

# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Young and Bad in Palestine



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Palestinian youth with slingshot in Nablus, West Bank.

The unstoppable youth of Palestine! Who can ignore this fresh, dynamic force that has burst on the world scene and made their oppressors tremble?

The *shebab*, as the youth are called among the Palestinian people, stand at the center stage of the uprising that has rocked Israel and the imperialists who stand behind it. They are the uprising's warriors, its martyrs, its emerging leaders and commanders. Children as young as nine or ten build barricades in the streets of Gaza, enforcing a general strike that starves Israel of its cheap labor. Crowds of teenagers fill Israeli military courts, proud and defiant in the face of imprisonment and torture. In the heated

political discussions among Palestinians, the youths are injecting a new voice that challenges old thinking and strategies.

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

While the Israeli military attempts to put down the uprising with bullets, others attack with feigned "concern." The U.S. rulers and their press, playing liberal and

"neutral," mourn about the "tragedy that drives children to such desperation" and the "lost generation." This talk about "lost generation" has been used by the bourgeoisie to attack other upsurges of youth as well: the "comrades" of South Africa and the Red Guards during China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to name two.

In truth, what the U.S. rulers find to be a *real* tragedy is that the situation has become dangerously explosive for Israel, a crucial pillar of their empire which is backed up by billions in U.S. blood money. The Western press shudders when reporting about Palestinian youth baring their chests to Israeli patrols and

shouting, "Shoot me or get out!" They openly fret: What can you do to suppress such fearlessness; how can you derail a movement that has taken such an uncompromising turn?

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

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

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# Three Main Points

by **Bob Avakian**  
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

3. Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge for all those who would like to see such a revolution, those with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, all those who dare to dream and to act to bring about a completely new and better world: Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a solid basis and a real chance of winning.

## Leaflet of the RCYB

### Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!

"Kill us all!" "Kill us all or get out!" cried Palestinian youth, part of a crowd fighting the Israeli army in a refugee district of the Gaza region of occupied Palestine. As the crowd charged Israeli troops, the soldiers knelt, took aim, and fired their automatic weapons. One youth fell to the ground, shot and bleeding. Two youth died in the gunfire. Many more picked up rocks, and charged the oppressor in waves. The Israeli troops retreated down the scorched streets, while more youths began marching toward them, some armed with knives and axes.

Throughout the Gaza, and in the West Bank region too, this scene was repeated. Palestinian youth have clashed with the Israeli military since mid-December. Palestinian workers who do the dirtiest and most menial jobs in Israel supported the uprisings with a general strike. Palestinian businessmen locked up their shops, despite Israeli troops trying to force them open at gunpoint.

The new uprisings among the youth — or the "shebab" as they are known in Palestine — are perhaps the fiercest resistance ever to the enslavement of the Palestinian people. Driven from their homeland by Israeli settlers, the Palestinian people live for the most part in refugee camps in the Gaza, the West Bank, and Lebanon. Conditions closely resemble those of the Azanian people in South Africa. The people live as prisoners of a state that has stolen their land and only holds power by keeping the oppressed in constant terror. Daily life in occupied Palestine means jail, constant harassment and police searches, roadblocks, army troops blowing up homes and businesses, beatings, widespread legalized torture, and mass murder directed against the Palestinian population.

Now the terror of the Israeli state is being answered by the righteous actions of the terrorized in a way never seen in that country. One Israeli reporter said "The difference is that now it lasts longer, more people are involved, and they are not afraid to confront the army. It's like a fire, it catches and spreads." He added, "I'm talking about the youth, they have nothing to lose."

The barbaric repression directed against the uprisings has further fueled the fires of rebellion. One Palestinian teenager was tied to the hood of

an Israeli army jeep, apparently as a shield against rock throwing, and driven through a Palestinian district, according to United Nations officials. After the Israeli army killed a young Palestinian brother who they said was throwing a gasoline bomb at soldiers, youths paraded his body in a coffin through the streets, attracting a crowd of several thousand who clashed with police — who in turn murdered one of those who was part of the funeral.

Israeli officials are frantically claiming that everything is under control. But a United Nations official on the scene said of the army's effort to stop the rebellions, "I'm afraid this has gotten out of control. We're in a situation of either total lawlessness or a popular uprising."

The uprisings of the Palestinian youth in the occupied West Bank and Gaza regions are shaking not only the Israeli regime, but the whole world. Their struggle is taking place in Israel, the supposedly invincible policeman representing the United States in the Middle East. This is the region of the world that includes the Persian Gulf, where the military forces of both the United States and its allies, and the Soviet Union, operate on land and sea, face to face. It is a region that has the potential to trigger a nuclear world war, but it is also a region where the people are straining for a chance to rise up against the oppression of all imperialism.

The Palestinian people have never been short of false friends telling them to make their peace with Israel and give up the struggle for national liberation. Those voices argue that Israel is too powerful. The current uprisings among the Palestinian youth prove that ultimately it is slavemaster who fears the slaves. And as the great revolutionary Mao Tsetung put it: It's Right to Rebel Against Reactionaries. This lesson should not be lost on us — here in the ghettos and barrios of this godfather of oppression, the United States. The Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade calls on youth in the United States to find ways to support the uprisings among the Palestinian people! And to take inspiration from the righteous rebellions of our brothers and sisters, and use that to intensify our determination and struggle to rid the world of this greatest of oppressors — U.S. imperialism.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH BRIGADE  
PO Box 30735 Terminal Annex — Los Angeles, CA 90060

Stop the Reign of terror Against the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Now!  
Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!  
Palestinian Youth — Fierce, Confident and Bold!  
Fan the Flames of the Uprisings in the Israeli Bantustans!  
Down with the Reactionary Israeli Settler State and its US Masters!

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# Angulo Brings News from Peru

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

Carlos Angulo noted in his talks that the Peruvian government continues to suppress the surviving political prisoners and anyone who would defend them or

let their story see the light of day. In fact, Angulo had stepped forward to speak in both Canada and the U.S. at the last moment's notice, taking the place of Dr. Martha Huatay, president of the Association of Democratic Attorneys in Peru, who could not come due to the intensifying repression against the Association and its members. The lawyers in the Association have been defending the political prisoners. As he was leaving Peru, Angulo was detained at the airport by authorities. Only through international efforts, as well as protests in Peru, was he finally released to go to Toronto, Canada just in time to speak at the First Conference on Human Rights in Latin

America. This showed just how desperately the Peruvian state headed by Alan García wanted to prevent the exposure of their crimes outside of Peru, which makes the success of these speaking engagements even more significant.

The various speaking engagements were endorsed by a broad range of institutions, organizations, and individuals (see accompanying box). Many of the programs were held on campuses, and sometimes whole classes heard Angulo speak; at several of the programs there were significant numbers of people from Latin American countries. In Los Angeles both major Spanish-language newspapers — *La Opinión* and *El Diario de Los Angeles*

— as well as the main Spanish-language TV in the region, KMEX, reported on Angulo's visit.

During the question and answer period at one program, a number of people in the audience expressed concern for Angulo's personal safety. In reply he briefly recounted the assassination attempt against him last October and his detention at the Lima airport as he was leaving Peru. He said, "Now, given the situation in the country, all journalists and defenders of human rights run a grave risk which we constantly have to calculate. But we also have a tremendous responsibility to denounce these facts." □

## On the Terror of the García Regime

In the presentations that he made at the various U.S. speaking engagements, Carlos Angulo first sketched out in broad strokes his view of the historical and social conditions that have given rise to "the civil war" in Peru: "a history of generalized servitude, of lack of liberty, especially toward the indigenous people," and a society where the majority of the population, those living in peasant communities and shantytowns, have little land and few jobs and suffer under in-

creasing and extreme injustice and poverty.

In December 1982 the military was first dispatched to the Andes to try to defeat the revolutionary armed struggle led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) that was then spreading from Ayacucho. Local police actions had failed completely to stop the revolutionary war. By then, Angulo pointed out, the Peruvian state had started "to wage a dirty war in wiping out peasant communities and the civilian population under the pretext of combating 'terrorism'" — mass graves after mass graves were found, villages after villages were wiped out. "All of these were denounced nationally and internationally, because we were discovering a policy of state terrorism and extermination of peasant communities and the civilian population. This entire picture of the violation of human rights within the state of civil war was making people aware of what was going on: that it was not just a case of a group of 'fanatics' or 'subversive delinquents' or of 'Pol Pot-type bands' or 'Messianic groups' — all of these having been used by the press, especially the official and rightist press, to claim that there was not war in the country, that it was just tiny groups that

had gone mad. Later on, the people began to realize, and that is recognized also by the armed forces, that the Communist Party of Peru, or Shining Path, before initiating the armed struggle, had prepared all the conditions, especially ideologically preparing many peasant communities."

### The Struggle of Political Prisoners

Angulo then got into what he called a "high-point in the war" — the struggle of the political prisoners and the June 1986 uprising by the prisoners and their massacre by the government. He told of the spectacular attack by PCP guerrillas in March 1982 on the Ayacucho city jail, led by a young woman named Edith Lagos. With this daring raid the guerrillas freed their fellow fighters and other prisoners who were being held in the jail. In retaliation, the government transferred the rest of the political prisoners being held in the countryside to three prisons in the Lima area — El Frontón, Lurigancho, and the women's prison at Callao.

But the political prisoners, said Angulo, "organized themselves into what they called the 'Shining Trenches of Combat,' daily prepared themselves politically and ideologically, and they

would send out communiqués not only about political struggle but also about living conditions forced upon them in prison." What followed was an upward spiral of repression and rebellion in these prisons — first over the demands for status of special prisoners and improvement of prison conditions, and later also over protests against the government's decision to transfer them to the new "maximum security" prison in Canto Grande.

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

The massacre by the Peruvian government took a brutal toll: Two women prisoners at Callao were killed; at Lurigancho, all 135 prisoners charged with being members and supporters of the PCP were killed — at least 100 of them were executed in cold blood after being captured by government forces; at El Frontón 115 were killed and half that number are still "unaccounted for." After this bloodbath, President Alan García went to the prison at Lurigancho and declared that the Republican Guard had committed crimes by executing the prisoners who were captured, and he promised that they would be put behind bars. Angulo scorned these pronouncements by García as "cynical," pointing out: "First of all, the order to attack came from the government, and secondly none of the people responsible was ever arrested."

### The Continuing Repression

Angulo also discussed the continuing harassment of the surviving prisoners, mostly women, who are now waging a battle against what they have exposed to be new government plans to annihilate them: "The surviving prisoners, the contingent of women, and the new prisoners that have been accused of 'terrorism' and

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El Frontón prison, 1984.

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

- December 1, at New York University Law School and December 2, at City College of New York: Latin American Law Students Association of NYU; Committee in Solidarity with the Revolution in Peru, New York; Center for Legal Education (CCNY), Professor Leora Mosston, director; Haywood Burns, President of the National Lawyers Guild\* and Dean of CUNY Law School\*; Department of Latin American and Hispanic Caribbean Studies (CCNY), Professor Gabriel Haslip-Viera, chairman; International Studies Program (CCNY), Professor John Harbeson, director; Latin American Law Students Association; Professor Margarita Samad-Matias (CCNY); Roger Wareham, Center for Law and Social Justice, Medgar Evers College\*; Central American Solidarity Committee (NYU); Peruvian and Latin American Student Association (NYU); Caribbean Students Union — Hunter's College; CEDRELAC (Center for Diffusion of the Reality of Latin America and the Caribbean); Centro José Carlos Mariátegui; Puerto Rican Nationalist Party (NY Branch).

- December 6, at Victoria Theater in San Francisco's Mission District: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley; Artists' Television Access; International Relations Student Association of San Francisco State University; Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center.
- December 7, at San Francisco State University: International Relations Program; International Relations Student Association; Department of La Raza Studies; Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, Berkeley.
- December 10, at San Diego State University: Latin American Studies Student Organization; Center for Latin American Studies; CHE Cafe (UCSD); WOMENCARE.
- December 12, at First United Methodist Church in Los Angeles: Carlos Angulo Tour Ad Hoc Committee (Southern California); International Committee of the National Lawyer's Guild (Los Angeles chapter).

\* Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

## The Hemphill Murder of Loyal Garner

Dear RW:

On Christmas night, deep in the pine woods of East Texas, Loyal Garner, a 34-year-old Black man and father of six from Louisiana, was traveling with two friends. They crossed the state line into Hemphill, Texas, a town of 1,350, and within minutes they were under arrest on traffic and other minor charges and were slammed into the Sabine County Jail.

According to the *New York Times*, "Alton Maxie [one of Garner's friends who was also arrested] said the men began banging on their jail cells more than a half hour after their arrest, asking to be allowed to place a call to their families. Mr. Maxie said two officers appeared and asked who was beating on the cells. When Mr. Garner said it was he, the officers entered the cell and began beating him, Mr. Maxie said. He said Mr. Garner was then dragged to a room down the hall where they could hear his moans as the beating continued. 'They took me out there and asked me if I wanted some,' Mr. Maxie said. 'They got in my face and said that I'd better go back there and keep my mouth shut.'"

Garner's friends also reported that when the cops dumped Garner back into the cell his face was battered and his shirt was soaked in blood. The cops left him lying on the cell floor, and within thirty-six hours Loyal Garner was dead.

Anticipating protest and outrage from the community, the state made a token gesture. Ten days after the murder a grand jury indicted the Hemphill police chief and two deputies for "violations of Garner's civil rights." The police have claimed that Garner fell and hit his head in a scuffle with the police. But eyewitnesses say that Garner was hit in the head with a "slapjack and police flashlight." The grand jury concluded that the cops should be charged only with violating Garner's civil rights by causing him to fall and then denying him medical attention.

In an unusual move, local officials called in the U.S. Justice Department, the FBI, and the notorious all-white Texas Rangers to investigate the incident. At this time three pigs are out on suspension with pay! (This is half of the six-man

Hemphill police force!) Just like the verdict in the Howard Beach lynch-mob killing, the state does *not* consider it murder when a Black man is killed by white racists.

But among Black proletarians and many farmers of East Texas, this latest state-sponsored murder has unleashed a wave of fury. Oppressed people in Texas have seen this kind of "justice" before. In 1978 when Houston police murdered Joe Torres by handcuffing him, beating him, and throwing him into a bayou where he drowned, the pigs responsible were also charged with "civil rights violations." And for this they were ordered to pay a \$1 fine!

A relative of Loyal Garner's told us that about ten years ago in his hometown of Newton, Texas a sheriff's deputy shot and killed a Black youth because his girlfriend was white. The punishment for this murder? The pig was transferred to another town.

One Black Hemphill woman said, "It took a death and now people are saying we want justice, but we're not just talking about Loyal Garner. When we say justice it means that when we go downtown to apply for a job we're tired of them telling Blacks get back and whites to come back." "Senators and Congressmen are always signing bills," she said with clear cynicism, "Why don't they ever sign a bill against police brutality?" One man said that in Hemphill, "if you're Black the only kind of job you can have is cleaning toilets." And a Black woman commented, "A Black man who is a lawyer started a club and right away they came in and busted it up. They always bust it up — Black people can't even have a social life!" A Hemphill resident said with disgust, "You can't even walk down the road here if you're Black — you can't stop or else they'll ask you what you're doing, they'll stop and mess with you."

An overwhelming sentiment in Hemphill and elsewhere is, as one woman put it, "If the situation had been reversed, if the murderer had been Black and the victim white, there wouldn't be no waitin' ten days. The guy would be serving a term of life within minutes!"

In response to Garner's murder and the

widespread outrage in the community, the NAACP called a rally. This was held in a small Baptist church in "the quarters," a Black area of Hemphill, and the outcome was a barely contained rage — with the emphasis on "barely."

First off there were threats from Klan-type forces against the church, the pastor there, and Loyal Garner's wife. (Both the pastor and Loyal Garner's wife had planned to speak at the rally but did not, probably because of these threats.) But in the face of promises of cross-burnings and general intimidation, about 125 people, mostly Black proletarians from Hemphill and other towns in East Texas as well as a busload from Houston, came together to protest. Some of those who participated have been involved in the struggle to free Clarence Brandley (a Black man from a small town near Houston who has spent the last seven years on death row for a murder he didn't commit). Others who came had never been to a political event. But one participant's comments summed up the common feeling among those who came: "We got to speak out no matter what it costs. . . . The Klan threatened to come up here to the church this morning but wasn't nothing or nobody gonna scare me off. I was goin'."

Reverend Ozell Brandley, brother of Clarence, spoke, putting it this way, "There are many Hemphills throughout this state — throughout this nation. . . . I have been a schoolteacher for seventeen years. For seventeen years I have been saying the Pledge of Allegiance. But for the last year I have been unable to say 'with liberty and justice for all.'"

Reverend J. Don Boney of the National Black United Front also spoke at the rally and asked the crowd "For all practical purposes it appears that the Constitution of the U.S. has been suspended. Are we a government of the people?" "No" was the shout from some in the crowd. "By the people?" "No!" "For the people?" "No!" "Do we the people have anything to say about what goes on?" "No!" "Is justice reserved for the white, the wealthy, the politically elite?" "Yes!" "Can the majority of white peo-

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## Brooklyn, New York

## The People vs. The Howard Beachers

On December 25 Sylvester Lamont and his brother Stephen had Christmas dinner with relatives at the Marlboro Houses, a predominantly Black project situated in the mainly white area of Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. The Lamont brothers then left the project and went through the neighborhood with a shopping cart to collect redeemable bottles and cans. Soon they were confronted by a group of white youth. One white youth yelled, "Niggers, what do you have in the cart? Are you robbing houses?"

Sylvester Lamont later recounted how he and his brother were then surrounded by a "wolf pack" and beaten with sticks and bottles. Stephen Lamont said he was hit on the head with a slab of marble by an attacker who "tried to embed it into my skull." The brothers tried to get help by stopping traffic but no cars would stop.

The *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly, reported, "The two victims explained that when the police arrived at the scene, they even attempted to arrest them, 'assuming we were criminals.' And Stephen said despite the cops' presence, the mob continued to attack his brother and him."

This racist attack happened just four days after the Howard Beach verdict came down — one white youth cleared of all charges; three others cleared of murder counts in the death of Michael Griffith and convicted only of the lesser counts of manslaughter and assault. This verdict blatantly cleared the Howard Beach lynch mob of murdering a Black man. And it was greeted by the ruling class and its press and painted as a victory for the cause of justice for Black people. Four days later, in Bensonhurst, a reactionary "victory" celebration erupted as white youths attacked the Lamont brothers and screamed, "This is our Howard Beach."

Only two of the Bensonhurst lynch mob — which included at least seven white youth — have been arrested. The Lamont brothers have said the attack on them was attempted murder and that the criminal charges on the white youth should be *attempted murder*. But the youth arrested have been charged only

with second-degree assault, possession of a dangerous instrument (or weapon), and violation of the federal civil rights law. Further, as in the Howard Beach trial, the Black victims are already being slandered as the criminals and aggressors. The lawyer for one of the arrested white youths was quick to state, "It was not at all racism on his part. . . . He was a victim of aggression."

The Bensonhurst attack fueled the already simmering outrage among Black people. The broad coalition which last month held the "Day of Outrage" around the Howard Beach trial quickly called for a protest. And on January 2 a demonstration of 500 people, predominantly Black, was held in the heart of Bensonhurst. People marched defiantly up in the face of reactionary whites (at points numbering in the hundreds) who waved Confederate flags and taunted, "Hurray for the KKK," "Go Back to Africa," "Bring back slavery," and "Howard Beach, Howard Beach." Throughout the demonstration, approximately *one thousand* cops took up positions in the streets, on rooftops, and in a helicopter overhead.

This system has never meant anything but brutal national oppression for Black people. And the current wave of violent racist attacks is part of a reactionary political program aimed at clamping down on a volatile section of the people, the Black masses. But this has given rise to widespread outrage and determination to fight these racist attacks.

One indication of this broadly felt anger is that Mayor Koch has had to field questions from the press concerning the fact that New York is being compared to South Africa. And Koch's views on New York's bantustans are quite clear. Just hours before the Howard Beach verdict came down, and while Black protesters were staging a "Day of Outrage," Koch told reporters: "You know there are more whites assaulted in this town by blacks than the other way around." And just days after the Bensonhurst attack Koch told the press: "I believe, overwhelmingly, that blacks do not fear to walk in white neighborhoods in this city. . . . I believe there would be many more whites who

would be fearful of going into neighborhoods that are described as overwhelmingly black. Perception. It doesn't have to be factual, but perceptions." Koch added that "many blacks are physically afraid of other blacks, depending on the circumstances."

Such statements are a vicious attack on the Black masses and a clear "go" sign for racists. Indeed, those in Bensonhurst with Confederate flags in hand shrieked at Black protesters, "Bring slavery back. They're getting away with too damn much. What about the white people? Who protects us?"

Further, there are new moves by the police which, under the guise of stopping racist attacks, are aimed at further repression of Black people. The police department has just announced the formation of decoy squads that will supposedly apprehend perpetrators of racist attacks. The police claim the decoy squads will be deployed in both white and Black neighborhoods. But in line with Koch's "even-handed" treatment of racial tension, it is clear how such decoy units will be unleashed *against* Black people.

In fact, the police department only recently had to disband other decoy squads amidst a big public scandal. The last time the police department set up decoy squads it was to allegedly fight subway crime. And under this guise over 200 Black and Latino people were falsely arrested, and many were severely beaten.

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Meanwhile the racist attacks and murders continue. Not-so-official as well as those backed with a badge. Alfred Sanders, a 39-year-old Black man, was just recently murdered in Laurelton, a Black middle-class section of Queens. The cops pumped eleven bullets into Sanders, claiming that he lunged at them with a knife.

Eyewitnesses, however, reported that Sanders did not threaten the police, lunge at them, or have anything in his hands when the cops shot him. Sanders did, according to witnesses, yell something to the cops. Before they executed him Sanders yelled, "All you care about is white justice." [ ]

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

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

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

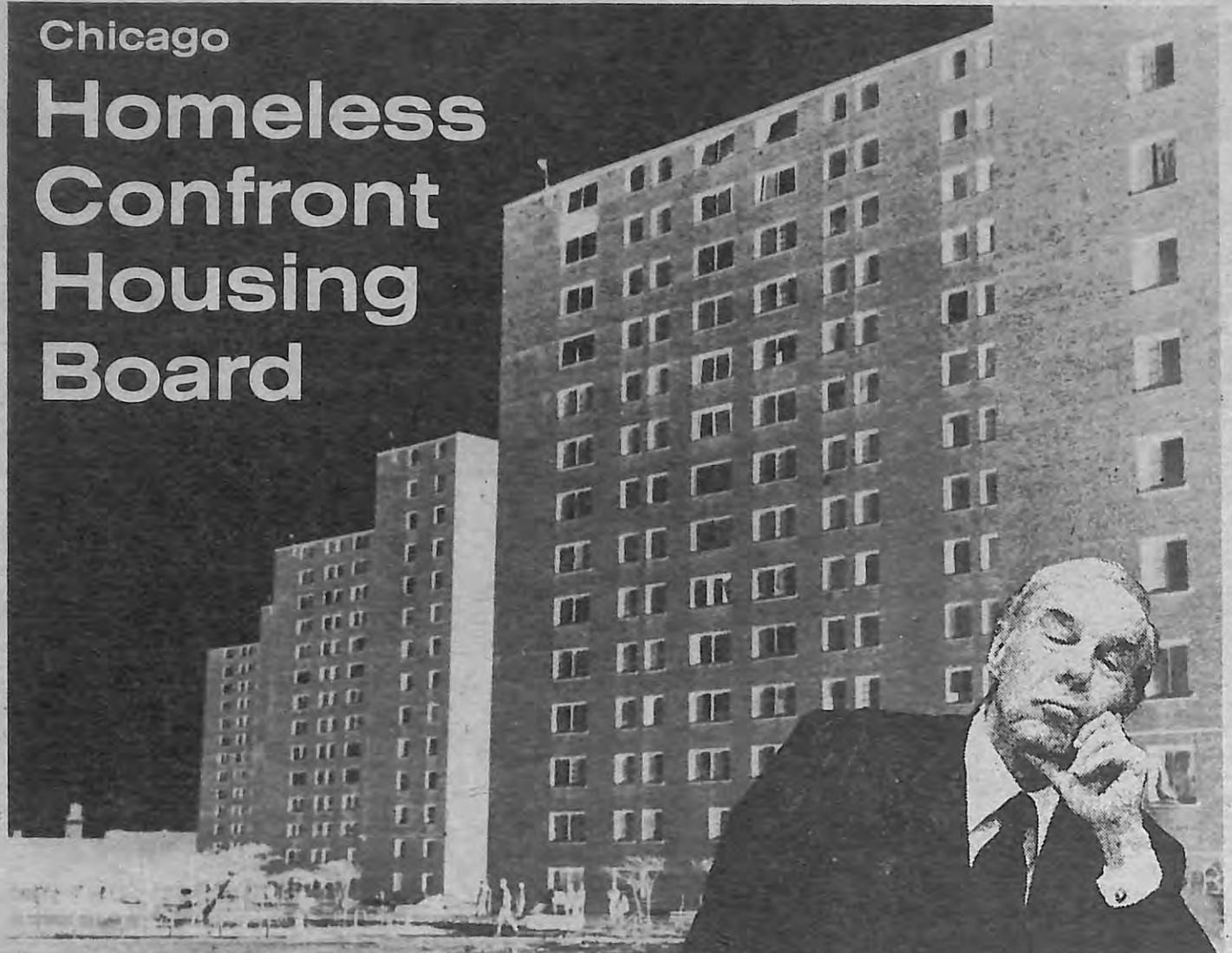
The response in fact? As the new year began the CHA sent security guards to remove homeless people who had taken over an abandoned apartment at the Henry Horner Homes project. The guards beat half a dozen homeless men and forced them back out into the cold.

At the board meeting, Jerome Van Gorkom, CHA managing director, stood by CHA's handling of the situation at Horner Homes. He claimed the vacant apartments are "uninhabitable" due to lack of funds for repairs and noted that in 1983 the CHA had opened vacant apartments to the homeless. But, he complained, "after the cold snap was over it took weeks to get them out, so it's not a simple matter."

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

Claiming he is only looking out for the interest of CHA residents, Van Gorkom argued that the CHA cannot let the homeless into empty apartments because, "These buildings are occupied... primarily by families of women and children and they would not be happy... to have single men in the building occupying apartments around them."

This excuse and attempt to pit the public housing residents against the homeless was quickly countered at the meeting. While the contingent of homeless were initially allowed to give a statement, they were then denied any fur-



Henry Horner Homes; Inset: Chicago Housing Authority Managing Director Jerome Van Gorkom at a recent board meeting.

ther right to speak in the meeting — officials said the meeting was only for "CHA tenants." But in the face of this, CHA tenants got up to speak on behalf of the homeless.

"There's no sense in people havin' to freeze to death," a woman from the Cabrini-Green housing project said. "A man was found under 18 inches of ice in a basement, froze to death, lookin' for somewhere to get out of the cold. And we in America? This is what America is all about? The rich keep grabbin' and grabbin' and grabbin' and poor folks is gettin' put out? We not gonna stand for it!... We will not be moved. We have to take our own lives in our own hands! We cannot depend on the board, on Van Gorkom, to do what has to be done. We

got to do for ourselves! And if the [homeless] men want to come over and take over the building, I support you!" At this the crowd cheered.

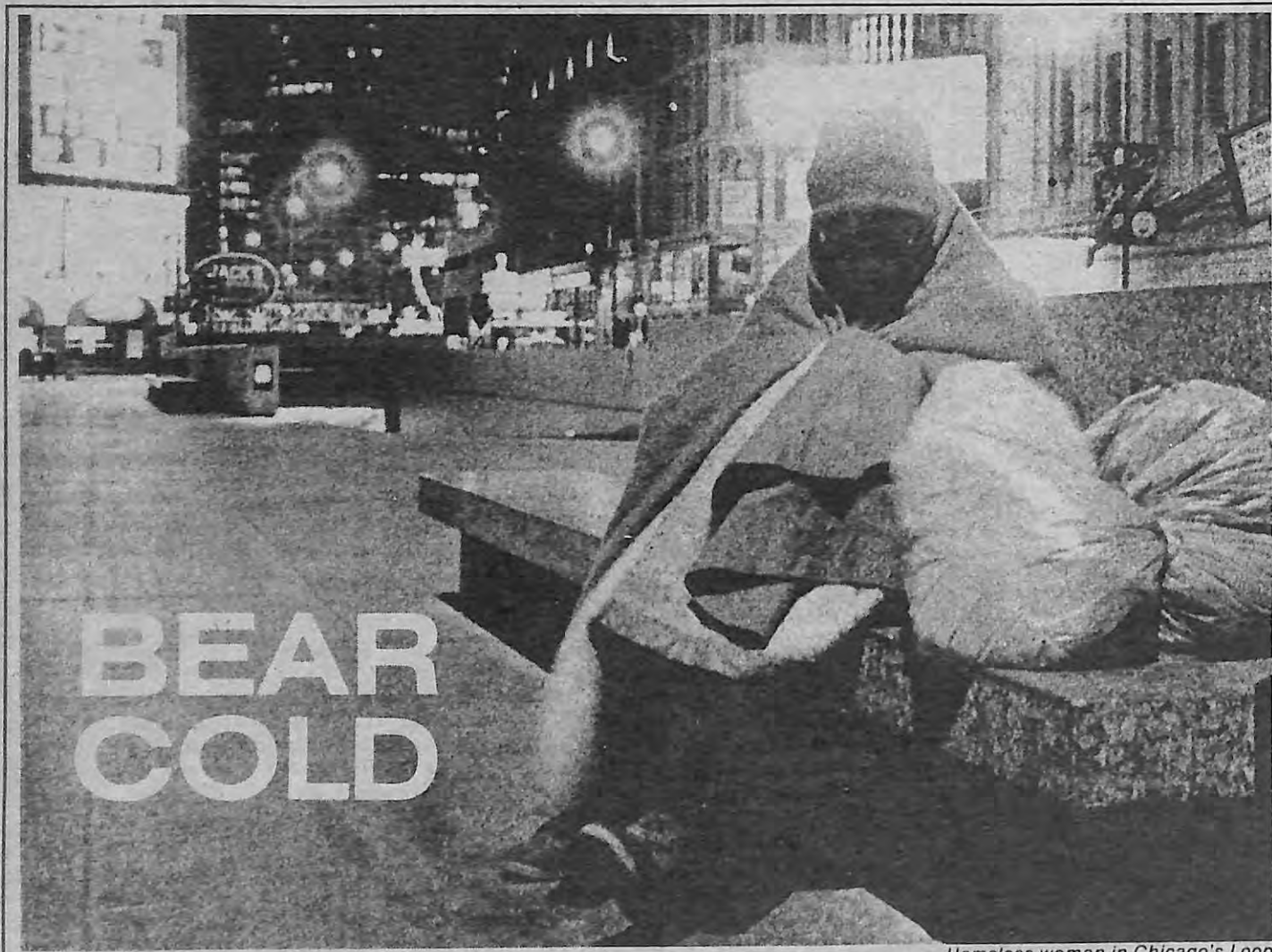
Marian Stamps, director of the Chicago Housing and Tenant Organization, testified, "I have women and children who are on the street who have applied for public housing, and who do not have housing. They are presently livin' in a building basement. I'm talkin' about two women with nine children."

She went on to expose the sky-high vacancy rate at the Cabrini-Green projects where 1,100 units stand empty. And she demanded that the CHA allow the homeless and unemployed to fix up the apartments. "There are livable apart-

ments in Cabrini-Green. I can give you addresses and numbers," she said and then added that many, including herself, have been seriously talking about the need to take over some of the vacant apartments.

A tenant and CHA employee from the Rockwell Gardens projects also demanded the board open up empty units. "If they missin' a towel rack, that's no problem. If they missin' some tile in the bathroom, that's no problem. The problem is these people need somewhere to live and it hurts me that my five-year-old grandson asked me why a man had to die under 18 inches of ice... I think we better get our priorities straight, because some of us sittin' in this room, we could

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## BEAR COLD

Sunday, January 10, Chicago. A bone-chilling cold wave continued as the wind whistled and whipped around the First Baptist Congregational Church. Suddenly a church member heard the sound of a human voice coming from one of the many abandoned buildings that scar the West Side ghetto. When he went to investigate, "he found this man frozen on the floor," church pastor Rev. Bell told the press.

"We carried him to the church and saw his legs were like popsicles. We called the 911 [emergency police] number for an ambulance, but they would not send one. We pleaded and begged, but they would not send one. Then we called the Department of Human Services. The woman there was snobbish and inconsiderate; she said they couldn't help us and hung up."

Only after Bell called a television station were church members able to get a

response to their call. And then — the police sent a paddywagon. Not an ambulance. Not a medical crew or paramedics. But a paddywagon!

Edward Townsend, a homeless man, was finally admitted to a nearby hospital. He was in serious condition with severe frostbite on his legs. Doctors now are deliberating over whether his legs will have to be amputated. (All the toes on Townsend's feet had already been am-

puted, indicating this was probably not the first time he had suffered frostbite.)

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

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Sunday, January 10, Chicago. A bone-chilling cold wave continued. For days weather forecasts had been a major feature of local news. As Sunday's BIG playoff game neared; weather reports were prefaced with THE big questions: "How does it look for the Bears game?" "How will the cold effect their performance?" Loyal fans were interviewed braving the cold to wait in line for tickets.

Temperatures threatened to plunge below zero and the media voiced increasing concern for the health of Bears fans. One TV station featured an interview with a local doctor who warned that because of freezing temperatures those going to the game should not yell too loudly because this could lead to laryngitis. Newscasters warned fans to make sure and "dress appropriately" for the game. Undoubtedly there was particular concern for those most "spirited" macho fans who like to "bare their chest" for TV cameras.

On the day of the big game, special attention was paid to keeping Bears fans warm. "Heater Bullets" (huge heaters) were brought in so fans could easily get warmed up. Doctors were on hand and first aid emergency stations were set up to take care of any fan who could not take the cold.

That evening the postmortem sports-casts were grim. Bears fans throughout the city were disappointed at the Bears' loss. But not one was reported to have suffered frostbite. □

Homeless woman in Chicago's Loop.

# Young and Bad

Continued from page 1

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

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

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

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



"just Arabs."

In short, the *shebab* have nothing to lose — and a world to gain. A life of prison and breaking your back as beasts of burden? What future is there without rebelling against the powers-that-be? None!

So, emboldened by their own sudden unity, thousands of these young fighters declare their willingness to put their lives on the line and go up against the guns of the Israeli military — *and they mean it*. Their position on the bottom puts them in opposition to the whole existing status

quo, including to trends of compromise among some established Palestinian political forces. Exactly because they have nothing to lose, when oppressed youth rise up their vision more readily embraces the whole future, not just the next tomorrow.

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

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

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

One teacher at a West Bank university put it this way: "What you have today is fathers being radicalized by their sons. I could not help but watch the scenes by our house of young boys burning tires in the road without thinking of a Phoenix rising from the ashes."

Aspects of traditional social relations are being turned upside down by the upheaval, and this is a most welcome thing. As Bob Avakian said, "Let the youth be out there in the forefront because we know that they have been and they will be. Let them be bold and be daring, let them challenge everything that's old and rotten, decadent and decrepit in this system. Let them raise up the banner and let the old people not be far behind, let them race to catch up with the youth." (*Bullets*, p. 189)

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

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There are some, including within the Palestinian movement, who claim that a revolutionary war in Palestine is impossible and that the only way forward is through brokering deals with big powers. But the overthrow of the Zionist state of Israel and the creation of an independent, democratic Palestine will only be achieved through the victory of a revolutionary war of the masses led by the proletariat. And who can deny, after the past month and a half, that there is a wealth of potential fighters and commanders for such a war of liberation to be found in the streets of Gaza and the West Bank?

The Palestinian youth have shown boundless courage, initiative, and energy. If these qualities of the *shebab* were fully unleashed and given conscious expression through the leadership of a revolutionary party (and very importantly this must include fully mobilizing their sisters in all aspects of revolutionary struggle, including in the armed struggle), a mighty liberation army could be built.

The *shebab* have been told they were powerless, forgotten, unheard. They were told to give up "hopeless" dreams and turn to "realistic strategies." They faced the guns and prisons of the Israeli occupiers. When they rose up against all this, they not only raised a banner for Palestine; they did not just transform politics in their corner of the world. Their example calls out to the oppressed *throughout the world* — especially to the youth of every continent.

The fearless daring of the Palestinian rebels brings to mind what Bob Avakian said about crunch-time players: "I have several times noted the fact that for the advanced forces, for those who come to the forefront of the revolutionary struggle, there is a heavy weight to carry. It is demanding a lot of them to play this role, to be the ones to most steadfastly carry the revolutionary struggle along. But it is not too much to demand."

"In basketball there are those players who are not only outstanding in general but who specifically make the big plays at the crucial moments. These are the ones who *want* the ball when crunch time comes, when the whole game is on the line. They are the ones who love to go into the home court of the biggest rivals and rise to their greatest right in the face of the other team and their howling, screaming fans. These are the ones who not only soar to great heights themselves but in so doing raise the level of their team as a whole. Why shouldn't the advanced forces of proletarian revolution — those who have the most profound interest in this revolution and the most profound desire for revolution — why shouldn't they be capable of this kind of greatness?" (*Bullets*, p. 94) □

AVAILABLE  
IN  
ARABIC



**بيان  
الحركة  
الثورية  
العالمية**

البيان المصنف من قبل المدونين  
والمرافقين في المناسبات العالمية  
التاريخية للاحتفالات العاشرة  
للمنظمة التي تملك الحركة الثورية  
العالمية

لجنة امانة التنظيم المركزية: الحرب الثورية الصيني - الياباني - الهندي  
الحرب الثوري السوفياتي  
الحرب الثوري الكوري - الياباني - الصيني - الهندي - البورني - البورني - البورني  
الحرب الثوري الهندي - الياباني - الصيني - الهندي  
مجموعات: العالم الثوري  
الحرب الثوري السوفياتي (باي نال)  
مجموعة: العالم الثوري - سوريا  
الحركة الثورية الصينية الثوري - كولومبيا  
الحرب الثوري الهندي  
الحرب الثوري الهندي - الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية  
الاتحاد الثوري الهندي - جمهورية الدومينيكا  
الحركة الثورية الانترناسيونال (باراغواي)  
الحرب الثوري في سوريا  
المنظمة الثورية في جنوب إفريقيا  
المنظمة الثورية الرواندي - البورني - البورني - البورني  
المنظمة الثورية في سوريا - سوريا - سوريا

## Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was adopted in March 1984 by the delegates and observers at the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is available in the U.S. from Revolution Books stores and outlets, in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Hindi, Italian, Kurdish, Malayalam, Punjabi, Spanish, Tamil, and Turkish.

Or order from  
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\$2.00. Include 50 cents for postage.

For more information and other language editions write the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the following address:  
BCM RIM, London, WC1N 3XX, U.K.

# Palestine: Locked In, Locked Out

The "Iron Fist" of Israel continues to strike daily without mercy. Killings continue with a numbing regularity: "at least thirty-eight lives" is now the official figure used in the American press — there is no doubt that the actual death toll from Israeli bullets is much higher. Defense Minister Rabin no longer pretends that things are under control; he merely promises open-ended brutality: "We will suppress this violence. It could take another week or two, a month or a month and a half. We will maintain the necessary forces." In keeping with such directives, the Israeli army pours more and more troops into the occupied areas, tripling the presence in Gaza and doubling it in the West Bank. One report estimated the Israeli troops in Gaza now number 10,000. These are larger forces than were needed to conquer these areas originally in the 1967 war!

However, nothing has stopped the resistance. On the contrary, from all reports there has been a major leap in the number and ferocity of "incidents" between Palestinians and Israeli armed forces.

This is leading to a shift in tactics: Israel is openly aiming its violence and threats at a whole people, rather than at those it called "a handful of trouble-makers" in the streets. In a top level briefing, the Israeli army announced it "intends to increase the level of collective, rather than individual punishment in the coming days." Then Defense Minister Rabin declared thirteen Palestinian refugee camps, including all eight in the Gaza Strip, as "closed military zones" and imposed 24-hour curfews on them.

To enforce their domination in "normal times," the Israelis surrounded Palestinian refugee districts with fortifications that look like a militarized border between hostile countries — barbed wire, walls, and fortified check points. These camps have long resembled large concentration camps. Now the gates have been shut: all traffic in and out is forbidden. All food and medicine are controlled.

The Israelis call this "environmental pressure" and "collective punishment." Their counterinsurgency experts claim that by imposing hardship on the whole population, they hope to isolate the most active resisters from their base of support. But it is only further proof that an unprecedented unity and spirit has gripped Palestinians broadly.



Israeli soldier points a rifle fitted with a rubber bullet canister at a woman demonstrator in Gaza City.

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

### Adding Starvation to Bullets

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

United Nations relief workers say that soldiers have stopped food trucks and medical workers from entering the Palestinian districts. During curfew merchants are forbidden from bringing in food. In some cases the curfews have been lifted

for two hours to allow people to go out and buy necessities; in other cases they have been continued solidly for days, deliberately causing hunger.

This has been approved and defended at the highest level of the Israeli government. Prime Minister Shamir declared: "It's true that we say to the citizens of Judea, Samaria [Zionist names for the West Bank area] and Gaza, 'If you don't go to work you won't have anything to live on.'" He added, "We must take all necessary security measures, even if the residents suffer from shortages."

### Irrepressible, Simply Irrepressible!

Inside the "arrested towns," the streets are filled with signs of a month's fighting: stones, chunks of metal, smoldering rubber, wrecked cars. But amid stench of sewage and rubble of battle, the resistance continues. The Israeli military has simply failed to gain control.

It is the masses of Palestinians who express unity and optimism; it is the oppressor who seems dumbfounded and defensive. The military analyst of the *Jerusalem Post* wrote that the mood of the army leadership "can best be described as one of confusion, even dejection."

An Israeli daily *Yediot Ahronot* quoted "an unprecedented statement" from a top army officer: "The residents control the main roads. There is not a car that goes into the Strip without getting a stone.... The Strip is a place of wildness." Even within the "arrested towns," Israeli patrols have to hug the walls and their guns — bands of fearless youth spring out of alleyways and fire their stones and slingshots. There are reports of "gun snatchings," where unarmed Palestinian youth attempt to seize automatic weapons right out of the hands of Israeli soldiers.

One reporter described a convoy of armored personnel carriers and jeeps bristling with machine guns rumbling into the center of Deir el Balah in Gaza: "Residents said it was the fourth time that day the army had tried to enter the camp, having been driven back the pre-

vious times by stone-throwing crowds." This particular operation was backed up by helicopters dropping bombs of tear gas. They are reportedly using an extra-potent U.S.-made gas, CF, that causes nausea and dizziness in addition to the usual painful choking.

Six days into the curfew at the West Bank's Amari refugee camp, one demonstration gathered hundreds of camp residents, including both children and parents, in open violation of the curfew order. They marched on the camp's main entrance and battled the troops gathered there, using anything at hand.

Resistance continued in other ways. Residents passed flat pita bread and milk over the rooftops to neighbors whose food supplies has run out. Others stood on their balconies to continue that "war of eyes" with patrols they had previously waged in the streets. "We spend all day looking at them," said one teenage woman. Passing Israeli patrols hear bloodcurdling curses hurled at them — often yelled in Hebrew, a language the Zionists have forced Arabs to learn in order to get work.

As the "Iron Fist" concentrates on the camps and major towns, the uprising continues to spread out into the smallest villages of the West Bank. In support of the fighters within the surrounded camps, Palestinians outside have developed a system of blockade-runners: gathering food, ferrying it up to barricades in passenger cars loaded with eggplants, potatoes, scallions, and cauliflower. "Every family helps out," said a gray-haired Palestinian driving a Peugeot. "The camp has been under siege for nearly a week, and the hospital asked for food, too. If the Israelis catch one car, another gets through by back roads." Physicians from Ramallah were reportedly sneaking into nearby camps to treat the wounded.

### Special Raids Continue

Under military curfew, brutal military raids are being carried out throughout the

Continued on page 15



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

**Stop the Reign of Terror Against the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Now!**

**Victory to the Struggle of the Palestinian People!**

**Palestinian Youth — Fierce, Confident, and Bold!**

**Fan the Flames of the Uprising in the Israeli Bantustan!**

**Down with the Reactionary Israeli Settler State and Its U.S. Masters!**



## The Cry Freedom

In an early scene of *Cry Freedom*, Stephen Biko risks his life to take the white liberal newspaper editor, Donald Woods, on an evening's tour of a black township. Some of Biko's comrades wonder if it's worth it. He takes the chance that it is.

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

A controversy has risen around this movie — the majority of film critics in the U.S., including liberal white intellectuals and Black nationalists, have trashed it. Some revolutionaries are ambivalent. Chief among the many criticisms: such a film ought to have Biko as its central character, not a white South African liberal coming to consciousness.

This is a strange turn of events. A film comes along that very powerfully tells the story of how a potential ally of the oppressed is brought to awareness about the real deal faced by the masses of black people in South Africa. Part of his transformation, and a critical point of the film, revolves around a very important political question concerning the national liberation of the black people of South Africa. The white liberal Woods is "pushed" from behind by the struggle and one of its leaders. This liberal eventually goes the whole nine yards, giving what he can and facing the consequences. All this is based on historical fact and set in one of the hottest spots on the planet. The film is made by a liberal, but for those with nothing to lose it is overall

quite valuable and provocative. It is timely and urgent and it has universal significance. It's extremely well acted, with one of the true heroes of the masses in modern times, Stephen Biko, portrayed compellingly, without hype or condescension — a rare event itself. . . .

So one would think that *Cry Freedom* would be sure to have a very broad popularity among all those who are opposed to the apartheid system. As one insightful comment by Jack Kroll, writing in *Newsweek* magazine, put it: "'Cry Freedom' ought to make the Bikos and Woodses everywhere look for each other."

But most of the critics, from the big-bourgeois *Wall Street Journal* to the "radical" movement publications, can do nothing but try to chase people away with yawns and diatribes. And in effect they have helped to suppress this film. Something is really sticking in their craw. But there's not much in the record of many of these reviewers that should lead one to trust them, so why are progressive people listening to them in this case? It ought to be a lesson that any time a crowd of critics climb all over each other to crush a work of art on a topic of this sort, better RUSH out to see it.

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In 1977, shortly after Biko was murdered, Donald Woods demanded an inquest into Biko's murder and was "banned" by the government, silenced and confined to his home. He decided he must leave South Africa — taking his book manuscript (on which this film is

based) to England to be published. In order to escape, he had to cross the border in disguise. As he jumped into a getaway car dressed as a priest his accomplice exclaimed, "You've changed!" He replied, "What's changed me is getting here."

This is the dramatic center of this film — the political and ideological journey of a white South African liberal, provoked, inspired, guided, and transformed by Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement. His journey is large: with the hands of the oppressed on his shoulders, he moves from self-righteous, chauvinistic, and *wrong* liberal critic to friend and ally of the oppressed. The motive force: the struggle and ideology of black liberation. Why shouldn't the oppressed *and their allies* everywhere be interested in that! And why aren't more of these liberal journalists who profess to oppose apartheid even a little bit inspired?

In the movie Woods's re-education begins when a righteously furious and extremely cool black woman strides into his all-white newspaper office, slams down a copy of his paper, and says: "I have read this paper long enough to know you are not one of the worst. So why are you passing this vicious fiction off as reasoned fact?"

Woods has just printed a story with some exposing photos on the Crossroads debacle — the stunning first scene in the film — where the government razed a squatters' settlement to the ground with bulldozers, fire, clubs, and dogs. His newspaper laid the brutality of the raid at apartheid's doorstep, but Woods reserv-

ed his personal editorial column for a mean attack on Stephen Biko, whose posters were found everywhere in Crossroads. The particular slant of Woods's column should ring a very familiar note especially today in the United States of America. Woods accuses Biko of being a racist in reverse — a "sensationalist pushing black prejudice." "He's building a wall of black hatred," Woods declares.

"Why don't you get to know the real black leaders? When are you coming to talk to Steve Biko? You know he is banned and can't come to you." This Dr. Ramphela has made her point. Woods drives out to King Williams Town to meet Biko. He meets Biko in the back yard of a church. Biko notes the awkward circumstances that his banning order requires. "But then you approve of my banning?" he asks. Woods: "I think your ideas are dangerous but I don't approve of your banning." "A true liberal," Biko responds with a laugh. "I just think that a white liberal who clings to all the advantages of his white world — jobs, education, housing, Mercedes — is perhaps not the person best qualified to tell blacks how they should react to apartheid." They sit down and Biko teaches.

Biko told the oppressed that they must stop agreeing with the oppressor about themselves and take history into their own hands: "Somebody says there is no greater force in this whole world than an idea whose time has arrived and that idea . . . is Black Consciousness — which is going to free the black man from the shackles of white imperialism, white



Stephen Biko (Denzel Washington) addresses the crowd at a sports stadium in *Cry Freedom*.

## om Controversy

slavery, white oppression!" One who felt the impact of this new voice in South Africa remembers: "I had never in my life heard a young man of Steve Biko's nature challenge the system at its roots.... Those who want to liberate themselves must first liberate their minds. What he meant was that people had accepted oppression as bread, as daily bread. He removed all those concepts, he removed concepts of assimilation."

At a very critical time, Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement helped forge a new direction for a whole generation of youth in Azania who had grown up in the mid-'70s — a time when liberation organizations had been banished and many adults seemed to have given up the struggle. These revolutionary youth took up the war against apartheid in the style of those with nothing to lose because, as Biko would say, "For a hell of a lot of them, in fact, there's really nothing to lose — almost literally, given the kind of situations that they come from."

In the film, the actual import of this reality begins to dawn on Woods as he sits at a dinner table with Biko and others from the Black Consciousness Movement in a township home. Woods is visibly uncomfortable, out of his element in a situation most unusual for white South Africans. His liberal platitudes hold no water here and he's beginning to see why. At one point in the conversation a BCM member comments, "We want to wipe the table clean. It is an African table."

In a column Biko wrote called "Black Souls in White Skins?", he nailed the

"problem with liberals": "Thus in adopting the line of a nonracial approach, the liberals are playing their old game. They are claiming a 'monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement' and setting the pattern and pace for the realization of the black man's aspirations. They want to remain in good books with both the black and the white worlds. They want to shy away from all forms of 'extremisms', condemning 'white supremacy' as being just as bad as 'Black Power!'. They vacillate between the two worlds, verbalizing all the complaints of the blacks beautifully while skillfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges."

So a crucial, refreshing, and very timely feature of this film is that it says that the revolutionary nationalism of the oppressed is in no way like the racism of the oppressor.

Proletarian revolutionaries hold that the philosophy of nationalism, even revolutionary nationalism, will not of itself bring an end to oppression and all exploitation — only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can do that — but on a planet where the majority of countries are held as neocolonies, the struggle for national liberation is a powerful force against imperialism and reaction, and the new-democratic revolution is a key component of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism.

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

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

Frankly the proletarians would like to see more liberals act like the Woods character in *Cry Freedom* instead of writing stupid reviews.

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The *Wall Street Journal* wrote: "It's hard to see how the flight of this reformist liberal can be described as a cry for black freedom." Here one has to smell a rat: when the country's foremost conservative imperialist business newspaper starts criticizing "from the left," you begin to get the idea that someone has discovered a new way to kill a good film. But Adam Hochschild of the "left-wing" *Mother Jones* agrees: "The movie allows Biko to speak forcefully about Black consciousness but the message is sanitized by the simple device of Biko leaving halfway through." Time after time, the Woods character is said to be "boring" and

"faceless"; Biko is described as "saintly" or a "pedagogic talking head," even though most reviews have to tip their hat to Denzel Washington's performance. Woods's political credentials are testily scrutinized ("what did his newspaper actually say about the 1976 Soweto rebellion?"). *Mother Jones* complains about a flashback of Biko during Woods's escape: "Is this appalling juxtaposition meant to tell us that the two men were equally in danger?" No, it is part of the exposition of the film. Woods is terrified but he tries to remember what Biko said: "Yes, of course I take risks. But that is only unusual if you think we're at peace. When a people's at war, you take many risks. Well, we're at war."

Where will you be when the oppressed rise up, when the middle ground evaporates and you are called to take a stand? This was not a question any critic seemed to ponder (at least in print), but ironically they all would have you believe that their foremost concern was the struggle in South Africa! From right to "left," all claim great interest in Biko's life and the struggle for Black liberation in South Africa and demand that this film tell the definitive story. It is apparently rather threatening for a work of art to challenge the "nothing can be done about it anyway" inertia of those pragmatic bullshitters who know this society is hell for most people but aren't willing to risk their petty and not-so-petty privileges, using the excuse that "it really won't make a difference anyway."

One has to wonder where these people

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# Friend and Foe, Pros and Cons

Among the oppressed and their allies who have gone to see *Cry Freedom* — making their way through the forest of criticism to the “upscale” theaters where the film has mainly shown in the USA — people have discovered good things and inspiration in this film. There are for instance the five teachers at one South Bronx high school who each made a point of seeing the film and recommending it to another teacher who had been active in the Biko Lives! Festival this past fall. One of them had taken her daughter and on leaving the theater went out and bought a book of Biko's writings. Many West Indians, for whom the opposition to apartheid has long been a burning question, have also made their way to this film. One group of reggae musicians was encountered on their third go-round. In most every showing of the film, scenes like the one where Biko strikes back at his interrogators are met with rowdy cheers from young Black women out of the U.S. bantustans, down in the front row with a big box of popcorn and their young and future “Bikos.” And one can hear the sounds of recognition from black South Africans in the theater acknowledging that this film touches bases in a powerful way with their lives and dreams.

The film has recently been nominated for some Golden Globe Awards, and Universal says they plan to put it in wider release in the U.S. in February. Universal's London office reports that the film is very popular internationally — “The world really appreciates this one.” It has attracted audiences and acclaim in Argentina, Brazil, France, and elsewhere. In Britain, 100,000 people went to see it in just six weeks — breaking house records at the theater. Musician Peter Gabriel also put out a hot-selling

12-inch live version of his famous anthem “Biko” this fall, timed with the release of the film along with a new video of this song.

The apartheid government has recently announced they will allow *Cry Freedom* to be shown in South Africa, uncensored. This is a somewhat unexpected turn, and Universal's president has expressed some disbelief that they will actually go through with broad distribution. (South Africa has made announcements of this sort for international public opinion in the past and not carried through.) As if to confirm these doubts, it was reported January 13 that Pretoria was threatening action against newspapers running ads for the film because they contain quotes from Biko and Woods, both of whom remain banned persons in South Africa and under the law it is forbidden to quote them! The film is currently scheduled for release there in April.

There is evidence that the South African government not only did not want this film to be made but actually attempted to sabotage it. In an interview with *Films In Review*, the producer-director Sir Richard Attenborough revealed some interesting occurrences. In preparation for the film Attenborough went to South Africa and interviewed various people including Biko's wife and mother, the black woman doctor who is portrayed in the movie, and Winnie Mandela. He was hounded by the South African press who seemed determined to put his life at jeopardy.

Attenborough recounted that following his meeting with Winnie Mandela the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) said on television, “the sooner this sort of man leaves our country, the better.” Soon after, on his way to

another interview, Attenborough was accosted in the men's room of a petrol station by four Afrikaaner roughnecks shouting obscenities and threats, and he and his party had to make a quick getaway.

While filming in Zimbabwe, Richard and Sheila Attenborough and Denzel Washington and Kevin Kline were all assigned bodyguards. Attenborough relates:

“On the night we finished location shooting, the Zimbabwe government gave us a dinner. The Minister said that, now that it was all over, we might like to know that the South African police made four attempts to sabotage the filming. Fortunately, their undercover people were able to thwart them.

“I suppose if, during production, I had been bumped off, perhaps nobody else would have taken on the film. I don't know. Now, it doesn't matter a two-penny damn if I'm around or not. What matters is the negative — and there are a number of them. We don't say where they are.”

Since the release of the film, the international spotlight on the South African government around this film has been rather intense, despite the effect of the U.S. reviews which tended to let the apartheid regime off the hook by hitting the film with a hypocritical “left” hook. Universal and United International Pictures-Warner (the distributors) have demanded that the film run without cuts or age restriction to nonsegregated audiences, and have further required that it be shown throughout the country and not be restricted to white city centers. They in turn have promised that proceeds will go to UNICEF (a UN charity for children) for use in southern Africa.

South African government sources were quoted in *Variety* December 2 saying it was a “high-level decision to pass the film through the censors — to avoid giving it an international ‘publicity bonanza,’ and to bolster illusions about the regime ‘changing.’” When asked about the film, a South African Consulate spokesman shamelessly told the *RW* that the film “distorted the facts” but was based on a factual situation (Biko's death) “which was regrettable and should never happen again. This is all in the past.” (!) This government right now holds thousands in brutal detention, black youth are in prison facing death sentences for their participation in the recent upsurges, revolutionary youth who are not in prison are being hunted and killed by vigilantes, and the country is under a state of emergency.

All of which highlights the fact that the apartheid regime's chief task is maintaining state power, and they must weigh the risk of allowing this film to be seen in some fashion in South Africa against the very negative international political repercussions that could come down if they banned it. They are also sufficiently shrewd and cynical to realize that officially allowing the film into the country helps to put the kiss of death on it in some circles. In any case they are between a rock and a hard place now since showing it under the conditions demanded by the distributors could prove rather unsettling for Pretoria domestically. And refusing to show it or trying to duck the designated provisions would be done under intense international scrutiny — not a good situation for them either! □

## The Cry Freedom Controversy

Continued from page 9

and their publications were on the 10th Anniversary of Steve Biko's death this year. Of the twenty-seven reviews we have encountered on this film, twenty-two have made harsh criticism, and not a one of these publications or critics had anything to say about the man on or around September 12 this year. (And few have ever published anything of substance on Biko.) Nor did they show up to talk to Peter Jones at a press conference held before the Biko Lives! Festival in the South Bronx September 19. Jones was arrested with Biko, was in fact the last revolutionary to see him alive. He had just flown in from South Africa, providing a rare chance to hear fresh news of the struggle against apartheid which has been shut out of the international media entirely since June.

Look in vain for the story of Steve Biko in the *New York Times*, *People*, *Time*, *Rolling Stone*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Village Voice*, *Vanity Fair*, *In These Times*, *Mother Jones*, *Premier*, *Chicago Reader*, *NY's City Sun*, *New Yorker*, *American Film*, *Guardian*, etc. But read the *Cry Freedom* reviews and you would think there was a regular Black Consciousness Movement-American Film Critic Chapter thriving in our midst. Hypocrisy in the extreme.

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But some people who have questions about this film are genuinely coming at it from an understanding of the particular nature of the situation in that country. As Bob Avakian has described it, “South Africa is a state whose fundamental basis is the exploitation and oppression of the black masses in that country.” And while

it's correct for the revolutionary movement to seek allies especially among the Indian people and “Coloureds,” and even among any whites who break with the system, the fact remains that “even if no white people in South Africa take a stand in support of the revolutionary movement, even if they all oppose it, that is not going to be enough to stop the revolution in South Africa.” So it is a legitimate question to raise whether works of art, in order to serve that struggle, must reflect that reality by putting the black revolutionary characters center stage. But only a withered spirit would not find it heartening that even under the conditions of apartheid the movement of Azania has brought forth some genuine allies among white people. And it would be rather mechanical to say that one could never make a work of art which featured a white character. More crucial is the overall point of view and how the contradictions are presented. And in this case, if Woods is the main character in this story, Biko is clearly the motive force.

But the liberal critics of the film are not coming from this political or artistic point of view. For some of them, raging on its Woods focus is a smokescreen for their undying hatred of any work of art which treats burning matters of the day, especially one that critiques the status quo. Meanwhile, half of these people lavished praise and awards on the leaden and openly colonialist film *Out of Africa*, the story of a European noblewoman who took up the so-called “white man's burden” and treated “her” Africans like so much livestock. And they would clearly prefer Attenborough to busy himself in praise of people like Gandhi. His earlier



Denzel Washington and Kevin Kline as Steve Biko and Donald Woods.

film *Gandhi* was highly honored for its portrayal of the Indian leader whose “principled” stands were designed to shame the Indian people into pacifist capitulation to their oppressors in the name of high moral ground. The proletarians prefer seeing Attenborough do the Woods and Biko story. They seemed to bring out the best in him.

*Cry Freedom* does present Biko and his movement as less dangerous to Western Civilization than he actually was. In fact he was a rather fiery anti-imperialist and quite controversial among the black political movements in South Africa at the time. But scratch these critics for their political analysis of the situation in South Africa and you would find most of them praying for a nonrevolutionary transition to some kind of power-sharing arrangement (or worse) between blacks and whites — a solution which would leave

the interests of imperialism very much intact. And if this film had actually centered more on Biko's actual life and politics, most reviewers would likely have stood at the gate banning it — only the attacks would perhaps have had to come out more openly from the right-wing side of the question.

Of course, there IS a great need for works which put center stage characters that typify the revolutionary masses as well as precious leaders of the masses like Biko. And revolutionary artists should make such films and struggle with other artists as well. In fact, one of the real crimes highlighted here is that there are only one or two feature films on this historic and highly engrossing struggle. This itself is the outrage, and a rather heavy exposure of just who controls what art gets made and distributed. (In the case of *Cry Freedom*, Attenborough's backers



Left: From *Cry Freedom*. Center: Posters at Biko's funeral in 1977. Right: Portrait of Steve Biko published in full color on the front page of Donald Woods's *Daily Dispatch* in the issue announcing Biko's death.

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

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

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

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The exposure of apartheid in this film is particularly memorable. The picture is drawn with each illusion broken over Woods's head. After a community center run by Biko and the BCM is sacked by night marauders, Woods decides he will personally pay a visit to Kruger, the head of police and a former classmate. He intends to urge him to lift Biko's banning orders and to investigate the raid — a black eyewitness had seen the local cops carry it out in masks. Woods is convinced Kruger "won't condone police illegality publicly."

Kruger emerges from the backdoor of his stately mansion, all affable and off the record. They have a whiskey as he takes Woods through a family memorabilia tour of the history of "subjugation" of the Afrikaners (Dutch settlers) by the British, all by way of explaining that he sympathizes, he knows what "oppression" is. "We didn't colonize the country. We built it. They [the blacks] came to work for us you know. We didn't force them... Don't think I don't understand their argument..." By now they have ambled out onto a beautiful manicured lawn, lying like a green plate suspended at the edge of the limitless panorama that stretches out into the mist below them. Two miniature ter-

riers frolic at Kruger's feet: "...But we're not just going to roll over and give this all away." No indeed.

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

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

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

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

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

There is for instance the black priest, Father Kani, who risks his life to get Woods a phony ID. As he drops Woods off after driving him on one leg of his escape, the priest shouts after him, "When you get desperate, go to one of us. Use Steve's name. Amandla!" The next scene is Woods desperate in a big hurry to get a ride to a border crossing ten miles away. He goes to a black village head, presents his manuscript on Biko, says he needs a ride from someone they trust. The old man reads the first few pages and says, "I trust me and I have a car!" As the backfiring jalopy careens out of the village, children chasing and cheering, the old man calls out with joy over the caper they are pulling off: "The boss will shit himself... Kruger will shit himself... Vorster will shit himself!"

Anyone who knows what it's like to outwit the enemy and turn them into public fools can get down with the jubilation popping here. And we can take some

joy too, with Woods, as he makes it to the border, remembers Biko striding through the waving golden grass, and breaks out in a little African victory dance.

Attenborough has said: "Through Biko, I wanted to show what life in South Africa means to blacks, and in certain circumstances what it means to whites. My objective was straightforward — to insure that having seen the movie, nobody will be able to remain indifferent to the situation in South Africa, and to encourage them to stand up and say, 'This is intolerable!'"

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

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

And it is what they did. The spectacular uprising of the Soweto children mounting the barricades makes manifest the titanic social movement that pushed the Woodses off the sidelines. And as their escape plane takes off, the scroll of names of people murdered in detention (listed with the government "causes of death" — "slipped in shower," "suicide by hanging," etc.) reminds us again of the heroism of the resisters, before and since Biko.

Biko had much to give to the people of the world. One of the notable failures of apartheid and its imperialist backers has been their inability to silence him in life or death. This film opens the windows a little wider, lets in some very fresh air. And the lessons are real. In a final flashback, Biko says to Woods: "The important thing is to not accept their rules, to resist. Those kids in Soweto who refuse to study Afrikaans are taking chains off their minds that no one will ever be able to put back." □



Celebrating his escape from South Africa.

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

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

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To grasp the dynamics at work in the Middle East, some knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and the imperialist conflicts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are more useful than interpretations of Old Testament geography or ratings of relative degrees of oppression that Jews and Arabs have suffered. Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century the area now comprising Syria, Lebanon, Israel (Palestine), and Jordan was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, based in Turkey. The Ottoman bureaucracy exacted tribute from the feudal lords of the region and played the numerous ethnic groups of the area off against each other. But in the nineteenth century the empire fell under severe pressure from the more dynamic great powers of Europe. Britain dominated Egypt, the French the Mahgreb (North Africa), and the Russians Afghanistan, while Turkey decayed and went into insupportable debt to the European powers. The empire tried to cope, with some success, by allowing some penetration by each rival power in the hope that they would offset one another and thus allow "the sick man of Europe" to hang on.

One form this took was tolerating or even encouraging, within limits, certain settlements directly tied to those powers. The Russians made use of a Russian Orthodox settlement and missionaries, the French cultivated their ties to the Maronite Catholics of Lebanon, and Britain, as far back as 1857, tried to encourage Jewish emigration to Palestine under the Crown's aegis. While this latter attempt failed (the Russian Jews at that point overwhelmingly pinned their hopes to the huge upsurge of the anti-feudal reform movement then sweeping Russia), conditions were riper some years later in the wake of vicious pogroms and a general period of reaction in Russia, when Theodor Herzl proposed his scheme for Zionist settlement.

### "Bulwark Against Asia"

Herzl from the beginning aimed to join the millennialist aspirations of the Jewish peasants and artisans of Russia and Poland to the great-power interests of whichever imperialist would take him up. He was quite explicit, for instance, in addressing the Ottoman bureaucracy, about the role a Zionist state in Palestine would play:

"If His Majesty the Sultan were to give up Palestine, we could undertake to regulate Turkey's finances. For Europe, we would constitute a bulwark against Asia down there, we would be the advance post of civilization against barbarism. As a neutral state, we would remain in constant touch with all of Europe, which would guarantee our existence" (Herzl, cited in Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?*, 1973, p. 43).

Basically Herzl was calling for a Fort Apache, Palestine — an outpost to be

used against the people native to the area. Far from "never having considered the Palestinians," as some modern apologists sum it up, Herzl (and those who followed) clearly understood their selling point to be the subjugation of the Arab masses. (Herzl also very explicitly posed Zionism in opposition to the revolutionary movements then drawing in increasing numbers of Jews in Eastern and Central Europe; Herzl wrote that when he met the Kaiser in 1898, "I explained that we were taking the Jews away from the revolutionary parties" [Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, 1983, p. 5].)

### The Balfour Declaration and British Sponsorship

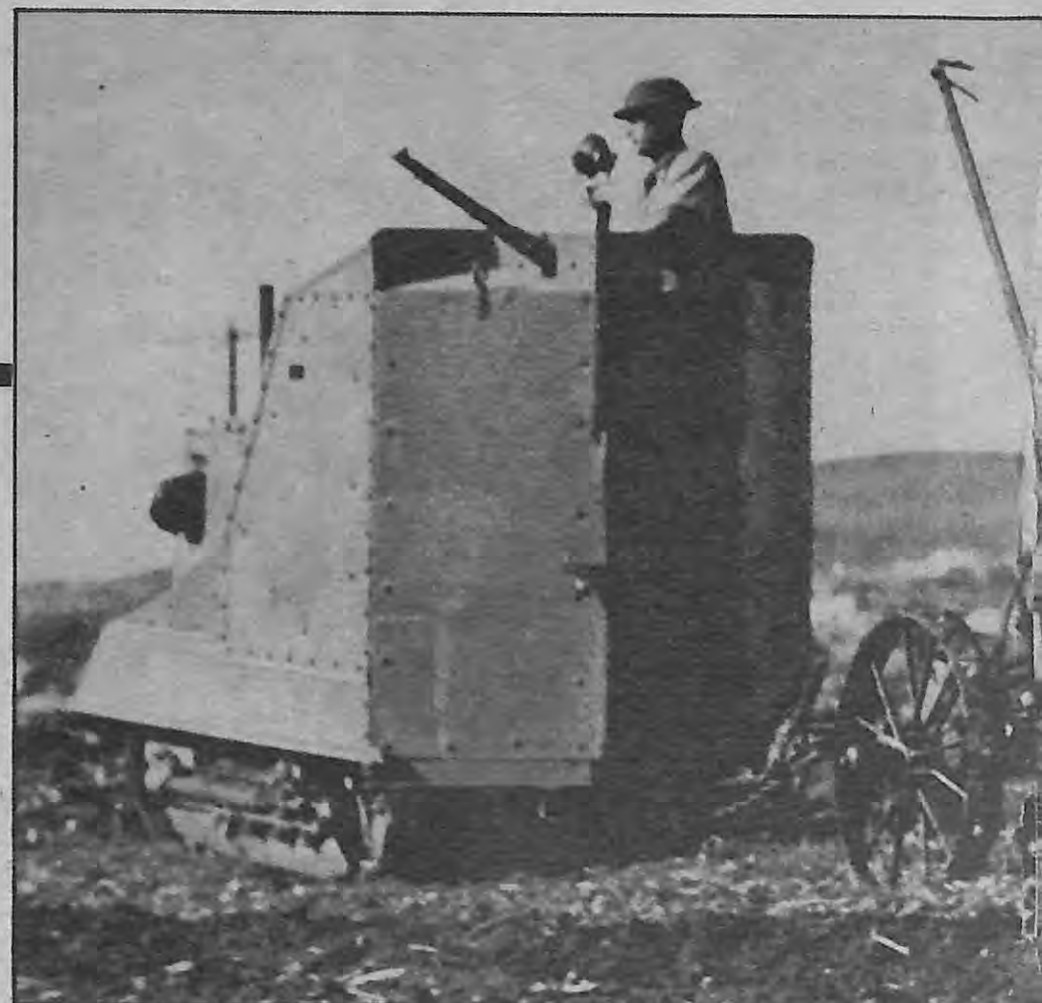
But Herzl could not marshal serious support for his plan, and emigration continued at a trickle during the early decades of the twentieth century. The Yishuv (i.e., the Jewish settlement) grew from a peak of 12,000 non-Zionist indigenous Jews in 1860 to 58,000 by 1919. At that point 700,000 Palestinian Arabs resided in Palestine. It was only the events of World War I which gave any real flesh to Herzl's dream, in the form of Great Britain's Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917.

The Balfour Declaration committed Britain to "facilitating" the "establishment of a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. Publicly expressing assurances that Arab rights would not be violated, Balfour was more frank in his private correspondence: "The four great powers are committed to Zionism, and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land" (Cited in Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle*, p. 90).

The Declaration was very clearly the product of British imperialist considerations. The Ottoman regime was collapsing, and by early 1916 France and Britain had already drawn up the secret Sykes-Picot agreement on spheres of influence in the area. With France dominant in Syria and Lebanon and hoping to grab up Palestine as well, Britain wanted to strengthen the Yishuv and more tightly tie it to British interests. The Zionists could act as a counterweight not only against Britain's French rivals but also against the Arab nationalist forces which Britain had been obliged to partially unleash and support against the Turks. The Zionist encroachment would form, in the words of Sir Ronald Storrs, the first military governor of Jerusalem, "a little loyal Jewish Ulster in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism" (Brenner, p. 95).

Further, the Declaration came out less than a week before the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia. At that point the British were working feverishly to prop up the Kerensky government (which replaced the overthrown Tsarist regime) in hopes of "rehabilitating" Russia as a reliable war ally; to that end the promise of a Jewish homeland was seen as a crumb with which to win over the masses of Russian Jews. These Jews had been, to put it mildly, unenthusiastic about the war from its very start, and many at that point were shifting over to the Bolshevik side; now it was hoped that they'd see some stake in an Allied victory. By and large things didn't work out that way.

Beginning in the 1920s the scale of land purchases conducted by the Jewish National Fund and the establishment of industry, which by their charters employed only Jews (and which competed with and ruined many local artisans), led to conflict and struggle between the Zionists and the Palestinian people. Emigration continued with British support through the 1920s, but by 1931 Jews made up only



## An RW Reprint Fort Apache,

18 percent of the population of Palestine. With the rise of Hitler, however, emigration from Europe took off, with 165,000 Jews coming to Palestine from 1933 to 1935, raising the percentage of Jews to 28 percent and more than doubling the absolute number of the Jewish population.

The Palestinian people now found themselves increasingly dispossessed in what had been their own land, and in 1936 they attempted a massive general strike. When the strike was decisively broken, armed bands under the influence of Izz ad-Din al-Qassem (a Palestinian leader killed in late 1935 by Great Britain) launched an armed revolt in the hills of Palestine. The Arab Revolt lasted three years before it was finally crushed by the British, with some 19,000 Palestinian casualties. Scores were hanged by British military tribunals. In the course of the rebellion the British relied on and strengthened the Zionist paramilitary forces.

### The U.S. Takes Over from Britain

But soon thereafter British and Zionist interests clashed. Some use this conflict to say that Israel could not have been a settler state or gendarme for the British, since it found itself in sharp conflict with England; others go so far as to claim that Zionism was a national liberation movement against the British! This conve-

niently ignores an almost universal pattern in which settler states eventually come into conflict with the mother country: witness the Boer War, Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the actions of the die-hard  *pied-noirs*  against De Gaulle, etc. (It also ignores U.S. backing of Zionism to advance American interests vis-à-vis Britain in the postwar period.) Having drowned the Arab Revolt in blood, the British were at the same time forced to grant some concessions to Arab national sentiments, both to head off another revolt developing while Britain was directly locked in combat with Germany and to counter budding German relations with anti-British Arabs. Hence Britain issued a White Paper limiting further Zionist emigration to Palestine to 75,000.

The Zionists were enraged. The Irgun — the extreme right-wing Zionist military group — reacted by murdering twenty-seven Arabs who were celebrating the White Paper. The goal of an autonomous Jewish state in Palestine, hitherto unspoken by the mainstream Zionists, took hold, eventually culminating in the Biltmore Resolution of 1942. In 1944 what the Zionists would today label "terrorist attacks" if done by the PLO were launched against British installations and troops and Arab citizens by both the Labor Party military arms (the Haganah

Palestinian fighters during the Arab Revolt of 1936-39.





Tanks into plowshares? On a Zionist kibbutz in the 1920s.

# The Mideast

and the Palmach) and the extreme-right Irgun.

Much is made of the fact that the British limited emigration just as the war was approaching and with the Nazi regime growing ever more brutal towards German Jews. The *Kristallnacht* pogrom erupted in 1938, and shortly thereafter Hitler finally outlawed the Zionists and ended emigration from Germany to Palestine. The Zionist record vis-à-vis the Nazis is beyond the scope of this article,

but it should be pointed out that the Zionists were not so much concerned with the continued ability of German Jews to flee as they were with *where* those Jews would go; hence no demand was raised for emigration to be allowed to Britain itself, for example.

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

weakened Britain was confronted by U.S. challenges in almost every former sphere of influence and by an overall challenge in which the U.S. claimed unrivaled hegemony over the imperialist powers. In Palestine the U.S. backed the Zionists while the British, trying to hold on, threw their support to certain Arab forces in the first year or so following the war.

## Partition, Massacre, Exile

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

There was no way that the Palestinian people would go along with this, and on the announcement of the partition they launched a general strike. Sporadic armed struggle between the Palestinians and the Zionists erupted, punctuated by severe reprisals by the Zionists. The Arab rulers of the area, under pressure from the Arab masses and badly underestimating the Zionists' international backing, then launched a poorly conceived invasion, which became the 1948-49 war. This war had two main effects: first, the Zionists considerably expanded their territory beyond the UN mandate; second, 850,000 Palestinians were driven into exile and over 400 former Palestinian villages were razed to make room for Israeli settlements.

The Israeli victory owed much not only to Western economic and diplomatic support but to direct military support as well. According to the May 22, 1959 issue of

the *Zionist Record*, Ben-Gurion (Israel's first prime minister) wrote in a foreword to the Israeli Defense Force's *Official History of the War of Independence* that:

"— South Africa with its relatively small Jewish community, contributed more to the Israeli war effort in terms of skilled volunteers than any other country in the world;

"— Whole Israeli regiments of volunteers were trained in Germany, Austria, France and Czechoslovakia in 1948;...

"— Without foreign volunteers, the establishment of Israeli air, naval, and armored forces, as well as of weapons development and military industry, would not have been possible. Since without these forces Israel could not have achieved victory in that war, according to the official history, it can thus be agreed that the War of Independence was won thanks to foreign volunteers who comprised one-fifth of Israel's total armed strength."

But the crucial moment of the war took place before it even began, at the neutral village of Deir Yassin on the night of April 9-10. On this night troops of the Irgun murdered 254 Palestinian noncombatants living in Deir Yassin. Menachem Begin, the leader of Irgun and later Israel's prime minister, bragged in his book *The Revolt*: "All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter. The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting Deir Yassin!" Chomsky notes that "Colonel Meir Pail, who was communications officer for the Haganah in Deir Yassin and an eyewitness, describes how Begin's heroes loaded twenty-five survivors into a truck and drove them through Jewish neighborhoods of Jerusalem, then taking them to a quarry where they were murdered, while others were driven off to be expelled beyond Israeli lines." Though officially disavowed by the mainstream Zionists, Deir Yassin (combined with the earlier smashing of the Arab Revolt) nevertheless played a key role in the expulsion of the Palestinians from Palestine.

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

## Settler-Colonial Occupier and Regional Cop

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

In 1956 Israel invaded the Egyptian territories of Gaza and Sinai, in conjunction with Britain and France's seizure of the Suez Canal. The U.S. forced France and Britain to pull out (symbolizing U.S. domination in the Middle East), but it fully backed Israel's aggression against Egypt. The U.S. sicced the Zionist attack dog on Egypt's Nasser, who was trying to play the U.S. off against the Soviets.

Continued on page 14



Massive Palestinian street demonstrations confront the British colonial police during the 1930s.



## Fort Apache, The Mideast

Continued from page 13

Those who maintain that the IDF never dirtied its hands until the 1982 invasion of Lebanon should ponder some of the events of that war: the slaughter on October 29 (the first day of the war) of forty-seven Arabs in the Israeli village of Kfar Kassem for violating a curfew that had been imposed on all Israeli Arabs — the villagers were returning home from work literally a few minutes past the 5 p.m. deadline (which they had not heard about) and Israeli troops killed almost all, including fifteen olive pickers coming home in a truck, all but two who were women, one of them eight months pregnant; the murder of at least 275 Palestinians in the Gaza town of Khan Yunis in a house-to-house search for weapons and fedayeen; another slaughter of 111 Palestinians on November 12 at the refugee camp at Rafah (also in the Gaza Strip) when the refugees resisted a round-up by the IDF.

While some Arab heads of state during this period adopted a tough posture for public consumption, in reality they went to great lengths to avoid angering Israel. The U.S., Britain, and France publicly claimed to follow the "Tripartite Agreement" which forbade arming either Israel or the Arab states, but France had built up the Israeli military machine through secret arms shipments and Israel had clear military superiority. Both Jordan and Egypt therefore suppressed attempts to organize fedayeen in the refugee camps up until 1955, and Nasser tightly controlled the fedayeen even afterwards. Israeli policy was far from "defensive" (which wouldn't have made Israel right,

anyway: the question of "who shot first" has been continually used in this arena to cover over earlier Israeli provocations, and more than that to mystify the underlying political roots of these wars — although Israel has in fact "fired first" in all but the 1973 war), but an offensive one aimed at setting very clearly the limits beyond which Arab regimes would not be allowed to venture.

The 1967 war was essentially more of the same, in trumps, and will not be dealt with in depth here, except to note that its outcome marked something of a turning point in the area. Four major effects flowed from the Israeli victory. First, the U.S. and Israel significantly deepened their relationship, as the U.S. pumped qualitatively greater aid to Israel in the years following 1967 than before the war. Israel had clearly won its spurs as the U.S. client in the area, at a time when the policy of increased U.S. reliance on surrogates to defend its interests in various regions was beginning to come into play. Second, the Israelis now occupied the West Bank, Gaza, and all of Jerusalem, bringing 1.25 million additional Palestinians under their direct control. Third, the Arab nationalist regimes — Nasser's in particular — were discredited and their stranglehold on the Palestinian struggle broken, at least for a while. Fourth, the Palestinian resistance experienced a Phoenix-like resurgence, most dramatically signaled by the successful defense of the Fateh training camp near Karamah, Jordan, against the IDF in 1968.

### The Nightmare and the Resistance

As pointed out earlier, the official

Labor Party line had for years maintained that not only had the Palestinians no rights, they didn't even exist. While the Israelis were no more ready to admit to their existence — the earlier Meir quote was from 1969 — they did in fact now have to deal with their resistance on a qualitatively higher level. Thus, while Israel was willing to return the Sinai to an Egypt that had been brought into the U.S. bloc as a pliant subordinate, the West Bank and Gaza were given a steady diet of blood and iron. Israeli troops and administration in the occupied territories were soon supplemented and backed up by settlers from the most fanatical and retrograde elements of Israeli (and Jewish-American) society. And while the chimera of a mini-state has been consistently held out to "get the Palestinians to listen to reason" — in fact, to gain ground for generally defeatist and capitulationist tendencies, and to weaken the resistance of the fedayeen — Israel in reality intensified its occupation of the West Bank.

The death grip on the West Bank tightened steadily from 1967 on, under both Labor and Likud, as did the attacks in Lebanon, the support for Hussein's bloody suppression, etc. The 1982 invasion of Lebanon marked a further turning point in the process. If the earlier one was conditioned by the contradiction between the U.S. and the liberation struggles of the Third World, in Lebanon we saw in microcosm many of the forces propelling things forward today: on the one hand, the intensifying conflict between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which lent the invasion its frantic urgency and ex-



Theodor Herzl with German Kaiser Wilhelm II in Palestine, 1898.

treme brutality and which conditioned the direct U.S. military intervention with the peacekeeping force; and on the other, the determination of the oppressed to continue their resistance against imperialism, at a time when the stakes are far higher.

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

## Fort Apache, The Mideast



- PART I: PEACE IN GALILEE
- PART II: THE ADVENTURES OF SUPERDOG
- PART III: "...A LOYAL JEWISH ULSTER IN A SEA OF HOSTILE ARABS"
- PART IV: AGAINST ZIONIST APOLOGETICS

REPRINTS FROM THE **REVOLUTIONARY WORKER**

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## The Hemphill Murder of Loyal Garner

Continued from page 4

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

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

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

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

On the way back to Houston, as the bus pulled out of the road from the church, a Black farmer stopped it and complained to the pastor that a helicopter

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

RW seller in Houston

# Los Angeles Palestinians Protest Israeli Occupation

The *shebab* of occupied Palestine are providing a beacon that is inspiring the *shebab* of exiled Palestinians. This was very much in evidence at a January 14 picket line in front of the Israeli Consulate in Los Angeles. About 250 people marched and chanted in the protest called by the Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights, and Palestinian youths were a boisterous and inspiring part of the demonstration. More than three-fourths of the demonstrators were Palestinians and other Arabs.

"Israel and South Africa are the same, the only difference is the name!" was a chant that was taken up with a lot of enthusiasm and conviction on this picket line. Several of the young Palestinians that the *RW* spoke to adamantly insisted there is no difference between the situation under Israeli occupation and in apartheid South Africa and wanted people to know this. One youth recounted his experience about going back to visit his relatives: Israeli authorities strip-

sought him and went through his luggage, even though he has a U.S. passport. He said Palestinians from other countries are treated the same as native-born Palestinians by authorities: like an enemy.

Khader Hamide, one of seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman who the U.S. government is trying to deport under the McCarran-Walter Act for political activities, spoke at a brief rally at the end of the picket, as did a lawyer in that case. A phalanx of fifteen riot-clad L.A. cops was positioned on the steps of the building and on the sidewalk in front, and on the other side were roughly twenty members of the Jewish Defense League. The police forced the Palestinian demonstrators and supporters to form two separate picket lines in order to not block the sidewalk. But the JDL members appeared to have police permission to block the sidewalk, as well as to threaten, taunt, and insult the protesters. The main picket line circled a recreated

scene of one aspect of what is currently going on in Gaza and the West Bank: four blood-stained children lying beside a coffin covered with the Palestinian flag, with a machine gun-toting Israeli soldier standing over them. The *other* aspect of what is going on in occupied Palestine was an obvious source of pride for many of the demonstrators, especially the younger ones. While most of these youth were born in this country, and some have never been to Palestine, they still see themselves as exiles from Palestine. One youth said that the current uprising of the youth is "an indication of more things to come." Asked how he thought things would develop, he replied, "it's just building up momentum, it's not going to stop, whether it's for a day, a year, or generations."

A Palestinian in his late twenties who was very excited by the rebellions told the *RW* of his experiences about ten years ago in occupied Palestine. He was arrested for demonstrating and put in prison,

where he finished high school. Later he was taken before a judge of some sort again. This time he was deported to Lebanon. The Israeli authorities took away his identification, and he was taken to the mountains across the border in Lebanon and left there.

At the end of the demonstration the JDL reactionaries taunted Palestinian mothers who were leaving with young children, trying to provoke a fight under the watchful eye of the cops. One JDL member wearing a T-shirt with "Uzi" printed on it pointed to his shirt and yelled, "This is the 'final solution' for rock throwers!" This pitiful display of provocateur bravado stood as a despicable reminder of the nature of Zionism in power. Much more significant was the remark of a young Iraqi, made while this was going on. Commenting on the growing unity between Palestinian and other Arab youth, he said, "It's about time." And right on time. □

## Homeless

Continued from page 5

have been that man under 18 inches of ice. You got more single men and women that's homeless. They need somewhere to live and I'm tired. I'm tired of people comin' to me cryin', beggin' for some place to stay and the only thing I can tell them is we don't have any vacancy. They claim they not ready, when as a CHA employee I know there's plenty vacancies that can be livable and this ain't no lie. This is sure enough straight-up real!"

Also taken up at the board meeting were proposals to tear down four high-rise buildings at the Lakefront housing project on the South Side. A year ago 900 families moved out of the Lakefront project under protest and only after receiving a promise from Mayor Washington that they would be allowed to return after their buildings were rehabilitated. Now powerful real estate developers are proposing that the high-rises be replaced by "mixed-income" low-rises. Mayor Washington had tentatively approved this proposal as long as replacement housing was found for the CHA residents.

A busload of people had come from the Lakefront projects to confront the CHA. But none of them got a chance to

speak before their buses had to leave. What is at stake here if the developers win out, one former Lakefront tenant told the *RW*, is that "In ten years there won't be any CHA high-rises left in this city."

\*\*\*\*\*

After the homeless were told they had no right to speak at the Board meeting, a white homeless man bitterly told the *RW*, "The homeless can't talk? They don't goddamn listen to us. They think they know all the shit and they ain't doin' nothin' for us. There's my wife down there that's pregnant. From bein' out in the cold, she got sick. She also took a fall. We go to these Henry Horner apartments, they tell us there's not shit. . . . They tell us in so many words, 'screw you!'"

"I have slept in the Salvation Army, I have been apart from my wife. She sleeps on the floor half the time in these god-darned shelters. I sleep on the floor because there's not enough room. If we go to the Salvation Army, if you're not there by 8:25, you're not goin' to get in the god-darned place. . . . Two nights ago I went to a church. You know what they gave us? Lousy-ass crackers and coffee. . . . I've got my ass kicked. We don't need this shit. If they can't provide for the homeless, the whole system sucks!" □

## Locked Out

Continued from page 7

Palestinian areas. Units of the Israeli military smash into homes, beating the occupants. Military officials actually bragged about a new tactic they use; they round up groups of young men and force them to stand upright all night, on the theory that they will then be too tired to throw rocks the next morning.

The Israelis are continuing with daily mass arrests, using two interconnected tactics. On the one hand, there are dragnets in the streets seeking to terrorize and imprison the *shebab* who are hurling stones and molotov cocktails. On the other hand, there are carefully planned raids aimed at catching specific leading individuals. These are smaller operations, often conducted by the secret police, not just by the army, and they are based on hit lists that have been built up over a period of several years.

But as one young man in Deir el Balah said, "Those they considered provocateurs they arrested last week. Who is responsible for the demonstrations now?"

### "Moderates" Arrested, "Ringleaders" Deported

The Israeli authorities have also been hauling in political figures widely viewed as "moderates." Ten "prominent members of the Palestinian establishment," mainly journalists, doctors, and lawyers from east Jerusalem, were recently rounded up. Three are still being held as we go to press, including editors of two Palestinian newspapers, *Al Shaab* and *Al Mithaq*.

Among those detained and then released was Hanna Siniora, editor of the Arabic daily *Al-Fajr*. Not long ago Siniora was one of the "moderates" identified as *acceptable to Israel* as a Palestinian delegate to Middle East talks. He is also the man most widely promoted in the American press last week for suggesting a campaign of "peaceful civil disobedience" against the occupation. Siniora was questioned and released on bond. Quite possibly, this detention was a deliberate move by the Israeli government to bolster such "acceptable" forces by giving them "anti-Israeli credentials."

Meanwhile, in defiance of international law and world condemnation, Israel went ahead with the first round of deportations: four West Bank Palestinians were expelled from Israeli control into Lebanon on January 14. In New York the United Nations Security Council made a second toothless condemnation of the deportations. This time, however, the United States decided against even such slap-on-the-wrist criticism of Israel and abstained from the resolution.

### Ominous Signs of Israeli Intent

As we go to press, fighting broke out in one of Islam's holiest shrines, the Dome of the Rock. Israeli troops viciously attacked, beat and gassed Palestinian worshippers there on Friday, January 16. The attack is politically very significant since this Dome has long been a target of fanatical right-wing Zionists who want to see it destroyed and replaced by a monu-

ment to their faith.

Not all Palestinians are Moslems — there is a significant section of Christians among them. But sending troops to attack the Dome was clearly a message that the Israeli state fully backs the most extreme chauvinist and expulsionist measures against Palestinians who are under Israeli occupation. Early in this uprising the government backed the highly provocative act by butcher-general Ariel Sharon to move into an apartment in the Arab area of east Jerusalem.

An even more explicit sign of annexationist/expulsionist intent involved the first reported shooting of Palestinians by civilian Zionist settlers during the current uprising. On Monday, January 10 Pinhas Wallerstein, the regional leader of right-wing Israeli settlers in the northern West Bank, shot into a crowd of Palestinian youths. Either he or his bodyguard killed a 17-year-old Palestinian youth. That same day UN observers reported that an armed group of "Israeli civilians" drove into the Kalandia refugee camp north of Jerusalem and blasted their automatic weapons randomly into homes.

Israeli authorities responded quickly and clearly: Maj. Gen. Amram Mitzna, head of Israel's Central Command, which controls much of the West Bank, defended the murder by saying he personally knew Wallerstein and that "it seems there was justified use of weapons. . . . They were definitely acting in self-defense according to our first findings. Their car was blocked by burning tires and a group of protesters began to attack them with rocks at close range."

Three points are relevant:

- Three Palestinian witnesses, questioned separately by journalists, gave a different account; they insist that the settlers jumped from their car and chased the youth, shooting and killing as they advanced. The army's "first findings" simply consisted of accepting the settlers' version and ignoring Palestinian testimony.

- The settler-leader Wallerstein has been a prominent defender of the so-called "underground," an organization of Zionist terrorists that have bombed civilian Palestinian buses and assassinated elected Palestinian officials.

- The military commander Mitzna has been touted in the U.S. press as "even-handed" and liberal; he is supposedly one of the army's new breed that chafe under their role as "police" and are accused by right-wing Israelis of being "soft on Arabs." This, then, is an example of where Israeli "liberals" stand on the question of terror against Arabs.

Such a development is extremely ominous (if hardly unexpected). The fanatical "settlers" are deeply committed to driving remaining Palestinians out of the West Bank by terror. For the Israeli government to publicly excuse the murder committed by Wallerstein will inevitably be seen as official endorsement for "civilian" death squad-like terror against the Palestinian uprising. The infamous 1982 massacres of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon received just such unofficial Israeli approval and were carried out by killers formally outside the Israeli military chain of command. □

## García

Continued from page 3

belong to the Communist Party, Shining Path, were transferred to the prison of Canto Grande. Their harassment continues and they are still maintaining that there could be a new genocide. In this prison, visitation rights have been denied on many occasions, they are refused food, medical attention. This is all still part of the struggle that continues and is denounced by the democratic attorneys and constantly by their family members."

In addition to the continuing repression of the political prisoners, the Garcia regime is putting tremendous pressure on attorneys and others who defend the prisoners or criticize abuses by the government. Angulo pointed to the recent police raid of a social gathering of the Association of Democratic Attorneys as an example. The Association, said Angulo, holds gatherings "to raise funds because right now no one in the country wants to defend the rights of those who have been charged with 'terrorism,' due to fear. But the Association of Democratic Attorneys is the one that defends these cases, and they had this social gathering that was raided by the police. They arrested all the attorneys and guests, and later on they were slowly released one by one. All of this is a systematic policy of intimidation with the aim of stopping anyone from denouncing the violations of human rights or publishing the kind of things that happen daily."

"It is also known," Angulo added, "that one of these democratic attorneys, Dr. José Vasquez, was kidnapped from the Ministry of Justice last year and is still one of the disappeared. We further note the existence of torture, forced disappearance, kidnappings, and lack of

respect for the life of those that are detained. This is the reality."

During the last part of his presentations, Angulo painted a picture of a nation in crisis: "Daily there are clashes between workers and police. . . one day it is teachers, the next is miners, another day it is construction workers, followed by people from shantytowns." This crisis is at such a level that a national work stoppage occurred against the Garcia government on May 19, 1987. "This is why wide sections of the population, given their incredible conditions of life, have no alternative — other than dying of hunger or misery — than to join the rebellion. And all rebellion always leads to civil war, especially among the youth who don't have either alternative of work or study."


Angulo described the government's response to the crisis: "Within this context we can observe the existence of a policy of state terrorism, of annihilation of the poorest sectors. And this proves that the state of Peru has lost the representation of those that it governs. For us, it is not a matter of a civilian or military government, but of the application of the policy of state terrorism which, as we can see, can be applied by one or the other political party, one political tendency or another. This is why the defense of human rights is no longer the defense of individuals' human rights. In Peru, it is more a matter of human rights which translate into the democratic rights of the entire people. For the defense of the rights of the people is the reason for what is happening."

"After all that I have related," Angulo declared, "can it be said that Alan Garcia's is a democratic government? Or that it respects human rights? Or is it similar to any other military government such as Videla's in Argentina or Pinochet's in Chile or any of the other dictatorships that Latin America has had to suffer with?" □

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### IN ISSUE NO. 9 . . .

#### NAXALBARI

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

#### GORBACHEV

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

#### DAY OF HEROISM — 19TH JUNE

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

### AND MORE . . .

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