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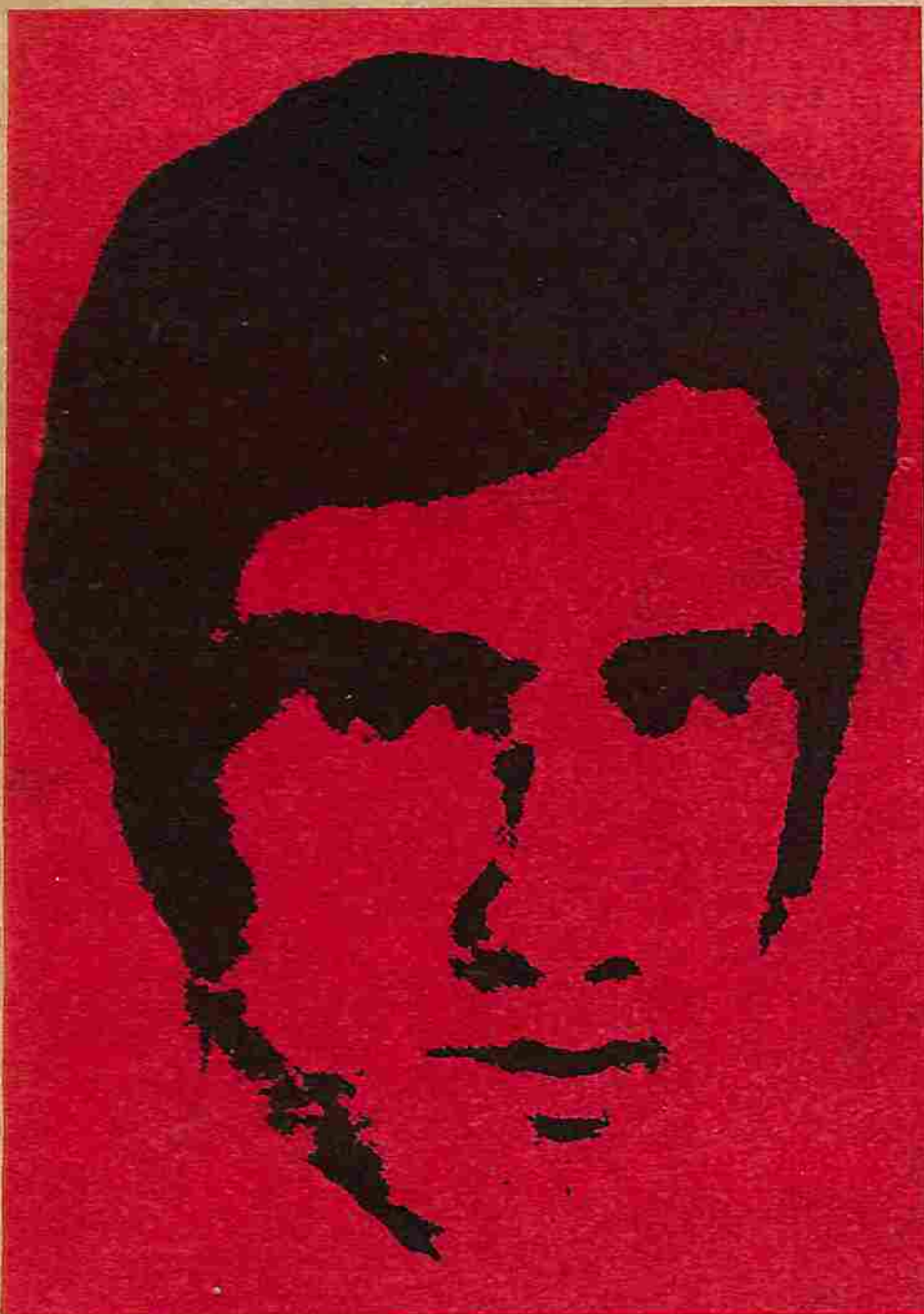
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Comrade Süleyman Cihan, Revolutionary Communist Leader, Murdered in Turkey

News has reached us that Süleyman Cihan, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKPML), was murdered in prison on October 20.

Comrade Cihan had been hunted by the authorities in Turkey since 1974. Calling him "the leader of the TKPML," the military junta had issued its martial law commandos orders to shoot him on sight. Large-scale search operations were carried out in Istanbul and

the surrounding areas to net him. The U.S.-backed junta even went so far as to torture his wife and his nine-year-old daughter in an effort to find his whereabouts. As a result of this his daughter was left mentally disturbed and his wife's health severely damaged. Finally, this comrade, who was of the Kurdish minority nationality, was captured by plainclothes police in Istanbul on August 1.

From the time of Süleyman Cihan's arrest until after his death the military

refused to give out any word of his location and condition. Even now they refuse to explain the circumstances of death or to turn over his body to his family.

Comrade Cihan was tortured for more than two months without breaking. According to one report that has reached us, Süleyman Cihan's father was informed through other tortured prisoners who were brought in to identify Süleyman that he refused to even identify himself to the junta and its hench-

men. Other political prisoners in several different prisons were also tortured in an effort to force them to identify Cihan and provide "evidence" against him to legitimize his execution.

Immediately after Süleyman Cihan's arrest, an international campaign was launched to demand that the junta reveal where they were keeping Comrade Cihan and to prevent his execution. On August 15, 80 supporters of the revolutionary newspaper *Partizan*

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U.S. Zig-Zags and the Saudi "Peace Plan"

When Saudi Arabia unveiled its eight-point "Middle East Peace Plan" last August, the Reagan administration reacted with what appeared to be cool disinterest. But in the last few weeks, in the wake of Senate approval of the administration's plan to sell AWACS to the Saudis, Reagan suddenly hailed the initiative as a "beginning point for negotiations" and said that it marked the first time the Saudis "had recognized Israel as a nation." The Saudi initiative, which had been almost completely ignored by the media during the AWACS debate, suddenly became headline news.

But what may appear on the surface to be a new "startling turnaround" in U.S. imperialism's diplomatic maneuvering in the Middle East is in fact only the latest zig-zag in a pattern of broken-field running made necessary by the U.S.'s not-so-long-run interests in the

region and the world. It can only be understood when placed in the context of objective developments towards world war between the blocs headed by U.S. and Soviet imperialism.

The Saudi initiative itself is no breakthrough of originality. Its architect, Saudi Crown Prince Fahd, himself claims to have patched it together from various United Nations resolutions on Middle Eastern affairs. Its key substantive points include Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories; dismantling of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the establishment of a transitional United Nations trusteeship in these areas; and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital.

The real operative clause of the Saudi plan is a seemingly innocuous point asserting "the right of all the states of the

region to live in peace." This is intended as an implicit recognition of the state of Israel.

We will not undertake here to dissect the implications of the Saudi initiative in detail. But it should be pointed out that a close connection exists between the seemingly unexceptionable call for an "independent Palestinian state" and a call, however veiled, to repair the breach between Israel and the bourgeois Arab regimes. For the essence of the Saudi plan, which has received broad backing or at least favorable comment from a wide variety of reactionary interests in the Middle East, is to create a "Palestinian state" that will in reality serve as a detention center surrounded on all sides by "armed guards."

King Hussein of Jordan, who recently was in Washington extolling the virtues of the Saudi plan, has long been a candidate for such a role in a "solution

of the Palestinian question." Hussein, a great self-proclaimed "friend of the Palestinians," is remembered best for leading a 1970 Jordanian Army massacre of the Palestinian refugee camps in his country; more than 20,000 Palestinians were killed and the PLO driven from Jordan into Lebanon.

In the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon, it was Syrian troops who collaborated directly with Israeli and Phalangist forces in a slaughter of PLO and Moslem insurgents.

As these examples indicate, the policy of the Arab regimes toward the "Palestinian question" is dictated by a deep fear of the revolutionary nature and potential of that struggle. A big element of the conflict between these regimes and Israel is that Israel's expansionism has greatly intensified this contradiction and heightened the possibility of upheaval throughout the Middle East. The

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Revolutionary Outpouring at Funeral for Haitians

The 33 bodies of Haitian refugees which washed ashore on a Florida beach three weeks ago were a vivid caricature of imperialism. The posture struck by the U.S. government in the days that followed illustrated on the one hand, unspeakable cynical depravity, and on the other, a certain desperation that what is known by many about the U.S. hell in Haiti, and about the reproduction of this relationship in America proper, would not be learned by more. It is by way of this that shortly after the refugees drowned, the government issued an order for the extradition of the dead bodies back to Haiti, ostensibly out of concern for the next of kin, but actually because the U.S. sought to bury the whole issue and the bodies, too. One Haitian in Miami told the *RW*: "When they're alive, they are sent to Krome (detention center). Dead, they still arrest the bodies."

Broward County Medical Examiner, Dr. Robert Wright, who is annoyed because the bodies washed up in his county creating "one of the biggest messes I've ever been involved in," has an ax of his own to grind with his superiors. In a rift with the State Department, Wright said that even though he had dealt with groups of thirty or more Haitian bodies in the last two years, "nobody has ever been interested. We haven't seen any enthusiasm on the part of the State Department before." This time, the State Department was "enthusiastic." The bodies were ultimately moved to the "safety" of a nearby military base on Defense Department land, and plans

were made to move them from there to Haiti.

But already, the streets of Miami's Little Haiti had been seized by hundreds, perhaps thousands, of outraged immigrants and others for three straight nights following the deaths. Hundreds had also gathered at the Haitian Refugee Center for a mass meeting. The people demanded that the bodies be released and buried in Miami. Nothing was going to hide this crime. The cops had come each night, but, keenly aware of the anger boiling, had not moved directly into Little Haiti. Instead, they decided only to barricade off the neighborhood—which borders on the southeast corner of Liberty City—to incoming traffic. In what Miami's police chief claimed to be a totally unrelated incident, the cops ran a concurrent sweep of "criminal elements" in Liberty City.

The Haitian people were "very hot, ready to fight" as one of them described the sentiment, and the spontaneous and explosive street demonstrations aimed their fire at U.S. imperialism and the regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier. The streets were filled with creole battle songs! "Others who died, we'll fight for them." Passionate political debates raged in the crowds.

Adding fuel to the fire was other news which swept through Miami. Several imprisoned Haitians who had been on the same boat as the 33 who drowned but had escaped the same fate, told of two U.S. ships that had seen their boat in distress, but had sailed on by. And, it became known that on the

same day as the drownings, a boat of refugees leaving Haiti was picked up by a U.S. Coast Guard ship patrolling the Haitian coast. No word of this boat has been heard since. Not one of the possibly dozens of refugees on this boat has been located by family members in Haiti who are searching for them. At least 20 Haitians are known to have been arrested in Haiti by the Ton Ton Macoutes for protesting this incident.

The U.S. government was eventually forced to partially concede to the demand for a funeral in Miami. Ten of the bodies were released and three imprisoned relatives were allowed to attend the funeral. On Friday night, October 30, a memorial was held at the Caleb Community Center in the heart of Liberty City. Over 1,000 people—mostly from Liberty City—met in militant solidarity with the Haitian refugees. Dick Gregory flew to Miami to speak at this as well as the funeral the next morning. There were

also reports of at least 2,000 people gathering in Haiti itself for the funeral of the other 23 refugees whose bodies were sent back. It was said that many came from the most remote parts of the country to attend.

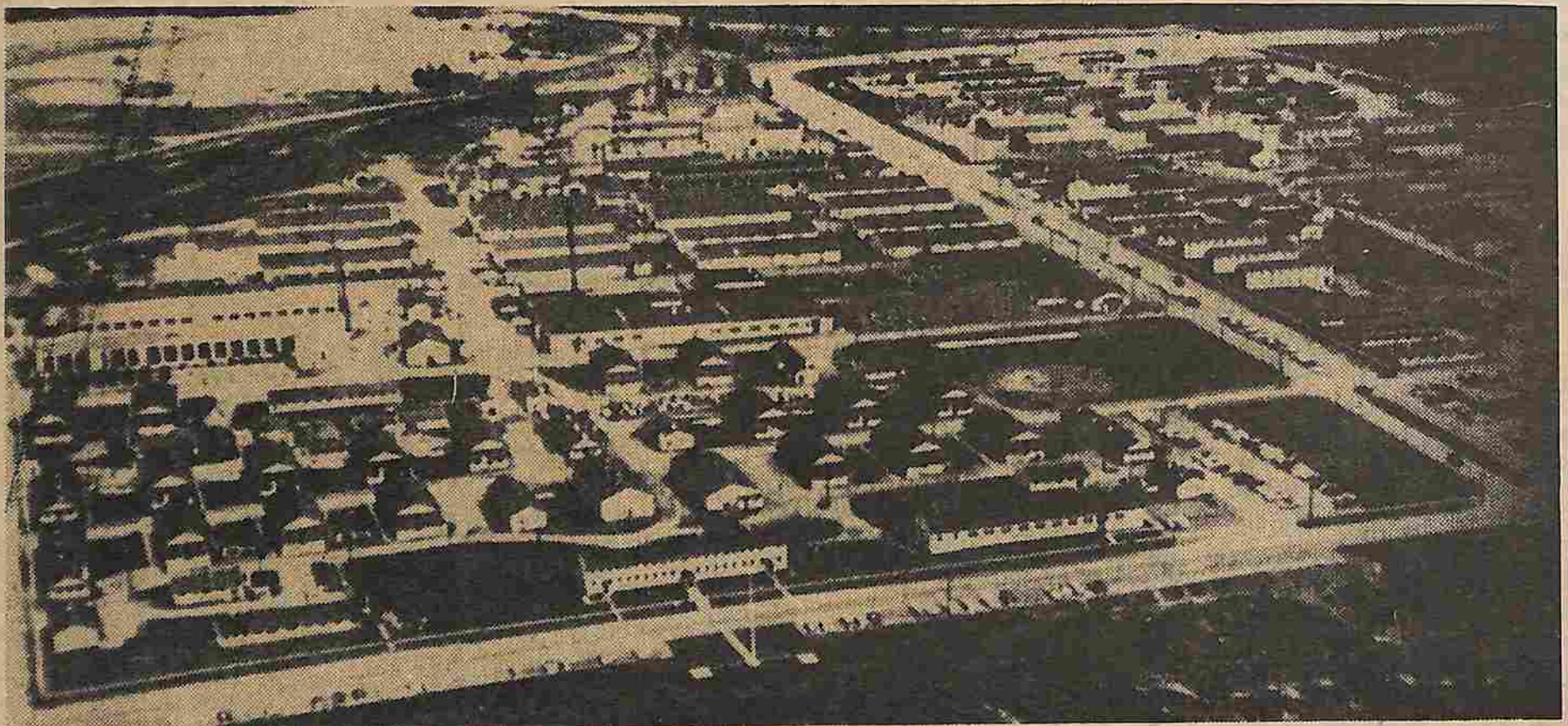
In Miami, as hundreds of refugees made their way to the funeral in deep mourning for the victims of the hated Duvalier regime, the hated U.S. media hacks swarmed over some mourners, snapping pictures in utter contempt of Haitian custom. These reporters failed to notice how close they came to inciting the wrath of the crowd. With bitter irony an unknown individual played a well-known anthem on the chimes in the church tower: "my country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing..."

At the gravesite, a Haitian spoke to the *RW* of his resolve: "Too many have died. Haitian people need liberation... We need revolution in Haiti!" □

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Above, an aerial photo of WW2 barracks in the U.S. Army's Fort Drum, near Watertown, N.Y., where the government has decided to imprison Haitian and Cuban refugees. Described as "the closest thing the U.S. has to Siberia"—one of the coldest places in the continental U.S.—its 30° temperatures are matched by annual snowfalls over 12 ft. It took nearly six months to settle on this location, which the Departments of Justice, Defense and Health and Human Services agreed "met the key criteria, including capacity, availability and minimal impact on defense operations." An air force base in frigid, isolated Montana was the original site selected before this one was decided on. No doubt if the refugees

had been Eskimos they'd have been locked up somewhere in the tropics. Fort Drum is 30 miles from the Canadian border. Perhaps the U.S. hopes that in these circumstances the refugees will make a break for Canada and its French-speaking areas. The revolutionary proletariat in the U.S. would welcome into its midst these contingents who have seen imperialism in a broad way and from the bottom and have demonstrated their willingness to rebel against it. But if it should happen that they bring this experience and its rich revolutionary potential with them to Canada instead, speaking from the point of view of proletarian internationalism that would also be excellent.

Statement from the Central Committee of the RCP, USA on the Death of Comrade Süleyman Cihan

The news that Comrade Süleyman Cihan has been murdered by the military junta in Turkey fills us with sorrow and anger—all the more so since this junta rules at the behest of the U.S. ruling class.

Over the years of its revolutionary work the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist has given many martyrs to the revolutionary cause, including its founder and first chairman, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. Today the situation in Turkey has become a very sharp expression of the worldwide crisis of imperialism, which has driven the U.S. and its bloc to evermore frenzied attempts to tighten their grip on Turkey, against revolution and in preparation for the inter-imperialist world war which is the only way out for them. These increasingly favorable conditions for revolution make the death of this leading comrade all the more grievous for all the international revolutionary proletariat. But this is also what gives so much significance to Comrade Cihan's revolutionary stand in the face of death and over two months of torture which failed to break him. With this unyielding courage based on a Marxist-Leninist line and a firm understanding of the international proletariat's historic mission, the revolutionary forces can overcome their losses and make very great advances in the rising storms which are already breaking in Turkey and other places.

In the face of Comrade Cihan's murder and proletarian example, our grief is very deep and the strength forged from it all the stronger.

Central Committee
RCP, USA

Comrade Süleyman Cihan, Revolutionary Communist Leader, Murdered in Turkey

Continued from page 1

occupied the Turkish consulate in Cologne, West Germany, an action which helped break through the press blackout abroad and the junta's press censorship inside Turkey itself. This takeover was also in support of a hunger strike of over 500 revolutionary political prisoners in Turkey, led by sympathizers of the TKPML, which had begun in July and lasted about seven weeks, delivering a very powerful political blow to the junta and its imperialist backers. The hunger strike also inspired the largest street demonstration since the coup which brought the junta to power last year, as 1000 people demonstrated outside Mamak military prison in Ankara.

This developing struggle, led by the TKPML and sympathizers, made the junta more desperate than ever to crush the party and to murder its leaders once they were in their clutches. In recent months the junta has reportedly been concentrating its efforts in trying to smash the TKPML, which they have admitted is still able to circulate its underground press inside the country. Raids have stepped up; the junta has recently arrested 26 alleged members of the TKPML. Today there are over 1000 members and sympathizers of the TKPML in the military prisons, where they, along with about 100,000 other imprisoned revolutionaries and progressives, are awaiting trial or sentencing on charges such as engaging in "subversion" or "terrorism." Another

indication of the seriousness with which the junta is taking the revolutionary forces inside Turkey is the news that it has been conducting a large-scale counter-insurgency operation in Kurdish-speaking eastern Turkey since September 5, occupying villages and attempting to uproot the popular support for revolutionary groups in the areas where guerrilla warfare has been developing.

All of this flies in the face of the junta's repeated claims that they have eradicated "left-wing terrorism" since their coup last September. In fact this is but one element in the web of lies spun by the Western media about the junta, which goes something like this: General Evren and the other U.S.-trained generals on Turkey's "National Security Council" are a benevolent "middle force" which decided it was their patriotic duty to stop the fighting between the Left and Right and to restore law and order in Turkey, gaining the overwhelming support of the people in Turkey in the process.

The coup in Turkey which brought in the military junta a year ago last September had "made in America" written all over it. In fact, the coup was announced by the State Dept. in Washington, D.C. before it was even completed in Turkey. Clearly the U.S. wasn't surprised because the commander of Turkey's Air Force, Gen. Tahsin Sahinkaya, who became a leading member of the junta, had returned from consulta-

Declaration from the Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan

Süleyman Cihan has been murdered in the torture chambers of the fascist junta

To the Progressive Democratic Public, To All Who Are Against Torture!

In our previous statement we have reported that Süleyman Cihan was arrested on the 1st of August. The fascist junta dragged him into the torture chambers with the purpose of murdering him.

We have called on all democratic organizations and on the general public to take a stand against this base intention of murder. The courageous son of the people of Turkey, Süleyman Cihan, who endured an unbelievable amount of torture since the 1st of August, was viciously murdered on the 20th of October.

Both the family and the children of this courageous revolutionary who was wanted by the fascist junta as "the head of the TKPML" were arrested numerous times and then brutally tortured. There has been no explanation of this arrest since the time Süleyman Cihan was swooped up on the 1st of August in Istanbul as he went out into the streets. His family also did not hear one bit of information concerning his whereabouts since then. To this day, there has been no explanation given despite the fact that letters from Amnesty International, various unions, democratic organizations and hundreds of democrats have been sent to the junta demanding a statement about the whereabouts of Süleyman Cihan.

These sadistic executioners suffered a bitter defeat because of the stand of this courageous revolutionary. They ultimately were forced to murder him because Süleyman Cihan refused to break under the merciless and brutal torture methods of the blood-soaked fascists. The fascist torture specialists had to face up to the fact once again that their most modern torture instruments and their base methods that they use against the revolution cannot stand up to an unbreakable faith and loyalty to the masses.

Even though the blood-soaked generals of the fascist junta have often blabbered statements like "There is no torture," over 50 revolutionaries and democrats have been murdered, and hundreds more crippled, in the torture chambers over the past year. The execution of Süleyman Cihan has proven once again that the words of the fascist generals are nothing but demogogy, while in reality they do not shy away from any form of viciousness and brutality.

The fascist junta, which has refused to even make any statement about the murder of Süleyman Cihan, does not want to even turn his body over to his family. It is possible that he will be buried in a military cemetery.

In August we formed the "Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan" and we initiated a number of actions in solidarity with this courageous revolutionary. Our hate for the fascist junta and their torture has increased a thousand times through his execution. We are determined to turn this rage into solidarity actions for all political prisoners.

Süleyman Cihan is Immortal!
Unite to Fight Against Torture and Execution!
Down With the Fascist Junta!

Protest against the murder of Süleyman Cihan! Send protest telegrams and letters to:

Milli Güvenlik Konseye
Genel Sekreterligine
Ankara, Turkey

Send also solidarity messages for Süleyman Cihan, who was murdered by torture, and for all imprisoned freedom fighters, to:

Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan
c/o I. Demirtas
Postfach 120124
6100 Darmstadt
West Germany

Solidarity Committee to Save the Life of Süleyman Cihan
October 25, 1981

(translated from German by the RW)

tions with top-level U.S. military officials just before the tanks rolled out. The U.S.-bloc imperialists had already pumped billions of dollars and marks into Turkey in the 1970s, and with Turkey's 25 U.S. military bases and intelligence-gathering posts near the Soviet border looming more important than ever in the strategic calculations of U.S. and NATO war planners, a few squabbles within Turkey's ruling class could hardly be allowed to stand in the way of the really important job of "securing" the country against its own people.

The truth about the junta's "even-handedness" and "above the Right and the Left" was well illustrated when, just a few days after the murder of Comrade Cihan, former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, a social democrat who governed in the 1970s and who

may yet again prove useful to the imperialists in the future, denounced the junta angrily and in public (for leaving him temporarily unemployed by banning all political parties). As a punishment he was given a stern warning and threatened with a few months of detention. The action against Ecevit prompted a few squeaks in the Western press about the junta "dragging its feet" a little on its promise to "restore democracy," but no wider criticism.

Of the murder of Süleyman Cihan, who had been hunted down since 1974 by both the junta and the "democracy" it replaced last year, the U.S. press had not a word to say.

But the masses in Turkey and the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world will have plenty to say about it. In fact, these dogs will never hear the end of it. □

Mao Defendants' Hearing Postponed

On November 5th, Washington D.C. Superior Court Judge Ughast announced that the upcoming November 16 hearing in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants had been postponed until January 20. The hearing had been scheduled to formally decide whether or not a crucial pre-trial hearing on a motion to dismiss the indictments would be held. This postponement follows an October 2 prosecution motion that those pre-trial dismissal hearings not be held at all.

Meanwhile, on October 26th the prosecution filed a "demand for written proffer of alibi defense," a document demanding that the defendants inform the prosecution about whether or not they are planning to use an alibi as part of their defense. According to this new document the "scene of the crime" is now defined as everywhere from the church where the January 29, 1979 rally

against Deng Xiaoping was held prior to the demonstration and the entire march route as well as the scene of the actual police attack on the demonstration itself. In essence the very introduction of this demand is a bald attempt by the prosecution to buttress their joint enterprise theory of prosecution focused on RCP Chairman Bob Avakian.

At the same time the ruling class is continuing to hold back on delivering any of the material documenting the government's electronic surveillance of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Mao Defendants and Bob Avakian. Originally ordered to turn over this material on December 5, 1979 and again ordered on October 2, 1981 to come up with it, the prosecution then

assured the defendants that it would be available to them within 2 weeks. The prosecution has now informed the court that this material "should be available in November." To date, the defendants have received absolutely nothing. The hesitation of the ruling class in releasing this material is quite understandable since it involves a major risk for them and will significantly strengthen the defendants' ability to carry out the battle as well as contribute to Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France.

Already tens of thousands of copies of a brochure on the case written by the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have been distributed nationwide and requests for the brochure

have come in from places where there are currently no functioning committees, including abroad. The Committee has also begun to produce a trial bulletin which will keep thousands of people regularly informed about developments in the battle. Affidavits are being contributed by a number of politically active and prominent attorneys (including the president of the California Attorneys for Criminal Justice) who, based on their experience from previous political trials, have challenged the unprecedented attempt by the ruling class to block the pretrial hearings and have cited the critical importance of these hearings in political trials. In Washington, D.C., as well as in a number of other cities, supporters of the case have taken up the struggle to break through the press blackouts. □

Courts Hold Mao Defendant's Daughter Hostage

The calculated sadism and political content of the courts' "concern" for the 10-year-old daughter of Mao Tsetung Defendant Tina Fishman has become increasingly blatant in recent developments, as the question of the girl's custody has openly been used to threaten and interrogate her mother.

On August 29, a California court removed the daughter from Tina's custody on the basis of her "being preoccupied with interests other than parenting"—in other words, in retribution for her association with the RCP, which was declared to constitute "neglect" of her daughter, when obviously she should have confined herself to the motherhood, housework and hymns appropriate for a woman. (See *RW* No. 120.) Tina's political activity was declared to constitute an "emergency" which required that the child be removed from her hands.

Following this Tina was given supervised visitation rights. Dangling this "privilege" before and after her first such visit Tina was literally interrogated by a San Mateo County probation officer, whose main concern was the RCP: "You are the second in command of the RCP, aren't you? And if you are

not, who is?" Flaunting a certain familiarity with the government's attempts to railroad the RCP Chairman and the Mao Defendants, he insinuated that Tina was planning to take her daughter and join Bob Avakian in France. There was also an open threat to take away her visitation rights as the probation officer hammered away at the accusation that Tina wanted to see her daughter in order to take her and "go underground." Just in case the "concerned" probation officer's sincerity in seeking information be mistaken for spontaneous sadism, he then attempted to set up another interrogation session with the people Tina had been staying with in California.

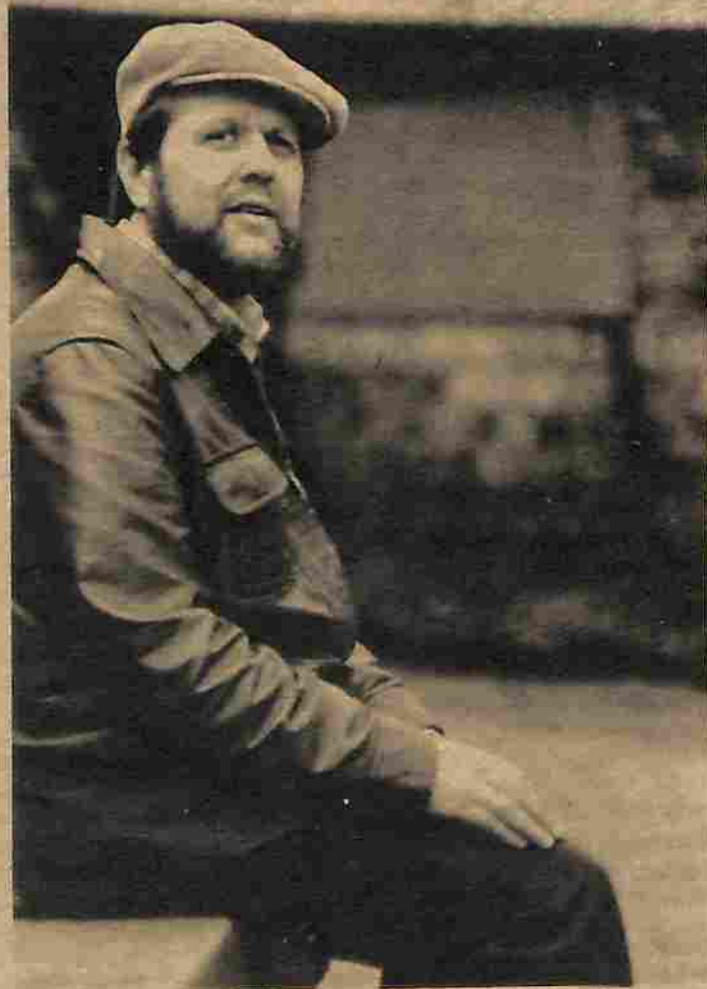
On November 4, after this revealing display, Judge James L. Browning (the former prosecuting attorney in the Patty Hearst/SLA case) convened another court session in the case. The purpose of this hearing was to allow Tina to enter her testimony into the court record, since she had been physically unable to attend the original hearing. During this, both the determination of the ruling class to pursue this attack and the heat it is facing in doing so stood out sharply. Prior to convening the

hearing, Browning announced that Tina could say what she wanted but it really wouldn't make a bit of difference since he was definitely not going to change his mind and would without a doubt uphold his previous decision. In addition to being an interesting comment on bourgeois justice (a not too subtle hint that was immediately picked up by Tina's ex-husband and his lawyer who refused to say a word to refute her testimony), this statement is a clear reflection of the fact that there are definitely bigger forces with bigger interests at work here. On the other hand, the contradictions the ruling class is running into in pursuing this attack were also sharply revealed. At the hearing's end, sitting behind a pile of telegrams denouncing the August court decision, Judge Browning disqualified himself from any further action in the case, stating "maybe I'm too close to the case."

The case itself has received relatively widespread press coverage throughout the country. In each of these articles Tina's ex-husband is quoted extensively attacking the RCP and Tina's political activities. This attempt to create some public opinion against the RCP, the

Mao Defendants and Bob Avakian (particularly given the almost three-year press blackout concerning the Mao Defendants' case) is linked to a wholesale attack on the very idea of women becoming revolutionaries, including headlines like "You Want A Revolution? Do It Yourself," and quotes about the "detrimental" effects of political activity on the "norms" of womanhood, that is, a life within the walls of the kitchen and bedroom.

At this point Tina's daughter is still in the custody of her ex-husband pending both an appeal of the August court decision and a permanent custody hearing. The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants is urging people to continue to send funds to cover the legal expense of the battle and to send statements denouncing this political kidnapping to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, 1801 Columbia Road Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20009. □



Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will.

In past weeks, we have run short excerpts from a recent major talk by Bob Avakian in which he explores both historical perspectives on the experience of the world proletarian revolution and also the approaching conjuncture and the tasks it poses. The complete text of this important document is now in the final stages of preparation for publishing as a special issue of **Revolution** magazine.

Costs of production of this issue of **Revolution** will be \$5000 total for English and Spanish editions. Special donations may now be given to assist us in seizing the opportunity very soon to have this important theoretical work printed and distributed in the U.S. and internationally. Watch the **RW** for the publication date.

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Correspondence on Brecht

In RW 91 (February 6, 1981) we called on revolutionary-minded artists and others to debate within the pages of the paper the role of the playwright Bertolt Brecht—to contribute to an evaluation of his works and theories. Brecht wrote during the critical years surrounding the last world war, associating himself with communism and struggling to apply Marxism to the creation of revolutionary art. Today, as we approach another such critical juncture, his works are being widely performed and his methods and theories are being hotly discussed. The questions involved are far from resolved, either broadly or among communists and revolutionaries. At the heart of the struggle around Brecht lie overall questions of revolution vs. revisionism, particularly as applied in the sphere of art and literature. Such an evaluation necessarily confronts, for instance, the matter of the Popular Front pursued by the international communist movement during the period he wrote, and the legacy of that line today as it applies to the struggle in the cultural arena.

We urge those of you who are involved in doing Brecht or grappling with questions of revolutionary art and politics to assist in this evaluation. For earlier contributions, please see RWs No. 99, 101, 104, 116 and 122. Following is the most recent contribution to this debate.

The following essay was written by Hawrey Sarkawt, a researcher on socialist literary theory from Iraqi Kurdistan, as part of a larger investigation into the development of socialist literary theory and cultural revolution, and contributed to the RW in the belief that it will be a helpful contribution to the debate.

A NOTE ON BRECHT

One way of discussing Brecht's dramatic theory and his aesthetics generally is to draw up a balance sheet of its contributions versus its fallacies, to set the positives against the negatives. This we can only do in passing, although a full-length treatment of Brecht might have to go into it in detail. A more revealing way of approaching Brecht, which is the method we are going to follow here, is to single out the key to his aesthetic outlook and to discuss the foundations on which it rests.

Take, for example, Brecht's restatement of the classic Marxist analysis of the position of the intellectual and the artist in capitalist society. He poses the old dilemma in terms of a need for renovating the very instruments of culture, and in a manner that is strikingly similar to the cultural revolutionary practices and principles discussed in the body of this work. Brecht's argument is that the subordination of the intellectual and the artist as individuals to the capitalist system manifests itself also as their subordination to the whole cultural apparatus. He explains: "Great apparatus like the opera, the stage, the press, etc., impose their views as it were incognito. For a long time now they have taken the handiwork (music, writing, criticism, etc.) of intellectuals... and processed it to make fodder for their public entertainment machine, judging it by their own standards and guiding it into their own channels".¹

The non-recognition of this central fact is at the root of the intellectual's characteristically false sense of freedom. "For by imagining that they have got hold of an apparatus which in fact has got hold of them they are supporting an apparatus which is out of their control, which is no longer (as they believe) a means of furthering output but has become an obstacle to output, and specifically to their own output as soon as it follows a new and original course which the apparatus finds awkward or opposed to its own aims".² The attempts of the *avant-garde* to produce creatively, Brecht continues, are bound to fail so long as they regard themselves as "free inventors" in complete control of their cultural medium. Only the recognition of their actual enslavement to the apparatus can be the first step in achieving their actual freedom. For such a recognition to be complete it will entail naturally the understanding of the false independence of the whole petty bourgeois class position (being in actuality either a drugged subordination to the capitalist ruling class or a conscious alliance with the proletariat).

For Brecht then the intellectual's dilemma is not the problem of so-called artistic freedom that has been the hallmark of both the old bourgeois aesthetics as well as the modern revisionist varieties. Here again he restates the classic Marxist verdict that this freedom is in fact a false illusion and that it is being eroded inevitably by the very development of capitalism itself. Therefore, he can conclude rightly that: "And yet to restrict the individual's freedom of invention is in itself a progressive act. The individual becomes increasingly drawn into enormous events that are going to change the world. No longer can he simply 'express himself'. He is brought up short and put into a position where he can fulfil more general tasks".³

Having proceeded from the correct Marxist standpoint, Brecht here touches upon the key theme of the process of the cultural revolution, namely that the socialist transformation of society entails not only changes in the relations of production, but also the revolutionization of the whole cultural superstructure. This lies behind his acute understanding not only of the need to transform what he called the apparatus but also of the inevitability of such transformations once they are liberated from the laws that govern capitalist production. Here his remarks on new cultural media, like the film or radio, are particularly pertinent. This, for example, is how he envisaged the transformation of the radio as a medium in a passage that deserves full quotation, being what can be regarded as a good example of the genuinely positive side of Brecht's formalism:

"As for the radio's object, I don't think that it can consist merely in prettifying public life. Nor is radio in my view an adequate means of bringing back cosiness to the home and making family life bearable again. But quite apart from the dubiousness of its functions, radio is one-sided when it should be two-. It is purely an apparatus for distribution, for mere sharing out. So here is a positive suggestion: change this apparatus over from distribution to communication. The radio would be the finest possible communication ap-

paratus in public life, a vast network of pipes. That is to say, it would be if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him."⁴

Although not directly about drama, this passage, I think, reveals something that is basic to Brecht's aesthetic and dramatic theory, namely, the insistence on the need to renovate the literary, the artistic and the cultural forms simultaneously with the change in the contents of these media that must follow or coincide with the general social transformation. The understanding of this point is essential for a sympathetic appreciation of the whole Brechtian endeavor.

At the same time, without going into Brecht's affinities with modernism in general and with Dada, Expressionism and certain aspects of Nietzscheanism in particular which lie outside the scope of this essay, it is, in fact, this very formalism—this insistence on the renovation of forms becoming one-sided to the detriment of the renovation in the content—that is the main repository of the negative side of Brecht. It appears, for example, in the excessive enthusiasm of that early essay on Shaw,⁵ and the specific nature of that enthusiasm which defends Shaw's wit and vitality regardless and at the expense of the correctness of his views or his actions. "It always and in all circumstances seems to me that the force of a statement is more important than its applicability, and a man of stature than the trend of his activities"⁶ is the significant concluding sentence of that essay. And when this formalism is supplemented by a modish anti-heroism,⁷ an abstract rationalism⁸ and an equally modish neo-classicism,⁹ the outlines of a total picture of Brecht's modernism begin to emerge. As we have said earlier, the details of this picture will not be discussed here. It is crucial, however, to recognize Brecht's specific relationship to modernism—his genuine attempts to go beyond bourgeois modernism as well as the permanent damage that modernism inflicted upon his work.

The rest of this essay will be concerned with the basic, philosophic foundation of Brecht's aesthetic theory. First of all, there is the false dichotomy between reason and emotion which Brecht set up and which led his epistemology into the bourgeois rationalist, and ultimately idealist camp. The test of truth is not reason or emotion—it is practice. Ideas are formed by way of the senses (and the emotions), but they remain incomplete until they are put to the test of practice. In fact, practice comes before theory, is always the basis of all theory, although theory in turn acts back on practice once it has been put to the test, and so on. On the other hand, in addition to the dependence on practice, theories and ideas or what Brecht calls reason, are also dependent on the senses (and the emotions) in that the latter are the first stage in the process of knowledge and, hence, in the process of the formation of ideas. Materialist philosophy regards matter as primary. Ideas do not originate from thin air, nor from a primal God, they can never take precedence. They are formed through the reflection of the material world in the human brain. The primitive, but essential, first stage of this reflection can only be through the senses (and their ac-

companying emotions). Only then can they pass to the brain which acts upon them and changes them into ideas.

Brecht's abstract rationalism—the kind of rationalism that does not accept the relationship between the senses and the emotions on the one hand and reason on the other, and does not understand the role of practice as the basis of all ideas and the test of all theory—is not materialist epistemology. It is an idealist epistemology, a false reason, that in reality covers up chaos and irrationality.

Even when this idealism is deepened by the use of dialectics—it is still idealist dialectics, a dialectics that has no materialist basis, and, therefore, a one-sided, false and inverted dialectics.

This can be seen in the same essay in connection with Brecht's seemingly dialectical concept of character:

"Even when a character behaves by contradictions that's only because nobody can be identically the same at two unidentical moments. Changes in his exterior continually lead to an inner reshuffling. The continuity of the ego is a myth. A man is an atom that perpetually breaks up and forms anew. We have to show things as they are."¹⁰

The philosophic fallacy here is that Brecht does not see that just as abstract, one-sided continuity—what he calls "the continuity of the ego"—is a myth, so is abstract, one-sided discontinuity. While it is true that "nobody can be identically the same at two unidentical moments", it is also true that nobody can be entirely different at any two such moments. The genuine contradiction which Brecht fails to see is the dialectical sequence of continuity followed by discontinuity or co-existing with it. As persons, we are never the same at different times, and yet we can never be completely different at any one time. We are never the same person, i.e. we change, and yet we are always the same person, i.e., we cannot be someone else (no room here for superman or for the transmigration of souls). The contradictions are inside us, and it is the evolution of the internal contradiction that draws the boundaries of continuity as well as discontinuity of our character.

Furthermore, all contradictions—even the contradictions inside the soul, so to speak, i.e. the contradictions in the ideas and the emotions that determine personality—have a material basis. They are determined by recognizable material conditions which in turn change in a dialectical and contradictory fashion, but never in a chaotic, totally discontinuous way. In fact, it is only the continuously comprehended nature of the material world, including man as part of material nature, that determines the laws of development of the subjective domain.

Brecht's ultimately idealist and anti-dialectical position is perhaps most glaringly revealed in his diagrammatic list of distinctions between what he called "dramatic theatre" as opposed to "epic theatre". It does not help matters that he adds in a footnote that his table "does not show absolute antitheses but mere shifts of accent". The most important, i.e. philosophical, items in his list are, in fact, neither absolute antitheses (Brecht seems to have realized that this would in fact be a metaphysical and idealist position) nor mere

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Zig-Zags

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Saudi plan, like many other similar initiatives, attempts to defuse the Palestinian struggle by granting apparent "independence and statehood," and then to neutralize the Palestinians as a threatening political force by walling them off and ringing their "state" with overwhelming and suffocating military might. Israeli collaboration would be indispensable to achieve either of these goals.

The Saudi proposal is similar in content to the so-called European initiative (also known as the Venice Declaration) which has been floating around for over a year now, and which represented an attempt by the EEC (Common Market) countries to inject themselves into the Middle East peace process in the hopes of breaking the deadlock on the Palestinian question and providing an alternative to the Camp David accords. The Saudi plan is, however, more explicit on certain points the Europeans had left vague. Where the Saudis call for an "independent Palestinian state," the Venice Declaration refers only to "self-determination for the Palestinians." Where the Saudi proposal envisions East Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital, the European initiative calls only for "special status for all Jerusalem." This means the Israelis would have to abandon their attempts to make Jerusalem their own capital city, but would also deny this privilege to any Palestinian entity.

There were several reasons for the launching of a European initiative. On the one hand, the interests of the West European NATO bloc countries in Middle Eastern affairs are in some ways even more directly compelling than those of the U.S.: Europe, for example, is far more dependent on Middle East oil than is the U.S. There has been widespread dissatisfaction in Europe with the U.S.-Egypt-Israel Camp David approach; the principal objections are that Camp David treats the Palestinian question as a tangential matter, and that other Arab states are frozen out of the negotiations. The West European imperialists fear, therefore, that Camp David may fail, at least if it is not supplemented by other avenues for gathering up the PLO and other parties.

On the other hand, the European initiative in many ways points up a "division of labor" between the U.S. and its NATO allies in the conduct of Middle East diplomacy: a policy of coordinated action based on the theory that Europe could "deliver" the PLO to an eventual settlement, while the U.S. "delivers" Israel.

But when the Saudis announced their own initiative last August, key members of the EEC moved swiftly to applaud the plan and to stuff their own initiative on the back burner. While the Saudi plan was being given the ho-hum treatment in Washington and mysteriously passed over by the U.S. press, French president François Mitterand paid a state visit to Saudi Arabia and pronounced the plan "a good basis from which to launch a new search for peace." Mitterand, whose Socialist Party has been and remains highly sympathetic to Israel, stressed (according to the magazine *Eight Days*) that "This did not mean he was changing one friendship for another. 'I am simply enlarging the field of France's foreign relations,' he said."

Then in mid-October, Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary and the Chairman of the Council of EEC foreign ministers, expressed Britain's own interest in the Saudi plan and announced plans for a visit to Riyadh to hold detailed discussions with Prince Fahd.

Meanwhile, the Saudi plan had accrued further credibility through statements of support from the pro-Western majority of the Arab League, and consciously favorable remarks by Yassir Arafat and other PLO spokesmen.

Until this recent initiative, Saudi Arabia had steered clear of any hard diplomatic commitments in the "quest for a comprehensive peace," fearing the likelihood of ending up stepping on everybody's toes and further endangering its own stability, while reaping no positive results. Prince Fahd's donning of the

mantle of great statesman, therefore, initially surprised many observers. It is unlikely, however, that the prince decided to assume this role without plenty of advance consultation with both European and U.S. imperialism.

Therefore, the apparent early shrugs with which the U.S. State Dept. greeted the plan were not to be taken at face value. There were certain diplomatic reasons for this public reaction. For example, when the plan was first announced, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was in Washington holding discussions with President Reagan. Sadat's political desperation was evident during his U.S. visit, especially when he made an unusual public appeal to Reagan to allow PLO participation in the Camp David process. This appeal was rejected; but on the other hand, the U.S. could hardly heap praises on the Saudi initiative while Sadat, whose political career (to understate the matter) depended entirely on Camp David, was in Washington—or, for that matter, still cluttering up the political scene. But that obstacle, as everybody knows, has since been removed.

A further reason for the circumspect U.S. response to Prince Fahd's plan was the outstanding issue of the proposed U.S. sale of five AWACS to the Saudis. It would not have done to promote the Saudi proposal during the AWACS flap, in which the Reagan administration had to deal with charges that AWACS might endanger the security of Israel, and that too much emphasis was being placed on the "Saudi relationship" at any rate. The timing of Reagan's "discovery" of the Saudi plan—two days after the defeat of Senate efforts to bloc the AWACS deal—was therefore not accidental.

Now, the special significance of the Saudi initiative does not lie in any of its substantive positions, but in a vague sentence which calls for "guarantee of the right of all states in the region to live in peace." This is intended as a tacit recognition of the state of Israel. Its significance lies, first, in the fact that the Saudis are advancing the proposal, as opposed to Europe or the U.S.; thus a prestigious Arab government outside the Camp David "framework" is indirectly recognizing the "Zionist entity" and conceding its right to exist. Furthermore, the wording is intentionally vague, in order to allow other Arab political forces, including the PLO, to endorse the plan, and thus tacitly and indirectly endorse the existence of Israel, while still being able to deny ever having explicitly said or endorsed any such thing.

Yassir Arafat, the head of the PLO, has made good use of this feature of the Saudi plan. The *N.Y. Times* dispatch of October 30, to give just one of several examples, reads: "... Yassir Arafat... said here today that he welcomed the peace plan proposed by Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia because it calls for 'coexistence' between Israel and the Arabs.

"The PLO leader's remarks in an interview published here came amid a resurgence of interest in the Saudi plan... but Mr. Arafat again would not say directly that he would acknowledge the existence of Israel."

While the Saudi plan makes no direct reference to the PLO, Prince Fahd stated on November 2 that "There is no peace without the Palestinian people, and there is no Palestinian state without the PLO." These remarks are in part designed to counter expected opposition to the plan from Syria and other so-called rejectionists—those who claim to be opposed to compromise of any kind with Israel—at an upcoming Arab League summit scheduled for late November. But it is also clear that the proposal is designed with the objective of roping in the PLO and giving it a powerful stake in collaborating with Western imperialism and its Arab partners. It appears that Arafat and other top PLO leaders are, at the very least, keeping their options wide open in this regard.

It is important to note that the Soviet Union has indicated informally that "Moscow is prepared to go along" with the Saudi plan. Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East has been marked in recent times by a low-key approach aimed at increasing ties and influence with the "conservative" Arab states, including

Saudi Arabia, as well as consolidating its own client regimes into a military alliance capable of projecting Soviet power. The main Soviet lobbying effort has been on behalf of convening an "international conference" which would include the PLO—and the Soviets—as full working participants. This plan reflects Soviet annoyance at having been frozen out of much of the diplomatic jockeying by the U.S. over the past decade. But the Saudi proposal, which does imply PLO leadership of any Palestinian state, is appealing to the Soviets as a means of extending their own influence in the region. During Arafat's recent trip to Moscow, a press release was written up by the Soviets which said in part: "Leonid Brezhnev and Yassir Arafat resolutely rejected the attempts made by the participants in the Camp David deal to substitute talk about so-called 'autonomy for the Palestinians' for the solution of the fundamental issue, namely, granting the Arab people of Palestine the right to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination and national statehood." This fits fine with the Saudi plan, although the Soviets are obviously coming from a different direction, i.e., their own interests in the area. And the extent to which any cheap demagogue can defend "self-determination" is illustrated by the fact that it is exactly under this banner that the Soviets are fighting the people of Afghanistan!

President Reagan's first favorable comments on the Saudi plan, which were made at his October 30 press conference, were followed in short order by new squeals of rage from Israel. Prime Minister Menachem Begin referred to the plan as "a plan on how to liquidate Israel." In a speech to the Israeli parliament on November 2, he made a number of unflattering remarks about Prince Fahd, and again called Saudi Arabia "a petrodollar desert state where the darkness of the Middle Ages reigns." Meanwhile, the U.S. State Dept. followed up on Reagan's press conference with a partial backtrack; reiterating the U.S. contention that Camp David remains the basis for any peace settlement, and declaring that there were "a number of problems" with the Saudi plan.

All this came on the eve of Lord Carrington's scheduled visit to Riyadh. During his meetings with Prince Fahd, Yassir Arafat also put in several appearances, and Carrington made a number of strong statements supporting the Saudi plan as a "strong basis for steps forward," and insisting that the PLO be "associated" with any peace agreement.

Carrington also linked the willingness of Britain and other EEC countries to participate in the planned multilateral peacekeeping force in the Sinai, which is supposed to take up positions following the Israeli withdrawal in April 1982, with the granting of a role for the PLO in the negotiations.

The vigor of Carrington's remarks drew a further round of abuse from Israel. Begin on November 5 issued a warning that Israel would not allow the EEC countries to participate in the peacekeeping force unless they fully endorsed the Camp David accords and dropped their calls for including the PLO in negotiations.

Then U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig got into the act, leaking to the press the news that he had met with Britain's ambassador to the U.S., Sir Nicholas Henderson, and had strongly protested Carrington's statements endorsing the Saudi plan and the PLO. Haig also met with leaders of major American Jewish organizations and told him he had urged Lord Carrington to "cool it." According to the leaked transcript of the session, which appeared in the *N.Y. Times* on November 6, Haig told the Zionist lobbyists that "... I would suspect that if Mr. Carrington had to carry the burden of President Reagan of being held responsible in practical terms by international world opinion for the outcome of this very difficult situation that he might be more circumspect with his adjectival pronouncements."

Secretary Haig is frequently assigned, or assigns himself, the role of appeasing Israeli and American Zionist opinion during periods of heavy tension, such as that which followed U.S. criticism of

Israel's air raid on Beirut. While it is likely that the U.S. was not entirely happy with the strong and unambiguous character of Carrington's remarks—such as his statement that "I make no apology for my firm belief that no good will come of pretending that the PLO can be ignored, or that they do not have a very wide measure of support among the Palestinians, both inside the occupied territories and elsewhere"—it is also true that the freer rein available to European diplomacy in the region is very useful to the U.S. in its long-range calculations.

U.S. policy in the matter of Middle East "peace negotiations," while certainly vacillation and uncertainty can be perceived, is not really a matter of flip-flops so much as a necessary and intentional ambiguity imposed by circumstances. The U.S. can neither junk Camp David nor solve the crisis in relations between the Arabs and Israel within its framework. The U.S. objective, of course, is not "Middle East peace" or "justice for all parties in this painful conflict," etc., but the forging of a strategic consensus with Israel as its leading component, which will unite the Arab regimes into a military and political alliance as part of the U.S. bloc in preparation for war with the Soviet Union. In this light, the U.S. cannot—and certainly does not intend to—fundamentally alienate Israel or really "jeopardize Israel's security" in its attempt to reconcile Arab concerns; but neither can it dismiss the agenda of the bourgeois Arab regimes in deference to every plank of Prime Minister Begin's expansionist policies, because of problems these policies create for the Arab regimes internally, among other reasons. And against the international backdrop of global and regional rivalry by contending imperialist blocs—the overall determining and defining issue—there is a salient point of agreement among those in the Western alliance concerning the Palestinians: the Palestinians are a threat that must somehow be defused or crushed or both. The differences, serious as they are, arise over what combination of coercive terror and "concessions" or buy-offs should be applied.

Given the contradictory dynamic of the U.S. approach, it was not too surprising that Reagan's cautiously favorable remarks about the Saudi plan of October 30 were followed by State Dept. backtracking and the U.S. protests to Britain. Nor was it too surprising that this period of retreat was followed by yet another Reagan press conference on November 10, in which, as the headline in the *Times* put it, "Reagan Again Praises Saudi Plan, Says It Shows Willingness To Talk."

"President Reagan," the *Times* lead stated, "renewed his praise today for aspects of a Saudi peace plan that Israel has already totally rejected as imperiling its existence."

"The President's comments about the eight-point plan... seemed to complicate administration efforts to calm Israeli concerns that the United States was favoring the Saudi plan at the expense of the Camp David accords of 1978." The *Times* also noted that "... only after a reporter asked a follow-up question did Mr. Reagan speak of the Camp David accords..."

It is by now common to observe apparent U.S. "jolts," first to the Arabs and then to the Israelis, accompanied by the appropriate expressions of glee or outrage, depending on which side is offended and which is placated by any particular U.S. move. U.S. imperialism is, of course, acting in the basic interests of nobody but itself. But the difficulty faced by the U.S. in forging a "strategic consensus" in the Middle East lies in the fact that many contradictions are presently coming to a head. The immediate disposition of the Saudi plan—whether things are left on the present level to stew for a while or whether yet another "diplomatic breakthrough" is in the works—remains to be seen. But imperialism—in any form—will not "solve" the question of Palestine, and the Palestinian people will remain a bone in the throat of the imperialists. Experience with previous "diplomatic breakthroughs" such as Camp David indicates that sooner or later the supposedly "solved" contradictions reassert themselves with redoubled fury.

Sudan and the Hair of the Dog that Bit Egypt

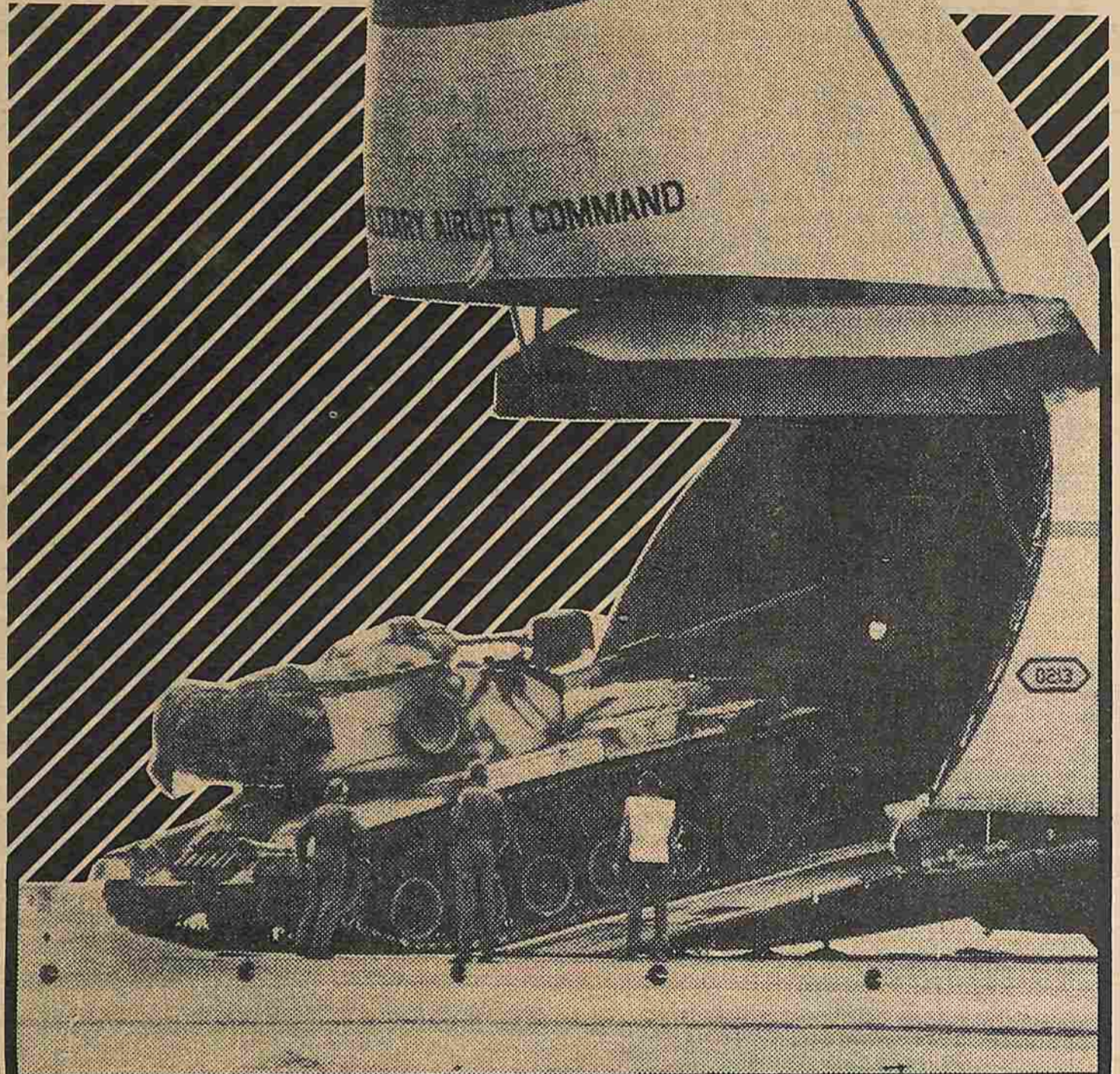
One of the very few Arab leaders to even attend the funeral of the lamented Anwar Sadat was the neighboring Sudan's General Jaafar Nimeiry. His lonely presence symbolized not only Egypt's long-standing domination of Sudanese politics, but also the fact that Sudan, too, is a very weak link in the anti-Soviet "strategic alliance" the U.S. is trying to forge in the Middle East.

Taking measures to bolster Nimeiry in the wake of the popular upheaval in Egypt following Sadat's assassination, the U.S. revealed the recent presence in Sudan of a heretofore secret U.S. training mission and announced the emergency shipment of 20 M-60 tanks, 12 155-mm. howitzers, and several F5 aircraft, citing an alleged Libyan invasion threat. Yet a more candid expression of concern by U.S. imperialism was expressed in a recent *N.Y. Times* editorial which accurately described Sudan as "economically stricken and politically unsteady."

With almost a million square miles, Sudan is the largest country in Africa and is populated by Arabs in the north and black Africans in the south. The Sudan controls the headwaters of the Nile River upon which Egypt is totally dependent, and is itself sandwiched between Chad—wracked by a civil war whose sides are sponsored by the rival imperialist blocs—and Ethiopia, bursting with revolution. The instability of the Nimeiry government, which in the shifting alliances of superpower contention was only recently allied with the rival Soviets, and which has been the target of 15 coup attempts since 1969, is once again giving Washington nightmares.

The desperateness of the situation was marked by last week's decision of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to grant Sudan an emergency loan of over \$200 million to meet immediate foreign payments and prevent the complete cutoff of vital food and oil imports. Yet this action is at best an extremely temporary measure, since Sudan is currently in default on \$3 billion in foreign loans. Sudan has now borrowed up to its limit with the IMF, is receiving \$300 million this year from the Saudis, another \$200 million from the World Bank and UN funds for severely underdeveloped countries, and \$100 million from the U.S. in economic aid. Yet it has been unable to even make the interest payments on its massive foreign debt since 1978. But because of the strategic proximity of Sudan to both Egypt and the Horn of Africa, Sudan's foreign assets have not been seized by creditors, and private banks are being pressured to "reschedule" Sudan's debt payments.

The willingness of the vulture-like Western bankers to "manage" Sudan's debt problems should not be mistaken, however, for any compassion on their part for the suffering of the Sudanese masses. It is, rather, a hard-nosed calculation on their part to balance their necessity to recover and expand capital investments against their strategic interests in preserving a pro-Western government in Sudan—and the ones who will be made to pay are the people of Sudan. Even to get the \$200 million emergency money from the extortionists at the IMF, the Sudan was forced to agree to drop its government subsidization of the price of wheat and gasoline (which will mean a sharp jump in prices of these vital commodities). Sudan also had to agree to devalue its currency from the official 50 piastres to the dollar, down toward the free market rate of 80 to the dollar. All of this was



Peace in the Middle East? This is what they mean. Pictured here are preparations in Idaho for the launching of "Operation Bright Star," a major training exercise for the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF). Troops began landing in Egypt last week for the maneuvers which will run about a month. U.S. military forces, including airborne assault troops, will conduct operations in Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan and Oman.

A total of 6,000 U.S. troops will be involved, making Operation Bright Star by far the largest direct U.S. military ground presence in the Middle East since World War 2. Last year's RDF's exercises were confined to Egypt, and involved 1500 U.S. troops. Operation Bright Star was already planned on a larger scale before the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

After Sadat's death, the U.S. announced the expansion of the exercises to combat "the threat of Libyan adventurism" and to provide a counter weight to the recent aggressive pro-Soviet military alliance concluded between Libya, Ethiopia and South Yemen. Translation: The U.S.'s bottom line for "stability" in the region, an aggressive demonstration of U.S. military might for the benefit of the imperialists in the Soviet Union, and real training on a likely battlefield of World War 3.

part of a bigger package worked out between British banker Morgan Grenfell (supposedly representing the Bank of Sudan), and five major creditor banks, including Chemical Bank of New York, Citibank, and the Deutschebank. These agreements will in turn be passed on for approval to a larger body of imperialist vultures known as the "Club of Paris," which manages the overall global scheduling of debts by exploited nations to both commercial banks and multinational lending agencies.

But this application to Sudan of a hair of the dog that bit Egypt is a risky business. When the IMF and the commercial bankers forced Egypt to suspend food subsidies in 1977, it resulted in a week of rioting throughout Egypt which almost brought down the Egyptian government. Mindful of these dangers inherent in the new austerity moves, Nimeiry seized upon the pretext of the great Libyan invasion scare to carry out a mass round-up of "vagrants and illegal immigrants," directed espe-

cially at the volatile concentration of urban poor in the capital of Khartoum. The Nimeiry government has posted troops throughout the capital in the markets, on bridges and around government buildings—and not as protection against Libyan paratroops! Even according to Western press accounts, the arrests have now topped 17,000, with many being forcibly deported from the capital area.

While the U.S. and the rest of its bloc of imperialists are so worried and busy in the face of Sudan's crumbling economy and political instability, it is exactly imperialist domination and all that goes with it, including the enforced maintenance of feudal control of much of the land, that has brought about this situation in the first place. In fact, Sudan has 40% of all the arable land in the Arab world! Yet today, Sudan is forced to import food, and its forced reliance on a single cash crop for export (cotton) finds Sudan today with only \$700 million in exports to apply against an an-

nual import bill of \$1.7 billion. As a reward for coming over to the U.S. bloc from the Soviet bloc in the mid-70s, Sudan was promised a pie-in-the-sky economic development plan, to be funded by the World Bank's International Development Agency and the Arab Fund for Economic Development. The schemes included the development of vast cattle ranches, wheat farms and sugar cane plantations based on gigantic irrigation projects. To provide the necessary infrastructure, Sudan also took out commercial bank loans. But then the world price of cotton collapsed, not all the promised Arab money came through, and much of the expenditure was used to line the pockets of Western suppliers, who in turn dumped outdated and unsuitable equipment on the Sudanese. To date the only one of the great projects to actually go into production is the Kenana sugar plantation, which is still unable to produce refined sugar at below world

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Tribunal Testimony

Two Accounts of CIA/SAVAK Terror in Iran

“I Found On My Chain Written ‘Made in U.S.’”

Testimony from an Iranian Living in the U.S.

The following testimony was presented April 25, 1981 at the San Francisco hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal by an Iranian revolutionary.

In the name of the workers and the oppressed people of the world, I begin my testimony. In 1972, on the 10th anniversary of the Shah's so-called White Revolution, I was captured, tortured and imprisoned for two months. I'm going to go through the details of that.

When I was 14 years old, I was involved in political activity with some other political-minded people. In a short time we organized about 50 people, workers, students, peasants and some other people. Our duty was to criticize the dictatorship of the Shah and we distributed revolutionary leaflets, and distributed a magazine in Gilan. Gilan is a province of the northern part of Iran by the Caspian Sea.

After three years of this very elementary organization of ours, we were contacted by one underground organization from Tehran. During this connection between us and them, three of us decided to go to Tehran to see those people. We decided to choose three people. I was one of them. On our way to Tehran, some agents stopped the bus and took us. They called our name. They knew us. They pulled us away and searched us for guns and ammunition, but we didn't have that. They explained to the other people on the bus that we were soldiers who had escaped from the army, so don't worry about this.

We were blindfolded and tied by chains. We felt that we were going to Tehran, but we didn't know. It was a

covered jeep. We couldn't see outside. After about two hours, they took me up some long steps and then they took the thing off my head and put me in a cell, a cell about a meter wide by two meters. I stayed there for about twelve hours. Then they took me out again. They put those blindfolds on again. I didn't know where I was going to go. Then I noticed that we were going to Rasht. Rasht is the capital city of the province of Gilan, where I was born.

They took me to the SAVAK place in Rasht. There the investigation began. First the SAVAK agent came very nicely. He said, "You are my brother. We don't have anything against you. Tell me everything. We know everything, but you had better say it by yourself." I said, "What do you want to know?" At that time I was 17 years old and I was inexperienced. I didn't know what to do at that time because my organization didn't have any contact at all with any other organization. One thing helped me. That foolish SAVAK asked me one stupid question. "What book did your friend by the name of X give you?" Actually, he hadn't given me anything. I understood that they didn't know anything. So I had that on my mind and I played (the) fool, played dumb....

During this investigation that this so-called nice SAVAK talked to me, the door was opened and a big guy came. Later on I found that people call him "doctor." He wasn't a doctor, he was a torturer. He came very angrily and without anything to say, he slapped me. "You motherfucker, don't play with us! We know, and don't think that we are fools and you can say anything you want!" Then another so-called nice

SAVAK said, "Don't do that, he will talk." They were going to fool me that, "Some of us are very dangerous and others of us are very nice, so you have to cooperate with us." After a few hours of the investigation, the investigation was on paper. They asked the question and would write and I had to answer that and I had to sign. So the first night of the investigation, they gave me one blanket, while it was heavy snow outside. I was chained to a heater, the heater wasn't on, during all the night, and I had to sleep that way. In the morning the investigation started again and this time they were not as nice to me as the previous day.

Then they transferred me to the city jail. That's the place where all the criminals, burglars, rapists were. And I, a 17-year-old boy, had to go there. Fortunately in Iran, when your crime is a political activity, in prison all the people respect you. That's the way it was everywhere and all my friends when I talked to them later said they were treated very nice. So I was introduced to the officer of the prison, and he tried to treat us nice too. "Don't worry. Everything is going to be OK. Why do you do what you do? What do you think, you are going to change the government? No one can do that. You are just torturing yourself. You are my son, and... let's go to jail." And they sent us to prison.

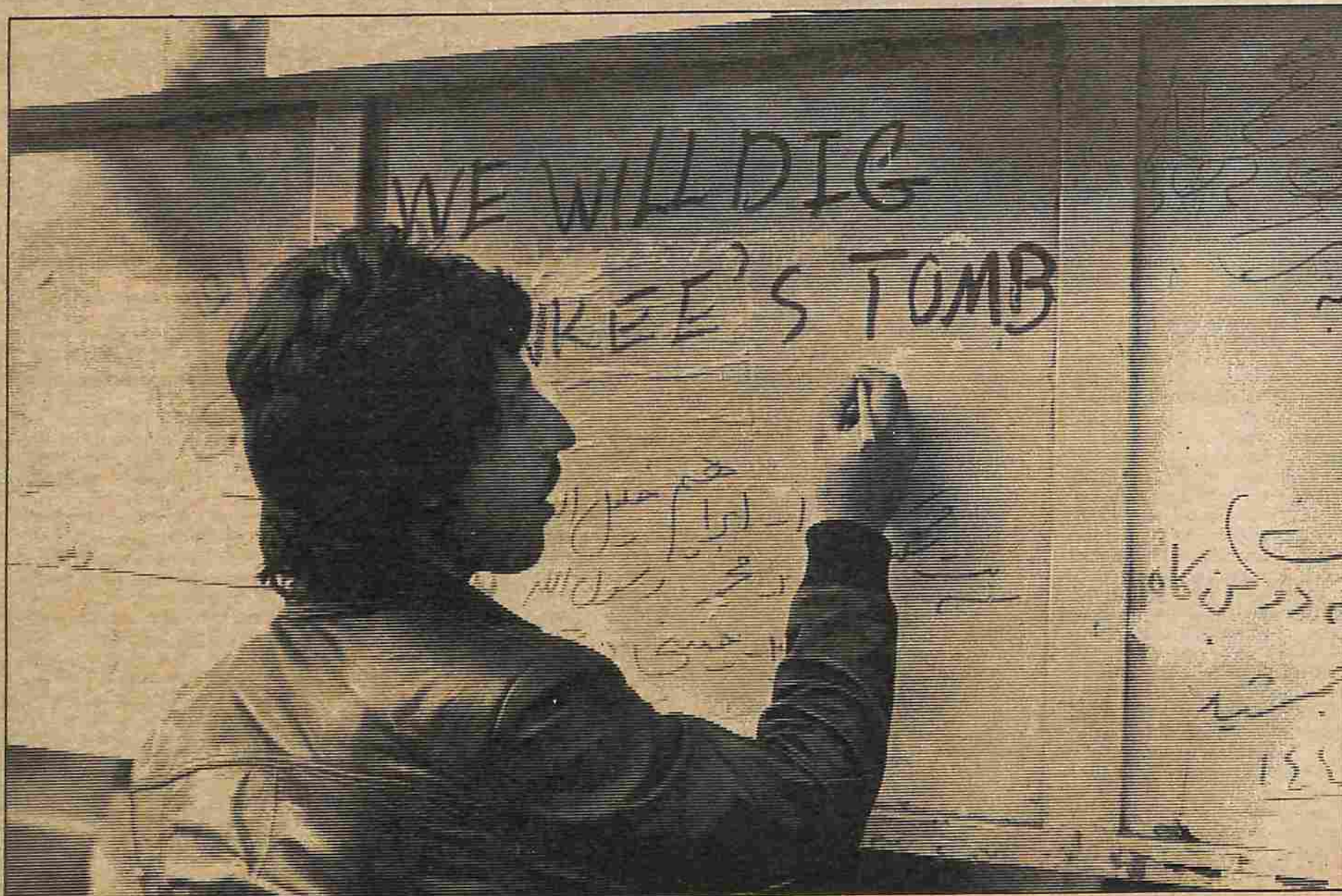
In Iran there are three sections in prisons. One is for youth, one is for guilty people, for life or 10 or 15 years, and one is where they just keep you for a while and release you. They put me with the guilty people. Fortunately there were two other political prisoners there,

two teachers. They were there for two years. They helped me a lot. They gave me money, they gave me food, they gave me blankets, and they said don't be scared, everything is going to be OK.

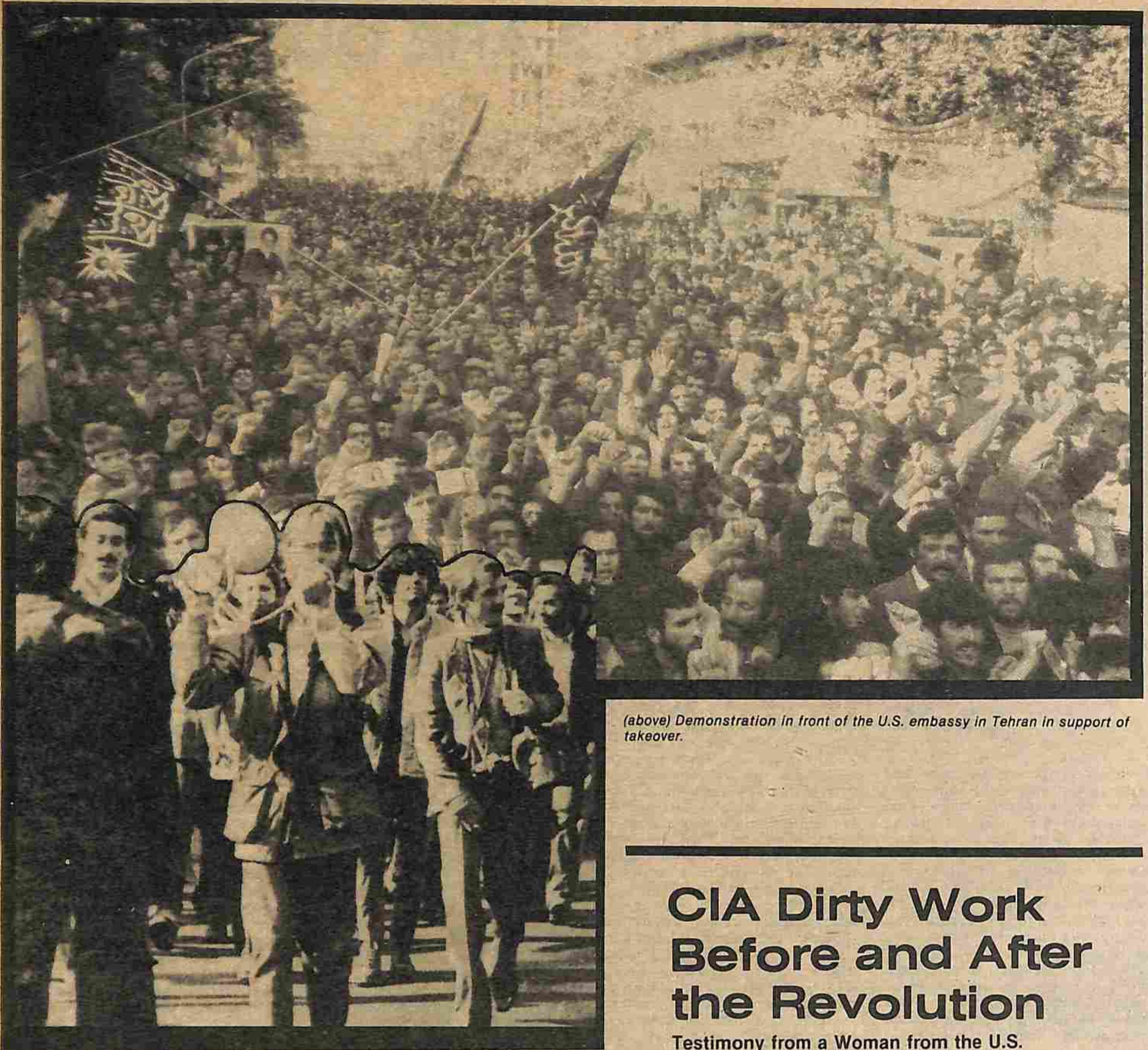
After three days SAVAK came and asked me again. SAVAK was in another area than the prison so they sent some SAVAK people to come and take me for the investigation. This time they didn't talk to me. They took me upstairs. There was a table and they tied me on the table. I asked them, "What are you going to do with me?" They said nothing. Twenty minutes I was like this and then the "doctor" came with a cable. He had made this cable very nice for himself, all handcrafted. Without saying anything he beat me on my foot. I could bear one or two or three of them. But the strongest of you here couldn't bear more than four. And you pass out. And you can't think anything. I don't know how many times they beat me, but when they untied me I couldn't walk. They told me that that was nothing. "We've just started. We're just warning you. Don't play with us! We have a cable that your other friends have told everything. They said that you are the leader." At that time, you think, "How stupid are they. Even as they are dealing with me that way, they just say stupid things that help me."...

They didn't have a hospital there so they just put vaseline on my foot. One week later they called me again. This time they didn't beat me, but they tried to be nice again. "This time tell us for real. No bullshit. You were doing something. Why were you going to Teh-

Continued on page 14



Iran—during the February insurrection.



(above) Demonstration in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in support of takeover.

CIA Dirty Work Before and After the Revolution

Testimony from a Woman from the U.S. Living in Iran

(above) November 23, 1979—About 20 foreigners, mostly Americans are cheered by scores of Iranian bystanders as they march through downtown Tehran demanding the extradition of the Shah.

Following are excerpts from testimony given by a woman from the U.S. now living in Iran who testified at the San Francisco Tribunal during a visit to the U.S. last spring:

I was in Iran on two occasions during the reign of the Shah. After the revolution I moved to Iran and am presently living in Iran. Personally, during the Shah's regime, I witnessed minor crimes, but I heard a lot of testimony from people who had first-hand experience with the SAVAK. So I'll try to relate those things to you today. I want to talk about not only overt war crimes that people told me about but also the situation around the embassy, the role that the embassy played in Iran, keeping in mind that the role that the embassy played in Tehran was no different than the role that embassies play in any other country. I also want to talk about overt acts of aggression, military acts, that have taken place in Iran; especially around the so-called rescue mission of the spies that were being held in Iran....

We had a question earlier about the Rex Cinema fire which occurred August 20th, 1978. Now, just to give you an idea of what was going on around that time, the masses in Iran were already rising up. The whole country was in turmoil. There were spontaneous uprisings in one city or another, weekly or for sure every 14 days. So the whole country was in revolutionary motion. Abadan is a very key city. Right now (it) is the center of the war between Iran and Iraq. It is where all of the refineries and all of the oil fields are. Because of

that they have a very large working class there. And when these people joined the mass movement in Iran to overthrow the Shah, the whole complexion of the revolution changed. It was given a truly revolutionary outlook. They did not want Abadan to rise up, take the lead and give the movement a revolutionary outlook. To prevent this, SAVAK, with orders from the Shah, and I'm sure orders from the White House here, cooked up a very devious and horrible plan. What they did, they were showing a progressive film, in one of the theatres in Abadan, which was sold out. So there were between 700 and 800 people—an exact body counting was never really established because of the conditions of the bodies. The cinema was packed, they sold out all the tickets, they priced a few standing-only tickets, because this was going to be a very special feature; then they locked the doors from the outside and people who witnessed this saw some men on the top pouring some sort of gasoline through the roof, and then it was ignited. So it burned really quickly. It was an old building. People were trapped; they were running up here and running to the other exit and just piled up there. Some people were found burnt in their chairs. They found pregnant women whose stomachs had exploded, burnt beyond recognition. The bodies of the victims were hardly able to be identified. The interesting thing about the Rex Cinema, aside from the devastating tragedy, is what really happened as a result of that: instead of suppressing or pacifying the movement in Abadan, the very next day people made huge demon-

strations. Right away they condemned the SAVAK for its activity, they condemned U.S. imperialism for having brought and trained the SAVAK, and supported all this sort of activities in Iran. The SAVAK and of course the Shah and the U.S. imperialists had helped to teach the people of Abadan a lesson, but instead of making them not take part in the struggle that was taking place all over the country, they did exactly the opposite. They had a demonstration the next day, and they became the forefront of the revolutionary struggle in Iran.

Another incident: on one occasion I had the opportunity and the honor to meet with a particular family that had suffered tremendous tragedy. The whole family was politically involved, and had been struggling against the Shah and U.S. imperialism for years. The first time I went to Iran it was in 1977, and I met the father. He showed me the pictures of his sons and daughters that he had lost. Two daughters and two sons had been executed in prison under torture. When I met him his wife was presently in jail and was taking care of one of her grandchildren, one that her daughter had given birth to in the prison. The second time I went back to Iran the woman had been let out of jail and she showed me cigarette burns all over her body. She talked about the tortures that she had been through. She related to me the tortures that her children had gone through before they were finally murdered in the prison....

Somebody earlier asked, if there is any evidence of complicity between the

CIA and the work of the SAVAK: I think that it has been fairly well documented that the CIA has been the key factor in establishing and training police forces like SAVAK, like the Israeli secret police, like the police in Chile and Argentina. They used the same implements, the torture, the same hot tables, the same electrical probes they shoved in people and turned on, the same styles and techniques for torture.

There is another testimony that I came by through someone I know. There was a woman in prison for political activities and she was in the interrogation room. In fact, before the revolution the SAVAK had an office, actually they had several offices, and one of the main offices was in the center of Tehran. So she was in there, being interrogated, and in the room next to her—there was just a small partition between her room and the room next to it—she could hear an American; she could understand an American accent because she had been out of the country. So she heard an American who was instructing Iranians how to torture people, how to make it hurt the best and leave the least evidence that a person had been tortured, and just how to use these things. She said that she was absolutely sure that this was an American, a CIA agent, instructing Iranians on the use of torture devices....

I went to the embassy a few days after it was taken by the students, and I was probably the first American who was not a CIA agent who entered the embassy after it was taken. I went there

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THE U.N. 2 ARE OUT!



Glenn Gan and Steven Yip outside of the courthouse last year before they were imprisoned.

Glenn Gan and Steve Yip are back on the streets. They were released from prisons in the Midwest and East Coast on October 31 and November 9 respectively. This officially completes the sentence of one year and a day to which the UN 2 were sentenced for "felony assault" when they doused the U.S. and Soviet UN ambassadors with red paint in their own Security Council chambers on the eve of May Day 1980, holding up the red flag and shouting, "Our flag is red, not red, white and blue! Down with U.S. Soviet war moves!" Their time served includes pre-sentence jail time as well as post-sentence, minus a couple months "good time" which all prisoners get unless a special reason can be proved for withholding it. Even after release, they are still serving a three-year suspended sentence and five years of probation for a "felony conspiracy" charge.

The terms of Steve's probation are that he get a job, that he is restricted to New York City and another place where he has family except with permission,

and that he not associate with other felons. He has been informed that this specifically means Glenn. As for Glenn, the authorities have not informed him *what* the terms of his probation are, and no one at the Federal Probation Department in Los Angeles will acknowledge having papers on his case. A sort of catch-22 situation, in which he might be pounced on for violating conditions he has no way of knowing. A celebration is planned in New York for Steve, but UN 2 supporters have held off planning a release celebration for Glenn until the details of his probation are made known.

However, there is one condition that Glenn does know about. Prisoners are allowed to read their pre-sentence report and Bureau of Prisons Central File. The authorities have sought to block one proven avenue of further exposure of their criminal plans for world war. Both Glenn and Steve are permanently barred from the hallowed premises of the United Nations. □

Houston: Pogrom with Pay

Houston. Appropriately, it was election night, November 3, in the heart of the Black fifth ward community. After getting drunk in the parking lot of the fifth ward police substation, at least ten white off-duty pigs dressed in street clothes drove over to the Delta Apartment Hotel. After cruising around for a couple of hours hurling racist slurs, they pulled up in front of the hotel in a pick-up truck waving a confederate flag and a banner with a skull and crossbones on it. They then jumped out and began rampaging through the hotel, dragging people out of their rooms, sticking guns in their faces and beating both men and women at random with flashlights. A man's head was split open, one had his teeth knocked out, and another was thrown down a flight of stairs. One couple was asleep when their door was kicked down and guns shoved in their faces. Elroy Johnson, a maintenance worker, told how he had

just walked into the hotel parking lot when one of the pigs stuck a gun in his stomach and cocked it. He described how this cop then told another man to "Run, nigger, run!" and yelled "I'll beat you, but you can run and I'll shoot you." The man refused to run and was viciously beaten by these lowlife.

The officers involved, supporters of a local candidate running for mayor with the open endorsement of the KKK, claimed they were just going around pulling down some campaign signs to use for a fire to cook up some hot dogs to go with their beer (though one detective later intimated they had stopped off on the way to "beat up some dope fiends"). Besides, quipped one police spokesman, there had been "no formal complaints received by Internal Affairs about any specific officer in connection with this incident." In other words, there was "no formal complaint" about this off-duty raid to the very

same cops when they were *on* duty! (As we go to press, a Black cop has just been suspended in a feeble attempt to soften the blatant racial nature of this attack.)

This outrageous incident concentrates the daily grind of national oppression faced by Black people. One witness to the attack put it, "It took me back to the slave days." People in these areas are routinely picked up, and many have done time in the nearby P-farm lockup where prisoners are put to work growing sugar and picking cotton. In the '60s, the third ward was a well-known center of Black nationalism and revolutionary ferment. The memory is still fresh in the minds of many of when the police launched an all-out assault on the headquarters of Peoples Party II—an adjunct of the Black Panther Party—gunning down Black leader Carl Hampton and shooting and wounding many others. This area is also the

location of Texas Southern University where Black revolutionaries fought off hundreds of attacking police in an armed gun battle.

Recently, in a single week there were three fatal "accidents" stemming from high-speed chases by the cops trying to chase people down by going the wrong way on the freeway (in one of these an entire white family was wiped out in a head-on collision). The cops, of course, were freed of any blame. A month ago, two Black men in the city jail were "discovered" hanged to death within 20 minutes of each other—alleged "suicides," of course. After the hangings, one of these men who had worked at the same factory for 11 years, who had no previous arrest record, and who was in jail for a traffic violation, was vilified in the press as a "hired hit-man" and linked up with a local murder case—all without even the pretense of the slightest shred of evidence. Just last week, the cop who gunned down Reggie Jackson, a young Black man, in cold blood in front of witnesses was exonerated after a two year "investigation" by the cops' Internal Affairs Division. (This pig has been involved in a number of similar murders.) Young Blacks in the area tell of walking home at night *expecting* to be stopped, called "nigger" with guns pointed at their heads, and, often as not, arrested.

One week after the reactionary raid at the Delta Hotel, the cops involved were suspended—with pay. So, not surprisingly, this mini-pogrom was stamped with the official seal of approval and the cops involved rewarded with a vacation. □

BÜTÜN ÜLKELERİN MARKSİST-LENİNİSTLERİNE, İŞÇİLERİNE VE EZİLENLERİNE

UZALAYAN PARTİ VE GRUPLAR
SEYLAHİSİ (LANKA) KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ
SENEGAL MARKSİST-LENİNİST GRUBU
İSPANYA MARKSİST-LENİNİST SAVUNMA GRUBU
SAO ZEDUING KREDİSİZDANIMARKAİ
MARKSİST-LENİNİST KOLLEKTİFİ(BRİTANYA)
YENİ ZELANDA HİZA BAYRAK GRUBU
NOTTINGHAM KOMÜNİST GRUBU(BRİTANYA)
KOMÜNİST PROLETARYA MARKSİST-LENİNİST ORGUTU(TALYA)
SİLİ DEVRİMİ KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ
PROLETAR ENTERNASYONALİZM İÇİRBANSA
HİNDİSTAN KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ M. L. FENİDEN İYSA KOMİTESİ
ARİS DEVRİMİ KOMÜNİST PARTİSİ
DEVİRİMİ KOMÜNİSTLER BİRİĞİ(HİNDİSTAN CUMHURİYETİ)
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CORRECTIONS

In the article "Another 'Accident' Against AIM" about the murder of American Indian Movement activists Roque Duenas and Kevin Henry (RW No. 129, page 1), Roque Duenas' name was inadvertently misspelled. The correct spelling is as it appears here.

In the article "Viet Vet's Testimony at Atlanta Tribunal" (RW No. 129, page 18), a line was left out toward the end of the last paragraph. The paragraph should end: They talking about armageddon. It's gonna be worse than armageddon. It is. If we don't put a stop to it now. And tell 'em, hey, man, and get with some of those young Russians and say, hey, let's live in peace. □

With world events more and more clearly showing the rapid developments toward a worldwide showdown between the U.S. and the USSR, it is vitally important that the strategy and tactics of Soviet imperialism and its frontmen be thoroughly and ruthlessly exposed along with those of the U.S. In many parts of the world the full extent of the Soviets' imperialist nature and actions has been clouded over with demogogy and its seeming support for some revolutionary struggles of the people in the countries oppressed by U.S. imperialism and its Western imperialist allies. In the eyes of some it seems to be the "better" superpower, "maybe it's not perfect, but at least it's not as bad as U.S. imperialism," or so the reasoning goes. This is extremely dangerous reasoning and can only lead into a disastrous trap. In particular the counter-revolutionary role of Cuba and its shameless fronting for the Soviet imperialists, especially in Latin America, needs to be increasingly clarified and fully understood. Toward this end we reprint the excerpt below from the draft position paper for discussion, Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement prepared by leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

The exposure of the nature and role of the revisionist rulers of Cuba, and a Marxist analysis of the problems with and then complete degeneration of the revolution there, resulting in the position of Cuba today as a neo-colony of Soviet social-imperialism whose troops are used as an expeditionary force by the new imperialist master—this too is an important task for the genuine Marxist-Leninists. In the early period after U.S. imperialism was ousted from Cuba and before its new dependency on the Soviet Union was fully developed and consolidated, Cuba was looked to as an inspiration by class-conscious proletarians and oppressed peoples throughout the world. This was especially the case in Latin America.

During this early period the Cuban leaders, even as they were more and more implementing a revisionist line in Cuba and capitulating to Soviet social-imperialism, not only maintained a militant posture against U.S. imperialism but more generally struck a "revolutionary" pose, even at times voicing criticism of certain actions by the Soviet social-imperialists while overall supporting and promoting them and also praising their "fraternal assistance." It was during this period, especially in the mid-1960s, that the Cuban leaders championed the line of "focoism" as a substitute for the armed struggle of the masses under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party to defeat the imperialists and reactionaries, a "short cut" to the seizure of power which would leave the masses out of this struggle—and out of the exercise of power if somehow it did change hands in this way. Where this line was actually applied it did not of course lead to genuine revolution and in some significant cases resulted in crushing defeat of the "focoist" armed forces. This in turn was perverted by both the U.S. imperialists and their allies and lackeys on the one hand and the Soviet social-imperialists and their agents, including the Cuban leadership, on the other hand, into "proof" that real revolutionary warfare, which mobilizes and relies on the masses, is doomed to defeat, and that the masses can only play the part of pawns and perhaps "pressure groups" in the struggle between rival reactionaries.

Overall, then, even during the days of their more "revolutionary" posture, the Cuban leaders' line and actions served as a complement to and aided the openly right opportunist, pro-Soviet revisionist parties. In Latin America in particular, during the 1960s, these revisionists were becoming more widely exposed and opposed by revolutionary forces. But the influence of the Cuban leaders—their promotion of "focoist" adventurism divorced from the masses, their denial of the need for the leader-

ship of a Marxist-Leninist party, and their opposition to the policy of a broad united front led by the proletariat and its party to carry out the struggle against imperialism and its domestic dependent reactionaries—this "leftism" not only led to defeat but fostered demoralization, disbelief in the possibility of victorious mass armed struggle against these powerful enemies and the discrediting of a genuine revolutionary alternative to the revisionist parties. This explains the "mysterious" fact that in many cases these same revisionist parties not only privately encouraged but even secretly funded such "leftist" adventurism.

At the same time, while they feigned

radical transformation of society, the Cuban leaders emphatically stated that there was no alternative to this "road" in Chile.

This stand was not determined by loyalty to Allende—nor certainly to the advance to socialism, by peaceful or any other means—but served the aims of the revisionist Communist Party of Chile, which was using its extensive, even dominant, influence in the Popular Unity government as leverage to seek an "agreement" with the Christian Democratic Party that would bring about not socialism but a form of state capitalism in which the Communist Party, and the Soviet Union behind it, would gain a significant stronghold. It

in Latin America the Cuban leaders have attempted to establish certain relations with and exert influence on sectors of the reactionary armed forces in some countries, hoping thereby to find a wedge with which to begin edging out U.S. imperialist influence and eventually replace it with the rule of reactionary forces that align themselves with and depend on the Soviet bloc. In Latin America itself this is difficult because the U.S. imperialists are able to, must and do maintain a very tight grip there, but especially where there are popular movements and uprisings against U.S. imperialism, the Cuban leaders along with the pro-Soviet revisionist party, if it has significant influence among the masses, will certainly step up their maneuverings of various kinds to bring in to being a new reactionary regime, more to the liking of the Soviet social-imperialists, over the heads of the masses and through restraining, and at a certain point even joining in the violent suppression of, the mass movement.

At the same time, a significant phenomenon in recent years has been the use of Cuban troops as expeditionary forces for the Soviet social-imperialists, carried out under a "revolutionary" and "internationalist" cover of opposition to U.S. imperialism and its allies and lackeys, especially in Africa. In fact, the only revolution on the part of the Cuban and Soviet revisionists is counter-revolution and the kind of internationalism they are carrying out is international plunder and contention characteristic of and serving imperialist interests.

But, again, the task remains for the genuine Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and proletarian internationalists to thoroughly expose this, because while the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban and other agents and allies are more and more incurring the hatred of the masses of people in many countries, especially those who bear the direct brunt of their "benevolence," there is generally not as yet a widespread and deep understanding of the class nature of these revisionists. So, while they hold up Cuba as an example of how U.S. imperialism can be defeated and "socialism" built by relying not on the masses but on the "support" and strength of the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists and others point to the misery of the masses in such a "socialist model" and the obvious Cuban dependency on the Soviet Union as ammunition for the argument that, however oppressive the old-line ruling classes may be, the only alternative is "communist" oppression, which is worse, or just as bad—and certainly not worth sacrificing for. It is not possible to lead the masses out of the situation of being bounced back and forth between rival reactionaries, in making revolution and abolishing all forms of enslavement, without laying bare the true character of the Soviet-line revisionists and revisionism in general as well as that of openly anti-communist exploiters and counter-revolutionaries.

A crucial lesson in relation to all this is that it is a serious error to identify revisionism merely with the repudiation of "armed struggle," and this is all the more important in today's world. True, the Soviet social-imperialists and those who follow them, like the Cuban leaders, as well as other revisionist forces, will in certain circumstances promote the "peaceful road to socialism." This is not merely an illusion but a dangerous trap for the proletariat and its allies, and in fact the "peaceful road to socialism" is littered with the corpses of countless masses who were pointed down this road by revisionist betrayers. At the same time, however, in circumstances where it better suits their bourgeois aims, and increasingly in the current world situation, with the intensifying developments toward war between the rival imperialist blocs and toward revolution, these revisionists and other opportunists will frequently replace the principle of armed struggle of the masses with empty phrases about armed struggle which renounce all types of political and organizational preparations or with putschist theses and prac-

Continued on page 13

Excerpts from "Basic Principles . . ."

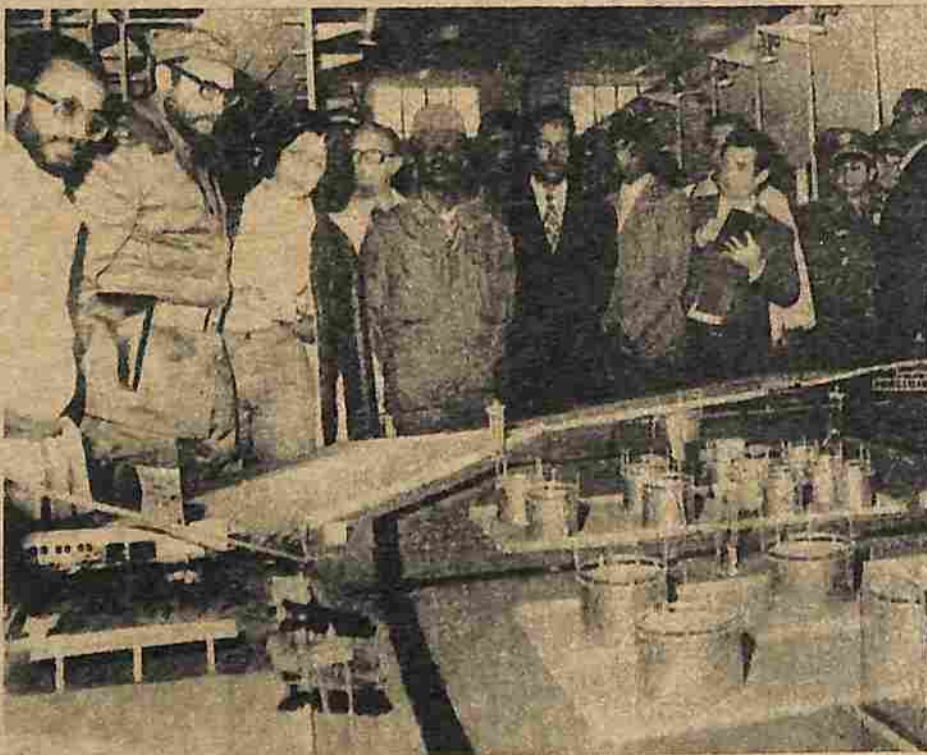
Cuba's Role and the Aims of Soviet Imperialism

"neutrality" with regard to the struggle in the international communist movement between the revisionists, headed by the Soviet Union, and the Marxist-Leninists led by the Chinese Communist Party, in fact the Cuban leaders sided with and assisted the former at crucial times and on the crucial questions. As early as 1965, at an international conference in Havana, the Cuban leaders barred many genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations from attending while revisionist parties were playing a key role, and Fidel Castro took the occasion of this conference to launch scurrilous attacks on China and Mao Tsetung personally. This kind of thing became increasingly common on the part of the Cuban leaders.

In 1970, on the eve of the election of the Popular Unity government in Chile, headed by Salvador Allende, Castro wrote an article in a revisionist journal in Chile citing that country as an example of the possibility of the electoral path to socialism. Later, during the Allende government and specifically when its reformist "peaceful road to socialism" was increasingly showing itself incapable of really carrying out a

is this which explains why these revisionists consistently restrained the struggle of the masses, even supporting the armed forces in disarming the masses and calling on the masses not to resist with arms the reactionary coup d'etat that brought a bloody end to the Allende period. It was the aims of the Chilean Communist Party and the Soviet social-imperialists behind them—who did not want a direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its henchmen in this situation—that the Cuban leaders, who by now had become unapologetic apologists for Soviet social-imperialism and its bloc, were consistently supporting and promoting. All this is a very important negative experience whose profound lessons must be fully grasped.

It is not the case, of course, that the Cuban leaders have ceased to talk about "armed struggle" or to engage in it. But these words and deeds are not in the service of revolution but rather to ally with reaction and strengthen the efforts of the Soviet social-imperialists to establish their domination in league with and through the use of local reactionaries in various countries. For example,



Castro with Mengistu in Ethiopia—lending troops and revolutionary prestige to what is in fact one more attempt at imperialist conquest by the Soviets.

CIA

Continued from page 9

basically because I wanted to communicate to the students the idea that there were Americans who supported their action, who supported the struggle of the Iranian people and who were anti-imperialists. So I went to the embassy; I approached the gate, and I had written out this card that said that I was a supporter of the Iranian revolution and I supported the taking of the embassy, and that I thought that I represented the aspirations of a section of the people in the United States. I just wanted to give this card to the people there. So a guy took it at the gate and gave it to someone who could read English. Then I decided to come in and talk. I did not know what to expect. I met a group of students who had taken this action as a direct blow against U.S. imperialism. They had seen the embassy as a center of activities for U.S. imperialism, a center that was still in operation after the uprising. It was still in contact with one of its agencies, the Iran-American Society, there were probably other agencies that were operating freely there in Tehran at that time. I'm sure their activities had been cut down, but they were still in contact with people who wanted to crush the revolution.

The students went over their demands. They wanted the return of the wealth of the Shah, the return of the wealth he had stolen, to the Iranian people. They wanted the complete break of all the contracts with the United States; they wanted to break the economic exploitation of the Iranian people. They wanted an apology from the U.S., based on the idea that U.S. imperialism had plundered Iran, and they wanted an open acknowledgement by the imperialists that they had done this. Overall, the students were very clear that the government of the United States did not represent the American people, and basically what they wanted was this point to be brought out to the American people. They wanted the American people to understand why the embassy was seized and how it was really operating in Tehran. They knew that the foreign press, including the Americans, who were there were not going to let this information get out of the country. They had a press conference where they invited the press to come, to photograph all the super-secret surveillance stuff they had there, computers hooked up to everything. They had ways of bugging your telephone and following your car around. It was a very sophisticated surveillance

equipment. I think Laura Brown mentioned the documents that the students seized at this time. The Americans, the spies, were not able to destroy all of this evidence before the students were able to secure all the different locations in the embassy.

Basically, this was my experience in going to the embassy. Later on, a delegation went to Iran. They were able to get these documents here. This delegation was the "Send the Shah Back—Hands off Iran" delegation and the students made these documents available to them. These documents were on how the U.S. embassy was used in Tehran, what its role was. Its role was, of course, to crush the revolution. One of these documents shows the cooperation between the embassy and one of these informers that, I am sure, was part of the ruling circle there in Iran: He was in the automobile business, the co-owner of the Ford Company in Tehran, and he would get kick backs every time the government would buy equipment from his company. All these documents will be submitted to the Tribunal. The embassy was not only a center for espionage, but it was also a kind of social center. Every night they had some function. All through the day they had functions, cocktail-parties, dinners, all that sort of stuff for the elite in Iran. They would come there; they would eat, drink and be merry, and figure out how to inflict more suffering and oppression on the people of Iran and how to undermine their struggle. After the revolution they had a kind of cut-back of these activities. They could not be quite so overt: They would have to set up lots of secret meetings. These documents talk about secret meetings between this individual and some official from the embassy. They also say that everyone knew that something was going to happen if the Shah was brought to the United States, whether they said it was for medical reasons or whatever. The people's struggle had reached a high anti-imperialist level at that time. They knew exactly who their enemy was. It was clear to the staff of the embassy that something was going to come down. But regardless of that, they did not really cut back the size of the staff. They had 52 people working there.

One of the things that happened while the embassy was being taken: some of the people were over at the Iran-America Society, two or three. These people kept the telephone line open, and I know this from a reliable source, for 12 hours to Washington, D.C. During that time, they were told which documents to shred, which codes

to destroy. There is apparently a phone bill for the Iran-America Society that shows this phone call that lasted 10 to 12 hours.

I will talk now about some other documents that are here. I believe his name was Ahern, he was one of the spies at the American embassy. They uncovered that he was a CIA agent. He had three or four different passports, an American passport, a Belgian one, and some other passport. In each one he had a different cover, like a businessman in Belgium, or whatever; not only did they have passports in the embassy, but they had all the exit and entry visas that you need in your passport so that they could take care of the passport work for the CIA agents, to allow them to walk in and out of the airports. They had all these things, passports, foreign currency, exit and entry visa stamps that should have belonged to the Iranian government. There are copies of this particular individual's different passports and also different instructions to this person on what his line should be any one particular time.

You would think that these spies at the embassy were just a bunch of clerks and people who just tried to get by, but if you go into an analysis of who these people were, you see that there is adequate proof and evidence that they were long term professional and experienced agents of imperialism, all of them worked into the CIA.

For example, there is Moorehead Kennedy. He had been stationed in Chile. He was there during the assassination. He had been stationed in several other places in Southeast Asia. The biographies of these people are very telling indeed. Several of them were named as CIA agents in Philip Agee's book, where he reveals the names of several agents operating in Southeast Asia, in Africa, Latin America. Most of these people had long service, many of them had been in Vietnam, and most of them were career diplomats, career officials. They were not someone who happened to be caught in Iran. They were there for a specific purpose.

So you have the overt acts of terror, you have the covert espionage that goes on, both of them aiming to crush the revolution. There was another kind of activity that I'm going to talk about, and that I'm sure is still going on while we are sitting here. It's what I would consider overt acts of military aggression. I think that Tabas is an example of that. Tabas, whether it was the kind of thing that was planned to fail or if it was to be carried out, but I'm not really

Remnants of U.S. helicopters at Tabas.

clear whether they thought they could release the hostages or if they could not. It's my opinion that they could not have gotten to Tehran, but at any rate their overall plan, had they carried it out, would have involved murder and massacre of thousands of Iranians. Basically what happened in the days preceding Tabas was that there were all sorts of turmoils in the city and surrounding area around Tehran. There were bomb explosions. There was one cinema where, I think, 8 people were killed in a bomb explosion. There were bombs set up under bridges and in different areas. Throughout the city there were different incidents, attempts of assassination and bombing, all of which were geared to creating an atmosphere of chaos in the city and in the whole country, to prepare the ground for this intervention.

Imperialists were not working alone, of course. They had their own people in Tehran. They had former SAVAK members. They were working through intermediaries with reactionary heads of different tribes. They were working with reactionary landlords, reactionary people from the national bourgeoisie. There was a whole network of people involved in this maneuver. So all of these people had their roles, and they were undertaking them in various ways to set up the ground work for a military intervention. Now, whether Tabas was supposed to be the actual intervention or not, I don't know, but all of these factors were in place: they had these tribal chiefs; they had landlords, they had former SAVAK; and of course they had the military. There were people throughout the military that were still loyal to the Shah and were prepared to do what they needed to do.

During the uprising the imperialists saw what was happening, the military, armed forces were being destroyed. So very quickly they sent Huyser over there and got the Shah out of Iran, convinced him to leave at that point before the military could be totally broken down. This way they were left with at least some base within the military that could be used in subsequent coup d'etats or military interventions, whatever.

What was really interesting about the Tabas invasion was the response of the people. . . . As the news began to come over the radio of the invasion, the streets began to fill. Groups of people got together, marching, and the main slogan was "Death to U.S. imperialism." By the end of the day these demonstrations were getting bigger and bigger. So, the government, the next day, called for a mass demonstration. That was another demonstration of 3 to 5 million people. To see the masses in motion like that, it's just tremendous. Instead of the Iranian people being shaken or scared by Tabas, they took to the streets. Had the U.S. invaded at that point, I'm sure they wouldn't have gotten any further than the border because the people's enthusiasm and devotion to the revolution was so high at that point that they were willing to make any and all sacrifices. □

Brecht

Continued from page 5

quantitative difference, "mere shifts of accent" in Brecht's phrase, which is just as much of a metaphysical and idealist position. The terms are, in fact, opposites *linked* in a unity, aspects of contradictions *bound* together. Thus, feeling and reason, thought and social being, quantitative evolution and qualitative jumps, and in the technical terms of drama, for example, growth and montage, a fixed point and a process, a character changing or not changing, empathy and alienation—all these are not absolute antitheses nor is it a question of *emphasizing* one side or the other. They are unities of opposites, aspects of contradictions. Both sides occur, must occur, in life and in drama, with one side being the determining, the other the subordinate and vice versa in different situations and circumstances of development.

For all his attempts to theorize for a "dialectical theatre" Brecht, however, never understood this. Had he done so, he would have been obliged to make an aesthetic self-criticism and to reject nearly all of his "theories" on the epic theatre. He could not, however, but re-

cognize the shortcomings of those theories at least on the level of practice, i.e. when he put them to the test as a playwright. And this accounts for the final, and one of the most damaging aspects of Brechtian theory or theories, namely, their eclecticism, lack of any tangible concepts and ultimate empiricism. Whatever justification for all this that Brechtians may come up with in terms of the evolution of a doctrine or of theory being modified in the light of practice, etc. cannot conceal the fact that there is no theory to begin with, but merely a series of distorting one-sidedness and abstract dichotomies (of reason against emotion, alienation against empathy, etc.) which had to be continuously corrected when used as guidelines for playwriting. It is then a case of correcting initial fallacies rather than the development of a theoretical doctrine that lies behind the eclectic and contradictory nature of Brechtianism so often observed by those who have studied him. In the end, we are left with a number of undoubtedly useful observations on dramatic technique, and on the revolutionization of artistic and cultural forms. These, however, do not make up a theory, for which open-ended evolutionism that starts from a fallacy and leads by no matter how many stages into nowhere can be no

substitute.

1. "The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre" in *Brecht On Theatre* translated by John Willett (London 1977) p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.* p. 35.
4. "The Radio as an Apparatus of Communication" in *Ibid.* p. 52.
5. "Three Cheers for Shaw" in *Ibid.* pp. 10-13.
6. *Ibid.* p. 13.
7. Anti-heroism, which Brecht never elaborated upon theoretically, was already apparent in that early essay on Shaw where he expressed his admiration for the Irish playwright for finding "less point in living among heroes than among ordinary men" (p. 12). This dichotomy which Brecht establishes here (between heroes and ordinary men) and the inherent anti-heroism which it entails remained, however, one of the most constant factors in Brecht's dramatic practice. Without going into the details of the affinity of Brecht's anti-heroism to the whole modernist ethos, beginning with Joyce's *Ulysses*, etc., it must be pointed out that this is a crucial area on which Brecht is directly opposed to the socialist theory and practice of drama which insists that proletarian heroes, heroes drawn from the most revolutionary class in human history, must oc-

cupy the center of the stage. There can be no socialist drama with heroes, non-heroes or anti-heroes from any other class occupying that position.

8. It is true that Brecht modified his position on the issue of reason vs. emotion which developed from outlandish early statements like "I am not writing for the scum who want to have the cockles of their hearts warmed... I appeal to the reason" ("Conversations with Bert Brecht", 1925, *Ibid.* p. 14.) to the more guarded: "the rejection of empathy is not the result of rejection of the emotions... None the less a non-aristotelian dramaturgy has to apply a cautious criticism to the emotions which it aims at and incorporates" ("Short Description of a New Technique of Acting Which Produces an Alienation Effect" 1951, *Ibid.* p. 145.)
9. "Nowadays the play's meaning is usually blurred by the fact that the actor plays to the audience's hearts. The figures portrayed are foisted on the audience and are falsified in the process. Contrary to present custom they ought to be presented quite coldly, classically and objectively. For they are not matter for empathy; they are there to be understood. Feelings are private and limited. Against that the reason is fairly comprehensive and to be relied on." "Conversations with Bert Brecht" in *Ibid.* p. 15.
10. *Ibid.* p. 15.

Sudan

from page 7

market prices.

One social result of the economic pillage of Sudan by imperialism has been the mass exodus from the country of educated youth and skilled workers. One million people, out of a total population of 17 million, have been forced to move abroad. There are 400,000 Sudanese currently living in Libya alone, many working in the Libyan oilfields. (Sudanese workers returning from Libya were a particular target of the current wave of mass arrests.) Altogether, Sudan's overseas workers send home \$350 million a year, making up the only stable sector of Sudan's foreign income.

Set on top of Sudan's crumbling economic base is a history of political instability almost unmatched in Africa (only tiny Benin has had more military coups and coup attempts) and a potentially explosive history of national oppression. Although counted as an Arab country by its ruling elite, in fact only half of Sudan's population speaks Arabic, with the other half consisting of oppressed black minorities in the most underdeveloped southern section of the country bordering on Uganda and Zaire. A policy of forced imposition of Islam and the Arabic language resulted in an armed insurrection by the black population of southern Sudan which lasted from 1963 to 1972, in which 500,000 were killed. This armed struggle against national oppression was quietly iced by that "natural ally" of the oppressed, the Soviet Union, after the 1969 coup of General Nimeiry resulted in the signing of the Tripoli Charter, which briefly brought Libya, Egypt and Sudan into a joint pro-Soviet regional alliance. The revisionist Sudanese Communist Party was brought into the Sudanese government, and one of its leading members was made Minister of Southern Affairs in charge of suppressing the rebellion! (Then, when they failed to come to power in a 1971 coup attempt, these same revisionist leaders were executed by Nimeiry without so much as a word of protest by the Soviet Union.) While an end of the fighting was negotiated in 1972 on the basis of regional autonomy, the inequality of nationalities is far from resolved, and plans for the Khartoum government to ship oil recently discovered in the south to refineries in the north have sparked renewed protests among the southern peoples.

After World War 2, while Britain still dominated Egypt, the Sudan in turn was officially considered an "Anglo-Egyptian condominium." It was only in 1956 that Sudan became independent, later following Egypt into an alliance with the USSR. In 1973, when Egypt broke with the USSR, the Soviets moved to consolidate their position in Sudan, along with Libya and later Ethiopia. Both Egypt and Libya sponsored a

series of coup attempts in Sudan. In 1977, Nimeiry, who at one point had broken relations with Egypt, signed a military defense pact with it, and Sudan's relations with both Egypt and the U.S. improved dramatically.

Nimeiry's consolidation into the U.S.-led bloc, however, has done nothing to consolidate Sudan's political stability. Pulled in behind Egypt in the Camp David Accords, Sudan found itself equally isolated at a time of ever mounting domestic unrest and crisis. One Sudanese politician was quoted last spring in the *Washington Post* as moaning, "We now find ourselves stranded alongside a marooned Sadat."

Adding to the potential of political upheaval in Sudan is the presence of a half million refugees from the fighting in Eritrea and Ethiopia. While assailing Qaddafi daily, Nimeiry has walked on eggshells in his relations with Ethiopia's pro-Soviet government, while at the same time having to bow to the massive public support which exists in Sudan for the Eritrean struggle. On Sudan's western border, the giving of sanctuary to anti-Libyan forces from Chad has led to clashes between the right-wing Chadeans and the Sudanese populace, including three days of rioting and demonstrations in Sudan's western province of Darfur last January which forced Nimeiry to withdraw the appointment of a new military governor.

As "Operation Bright Star" gets under way, a distinctly dim star shines on the prospects for any stable, pro-Western regime surviving in Sudan. The *New York Times* has openly speculated on "a domino theory at work among the United States' allies in the Middle East," warning ominously of "a dagger at Egypt's underbelly." Of course, this is a typically imperialist upside-down view, since the U.S. has long been glad to use Egypt as a dagger pointed at Sudan, but it certainly is true that this relationship can work both ways—that what happens in the Sudan can greatly affect Egypt as well as vice versa. The strategic implications of Sudan's instability are scarcely lost on the Soviets, especially since many of the opposition forces in Sudan are linked to Libya's Colonel Qaddafi.

All this should not be taken to mean that the U.S. is necessarily out of options in Sudan, however. Sudan's importance in the overall designs of the U.S. make it all the more necessary for the U.S. to try its best to hold it together.

It is in this light that Nimeiry's recent hysteria about supposed Libyan preparations for an invasion of Sudan that never happened make sense, not only as a reflection of Nimeiry's very real vulnerability, but even more of the desperate needs of Nimeiry's U.S. masters to block the Soviets' efforts in the Middle East, spearheaded by Libya's Qaddafi, before their own house of cards collapses. □

Cuba

Continued from page 11

tices aimed at installing themselves as heads of regimes exploiting and oppressing the masses under a "revolutionary," a "socialist," even "communist" cover.

Today, despite the past experience of the "focoist" adventures promoted by the Cuban leaders, this same line, or a variant of it, continues to have some influence in various countries, and in some cases actually poses serious problems for and obstacles to the revolutionary movement. And this has to a certain degree been given some impetus by the reversal in China and the fact that the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-

tung, including on people's war and military strategy generally—a line which is based on and gives expression to the waging of the armed struggle as a war of the masses under the leadership of a proletarian vanguard party—has been under intensifying attack from many different quarters. Generally this "focoist" line, even when it is not promoted by direct agents of the Soviet social-imperialists, ends up apologizing for and preaching reliance on them, because failing to rely on the masses leads before too long to the search for some other powerful force to stand up to the ruling class and the U.S. bloc imperialists behind them—voilà the Soviet Union, a real superpower opposed to the U.S., and "socialist" too. □

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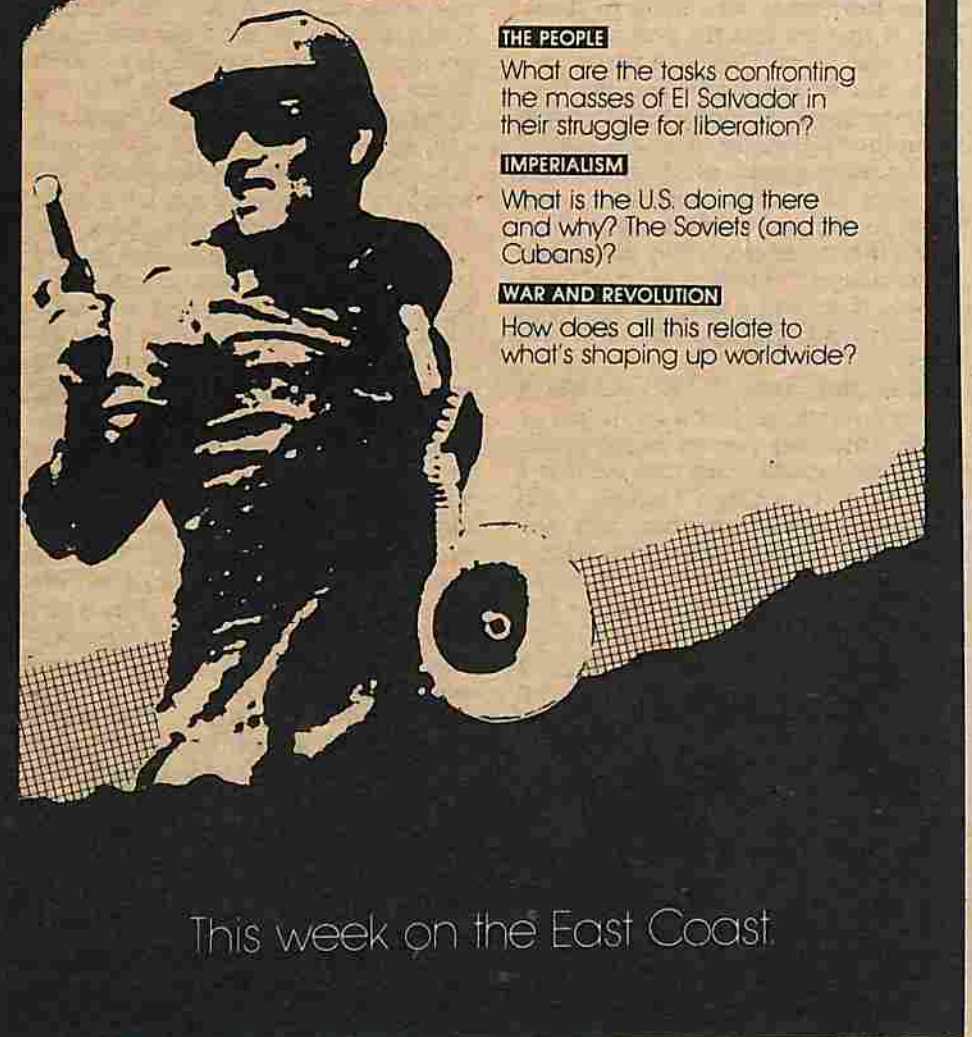
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Statement of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism

We the undersigned view with concern the high-echelon effort to reverse earlier and correct verdicts brought against U.S. imperialism for war crimes against the people of the world. Even now, they are staggering from the high tide of struggle of the 1960s—which saw the U.S. opposed by tens of millions on every continent. The world was turned right side up as U.S. imperialism stood exposed and isolated as the naked defender of reaction.

There is an intensifying attempt to whip up every kind of ugly chauvinism and superpatriotism with tactics such as orchestrating the yellow ribbon hostage hysteria and awarding medals of honor to newly discovered "heroes" of the Vietnam War. The rulers of this country whose agents trained the SAVAK torturers decry the "cruelty" to their hostages. Meanwhile, they deny the unspeakable actions of their CIA in country after country. They denounce "terrorism", while in El Salvador they perpetuate their historic policy of genocide and contemplate major intervention. And the list of their crimes goes on and on, from the Halls of Montezuma to Wounded Knee, from the enslavement of Black people to the incarceration and murder of Puerto Rican freedom fighters. All the while planning more, and even more foul deeds—nuclear proliferation and increasing military expenditures to unprecedented heights in preparation for war.

These developments pose an historic challenge and opportunity to progressive people to expose and oppose U.S. imperialism. The Tribunal calls for testimony and other evidence to be presented as to the war crimes the U.S. has committed against the people of the world. There are many people, foreign-born, veterans, and many more oppressed living in this and other countries who have rich testimony to offer. Representatives of U.S. imperialism are also being challenged to appear and defend their actions. At the close of the hearings the Tribunal panel will consider its findings and publish them in as many languages as possible and disseminate them broadly throughout the world.

This Tribunal provides the masses with a dramatic forum from which to speak and all over the world people will see and rejoice that right in the belly of the beast people of many nationalities and all walks of life are uniting in a mighty exposure and condemnation of U.S. imperialism.

We urge you to take part in and support the Tribunal in every way possible and to encourage others to do so. The actions we take will have a profound effect, exposing to many and deepening for many others the crimes the U.S. rulers have committed here and around the world. This Tribunal will constitute a powerful blow to their war moves.

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|---|---|--|---|--|---|

Chain

Continued from page 8

ran?" I told them I was looking for a job or something like that. They had a lot of evidence against us too. Before that we had gone to the villages to study the peasants' life and what the so-called White Revolution was doing to them. Five of us went and the peasants were really nice to us. They kept us for two weeks and we saw everything. We were studying there, talking to the people about their difficulties. This was part of the evidence against us. They thought we were the urban guerrillas going there, so they were really anxious about us. So they asked me, "Why did you go to the villages?" I told them I had family over there and I went to see them. Actually, my grandparents are peasants.

After this week, I had everything again. Everything. Not a point less or more. Then they put me in jail again. After two months, they told me that I have to go to a Court Martial. I was transferred to the army base and they asked me everything again. I told them, "I told you everything a hundred times." They said, "No. We are not SAVAK. We are army officers. You have to tell it again." So I did. Then they told me that my family had put up some money for bail. So they put me out.

I had to present myself to the court after one year. After one year the actual court was begun. There were three old, funny generals sitting there saying, "Well, what's your case?" There were about 15 or 20 of us, we didn't know each other. "What's your case? OK, four months. OK, two months. OK, one year. OK, two years. OK, three years." That way they issued sentences. One man had been in prison for four months. The generals sentenced him to three months. He asked, "What hap-

pens with the other month?" "It's OK," they said.

They asked me to write a letter. "From now on, if you are going to be free, you are not going to be involved in any political activity. If we find you, we will sentence you to the maximum. It will be all over. Really, seriously." After I was released from jail, I was disconnected from political activities. No one contacted me. While I was trying to find a job (at that time I was in the 11th grade of school), the principal wouldn't let me go to that school again. So I had to go to another school and finish my high school. I found a job on national TV. I worked there for one week. They were very satisfied with me. I was really a good worker over there. After one week the security officers called me and told me I couldn't work there. "We have your record here, and you can't work here, because of national security." If anybody in Iran wanted to work anywhere, his record, or her record, had to go to SAVAK to be checked. You can't find a job anyplace without the approval of SAVAK. So after a while I had to go into the army, for service after high school. I had the same problem there. They told me, "Out. We can't find your records." I knew what was really going on. For three years they fooled around with their bureaucracy. Without serving in the army, you can't get a legal job.

I applied for a passport. They didn't give me that passport until 1978—after the Shah came here and went back, and after the Tabriz revolt. They gave me a passport because at that time the Shah wanted to do liberal things for the people. He released some political prisoners and issued some passports for some people who couldn't go abroad.

You see, compared to the other people who have been tortured, who have been martyred at the hands of the U.S. imperialists around the world, especially in Iran, they did nothing with me at all, even though they beat me with a

cable. They threw me out of school. They threw me out of work. Really, if I could explain to you how brutally they dealt with other political prisoners, you would find out that I have told you nothing about the torture and those CIA-trained SAVAKees dealing with people. There were thousands of us, thousands of people, who have been in jail, who have been tortured, who have been killed just for the reason of their ideology, for their way of thinking, for their political mind and everything. You couldn't express anything in Iran at all. I mean, if they find one leaflet, one Marxist-Leninist leaflet, you go to jail for 5 years. No way do they have mercy on you. 5 years. You know what happened to the other revolutionary groups, like Fedayeen and Mojahadeen and thousands of other communists and even liberals and democrats. They killed them because of their serious so-called crime. And what was their crime? Their mind, their ideology, their way of thinking.

One interesting thing that happened to me, where I found out who is my real enemy, was the time when I was 17 years old. I found on my chain, my hand chain, it was written "Made in US." Really, "Made in US." The U.S. was exporting these to other countries to help their economy. Yes, the type was black, thin, very nice. They tied you with those chains when they killed you with their bullets.

Another thing: I want to compare these tortured people, these martyrs, not only in Iran but around the world, to one of those funny guys by the name of spy Murphy. He came to South Seattle Community College and told the people, "When I was in captivity, the Iranian students tortured me." One of us asked him, "Sir, what was your torture?" He said, "They took our shoes from us!" I mean, what could we do? You see, this spy monster, this pig, tells this to his people, that he has been tortured by taking his shoes off. I mean, can you imagine that? Thousands of

people have been martyred by his own hand, not directly but indirectly, and millions of people have suffered from this bloody monster imperialism all over the world, and they are telling the people, "Our shoes were taken!"

What I said was my individual experience. I can tell you horrible stories about my other comrades, who were seriously tortured, who were 7 or 8 years in prison until they were freed by the hands of the people during the revolution. I can say those horrible things. But what did I say? I was one drop of that ocean of people who were fighting against U.S. imperialism and the Shah.

One of my friends who was captured by SAVAK after 2 years—I'll tell you how they captured him. We were doing, in a theater, a play by Bertolt Brecht by the name of Exception and the Rule. After the first night of the play, SAVAK came with machine guns and a lot of people. It was at a university, a 2-year college in Rasht. They told us, "No, you can't do this. You must stop the play." Meanwhile, there were thousands of people outside the doors who wanted to see the play. The people's reaction was slogans against SAVAK and against the regime, which scared the SAVAKees to death! They didn't expect the people to support us. They saw the actual anger of the people outside who wanted even democratic, legal rights—to see, to learn, to understand. And so, they couldn't resist. They just let the people in. And after that, they captured all of us while the people were still shouting slogans against them and they were cheering us, they took us to jail after the finish of the play.

I was again released after just two days in SAVAK's office. My other friend was kept in prison until he was released by the hand of the people during the revolution. The summer after the revolution, I went to Iran and saw my old friends. They told me that all

Continued on page 15

New Twist in KDP Murder Case

On November 1, King County Superior Court Judge Frank Howard ordered Tony Dictado, the third person charged with the murder of Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (Union of Democratic Filipinos, KDP) members Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, to get a new lawyer for his upcoming murder trial. The move, requested by the prosecution, will effectively delay Dictado's trial, possibly until next spring.

As predicted in *RW* No. 122, the two assassins who actually gunned down Viernes and Domingo in the Seattle Union Hall of the Alaskan Cannery Workers Union, Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy, were convicted of the murders and sentenced to life imprisonment. The state desperately needed these convictions in the hope of quelling the widespread outrage these murders triggered and in hope of preventing further exposure of the real forces at work behind these murders. The plot to

murder Viernes and Domingo clearly involved powerful forces in Seattle's Filipino community, forces with close ties to the local Philippine Consulate and the U.S.-backed Marcos regime in the Philippines. The obvious fact that much bigger forces than just Ramil and Guloy were involved in planning and carrying out these murders, coupled with the anger the murders triggered among broad sections of the people, forced the state to arrest and charge Tony Dictado, the leader of a Filipino gang to which both Ramil and Guloy belonged, as well. Among those forces clearly implicated in the murder plot, but still remaining free and facing no charges, is Tony Baruso, the president of the Alaskan Cannery Workers Union (of which both Viernes and Domingo were officers), a major figure in the network of reactionary Filipino organizations, and past or present head of a large number of pro-Marcos groups in

the Filipino community.

It is becoming clearer that the state wants, with the trial of Dictado, to close the book on this whole affair, limiting—they hope—any further exposure of the forces involved in these murders. The state apparently feels it can get away without charging Baruso and other elements of the reactionary pro-Marcos apparatus with the murders. Keeping Baruso (whose gun was actually used in the murders), in particular, on the streets allows him to serve as both a symbolic and material threat to anyone who continues to go up against the pro-Marcos political apparatus and the interests it serves, including of course, the U.S. ruling class, which stands behind it.

Viewed in this context, the recent court ruling concerning Dictado's trial, and the resulting delay in bringing the case to court, serves the ruling class's interests well. The prosecution made

the motion to remove Dictado's attorney because this attorney is also defending one of the already convicted assassins, Jimmy Ramil, and the prosecution claimed that this was a "conflict of interest." The prosecution persisted in demanding that Dictado get a new attorney, despite the opposition of both Dictado and his lawyer to this, because it said it feared that this "conflict of interest" would serve as a basis for an appeal should Dictado be convicted.

Clearly the prosecution wants, at all costs, to avoid having Dictado tried, convicted, the conviction appealed and then get another trial held; after all, the whole point of the bourgeoisie's legal maneuvering in this case is to get the whole sordid affair out of the public eye as quickly and quietly as possible. But by delaying the trial for several months the latest moves by the prosecution served the same purpose much more directly. The calculations undoubtedly being made in the King County Prosecutor's Office, and other offices as well, are based on the dubious expectation that these murders will be all but forgotten by the time Dictado comes to trial.

Those forces who planned the murder of Domingo and Viernes were taking a gamble based on their desperate need to maintain the grip of the pro-Marcos reactionary apparatus on the Filipino community. It was a gamble which backfired, sparking protests and opposition well beyond anything they imagined. In fact, recently, when it was rumored that a visit by Marcos might be arranged following the Cancun summit meeting in Mexico which Marcos was attending, pickets were organized to the Philippine Consulate protesting any visit by Marcos and showing some of his regime's links to the murders of Viernes and Domingo. The outrage around these murders has fed the more general rising opposition to the Marcos regime in the U.S. that the killings were directed at stifling in the first place.

Now the state is taking another gamble. A gamble based on the hope that this way they can limit the damage done in the wake of these murders which has already deeply affected tens of thousands in Seattle and across the country. □



(above) Burning the American flag atop the embassy wall.
(left) Bloody footprints lead from a torture chamber of the U.S.-trained SAVAK.

Chain

Continued from page 14.

my friends had been released. They told me what had been done to them. They were just beating people to death. I mean, if you see the bodies of these people, you can see that a lot of things have been changed. They haven't been electrically shocked, no. That's for special people who have done especially serious things against the government. Regular people, political-minded people, they are just beating them, beating to death. They were just exercising their daily practice on us. I mean we were just boxing bags for them. Doing anything they want, killing us, biting us. They enjoyed it! They were laughing while they were beating us. One of my friends told me that there were four SAVAKees in four corners of the room and they were just beating him and passing him to the others. He couldn't even be on the floor. The floor is worse. Better to be beat by hand than kicked by feet. Fortunately, they didn't torture them like they did to other political prisoners in other sectors. I personally heard about electrical shock. After the revolution, they found out about the things they did to the prisoners. To boys, girls, men, old men... they didn't care about the age. When I was 17, they kept me. It was written in the constitution that it was illegal to arrest someone under 18 years old. But even younger

than me, 14 years, 13 years old boys have been tortured. We have many martyrs of this age. They don't care about your age, or shape or health. They just want you to not think anything, to be a dumb person. Just do everything they want you to do.

That's the way they are doing in a lot of countries, because of their interests. Their interests want the people to be oppressed. They want to exploit the people to work for them. To make money for these big businessmen. So that's normal for them. Very, very normal. It's their job. For example, this Murphy I told about... his job, his nature is this—doing this bullshit, telling this bullshit to the people. He's paid for that. We can't expect these people to say revolutionary things, no. But I do blame our so-called revolutionary government who released these people. Released these people to come back to this country and tell these lies. I blame this so-called revolutionary government. Instead of hanging these monsters, these spies by their yellow ribbon, they free them to come to this country to tell the people that their shoes have been taken!

... I came to the U.S. after the Shah came here. I had heard about the things that you people had done. You brave people, you honest people, how you had welcomed this monster to this country and we were so glad. When we heard about those demonstrations against this puppet, it was such a relief for me. I was going to come here and learn from you people.

War Crimes Tribunal in New York

December 4, 5, 6 in New York City
Washington Irving High School
40 Irving Place (1 block E. of Union Square), Manhattan

If you participated in the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in another city as it crossed the country—or if you wish you had after it left—you can help build its culminating sessions in New York City. Youth from a number of places around the country are arriving to help contribute to the atmosphere in which U.S. imperialism will suffer. Whether or not you can come, call or write your friends and political contacts there and make sure they don't miss it, and miss the chance to help build it.

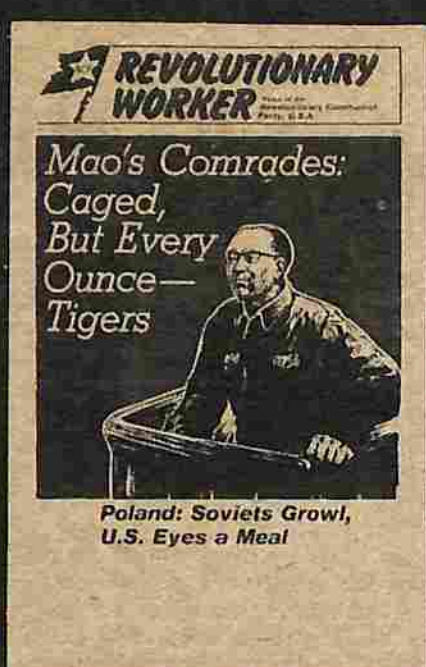
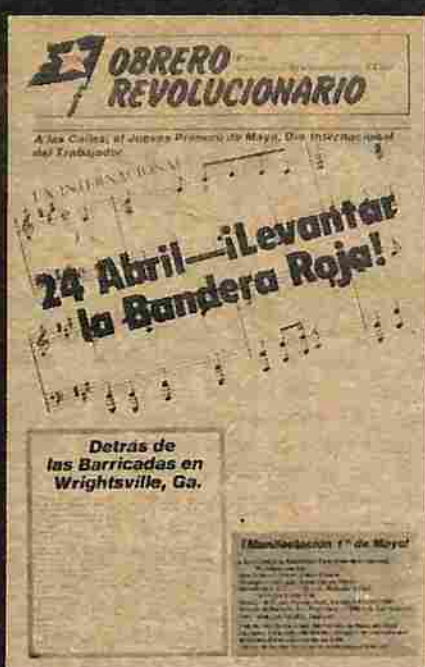
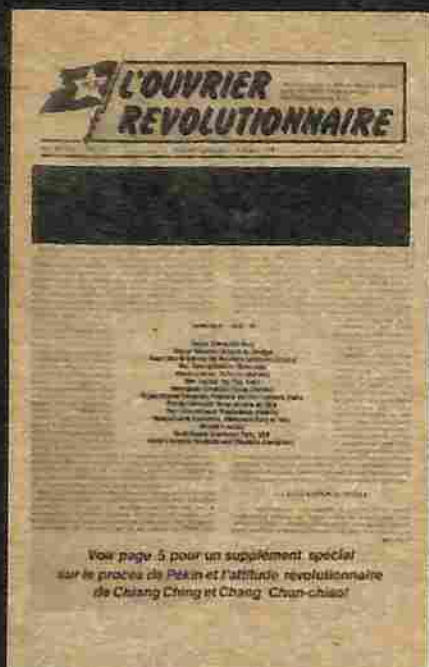
Work is needed in the following areas:

Testimony—soliciting and collecting testimony;
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Money, and

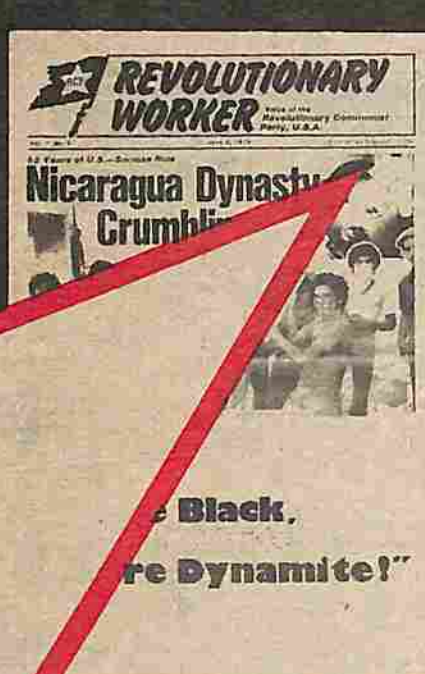
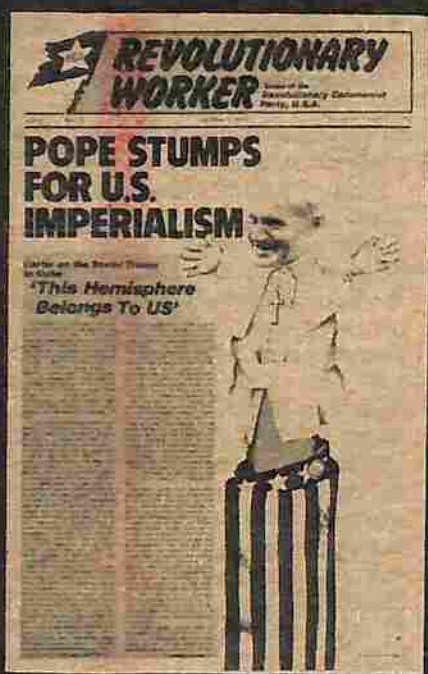
Volunteers—in New York or to come to New York to: poster, leaflet, type and transcribe testimony.

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