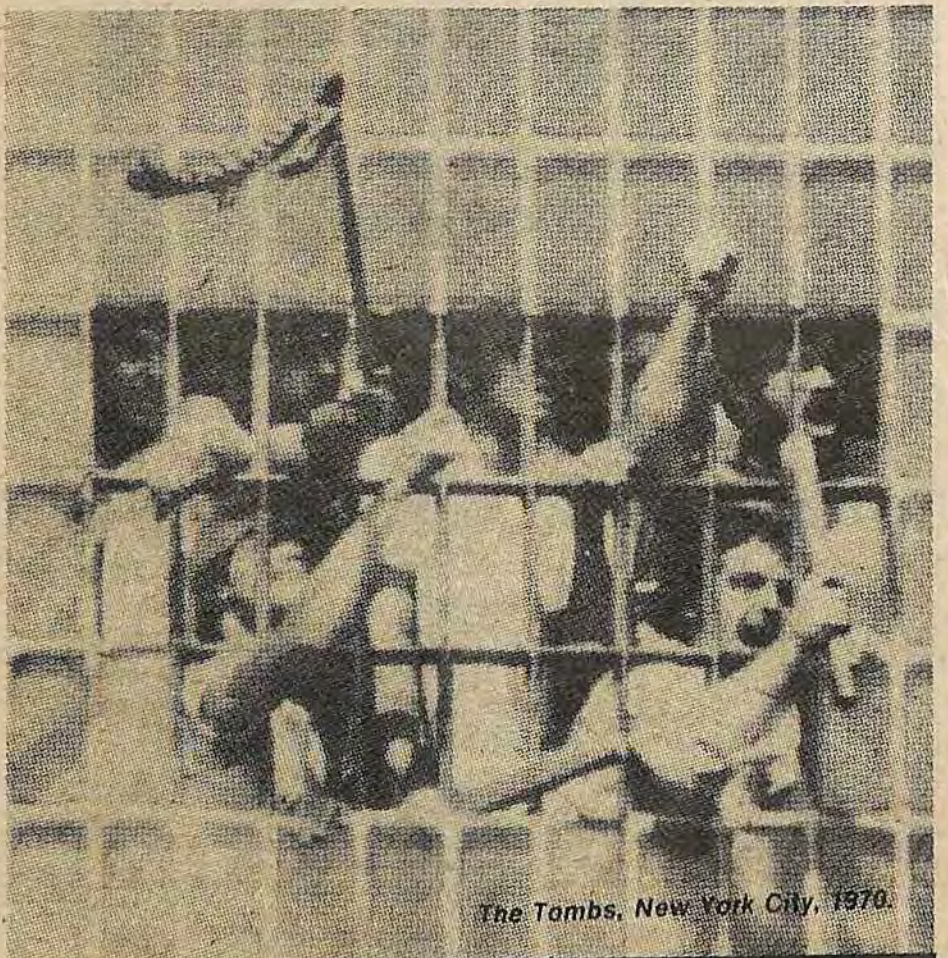
*Xinhua* further quotes Hu as saying: "One of our mistakes was closing the country to the outside world. The history of various countries shows that

a closed door policy is unfavorable to national development. Yugoslavia, Romania, and Korea have done better than China in this regard." While he casts all this in economic terms, his intent is clearly political. Romania, despite "independent" flirtations in the early 70s remains solidly aligned with the Soviets and is a member of the Warsaw Pact. Is this the kind of independence Hu is talking about? North Korea never really broke with Soviet revisionism, and while Yugoslavia has been in the camp since the late 40s, its future, especially since the death of Tito, is just as certainly in question. Could Hu be offering the Soviets the political services of Chinese revisionism as regards Yugoslavia? He could well be.

Of course it is principally the

developing international situation—the tightening of war blocs by the superpowers—that serves as the underlying basis for all this bourgeois politicking. But this is more or less the point, because the acceleration of events towards war is also the basis of the possible "switching sides" of any country, most especially including China. Under Deng, China must capitulate to one or the other imperialist superpower, ultimately choosing the path of least resistance. And while the current—AC, or DC—is undoubtedly the subject of struggle among bourgeois factions in China today, Hu's statement shows there is thinking at least far-sighted enough to recognize that in order to avoid being scrambled, the Chinese revisionists' eggs may well end up in the Soviet basket.

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls



The Tombs, New York City, 1970.

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the

Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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



# A Calculated Insult

"You want a holiday? We have just the one for you people!" said the Virginia State Senate as it voted two weeks ago to add the honor of Martin Luther King, Jr. to the celebration of Lee-Jackson Day, Virginia's version of Confederate memorial day. Amid sarcastic references to "integrating" the state holiday, which falls on the third Monday of January, the Senate voted 30 to 8 to make a disgusting mockery of the call for a holiday to honor King by deliberately placing it together with Virginia's holiday for two confederate generals who fought to preserve slavery. The intention here is not so

much aimed at King himself—who, after all, acted as an obstruction to the struggle of Black people in the '60s—but more at the fact that the demand for a holiday honoring King is, in the eyes of millions, bound up with the fight against national oppression today. This act by the Virginia Senate, which had on three previous years overwhelmingly voted down bills to honor King on January 15, in now voting to place the King holiday together with Virginia's day honoring slavery, is an open and calculated insult to the masses of Black people. □

# How the Thieves of High Finance Have Robbed Iran

Continued from page 17

another arrogant display of unadulterated gangster logic.) Consider the case of one syndicated loan for \$500 million extended to Iran in 1977 under the management of Chase Manhattan, and including such banks as Morgan Guarantee Trust, Bankers Trust, Citibank, and Chemical Bank. After the revolution, the Iranian government continued to make payments on this loan, and the day after the embassy was seized, November 5th, Iran cabled Chase to transfer \$4 million out of their account to make their payment, due on November 15. This was a standard banking procedure. But Chase got wind that Iran was thinking of withdrawing its funds from Chase and putting them in other banks. (After all, whose money did these "uncivilized" Iranians think it was anyway?)

So instead of making the payment, Chase ignored the Iranian request. On November 14th, all Iranian assets were frozen; on November 15 Chase declared that since Iran's assets were frozen, they couldn't make Iran's payment on the loan; and since they couldn't make payment on the loan, Chase declared, on November 19th, that Iran had defaulted on the loan; and since Iran had defaulted on the loan Chase was going to seize all of Iran's assets held in Chase banks!

There is strong evidence of direct collusion with the U.S. government in all this: if the assets freeze had come any earlier, Iran would have had the opportunity to arrange payments in some other manner, thus averting default. If the freeze had come any later, the due date for Iran's payment would have arrived, and Chase would have been forced to honor the transfer order. (Of course, freezing Iran's assets was mainly done as part of a series of economic and political moves to try and force Iran to capitulate to the U.S.)

But Chase's trampling of their own "sacred" procedures didn't stop there. Chase's share of the \$500 million loan

amounted to \$50 million, while their additional loans to other companies and institutions in Iran amounted to another \$300 million. Chase had only \$39 million of Iranian assets in its New York bank, while they had about \$320 million on deposit in their London branch. So what did Chase do?

With the assistance of the British and American courts, they seized \$366 million worth of Iranian assets in the U.S. and Britain—"illegal" on two counts. First overseas branches of U.S. banks are not legally under U.S. control—therefore not subject to the freeze order. And secondly, Chase seized the Iranian Central Bank's account as repayment for loans that the Iranian central bank *hadn't even contracted*, but that had been extended to other companies, and various cronies of the Shah.

Other banks followed suit, with Morgan Trust seizing Iran's 25% ownership of Germany's Krupp—worth some \$100 million; \$66 million in Iranian holdings in the U.S., and they were going after Iran's 25% share of Deutsche Babcock AG, a large German builder of factories and power plants. Morgan went after all this in spite of the fact that Morgan's share of the defaulted loan only amounted to \$40 million dollars and their total exposure in Iran was \$80 million.

Now other imperialist vultures are lining up scrapping for their share of the Iranian booty; there are some 300 lawsuits demanding a total of between \$6 and \$8 billion for "damages" done by Iran's nationalization of companies in Iran. The plaintiffs are companies such as GM, GTE, and AT & T, companies that have already been robbing Iran for years.

When asked about their seizure of Iranian assets, one banker from Morgan Guarantee Trust replied aptly that they were only "acting in the best traditions of International Banking." How true. □

# Endorsers of January 26 Demonstration

Continued from page 20

Larry Schwartz, professor at San Diego City College\*  
 Prentice Beadrick, editor *Nommo*, Black student paper at University of California Los Angeles\*  
 Arvli, Asst. editor of *Nommo*\*  
 Lamuel Bradley, Black Student Union at Los Angeles City College\*  
 Cliff Roquemore  
 Craig Frey, Diablo Canyon Task Force\*  
 Shirley Lee, member of Peace & Freedom Party\*  
 Paul Kangas, member of Peace & Freedom Party\*  
 Dick Clark, anti-nuke activist  
 Bruce Fireman, acting assistant professor of sociology, University of California Berkeley\*  
 Bob Mertz, Vietnam veteran  
 Everybody's Bookstore, San Francisco  
 Revolution Books, Berkeley  
 Lawrence LeJohn III, Asst. editor of *Black World*, California State University Northridge\*  
 Karen Ryer, attorney  
 Aaron Kaye  
 Wanda Coleman, poet  
 Arnold Townsend, former director WAPAC\*  
 Charles Schwartz, professor of physics, UC Berkeley\*

Alan Miller, lecturer, Conservation of Natural Resources, UC Berkeley  
 Reverend Will L. Herzfeld, pastor, Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Oakland\*  
 Jones Townsell, BSU representative at LA City College, L.A.  
 Kent Barr, Student Body Vice-President, LA City College, L.A.  
 Joseph Patton, Venice Community Coalition  
 Jose Mejias, Out-patient counselor, Venice Drug Coalition, Los Angeles  
 Larry E. Williams, Los Angeles  
 Tim Lannen, Lawyer, Los Angeles  
 Roddy Clark, lecturer at UC Santa Barbara in Chicano Studies  
 Rita Wright, Graphic artist  
 John McBurney, member of Suburban Lawns (Rock Group)  
 Tomás Benitez, Writer, Los Angeles  
 Janet Peak, feminist, Cincinnati, Ohio  
 J.C. and K. Shulte, activists in TUFF (Those United to Fight Fascism)\*  
 T.S. Christians, feminist, Dayton, Ohio  
 Terry Irons, University of Dayton Faculty  
 Ashkenaz Music & Dance Cafe, Berkeley  
 Red Flag Theatre  
 INCITE!  
 The Robert Stoddard Band  
 The Undertakers  
 The Penguins  
 The Fire

## Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

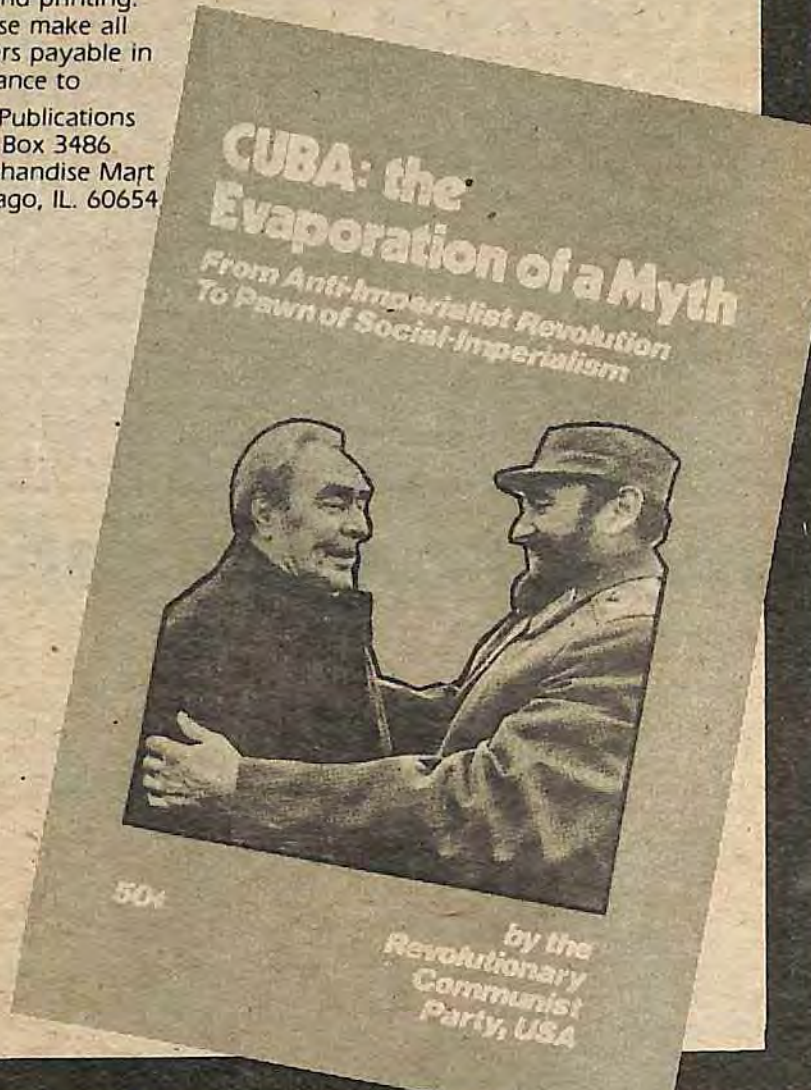
Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism." Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

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# Freezing Death Stalks New York

Continued from page 18

being victimized. But this charade of concern did not ease the calls coming to the emergency number at a rate of 300-500 per hour. In fact, the bourgeoisie's demand that if people want heat then they'd have to leave their homes to get it did not draw standing room only crowds to sign up—and with good reason. Many of the people who live in these tenements fear being permanently locked out of their apartments by the leeching slumlords, or being robbed

blind while they are away—which is often the work of the landlords as well.

This cosmetic performance failed to salve the anger and outrage of the freezing tenants. In response to the failures of the city fathers to do anything but mouth empty promises or run mocking editorials in their papers, the call went out through the various tenants' organizations for a rent strike, to withhold the February rent from the slumlords. The city's response was classic—another object lesson in the superiority of American democracy. You see, in America there are orderly and proper methods that ensure justice will be done. Their solution? Why, take it to court, of course. File a complaint and play by the rules.

A *New York Times* editorial, actually the companion piece to the "Good News" one cited earlier, puts it this way: "The city government has several methods of restoring heat. They work best when victims complain and cooperate. They will not work if major tenant organizations rally all their members indiscriminately to withhold the rent. . . . But if all the tenants simply stop paying rent, landlords will not be able to afford fuel or enter into agreements with the city. The city, too, needs rent collections to pay for remedies. Tenants whose complaints bring no action should go to housing court and heed the instructions of the judge. The calls for rent strikes may stir the blood, but such relief won't warm any dwelling."

"Really! The ignorance and the audacity of the masses of people!", says the bourgeoisie. "Don't they know that we have ways to deal with these problems. If they are going to freeze to death, why won't they at least let our courts and judges make it all legal?" □

- The Appliances  
 Hector Penalosa, bassist, the Wolverines  
 The Geeks  
 Arsenal  
 Two members of the Church Police  
 L.M. Syquia  
 No Alternative  
 Peter, from Alienation
- Additional Solidarity Statements from:*
- Republic of New Afrika, Detroit  
 Northwest Prisoners Organization in Washington State  
 Patrice Lumumba Coalition, New York  
 African American Workers and Tenants Committee, New York  
 Representative from the Yulanda Ward Memorial Fund  
 Representative from the Irish Republican Army  
 Kurdistan Students Association, member, Coalition For Direct Action, Washington, D.C.  
 Union of Iranian Students (Supporters of Peykar in the U.S.)  
 Comrades from: Ghana, Peru, Tigre, Colombia  
 Basement Band, Baltimore  
 Cosmic Rooster, Baltimore D.J.  
 \* For identification purposes only.



# Reporter Pounds U.S. Imperialism

Continued from page 13

bassy. He had also been interviewed and aired in Tehran, but the U.S. media had refused to run it. Subic wasn't there. Neither were ten others.

Laingen finished his speech and the questions began. I shot up from my seat waving my hand. The press conference started at 9:01 and would end at 9:45. All I had was 44 minutes.

The questions and answers were underway. The hostages complained of their 14-month "ordeal." A writer for the *Soho Weekly News* in New York has pointed out in a subsequent article the basic nature of the torture the hostages reported they had received; "Removing the dice from games sent from back home." I thought about the 25 years of the Shah's regime of Iran being built up to the 5th largest military power in the world as an outpost for U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf and a fortress against the encroachment of their rivals in the Soviet Union. I thought of SAVAK equipped and trained by the USA. Once freed from the torture dungeons of the Shah, no one walked into a press conference to bellyache about bowls of rice. I remembered in vivid detail the crimes perpetrated against the Iranian people. The "democratic, freedom-loving USA" employed the most despicable methods to keep its control in Iran. I remembered the Apollo chair. The parts were shipped from the U.S. The Apollo chair would slowly crush the legs of a person strapped to it while a metal helmet reverberated the person's screams back into their own ears. Hot needles. Fingernails torn out. Outside the embassy compound people had put up pictures of families and loved ones murdered by the Shah's regime. In one day alone the Shah's troops gunned down 10,000 unarmed people. But still all of this could not stop the rising tide of revolution that would sweep across Iran and mobilize millions of the Iranian people.

What is torture to the U.S. imperialists is the fact that they were dealt a heavy blow in Iran. The February Revolution indeed inspired millions more throughout the world and the U.S. has been anguished and tortured over that as well.

I recognized many of the hostages' names up on the stage. Kathleen Koob, speaking in perfect robot, explained why she sang a Christmas carol to her nieces and nephews. Koob's performance as little-Miss-Nobody-from-Down-Home-Iowa was nauseating. As head of the Iran-America Society, Koob afforded the U.S. with an arm of cultural invasion as well as a means to drop off and pick up information and as a vehicle by which to monitor and infiltrate the activities of the upper classes in Iran.

Tomseth, head of the political division and a CIA agent, lamented about how "nobody was in charge in Iran." But what he meant to say was U.S. imperialism wasn't in charge, and no imperialist henchmen had yet been able to put the Iranian masses decisively down and "in control." Tomseth, on national TV, recently bragged about how he had been "operating" even while a hostage—by telex, telephone. He told how he was in touch with his old "contacts" courtesy of the telephone and

We would be glad to hear any good patriotic American's outraged reactions to stories of torture. All he or she has to do first is to volunteer themselves (or their spouse) to spend a mere half-hour on the electric bed.\*

\*The electric bed, designed by the CIA and used by the Shah's SAVAK, is a metal bed on which one is strapped and slowly grilled at increasingly high temperature.

telex supplied him by those in the Iranian government favorably disposed to U.S. imperialism. He also casually mentioned how the militants had accused him of being tied in with the terrorist group Forghan, which had assassinated Iranian clergymen. He never bothered to deny it.

Charles Jones, Roeder, Graves, Swift, Ahern, the names were familiar and their activities branded in my mind. A lot of them had careers in the service of U.S. imperialism long before they had ever gotten to Iran. Jones, the sole Black hostage, active in Africa, Roeder in bombing and Graves in "pacification" in Vietnam. A nation's heart was to throb at these butchers for U.S. imperialism. And such bravery. After all they only had a nuclear superpower behind them.

When Thomas Schaeffer stated that "The biggest problem of my day in captivity was trying to determine what I was going to eat with my rice" that was it.

Laingen called for the final question. It was going to be mine no matter what. I spoke out above the voices in the room, conscious not to scream out in such a way they would drag me out or claim I was unintelligible. "...I'm afraid that I would probably be the only person to ask this question."

Laingen said, "Don't be sure," perhaps thinking I was about to please him with an "embarrassing" question about his sex life or perhaps an envious one about the design on the Shah's dishes he ate on while a "hostage" in the Foreign Ministry.

It was then with great pleasure that I shot my question at Laingen, though of course it was not limited to him. "I think it is the height of hypocrisy for the United States government to talk about torture." Shock! An uneasiness spread across the room. I couldn't see Laingen's face but I could feel the eggs frying on it. When I said that Laingen had been identified by the Iranian students as being a CIA operative a roar of laughter broke out, and nervous choking Ha Ha Ha. Many of the hostages and members of the "objective" imperialist press were twitching and twittering about in their seats.

The hissing started but I kept on talking about what the Shah had done to the Iranian people under the auspices of the United States government. More shock. I heard someone yell "What is the question?" and I fired back, "I want to know what the nature of this so-called torture is." By this time Laingen had developed a hearing disorder; he claimed he could not hear me and moved on to another question.

The *New York Times* transcript in the next day's paper quoted him like this: "LAINGEN. I haven't heard the question. I'll take this young lady here. I'm sorry, I haven't heard the question; we're running out of time; this young lady here has been trying for a long time."

"Cool Bruce" who had so acutely heard my opening lines simply couldn't hear me now. Elizabeth Anne Swift attempted to regain the moment by stating that the American press should show the world that it is really free and independent by printing accurate statements from the hostages—not exaggerating torture tales.

Reflecting back, I don't think that it was only the content of what I said that disturbed them so. It was actually quite mild—exposing but a tiny fragment of what the U.S. government has done. But there was also the fact that *there*, in West Point, in the midst of such an orchestrated show of "national unity and patriotism", someone had struck an off-key note. It has shown me how tenuous the situation is for them, just how much they need to cover up the opposition.

Soon reporters were flocking around and their behavior had changed drastically from the drooling they had been doing over the hostages. They fired away with antagonistic questions. Surprise. For a year now most of the



SAVAK cut this boy's arms off in an effort to get his father to talk.

major media has had copies of the documents seized inside the embassy, documenting U.S. spying and counter-revolutionary activities and has refused to release them to the public.

But that was only one side of the day, and the surface at that. The story got around even on the media. Radio stations played it. A rock station on the west coast said, "She spoke for us." Many people reacted as though they had finally found at least a gulp of fresh air they had been gasping for underneath the suffocating cloud of patriotic frenzy. Even a number of reporters, some from "established" influential papers, came up afterwards to say that they, too, had wanted to ask the same kind of question. Some stayed around for quite awhile talking about what the U.S. is up to in Iran, its short and long-term interests and the role of the media in it.

One can see the truly wonderful and democratic nature of the society we live

The hostages. Such bravery. Such heroism. All they had was a nuclear superpower behind them.

in by reading some of the letters that I have been sent. Apparently enraged by tales of "torture and barbarism," one fool actually wrote to say that I should be tortured. Another wrote that, yes, there is a god and he should crucify me! Ah, America.

Then, there were the other letters I received, some of which I will reprint here:

"Bravo for telling the truth. The stand, political and social, in this country has become most hypocritical."

\*\*\*\*\*

From Florida:

"Miss Wohl, I read with interest your comments to Bruce Laingen, moderator of the news conference at Eisenhower Hall in West Point, Tuesday, January 7th. Your comments and statements were courageous and accurate. You are to be highly commended for your brave stand."

\*\*\*\*\*

From a doctor in the Association of American Indian Physicians:

"Dear sister, I was watching a news report last night...and caught your courageous stand in that audience. I give you my thanks for taking a stand. I'm a Jersey boy that came out here to California in 1926 and have been in revolt ever since, my congratulations."

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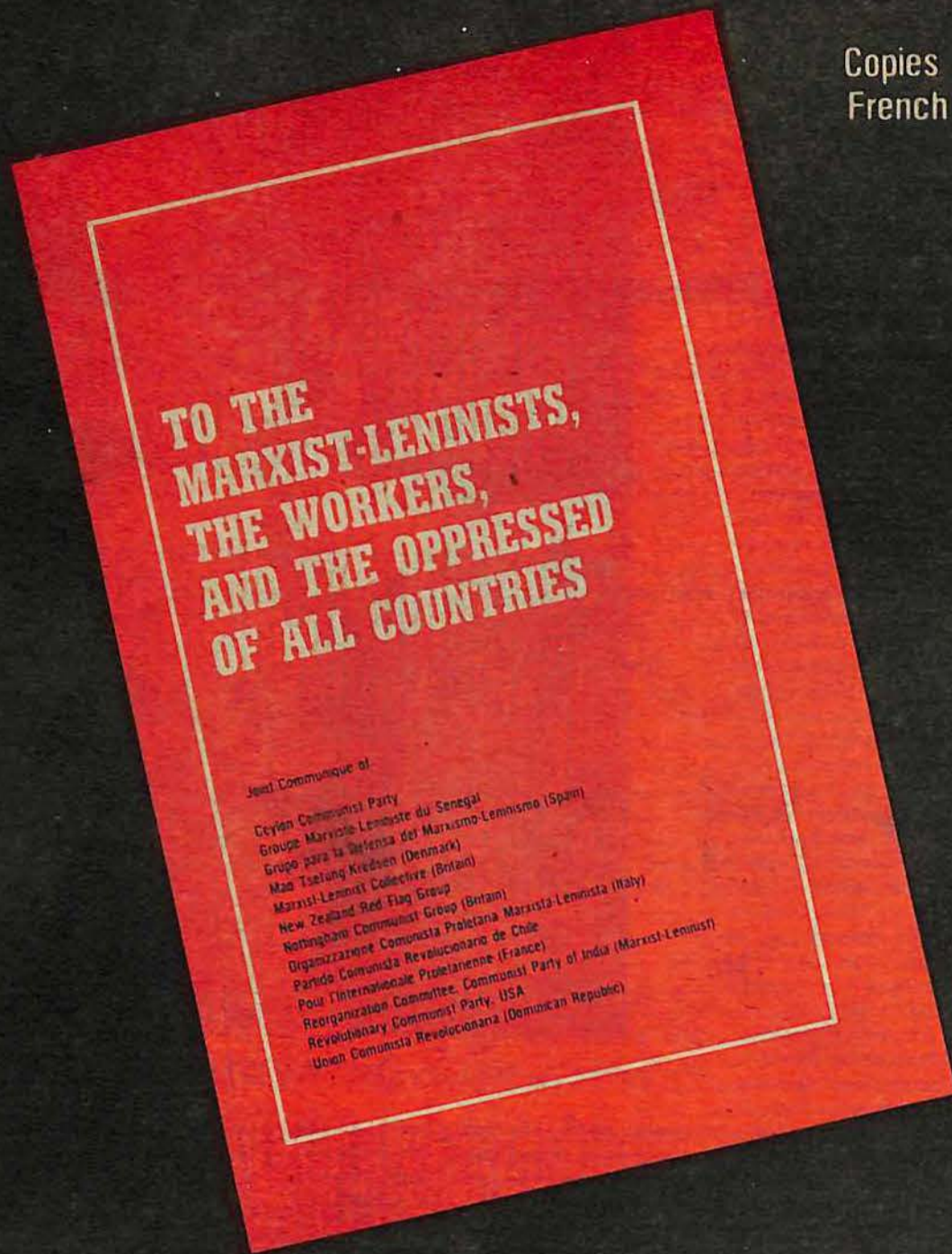
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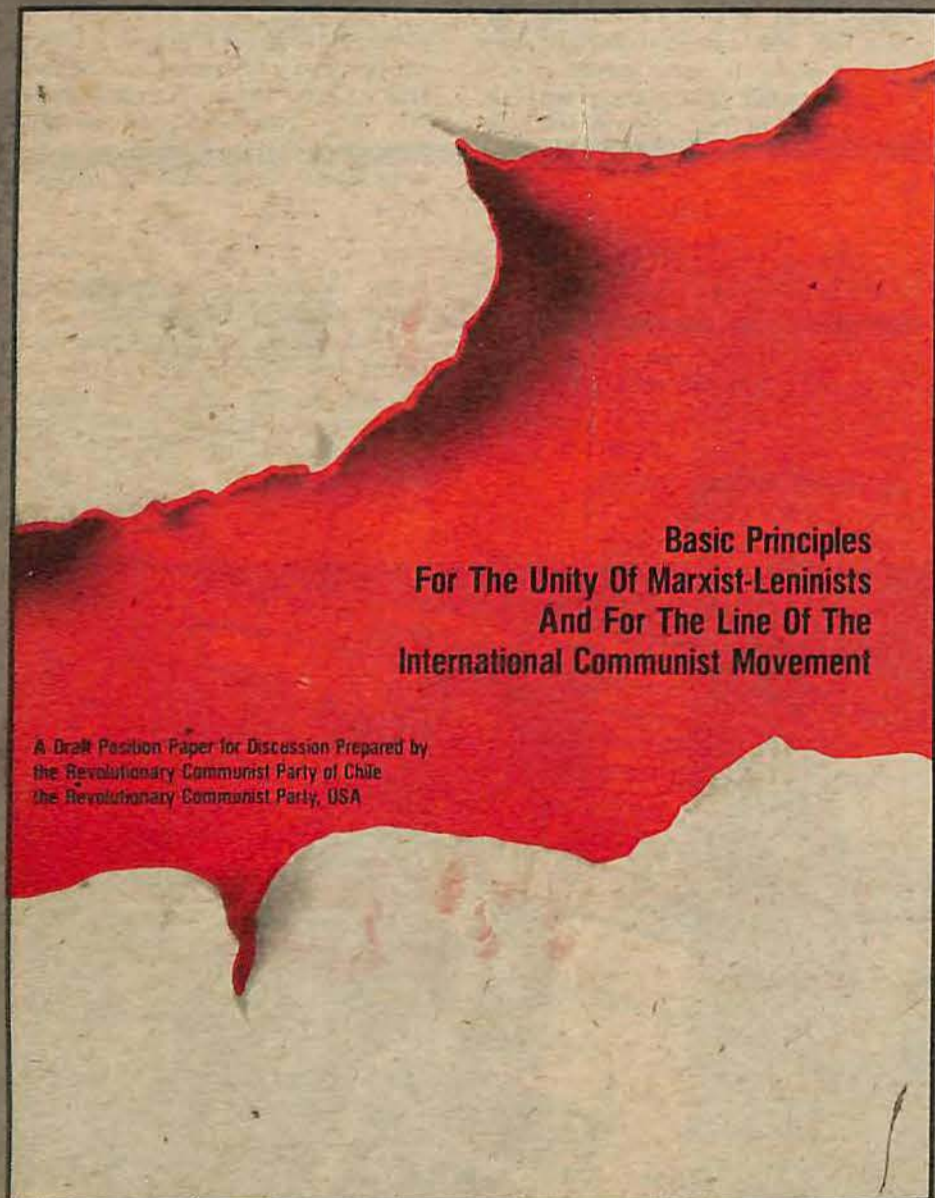
The *Revolutionary Worker* would like to print reader reactions and comments on these two recently published documents. The following note was just received:

In relationship to the communique run in the 86th edition of the *RW* ("To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"), I myself feel that it is a very inspiring act that revolutionary organizations across the world have given their utmost approval of the question of internationalism, because this is exactly what will be needed to obliterate oppression and exploitation across the world. To all these vanguard revolutionary organizations, thank you for your commitment to worldwide revolution.

Yours in commitment,  
An ex-Black Panther

P.S. In view of the different crises and situations occurring not only in the United States of Amerikkka but across the world as people attempt to throw off the yoke of imperialism, wake up mentally and seize the time.

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