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Gov't. Tries to Stop U.S. Tour of Salvadoran Revolutionaries

On Monday, October 12, just three days before they were scheduled to begin a national speaking tour on El Salvador in St. Louis, two Salvadoran revolutionaries and two other tour participants were seized en route by the U.S. Immigration Border Patrol in Miami, Oklahoma.

Initially the two Salvadorans were held on \$3500 bail each on a federal misdemeanor and on immigration bond. On Thursday, October 15, after days of conscious delays, a Border Patrol officer handed the Salvadorans' lawyer an order to hold them without bail, on orders from District Head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Bill Chambers in Dallas, Texas. As we go to press absolutely no explanation has been given for this outrageous action, made as bail was about to be posted.

Immediately upon arresting the Salvadorans on Monday, the authorities began deportation proceedings against the two. Were they to be sent back to El Salvador, they would face certain torture and very possibly death. In addition, the authorities began a series of high-pressured interrogations of the two Salvadorans, in the absence of any legal counsel, laying particular emphasis on asking questions about, and trying to establish political affiliation with, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, whose youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, is sponsoring the tour in conjunction with other groups and individuals. All these and other intrigues described below have occurred despite the fact that the U.S. government and its various police agencies know full well that the Salvadorans were in the process of seeking the legal status of political asylum in the U.S.

There is no doubt that the U.S. imperialists grasp some of the potential significance and impact of this national speaking tour—one whose revolutionary internationalist content will not only target U.S. imperialism and its local stooges in El Salvador, but will also sharply expose the Soviets (and Cubans) for their imperialist intrigues. The tour participants will speak to audiences throughout the U.S., making the point that it is impossible to get free of one imperialism by relying on another, drawing both on the particular situation in El Salvador as well as other international and historic examples on this point. The tour has been widely publicized for weeks—through the Party's and Brigade's press and other papers such as *The Observer*, the student newspaper at Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland, which announced the tour in its October 8, 1981 edition—as well as through the efforts of many people nationally. Sponsors in addition to the RCYB have included forces such as the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft, the President of the San Francisco Art Institute, the Washington University Social Action Collective in St. Louis, and numerous others. In addition, the tour has been scheduled and built for in over 20 cities, with programs planned at many colleges, high schools, and in many Latin communities, including the University of Wisconsin, Central State University in Ohio, Harvard, and the City College of New York.

It's been very clear that there has been much consultation up and conspiring all around among the INS, the U.S. Attorney's Office (in Tulsa, Oklahoma and elsewhere), U.S. Federal Marshalls, the FBI, and local authorities from the beginning, aimed at deporting the Salvadorans and stopping the tour. This is shown both by how they have dealt with the Salvadorans and by the arrests and charges against the other two people with the Salvadorans on the tour. These two were

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KIDNAPPED!

iel SALVA

National Speaking Tour

THE PEOPLE
What are the tasks confronting the masses of El Salvador in their struggle for liberation?

IMPERIALISM
What is the U.S. doing there and why? The Soviets (and the Cubans)?

WAR AND REVOLUTION
How does all this relate to what's shaping up worldwide?

Nationally sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. For more information write: RCYB, Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690

Speaking dates scheduled for October

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| Oct. 15, 16 | St. Louis* |
| Oct. 18 | Detroit |
| Oct. 19 | Cleveland |
| Oct. 20 | Detroit |
| Oct. 22, 23 | Chicago |
| Oct. 26, 27 | Madison, Wisconsin |
| Oct. 29, 30, 31 | Cleveland, Columbus, Central State |

Further dates and locations to be announced
* Every effort will be made to reschedule this speaking engagement as well as any others missed because of the arrest of the speakers.

Special in this issue:

The Socialists and Communists vs. The Revolutionary Communist/Proletarian Internationalists
by Bob Avakian
See page 3

The Rebels of Belfast
See page 10

BATTLES AGAINST PHILIPPINES' MARCOS

TROUBLE IN U.S. PACIFIC OUTPOST

Described as "the worst anti-Marcos riot in 5 years," students clashed with Philippines police on October 7th in the streets of Manila. It was the biggest such incident since police battled demonstrators against the World Bank/International Monetary Fund Conference being held in Manila in 1976. The clash occurred at the end of a 3-hour demonstration by 1,500 students.

Student leaders had demanded that official representatives of the Marcos regime appear at the National Press Club for a discussion of student demands. Not surprisingly, the officials failed to show, and the students took to the streets, linked arm-in-arm behind a banner reading, "Dismantle the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship." As they prepared to march through the heart of the city, 200 police, armed with guns and truncheons, blocked their way. The students hurled rocks at the police, who then charged the student demonstrators and started beating them. Some of the riot police drove a bus and a jeep to chase down students. The students regrouped and charged the police lines again, but were forced to retreat when the police drew their guns and fired.

Eight student leaders were arrested on charges of "tumultuous disturbance" and face up to 6 years in jail. There were many injured on both sides, including Manila police superintendent Colonel Alfredo Yson and a cop who was cornered by students at an underpass and pelted with rocks.

Weeks of widespread student unrest in this country dominated economically, politically, militarily by the U.S. had led up to the October 7th street battle. Students from over 20 universities and colleges in metropolitan Manila and three other major cities, Davao, Baguio and Cebu, staged a boycott of classes in September to dramatize their demands. The students were protesting the increasing suppression of campus activities, increases in tuition fees, censorship of school publications and suppression of student councils.

In Cebu, student leaders at the University of San Carlos led a one-week boycott that involved 12,000 students. Five thousand students from St. Louis University and other schools in Baguio marched to demand a meeting with school authorities. Reports of police brutality were frequent as police used

motor vehicles, guns and truncheons to control the crowds. At the Agro-Industrial School in Davao, the military used 2 helicopters to disperse the students who had gathered to protest dilapidated school facilities.

The September unrest was capped on the 18th by a rally of 7,000 students, workers, teachers and members of religious orders at Bonifacio Park in Central Manila. Some carried portraits of Marcos with captions that read "Marcos—Best winner of the U.S. Imperialist Puppet Award." One teacher addressing the crowd said that many of her fellow teachers had joined the students in their boycotts of classes of the previous weeks. A section of the crowd, about 2,000 youths, tried to march across a bridge from the park toward the presidential palace, but were prevented from advancing by police cordons.

Confronted by such open opposition to his regime right in the capital city of Manila, Marcos countered claiming that, "subversives" were plotting to burn tourist hotels, foment strikes and cause campus unrest. Saying that the "political will is still there and I am still president, let them not test this will," Marcos threatened that "If I have to go back to 1972, I will go back to 1972." He was referring to his so-called lifting of martial law in January of this year, but as widely exposed by anti-Marcos forces and even openly admitted by some of the U.S. bourgeois media, this move was merely a cosmetic change.

The whole repressive structure of martial law remains intact, guaranteed by a December, 1980 decree that allows Marcos to issue arrest, search and seizure orders against persons who have committed or are "reasonably suspected of having committed crimes from rebellion to rumor mongering, conspiracy or proposal to commit treason, inciting to war or giving motives for reprisals, disloyalty to public officers and all other crimes which have the effect of undermining national security and public order." Large numbers of political prisoners are still incarcerated and restrictions on the press remain tight. Needless to say, Marcos' role as a willing U.S. puppet has not undergone any changes. But while the "lifting" of martial law was an obvious sham, its reimposition, if Marcos does indeed go through with his

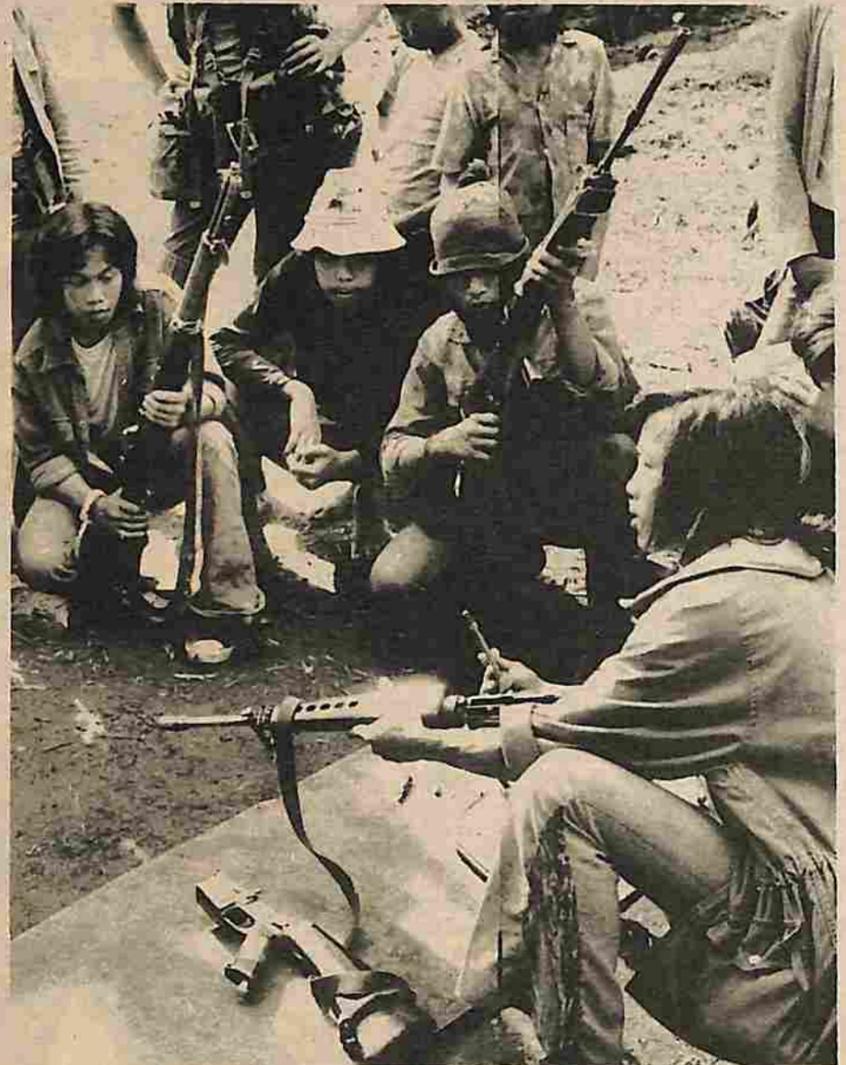
threat, would only feed more fuel to the anti-Marcos fire.

After a lull of several years, anti-Marcos activity in the cities had picked up last year, when 30,000 workers and others marched on May Day and 250,000 students from various schools boycotted classes in June and August. In the rural areas, the New People's Army (NPA), the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), continues to gain new ground. It now claims an armed strength of 10,000 organized into 27 "strategic guerrilla fronts" throughout the

islands. On the southern island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, the Muslim Moro National Liberation Front and its Bangsa Moro Army battles the Marcos army in their struggle for secession. The NPA and the Muslim guerrillas have continued to flourish, despite the fact that in 8 years of martial law, the Philippines army tripled its strength to around 200,000 today.

Another facet to Marcos' increasingly shaky position is the rapidly deteriorating state of the imperialist dominated economy. The trade deficit

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Rebels in Mindanao train in weapons use. "The NPA and the Muslim guerrillas have continued to flourish, despite the fact that in 8 years of martial law, the Philippines Army tripled its strength. . . ."

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Bob Avakian recently gave an informal talk ranging widely over a number of historical and present questions of the international proletarian revolution. Periodically over the coming weeks the Revolutionary Worker will carry short excerpts. The entire text will be published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. The first excerpts appeared in last week's RW (No. 125).

Some Questions Related to the Line and Work of Our Party and Our Special International Responsibilities and Tasks

First of all, a point on how to evaluate the battles around May 1st, the *Revolutionary Worker* and internationalism (internationalism on the one hand as an integral part of our overall work, certainly of May 1st and the *Revolutionary Worker* but, on the other hand, as a key focus in its own right as well). I would like to make an analogy to the Great Leap Forward in China which also had its 3 banners of the Great Leap Forward, the people's communes and the general line for moving socialism forward. This is not an exact comparison and I don't want to encourage mechanical thinking, metaphysics, forcing analogies, cutting the toes to fit the shoes, and so on, but I'm still going to make the analogy which is that in a certain sense we also had our 3 banners: May 1st, *Revolutionary Worker* and internationalism. And to be clear about it, my impression is that there's a lot of struggle still about: "did we really make leaps?" just like "was there really a Great Leap Forward or was it a fiasco?" (Mao made the point in the middle of the struggle over the Great Leap Forward that Chin Shih Huang built the Great Wall in China and then he was overthrown, and now we've had the Great Leap Forward, are they going to overthrow us for that too?)

It seems to me that there's a question of how to evaluate these things and I think you can look at it this way. Mao talked about all the excesses and problems of the Great Leap Forward and how everything didn't work out the way that the revolutionaries were struggling to make it work out: a lot of the advances couldn't be kept on the level they were, some couldn't be consolidated at all, a lot of the canteens through which they were trying to push things forward to more socialized forms of distribution collapsed and couldn't be maintained. Mao said, for example, I thought that steel could walk by itself, I forgot about the problem of transport, getting so carried away with trying to produce so many tons of steel, but the important thing, he said, was that the masses were mobilized and their political consciousness and activity was aroused and raised. Drawing the analogy we're all familiar with of the Paris Commune, saying that Marx thought the Commune would be good, even if it only lasted a short period of time because it was the first proletarian dictatorship, Mao remarked that if you assess it from an economic standpoint the Commune wasn't worthwhile either.

The way I feel about it, we set out with the basic target in 1980 to have 10,000 people, mainly from the working class, out there leaving work, rallying and demonstrating on May 1st and making that kind of impact on the country. And we fell short in a quantitative

The Socialists and the Communists vs. THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST/PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISTS

sense of that goal. We set out after that, in trying to go forward from there, to expand distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* on a regular basis to 100,000 weekly and it appears now that we're falling short of that and we have to consolidate on a lower level. And, we set out to make internationalism a clear line and standard in the movement, and I can't think of too much bad to say about that, we haven't done so badly at that, it seems, although there are still some backward forces who think we should talk about psychological space and other equivalent problems.

But let's take the question of May 1st and the *RW*. On the one hand we set out to reach this May 1st target quantitatively at 10,000 and there is an interpenetration with quality. We didn't succeed in that, but we did succeed in making May 1st a big social question inside the proletariat in the U.S., even with international implications, not just among the movement who tried to ignore it or slander it, but especially among a good section of the masses, especially the more advanced masses in the U.S. We did succeed in making that a big social question and in making a big impact politically on that day and then again the next year on May 1st. And we succeeded so well that we actually have a tactical problem, because this coming year May 1st falls on a Saturday and we don't know what to do. In a certain funny way that's a measure of whether or not and to what degree and how in fact we *did* make an advance. And May 1st is a big social question, especially in the more solid social base for a proletarian revolutionary internationalist line; it's something that already, I'm sure, people are looking forward to and increasingly will be; it's become a day where the question of revolution is put center stage, not literally in the majority of people's thinking, but on the minds of large numbers of people and with an impact on even still broader numbers.

In terms of the *RW*, we didn't succeed apparently in being able to consolidate on the level of 100,000. It is sort of like Mao with the steel: we went out there and put it out boldly to the masses and put the newspapers literally on the street and called the masses forward to take them, and there were inspiring examples over and over again of that happening. But, you know, like

Mao said, he forgot that steel couldn't walk and apparently we forgot that papers don't pay for themselves. So we ran into some problems where we weren't able to consolidate on that level and maintain the distribution on that level, but we are going to be able to come out of it with a real leap quantitatively and, more than that, qualitatively. First off, the *Revolutionary Worker* and the whole central task has taken a qualitative leap in terms of our *own* grasp and application of it. And secondly the whole trend as concentrated around the newspaper and as representing the Party has become a much broader force, a material and ideological force among growing numbers of the masses. If before, the central task was much less grasped and very much more unevenly applied, through the whole struggle, including the 100 Flowers* campaign, it certainly is true in a qualitatively greater sense, that the central task and the work around the newspaper and the whole line it represents have become much more a real force, both in terms of our own grasp and application and in terms of its impact among the masses.

Similarly with internationalism. We have actually made internationalism a question throughout the U.S. and with an impact throughout the world; literally with no exaggeration it is an inspiration to people from all over the world that right in the heart of the U.S. there is an internationalist force. We made internationalism a decisive question, a question taken up by people, masses in struggle, who come into struggle around particular questions or issues, and a question to which generally broader forces, including in the movement, have to respond or have to deal with. So I feel that we can find a narrow basis for assessing these things and saying they weren't worthwhile, but from any Marxist-Leninist standpoint, from any view of correctly assessing our overall goal, these were not only worthwhile but were indeed real important qualitative leaps that have to be built off.

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* The "100 Flowers campaign" refers to a debate in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* in 1980 over the central task and, in particular, the role of the newspaper.



Bob Avakian at the Wall of the Communards in Paris

PROLETARIAN

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Just to go back to the last point about internationalism and the full point about how the newspaper and the central task have taken a qualitative leap in theory and in practice, I think that the trend, as represented by our Party and as concentrated in the newspaper, has become a real political trend in the U.S. (from everything I can gather) and that's a growing thing, it's not just a flash in the pan. Now I would like to say that I think we should sharply contrast our trend not only to straight up bourgeois politics. But also, rather than simply (and I'm not saying we never do this in certain spheres) contesting the phony communists and saying "they're not communists, we're real communists," we should to a certain degree and in a certain context, let the revisionists have the "communist" banner. And what we should say is, "yes, there are different tendencies: there's the socialists and the social democrats, some of them are in power in different countries, you can see what they do, they're more or less a straight up bourgeois trend; then there's the communists, that is, the revisionists, they're in power in some countries too, and in other countries they want to be in power on the same basis, you can see what they're about. And then there's our trend, which is the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend." I really don't say this facetiously.

To a certain degree the revisionists have the banner of communism—well, to a certain degree and only to a certain degree, we should say "yes, there's the social democrats and the socialists, there's the communists, (that is the revisionists), and there's the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalists," and push that trend out and make it even more of a force in that kind of way. Because that in a certain sense is breaking more out of doing this all within a more narrow context, and seeing the question of that trend becoming a big trend and an actual pole around which will gravitate and rally the advanced forces who are taking up revolution and internationalism more consciously. That's just something to think about.

I want to go back to this question of the Party and put it in the context, in particular, of central task and then move on to conclude. The central task as we know is capsulated in the formulation, Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. There's a question of how to look at and how to view this in its broadest implications: What do you mean by a task, in particular a central task, and what's its relationship to other tasks? The way I look at it, central task, in the sense that we're using it, is something which has to be viewed in an overall way and it's something which comprehends all of the work that's carried out in that whole entire process of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power.

In other words, to me the central task is not creating public opinion now, and then (tomorrow or at some point), we will be seizing power. Nor can the central task be reduced to the work around the newspaper as the main weapon that we're using now. The central task is precisely a process (or corresponds to a process) which encompasses all the work we have to carry out in creating public opinion and seizing power which, at different times and in different circumstances, finds more or less emphasis on different aspects of it, and includes a number of more specific tasks. Another way that we put this is: "preparing minds and organizing forces," which, should be pointed out, we consciously reversed from—and I hope genuinely rendered somewhat more profound—Lenin's formulation in an article where he talked about organizing forces and preparing minds. We put the two in the opposite relationship, preparing minds and organizing forces, which is more in line with Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. But viewing the central task in this way enables us to grasp more firmly and deeply the role and the importance of party building.

Party Building

I see party building as being in very close dialectical interpenetration with the overall orientation, the importance of which I've come to see even more deeply, of what I've formulated as "taking responsibility for the movement as a whole," that is, for the overall task of building a revolutionary movement. This has been a strength of ours historically, going back even before the Party was formed, a strength that not even the Mensheviks*, and the conditions that made their influence grow in strength, were able to extinguish, though they were certainly able to suffocate and smother it to a significant degree.

To stress the importance of party building and to give it the kind of emphasis that unfortunately it has not, and certainly not consistently, been given in our own understanding and in our own work, it must be said that party building is not only a key part of the preparation of revolution; to put it another way and at the same time, if you want to talk about preparing minds and organizing forces, it is the key part of organizing forces. The question need only be asked to answer ourselves: how clearly and consistently have we grasped that and acted upon it as an organization overall?

*This refers to a group of revisionists, dubbed "Mensheviks," who sided with the revisionist coup in China and split from the RCP, USA in late 1977.

This is very much linked in my mind to the question of what a revolutionary situation looks like in terms of its complexity and the diversity of the forces—the kinds of things we've been trying to stress and that are spelled out, or at least spoken to, in the *Programme*. Take the problems that were posed for the Marxist-Leninist movement in Iran with the upsurge and then the overthrow of the Shah, and the aftermath of that down to the present. Here I'm not simply talking in a narrow mechanical sense about the fact that there wasn't a party *per se* in Iran or putting emphasis on organization narrowly. But due to the savage repression by the Shah and other factors, the Marxist-Leninist movement there was fragmented and diffuse so that it was not a powerful trend as such within the society at the time when things developed to a revolutionary situation and the actual overthrow of the Shah. I'm not talking about having the adherence of the majority (or the majority of the working class), I'm talking about being a major force politically in society as a whole. And one only needs to look at that to see how much further along the revolutionary movement would be in Iran were the Marxist-Leninist movement and a clear Marxist-Leninist line in particular, and an organized force representing that, much more of a force in the upsurge which overthrew the Shah. Which is not to get metaphysical and say, "only if we'd had this..."; nevertheless, it is a way of illustrating a point and urging us to maximize the freedom we have and to take every correct step and necessary step to greatly intensify and push forward our work in building the Party.

Now this point has been strengthened from the draft *Programme and Constitution* to the final. But concentrated attention and work is needed on this point from now forward. Attention needs to be focused on the question of why, in party building, quality is the key link; and that means in particular that line and the training of Party members and those drawn toward the Party in theory and in practice is the key link in party building. But also, if secondary, extremely important and interpenetrating with the qualitative aspect, is the question of building the Party quantitatively. To put it in simple terms, building its membership, bringing in new members continually, building up the quantitative aspect of the Party is crucial in this sense and understood in this light to being able, even first of all, to gauge the developments—specifically the mood of the masses—toward a revolutionary situation and of course to carry through whenever a revolutionary situation does develop. Which, as we've seen from experience, can develop suddenly and without much warning—and certainly without permission!

The question of the relationship between the party and overall upsurge in society has to be understood clearly. By that I mean you can't build the party in a hothouse, or by will or self-cultivation, and generally you can't build the party, you can't bring people in and around the party—beyond a certain point in any case—in the absence of a general ferment in society and a general growth of the social movement and upsurge in society. I'm not saying you can't have a party and you can't build it at all, but there is a relationship there. Again, it's not as if there isn't any ferment in the world as a whole and even in society in the U.S., in particular. But with all that, there still is the question that the party is in fact the vanguard, it is not the same as and can't be reduced to whatever the level of struggle and consciousness is at any given time. In line with the central task and our understanding of it, as I touched on before, we should be able to see more clearly the importance of building the Party precisely as the vanguard, and this has to be developed and strengthened both qualitatively and quantitatively in correct relationship to political work among the masses, social upsurges and social ferment, social movements and social questions.

As I said, this is concentrated and comprehended in the central task as correctly understood, but it has to be grasped and acted upon that this is not only a key part of carrying out the central task, or to put it another way, preparing minds and organizing forces, but is the key aspect of organizing forces. This question, too, has to be taken to the masses, both in the form of addressing it openly in a concentrated way in the newspaper, and also, not in a hothouse but precisely in correct and dialectical relationship with the growing ferment and upsurge in society and in the world, it must be made a question and a challenge particularly to the advanced who come forward, and especially from the proletarian masses.

The trend as represented especially by the newspaper has to be more than just a loose trend and a general sentiment; it has to have organized expression. People inside our own ranks and more broadly, particularly those who do gravitate towards this trend, have to grapple with and come to terms with the question that whether or not we can actually "do the dog," as we say, and whether or not we can, in any case, contribute the most to the overall international advance, has everything to do with how much this trend not only becomes a force politically and ideologically, but takes organized expression which furthers the dialectic of our being able in fact to both feel and quicken the pulse of the masses as the objective conditions provide more and more of a basis for that.

If these questions are not put out to the masses, as well as struggled out and grappled with within our own ranks, we cannot go into the storms that will be erupting ahead, including the possible development of a revolutionary situation in this country, as strong as we can and, in that sense, *must*—not only in this country

but internationally as well. This is a question that has been underrated and which we cannot afford to under-rate any longer or fail to pay consistent and intensified attention to—without turning it into some kind of new gimmick or using it as a way of turning away from the road on which we've been taking not only crucial steps but actual leaps. Rather, this is a further continuation and a deepening of the carrying out of the central task as understood in this broad and all-encompassing sense.

International Responsibilities

So in conclusion, then, I want to return to the theme running through all this: the crucial importance of our internationalist orientation and the way that infuses all of our tasks and the carrying out of our work in the light of our basic analysis of spirals leading to the heightening of contradictions and the shaping up of conjunctures—which is not just a general analysis but a concrete analysis of developments in the world today and our special responsibilities. Not only does there have to be a clear identification of our trend but we have to make a real living thing among the masses of the question that we have a Party which is ours and which we have to join and build and strengthen as a crucial part of preparation for revolution—without falling into the tailist notion of "it's your Party" that the Mensheviks tried to carry out—that we have a Party that actually expresses our proletarian and internationalist outlook and interests, and whether it stands or falls and whether it can play its role depends on us and not just on it as an external abstraction, or at least an external to us.

There is also the question of "roads to the proletariat" which touches somewhat on this question of party building as well as building the movement and the advanced forces more generally. This applies in the U.S., as raised in the talk "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution." But in closing I want to touch upon it in terms of its international dimension. It's really not a question that "no one can touch a single hair on the social system of anyone else or any other country," or no one can "interfere" in anybody else's internal affairs. There's the question of what methods we use in building the movement internationally, as well as in the different countries—that is, correct versus incorrect methods.

But part of that is precisely recognizing and taking responsibility for what kind of country the U.S., in particular, is. It is a country which has certain features we can seize on to turn into their opposites for the advantage of the international proletariat and to advance its struggle. It is the kind of imperialist country that not only plunders the whole world and squeezes the life out of people but also, at the same time, drives large numbers of people into it. Take the example of Central America. The complexity and contradictoriness of things is such that sometimes people literally right out of that revolutionary struggle are driven into the U.S. at the same time the U.S. is the target of the struggle they're part of. And there's a question of how that can be concentrated and spread back out on the other hand to places where the subjective factors and Marxist-Leninist movement are presently not strong.

It's not a question of violating the Bergman law [a leader of the Menshevik clique—RW]: that no one, least of all us, should think that we have anything to say to anyone else in the whole world, any ideas that anybody else might possibly find worth listening to. It's not so much to violate that law as a matter of principle—though as a matter of principle it should be violated. It's much more the question that if we are really grasping this proletarian internationalism and its material and philosophical basis, we have a responsibility to do this in a correct sense. Not that we tell everybody what to do. I mean, if we tell people and it's good advice, it's good and maybe they can do it; if we tell them and it's not good advice, maybe they can negate it with good line. In any case, that's not the heart of the question.

The heart of the question is we have a responsibility to figure out how to advance the movement internationally and that includes taking advantage of some features of this imperialist monstrosity and nerve center that our Party is in, and working to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist movement where it is not as developed, at the same time as we learn from where it may be quantitatively and even, in a certain sense qualitatively, weaker overall or where it may be stronger in an overall sense in that particular country. It's not the question of petty competition and bourgeois rivalry, even turned inside out *à la* Bergman and false modesty. That is all beside the point. The question is how to carry out our responsibilities and how to turn something into a strength for the international proletariat out of the hideous features of this monstrosity of imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular.

In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that that we have to do. And it's not just that we should say that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the overall struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up. □

Haitian Marxist-Leninists Write on Joint Communiqué

We are writing this letter to make known our points of agreement and disagreement with the Joint Communiqué. The goal of this text is thus to help launch a thorough discussion, around the Communiqué, on the essential theses which divide true Marxist-Leninists from modern revisionists.

Although we have some points of disagreement with the Communiqué, overall we agree with its orientation. Why?

Because first of all, we think that in the face of the crisis situation existing today on a world scale, in particular in the face of the threat of a third world war, Marxist-Leninists throughout the world must unite and unite the masses of people around them in order to either prevent imperialist war, or if it should break out, to transform it into revolutionary war.

Secondly, the orientation of this Communiqué: it enables Marxist-Leninists themselves to unite around scientific theses of Marxism-Leninism, providing a dividing line between genuine Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists who claim they are also Marxist-Leninists though their real goal is to attack and falsify genuine Marxism-Leninism. This is in order to impose their own dictatorship over the peoples of the world.

We are going to list here our points of agreement and of disagreement with the text, as well as the points which we think need clarification. We will also refer to an open letter of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPM-L), published in the September 4, 1981 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. We think that certain parts of the text are too general, such that even enemies of Marxism-Leninism can make use of them.

(p. 1) "This war is looming on the horizon and will break out unless the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the seizure of power by the working class and oppressed people, is able to prevent it. Still if this does break out, it will represent an extreme concentration of the crisis of the imperialist system and will heighten the objective basis for revolutionary struggle that must be seized by the Marxist-Leninists." (Joint Communiqué)

Overall, we think that war can be prevented by "the revolutionary struggle of the masses." We even think that this prevention is basic. Indeed, the confrontation between the two imperialist blocs could very well lead to the use of nuclear arms, which would endanger the very survival of mankind. This position should not lead to defeatism. On the contrary, it should drive us to advance the struggle against imperialist war. We think that this position is diametrically opposed to that of the Chinese revisionists, according to whom "World war, though inevitable, can be postponed." ("Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to

Marxism-Leninism," FLP 1977, p. 69.)

At the very moment when the world is going through this extremely serious crisis, the masses are not prepared for revolutionary struggle. This is due to 1.) the division and lack of preparation among the Marxist-Leninists themselves, who must lead the revolutionary struggle of the masses against imperialist war, 2.) the antagonistic contradictions between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists within the revolutionary movement.

It is important that Marxist-Leninists continue to discuss their points of disagreement among themselves, in order to come to a real unity based on Marxist-Leninist principles. This is necessary to carry out their mission of leading the masses in the struggle against modern revisionism within the revolutionary movement, and in the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, for peace and socialism.

(p.2) "All the other imperialist powers are also driven by their nature toward war—they are also big exploiters, thoroughly reactionary, aggressive and enemies of the proletariat and the peoples of the world." (Joint Communiqué)

Contrary to the TKPM-L, we think that this paragraph constitutes a demarcation from the Three Worlds Theory, which calls on the peoples dominated by the imperialists of the second world to unite with them to fight the imperialists of the "first world". As a matter of fact, this paragraph specifies that the imperialists of the "second world" are "just as exploitative, reactionary and aggressive" enemies "of the proletariat and the peoples of the world". They must develop their autonomous struggles against these imperialisms, which, flowing from their very nature as imperialists, want war just as much as the two superpowers.

(p.4) "The armed struggle must be carried out as a war of the masses and through it the masses must be prepared ideologically, politically and organizationally to exercise political power.

"Whatever the necessary forms and stages of the revolutionary process the principal reliance must be based on building up the armed forces of the

masses led by the party, while it is also necessary to carry out political work among the armed forces of the enemy to help disintegrate these armed forces and win over as many of their soldiers as possible in the course of the revolutionary struggle." (Joint Communiqué)

According to the TKPM-L, "In our opinion this statement is not entirely clear. A vital part of preparing the masses for the seizure of power are armed and unarmed forms of political struggles. The relationship between these two forms of struggle varies according to the social-economic structure of the respective country and depends on which stage the revolution has reached."

Overall we agree on this point with the TKPM-L. But we go further: indeed, it's our opinion certain other points need clarification. We think that, at certain stages of the revolutionary struggle, the Marxist-Leninist party could very well not have armed forces under its command (generally, at the beginning of the revolutionary process). At these times, the party must necessarily wage a non-armed political struggle. However, and here we unite with the Communiqué, this political struggle must be waged in such a way as to build the revolutionary armed forces, in order to move on to the higher stage of the armed struggle.

Secondly, we think that, if political work within the armed forces of the enemy is key at the stage of armed struggle, then political work can not be neglected within all the other forces of the enemy at this stage. This is even more obvious at other stages where the non-armed political struggle prevails. Thus the question of stages, and even the stage of armed struggle, must be clarified, understanding fully that intensive political work must be carried out among all the forces of the enemy.

(p.5) "The existence and the leading role of the party of the proletariat is another cardinal principle. This is expressed in an organization of the vanguard of the proletariat which must be based on a Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and organizational line on the principal problems of the revolution." (Joint Communiqué)

We agree with this point. However, we think that it is necessary to specify which are the "principal problems of the revolution" at each stage: before the seizure of power by the proletariat, and after this seizure of power.

(p.5) "The party must give great attention to the illegal forms of struggle and organization, in order to preserve its independence and to educate the masses in the struggle against their enemies. From a strategic point of view, illegal forms of work are fundamental. At the same time the party must make use of legal opportunities in order to broaden its influence without falling into or promoting bourgeois democratic illusions and while preparing for the inevitable repression by the reactionaries." (Joint Communiqué)

We are in profound agreement with this point of view. But we must note that certain Marxist-Leninist organizations or parties, while overall holding a revolutionary line, often fall into the trap of bourgeois democracy, which makes repression by the reactionary forces easier when they unleash it. We think that such parties or organizations must correct bourgeois-democratic tendencies, because they are very harmful to the revolutionary struggle.

(p.7) "Experience has shown that without the leadership of the proletariat and a genuine Marxist-Leninist line it is impossible to free these types of countries from imperialist enslavement, still less to advance on the socialist road." (Joint Communiqué)

We think that this is correct. In order to carry through the new democratic revolution successfully, it is necessary to form a united front of all classes opposed to imperialist domination and its local lackeys. But within this united front, the Marxist-Leninist party must maintain its independence and its leading role, because the revolution will be compromised if bourgeois tendencies take over leadership of the struggle. Thus the leadership of the proletariat and its party is indispensable.

(p.7) "There is an undeniable tendency for imperialism to introduce significant elements of capitalist relations in the countries it dominates. In certain

Continued on page 19

**A TOUT
MAKSIS-LENINIS,
TRAVAYE
AK OPRIME
NAN TOUT PEYI**

KOMINIKASYON

Kominis Pati (yèl)
Kominis Pati (Sovyet)
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Correction

In RW No. 124, the article entitled "Bob Avakian Targeted Again in Prosecution's Move" contained an error. In describing the effect of the prosecution's new motion, the article said, "If the prosecutor's motion is granted it would leave (for now) pre-trial hearings only on selective prosecution and bad faith prosecution." Selective prosecution and bad faith prosecution are part of the defense grounds for dismissal and as such would be banned if the prosecution's motion is granted.

THE "STABILITY" SADAT LEAVES BEHIND

While Air Force 1 touched down at the Cairo Airport, carrying its cargo of ex-presidents of the United States to their final rendezvous with the ex-president of Egypt, Anwar el-Sadat, the Egyptian Interior Ministry was busy dealing with what officials termed a "minor outbreak" in the southern city of Asyut. According to press accounts, the police and security headquarters of Asyut, a city of 250,000, had been seized by "Moslem fundamentalists." Police and army troops were called in from outside to quell the disturbances, in which at least 40 people were reported killed—including the commanding officer of the military contingent. The *New York Times* reported "many indications of a vast round-up of people. . . Moslems could be seen marched into a local office of the Interior Ministry for interrogation. One man, his hands tied behind his back, was being questioned while an official twice swiftly jerked a razor blade down the side of his face. The interrogator then made a threatening gesture with his hand across the man's neck."

It sounds like quite a scene: the responsible, pro-Western moderates of the Interior Ministry mutilate handcuffed "extremist Moslem fanatics," while the *New York Times* looks objectively on and scribbles dispassionate notes. In the last paragraph of the story, the reason for the disturbances is explained: "Students at the university here have been demanding Islamic changes at the university and more say in its administration. They are said to oppose mixed classes of male and female students and want lectures to be interrupted for prayers."

The U.S. imperialists' "explanation" of the causes of Egypt's internal crisis is all here in a nutshell: on the one hand, the authorities have resorted to "harsh measures in suppressing dissent"; but on the other hand, the irrational tide of Moslem fanaticism is certainly to be deplored and must be suppressed. How difficult it is for us civilized Westerners to have to deal with the Arab world, trapped as we are between the petty despotism, tribal feuding and Oriental cruelty of its rulers and the religious hysteria of its people!

We have been awash in rivers of such swill ever since the fall of the Shah of Iran, and the same "profound analysis" is being marketed to explain the U.S. imperialists' dilemma in dealing with the crisis in Egypt; it is, in fact, the familiar all-purpose model for explaining the volcanic instability of the Middle East in general. But imperialism is only reaping the whirlwind it has sown for itself. The gathering momentum of this storm is directly linked to the overall crisis which is driving the contending imperialist blocs into a general war.

The case of Egypt is fairly typical. The depths of the basic political and economic crisis facing the Sadat regime began to emerge in sharp focus in January, 1977, well before the signing of the Camp David accords. At that time, the government announced large-scale cuts in the system of retail price subsidies, which meant immediate and sharp rises in the prices of such basic foodstuffs as rice, cooking oil, and bread. The announcement touched off hostile demonstrations in every major town in Egypt, and assumed the character of a violent attack on the Sadat regime. 79 people were killed, thousands were arrested, and the Western press speculated for a while whether Sadat would survive the crisis.

The decision to cut the price subsidies, however, was not made by Sadat or by his economic advisers: they all argued bitterly against the move, but

were overruled. Overruled by whom? By the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the U.S. government, and American private banks (and others) which had provided credit to Egypt. The IMF and the U.S. imperialists (and the Saudis, who had lent enormous sums to the Sadat regime) insisted on the move as a necessary step to curb inflation and to take the steam out of Egypt's rapidly spiraling import bill. (The collapse of Egyptian agriculture, so symptomatic of the disease of imperialist domination throughout the world, has forced the regime to import the great bulk of even the most basic foodstuffs.) The IMF and the other concerned parties made adherence to this austerity program a precondition for Egypt's receipt of any future loans or grants.

The subsidy cutbacks lit the fuse of popular discontent; they were not the cause of it. The following account, from *Keesings' Contemporary Archives*, provides some idea of the scope of the rebellion:

"The current disturbances began with thousands of workers moving from the industrial area of Helwan to Cairo, where they were joined by other workers and students, demonstrating in support of demands for the overthrow of the government. Similar mass demonstrations took place in Alexandria and in Egypt's other urban centers, and in many places police stations, buses, public and other buildings—in particular those regarded as 'symbols of high living' (such as expensive shops, cafés, and nightclubs) were attacked and partly destroyed, while many demonstrators expressed open hostility to President Sadat, and to his family and their lifestyle. While police used large quantities of tear gas and also shotguns against rioters, the unrest was not brought under control until the afternoon of January 19, when the central security force went into action. . . and army units were also brought in, with security forces ordered to shoot anyone found out of doors without a valid permit."

The Sadat regime, in a panic, was forced to rescind the subsidy measures and to appeal to the IMF and its partners for still further aid. An editorial which appeared in the Egyptian *Al Ahrām* at the time warned that "We must proclaim it frankly and firmly: even conflagration in our country will cause those who sit on wells of gold to sit on wells of flame. . . and will expose the whole world to great dangers."

The Sadat regime relied upon a flood of Western investment funds to prop up the economy. Egypt has been able to realize some gains through the sale of oil and through the earnings of more than two million "exported" Egyptian workers who work principally in the Persian Gulf. But foreign investment is geared largely to chasing quick turnaround profits in light consumer industries and in the hotel-casino-tourist sector, and it has fallen short of expectations. In 1970, Egypt's foreign debt stood at \$1.6 billion; by 1980 it had shot up to \$12.5 billion and was growing at the rate of 15% a year. The standard of living of the masses of the Egyptian people has continued to decline throughout the last decade. And Egypt's domestic economic troubles have been sharply intensified by the imperialists' efforts to control the worldwide crisis: for example, Egypt's oil revenues have sagged under pressure from the Western imperialists' orchestrated "oil glut." Egypt has slashed its per-barrel price from 40 to 33 dollars, while demand continues to stagnate.

Political unrest did not disappear, but rather grew in strength, between the

January 1977 riots and the outbreaks of the last few months of Sadat's rule, although it was accorded scant coverage in the U.S. press. When the outbreaks reached a level impossible to ignore, and the September crackdown began, both Sadat and his U.S. mentors strove to portray the violence as sectarian strife between fanatical Moslem fundamentalists and Coptic Christians. The truth of the matter is that much, if not all, of the anti-Copt agitation was instigated by the government in an unsuccessful attempt to divert fire from Sadat. In the recent months, the leader of the 7 million Coptic Christians, Pope Shenouda III, had aligned himself with the opposition movement, and had met to plan strategy with various opposition parties. According to the magazine *8 Days*:

"Despite reports that the riots were purely sectarian between Moslem and Christian, the Copts were in fact supported by Moslems in fending off attacks from extremists before the police finally arrived on the scene. Moreover, opposition claims that the attackers were acting on government orders were strengthened by the fact that the day before the riots erupted, extreme anti-Copt leaflets were distributed in the most effected area, Zawia alk Hamra, by Sadat's own National Democratic Party."

It is not difficult to find the reasons for "turmoil" and "instability" in Egypt. The people are destitute; they are viciously oppressed by Western imperialism, the symbols of which are everywhere in Egypt, from the plush luxury hotels lining the Nile delta to the inevitable profusion of golden arches and Jack-in-the-Boxes and Coca Cola billboards. There is widespread awareness and bitter hatred of the pact with Israel, and broad support for the Palestinian cause.

It was widely reported in Egypt, for example, that Prime Minister Begin of Israel had insisted that "Egyptian school curricula be altered to avoid any mention of previous hostilities between the two countries" as one of a number of preconditions for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. Not surprisingly, such information fuels the flames of a broad nationalist movement which encompasses many trends, including the so-called "bourgeois opposition" to Sadat's regime which is firmly committed, of course, to continued collusion with the U.S. But the point seems clear enough: every major feature of Egypt's "domestic crisis" is a direct result of the broader international imperialist crisis and of U.S. imperialism's own economic and political moves relating to Egypt. It is always nauseating to read the pious commentaries in the Western press "deploring" the harsh measures of one or another imperialist flunkie in "suppressing dissent." We would not be surprised if the razor blades currently in use in the Interior Ministry in Egypt were shipped from the United States, complete with a core of advisers to train its "backward allies" in the more sophisticated nuances of their use.

The U.S. imperialists' own drive to piece together their strategic consensus in the region in preparing for war with the Soviet Union not only casts a harsh light on the ravages of imperialism, but itself further exacerbates the crisis and fuels the conditions for a blow-up. We note that the Sudan has popped up in the news over the past week: President Nimeiri, one of the few Arab leaders to endorse the Camp David accords and a rival to Sadat in his ostentatious slavishness to the U.S., is issuing a desperate cry for aid. He claims to fear an invasion by the Libyan legions of the

troublesome Colonel Qaddafi. But beneath the headlines, something of the real story comes out: "I think it will be very difficult for any country to invade the Sudan because of our sheer size," Sudanese Information Minister Ismael el-Hag Musa told the *New York Times*. "So we are not worried that Libya can militarily invade the Sudan. But we are more worried about the internal security situation—about infiltration problems."

Sudan's concern over "infiltration problems" has thus far led to the jailing of 10,000 "individuals suspected of having close links to Colonel Qaddafi." It is obvious that the main concern of both President Nimeiri and the U.S. imperialists who pay its bills is that the country is about to unravel from within. A *New York Times* editorial admits as much; while endorsing the proposals for U.S. military aid, the *Times* goes on to warn that ". . . the most pervasive threat to General Nimeiri lies closer to home. The country's agricultural production has plummeted. . . the foreign reserve cupboard is bare as Khartoum tries to cope with the highest debt service payments in Africa. Privation feeds unrest, and a jittery government has reportedly filled the jails with thousands of political prisoners." Just who holds the chips on those "debt service payments"? The subhuman madman extortionist, Colonel Qaddafi? Or the more civilized extortionists of U.S. imperialism, who are so concerned about the privation of the Sudanese people—so concerned that military equipment to "strengthen the security of the regime" is already in the pipes.

Sudan's explosive internal situation is especially acute due to the presence of over 500,000 refugees from the U.S.-Soviet proxy war between Ethiopia and Somalia, and the war carried out by Soviet-backed Ethiopia against Eritrean, Tigrayan and Oromo insurgents. Its situation has been desperate for some time; the Sudan is only leaping into prominence in the U.S. media now because of its location on the southern borders of both Egypt and Libya, and its relationship to Egyptian security. The possibility that Qaddafi, whose regime is somewhat nervously backed by the Soviet Union, may be entertaining military designs toward the Sudan, should not be ruled out; but what is glaringly obvious is that the U.S. is very definitely entertaining some sort of designs on Libya. The sudden provision of two AWACS planes to Egypt last week was explained as a means of strengthening both Egypt and the Sudan against "possible Libyan attack." It is not considered likely that the U.S. will instigate an Egyptian-led attack on Libya in the immediate future, because of the attendant risks of such a venture for the "stability" of the Mubarak regime in Egypt and the great potential of immediate Soviet involvement with its incalculable consequences. Nevertheless, the U.S. is now working hard at various military and political preparations. In a long term strategic sense this, of course, is part and parcel of preparations for war with the Soviets. And for now the U.S. has other—but connected—problems to deal with. Next month, both Egyptian and Sudanese troops are scheduled to participate with elements of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force in "Operation Bright Star," a military exercise that will encompass the territory of both countries. 4,000 U.S. troops will be involved. Defense Dept. officials said that "Additional maneuvers were being planned, especially in the Sudan, as a signal to Libya not to attempt to interfere there." We recall the last U.S.

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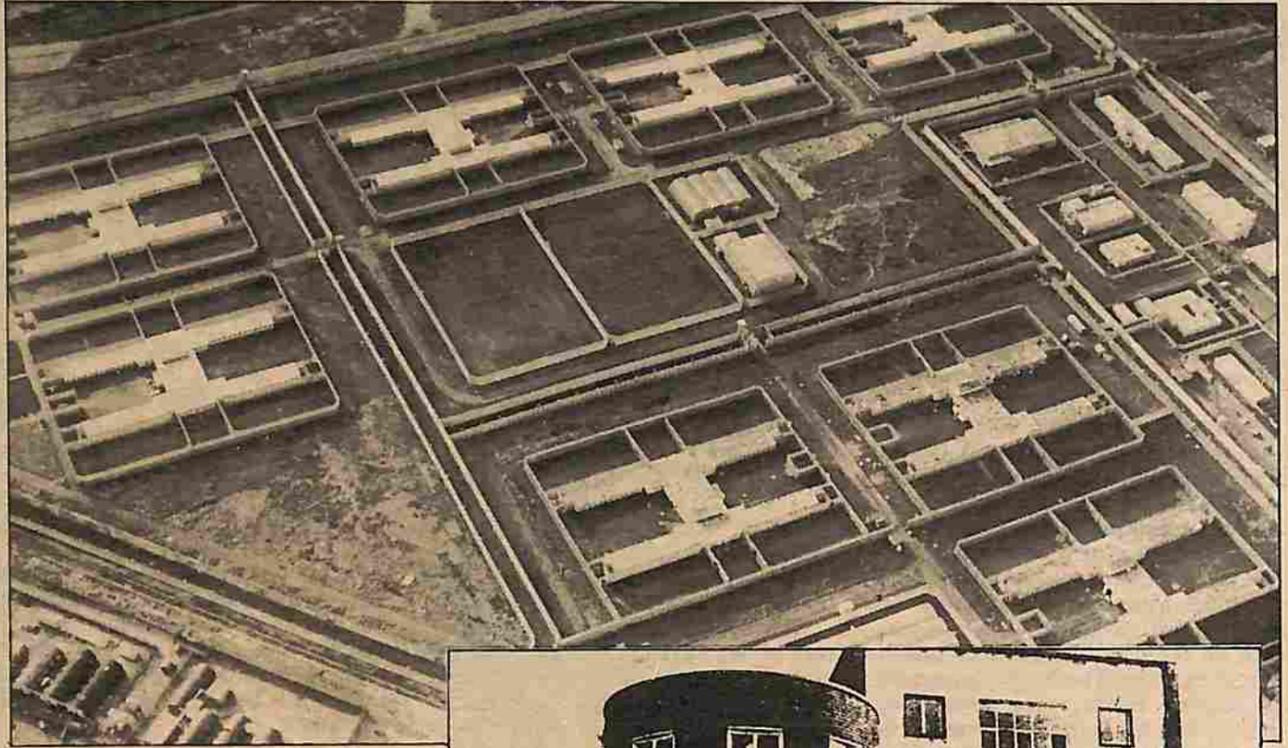
Some British Concessions As Hunger Strike Ends

On October 3, the six remaining hunger strikers inside the H-Blocks at Long Kesh Prison in Northern Ireland announced that the hunger strike was over. The British government, working in league with their clerical servants in the Catholic Church hierarchy in Ireland and a host of Irish bourgeois politicians, had succeeded in pressuring the families and relatives of a number of hunger strikers to intervene. The relatives had stated their intentions to sign orders to have the men fed intravenously once they slipped into unconsciousness. Three days later, on October 6, the British government announced that it was giving in to one of the Long Kesh and Armagh prisoners' five demands. They would now be granted the right to wear their own clothes instead of prison issue garments, while other demands would be "taken under consideration." In an effort to obscure the fact that they had been forced to make a political concession with this step, British authorities described it all as a "goodwill gesture" now that the men in the H-Blocks had come off hunger strike, and said that it was merely part of a long-standing plan for "prison reform" only waiting in the wings to be implemented.

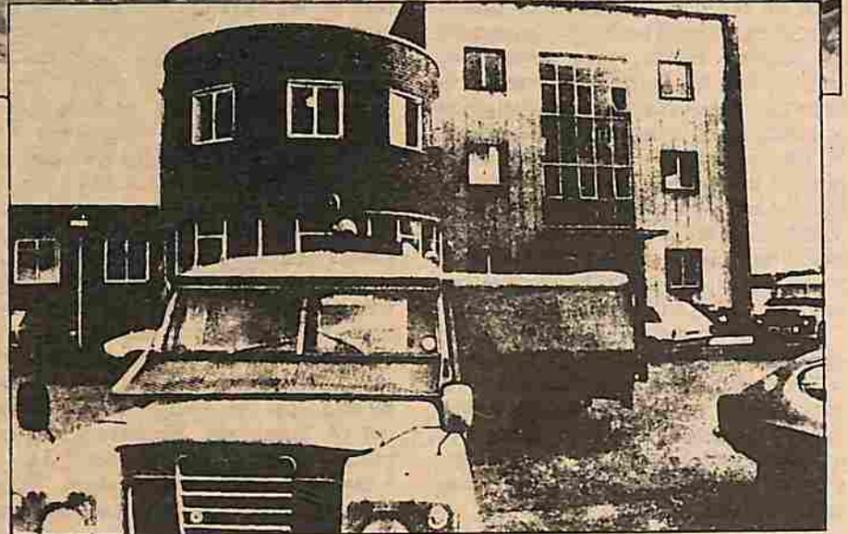
While the British imperialists try to pass this off as an example of their magnanimity in order to save face, the fact remains that they had been forced to make a retreat in their desperate struggle to prevent Irish prisoners from gaining political prisoner status. The truth of the matter is that they had been forced to back off by the hunger strike and the tremendous upsurge of struggle it had sparked across Northern Ireland, spilling fury into the Republic in the south as well. Even before the British announced their steps around prison clothing, it was clear that the past seven months had indeed battered the British. The prisoners' own statement, issued before the announcement of the imperialists' concession, characterized the advances that had been made in the past period. "We believe that the age-old struggle for Irish self-determination and freedom has been immeasurably advanced by this hunger strike and therefore we claim a massive victory."

For nearly a year, millions of people, across Ireland and around the world, had seen Britain's crimes exposed in Northern Ireland and had been aroused to enter the struggle against imperialism in many diverse forms. The first hunger strike that was begun on October 27, 1980 gave rise to powerful demonstrations that left barely a major European city untouched, from West Berlin to Athens. Britain's rule in Northern Ireland began to be broadly exposed internationally. The second hunger strike that was started on March 1 of this year (the fifth anniversary of Britain's rescinding of political prisoner status in Northern Ireland) by Bobby Sands ripped the lid off of Ireland and made it crystal clear that what was taking place there was not "common criminals" versus the legitimate state authority, but a struggle to drive British imperialism out of Ireland. Bobby Sands' election to the British Parliament as he lay dying on hunger strike was a firm statement by the people of Northern Ireland against Britain. And most especially, the night after night of rebel youth stalking the armed might of the British empire, clad in Sandinista-like bandanas, stung them hard, sending inspiration to struggling people around the world. And to the south, in the Republic, the heaviest streetfighting since the partitioning of Ireland erupted when over 10,000 people attempted to storm the British Embassy in Dublin.

Clearly, the hunger strike, and the blanket protest it sprang from, were not a "prison reform" movement. They were instead component parts of the struggle to free Ireland from the clutches of imperialism—what went down in the streets on both sides of the parti-



(Above) The H-Blocks
(Below) Castlereagh torture center, one of the main RUC torture centers in Northern Ireland, where the newly arrested are interrogated and tortured in an attempt to extract "confessions," the beginning step in the railroading of numerous Irish prisoners.



tioned border in Ireland is a vivid testament to that. The very heart of the struggle in Long Kesh and the Armagh women's prison over the past 5 years has been for the reinstatement of political prisoner status (Special Category Status in the jargon of the authorities), to force the British to officially recognize and admit that the struggle in Northern Ireland was against *their* rule. The attempts to force prisoners to wear prison issue clothes and uniforms were exactly attempts to have them accept Britain's policy of "criminalizing" the struggle there. Indeed, the first Irish prisoner arrested under this criminalization policy in 1976, Kieran Nugent, put it straight back in the imperialists' faces when he told them: "If you want me to wear that uniform, you'll have to nail it to my back!"

There was desperate necessity behind this latest move by the British government, and there is some frantic and insidious scheming going on since it was made. The British empire—such as it is these days—is in a world of trouble as it rots and decays in the midst of a crisis that is gripping the whole imperialist system. In Northern Ireland, the British ruling class is staring big contradictions right in the face. They are both political and military in nature and involve the stability of the entire region as a crucial step in their preparations for world war. Indeed, the entire Western war bloc headed up by the U.S. is warily eyeing the developments in the so-called "British Isles." They are faced with an urgent and growing necessity to attempt to "reduce tensions" in Northern Ireland and achieve a strategic consensus with the Republic of Ireland—the zenith of which being the Republic's entry into the NATO alliance as a crucial buffer and base area on Britain's western flank. Indeed, both these aims interpenetrate and depend upon the other. With the hunger strike and the upheavals it ignited pummeling them, neither of these steps could even be openly talked about, much less moved

on. There was no way that the Irish bourgeoisie in the Republic could possibly get over with dealing with the British in the face of what was taking place in the north. (Attempts to do that during the first hunger strike last December resulted in the ousting of the Fianna Fail party in the June elections.) And even now there is a note of extreme caution mixed with anxious glances at the rubble-strewn and seething landscape of Northern Ireland. The British imperialists and their lackeys in the Republic are acting to unleash a spate of political maneuvers, hoping to make the most advances possible and do it soon. These maneuvers have all been framed in the language of the grand plan to "reunify Ireland."

While the particular components of this latest so-called "reunification of Ireland" plan are extremely vague, the model usually pointed to by those angling for this solution is the structure laid out in the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973. The Sunningdale Agreement was seen as but a prelude, a stepping stone to the initiation of an actual Council of Ireland, in which would sit representatives from both sides of the border, and within which the British imperialists would have complete access in order to defend their and the Western bloc's interests in the north. The Council was to be an advisory body that could only act when unanimous agreement was reached and only in the field of undertaking various joint economic ventures. It was also seen as a way to undertake joint *police* ventures aimed at crushing the struggle of the masses against British imperialism in Northern Ireland (i.e., the arrest and prosecution of people for "crimes" in the north by the forces in the Republic). The standard guarantees about maintaining the status quo in the north (i.e., keeping the Protestant ruling class in power); and recognition by the Irish rulers that reunification could only be brought about when the "majority of people in the north (i.e. the Protestants) deemed it

time," were central to this agreement. If this new plan for "reunification" actually gets off the ground, look for the same standard guarantees. A central feature of the success of this plan was the dressing up of the regime in Northern Ireland: a regime so badly exposed and battered that the British had taken over ruling the north *directly* from their Stormont Parliament only one short year before Sunningdale. The imperialists saw the key here as so-called "power-sharing," whereby bourgeois political forces in the Catholic community (namely the Social Democratic Labour Party) would be allowed certain slots in the government in exchange for keeping the masses of Catholics on a tight leash with incessant raps about the "great progress" the oppressed Catholic minority was making under such a fine deal. But the Council of Ireland never even got its name on a chamber door. It was felled by a still powerful section of the Protestant ruling class that opposed even Sunningdale as a sell-out, and mobilized the Protestant population into a general strike that seriously threatened the economic and political stability of the area. Within a few weeks the agreement collapsed.

The basic outline of today's much talked about plan for the "reunification" of Ireland is still found in the Sunningdale model. This current plan too has nothing to do at all with altering the situation of British occupation and domination—in league with the Protestant rulers—in Northern Ireland. It has *everything* to do with tightening up and stabilizing the region in readiness to defend the empire.

It is hoped by the British that the concessions wrung from them around the hunger strike will in turn also have the effect of "reducing tensions" among the nationalist population in the Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland. At the same time, as pointed out in this quote from an October 10 editorial in the bourgeois British magazine *The Econo-*

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Atlanta Tribunal Testimony

The U.S. Army: "If You Know It's Wrong, Why Don't You Rebel Against It."

The following testimony was given at the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in Atlanta by an army vet who was in the service 1975-79 and in the Reforger exercises in West Germany.

I was in the army from 1975 to 1979. During this time I saw what the U.S. is really about through the military. While in Germany for 2 years, in the beginning it seemed like just a game. I just went in because there was nothing else to do. The recruiter told me all these lies about how nice it was going to be, on and on, right. When I went in it was nothing like what the recruiter said it was going to be. That's what's on a lot of people's minds today when they enlist. They tell you how it's going to be; what nice duty stations you're going to have; how it's like a job, on and on. When I went in it was just with the intention just to be, just to take it as a job. I had never talked to a veteran of Vietnam to tell me what it was really like. I never knew any veterans, really. I thought it was going to be one big bye and bye, pie in the sky, get over, right.

While in Germany I was known as an agitator because I didn't follow along with the game. And I had friends who were in too with me and they didn't follow along with the game either. In our circle we tried to down the U.S. Army. To them it was wrong. To us it was right.

In Germany there were drugs, heavy drugs. Now you hear about the drug situation today in Germany or Europe in the military; and they tell you it's not right to do drugs. While I was in, they said it was *alright* to do drugs: take 'em across the street; walk a mile into the woods; do your drugs as long as you don't do it in the barracks; we don't want the MP's coming to the barracks; if you do it, do it outside of the barracks. And now, they want alert minds so that when they get ready to go into war, they'll have their minds together and they'll be a better puppet for them. They want them where they can comprehend everything, where they can know what to do. They want them alert. They want all their senses together. This is something that I'm looking at when I say that it is going toward a war situation.

Also, while I was in Germany before I got ready to leave, there was this thing about protective masks. They were telling us that if the Soviets attacked it would be a chemical war through nerve gas, blood gas and different gasses. So they came down with this rule where you had to wear your protective masks for a period of 1 hour a day. Then as time went on, it gradually increased to 2 hours a day, 3 hours a day. Then, around the barracks you were told to wear this protective mask for the whole day at work, which could've sometimes been up to eight to 12 hours a day you had a protective mask on. The only time you took it off was to eat. And I was thinking to myself, why would they be doing this to us. This is not something that's just come about and they said, "Well, uh, put your protective mask on," because, it wasn't something that was just thought of. There was a reason for it. When I talked to my friends they would say, "You know how the army is. They have all these special rules for you. You just have to do what they say to do." My line to them was "Why do what they say to do? If you know it's wrong, why don't you rebel against it? Why do it?" Then, they were saying "We'll get

busted. They'll take our money". I didn't have no line or no direction about what to do, but all I knew was I wasn't going to do it. And if I wasn't going to do it, I'd try to bring enough people together or carry on enough conversations with people where we could not do it together and show them that I wasn't standing alone. I had other people that felt it was screwed up.

That's where I was labeled a troublemaker because I couldn't follow the system. I couldn't roll the way they wanted me to roll.

Now, I want to talk about the kind of people they have in the army, what the army is really made up of, the caliber of people. You have young people, people 17, 18 years old right out of high school. The army tries to get 'em and mold their minds and shape them the way they want them to be shaped so they can fight for the U.S. Imperialists. Through my encounter with these people, I found out that the army has a slim chance of doing this because while I was in I used to talk to a lot of young people who would come in the army. I was trying to tell them what it was really about. Why you have these lifers on the other side saying, "This is what you need to be into, this you should make a career out of. Sure, war. We have war. You could get killed in the street." That's what the lifers put out to them. "You could get run over by a car. So your chances of getting killed in war are just the same as you getting hit by a car. Right?"

What I would ask the young recruits is, "What is this that they put up to you when you came in, when you signed your name on the dotted line? They told you no prejudice, there would be no racism in the army. The army's working toward bettering this kind of situation. We have the best life." That's the line the recruiter puts out—"the best life for you is right here in the army." I would try to tell the young recruits, "Just look around. Stop listening, and *start looking* at what they're really about and what they can do to you and they have *to do with you*". A lot of them would listen, but then it got to the point where the lifers didn't want me around the young recruits that came in because they said I was a bad influence on them. I was messing up the game they had planned for them. When they stayed in at least 9 months they learned basically what it was about, what situation they had gotten themselves into and what they were going to be used for. Some stayed and some didn't stay. You had the lifers telling them, "You'll never get a job on the outside. You need a good discharge. Without a good discharge you have nothing". That is what the lifers put out. And I would always tell them "What difference does a discharge make? It's nothing but a piece of paper".

Also while I was in the army I ran into some recruits who said they had brothers that had been in the army. But the line their brothers were putting out or the line the people they had talked to put out was—well, if you want the best drugs or the best women, join the army; see the world. This is what people were putting out to these young recruits who came in—people they had talked to, before they thought about coming in. When they got there and found out it was more to it than just women and drugs, what it boiled down to, they reached their own conclusions about what it was really about. And talking to these people, I found out that the ma-

majority of them don't plan to fight, 'cause we'd sit around and talk about it. We'd have discussions behind the lifers' backs in people's rooms. We'd sit down and talk in the field. We'd go away from the lifers and we'd talk. While we were doing war games we'd talk. And everybody made it just like a joke, "If you think I'm going to fight"—this is what alot of them would say—"If you think I'm going to fight, you're crazy. Fight for what?" This is what a lot of people in the army today have on their minds. I don't care what they put on TV to you about the army is ready to fight—we're not ready yet, but when the time comes down to raise the red, white and blue, we'll fight. But that's bull.

In my opinion, about the enlisted men in the army, when you talk about fighting, they're going to have a fight alright. But it'll be the enlisted men against the officers and the higher rank lifers. This is where you're going to have a fight. But I doubt it very seriously if you're going to have a good fight on the battlefield.

Another thing the army puts out is the number of Black and Spanish and Mexican and minority people who are joining the service. And the army's scared. They have fear for *some* reason that with the service being mostly minorities that it just won't work that way. But then again, I guess they figure while the percentage of the service keeps going the way it's going and it is made up of mostly minorities, don't you think that they're a little scared

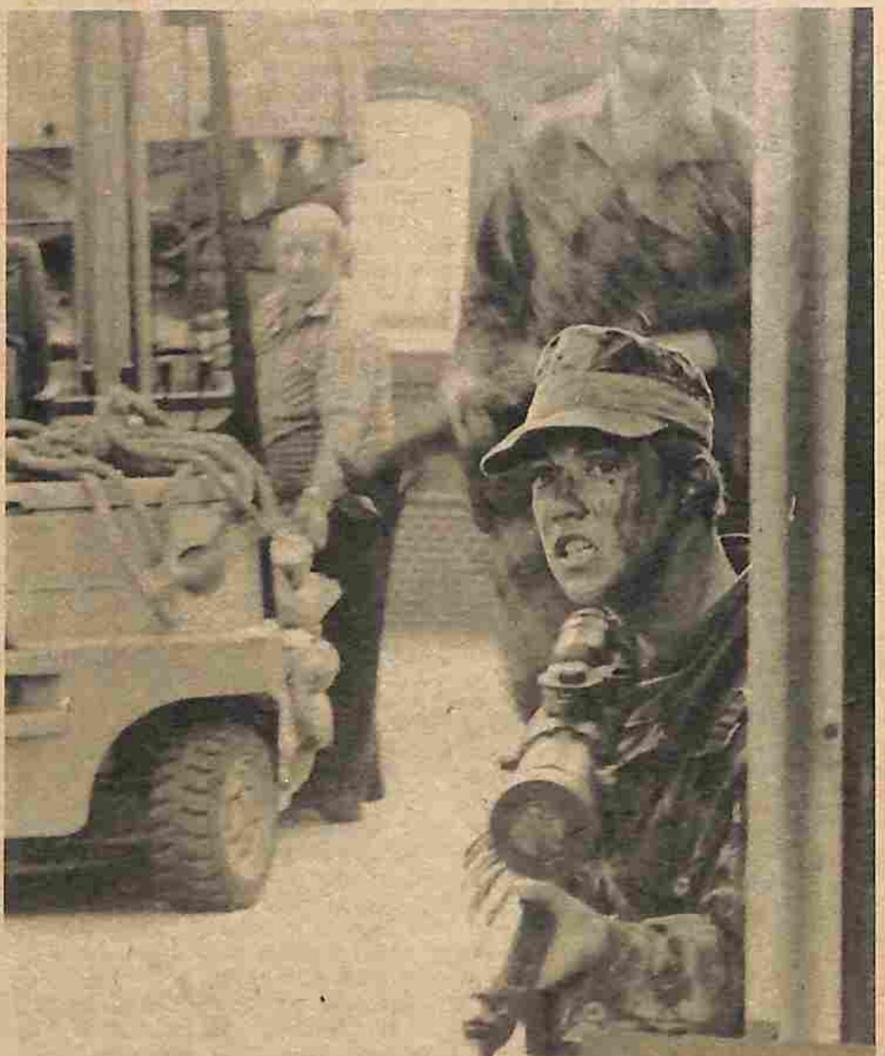
about how they've treated the minorities. Do you think the minorities are going to really fight for these pigs?

Another point I'd like to bring out is what the U.S. Army considers is their biggest threat which is the Soviet Union. This is what they always push to us. "The Soviets are just over the border in East Germany. If we're not ready, we're in trouble". This is what they would say, "They're our threat". They'd show us films about the Soviets and how dumb the Soviets were supposed to be. And all this, right. And then what I'd tell a lot of young privates is, "Did the Soviet Union, did they kill anybody in your family? Have you ever had a member of your family shot down by the police? Are the Soviets the ones that are keeping your family from getting a job, when you can barely survive and make ends meet? Is this the Soviet Union? Is this your enemy?" Sure, the Soviets are pigs. Yes, that's true. But then again we were on the pig's side, too. So, there's two pigs.

Also, when I was in Germany we have an exercise called Reforger. Now it's called Autumn Forge. This was put together by NATO. It was supposed to be the closest thing to an actual war time situation that it could be and this is what they pushed. They pushed for it to be hard. Fight hard. If you had a mistake or if somebody was run over, you keep going. The U.S. would always throw up to us, among the NATO alliances, there was still competition where the U.S. was trying to out-do France. France was trying to out-do Germany. And through this the U.S. would still push up, "We're not hurting our men. Our men are not dying. We're out there fighting. We've kept going. We've had no casualties". And you

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"We have the best life." That's the line the recruiter puts out... I would try to tell the young recruits. 'Just look around. Stop listening, and start looking at what they're really about and what they can do to you and what plans they have to do with you.'"



Autumn Forge exercise in West Germany, 1980.

Anti-Nuke Riots in "Socialist" France



During the first week of October, the French anti-nuclear movement went well beyond the bounds of respectable orderly demonstrations and showed that even the wet blanket of phony socialism can't forever insulate the French masses from the rising heat of world events. The new French government, to which many have naively looked for some real change, is charging full steam ahead with a comprehensive nuclear program including both electrical generating plants and weapons (see RW No. 123 for a more detailed political analysis of this question). As a result, some of those who have been hopefully watching and waiting for progressive change are now being driven back into action.

In Paris on Oct. 3, after several confrontations between the police and more than 5,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators which included violent clashes on the front lines and swift exchanges of rocks and teargas (see photo 1), close to 300 demonstrators broke off from the main group and invaded the Ministry of Transportation smashing every window in sight and setting one car on fire (photo 2). After about 15 minutes the demonstrators retreated before the massed "forces de l'ordre," breaking more windows as they went.

Elsewhere, in the south of France,



on Oct. 4 around 3,000 demonstrators descended on the construction site of the Golfech nuclear power plant. In a seemingly well-planned and organized assault, at least 800 of them penetrated the perimeter fences, destroying close to a mile of chain link and barbed wire in the process (photo 3). A few minutes later, despite clouds of teargas, they sent the local police into full-scale retreat. With molotov cocktails and whatever came to hand they proceeded to demolish and burn the construction offices, at least one truck, a large earth mover, and the adjoining Electric Company buildings. In a clear sign of their strength they then blockaded the main highway with a barricade of burning tires and held it for several hours, preventing fire engines from dousing the flames. According to a spokesman for the Golfech demonstration: "After having voted for Mitterrand, people are just plain sick and tired of getting fucked in the ass. I saw seventy-year-old men throw rocks against the cops, and a couple of old folks standing in the middle of the flames hollering that

the whole thing was 'right on.'" As for the future, he went on: "If it has to be, this area will become another Northern Ireland—'cause this plant will never open."

The PCF (Parti Communiste Français), the pro-Soviet "Communist" Party of France, in an appropriately revealing response in their daily paper L'Humanite, complained about all the damage caused by the demonstrations and proclaimed that nuclear opponents were becoming "more and more isolated" and "outrageous" and were "perceived as lacking any scientific character." Even more, the PCF organized at least two counter-demonstrations demanding construction begin anew immediately at nuclear reactors. At Golfech itself, on Oct. 5 the CGT, the PCF-controlled union, led between 100 and 200 construction workers and supervisors to the site of the previous days' anti-nuclear action where they called for work on the plant to start again immediately and for the "forces de l'ordre" to protect the site from further damage.

This article was written by a correspondent for the Revolutionary Worker who recently visited England and Northern Ireland to learn first-hand about the latest upsurges in the struggles there. It is the first of a number of such articles that will appear in the RW in coming weeks.

It was a weekday evening at the Marty Forsythe, a Republican pub in the Turf Lodge area of the Catholic ghetto of West Belfast. The scene was common to pubs and bars in many parts of the world, but friendlier than most as long as you weren't a Loyalist or a Brit. Four of us were shooting pool at one table, others shooting pool or snooker, watching TV, playing the machines, or just drinking and shooting the shit. After taking one of my characteristically lousy shots (a number of which I think I will never live down in the eyes of my comrades), I turned around only to find myself staring into the cold and mercenary eyes of a British marine. Ten or so of these chaps had come on a routine visit. No one paid them much mind. The pool balls kept clicking and the conversation dipped down a notch. This was simply a typical evening in occupied West Belfast.

"What's your name?" was the first question in a well trained and contemptuous monotone to come out of the mouth in this vile green, brown and black camouflage-painted face. It was well done and a fine complement to the rest of his battle ensemble, highlighted by his rifle which was always at the ready. The rest of the questions came in rapid fire as I had come to expect during our short stay in Northern Ireland—"Where are you from?" "What do you do?", etc., and most importantly, "What are you doing here?" He already knew the answers, of course, as they had been asked a number of times before by others of his ilk. And they do make quite an effort to keep track of the goings on in this area—one of the few remnants left of the British Empire. An ever so slight and supremely arrogant smile creased his face. "Are you teaching these people how to play pool?" was his final remark. His chums chuckled, including the one covering his back (which is Standard Operating Procedure in the North), as they fanned out through the pub waving their rifles, checking everyone out and questioning a few selected people.

The pool balls clicked and dropped into the pockets with a little extra snap—a telltale indication of the feelings coiled inside the guts of the players. Amidst the joking and smalltalk, appropriate comments were made. Everyone kept a corner of his eye on the Brits, who were now eyeing the pictures and dedications to the Hunger Strikers on the walls as well as the pictures of the IRA in battle dress. It was easy to see that these marines were filled with loathing, especially at the pictures of the Hunger Strikers, and were seriously contemplating some cowardly provocation or other, but thought the better of it and moved toward the door. They covered each other out the door. The atmosphere livened up to its original point; a quite uneventful and routine visit really, and no one had been arrested.

The next day the news dutifully reported a list of the previous day's "horrible terrorist actions that have so plagued this area of sectarian strife since the Troubles began"—psalms for the faithful who continue to believe the fairy tales about "actions of common criminals" and "centuries of religious conflict." A few hours in the Marty Forsythe or on the streets of West Belfast or anywhere else in the Catholic ghettos (commonly called nationalist or Republican areas) would at least dispel these fantasies for all but the blind or the see-no-evils.

From the minute we set foot in Northern Ireland it was made crystal clear to us in a thousand ways that while the British strive to maintain the thinnest of veneers to disguise their domination of Ireland for public consumption around the world, such efforts were not considered all that necessary nor desirable

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On the street in the Turf Lodge area of West Belfast—One afternoon while I was there, the British marine patrols had the gall to go around trying to stick little badges on the kids bearing a picture of a smiling fat-faced marine and the words "I've met the marines." The youth above prepares for the next encounter.

in Northern Ireland. No one in the nationalist areas believes such nonsense, and the Protestant Loyalists on the other side can't get enough of British rule, considering themselves even more British than the British. Their all-time hero is William of Orange, the colonizer who conquered Ireland and became king of England, and the Union Jack is more dear to them and waved more fervently than almost anywhere in England. Their reactionary orgies, called Orange parades, are British colonialist to the T. Garbed in stereotypical English suits and bowler hats complete with umbrellas in their hands, Orange sashes across their chests, and medals of the great conquests of the good old days dangling from their fat necks, they declare their undying allegiance to the Queen and the conquerors of days gone by. There are frequent complaints these days from these most loyal subjects of the crown that the British government is selling them out, abandoning them and the great traditions of the British Empire. Apparently 15,000 British troops are not enough; and not enough Republican blood is flowing for their liking. So it is very stark, after even a short time in Northern Ireland, that the situation is not just one of the people against the imperialist troops but a war between two sections of the people standing on opposite sides of the empire with 30,000 British and Loyalist troops and miles of concertina wire between them.

"The children have been born in this situation. My eldest was amazed to find out that when I was a child there were no Brits on the streets. Imagine that! No Brits on the streets, you know. She just couldn't imagine that at all. This is normal to her. She's never known anything different. And even the ones who are in Long Kesh and Armagh right now who are 18, 19, 20—they were only

about 6 or 7 when these latest 'troubles' started. It isn't surprising that they get involved in political activity when they've grown up and seen the Brits, seen what they're doing. I mean they'd beat you up as soon as look at you, most of them. The regiment we have here now, the commandos, the marines, they are wild. You don't look at one sideways or they'll beat you up. A woman I know, her young boy was shot dead when he was 13 by a plastic bullet a while back. She was starting to cross the street from her own front door one day and the foot patrol was walking past; her 15-year-old was standing at the front gate and the foot patrol comes by with the one at the end walking backwards, you know, covering his rear and he bumped into her son. It was nothing; he just bumped into him and he started shouting at him, giving him all sorts of abuse, and the young fellow was only 15. The rest of the patrol came down and they were starting on him too, so his mother ran over and she says, 'What's happening here? It was only an accident, there was no damage done.' The soldier said, 'You keep out of this, it's none of your business.' And she says, 'It is my business, that's my house and that's my son.' And they started on yelling all sorts of things at her son and at her. She said, 'Have you not done enough to my family? You killed my 13-year-old son four years ago. Have we not suffered enough from you bastards. Now you're starting on him.' One of them turned round and said, 'We haven't killed enough of you. We haven't killed enough of you bastards. The more of you bastards we kill the better.' And this big Brit turned around and smashed the young fellow up the face. And blood started pumping from his nose. The mother was really getting upset then. She started yelling abuse at them, and one of the Brits

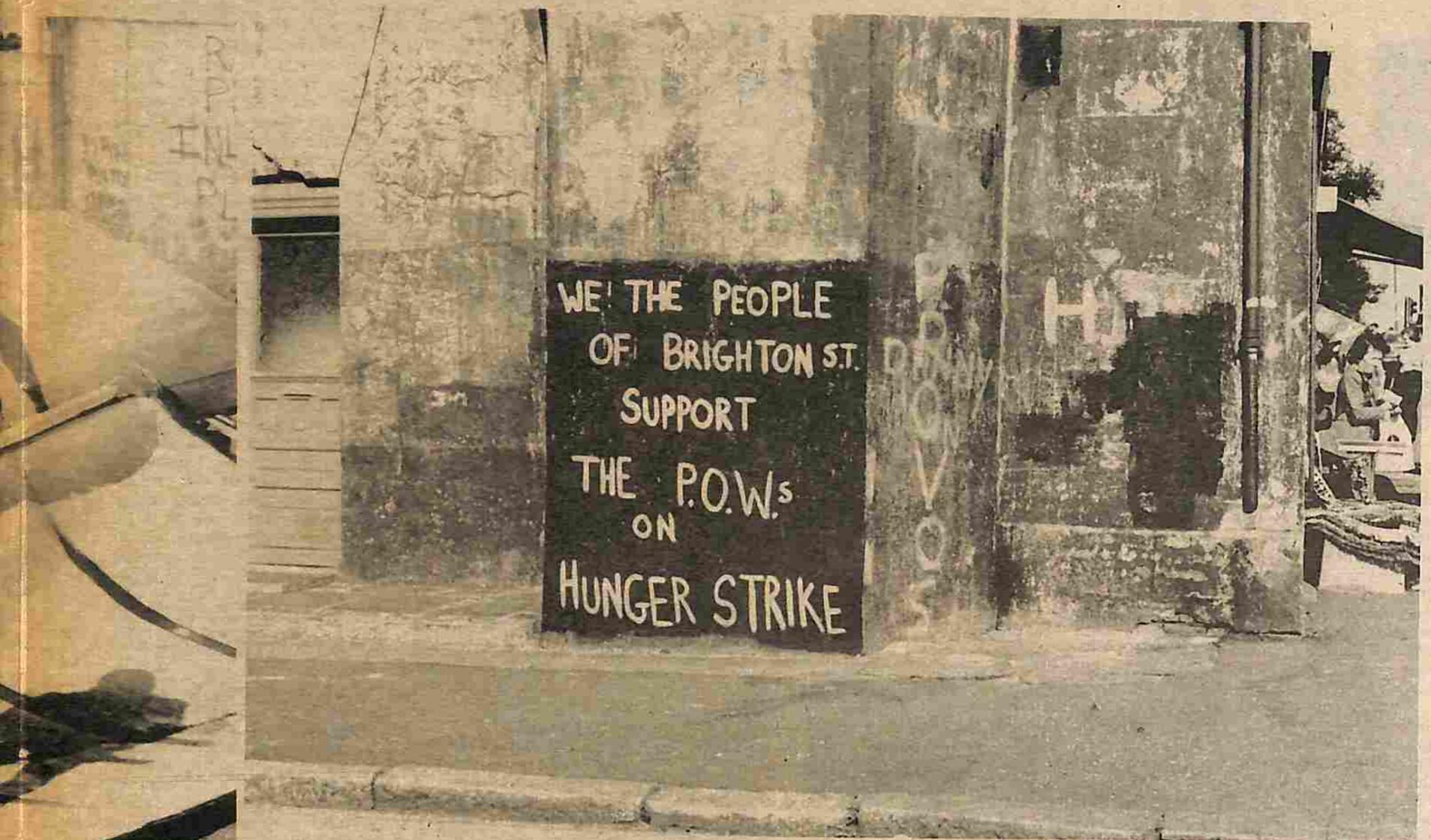
turned round and started slapping her continuously across the face. This woman's in her fifties and he was just slapping her across the face continuously until all the neighbors ran out and started a mini-riot and the Brits all ran off. They cleared out then because they were afraid of a riot starting."

This story, again a very typical one, was told to us by a woman active in the Irish struggle. She is in fact one of a very small number of Protestants who have joined the fight against imperialist domination of Ireland. Such activists are especially hated by the British and Loyalist forces. About a year ago her husband and a visiting activist were assassinated in their beds by a highly trained assassination team. Shot six times herself, she narrowly escaped death. Her three children (the youngest about 2 years old) witnessed this atrocity as well. She continued her stories of the daily and hourly crimes of the British Army, the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary—the Loyalist paramilitary police force), the UDR (Ulster Defense Regiment—a part of the British Army made up of lumpen thugs), and the various Protestant fascist paramilitary assassination squads.

"With the Hunger Strike on, you know, the Loyalist politicians are playing it up that 'These men are murderers, there are two thousand innocent people who have been killed since the start of these troubles. The IRA have killed 2,000 people.' This is completely wrong. The figures show as far as civilians go, the IRA have killed less than the Loyalist paramilitaries, the British Army and the RUC. Most of the innocent people have been killed by those three groups. The Republicans have killed something like 298 and the Loyalists have killed 496—200 more. The majority of people have been killed by the Loyalists.... About 90% of the

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cases nobody's ever caught, and if they do they get very small sentences. There was one woman who was killed in her living room. They just walked in and shot her dead and the Loyalists got caught. They will be out of jail in 2 years. A Republican will get life imprisonment... My husband was a political activist and they concentrated very heavily on him. We were getting raided all the time. They don't come in the middle of the day. They rap on your door about 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. Bang, bang, bang, you know. These are the Brits—the army. They come in with all their gear. They come in and spend about two hours. They go through everything—all your papers, all your clothes, everything. They can do whatever they want. They don't need a warrant to come in. If they're not too bad they won't damage anything. A friend of mine had her house wrecked. They went in and they smashed the walls with their rifle butts. They ripped her floor boards off the floor.

"They bring their metal detectors in and wave them around the house. And sniffer dogs for explosives... They walk in the door and say, 'All right, we want everybody in the house in one room.' After about 2 hours they leave. If they have come for anybody in the house, they arrest them and take them with them. I don't know how many times our house was searched and my husband arrested. He didn't even know how many times he was in Castlereagh. Dozens of times. That's the interrogation center—the RUC headquarters in East Belfast. They just throw him in the back of a Saracen and away they go... Under the emergency powers act there are two sections: under section number 11, they can hold 'em for 3 days and under section 12 they can hold them for 7 days. And in that 3 days or 7 days you can have no contact with them at all... They interrogate them. There's a lot of beating going on... Young fellows about 17 or 18, they are in-

timidated and they're frightened and they're beaten. They are forced to sign confessions to stop the beating. They just can't take it any more and are frightened. Sometimes they are forced to sign statements for murder, attempted murder, possession, you name it... Then they are brought before these juryless Diplock courts and there's no evidence against them—not a shred of evidence except the confession. Once you sign that confession you can just kiss good-bye any chance you had. The judge will accept that confession every time. They can be sentenced for twenty years if they've signed a confession. About 85% of the men in Long Kesh at the moment were sentenced on nothing but confessions—no evidence at all. And then the media goes on about 'these terrorists' and 'murderers' and all the rest of it."

Simply asking almost anyone in the nationalist areas of Northern Ireland about life there is like tapping a vast well of burning hatred of oppression and especially the armed enforcers of British rule. One brother I spoke to told me about how he had been interned in prison under the old Special Powers Act. He then added how his brother-in-law had also been interned and then his sister too and then another of his brothers. His daughter's best friend had been killed by a plastic bullet. Another family I spoke to had a son being held in Crumlin Road prison (people can be held there on remand with no charges for two years or more) and another son killed by the British troops. The youth are especially singled out for these various "anti-terrorist" measures. And it is no wonder that the British and their Loyalist defenders are so fearful of these militant youth whose boldness and daring are also an everyday part of life in the North, as we were to see right from our first walk up Falls Road

A Walk Up Falls Road

Falls Road is the main street leading

into West Belfast. It begins right across from the main shopping area in downtown Belfast. Before we got there we stopped by to check out the city hall—its main point of interest being that it is an exact twin of one of the government buildings in South Africa. This is, of course, a little more than coincidental, as the similarities between apartheid and the Protestant supremacist set-up are striking. Many people told us, "If we were black, everybody in the world would understand what's going on here." While some of the better-off Catholics and the Catholic bourgeois strata live in mixed areas, the masses of the Catholic population are forcibly restricted to the nationalist ghettos at the point of a gun—either by the official troops or by the Protestant paramilitaries. Being in the wrong area at the wrong time can result in being beaten up or killed. In one area where we spent some time, the small Lower Ormeau Road ghetto which is surrounded by Protestant neighborhoods, there have been 37 Loyalist sectarian assassinations of Catholics in the recent period where people were simply gunned down while out on the street at night. At first it was perplexing to us how all this could be maintained. It was impossible to distinguish between people just by looking at them, everyone being white and all. But the system is really quite simple and ingenious and does not involve a long list of questions to ascertain an individual's particular religious beliefs, if they have any (though the worship of British imperialism, its culture and the petty privileges that derive from it by the mass of Protestants has a real religious character). All that is required to determine whether one is Catholic or not is to know what school they went to, since everyone in the Catholic areas goes to a Catholic school and has no choice in the matter whatsoever. In addition, the Catholic accent is slightly different from the Protestant, and Catholic children are given

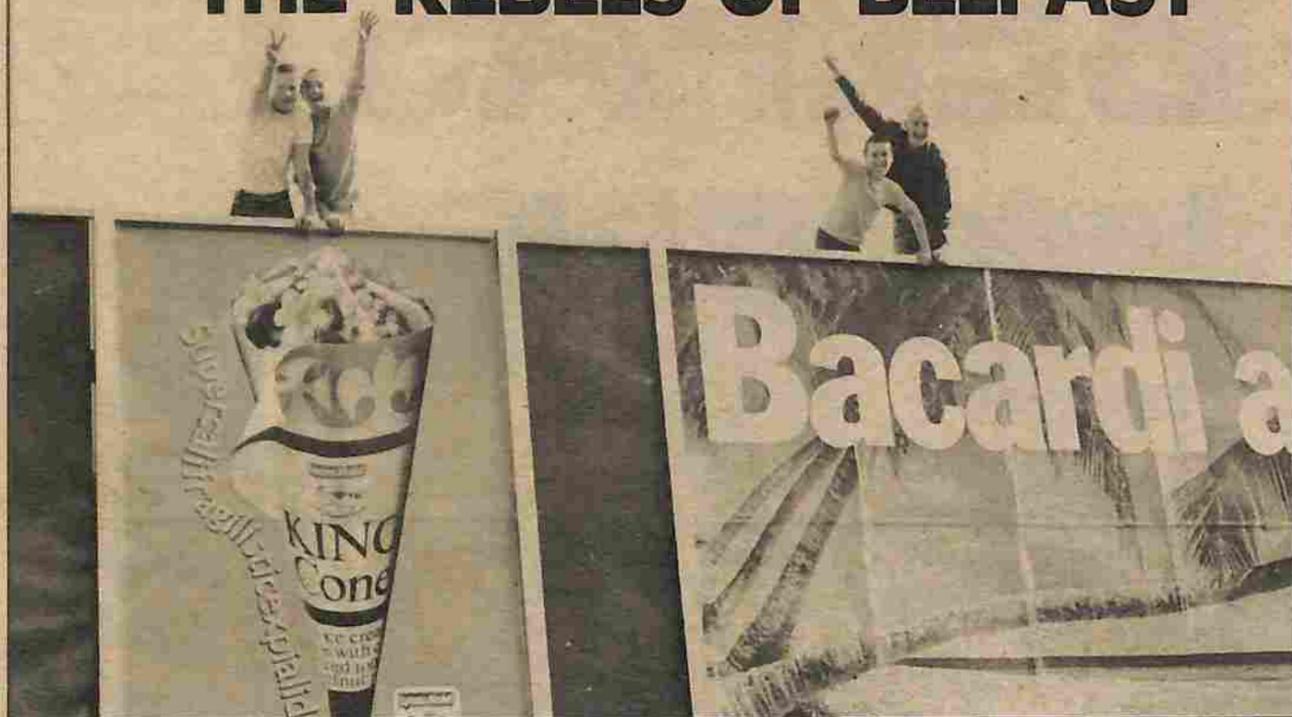
Irish names, whereas Protestant children are not.

There was not much to see at the city hall—just another archaic building guarded by the RUC and topped off with the British flag. As we walked down the street, we came upon an office building with all its windows blown out. Across the street were the barricades and checkpoints of one side of the central shopping area which is completely ringed by checkpoints manned by the Army and the bulletproof-vested RUC. Everyone entering must be frisked and have their bags checked. Inside are all the modern and fancy stores—a consumer compound for the tourists and the beneficiaries of imperialist rule, right on the border of the West Belfast ghetto. At the entrance to Falls Road, concrete pylons are set in the street, requiring all cars entering to drive slowly in an S-curve under the watchful eye of the troops. It can be turned into a roadblock instantly. The kids were already out of school and some very young ones had come down to hassle the Brits on duty. They were climbing on the barricades and harassing them with impunity. The black taxis, the main form of transportation in and out of Falls Road, whipped around the pylons. The drivers are well trained and experienced with the "local conditions." The taxis continue to operate even with a full-scale riot going on and will be protected by the masses of people.

Not far up the road we passed Divis Flats, which looks much the same as the worst of the projects in the U.S., save the British fort on the roof. Anti-British graffiti and Hunger Strike graffiti covered the walls. This was not friendly territory for the Brits. The kids just out of school, with their school uniforms still on, jammed the sidewalks, and a number perched themselves on the walls along the street, waiting for passing British Saracens and RUC armored vehi-

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THE REBELS OF BELFAST



Revolutionary Worker

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cles. They didn't have long to wait, as a pair of Saracens came cruising up the street, each filled with its complement of riot-helmeted troops. As they passed us, one kid walked right up to the edge of the street and hurled a bottle against the side of the Saracen. Stones and whatever objects could be found followed. This was a normal sunny afternoon and today there was no riot in the making.

We were recognized as being from the States almost instantly, and people approached us immediately to talk. Amidst the many short conversations and comments, not only did a picture emerge of the all-round oppression the people face, but amidst the seething indictments, we began to learn something about how things fell out politically among the people broadly.

As we stood on a corner trying to figure out what the cyclone fence and concertina wire-encased building in front of us was, two older ladies yelled at us from across the street, pointing at the building. I crossed the street. "You should have seen that place on Monday. The line was all the way up the street." "What is it?", I asked. "That's the dole office. The dole office! You should see all the people out of work in this place. Old ones and all those young ones. It's terrible. Disgusting." And they went on for a while on various things. "You don't have all this in America, do you? That's a good country. I've been there. I have relatives in Chicago. In Cicero. It's nice there. Not like this," said one lady. And the other added, "I've got relatives there too. I wish this place was like that." We sort of did a double-take. Here we were talking with some people who are oppressed under the thumb of the British and their Loyalist defenders, and yet they were identifying with and looking toward the Irish in the States who have been able to find a little privileged niche in a white suburban enclave in the U.S. It was not uncommon to hear such things, especially from the older folks.

Almost everyone in the North has some relatives in the U.S., and some have visited them in the States. There are over 20 million people of Irish descent in the U.S.—four times the entire population of all of Ireland—and quite a few have been able to make it into more privileged positions. This has a real influence and is intertwined with the whole role of Noraid in sending various forms of material support for the Irish struggle. Add to this the deluge of U.S. TV shows, movies, etc. shown over there, not to mention the role of the Catholic Church, and it becomes clear that the U.S. actually exercises a tremendous ideological influence, even in Northern Ireland, which is being ground under the boot of one of its closest imperialist allies, Britain.

Not all who have relatives in the U.S. or who have visited here felt the same way as these two ladies by any means. One woman told us of visiting her relatives in the (U.S.) South, and was not only appalled by what it was like but also by the outlook of her relatives, particularly their contempt for Black people. It should be said here that events in the U.S., especially the struggles of Black people, have had a tremendous impact in Northern Ireland, and not just in the form of things such as the Civil Rights movement in Ireland in the late '60s. Many of the more revolutionary people, especially those who were involved in the upsurge in the late '60s, have a certain identification with the Black liberation struggle in the U.S. in the '60s, and figures like George Jackson have left their mark. One brother traced for us the commonality between Black people in the U.S. and the Irish, back to the days when the Irish were sold as slaves along with Black people in the slave markets.

The sense of commonality and identification with the position and struggle of Black people in the U.S. is very broad. As I mentioned earlier, a number of people told us that they wished they were Black, and then it would be easier for everyone in the world to understand what's going on in Northern Ireland. Many people asked us about what was happening in the struggle of Black people in the States and whether there was mass support among them for the struggle in Ireland.

Graffiti and sometimes elaborate full-color wall paintings literally covered the walls on Falls Road and the streets that came off of it. These expressions of outrage and defiance of the British occupation themselves have become an important form of struggle against the Brits and the Loyalists, their very presence on such a massive scale boldly demonstrating the sentiments of the masses of people and the real weakness of the enemy—Brits Out! Break Thatcher's Back! This is IRLAND! "IRA" and "INLA" and pictures of automatic rifles are abundant. For all their attempts to deface this wall art and paint up their own reactionary slogans, the efforts of the forces of reaction have been dismal failures. While the streets may not be no-go areas for the occupiers at all times, the walls seem to be most of the time. The effect of the hunger strike of the prisoners at Long Kesh and Armagh in sparking off the recent wave of struggle is vividly reflected on the street. Calls to "Smash H Block—Political Status Now" are everywhere, as are quotes from Bobby Sands. Pictures of the Hunger Strikers are plastered on buildings (even on the roofs), put up in windows, and are hanging from trees. Practically every neighborhood has a wall stating its support for the Hunger Strike and the strikers' demands. Some

of the wall murals were of a religious nature, with depictions of a Hunger Striker nailed to the cross or with a ring of thorns accompanied by religious inscriptions, but more prominent are depictions of Republican soldiers or even a full battle scene. One bears the slogan, "They can kill a revolutionary—but never the revolution." The Irish tri-color and Starry Plough flag are very prominent.

The rebel youth in Belfast are clearly in the forefront in this form of struggle, as they are in general in the upsurge that has swept Belfast in the past year or so. Talking with the school kids on Falls Road that afternoon was a gas. Their boldness, militancy, and street-wise toughness were in complete contradiction to the school-uniformed mold the authorities try to stuff them into. Most couldn't wait to get home and shed the unwanted skin highlighted with a coat-of-arms-adorned blazer. Of course, there were necessary stops along the way—chances to toss something or hurl epithets at the Army and RUC.

"Do you support the Hunger Strike" was the first question fired at us as a group of kids approached us. "Yes," we replied. Knowing where we stood on that question, the youth swamped us with questions. "What do people back in America think about what's going on over here?" "Do you believe what the Brits say?" "Do they support the Hunger Strike?" "Hey, can you take our picture to show them back there?" No sooner had we taken a picture of the group than another bunch came up to talk to us, and so forth. None of this was so much showing off for tourists as it was real pride in the blows that they have delivered to the empire recently and an unabashed desire to let the world know about it.

The Rebel Youth of Belfast

And the youth of Northern Ireland have every right to be proud. Pushed up against a wall at every turn, they are coming out fighting. With over 50% of the population of Northern Ireland being under 25, they are not only the frontline force in the struggle but the largest as well. It is no exaggeration to say that these rebels live to fight the British and the Loyalists. An afternoon or evening in the Turf Lodge area of West Belfast presents a spectre that haunts the occupiers. Youth predominate on the streets and even the games of the little ones take on a distinct military character—practicing for real engagements with the enemy that could materialize at any time with the coming of the next patrol. In an abandoned and gutted two-story building across from the Marty Forsythe and not far from one of the corrugated steel British forts which are set on the outskirts of West Belfast, children can be seen darting in and out of the doorways and broken-out windows—sticks, stones and bottles in

hand. When the sun goes down their shadows and silhouettes become fleeting apparitions stalking the Brits—who call them "hooligans, bastards, and Fenian swine." Even the smallest kids know every street, alleyway, and footpath in the area and how to get around when the action starts. When the whole area is mobilized, the terrain is very unfavorable to the occupiers, save for a massive show of force which holds the danger of setting in motion a situation which would be very politically costly.

Visiting one housing project situated right across the road from a fort one night, I was reminded of a troop encampment from a war movie. Out in front of the project the kids had built several fires, one in the trunk of one of the many burnt-out car bodies lying around the West Belfast area. (The cars are hijacked and used as barricades for street fighting.) Youth gathered around the fires and looked up at the fort and the hills behind it, their faces lit from below by the flickering flames. It was as if they were sentries on duty for the night—rebels with no future in the present set-up save living on the pittance called the dole and living in a dilapidated council flat (projects), rebels with no interest in maintaining it, and little fear in challenging it.

One night we went to Divis Flats to talk with a small gathering of youth pulled together by a young activist we had met. As I mentioned earlier there is a British fort on the roof. The soldiers on the roof are equipped with cameras and sophisticated sound equipment spying on everything that goes on in the flats. The slightest disturbance and the plastic and rubber bullets are bouncing around the balconies or smashing skulls. Inside one of the flats the kids were passing around a notice signed by the Provos, threatening punishment for anyone caught hijacking or joyriding in cars. This was no idle threat. Punishment such as kneecappings is employed by the Provos for such activity which is considered to be hooliganism. The British Army shoots kids in the back for such offenses. Neither of these attempts at terrorizing the kids have deterred them from these or any other forms of "troublemaking." The kids were pissed off and disgusted by the notice.

"Do they shoot plastic bullets at you over there in America? Do they shoot at you or do they come at you with batons? They stay away from us here, they just shoot the plastics at us." We asked them what they thought about what they say on the TV over here about them being "hooligans" and so forth, and what they thought about the riots among youth in Europe, especially the recent ones in England. A couple of the kids responded right away.

"Is that what they say about us. That we are hooligans. On our TV we just never stop getting hamburgers.... In Toxteth? Well, the ones over there are doing it because they have nothing else to do, but the ones over here are doing it because we hate the Brits."

"The ones in Toxteth and all. They are hooligans, and the ones fighting and rioting over here, they're freedom fighters."

Looking around the room, we asked people, "Do you really think so?" Debate erupted.

"No, I don't think so. You believe that the same things they say about us are true about them over in England. Fucksake!", responded the brother who had invited us.

One of the first youths shot back, "Ya, they were just doing that because they had nothing to do. The skinheads are afraid of the blacks, so what did they want to do that for? The skinheads started fighting the blacks and then the skinheads and cops joined together and all fought against the blacks. Well, that's hooliganism."

Another responded, "That's not what happened in Toxteth! The police bounced in there and started hassling people and people fought back."

Having just been to Toxteth, we talked about what it was like there and how in some ways it wasn't all that different than Belfast with the massive invasions of cops, the arrests and beatings, and firing tear gas shells at people, and even how the police vans there resembled

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British Army on patrol in hostile territory.

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those that the RUC uses. One youth came back, "It's not that different? Well, you haven't been here when there was a good riot on. . . . Over in England is this? They shot people over there—is that what you're saying? We haven't heard about it. . . . Well sure, they're doing it all over the world, aren't they? It's happening all over the world in other countries, but they're not putting it on the TV, I guess. Right now the British government wants to use plastic bullets over there, huh?"

I was reminded of a story told to me by one brother we met about how he and some West Indians in England had learned about their common struggles against British imperialism. His name was Patrick, a very common Irish name, and most of his friends called him Paddy. It so happens that "Paddy" is also a derogatory term used by the British to address any Irish man. Well, Paddy was over in England and he and a friend walked into a pub one night and were very drunk, as were a couple of West Indians. Before long some antagonisms developed, and Paddy turned to his friend and said that it looked like there was going to be a fight and asked if he was ready. He looked around the pub and then back at his partner, who had vanished. Before long Paddy and these two West Indian guys were out on the street and it was getting hot. Figuring that he didn't have a good chance in the fight, he engaged the brothers in a discussion about what England had done to Ireland and what he knew about what they had done in the West Indies. Before long they were sitting on the sidewalk pouring out their hatred for the crimes of British imperialism and getting along beautifully. Down the block, Paddy's friend, who had been watching the whole thing from a safe distance, poked his head out and yelled, "Paddy, are you all right?" One of the West Indian brothers was livid. "Don't let him call you 'Paddy.' Don't let anyone call you 'Paddy,'" he stormed, ready to jump to Paddy's defense. It took a while to explain that there was no need to teach Paddy's friend a good lesson.

I'm sure stories like this are not uncommon among people who are older

than these youth. And there is a definite and growing sense of unity with the anti-imperialist struggles of the people around the world, especially among people who have been involved in the struggle from the upsurges in the late '60s and onward. Along one wall in Lower Ormeau Road is a big slogan "Blacks Play More Than Cricket," hailing the recent riots in Britain. And there is also a growing sense that the struggle in Ireland, particularly recently, has inspired others around the world. Many people look to the struggles in Nicaragua and El Salvador. One woman told us, "Imagine what it would be like to have a Cuba right here on England's doorstep!" On the walls you can find graffiti such as "Che," "Viva la Revolución," and "Viva INLA," along with "PLO" and "ETA" (Basques), as well as the depictions of AK-47's in murals instead of the more

common IRA trademark—the M-16. One newsletter put out by a youth group is called, "Venceremos." Broadly, of course, during riots the youth wear the familiar Sandinista-style bandanas popularized by the youth in Nicaragua.

In our discussions with the youth in Divis Flats, things quickly got to questions about what was going on in the whole world and some very big questions on the minds of these youth.

"You are communists. If somebody else doesn't take over, then you are going to take it over, aren't you? There's always somebody higher up that's going to take over," shot out one youth. His friend repeated, "There's always going to be someone over you!" Long after our tape recorder ran out of tape, we went back and forth with them, grappling with questions like "was it human nature to exploit and oppress people?"

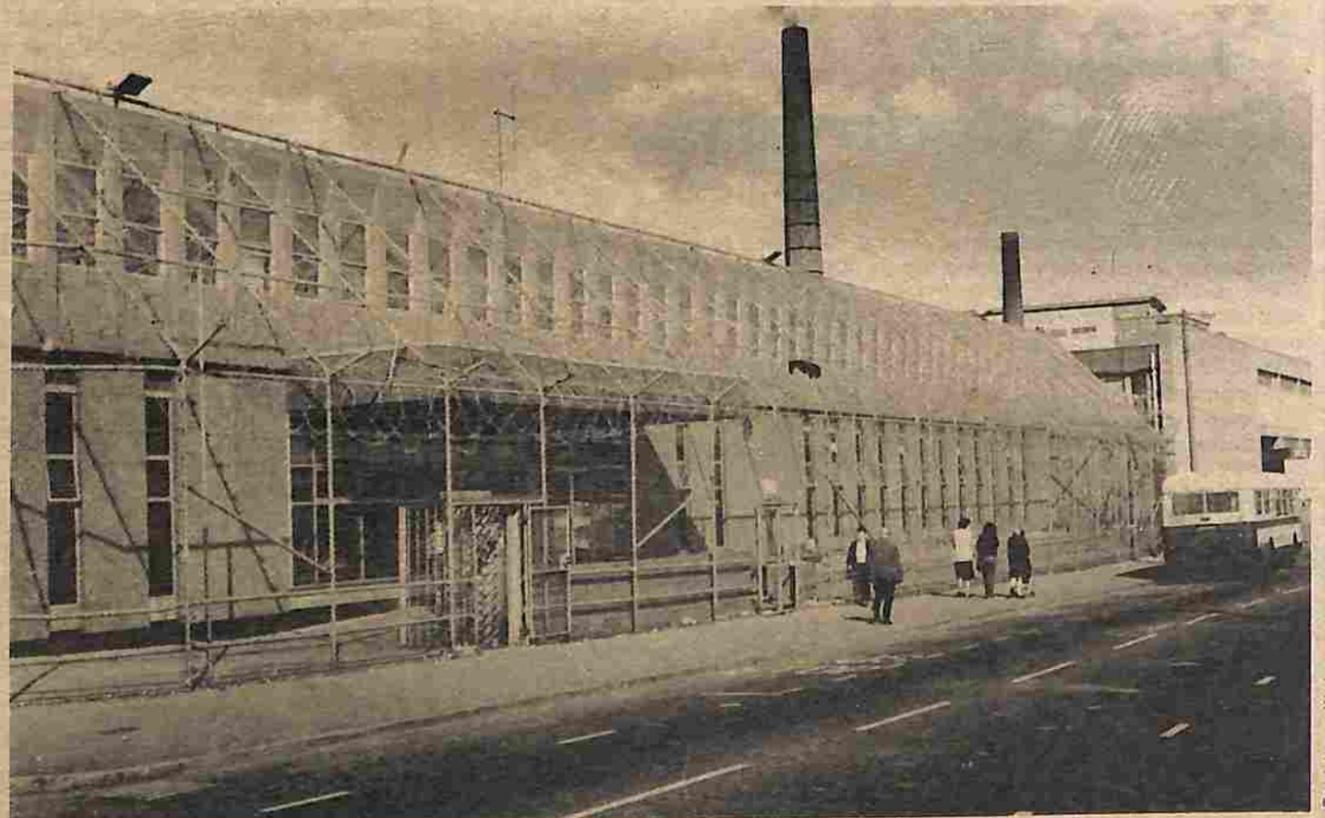
and "can the masses of people really run society or must there always be overlords standing above them." The struggle heated up the room. It was very exciting for us, and challenging too.

Wrangling With the Future

At the very least, I think, the words "revolutionary" and "communist" began to be associated together in a place where the word "communism" conjures up the Soviet Union and maybe the revisionists exemplified by the Official Sinn Fein, formally called Sinn Fein-The Workers Party, which is hooked up with the pro-Soviet Communist Party of Ireland. (As I mentioned before, some revolutionary-minded youth look to Cuba and various manifestations of armed revisionism in the world, but don't associate them with the line and practice of Soviet imperialism.) The Officials, popularly known as "the Sticks," were one part of a split in the IRA in 1969. The other part became the Provisional Sinn Fein and the Provisional IRA, popularly known as the Provos or now just the IRA since the Officials have dropped any pretense of carrying out armed struggle against the British. The "Sticks" have not only abandoned the struggle to free Ireland from the clutches of British imperialism but they openly and physically attack it, and instead push trade unionism and economism as part of what is called the "two-nation theory." This "theory" completely legitimizes the British-Loyalist rule in Northern Ireland by recognizing the North as it is now constituted as a separate and legitimate nation distinct from the South. In other words, as far as the "Sticks" are concerned, the only struggle necessary in Northern Ireland is the struggle of the working class (both Catholic and Protestant) for better wages and working conditions in the Protestant supremacist, British-controlled, state. While the "Sticks" have laid down their arms before the rulers of Northern Ireland, they have not hesitated to use them *against* those who continue to struggle against British rule, engaging in numerous cowardly attacks on them. They also openly trumpet the glories of Soviet imperialism. As a result of all this they are widely discredited among the masses of people.

One afternoon we got together with a veteran in the Republican movement, whom I'll call John, and his wife, whom I'll call Mary. He had been in the IRA before it had split and had been interned by the British along with a number of his brothers and sisters. Both were very much struggling to sum up where things were at in Ireland and the world as a whole, including the problems of the Republican movement in the past. Before we had even sat down, John asked us half jokingly but with a real urgency behind it, "Well, what's

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The dole (unemployment) office on Falls Road.

THE REBELS OF BELFAST

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the strategy for Ireland?" Unfortunately, in the very short time we had spent there and with our very limited study, we had not much to offer on that front, but we did want to talk with them about the situation in Ireland and the world situation too. Most of all we wanted to learn how people who had been involved in the struggle in Northern Ireland for a long time looked at things. We asked them about the split with the Officials. John spoke first.

"When I got out of prison, I found that the struggle had changed completely. They (the IRA before the split) had called a ceasefire. . . . This was a deliberate policy to depoliticize the whole movement as they had done before in the early '60s after the '56 to '62 campaign. Nobody could read the situation. They encouraged you to, okay, educate yourselves and if you come to us and ask us a question on policy that we can't answer, then we will have a review of policies. I asked them a lot of questions and they couldn't answer one of them. . . . The Stalinist influence in them was very very prominent. . . . The soldiers of the movement became more prominent than the politicians, and that's when the split came about. They (the Provos) said that there was absolutely no way that they were going to lay down their arms, especially when the Falls Road was left undefended. . . . They (the Officials) are making no headway whatsoever because anything they do is coming out of city hall. Like the H-Block issue. A lot of ordinary people who never had Republican sympathies were joining the marches. They condemned it. They have never deviated from condemning the H-Block struggle. Every opportunity they've got they've condemned it. Every act of protest like burning a van or stoning soldiers, they've condemned it. . . . The ones that are left are just terrorizing people."

Mary added:

"They seem to have totally ignored the British presence here. Ya know, you

could agree with their policies on a long term basis as far as work for all and things like that—their social policies, but they totally ignore the presence of the British Army. I saw one of them in a club and I said to him, 'Well, I could agree with you. We all want jobs, we all want to fight for better work, but could you tell me what do you do when you are trying to get to your work and you come up against the British Army and they're shooting you—they're harassing you.' He ignored me. They completely ignore the imperialist stance of Britain here."

Their summation of the "Sticks" was similar to what many people had said to us, and revealed to us once again not only the sinister counterrevolutionary face of revisionism but also that the crimes of revisionism historically around the question of Ireland had never been thoroughly and correctly summed up in Ireland or anywhere else for that matter. For the struggle there to move forward this is an absolutely vital step. The understanding of most people does not go much beyond summing up the most recent period and that the Officials got all wrapped up in reformism (which many people term "politics") and they laid down their arms, leaving it to the soldiers to carry on. (In fact, John referred to the IRA split as between "the soldiers" and "the politicals".) What is not summed up is that the Officials were actually implementing an all-round program for capitulation to imperialism. It was not simply that they had gone soft on the British and just wanted reforms, or that their social policies were fine but they ignored the British, but that they were carrying out a consciously counterrevolutionary program on behalf of Soviet social-imperialism.

As John and Mary talked to us, my mind flashed back to what I had read about the betrayal of the Second International before World War I and how almost every "Marxist" party in the world, save a handful led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia, had attacked and vilified the Easter Rising in Ireland, and how they went absolutely wild in a frenzy of opportunism over the refusal of the Irish revolutionaries then led by James Connolly to take sides in World War I. Lenin denounced the opportunists at that time who had slandered the Easter Rebellion by calling it a "putsch": "Whoever calls such a rebellion a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolu-

Court Rules Women Must Submit

In a recent highly publicized court decision in New York City, legal blessing was given to sexual harassment of women by their employers. A Manhattan Supreme Court judge ruled that a woman who submits to her boss's sexual advances "however reluctantly" has thereby forever forfeited her right to charge she was later fired because she refused the boss's later advances. In other words, the woman submits once, and this could conceivably even mean rape, and she is then legally a sexual slave to her boss's beck and call on pain of losing her job.

The background of this case is that Elizabeth Benjamin once worked for the Way West Development Corporation, a Greenwich Village realty firm. Her boss, David Puchkoff, "made it clear that her failure to permit sexual conduct would result in the loss of her

position." After she refused and was fired, she went to court seeking a finding that she was dismissed in an unlawful and discriminatory manner that was based on sex. She asked for no money damages.

The boss's attorney let further layers of male supremacist crap involved in this case all hang out when he claimed that granting Ms. Benjamin's motion would constitute a "de facto permanent tenure for any employee who went to bed with a boss." These poor bosses—victimized by hordes of women trying to sleep their way to job security! The boss didn't even try to deny the facts of Ms. Benjamin's case. Nor did he produce any allegedly valid grounds for firing her. He didn't have to. Failure to submit was good enough reason as far as the court was concerned. □

tion as a living phenomenon." I flashed back to the shameful history of the English "labour movement" and the various "leftists" who have supported British imperialism's domination of Ireland. I remembered a story someone had told us when we were in England about how some "leftist" in the Labour Party had basically called for the slaughter of the people of Northern Ireland in a speech on May Day a few years ago. And I recalled how the great bulk of the "left" in England refuses to even talk about the struggle in Ireland save to attack it, including the rank behavior of some of the Trotskyites who paternalistically tail the struggle in Ireland while attacking it for not being "socialist" (read: "economist") enough for their liking. With all this, coupled with the revisionism of the Officials and the Communist Party of Ireland, it was certainly no wonder why "Marxism" was a dirty word for most people we met in Ireland. It was no wonder that "Marxism" and what John called "politics" mainly meant reformism, economism and opposition to the liberation of Ireland from imperialist domination.

This history of betrayal places a real responsibility on the shoulders of the international communist movement to study the history and current situation in Ireland and to help determine precisely what is the path to revolution in Ireland.

The people of Ireland have been robbed of a thorough understanding of the seizure of power by revisionism in the Soviet Union and the role that it is now playing in the world, and in particular they have been robbed of Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Cultural Revolution. And even farther back than that, Lenin's line was prevented from taking hold in Ireland though many people took it up and great battles against British imperialism were fought. All this, plus the long-time intertwining of Republicanism with looking to America, has been a great hindrance to the struggle and a drag on the organized forces—soldiers and "politicals" alike. If hatred for British imperialism alone were enough, then Ireland would have been set free of imperialism's yoke long ago. That I can testify to first hand. But the staunchness of many of the Republican soldiers and the masses of Irish people, and their determination to drive out the British and their servants, has not by itself been enough to break the chains of imperialism in Ireland. With the world situation heating up, presenting both great dangers and great

opportunities, these kinds of big political questions assume an ever larger importance for the struggle there.

Both John and Mary very much recognized what a tremendous force the youth in Northern Ireland are, and placed great hopes in them. Mary pointed to one of her sons. "This fella here—he's wild. Now he was born in '69. He's quieting down a bit but he used to attack the soldiers single-handed when he was only about 3. There were Saracens out there and he attacked them with anything he could get his hands on—stones and bottles. He was only about 2 or 3, and there was about a hundred kids all gathered around, saying 'fire again—fire again.' He was wild. The wee girl, she fought with them too. Things quieted down and then all of a sudden the Hunger Strike comes along and it spread all out again. . . . I think everyone thought, I even thought so myself, that this would be it. Once one of the hunger strikers died it was going to erupt and be a civil war. But it didn't." John leaned forward in his chair toward the tape recorder: "It's the younger people who have the influence. You know yourself that if you go to marches, most of the people that you see at protest marches are all very young. They are showing a helluva lot of awareness, you know. Which to me can only be a good thing."

One night before we left, me and a young political activist who was very active among the youth and into political study spent an evening talking about the situation in Ireland and the world. He was playing tapes of Irish revolutionary songs, and I put on a tape of Bob Avakian's talk on May 1st, 1981 for him to listen to. He listened intently. "Can I have it? I want to play it for some of the youth," he asked. "Of course," I answered, as I handed him the tape. He was particularly excited by the vision it presented of the great possibilities for revolutionary advances on a world scale in the coming period, and its stress on internationalism. In exchange for the tape he gave me a copy of a book about the life of one of the Irish revolutionaries he admired. We talked until late into the night and listened to music.

That night I dreamt of thousands of people streaming out of their houses and council flats into the streets of Belfast, sweeping away the Brits and anything that stood in their way. Instead of hearing the sickening click of the marine patrol's boots on the pavement breaking the stillness of the night, I heard only a roar, and them getting trampled underfoot. And this delightful image still lingers in my mind. □

A Contribution in Memory of Comrade Paul Friedman

We received the following letter and contribution to the RW from Steve Yip, one of the UN2—jailed for a year for dousing the U.S. and Soviet UN representatives with red paint.

Dear comrades,

Please accept this modest contribution to the *Revolutionary Worker* in the memory of comrade Paul Friedman. Though the funds come by an outside check, it is drawn from my income earned at the prison electronics factory here at F.C.I. Danbury where I work.

Brother Friedman was an exemplary revolutionary fighter whose feet were firmly planted in the outlook of the proletariat. I first met Paul back in 1973 when he was then a member of the Revolutionary Union, and I a member of Wei Min She, an Asian-American revolutionary organization, in the San Francisco Bay Area.

On behalf of our then respective organizations, we collaborated together on many projects and struggles. I was greatly impressed and inspired by Paul's quiet humor, his selflessness, and above all, his sharp proletarian revolutionary stand. His untimely death is indeed a great loss.

I regret that it has taken me so long to respond to the Memorial Fund, but I do want to take this opportunity to dedicate this imperialist prison-earned money to his memory and the lofty revolutionary banner which he uncompromisingly shouldered. The Memorial Fund is an excellent idea and I hope other contributions will continue to be made to support our most vital weapon in the struggle—the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Respectfully,
Steve Yip

Prisoner Corresponds

“Without Studying Theory, There Can Be No Serious Class-Conscious Struggle”

This letter was sent to the RW by a reader in prison:

10-6-81

Revolutionary Communist Party,

As you probably suspected I enjoyed reading your scientific article printed in *Revolutionary Worker* Number 122 entitled “Matter is Infinitely Divisible” by Brian Sizu. That article was properly prepared and served. Needless to say I devoured it in a single gulp. “Rank and file” people of the world must study and try hard to understand revolutionary ideology and clean scientific theory such as the above named article so that it will become virtually impossible for enemy elements to hold them in check or roll back any political, military or

economic gains they achieve in the future. The bourgeoisie is a slick, shrewd cannibal who must be fought and annihilated on all fronts. I don't believe it's possible to win a socialist revolution, consolidate it, and then bring a communist community into existence without the masses having a deep understanding of revolutionary ideology and scientific theory. Any social project of this magnitude must have the conscious cooperation and participation of the broad masses of people. But if the “rank and file” are not schooled in revolutionary ideology and scientific theory then we all can just forget about communism or anything else that's worth mentioning. The RCP should put forth the slogan “study,

struggle, study”. Because “without study there can be no serious class-conscious struggle. Any man, woman or child who wildly attacks imperialism without first learning how to attack it are doomed to failure. Imperialism shouldn't be over-or-underestimated. Some groups and individuals claim to know this so-called “elementary stuff” but their actions prove otherwise. Some people are overly cautious in dealing with imperialism and so become inactive and irrelevant. On the other hand some become impatient for quick results and success, run too damn far ahead of the masses on a one-way suicidal course by vainly trying to realize something today that can only become true in the future. Both these approach-

es to imperialism are wrong. I view imperialism as being semi-intelligent and extremely dangerous. It has to possess some smarts in order to exist and dominate us for so long. And it's natural for imperialism to be extremely dangerous because it's a cornered, wounded beast who has everything to lose with nothing to gain but extinction. Yes it's true we should have a violent dislike for imperialism but we should also take it seriously. Armed with revolutionary ideology, scientific theory, machine guns and bombs I'm personally convinced the masses can defeat imperialism and wipe it from the face of this earth forever.

Brother M.
Maximum Security

Correspondence

How the Assassin in the Rye Used The Catcher in the Rye

Dear RW

I read your August 28 article on John Lennon's murder with much interest (“Assassin in the Rye”) and agree it is quite likely that he was assassinated at the instigation of government or ruling class forces. And further, that regardless of whether Chapman was directly encouraged or not, the murder was a highly political act which fit right in with the needs of U.S. imperialism to bury and crush the lessons and influence of the '60s. I do, however, want to address one possible misconception which could arise from the article and even more from Chapman's actions themselves. Specifically I am concerned that people not misunderstand the nature of the book *The Catcher in the Rye* by J.D. Salinger. This is important both to defend the positive role that Salinger's book has played historically and to further deepen our understanding of the conscious political nature and intent of the murder itself.

Clearly it was no accident that Chapman had a copy of *The Catcher in the Rye* in his possession on the night of the murder. He was not only trying to link the book with his ugly act but even more, as the RW article pointed out, his court room speech which was taken from the same novel was obviously meant as justification and political explanation of his actions. For those who are familiar with Salinger's story of middle class alienation and disaffection from a phoney and empty society, Chapman's use of it immediately and purposefully strikes a discordant note. Discordant because *The Catcher in the Rye*, in complete contrast to Chapman's use of it in combination with Lennon's murder to deliver his message that it is high time for all wayward souls to break with any '60s-like thoughts of rebellion and quickly line up with society and the status quo, was in fact for many of the youth and students of the '60s generation a symbol of and testament to their dissatisfaction, their frustrations, and their feelings of disgust towards the American dream. It is not without reason that every time there is a resurgence of reactionary efforts at book banning *The Catcher in the Rye* is near the top of the list (and it is not just because it contains the word “---k”).

Salinger's hero, Holden Caulfield, is to say the least not exactly your typical '50s hero (the book was copyrighted in 1951). The son of a corporation lawyer, he is a gangly 16 year old who has just flunked out of his fourth prep school. By all of society's standards he is and is destined to remain a miserable failure. But the main virtue of this book, and the quality which has endeared it to millions of readers (not to mention antagonizing many more) is that Holden is

portrayed as a somewhat confused but intelligent and sensitive youth who is acting as sensibly and consistently as he can in the midst of a failing and lifeless society.

For those who have never read *The Catcher in the Rye*, or who have forgotten parts or all of it, it is worth quoting several passages to give a glimpse of its flavor and content. Here Holden is describing his most recent school:

Where I lived at Pencey, I lived in the Ossenburger Memorial Wing of the new dorms. It was only for Juniors and Seniors. I was a Junior. My room-mate was a Senior. It was named after this guy Ossenburger that went to Pencey. He made a pot of dough in the undertaking business after he got out of Pencey. What he did, he started these undertaking parlours all over the country that you could get members of your family buried for about five bucks apiece. You should see old Ossenburger. He probably just shoves them in a sack and dumps them in the river. Anyway, he gave Pencey a pile of dough, and they named our wing after him. The first football game of the year, he came up to school in this big goddam Cadillac, and we all had to stand up in the grandstand and give him a locomotive—that's a cheer. Then, the next morning, in chapel, he made a speech that lasted about ten hours. He started off with about fifty corny jokes, just to show us what a regular guy he was. Very big deal. Then he started telling us how he was never ashamed, when he was in some kind of trouble or something, to get right down on his knees and pray to God. He told us we should always pray to God—talk to Him and all—wherever we were. He told us we ought to think of Jesus as our buddy and all. He said he talked to Jesus all the time. Even when he was driving his car. That killed me. I can just see the big phoney bastard shifting into first gear and asking Jesus to send him a few more stiffs. The only good part of his speech was right in the middle of it. He was telling us all about what a swell guy he was, what a hot-shot and all, then all of a sudden this guy sitting in the row in front of me, Edgar Marsalla, laid this terrific fart. It was a very crude thing to do, in chapel and all, but it was also quite amusing. Old Marsalla. He damn near blew the roof off.

And again:

You ought to go to a boy's school sometime. Try it sometime. . . . It's full of phonies, and all you do is study, so that you can learn enough to be smart enough to be able to buy a goddam Cadillac some day, and you have to keep making believe you give a damn if the football team loses, and all you do is talk about girls and liquor and sex all

day. . .

Or on college girls:

In a way, it was sort of depressing, too, because you kept wondering what the hell would happen to all of them. When they got out of school and college, I mean. You figured most of them would probably marry dopey guys. Guys that always talk about how many miles they get to a gallon in their goddam cars. Guys that get sore and childish as hell if you beat them at golf, or even just some stupid game like ping-pong. Guys that are very mean. Guys that never read books. Guys that are very boring.

On war and the Army:

. . . but I do know it'd drive me crazy if I had to be in the Army and be with a bunch of guys like Ackley and Stradlater and old Maurice all the time, marching with them and all. I was in the Boy Scouts once, for about a week, and I couldn't even stand looking at the back of the guy's neck in front of me. They kept telling you to look at the back of the guy's neck in front of you. I swear if there's ever another war, they better just take me out and stick me in front of a firing squad.

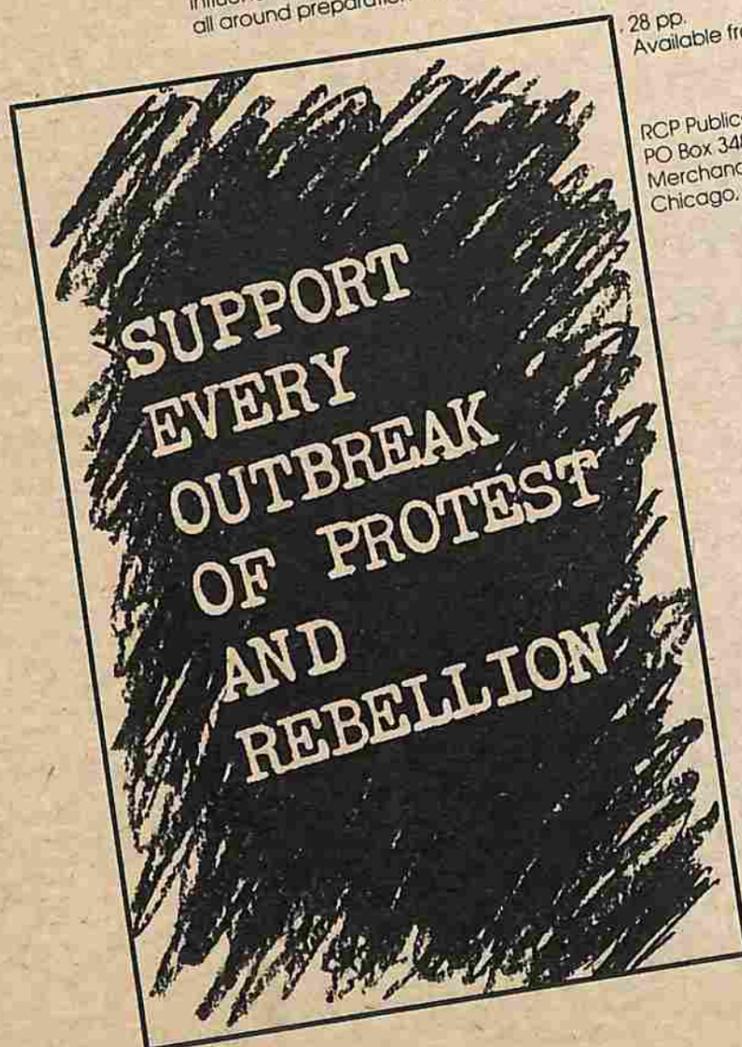
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KIDNAPPED!

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imprisoned on charges of allegedly transporting illegal aliens and are presently being held on \$10,000 bail each, an unusually high bail for what they are charged with. (An Immigration Border Patrol agent let slip how unusually high the bail was when he said that just the week before a millionaire had been arrested on the same charges for transporting four workers and was held—briefly—on \$3850 bail. The agent explained the discrepancy in the bails as due to the fact that this millionaire was more established, and besides, he was transporting his own workers!)

The longer the four were held this week, the more explicitly the political nature of the attack in general came out, following attempts at first by the government to portray their actions as "business as usual" (of course, what *this* is is well known). One of the two people accompanying the Salvadorans, a Chilean-born revolutionary who is acting as translator on the tour, was threatened with additional charges for allegedly traveling without proper "alien registration," despite his status as a legal resident of the U.S. The authorities would definitely like to prevent the exposure this person can present on the tour of all imperialism in Chile—the infamous role of the U.S. there as well as the treacherous attempts of the Soviets to usurp the struggle of the masses. The fourth person, the only woman in the group, could not be located for 36 hours after the arrests went down, as one after another official claimed to have no knowledge of her whereabouts.

For 24 hours all the various officials lied as to the whereabouts of all but the translator with the tour, who they admitted was in the Miami (Oklahoma) county jail. As it turned out, throughout this time when lawyers and others were trying to find the four, all of them had been in Miami jails (the woman being in a separate facility). When an attorney was finally able to locate and talk to the Salvadorans, he was told that the other two had been sent to a federal prison in Calimore, Oklahoma, which turned out to be a wild goose chase aimed at concealing that these two had been sent to Tulsa. The point of all this was to prevent supporters from accomplishing the basic necessity of tracking everyone down, and in turn to try to make it impossible to carry out both the political and legal tasks required to free the four. In fact, the INS is still talking about moving the Salvadorans to another jail, thus potentially making their whereabouts unknown to others, including their lawyers.

The naked political essence of the government's actions were also starkly revealed by maneuvers around the Salvadorans' application for political asylum. While Ben Baker, U.S. Attorney in Tulsa handling the case, told the Salvadorans' lawyer on Wednesday that "we didn't know these guys were on a speaking tour or were in the process of applying for political asylum," their actions put the lie to this. In fact, at that very moment the government was busy trying to prevent the political asylum papers from being filed before the INS could gain a possible legal advantage by filing an "order to show cause" for deportation of the Salvadorans. What's more, since Tuesday the government had in their hand a sworn statement from a lawyer of the Salvadorans in Los Angeles that his clients were under the impression that their papers had been filed already. (They had been through all the interview procedures before leaving Los Angeles, expecting papers to be filed.) When the papers for political asylum were finally "allowed" to be filed Thursday, needless to say, the Salvadorans were then refused release.

Once a defense team finally discovered the whereabouts of the Salvadorans and began to chase down the trail of the U.S. marshalls scurrying around Oklahoma with the other two, telegrams and phone calls demanding the release of those arrested and that the Salvadorans not be deported began pouring in. In addition, bail money began getting raised throughout the country as part of

launching a counter-offensive against these machinations of the U.S. government. According to a reporter for the *Tulsa Tribune*, in an interview with a spokesman for the RCYB on Oct. 15, these telegrams and phone calls to the various government agencies involved in the arrests and subsequent imprisonment of the four "have blown this case out" in the Tulsa area.

At a minimum, within 72 hours of the arrests over 100 telegrams and phone calls had been made from various individuals and organizations, including many lawyers and professionals, the Harvard Committee on Central America, a member of Clergy and Laity Concerned in Chicago, a Maryknoll nun, five members of the City College of New York student government (including its vice president), the L.A. Women's Health Center, the spiritual advisor to Leonard Peltier, and many others.

In Tulsa itself, a number of groups and individuals have come forward, including from anti-war groups, clergy, lawyers, revolutionary nationalist forces, and subscribers to the *RW*. And this is despite the open harassment such as FBI interrogations of at least one person and tails by police.

This outpouring of support, and the certainty of only more to come, had the authorities squirming and complaining about all the telegrams and bad publicity they were receiving. One official is reported to have whined about a telegram calling him a fascist pig.

The questions thrown up by the situation in El Salvador and its relation to major developments in the world today—especially imperialist war moves and the revolutionary storms of the masses worldwide—have drawn forward, interested, and challenged thousands of people throughout the country. At a high school in a suburb of St. Louis, after getting refused permission by the principal for a school-wide assembly to hear the Salvadorans speak, 20-30 students there gathered 550 signatures on a petition *demanding* the assembly, many taking the first political action of their lives.

The outrage and protest against the U.S. government's arrest and its refusal to release the two Salvadorans and the two others has burst from the deeply-felt hatred of imperialism, the support for revolutionary struggles worldwide, and opposition to the stinking hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—hypocrisy shown every time Salvadorans and other immigrants are deported, and done with a special vengeance against conscious revolutionary immigrants.

As in everything else they do, with the arrests of the Salvadorans the bourgeoisie attacks only to find itself increasingly counter-attacked, their strengths turned into weaknesses. The Salvadoran comrades showed this profound truth in a striking example the first time they were able to see their attorney in the Miami county jail. They told their lawyer that they had met a number of others arrested for allegedly being illegal aliens, and learned much valuable new information and exposure for the tour from them!

It's this kind of internationalism and revolutionary determination which the imperialists are trying so hard to stop. Instead, a new and broader battle has been joined. A press release issued by the RCYB on October 14 ended, "Far from stopping this tour, the government's actions have instead opened up another front on which struggle will be waged, eyes will be opened, and conclusions drawn."

Telegrams and calls demanding no deportations and the immediate release of the Salvadorans should be made to: Bill Chambers, So. Regional INS, Rm. 2300, 1201 Elm St., Dallas, TX 75270; phone, (214) 767-6024.

Funds for urgently needed bail and other legal and political defense expenses for all four revolutionaries should be sent to: RCYB, P.O. Box A3836, Chicago, IL 60690. □

PACIFIC

Continued from page 2

this year is estimated at \$2.9 billion, and external debt due to imperialism stands at close to \$14 billion, which requires the Marcos regime to borrow \$2 billion more every year just to pay off the interest. Since production, including agriculture, is geared almost solely for export, there have been grave food shortages and spiraling inflation of basic staples and other commodities. As many as 85,000 workers were laid off last year as thousands of businesses closed due to the sagging economy.

These ominous signs for the future of the Marcos regime are of utmost concern to the U.S. imperialists. Far more than a source of superprofits, the Philippines is crucial to U.S. war plans, not just for the immediate vicinity of Southeast Asia but as far out as the Indian Ocean and the Near East. The Philippines is the home for the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay and the U.S. Air Force installation at Clark Field. The two bases are spread over more than 200,000 acres and manned by nearly 30,000 Americans. Clark is the largest military installation outside of the continental U.S. and is home to the 13th Air Force. The 9 major naval commands at Subic include the vital logistics and support facilities for ships that are stationed in the Indian Ocean.

In the words of a 1980 paper by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Subic and Clark constitute "probably the most important basing complex in the world if considered in terms of the U.S. policy of naval projection," and they are "simply irreplaceable." During the Iran and Afghanistan crises, Subic became the logistical center for the U.S. naval buildup in the Indian Ocean. The carrier out of Subic and jet fighters from Clark also serve as secondary supports for U.S. Forces in Korea and Japan. And to illustrate the far-reaching functions of the Philippines bases, the commander in chief of Clark was quoted in 1978 as saying: "I can have Phantoms in the fields of East Africa 12 hours after they leave here." Another air

force official revealed that if another Arab-Israeli war flared up, Clark might be part of an aerial supply route stretching from the Pacific to Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean to the Mideast.

The U.S. is naturally trying to make sure that this "irreplaceable" strategic outpost remains safely in its hands. The 1979 U.S.-Philippines Bases Agreement promised \$300 million in military aid, consisting largely of counter-insurgency weapons like the OV-10 aircraft. Hundreds of millions of dollars more in "economic" aid are also being pumped in for such things as training local bureaucrats in better "management," or in other words to deal more effectively with unrest. One clause in the Bases Agreement allows U.S. troops to participate in security activities off the bases. This is important for the security of the bases, since Clark Air Base, for example, is located in Pampanga Province where 80% of the territory is estimated to be under NPA influence.

The firm U.S. backing for the Marcos regime (even as they toy with other counter-revolutionary options) was underscored by U.S. Vice-President George Bush's appearance at Marcos' inauguration on June 30th. Marcos had gotten himself re-elected for a new six-year term as president in an election hit by a boycott launched by the National Democratic Front, a group of CPP-influenced organizations, and joined by the bourgeois opposition to Marcos. Bush told Marcos at the inauguration: "We stand by you, sir. We love your adherence to democratic principles and processes, and we won't leave you isolated." Marcos, of course, would fall in no time without U.S. backing. Recently, in line with the visits to the U.S. of the likes of Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea, Duarte of El Salvador and the South African rugby team, Reagan has invited Marcos to visit the U.S. and Marcos has accepted, although it is not certain at this time whether the trip will actually come off. Marcos is scheduled to be in Mexico in late October for the North-South meeting of the heads of state. By bringing Marcos here, the U.S. rulers hope to do an emergency patchup job on the widening cracks in his Made in U.S. armor, but the cracks may be too wide for repair. □

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Rebel

Continued from page 8

could go to the hospital and see all these people laid up from Reforger. Broken arms. Broken legs. Where I worked there were people who went and came back injured. But to hear them tell it we were superior. We had no casualties. The U.S. always comes out shining.

While we were in Reforger if you didn't do a good job, if you didn't perform to your qualities, as they say, then you were put in the field 45 days. And all this time you stayed out in the woods and did war exercises amongst yourselves. Split up into teams. This team does this. This team does that. For 45 days you're battling against each other so you'll be ready next year. Then they have a test. They test you to see how good you are. They have grades and people come around to inspect you to make sure you're doing it right. They want everything perfect. They want high scores because they never know when they're going into war, they say.

Through these exercises they were trying to bore you down to be a fighting machine 45 days in the field. You left your family a lot of times and for 45 straight days they wanted a fighting machine where you could perform under any conditions. I've stayed out in the field in snow, in hot weather. It didn't matter. All they wanted was somebody that could perform. Through this they would order you around to where you were in their control. They wanted total control of you.

I'm going to give you one example. Once I was in the field for this length of time. There was one sergeant. He got fed up with what was going on. He ordered his men to stay in bed. They stayed in bed for a whole day. They had people coming around asking them to get out of the bed. He said, "They're my men. I'm keeping them in the bed

because they're tired." This did not go over too good. They relieved the sergeant of command and busted him to a private. But the people saw what went off and they all stuck together. And through this action we really had them freaked out. They didn't know which way to turn so they ended up cutting the trip short just because of what this one man stood up to do.

My job in the army was artillery. We had capabilities of firing a nuclear round. And this part is weird to me because for these capabilities we trained and trained. They said we had to know how to prepare the round, when to fire it off, how far it's going to go. There's a lot of stuff you have to know to fire this round, right. But as I referred to earlier, when I said that the army was getting to the point where the minorities were going to end up being the majority—it was odd to me that none of the minorities were ever on this team to fire this nuclear round.

Another thing, we had first aid steps. Our first aid step for a nuclear round was to lay down on the ground, cover your eyes away from the blast and cover yourself with a poncho to keep radiation from absorbing through your skin.

I've listened to a lot of testimony at the tribunal this weekend. I think that a lot of people, a lot more people should have heard it than did because it's something to bring to the awareness of the people to what the system is really about so people won't just lay down and be walked over, where they can grasp this information and put it to good use in a revolutionary style. And while I was in the army there is only one thing that I regret and that's not having the understanding that I have today. If I had had the thoughts and the understanding of what I have today I think I could have pushed my talks with people a little further in what I did and my instigation would have been a lot sharper and to the point. □

Catcher

And on lawyers:

Lawyers are all right, I guess—but it doesn't appeal to me. . . . I mean they're all right if they go around saving innocent guys' lives all the time, and like that, but you don't do that kind of stuff if you're a lawyer. All you do is make a lot of dough and play golf and play bridge, and buy cars and drink martinis and look like a hot-shot. And besides. Even if you did go around saving guys' lives and all, how would you know if you did it because you really wanted to save guys' lives, or you did it because what you really wanted to do was be a terrific lawyer, with everybody slapping you on the back and congratulating you in court when the goddam trial was over, the reporters and everybody, the way it is in the dirty movies? How would you know you weren't being a phoney? The trouble is, you wouldn't.

You can see how a book like this, especially in the '50s and early '60s, but even now, could help people, particularly from the petty bourgeoisie, realize that they are not alone in their feelings of alienation from and hatred for imperialist society and could provide a beginning or encouraging nudge along the road towards more fully understanding and expressing those feelings. And in fact this book did play a positive role in the superstructure during the '50s and '60s, battling, if you will, against such crap as "The Nelson Family", "Leave it to Beaver", and "The Readers Digest."

With this in mind, Chapman's use of Salinger's book becomes all the more interesting and revealing. The famous passage that he used in court, when looked at in its original context, actually has a meaning very different from the

one Chapman gives it. When Holden is telling his little sister that he wants to be "the catcher in the rye and all", he is expressing his intense desire to save kids from falling off a crazy cliff into the deadness of the established society and middle class life. In fact Holden says this immediately after his caustic criticism of lawyers and their ideology quoted above, not to mention the context of the whole book.

By quoting Holden Caulfield and by carrying the book while committing the murder Chapman seems to be attempting several interrelated things. First, and most superficially, by linking the book with Lennon's assassination he is giving it a black name and thereby trying to reduce its potential positive influence. Secondly and more significantly, by reversing and turning inside out the real meaning of the book and the quote he is signalling in miniature the conscious political purpose of his actions in relation to the memory and lessons of the '60s. And finally, and perhaps most sinister of the three, by using this book and by adopting and using the credentials of Holden Caulfield he is trying to make it appear as if the memories of the '60s are turning in on themselves in a fit of self destruction. He wants it to appear as if the alienated and questioning youth of a rebellious decade, for which both John Lennon and Holden became symbols to one degree or another, are destroying each other because they haven't gotten themselves fully back in line with the system.

All of this is of course another typical ruling class message delivered in a typically murderous form. They will attempt to reverse and crush all our dreams and memories, all our sparks of rebellion, but if we continue to expose and hound them at every step, each of their attempts can be turned to our advantage.

A reader

Hunger Strike

Continued from page 7

mist, some other political make-up is also being demanded by the British from their Protestant lackeys:

"Mr. Prior's (the new Secretary of State for Northern Ireland—*RW*) act of courage will be to articulate to the Ulster Protestant Unionist majority the 'or else' implicit in the British guarantee that they may remain part of the United Kingdom. Ulster's Protestant politicians and voters must give Catholics a share of power; they must recognize their common interest with their southern neighbors—or forfeit their position."

While this has nothing whatsoever to do with their loyal Protestant allies ever "forfeiting their position" (short of being overthrown), it is an indication that the British ruling class is giving clear notice that they are taking a hard line with this deal as far as the whinings of the Loyalists are concerned—the empire depends upon it. In other words, this ain't 1973!

The announcement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, Garret FitzGerald of the Fine Gael Party, on October 5, must also be seen in this context. Calling for "a crusade against sectarianism," FitzGerald laid out the changes that would be made in the Republic's constitution. The most significant of them was the striking of the Republic's longstanding claim to sovereignty over all of Ireland. While this clause has never been anything more than an attempt by the Irish bourgeoisie to try to placate anti-imperialist sentiments among the masses ("Yeah, by god, we'll drive the Brits out of all Ireland someday, lads"), the formal act of deleting it only underscores the new levels of belly-crawling in the service of imperialism they are intent upon achieving. And, even more fundamentally, it underscores just how seriously the imperialists and their lap dogs in the Republic are taking this drive to tighten up the region. While it is an obvious appeal to the Protestants that, of course, nothing will really change under this plan, it is even more a desperate gamble in

terms of the political exposure that will accompany it in the eyes of the Irish people. But, the imperialists have a desperate necessity and they have a fine man in Garret FitzGerald. After all, as a member of the U.S. Trilateral Commission he got his schooling from the best!

As noted before, one of the principal motivating factors in stabilizing the region is the imperialists' strategic concerns and military preparations for war. And the enlisting of the Republic into NATO (or some clear and defined commitment to joint defense, failing that) is a crucial element of these preparations. For, as far as the imperialists are concerned, Ireland's role in the last two world wars has been far from exemplary. And its marked lack of participation on the side of the British has set a dangerous precedent that the Western allies would like to reverse—indeed, *must* reverse in this upcoming war to redivide the world. In World War I, when Ireland was a direct colony of the British, the war provided an opportunity for an insurrection that was attempted with the Easter Rebellion in 1916. In WW2, with the forced partitioning of the country still smoldering in the memories of many, significant sections of the population fiercely opposed any formal defense agreements with the British, thus closing crucial port and airbase facilities to their use. The fact that the Republic of Ireland is not a member of NATO has caused continued worry over just what type of role Ireland will play, sitting as it does upon Britain's western flank. This alarm has been turned up a number of decibels with the upheavals in Northern Ireland and the difficulties they present in both stabilizing the area and in actually moving to implement some kind of strategic consensus and getting it all signed, sealed and delivered.

Perhaps the best illustration of what this "reunification" plan is really all about is found in that same editorial mentioned earlier from *The Economist*. In praising the work of James Prior in

Sadat

Continued from page 6

military maneuvers affecting Libya: in a premeditated act of aggression, U.S. fighters penetrated Libyan territorial waters and shot down two Libyan jets. The U.S., of course, claimed the "The Libyans fired first." Undoubtedly, Operation Bright Star will generally be another object lesson displaying U.S. imperialism at its best as a "force for stability" in the troubled Middle East.

Only three years ago, President Carter delivered his famous panegyric to the Shah of Iran, praising his regime as an "island of stability" in the Persian Gulf and an indispensable strategic asset to the United States. Since the fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty, the U.S. imperialists have strained every nerve to shore up its remaining "pillars of strength" in the region. Foremost among these are Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is ruled by a monarchy fragile enough that the U.S. imperialists are divided over whether the AWACS proposed for sale to the Saudis this year might not end up in the hands of "America's enemies" next year. The Saudi oil industry depends on hundreds of thousands of "guest workers" from every corner of the Middle East, including large numbers of Palestinians and other politically

volatile groups. The different nationalities are kept segregated from one another in separate encampments, and the spectre of outrage and revolt constantly haunts the monarchy. Israel, America's best bet when it comes to stability in the Middle East, is a small colonial settler state surrounded by millions whom it has trampled and dispossessed; its economy is near collapse, and it is steadily losing population as Israelis in growing numbers flee the threat of war and a rate of inflation that's soaring over 100%. Each new imperialist maneuver conducted under the signboard of "seeking a solution to the Palestinian question"—not excepting the recent call by ex-Presidents Carter and Ford to "negotiate with the PLO"—exposes nothing so much as the U.S. fear of the problem of which there can be no solution, the problem of revolution. Imperialist preparations for war are not "shoving revolution out of the picture" but hastening the conditions for its development; in the Middle East—and not only there—recent history has already provided incontrovertible proof of this. The fragile, dottering senility of the regimes the U.S. must rely on and prop up, and the inability of the U.S. to appreciably strengthen them against the storms of upheaval, is a telling tip-off to the moribund weakness of U.S. imperialism itself, and of the decay of the whole imperialist system.

Northern Ireland, the editorial indicates just what the British imperialists would like to see come out of this deal. "Everybody knows that he would like to return from Northern Ireland with a trophy to his credit: his own Rhodesia." For anyone familiar with the results of the British and U.S.-engineered "Zimbabwe (then called Rhodesia by the imperialists) Settlement," the trophy being referred to, and brazenly coveted here, is the complete sell-out of the struggle in Northern Ireland by bourgeois forces north and south. That is what stabilization actually means and that is what the essence of this so-called "reunification" boils down to. These are their dreams and schemes, but the real obstacle to their realization is not to be found in the Dublin houses of Parliament but in the streets. □

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Continued from page 5

dependent countries capitalist development has gone so far that it is not correct to characterize them as semi-feudal, it is better to call them predominantly capitalist even while important elements or remnants of feudal or semi-feudal production relations and their reflection in the superstructure may still exist.

"In such countries a concrete analysis must be made of these conditions and appropriate conclusions concerning the path, tasks, character and alignment of class forces must be drawn. In all events, foreign imperialism remains a target of the revolution." (Joint Communique)

We'd like to point out two things here:

—The formulation "semi-feudal relations of production" poses a problem. Feudal relations of production exist in the majority of social structures dominated by imperialism. Therefore these have long been considered semi-feudal, semi-colonial social structures. Today, with the introduction of capitalist relations of production into these social structures, they are correctly called predominantly capitalist countries, but where elements or remnants of feudal production relations and not "semi-feudal" ones can be found. A production relation is a relation involving a ruling class and a dominated class—here, the class of landowners and the peasant class which it exploits. The class of landowners cannot be called a "semi-feudal" class: it is entirely feudal. Therefore there are "elements or remnants" of feudal relations of production, in a structure dominated by capitalist relations of production.

We think that foreign imperialism is not only "one" target of the revolution, but indeed, one of its main targets. Thus this formulation must be re-examined.

According to the TKPM-L, there are certain countries "of the second type" which are semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries". In their view:

"Even if comprador capitalism has developed in these countries to a greater or lesser extent, their production relations are still predominantly feudal and semi-feudal. The two main tasks of the new-democratic revolution in these countries are the attainment of national independence and the abolition of feudalism by means of the agrarian revolution, and the principal strategic slogan for these countries must generally be 'democratic dictatorship of the people.' In this context, the path of revolution in these countries will generally be protracted people's war." (RW, Sept. 4, 1981, p. 3)

We think that here, the comrades of the TKPM-L underestimate the leading role of the proletariat and its party in the revolutionary process. Indeed, the proletariat develops from day to day in these countries, under the influence of imperialism, which introduces capitalist relations of production into it. In these countries, feudalism is in decline, and capitalism is on the rise. The feudal class itself is forced, in order not to die out, to transform itself into an agrarian bourgeoisie, bringing about the expansion of the agricultural proletariat. This shows the necessity of the proletariat and its party to exercise leadership over the revolutionary process, in order to carry through the new democratic revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the support, of course, of the oppressed section of the peasantry, which makes up the majority of the population.

With regard to the struggle against economism: The struggle against economism is very important, because economism holds back the development of the political consciousness of the masses. A party in which economism reigns, trails behind the masses instead of playing its leading role. But neither can one fall into the opposite extreme, that is, not paying enough attention to the struggle of the masses, which would mean abandoning in fact the leadership of these struggles. These struggles, as minimal as they are, represent a step forward for the political consciousness

of the masses, if they are well led.

Let's go back to the text of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist. This text says: "It is possible to establish certain distinctions among the imperialist countries themselves, and these should not be regarded merely as different stages of the revolution. The 'Joint Communique' does not deal with the situation in imperialist countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other countries under the influence of Russian social-imperialism. In our view the strategy and tactics of the road of the October Revolution are also valid for these countries. But above and beyond that, the political, financial and military influence of the Russian social-imperialists has a particular significance. In revisionist-capitalist countries of this type the proletarian revolution, in attacking the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, must at the same time set its sights on Russian social-imperialism because the two are bound together by a thousand threads. And this aspect will influence the tactics to be followed on a number of questions of the class struggle, such as alliances, military strategy, etc., etc. In our opinion it is necessary—especially in view of the growing revolutionary situation in Poland—for the world's Marxist-Leninists to take up this issue and subject it to close scrutiny."

Like the comrades of the TKPM-L, we think that the Joint Communique doesn't deal with the case of countries under the influence of Russian social-imperialism. Yet, differing with these comrades, we don't think that the countries of Eastern Europe are imperialist. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that:

—these countries are occupied militarily by Soviet troops

—the economy of these countries is tightly bound to the Soviet economy through the "international socialist division of labor"

These countries, in our opinion, are not imperialist countries but *bureaucratic capitalist countries dominated by Soviet social-imperialism*.

Let's make note of the fact that the countries of Eastern Europe differ from other capitalist countries only in the different means with which they exploit the workers. Accordingly, the revolution in these countries must be made under the leadership of a vanguard workers' party. One of the characteristics of the revolutionary situation in Poland is that the struggle of the workers has not been guided by a Marxist-Leninist party leading the workers. And only this party can develop a correct strategy and tactics to carry through the revolution successfully.

On the subject of the mass line, we must say that we think that, although the mass line is found in Lenin's works, Mao Tsetung systematized the formulation of it, by giving it a precise definition for the first time. Thus we think that a reference to Mao was necessary there.

We agree with the view that "proletarian internationalism is something inseparable from Marxism-Leninism and a constant need of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard in all countries." (p.9, Joint Communique) Still, we think that the statement is too general and that concrete reference points are needed. Indeed, the revisionist camp does not hesitate to justify military interventions in certain Eastern European countries by presenting this as a demonstration of proletarian internationalism. For example, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. On the economic front, the so-called "international socialist division of labor," which binds the economy of the dependent countries of Eastern Europe to that of the Soviet Union, is presented as an achievement in "proletarian internationalism."

We agree completely with the Joint Communique where it states: "We are still living in the era of Leninism, of imperialism and the proletarian revolution; at the same time we affirm that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism. Without upholding and building on Mao's contributions it is not possible to defeat revisionism, imperialism and reaction in general." (p. 10)

We think that the present epoch is still that of Leninism, of imperialism

and proletarian revolution. However, new phenomena have appeared in the world, such as modern revisionism, social-imperialism, protracted people's war, etc. These new phenomena required developing the Marxist-Leninist science further. This is what Mao Tsetung did, and it's why we say that Mao Tsetung Thought is a new stage of Marxism-Leninism, adapted to new phenomena, the Marxism-Leninism of our epoch. Mao did not replace the theses of Marx and Lenin with another theory, he developed them to correspond to new developments in the modern world. This is what in his time Lenin did for Marxism (the theses of Marx and Engels). This task also faces Marxist-Leninists of all countries in the present epoch: to defend and develop the theses of the great Marxist-Leninist thinkers in light of new phenomena which arise as the class struggle develops in every country and on a world scale. By proceeding this way we can also overcome the harmful influence of imperialism and modern revisionism which, through counter-revolutionary theories like "peaceful revolution," the "three worlds theory" or the workerist theses of Trotskyists and of the Albanian Party of Labor, that attack the foundations of Mao Tsetung Thought, aim to sabotage the revolution and perpetuate the rule of the bourgeoisie, whether it be the classical (the U.S. imperialist) or "new" (the Soviet social-imperialist) bourgeoisie.

The negative influence of social democracy must also be exposed and fought. This is no small matter, because social democracy, through its political inconsistency, stemming from its bourgeois class position, habitually turns down the bed for fascism (e.g., Chile).

Like the comrades of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist, we think that certain phenomena such as the "self-dissolution of the Comintern, the conciliatory tendencies during and after World War 2, the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and in a list of other socialist countries, and the degeneration of the majority of parties of the Third International must be analyzed."

(p. 13) "In the face of the demoralization caused by these facts among broad sectors of the masses, and given

that the bourgeois sectors are taking advantage of these facts, claiming that they prove the 'failure' of Marxism, it falls on us communists to show that it is not scientific socialism which has failed, and that, on the contrary, scientific socialism makes it possible for us to grasp what objective and subjective factors gave rise to these events." (Joint Communique)

Here, it seems to us that the TKPM-L and the Joint Communique are showing the same concern and recommending the same thing for pursuing investigation, analysis and struggle for the unity of Marxist-Leninists.

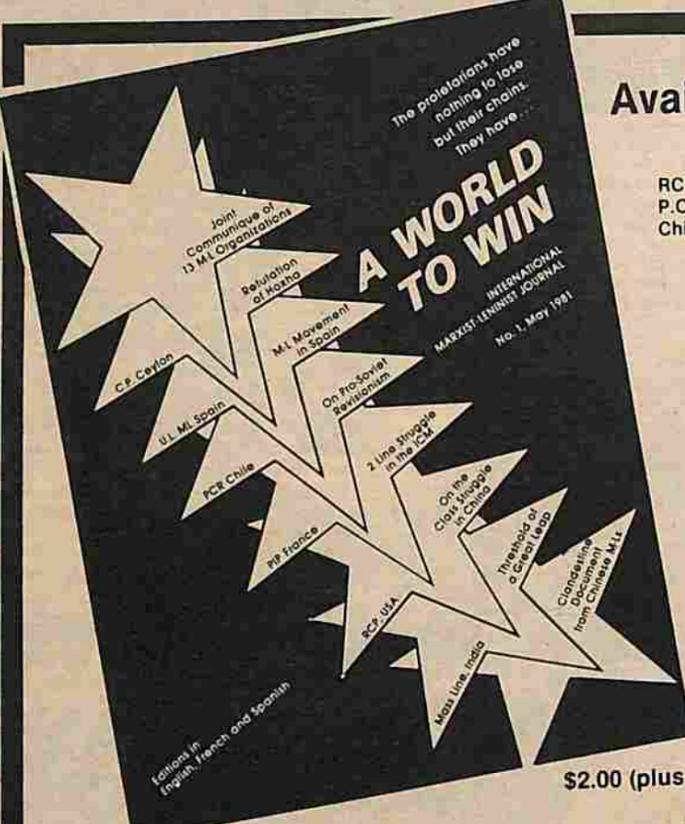
In conclusion, we Marxist-Leninist militants of the international communist movement must state the following:

—This text is an important contribution to the process of unifying the international communist movement.

—Writing this article has demonstrated to us that in the course of studying the Joint Communique a number of points came up which we did not agree with while at first glance it had struck us that we agreed with the whole text. We think that this is healthy. And we also think that the same is true for other Marxist-Leninists who are discussing or will be discussing the Joint Communique and even for the organizations and parties which already signed it. We think that these organizations and parties and all Marxist-Leninists must encourage this discussion and participate in it actively, in order to strengthen this Joint Communique which represents an important step toward the unity of Marxist-Leninists on a principled basis. This Communique draws a clear dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, despite some limitations which we have brought out in this text.

Long Live the Unity of Marxist-Leninists Throughout the World!
Develop the Debate around the Fundamental Problems of Marxism!
Fight Against the Different Forms of Modern Revisionism!
Take History Into Our Hands!

Signed: A group of Haitian Marxist-Leninists
(Translated from French by the RW)



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United States vs. Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

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