Young and Bad in Palestine

The unstoppable youth of Palestine! Who can ignore this fresh, dynamic force that has burst on the world scene and made their oppressors tremble? The shebab, as the youth are called among the Palestinian people, stand at the center stage of the uprising that has rocked Israel and the imperialists who stand behind it. They are the uprising's warriors, its martyrs, its emerging leaders and commanders. Children as young as nine or ten build barricades in the streets of Gaza, enforcing a general strike that starves Israel of its cheap labor. Crowds of teenagers fill Israeli military courts, proud and defiant in the face of imprisonment and torture.

The unstoppable youth of Palestine, the youths are injecting a new voice that challenges old thinking and strategies. The audaciousness of the Palestinian youth must be a nightmare to the Zionist rulers of Israel and their U.S. godfathers. Armed with little more than stones and intimate knowledge of the twisted alleyways of the refugee camps, the youth match their daring and cunning against Israeli soldiers who wield deadly machine guns but who show cowardly fear in their eyes.

Armed with little more than stones and intimate knowledge of the twisted alleyways of the refugee camps, the youth match their daring and cunning against Israeli soldiers who wield deadly machine guns but who show cowardly fear in their eyes. While the Israeli military attempts to put down the uprising with bullets, others attack with feigned "concern." The U.S. rulers and their press, playing liberal and "neutral," mourn about the "tragedy that drives children to such desperation" and the "lost generation." This talk about "lost generation" has been used by the bourgeois to attack other upsurges of youth as well: the "comrades" of South Africa and the Red Guards during China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to name two.

In truth, what the U.S. rulers find to be a real tragedy is that the situation has become dangerously explosive for Israel, a crucial pillar of their empire which is backed up by billions in U.S. blood money. The Western press shudders when reporting about Palestinian youth baring their chests to Israeli patrols and shouting, "Shoot me or get out!!" They openly fret: What can you do to suppress such fearlessness; how can you derail a movement that has taken such an uncompromising turn?

When the enemy moans and complains this way, when he sweats in fear behind his stockpile of arms, it is revealing. The oppressor mutters, "It's terrible." We can only answer, "No! It's fine!"

It was only a little over a month ago that cynical voices of "realism" appeared to hold sway in the Palestinian struggle. The goal of building a democratic...

Continued on page 6
Three Main Points

by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

What do we in the Revolutionary Communist Party want people to learn from all that is exposed and revealed in this newspaper? Mainly, three things:

1. The whole system we now live under is based on an exploitation — here and all over the world. It is completely worthless and no basic change for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2. Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these processes and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3. Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle. A political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains; The Revolutionary Communist Party that speaks and acts for those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to fight against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions are by the people who are struggling against this system.

Stop the Reign of Terror Against the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Now! Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!

Leaflet of the RCBY

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Stop the Reign of Terror Against the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Now! Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!
In early December 1987, people in several cities in the U.S. had the rare opportunity to hear first-hand about the Peruvian government's repression and reactionary violence against the people, including the June 1986 massacre of over 300 political prisoners (many of them supporters of the Communist Party of Peru). Carlos Angulo, Editor-Director of El Diario (a daily newspaper in Lima, Peru), spoke at programs held in New York, San Francisco, San Diego, and Los Angeles.

Carlos Angulo noted in his talks that the Peruvian government continues to suppress the surviving political prisoners and anyone who would defend them or let their story see the light of day. In fact, Angulo had stepped forward to speak in both Canada and the U.S. at the last moment, taking the place of Dr. Martha Huamán, president of the Association of Democratic Attorneys in Peru, who could not come due to the intensifying repression against the Association and its members. The lawyers of the Association have been defending the political prisoners. As he was leaving Peru, Angulo was detained in the airport by authorities. Only through international efforts, as well as protests in Peru, was he finally released to go to Toronto, Canada just in time to speak at the First Conference on Human Rights in Latin America. This showed just how desperately the Peruvian state headed by Alan Garcia wanted to prevent the exposure of their crimes outside of Peru, which makes the success of these speaking engagements even more significant.

The various speaking engagements were endorsed by a broad range of institutions, organizations, and individuals (see accompanying box). Many of the programs were held on campuses, and sometimes whole classes heard Angulo speak; at several of the programs there were significant numbers of people from Latin American countries. In Los Angeles both major Spanish-language newspapers, La Opinion and El Diario of Los Angeles, as well as the main Spanish-language TV in the region, KMEX, reported on Angulo's visit.

During the question and answer period at one program, a number of people in the audience expressed concern for Angulo's personal safety. In reply he briefly recounted the assassination attempt on him last November and his detention at the Lima airport as he was leaving Peru. He said, "Now, given the situation in the Andes and elsewhere of the uprisings and defense of the rights of the workers and the people in the rural areas, I am in a position to travel to the U.S. and talk to you." He went on to stress the importance of these speaking engagements even more significant.

The Struggle of Political Prisoners

Angulo then got into what he called a "high-point in the war" — the struggle of the political prisoners and the June 1986 uprising by the prisoners and their massacre by the government. He told of the spectacular attack by PCP guerrillas in March 1982 on the Ayacucho prison jail, led by a young wrestler, El Frontón. The guerillas captured the city of El Frontón and the women's prison at Callao. With this daring raid the guerrillas freed their fellow fighters and others who were being held in the jail. In retaliation, the government transferred the rest of the political prisoners being held in the countryside to three prisons in the Lima area — El Frontón, Lurigancho, and the women's prison at Callao. But the political prisoners, said Angulo, "organized themselves into what they called the 'Shining Trenches of Combat,'" duly prepared themselves politically and ideologically, and they went on to send communiques not only about political struggle but also about living conditions forced upon them in prison. What followed was an upward spiral of repression and rebellion in these prisons — first over the demands for status of special prisoners and improvement of prison conditions, and then also over protests against the government's decision to build a new "maximum security" prison in Canto Grande.

Angulo talked about what happened in June 1986, when the political prisoners rose up to resist a government plan to murder them, which they had exposed and denounced in the press and through press conferences and demonstrations at the three prisons, the all-out assault against them by the government armed forces, and the heroic and valiant resistance of the prisoners. In one of the cases on the island of Fronteron, the prisoners — armed mainly with slings, spears, and other homemade weapons — resisted fiercely for twenty hours against the sea and air bombardment by government forces. Through their revolutionary songs while they resisted the military attack, "All these show their attitude of conquest, their sentiment, and above all their heroism in defense of their ideals and principles to the end," said Angulo.

The Continuing Repression

Angulo also discussed the continuing harassment of the surviving prisoners, mostly women, who are now engaged in a battle against what they have exposed to be new government plans to annihilate them. "The surviving prisoners, the continent of women, and the new prisoners who have been accused of 'terrorism' and "organized themselves into what they called the 'Shining Trenches of Combat,'" duly prepared themselves politically and ideologically, and they would send out communiques not only about political struggle but also about living conditions forced upon them in prison." What followed was an upward spiral of repression and rebellion in these prisons — first over the demands for status of special prisoners and improvement of prison conditions, and then also over protests against the government's decision to build a new "maximum security" prison in Canto Grande.

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The following was the list of sponsors for each of Carlos Angulo's speaking engagements:

- December 1, at New York University Law School and December 2, at City College of New York:
  Latin American Law Students Association of NYU; Committee in Solidarity with the Revolution in Peru, New York Center for Legal Education (CCNY); Professor Laura Montes, director; Haywood Burns, president of the National Lawyers Guild* and Dean of CUNY Law School*; Department of Latin American and International Relations Program; International Relations Student Association; Professor Margarita Samad-Matias • December 10, at San Francisco State University:
  Latin American Studies Program (CCNY), Professor John Harbeson, director; Latin Berkeley; Department of La Raza Studies; Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley; Women's Centre; Artists' Television Action Committee; Center for Diffusion of the Reality of Latin America and the Caribbean; Centro José Carlos Mariátegui; Puerto Rican National Party (NY Branch).

- December 6, at Victoria Theater in San Francisco's Mission District:
  Committee to Support the Republican Guard Action Against刈ns; International Relations Student Association of San Francisco State University; Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center.

- December 7, at San Francisco State University:
  International Relations Program; International Relations Student Association; Department of La Raza Studies; Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley.

- December 12, at San Diego State University:
  Latin American Studies Program; Center for Latin American Studies; Chicano Studies; Women's Center.

- December 12, at First United Methodist Church in Los Angeles:
  Carlos Angulo Tour Ad Hoc Committee (Southern California); International Committee of the National Lawyers Guild (Los Angeles chapter).

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* Organizations listed for identification purposes only.
On December 25 Sylvester Lamont and his brother Stephen had Christmas dinner with relatives at the Marthoro Houses, a predominantly Black project situated in the mainly white area of Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. The Lamont brothers then left the project and went through Howard Beach, a predominantly Black neighborhood with a shopping cart to collect redeemable bottles and cans. Soon they were confronted by a “wolf pack” and beaten with sticks and bottles. Sylvester Lamont later recounted how he and his brother were then surrounded by a black and white youth arrested have been charged only with being disorderly conduct.

The police claim the decoy squads will be used to catch those who are not on the police’s radar. Meanwhile the racist attacks and their wave of fury. Oppressed people in Texas have been to a political event. But one participant’s comments summed up the common feeling among those who came: “We’re not going to go and watch all the white cops... the Klan threatened to come up here to the church this morning but we didn’t go.”

Reverend Ozell Brandy, brother of Clarence, spoke, saying it was time to think about how the police are treating people.

There are many Hemphils throughout the country, but in Hemphill, “we’re just another town. We’ve been the site of many political events.”

In 1978 when Houston police murdered 34-year-old Black man and father of six named Joe Torres by handcuffing him, beating him, and throwing him into a river, the police were indicted and the state did not consider it murder when a Black man is killed by white racists.

In 1979 when New York police murdered Michael Newton, a sheriff’s deputy shot him to death.

In 1980 when Houston police murdered 34-year-old Black man and father of six named Joe Torres by handcuffing him, beating him, and throwing him into a river, the police were indicted and the state did not consider it murder when a Black man is killed by white racists.

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In 1986 when Houston police murdered 34-year-old Black man and father of six named Joe Torres by handcuffing him, beating him, and throwing him into a river, the police were indicted and the state did not consider it murder when a Black man is killed by white racists.
Chicago Homeless Confront Housing Board

Henry Homer Homes, inset: Chicago Housing Authority Managing Director Jerome Van Gorkom at a recent board meeting.

"We carried him to the church and saw his legs were like popsicles. We called the 911 [emergency police] number for an ambulance, but they would not send one. Then we called the Department of Human Services. The woman there was snobbish and inconsiderate; she said they couldn't help us and hung up." Only after Bell called a television station were church members able to get a response from the CHA.

Chicago, January 12. Public housing residents and dozens of angry homeless jammed a Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) board meeting to protest an intolerable situation: 5,600 housing units stand vacant in the midst of a severe housing crisis and while thousands of homeless face possible death out in sub-zero temperatures.

"A man froze to death last night. That's the sixth one this year," said the head of the Chicago-Gary Area Homeless Union. "When we are a society going to say the CHA has the buildings to house people? When are we going to house them?"

The official response from the CHA? One official stated, "There can't be any question about our sensitivity to the need for protection and housing for people who do not have a great deal of money."

The response in fact? As the new year began the CHA sent security guards to remove homeless people who had taken over an abandoned apartment at the Henry Horner Homes project. The guards beat back a dozen homeless and forced them back out into the cold. At the board meeting, Jerome Van Gorkom, CHA managing director, stood by CHA's handling of the situation at Horner Homes. He claimed the vacant apartments are "uninhabitable" due to lack of funds for repairs and noted that in 1987 the CHA had opened vacant apartments to the homeless. But, he complained, "after the cold snap was over it took two weeks to get them out, so it's not a simple matter."

There are 30,000 people on the waiting list for public housing in Chicago. Four thousand more have been approved but have not been placed. Meanwhile the total number of public housing units continues to shrink as thousands of apartments are vacated and boarded up.

Claiming he is only looking out for the interest of CHA residents, Van Gorkom argued that the CHA cannot let the homeless "take over" the buildings. "These buildings are occupied...primarily by families of women and children and they would not be happy...to have single men in the building occupying the apartments." This excuse and attempts to pit the homeless against each other were quickly countered at the meeting. While the contingent of homeless were initially allowed to give a statement, they were then denied any further right to speak in the meeting — officials said the meeting was only for "CHA tenants." But in the face of this, CHA tenants got up to speak on behalf of the homeless.

"There's not sense in people havin' to freeze to death," a woman from the Cabrini-Green housing project said. "A man was found under 18 inches of ice in a basement, froze to death, lookin' for somewhere to get out of the cold. And we in America? This is what America is all about? The rich keyin' grabbin' and grabbin' and grabbin' and poor folks is givin' out? We not gonna stand for it."

We will not be moved. We have to take our own lives in our own hands! We cannot depend on the board, on Van Gorkom, to do what has to be done. We got to do it for ourselves! And if the [homeless] men want to come over and take over the building, I support you."

At this the crowd cheered.

Marian Stamps, director of the Chicago Housing and Tenant Organization, testified, "I have women and children who are on the street who have applied for public housing, who are eligible for public housing, and who do not have housing. They are presently livin' in a building basement. I'm talkin' about two women with nine children."

She went on to expose the sky-high vacancy rate at the Cabrini-Green project where 1,000 units stand empty. And she demanded that the CHA allow the homeless and unemployed to fix up the apartments. "There are livable apartments in Cabrini-Green. I can give you addresses and numbers," she said and then added that many, including herself, have been seriously talking about the need to take over some of the vacant units.

A tenant and CHA employee from the Rockwell Gardens project also demanded the board open up empty units. "If they missed a towel rack, that's no problem. If they missed a tile in the bathroom, that's no problem. The problem is these people need somewhere to live and it hurts me that my five-year-old grandson asked me why a man had to die under 18 inches of ice. I think we better get our priorities straight, because some of us ain't in this room, we could have cold weather in the Bears' game."

Sunday, January 20, Chicago. A bone-chilling cold wave continued. For days weather forecasts had been a major feature of local news. As Sunday's BIG TV station featured an interview with a local weatherman prefaced with THE big question: "How does it look for the Bears game?"

Undoubtedly there was particular concern for those most "spiritual" — mucho fans who like to "hare their cheets" for TV cameras.

On the day of the big game, special attention was paid to keeping Bears fans warm. "Heavy bullet" (huge heaters) were brought in so fans could easily get warmed up. Doctors were deliberating whether his legs would have to be amputated. (All the toes on Townsend's feet had already been amputated, indicating this was probably not the first time he had suffered frostbite.)

A dispute between the Fire Department and the Police Department ensued over who was to blame for failure to answer the 911 call. One observer — active in the struggle to prevent the building of a new Bears football stadium which would destroy the homes of hundreds of poor Black people on the West Side— had his own speculation. "They were probably busy watching the Bears' game."

Sunday, January 10, Chicago. A bone-chilling cold wave continued. For days the city was disheartened by a major feature of local news. As Sunday's BIG TV station featured an interview with a local weatherman prefaced with THE big question: "How does it look for the Bears game?"

"How will the cold effect their performance?" Loyal fans were interviewed 'braving the cold to wait in line for tickets. Temperatures threatened to plunge below zero and the media voiced increasing concern for the health of Bears fans. One TV station featured an interview with a local doctor who warned that because of freezing temperatures those going to the game should not yell too loudly because this could lead to laryngitis. Newscasters warned fans to make sure and "dress appropriately" for the game. Undoubtedly there was particular concern for those most "spiritual" — mucho fans who like to "hare their cheets" for TV cameras.

Continued on page 15
Young and Bad

Continued from page 1

Secular Palestinian state seemed like a dream that was fading, as old fogeys argued for various schemes and deals with this or that big power. Now the flames of uprising lit by the youth in the Gaza, West Bank and al-Jalil made the goal of liberating all of Palestine from Zionism and imperialism an immediate and living question once again.

Like the young "conscious" who stride the streets of South Africa's black townships, the shebab are showing how the daring and initiative of the youth, especially proletarian youth, can transform whole political landscapes—seemingly overnight, seemingly out of nowhere.

In society in general, youth often play such a vanguard role in shaking up "the way things are," in sparking off revolutionary struggle. As Bob Avakian has pointed out: "Youth generally do not weigh the way things are as much against how they used to be, but much more so against how they feel they ought to be—and can see more or less that they could be. They are more critical, daring, innovative, irreverent, less in thrall to and in awe of tradition and the force of habit. These are qualities that communists cherish and seek to both unleash and give a conscious expression to." (Bulletins, From the Writings, Speeches, and Interviews of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, p. 188)

These qualities of youth come from their objective position in society. For the Israeli oppressors, Palestinian youth are the lowest of the low. It is hard to find a young man in Gaza or the West Bank, who has not been hauled into prison by the occupying army. The only "future" offered is life as a slave in Israel, working menial jobs that Israelis shun. Their whole youth is a struggle. Zionist propaganda denies that there even exists a Palestinian people, claiming they are all so-called "just Arabs."

In short, the shebab have nothing to lose—and a world to gain. A life of prison and breaking your back as beasts of burden? What future is there without rebelling against the powers-that-be?

So, emboldened by their own sudden unity, thousands of these young fighters declare their willingness to put their lives on the line and go up against the guns of the Israeli military—and they mean it. Their position on the bottom puts them in opposition to the whole existing status quo, including to trends of compromise among some established Palestinian political forces. Exactly because they have nothing to lose, when oppressed youth rise up their vision more readily embraces the whole future, not just the next tomorrow.

The youth of Palestine have drawn sharp division lines. According to one report in the Washington Post, an Israeli army spokesman said that "military governors in the occupied areas met daily with local leaders, village notables and political moderates whom most youth look upon as collaborators and whose constituencies seemed to melt away as the violence intensified." Another news report said that many among the youth call the PLO a "Cadillac Revolution"—its leadership grown soft and corrupted with politics of accommodation. A new generation of fighters and leaders is being forged in the fires of rebellion.

And in the process, the young have become the teachers and inspiration for their elders. A whole new hope of resistance is being raised among those who had become resigned to, or at least could see no way out of, "the way things are."

Several times Palestinian mothers have clashed with Israeli soldiers escorting young captives to prisons and courts. Old women regularly gather in side streets to "smash" street gutters into fist-sized chunks for the ammunition of the shebab. The women bring stones to the youth in the street, as antidote to the powerful U.S.-made tear gas gas (although some youth swear a kaffirish worker with a brand of cheap perfume is more effective). Middle-aged men urge the young warriors on and sometimes even step forward to hurl stones after their sons have been taken away.

One teacher at a West Bank university put it this way: "What you have today is fathers being radicalized by their sons. I could not help but watch the scenes by our house of young boys burning tires in the street with the sound of a Phoenix rising from the ashes." Aspects of traditional social relations are being turned upside down by the upheaval, and this is a most welcome thing. As Bob Avakian said, "Let the youth be out there in the forefront because we know that they have been and they will be. Let them be bold and be daring, let them challenge everything that's old and rotten, demand a real change in this system. Let them raise up the banner now of the old people being left far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth."

(Bulletin, p. 189)

In Palestine today, many parents and older folk are running to keep up with their youth.

There are some, including within the Palestinian movement, who claim that a revolutionary war in Palestine is impossible and that the only way forward is through "peace talks" with the Israeli oppressors. But the overthrow of the Zionist state of Israel and the creation of an independent, democratic Palestine will only be achieved through the victory of a revolutionary war of the masses led by the proletariat.

And who can deny, after the past month and half, that there is a wealth of young fighters and commanders for such a war of liberation to be found in the streets of Gaza and the West Bank? The Palestinian youth have shown boundless courage, initiative, and energy. If these qualities of the shebab were fully unleashed and given conscious expression through the leadership of a revolutionary party (and very important this must include fully mobilizing their sisters in all aspects of revolutionary struggle, including in the armed struggle), a mighty liberation army could be built.

The shebab have been told they were powerless, forgotten, unheard. They were told to give up "hopeless" dreams and turn to "realistic strategies." They faced the guns and prongs of the Israeli occupiers. When they rose up against all this, they not only raised a banner for the revolutionary struggle, but they also proclaimed throughout the world—especially to the youth of every continent—"The fearless daring of the Palestinian rebels brings to mind what Bob Avakian said about crunch-time players. I have several times noted (the fact that for the advanced forces, for those who come to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, there is a heavy weight to carry. It is demanding a lot of them to play this role, to be the ones to most steadfastly carry the revolutionary struggle along. But it is not too much to demand.

"In basketball there are those players who are not only outstanding in general but who specifically make the big play at the crucial moments. These are the ones who want the ball when crunch time comes, when the whole game is on the line. They are the ones who love to go into the huddle and ask 'What do we do now?' and to raise the banner now of the old people being left far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth.'"

(Bulletin, p. 94)
Israelis have ordered Palestinian farmers in the Gaza Strip to cut down rows of orange trees bordering the roads. The soldiers claim rock-throwing youth hide in the orchards.

The Israeli occupation troops have ordered Palestinian farmers in the Gaza Strip to cut down rows of orange trees bordering the roads. The soldiers claim rock-throwing youth hide in the orchards.

All journalists have been banned from these districts. There are increasing reports of journalists being roughed up and detained by Israeli authorities, even those of the Israeli and Western press. An American television network even accused troops of shooting in the direction of their cameras.

Adding Starvation to Bullets

"A curfew is like a huge jail," said a 22-year-old man in one camp. "The Israeli prisons are already full, so they are turning our homes into prisons." The 250,000 residents of these "arrested towns" risk death or imprisonment if they even leave their homes. "If you stick your head out the window, they order you back inside. If they catch you outside, they beat you and throw you back inside," said one youth.

United Nations relief workers say that soldiers have stopped food trucks and medical workers from entering the Palestinian districts. During curfew hours, food and medicine are controlled. The Israelis call this "environmental pressure," or "collective punishment." Their counterterrorism experts claim that by imposing hardship on the whole population, they hope to isolate the most active resisters from their base of support. But it is only further proof that an unprecedented and savage war has gripped Palestinians broadly.

Stop the Reign of Terror Against the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Now!
Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!
Palestinian Youth — Fierce, Confident, and Bold!
Fan the Flames of the Uprising in the Israeli Bastudant!
Down with the Reactionary Israeli Settler State and Its U.S. Masters!
In an early scene of Cry Freedom, Stephen Biko risks his life to take the white liberal newspaper editor, Donald Woods, on an evening's tour of a black township. Some of Biko's comrades wonder if it's worth it. He takes the chance that it is.

He bet right. The film tells the true and moving story of the friendship that rises between Woods and Stephen Biko, a founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, in apartheid South Africa.

A controversy has risen around this movie — the majority of film critics in the U.S., including liberal white intellectuals and Black nationalists, have trashed it. Some revolutionaries are ambivalent. Chief among the many criticisms: such a film, revolving around a very important political and ideological journey of a white South African liberal, provoked, inspired, guided, and transformed by Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement. His journey is large: with the hands of the oppressed on his shoulders, he moves from self-righteous, chauvinistic, and wrong liberal critic to friend and ally of the oppressed. The motive force: the struggle and ideology of black liberation.

Why shouldn't the oppressed and their allies everywhere be interested in this film? And why aren't more of these liberal journalists who profess to oppose apartheid even a little bit inspired?

In the movie Woods's re-education begins when a rigorously watchful and extremely cool black woman strides into his all-white newspaper office, slams down a copy of his paper, and says: "I have read this paper long enough to know you are not one of the worst. So why are you passing this vicious fiction off as reason for the oppression of the oppressed?" "Biko tells the oppressed that they must stop agreeing with the oppressor about the real deal faced by the masses of black people in South Africa. Part of his transformation, and a critical point of the film, revolves around a very important political question concerning the national liberation of the black people of South Africa. The white liberal Woods is pushed from self-righteous, chauvinistic, and wrong liberal critic to friend and ally of the oppressed. The motive force: the struggle and ideology of black liberation.

In 1977, shortly after Biko was murdered, Donald Woods demanded an inquest into Biko's murder and was "banned" by the government, silenced and confined to his home. He decided he must leave South Africa — taking his book manuscript (on which this film is based) to England to be published. In order to escape, he had to cross the border in disguise. As he jumped into a getaway car dressed as a priest his getaway car dressed as a priest his accomplice exclaimed, "You've changed!" He replied, "What's changed me is getting here."

This is the dramatic center of this film — the political and ideological journey of a white South African liberal, provoked, inspired, guided, and transformed by Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement. His journey is large: with the hands of the oppressed on his shoulders, he moves from self-righteous, chauvinistic, and wrong liberal critic to friend and ally of the oppressed. The motive force: the struggle and ideology of black liberation.

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The Cry Freedom
souls in white skins?”, he nailed the from the black consciousness movement comfortable, out of his element in a situa

At one point in the conversation a BCM africans. His liberal platitudes hold no water here and he’s beginning to see why. They want to shy away from all forms of ‘extremisms’, condemning ‘white supremacy’ as being just as bad as ‘Black Power’! They vacillate between the two worlds, verbalizing all the complaints of the blacks beautifully while skillfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges.

So a crucial, refreshing, and very time

Frankly the proletarians would like to see more liberals act like the woods character in cry freedom instead of writing stupid reviews.

The Wall Street Journal wrote: “it’s hard to see how the flight of this reformist liberal can be described as a cry for black freedom.” here one has to smell a rat: when the country’s foremost con

The director of this film does not subscribe to revolutionary politics, but this story does bring to life the fact that behind the ideology of white racism is a whole system of exploitation and oppress

where white people have power to oppress blacks and that this system must be overturned. In fact, the film turns on this matter, with woods finally coming to take inspiration and leadership from Biko and the BCM. Here’s where the movie has evidently gone over the edge for the critics. It is not particularly fashionable among these intelligentsia to actually follow their principles all the way and to get guidance from the oppressed as Woods did. They wouldn’t actually put it this way, of course, but they have simply refused to find inspiration in a story of someone very much like themselves who is forced to look into things, shifts his outlook, and then ACTS on it, taking risks and dumping privilege.

Frankly the proletarians would like to see more liberals act like the woods character in cry freedom instead of writing stupid reviews.

Where will you be when the oppressed rise up, when the middle ground evaporates and you are called to take a stand? this was not a question any critic seemed to ponder (at least in print), but ironically they all would have you believe that their forebears were the struggle in south Africa. From right to “left,” all claim great interests in Biko’s life and the struggle for black liberation in South Africa and demand that this film tell the definitive story. It is apparently rather

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Friend and Pros, and Cons

The Cry Freedom Controversy

Continued from page 9 and their publications were on the 10th Anniversary of Steve Biko's death this year. Of the twenty-seven reviews we have read, at least ten have two have made hard criticism, and not a one of these publications or critics had anything to say about the film.

In addition to the ten publications which have put the kiss of death on it in some way, there is one South African government source who announced they will allow Cry Freedom to go out more openly from the right-wing side of theцен. In any case they are between a black youth are in prison facing death sentences for their participation in the recent upsurges, revolutionary youth who are not in prison are being hunted and killed by vigilantes, and the country is under a state of emergency.

All of which highlights the fact that the apartheid regime's chief task is maintaining state power, and they must weigh the risk of allowing this film to be seen in some form in South Africa against the very negative international political repercussions that could come down if they banned it. They are also sufficiently afraid and cynical to realize that officially allowing the film into the country helps to put the kiss of death on it in some circles. If filmmaking in South Africa were a more decentralized enterprise, the distributors could prove rather unsettling for Pretoria domestically. And refusing to put it under the conditions demanded by the distributors would be done under intense international scrutiny — not a good situation for them either!

On the night we finished location shooting, the Zimbabwe government gave us a dinner. The Minister said that, "We're not going to be able to stop the film from going anywhere in South Africa." He was hounded by the South African press who seemed determined to put the kiss of death on it in some circles. It has been bumped off, perhaps nobody else, but only the minister said, "We're not going to be able to stop the film from going anywhere in South Africa." So it is a legitimate question to raise whether works of art, in order to serve that struggle, must reflect that reality by putting the black revolutionary characters center stage. But only a withered spirit would not find it heartening that even under the conditions of apartheid the movement of Azania has brought forth some genuine allies among white people. And it would be rather mechanical to say that one could never make a work of art which featured a white character. More crucial is the overall point of view and how the contradictions are presented. And in this case, if Woods is the main character in this story, Biko is clearly the motive force.

But the liberal critics of the film are not convinced because they do not see the film as an angry attack against apartheid which has been shut out of the international debate.

Look in vain for the story of Steve Biko in the New York Times, The Washington Post, The Village Voice, Vanity Fair, In These Times, Mother Jones, Press, Chicago Sun-Times, NY's City Sun, New Yorker, American Film, Guardian, etc. But read the following reviews and see what you think. Richard Attenborough, for instance, thought there was a regular Black Consciousness Movement-American Film Critics Association meeting held at the University of Minnesota on Apartheid.

The Cry Freedom was highly honored for its portrayal of the Indian leader whose "principled" stand were designed to shame the Indian people into pacific capitulation to their oppression in the name of high moral ground. The pro-letarians prefer seeing Attenborough do his movies and Biko story. They seemed to bring out the best in him.

Cry Freedom does present Biko and his movement as less dangerous to Western Civilization than he actually was. In fact, especially from the South African government point of view. And refusing to put the kiss of death on it in some circles. It has been bumped off, perhaps nobody else, but only the minister said, "We're not going to be able to stop the film from going anywhere in South Africa." So it is a legitimate question to raise whether works of art, in order to serve that struggle, must reflect that reality by putting the black revolutionary characters center stage. But only a withered spirit would not find it heartening that even under the conditions of apartheid the movement of Azania has brought forth some genuine allies among white people. And it would be rather mechanical to say that one could never make a work of art which featured a white character. More crucial is the overall point of view and how the contradictions are presented. And in this case, if Woods is the main character in this story, Biko is clearly the motive force.

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At Universal Pictures conducted a "test on ten" reputedly fear and 12 percent of those asked knew what apartheid was. Universal won't divulge what other questions were part of this survey, but they concluded that the story of a white liberal coming to consciousness would gross a bigger box office than a film about a black radical. The capital was then only forthcoming for that project. But if a good film on this subject like Cry Freedom became quite popular, this might actually help break down some of these barricades and perhaps bring on more works on such topics. Instead the critics have chosen to help look things up tighter.

Attenborough has said that one reason he didn't make a film biography of Biko himself was because "he was a great black hero and black South Africans ought to make it, not a quasi white liberal." Black South Africans are in fact making some really great works — filling playhouses and concert halls around the world with some of the best theater and music made today. At the same time this doesn't mean that great art which puts the oppressed on stage can't be made by someone on the "outside." If they've come to know the people well (as Mao put it at them in the creation. The Harder They Come, made by while Jamaican Perry Henley, is a case in point.

But given Attenborough's political outlook and knowledge of the situation in South Africa, he perhaps wisely chose the story he could tell most accurately and effectively. And in doing so, he made a genuine contribution.

The exposure of apartheid in this film is particularly memorable. The picture is drawn with each illusion broken over Wood's head. After a community center run by Biko and the BCM is sacked by police and a former Ormonde, he begins to urge them to lift Biko's banning orders and to investigate the raid — a black eyewitness had seen the local cops publicly.

Attenborough blunts the differences between Biko's views and the power-sharing strategies of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (which Biko did not share). But what mainly comes across in Biko's strategic confidence in what the masses can do, once they refuse to be slaves. It's ironic that the so-called "Biko-less" second part of the film contains some of his most powerful scenes through flashbacks. And most critics seem to have totally missed the point that Wood's successful escape is largely the result of his reliance on the goodwill and conscious courage of the masses of Africans.

There is for instance the black priest, Father Kani, who risks his life to get Wood a phone ID. As he drops Woods off after driving him on one leg of his essays, the priest says to him, "When you get desperate, go to one of us. Use Steve's name, Amanda!"

The next scene is Woods desperate in a big car! As the backfiring jalopy careens over the caper they are pulling off: "The titanic social movement that pushed the Afrikaners (Dutch settlers) from the land has been their inability to silence him in life or death. This film opens the windows a little wider, lets in some very fresh air. And the lessons are real. In a final flashback, Biko says to Woods: "The important thing is to not accept their rules, to resist. Those kids in Soweto who refuse to study Afrikans are taking chains off their minds that no one will ever be able to put back."

In an argument with his wife over the need to put their family in exile in order to get the Biko book out, Woods says, "I'm not god, but we know what this country's like and we can't accept it and we can't wait for god to change it. This book is what we can do."

And it is what they did. The spectacular uprising of the Soweto children mounting the barricades makes manifest the titanic social movement that pushed the Afrikaners from the land and in certain circumstances what it means to white. My objective was straightforward — to be sure that having seen the movie, nobody will be able to remain indifferent to the situation in South Africa, and to encourage them to stand up and say, 'This is intolerable!'

His method in this is instructive — he has not made a story of the "plight" of the black masses, packed away in some far-off township or bantustan, pushing the boulder of struggle up the hill every day, only to have it roll down and crush them. Cry Freedom presents the Azanian people taking their lives into their hands and finding allies in this historic struggle. And politicians who want to make and lead a revolution — in the Leninist spirit of knowing about all classes and strata, their politics and their motivations — should find this work heartening and revealing about how these middle strata act when they are at their best and when the oppressed people themselves are taking the lead.

As to the raid, Biko assures Woods he will look into it. "We're not the monkeys we're made out to be."

Quick cut to Wood opening his front door to the dog-like features of two plainclothesmen demanding that Woods reveal the name of the black witness to the cop raid or go to jail. Woods is sure there's a misunderstanding. "Check with Kruger." They flash their green victory grip. "We said orders come from the top."

There are some weaknesses in the film's exposure of apartheid, but they are not with the portrayal of the Afrikaners. The film is soft towards the British ruling classes in South Africa, as though the British South African bourgeoisie are not to blame or are at all sympathetic. Britain is wrongly portrayed as a great friend of the Biko and Wooddorfs of Azania. And the crucial imperialist backing of apartheid by the U.S. and European powers is largely absent. But apartheid still takes a real beating here.

One also begins to see that this is a desperate beast, its feet of clay revealed by the very attitude of Biko and his friends.

Kruger emerges from the backdoor of his house with his fingers on his bald head, his mustache, his name, his face. He is the master of the situation. Universal won't divulge what the objective was straightforward — to be sure that having seen the movie, everybody will be able to remain indifferent to the situation in South Africa, and to encourage them to stand up and say, 'This is intolerable!'
Mass rebellion is sweeping through all of Palestine, and sights are being raised beyond such limited demands as "ending the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank." For the sake of national liberation has remerged, and fundamental questions about the Palestinian state are being brought up. In this situation, it is important for those who subscribe to this position to understand the understanding of the enemy that the Palestinian people face. In June 1984 the Revolutionary Worker published a four-part series titled "Fort Apache: The Massacre" (the series is now available in pamphlet form from RCP Publications). Below is an excerpt excerpt from Part II of that series which sketches out the basic history of Zionism and the imperialist-backed settler state of Israel.

**Part III: "... A Loyal Jewish Ulster in a Sea of Hostile Arabs"**

Fort Apache

An RW Reprint

Mass rebellion is sweeping through all of Palestine, and sights are being raised beyond such limited demands as "ending the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank." For the sake of national liberation has remerged, and fundamental questions about the Palestinian state are being brought up. In this situation, it is important for those who subscribe to this position to understand the understanding of the enemy that the Palestinian people face. In June 1984 the Revolutionary Worker published a four-part series titled "Fort Apache: The Massacre" (the series is now available in pamphlet form from RCP Publications). Below is an excerpt excerpt from Part II of that series which sketches out the basic history of Zionism and the imperialist-backed settler state of Israel.

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and the Palmach) and the extreme-right Irgun.

Much is made of the fact that the British limited emigration just as the war was approaching and with the Nazi regime growing ever more brutal towards German Jews. The Kristallnacht pogrom erupted in 1938, and shortly thereafter Nazis is beyond the scope of this article, regime growing ever more brutal towards Irgun.

German Jews. The Kristallnacht pogrom erupted in 1938, and shortly thereafter Nazis is beyond the scope of this article, regime growing ever more brutal towards Irgun.

While the Allied bloc waged World War 2 against the Third Reich, it was the British Empire which was broken apart and the American Century which picked up the pieces in the postwar period. A

Partition, Massacre, Exile

In 1947 the U.S. oversaw the UN vote which created the state of Israel and made official the British exit from the scene. The resolution partitioned Palestine in such a way as to create a "Jewish state" within it of 500,000 Jews and 450,000 Palestinians, and gerrymandered it to give the Jewish state the most productive land (including the best of the coast of Palestine).

There was no way that the Palestinian people would go along with this, and on the announcement of the partition they launched a general strike. Sporadic armed struggle between the Palestinians and the Zionists erupted, punctuated by severe reprisals by the Zionists. The Arab rulers of the area, under pressure from the Arab masses and badly underestimating the Zionists international backing, then launched a poorly conceived invasion, which became the 1948-49 war. This war had two main effects: first, the Zionists considerably expanded their territory beyond the UN mandate; second, 550,000 Palestinians were driven from their homes and over 400 former Palestinian villages were razed to make room for Israeli settlements.

The Israeli victory owed much not only to Western economic and diplomatic support but to direct military assistance as well. According to the May 22, 1959 issue of "The Zionist Record, Ben-Gurion (Israel's first prime minister) wrote in a foreword to the Israeli Defense Forces' Official History of the War of Independence that: "...South Africa with its relatively small Jewish community, contributed more to the War of Independence in terms of skilled volunteers than any other country in the world;...

While Israeli regiments of volunteers were trained in Germany, Austria, France and Czechoslovakia in 1948, "...Without foreign volunteers, the establishment of Israel as a naval, and armed forces, as well as of weapons development and military industry, would have been impossible. Since without these forces Israel could not have achieved victory in this war, according to the official history, it can thus be agreed that without foreign volunteers who composed one-fifth of Israel's total armed strength."

But the crucial moment of the war took place before it even began, at the neutral village of Deir Yassin on the night of April 9-10. On this night troops of the Irgun murdered 254 Palestinian non-combatant residents of Deir Yassin. Menachem Begin, the leader of Irgun and later prime minister, bragged in his book The Revolt: "All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Hafia like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting Deir Yassin!"

Colonel Meir Pail, who was communications officer for the Haganah in Deir Yassin and an eyewitness, describes how Begin's heroes loaded twenty-five survivors into a truck and drove them through the neighborhoods of Jerusalem, then taking them to a quarry where they were murdered, while others were driven off to be expelled beyond Israeli lines." Though officially disavowed by the mainstream Zionist movement, Deir Yassin (combined with the earlier smashing of the Arab Revolt) nevertheless played a key role in the expulsion of the Palestinians from Palestine.

Throughout this entire period of the creation of the settler state the mainstream Zionist movement was synonymous with the Labor Party, which ruled Israel for its first twenty-nine years, and the official Labor Party line for this time was summed up by Golda Meir: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." (London Sunday Times, June 15, 1969).

Settler-Colonial Occupier and Regional Cop

For the Palestinians, there has always been only one face of Israel. The Israeli dream remained a nightmare for them throughout the 1950s. Israel pursued a dual policy of consolidating its state via terror against Palestinians within its borders and on the West Bank and Gaza while also fighting to become the predominant regional military power. The former was done through a series of vicious military raids, carried out by the Special Unit 101 led by Ariel Sharon; the latter through a tactic of provoking one-sided confrontations with the various Arab states, usually handled won by Israel.

In 1956 Israel invaded the Egyptian territory of Gaza and Sinai, in conjunction with Britain and France's seizure of the Suez Canal. The U.S. forced France and Britain to back down, but not without息息相关 (U.S. domination in the Middle East), but it fully backed Israel's aggression against Egypt. The U.S. sided the Zionist attack dog on Egypt's Nasser, who was trying to play the U.S. off against the Soviets.
Fort Apache, The Mideast

Continued from page 13

Those who maintain that the IDF never drifted in its hands until the 1982 invasion of Lebanon should ponder some of the events of that war: the slaughter on October 29 (the first day of the war) of forty-seven Arabs in the Israeli village of Kfar Kama for violating a curfew that had been imposed on all Israeli Arabs—the villagers were returning home from work literally a few minutes past the 5 p.m. deadline (which they had not heard about) and Israeli troops killed almost all, including fifteen olive pickers coming home in a truck, all but two of whom were women, one of them eight months pregnant; the murder of at least 275 Palestinians in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis in a house-to-house search for weapons and fedayeen; another slaughter of 111 Palestinians on November 13 at the refugee camp at Rafah (also in the Gaza Strip) when the refugees resisted a round-up by the IDF.

While some Arab heads of state during this period adopted a tough posture for public consumption, in reality they went to great lengths to avoid angering Israel. The U.S., Britain, and France publicly claimed to follow the "Tripartite Agreement" which forbade arming either Israel or the Palestinians, but in practice did so. The U.S. pumped qualitatively greater aid to Israel in the years following 1967 than before the war. Israel had clearly won its wars, for the U.S. client in the area, at a time when the policy of increased U.S. reliance on surrogates to defend its interests in various regions was beginning to come into play. Second, the Israelis now occupied the West Bank, Gaza, and all of Jerusalem, bringing 1.25 million additional Palestinian refugees into this system ofCollaboration, imperialist, and retrograde elements of Israeli (and Jewish-American) society. And while the chimeras of a mini-state has been consistently held out to "get the Palestinians to listen to reason," in fact, to cut a deal with the Resistance of the fedayeen—Israel in the realisized its occupation of the West Bank.

The death grip on the West Bank tightened steadily from 1967 on, under both Labor and Likud, as did the attacks in Lebanon, the support for Hussein's commitment to "getting the Palestinians to listen to reason," the "crisis of Lebanon marked a further turning point in the process. If the earlier one had been a direct U.S. military intervention withstrategic brutality and which conditioned the direct U.S. military intervention with the peacekeeping force, and on the other, the determination of the pessagers to continue their resistance against imperialism, at a time when the stakes are far higher.

But the roots of today's horror are bound up with the origins and history, the intrinsic character of what has always been an imperialist project, the "old Israel." It is not a dream to be redeemed but a bloodstained nightmare to be broken with.

The Hemphill Murder of Loyal Garner

Continued from page 4

people or white Supreme Court justices suspend the Constitution whenever they want to?" "Yes!" "How can anyone say this system works for us?"

Finally concluded, there was a call for people to join hands to sing "We Shall Overcome." But it was met with the charge for the door by many of the younger people. One young Black woman from Houston said, "I'm not singing 'We Shall Overcome.' Let the old people sing it."

Afterwards outside the church there was a lot of discussion about how to take on the oppression of Black people. People talked about alternatives like fighting more Blacks to be hired, more Black cops, putting the sheriff and all the local officials fired, economic boycotts, etc. Revolutionary politics were also discussed and well received by many.

People welcomed the call for a statewide demonstration against racism to be held in Austin, Texas. (This action has been called for by the Coalition to Free Clarence Brandley.) And many bought RWs as well as the pamphlet by Bob Avakian, The Constitution: An Exploratory Vision of Freedom.

The way back to Houston, at the bus pulled out of the road from the church, a Black farmer stopped it and complained to the pastor that a helicopter had destroyed his plot of collard greens by landing in his field. This infuriated a number of those on the bus who expressed disgust that in 1988 Black people have to even live in backwoods conditions like this and then be terrorized further. People were getting angry, and by the time the bus approached downtown Houston people wanted to march on the courthouse. A woman borrowed the RCYD's bullhorn and started up a chant, "This bus, Stop the Bus." This incident drew out further discussion and a woman started talking about the RW article on the Howard Beach verdict. She showed the photos of proletarian bloc-breaking on the subways and said, "See here these people are serious. Look what they did to shut things down. They caused a million people to take notice." A number of people agreed with her that what is needed is more things like what was done in New York. And more discussion and debate went on over the importance of going into the ghettos, the neighborhoods, and the high schools in this battle against national oppression. A showing of the video on the RCP, They Say They Will, was set up, and further plans were made for the statewide demonstration in Austin. The outrage here is sure to burn even hotter in days to come.

Available at Revolution Books Bookstores and Outlets

$1.00
Los Angeles Palestinians Protest Israeli Occupation

The struggle of occupied Palestine is being fought not only by the people of Palestine but also by those in Los Angeles who are concerned about their human rights. The Palestinian people have been suffering under Israeli occupation for many years. They are fighting for their rights and freedom. The struggle is not only for themselves but also for all oppressed peoples around the world. The solidarity of the Palestinian people with those who are struggling for justice and freedom is crucial.

Homeless

Continued from page 5

have been that man under 18 inches of ice glaciation. These conditions are home to the homeless. They need somewhere to live and I’m tired. I saw people of color dealing with the stress of being homeless. It’s frustrating to see how the system is not working for those who are in need. It’s time for a change.

Garcia

Continued from page 3

people, to support the growth of a local economy. It’s important to support the local economy and invest in their communities.

Locked Out

Continued from page

Palestinian areas. Units of the Israeli army smash into homes, buildings, and other property. Military officials actively bragged about a new tactic they use; they would set up roadblocks and Formations, with the intention of keeping them to stand upright all night, on the pretext that they will be able to throw rocks the next morning. The Israelis are continuing with daily mass arrests, using whatever tactics, until the day before, even with the presence of the Israeli police. The Palestinian public is among those arrested and then released.

Moderate Arrested, Radiolocators Destroyed

The Israeli authorities have always been in favor of peaceful demonstrations. It is important to continue to support the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom and justice.

The settlers’ leader Wallstein has been a prominent defender of the so-called “underground,” an organization of Israeli settlers and their right-wing affiliates who target Palestinian buses and assassinate political leaders.

The military commander Miztna has been indicted in the U.S. press as “even-handed” but this is not true. He is heavily involved in the support of the Israeli army and its policies.

Ominous Signs of Israeli Intent

As we go to press, fighting broke out in one of Islam’s holiest sites, the Dome of the Rock. Israeli troops viciously attacked, beat and gassed Palestinians and seized control of the Haram Mosque. An Israeli fanatic-right-wing Zionist who wants to see Jerusalem destroyed and replaced by a monument to their faith.

Not all Palestinians are Moslems — there is a significant section of Christians among the population. But sending settlers who never been to Palestine, they still see the land as their own. In this way, the Israeli army continues to maintain its presence and control over the region.

The police forced the Palestinian demonstrators to put up two separate picket lines in order to block the sidewalk. But the JDL members were being watched and the police personnel were blockading the sidewalk, as well as to maintain order.

The poster on the sidewalk read: “This is the final solution, for rock throwers!” This pitiful display of force has not stopped the Israeli authorities from being a dependable reminder of the nature of Zionism. The Israeli authorities have always been the remark of a young Israeli, made while this was going on. Commenting on it, he said: “It’s about time. And right on time.” The Israeli authorities have always been in favor of peaceful demonstrations. It is important to continue to support the Palestinian people in their struggle for freedom and justice.

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IN ISSUE NO. 9 . . .

NAXALBARI
Twenty years ago the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari ushered in a new chapter in the struggle of the masses in India and its echo was heard around the world.

GORBACHEV
What is Gorbachev up to? Is he liberalising, unleashing market forces in the economy, and seeking accommodation with the West in order to relaunch the Soviet economy? Or is he marshalling the forces of Soviet society behind the chariots of reaction and war?

DAY OF HEROISM — 19TH JUNE
In June 1986 men and women prisoners of war, revolutionaries held in three Peruvian prisons, rose in revolt in defence of their lives and the honour of the revolution. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement called for this anniversary to be commemorated in different ways in countries around the world.

AND MORE . . .

FROM A WORLD TO WIN
"... A World to Win has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement announced on March 12, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations from around the world . . . A World to Win is not an official organ of the RIM and its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction."

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