Death-To-The-Tiller: The Legacy of the Democrats in Central America

Over the past few years, Central America has occupied an important position in the "anti-Reagan" racket. It's been Reagan's war in El Salvador, Reagan's secret war in Nicaragua; Reagan's military buildup in Honduras; and Reagan's intervention in Central America. And in the coming months, such phononology is bound to escalate, so to speak, designed to induce the choice this year of the "lesser evil" — that is, the Democratic Party — just one more time, of course. There will likely be lots of preaching about the peace and tranquility that YOUR VOTE can bring to Central America. But somehow, none of the revisionist, social democrat or plain old bourgeois liberals delivering these homilies refer to those golden days of yore when a Democrat held the presidency (and, if memory serves correctly, the vice-presidency as well), and the U.S. was so nice to the happy people in its "backyard." Perhaps we should refresh their memories.

Jimmy Carter (and Walter Mondale) took office declaring that "human rights" would be "the soul of our foreign policy," and had "made compulsory gestures toward the Church." Citizens of El Salvador have been crushed of all forms of protest and made it a crime to express any opinion "through word of mouth, through writing or any other means that tend to destroy the social order." Would this qualify for punitive sanction for violating the "soul of U.S. foreign policy?" Not exactly. Speaking of the new Salvadoran law, Ambassador Devine told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "We believe any government has the right and obligation to use all legal means at its disposal to combat terrorism."

The fact that the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala did not receive any direct military aid from the U.S. in the first few years of the Carter administration has often been cited as evidence of Democratic efforts to "reform" these regimes. However, equipment and training continued to be supplied through U.S. client-states like Israel, Argentina and Brazil, and the same State Department that was publicly criticizing Guatemalan transgressions was approving the sale of weaponry by U.S. corporations to the Guatemalan army and security forces. As for El Salvador, in addition to funneling equipment and training through its clients, the Carter administration also maintained a military mission in the country throughout the late '70s and approved...
Oppose the Execution of TKPML Comrades by the Turkish Government!

The last months in Turkey have seen a marked acceleration in the procession of condemned political prisoners — grease is being applied to the railroad tracks leading straight to the gallows. It is almost as if you can see the primitive henchmen, large and small, of the fascist military forces) being sprung from the Izmir prison. During the raid a uniformed pig was killed.

The new procedure being followed by the fascist military forces is a new mechanism for carrying out counterrevolutionary terror against the people. On May 23, 1984, the death sentence given to Feridun Ihsan Berkin by the Supreme Court of Appeal was confirmed by the Justice Commission of the New Turkish Parliament by a vote of 8 to 7. A week later, the death sentences of Sedat Vilmaz and Muzaffer Oztiirk were also affirmed by the Justice Commission. The court decisions of all three cases had previously been approved by the Supreme Court of Appeal, even before the new “civilian” government came to power. Now the next step is the execution.

What a remarkable thing this democratic government is. Whereas before, the political prisoners were lined up against the wall after torture and shot, now there is an intervening period where every fascist henchesman, large and small, of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government all get their chance to add their signatures to the execution orders. How civilized! Now they consult pass papers from one office to another, dangle these cases before the people, putting on a show for the Western European public... and then they kill you!

At this point, there are 26 more cases waiting confirmation from the Parliament’s Justice Commission — all of them concerning revolutionaries. And in a new court proceeding against TKPML and its military arm TIKAYO, the prosecution is asking for 59 death penalties out of the 310 defendants on trial.

In a letter to the Revolutionary Worker, the Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners, based in West Germany, has announced that they are launching an all-out campaign to prevent the execution of Berkin, Vilmazoy and Oztiirk. They are asking for individual protest letters and donations to be sent to the Turkish regime, and request that funds be contributed in support of the campaign.

Attention Readers!

Next week, the price of the Revolutionary Worker will be raised to 75 cents per copy. This increase is necessary in order to better meet the actual costs of producing and distributing the RW. Readers should take note that the $20 is one of the most professional quality papers ever to run on such a shoe-string budget; and regular and consistent financial support for the paper is extremely important in order to expand and advance the political exposure which is vital to the revolutionary movement. We also want to notify readers in advance that subscription prices will be raised accordingly in two months and urge people to SUBSCRIBE NOW at the current rate.

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Politics and Politics
by Bob Avakian

Editor's note: The following is some material from a book that Bob Avakian is presently working on. It is being run now because it seems especially relevant in these times of election politics — and the need for revolutionary-minded people to inject some revolutionary politics into this deadly (and we don't just mean deadly dull) scene.

As the U.S. imperialists most often define it — and seek to confine it — politics is the contest, within their own ranks or at least on their own terms, centering around conflicts that pit the interests of individuals (or particular segments of society, and segments of the ruling class in particular) against the overall interests of the ruling class as a whole. Such politics means the contest to hold office (elections), the conflict of “special interests” versus the “general good” (the general interests of the ruling class, etc.), “bringing in politics” or “making something a political issue” means bringing in personal or particular aims or interests, in conflict with the general interest (as just defined).* It is hardly accidental that such a defining (and confining) of politics leaves out such “minor details” as the division of society into oppressor and oppressed classes and nations — fundamental conditions in society at this stage, the recognition of which is essential for even beginning to have a correct understanding of politics.

For the proletariat, and in reality, politics is the struggle to influence and change society, which in the era in human history in which society is divided into classes finds its most basic and essential expression in class struggle. In accordance with this, it is of crucial importance for the class-conscious proletariat to mount the political stage, in every important arena and dimension, to contest the ruling class and its major representatives, of all various stripes, over the major social questions and world events — all in preparation for carrying the class struggle over to its highest form, the armed struggle for political power, as soon as possible.

In today's world especially, it would be a disaster if the ruling class and its representatives succeeded in containing the awakening and activism of oppressed masses within the arena of politics as the bourgeoisie defines, confines, and controls it. But it would also be a disaster if especially the advanced among the proletariat did not enter into that decisive arena of what politics really is — especially now. Of course the bourgeoisie does on occasion use politics in another, more general sense — and then generally in a negative sense, to denote “bad politics” — opposition to the established order, or order as they are determined to establish it. Then we hear the cry against “bringing in politics” — in a larger dimension, for example the 1968, or 1984 Olympics — as opposed to 1980. In this sense we must give them much more of such “bad politics!” working toward doing so in its highest form as soon as possible!)

*The recently published book The Media Monopoly, by Ben H. Bagdikian (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), is a good example of this. It does contain some interesting exposure of the control and manipulation of the media by large corporations and it has stirred some controversy, but it presents the fundamental conflict as the attempt of such corporations to pursue and serve their own "private" interests against the general good — which places the problem squarely within the context of bourgeois democracy — and bourgeois rule.
A federal judge in the trial of the Griffiss Plowshares defendants opened the proceedings with the exclamation, "As Gary Gilmore said, "Do it!""

It wasn't the last veiled reference to executions that was to issue from the government during the trial. And it was only the first of a long and sometimes bizarre string of suggestive remarks and crude political innuendos which preceded the June 13 verdict on seven antiwar activists: guilty on conscientious objection, or "con," charges and stands firm in the face of the U.S. war machine. The sentences be given to these defendants in order to discourage further actions at military installations. The cruise missiles have been fitted and tested on the B-52s at Griffiss since 1981 and they fly regularly to the extremes of the U.S. "defense" perimeter to within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military targets in eastern Russia. When the Griffiss Plowshares carried out their symbolic disarmament act inside the hangars at that base, they breached yet another sacred cow protecting the U.S. war machine.

The seriousness with which the jury viewed this was up front in the prosecutor's opening statements to the court and the press. He urged that more than seven sentences be given to these defendants than in the past Plowshares trials in order to "maintain a lifestyle in this country and the sacrifice of many Americans who think nuclear weapons are there to protect that freedom. What do you think?"

C.S.: "Nuclear weapons are wrong and they are not in the interests of the peace."

PROS: "How many Soviet weapons have you bumped up against?"

Other defendants were also faced with the suggestion from the prosecutor that their actions aid the Soviet Union.

RICHARD ALDRIDGE, for example, was asked whether he was not in favor of the forces of the Soviet Union at the end of his cross-examination: "What did you hear of John Brown? Well, he was a martyr."

PROS: "Do nonviolent political demonstrations have the same kind of value?"

"No, slavery could not be ended simply by demonstrations, required more than acts of rebellion than there was."

These figures relating to freedom and dialogue were alternated with threats on the lives of the defendants, thus demonstrating how this dialogue works. For example, in cross-examining defendant Elizabeth McLester, a "philosophical" point was raised in the prosecution: "What have you heard of the phrase 'violence begets violence'? Have you heard of John Brown? Well, he was a martyr."

ZINN: "He wanted to create many revolts among the people."

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Throughout the first week of June, escalating events in the Punjab fore-shadowed a decisive clash. Fighting flared sporadically in the city of Amritsar. Troops streamed into the northern Indian state, which had been strait-jacketed by "President's rule" since October 1983. Curfew was imposed. Phone lines cut. All transportation was stopped, even bicycles and trains. Stricted cur- sorship clamped down on the circulation of information; even foreign journalists were huddled out of the state under police escort.

On June 5, the central Indian govern- ment of Indira Gandhi launched its coup de force against the entrenched Sikh militants within the Golden Temple of Amritsar. 5000 government troops rolled into position around the shrine. For at least five days, intense mortar and machine-gun fire raked the grounds. Minarets had their tops sheared off. Government grenades bounced off the bricked-up windows. Finally after hours of tank and artillery assault, the machine guns within fell silent, and army sharpshooters moved in, backed up by waves of marines, to finish off the massacre. Forty other temples were stormed on that same day throughout the Punjab.

Official government reports are that 84 soldiers and 492 Sikhs died, while "per- sistent, though unconfirmed" Western reports place the "death toll" between one and two thousand.

One fact that no one denies is that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, leader of the extreme fundamentalist wing of the Sikhs' Akali Dal movement, lay dead. The government autopsy claimed he was playing for time and clamping down on his people. But a violent death by bullets and knives can hardly be ruled out. This is all the more important since the Sikh movement is at last in a position to negotiate. But what are the terms when the government is so obviously determined to hold the gun?

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The rapid changes of the last years, shifted center stage from the provincial to the national. In going from the Punjab to the rest of India, two significant economic issues were raised, which reveal the rise of a rural capitalist class in the wake of the "Green Revolution" as one of the causes of the current disturbances. One demand was that the wheat and rice prices be increased, recently diverted to Hindu-speaking regions. A second demand was that the central government face demands for relief it cannot provide and for equilibria it cannot create. In addition, the declining profitability of rural agriculture in recent years, itself linked to the international crises of the imperialist system, has even further aggravated conditions, punctur- ing the rural "economic miracles," dev- erting newly proletarianized peasants to desperation, and reducing the options of the central government.

The Italian government to resolve any of the substantial issues agitating the Punjab gave rise to the acute political crisis of this spring and summer. The most Indira was willing to even negotiate were the most narrowly religious questions, and even there she was under extreme political pressure from Hindu chauvinist forces pivotal to her ruling coalition to resist making even cosmetic compromises. Her real response was playing for time and clamping down with notorious "shoot on sight" curfews and the like, while gradually positioning her political and military forces.

Rupture In Punjab

The bullet scarred entrance to the Golden Temple.

In the wake of the Temple assault, mutiny and desertion of the Sikhs erupted within the Indian army. Because of the government's necessity to pour- pooh the mutinies, it has been extremely dif- ficult to get a pleasure of the size of this reaction — however, it clearly has been both large and violent, especially in the Indian northeast. The significance of this goes beyond the fact that Sikhs have a long military tradition and presently constitute an important part of the army, in...
Continued from page 1

three World Bank loans and an addition million from the International Fund for 

was released in 1977 and 1978, even while the 

the State Department's Human Rights 

was mounted against the growing repression. 

By 1978, the sharpening crisis in Central 

the Liberal Democrats in the House 

matters of time; Romero was assassinated 

from 20 to 55; then he added another $25 

run it themselves. The peasants couldn't 

In fact, there were over 9,000 people kill 

various centers of conflict in Central 

in Honduras, a country described by 

the junta involving broad sections of the 

regime. And to surround it. 

the Afternoon, Somoza in power to try and wipe out the 

intact Somoza's hated National Guard. 

Sandinistas and their supporters, before 

plans, there was a sharp debate within the 

clearly demonstrated that Somoza's days 

were numbered. They set up a provisional 

together a new government that would 

response, the U.S. decided to leave 

administration's response to a February 

a nationwide general strike was to release a $35 million 

the National Guard from their activities. Their 

number of Salvadorans were killed by the 

the opposition to Central American 

the open revolt in El Salvador, which was to bring the 

administration's response that the troops would be replaced by more Christian 

the Land Reform Agency, this death-to-th 

in El Salvador today. The most revolutionary land reform in 

the right to interfere with their activities. Their 

march on the archbishop. In Raymond Bonner's 

the Ministry of Defense, while under 

the opposition to the junta's human rights 

the beginning of the "caught between the ex 

Vladimir V. Aron, the former chief of the National Guard, 

by the U.S. to support the Sandinistas in 

that this particular junta responded, more Salvadorans were killed by the 

the government to keep the country 

the junta became untenable. They resigned or were replaced by more Christian 

Social Democrats and reformist intellectuals on the 

licensure" published at the end of 

apparently for analyses for the State 

Administration's National Security Council and CIA who were meeting at one or another time in 

the Carter administration, "a paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan 

anti-Castro Cubans, who had received military personnel transfers from the U.S. in the past year. 

should it be noted that U.S. intelligence has 

in Central America. This intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile 

groups in Guatemala and in Mexico is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the 

to have their activities restricted in favor of 

the U.S. with their links to the U.S. — it 

seems reasonable to assume — could 

beyond what their activities themselves were at any practical level. It was 

any number of questions. The 

the U.S. directly, and it was on this point that the actual 

was already operating in Honduras 

in this period, with U.S. funds funding 

But it was El Salvador that received the 

military inattention following the overthrow 

of Somoza. U.S. officials were preoccupied not to allow anyone to come to Nicaragua to 

Nineteen percent of the U.S. public, 

And let us not forget what White called 

the Latin American history. It was 

designed and implemented by the AFL-CIO's 

the American Federation of Independent 

Development (AIFLD) and Dr. Roy 

to speak at the inauguration of these 

Chinese, which is the political identity that is 

the junta's military ruler and the Nicaraguan 

the "reformist" or "liberal" position. The primary purpose of the 

that was the "humanitarian" position. So, with 

in turmoil in the face of mounting 

Known from that institution, the U.S. 

backed a coup to remove its exposed and 

and replace him with a more "reformist 

protesters and "breeding capitalists like 

would result in a situation in which the 

effectively eliminated by the end of 

1980. Which characterized these 

and the following, told to NACLA Reports by 

worker for the Salvadoran La 

the U.S. sent a letter 

only a few weeks after the coup. This was 

the U.S. sent a letter 

and told the workers the land was theirs. 

their particular leaders and try to 

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taking over the U.S. Senate in the 

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the junta's military ruler and
**RDF and The Temple Of Doom**

Over the past four years, the United States has undertaken a massive military buildup aimed at bolstering its power-projection capabilities in the Persian Gulf. The billions of dollars spent in building up a network of military bases in the region, the development of the Rapid Deployment Force, the massive flow of U.S. arms to regional allies, have all gone towards establishing what Pentagon planners call a "credible deterrent" in the Gulf. The public justification for this undertaking has largely rested on a concept of the U.S. as Gulf "policeman"—the supposition here being that such a vital Gulf, the United States towards the Iran-Iraq war, its desire to prevent an Iranian military/political buildup. The U.S. and Soviet blocs is, on their terms, a confrontation; the Gulf remains a flashpoint. Things, of course, might prove otherwise.

"Caution," then, is the primary yardstick by which the U.S. military presence is measured, and its potential for disruption. Certainly, the U.S. military presence in the area has provided no overwhelming deterrent against the widening "war" being aggressively pursued by Iraq. In part, this is explainable by the strategic orientation of the United States towards the Iran-Iraq war, its desire to prevent an Iranian victory even as it angers for greater influence in both countries. Further, the relatively low U.S. profit in the face of mounting Gulf turmoil is in part a calculated maneuver designed to secure a major, all-around military cooperation from its Gulf-state clients, most especially Saudi Arabia, whose U.S.-designed and built air bases constitute a major, and not so secret, component of America's regional buildup.

But mainly, present U.S. "caution" stems from the fact that it is often incidentally interested in playing the role of "police command" in the Gulf (such "caution" itself should not be exaggerated; after all, while maintaining a presence, the U.S. has significantly bolstered its own presence in the area. The U.S. aircraft carrier group cruising just outside the Strait of Hormuz now numbers ten vessels; a U.S. guided-missile cruiser was recently observed near Bahrain, U.S. designs on the Gulf certainly complicate "police" actions, and the question of Gulf oil and its relation to the whole structure of the Western economic order is itself of major strategic importance. But these and other concerns (the continued stability of the Gulf states, for example), can be viewed only in the context of the strategic calculus of U.S.-Soviet rivalry, and the emergence of the Gulf, not simply as a troubled outpost of empire, but as a major focus of this century. The military expression of U.S. strategy in the Gulf, the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF, Central Command, or CenCom in Pentagonese, in early 1983), itself attests to this fact. The premise of the RDF/CenCom has never been one of simply maintaining the regional status quo in the Gulf. Rather, the introduction and development of this force has from the beginning signaled a deliberate U.S. attempt to gain military advantage against its Soviet rival.

The RDF itself was formed in 1980; while the idea of a "super-interventionary" force had been kicked around inside military circles for some time, the fall of the Shah of Iran, coupled with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, provided the necessary impetus. But it was not only U.S. losses, and Soviet gains, in the Third World during the mid-to-late '70s, which prompted the formation of the RDF. Those developments coincided with the emergence, by decade's end, of a rough strategic nuclear parity between the U.S. and Soviet Union. Such a development called forth a reappraisal within U.S. circles of both conventional and nuclear forces. General David C. Jones (then head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) warned in 1979 that "there could be a reversal of the Cuban situation (the missile crisis of 1962) where (the Soviets) might have a strategic advantage combined with a local conventional force advantage." The disappearance of conventional and nuclear strength can be seen from earlier Middle East crises; most notably the Jordanian crisis of 1970 and the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. That the U.S. still enjoyed a clear nuclear advantage in these situations played a major part in conditioning the Soviet response. The emergence of rough strategic parity, however, signaled a new, more ambiguous set of ground rules which, in effect, have yet to be decisively "rewritten." More, the development of the crisis in the Gulf, the Iran-Iraq war, and the emergence of postrevolutionary Iran as both a threat to regional stability and as a major strategic prize, have occurred within the context of all-around sharpening U.S.-Soviet contention, in which the accumulation of crisis within both blocs has propelled both to the brink of global confrontation.

That the American military response since 1979-80 has been one of massive development of both strategic nuclear weaponry and conventional forces is not, therefore, based on two different sets of contingencies—that is, RDFs to attend to crisis and destabilization within the empire, moves for the Russians. Rather, the buildup is a complementary one, based on an orientation of global contention and war preparations.

What, after all, is new about the RDF/CenCom? As Harold Brown (Defense Secretary under the Carter ad-
HEAVENLY WARFARE AND
LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW

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On the morning of June 10, a Minuteman I Intercontinental Ballistic Missile was launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in Southern California, aimed at the Kwajalein Atoll in the South Pacific. The two 14,000 mile intercontinental missiles were launched within ninety minutes of each other. Twenty-two minutes into its suborbital flight, the ICBM nose cone was picked up by radar on the island of Borky Meach Island. The two missiles screamed towards each other at over 20,000 miles per hour.

The payload of the intercepting missile was the U.S. Army's new antiballistic missile weapon. It's cone-shaped warhead was guided at first by ground radar. But as the two missiles neared each other, guidance was taken over by a sensitive infrared sensor in the interceptor, which could "see" the flight path made by the incoming warhead against the cold backdrop of space. The presence of compressed nitrogen thus corrected the final course of the interceptor. Moments before impact, 164 tons of 40-millimeter warheads exploded from the interceptor like spokes on a wheel turning at supersonic speed.

A day test shot was perfectly legal under the ABM treaty. This 1972 agreement, a model of imperialist arms treaties, had explicitly allowed the Soviet Union not to engage in the deployment of weapons whose day test was perfectly legal under the ABM treaty. This 1972 agreement, a model of imperialist arms treaties, had explicitly allowed the Soviet Union not to engage in the deployment of weapons whose day test was perfectly legal under the ABM treaty.

But the Sunday test shot was more than a test of a new weapon's technology. It was also the opening shot of two weeks of intense maneuvering within the administration, centering on the proposed "Star Wars" program — the development of a new generation of antiballistic missile and antisatellite (ASAT) weapon. The test shot had been deliberately scheduled for the beginning of the week in which the U.S. Senate would debate the Star Wars section of the 1985 defense budget.

As expected, liberals drew a great hue and cry that the new weapon violated the 1972 ABM treaty, a non-nuclear warhead could not destroy a nuclear warhead but rather a more chilling debate went on about how best to wage such a war and win.

As in last month's Congressional debate over the antiballistic land-based weapon (see "MX—The People's Weapon," May 16, 1984), the liberal Democrats once again worked themselves into a lather publicly denouncing the administration while privately agreeing to support the whole package.

Their public denunciations and claims to have restrained Reagan were cynically agreed to by the House, which had prohibited any additional funds for a Maneuvering Reentry Vehicle (MRY) which was supposed to allow U.S. nuclear weapons to dodge Soviet ABMs.

In fact, as far as being threatened by Soviet superiority in space and electronics, the U.S. enjoys quite an advantage. The U.S. enjoys quite an advantage in satellite technology and the actual debate at hand was over how best to preserve and utilize that advantage. The special secret session of the Senate was occasioned by the fact that in considering the 1985 budget, the House had prohibited any antisatellite weapon test unless the Soviet Union conducted similar tests. Such a restriction was clearly a farce since the Soviet Union had already conducted three ASAT test shots and showed no sign of stopping. And in its "tough" in the House the Senate had deleted only around 400 million of the proposed $1.1 billion Star Wars budget for 1985.

More to the point was the fact that the Soviet ASAT weapons are cumbersome monstrosities built on retired SS-9 ICBMs which can only maneuver close to their targets and try to blow it up. The U.S. is in possession of a much more advanced guided technology (as demonstrated by the Sunday test shot) and the administration wanted a completely free hand to proceed with an antiballistic test shot scheduled for November. Thus a Senate version of the 1985 defense budget, which could not be discussed in an open session, a secret session of the Senate was certainly necessary to keep the Soviets from finding out about their own installations.

Leading the "opposition" in the Senate was the great Massachusetts liberal Paul Tsongas. Tsongas had originally prepared an amendment which would have restricted ASAT testing only if the president was making an effort to achieve a treaty with the Soviet Union banning or limiting ASAT weapons. This amendment was then watered down to re-
the Senate 61 to 38, a margin which space weapons limitations! This passed Congress that he is willing to negotiate deal with administration floor leader. provided only that the president certify to defeating the Wallop amendment, good Under the compromise wording the ad question of who runs the country. "Who runs this country," thundered Wallop on the national interest to do so. "Who runs this own amendment (which was defeated by only 48 to 45) which would allow the Congress last year. Tsongas offered up as the ABM and ASAT programs are basically one and the same. "It's an in... at about 100 miles altitude. One is highly... the reach of existing ASAT weapons possessed by both the U.S.S.R. and U.S. But the track of Soviet... decrease in so many words his intention to abrogate the existing ABM treaty? Taking the Hint The answer was quick in coming. On June 13, Senator Edward M. Paul Tsongas needed no lessons on the menace depicted in the secret Senate ses... achieves for submarines to aim their nuclear... had repeatedplied declared that he would not meet with the Soviets without demonstrated progress and a specific agenda. And had not the administration made clear in so many words its intention to abrogate the existing ABM treaty? Hexagon technology, sweet to its inventor... is banking on. Just what the closed-door argument over... for submarines to aim their nuclear... are depending on - satellites as a fundamental part of... would, among other things, make American... less secure. That, in turn, could endanger the means to detect and reply to the Soviet attack." The Air Force's homing vehicle is far... to the naked terror of deter...farsighted — satellites than the Soviets do, and consequently are more depen-...sions are used for wide ocean surveillance to keep track of...is to the continuous, rapid" to negotiate an ASAT treaty with the Soviets? Sure, why not! Another administration official might propose a limited measure on the...effect of word from the White House. Would Reagan be willing to negotiate? After all, it was the U.S. that had walked away from the ASAT negotiations in 1979. And Reagan had repeatedly declared that he would not meet with the Soviets without demonstrated progress and a specific agenda. And had not the administration made clear in so many words its intention to abrogate the existing ABM treaty? The next day administration spokesmen said bluntly on the president's position. According to the New York Times, "Seeking to clarify comments by Mr. Reagan at his news conference, administration officials decided only this week to open the door somewhat to a summit conference with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader." Another Wednesday evening's press conference, administration officials...r'earted agreement of the Senate, "this Congress or the leadership of the Soviet Union?" The ef-...sion of which runs the country. Having now saved the nation by defeating the Wallop amendment, good liberal Tsongas quickly negotiated the deal with administration floor leader, Senator John Warner from Virginia. Under the compromise wording the ad-...is banking on. Just what the closed-door argument over...r's advantage. This passed the Senate 61 to 38, a margin which demonstrated the broad support of Democrats and Republicans alike. The "limitation" passed by the Senate is actually weaker than the existing restrictions on such tests which were passed by the Congress last year. Tsongas offered up as a lame excuse for dropping the ASAT test ban requirement. His opinion that such a test ban is not feasible because of verification problems — exactly the same argument that Reagan has made all along. A clear demonstration of where the liberal leadership is at. "Sweet" Technology Just what the closed-door argument over ASAT weapons was actually about became clear with an editorial in the New York Times on June 13 entitled "This Missile Is No Magic Bullet." First the Times notes that the infrared sensing device used in the June 10 test is precisely the same technology as used by the air force in their antisatellite missile fired from an F15 fighter at high altitude, so the ABM and ASAT programs are basically one and the same. "It's an ingenious technology, sweet to its inventor and builders, and attractive to all who prefer a shield to the naked terror of deter-...happening in Europe. This continued on page 11
FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

On the “Crisis of Marxism” and the Power of Marxism—Now More than Ever

By Bob Avakian

1983 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Over this past century and more, Marxism has animated and aroused millions. Few can deny that the political landscape of the world today has been profoundly shaped by the struggles and revolutions Marxism has inspired. On the occasion of this anniversary, Bob Avakian has written a landmark essay, For A Harvest Of Dragons. Avakian’s previous books include a major study of the thought of Mao Tsetung and an analysis of the events leading up to and the significance of the 1976 coup in China. Here he guides the reader through a synoptic history of Marxism.

Avakian begins by summarizing the theoretical revolution ushered in by Marx’s investigations—in the realms of philosophy, history, economic theory, and politics. He then proceeds to examine some of the controversies that have swirled around the course and development of Marx’s thought, in particular the relation of Marx’s early writings to his mature work and the possible divergences between Marx and Engels. Turning next to the work of Lenin and Mao, Avakian argues that their theoretical innovations represent the most important enrichment of Marxism of the twentieth century. Finally, in one of the most provocative sections of his survey, Avakian subjects Soviet Marxism to withering criticism. He analyzes several representative works by Soviet scholars and shows that their method, content, and outlook cut against and suffocate the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

This essay appears at a time of a widely proclaimed “crisis of Marxism”—when the labor theory of value is under attack, when the applicability of Leninist forms of organization is subject to deep questioning, when the whole revolutionary experience of the 1960s is being reassessed, and when even the feasibility of socialism has been called into doubt. But Avakian’s defense of Marxism is no mere liturgical reaffirmation. He stresses that Marxism is a dynamic system, that it advances precisely in connection with the new problems posed by developments in the world, and that there is both an invigorating Marxist tradition to uphold as well as a deadening “conventional wisdom” to renounce. Avakian argues powerfully for the contemporary relevance of Marxism. Indeed, For A Harvest Of Dragons is itself striking testimony to Marxism’s continuing vitality.

"In the final analysis, as Engels once expressed it, the proletariat must win its emancipation on the battlefield. But there is not only the question of winning in this sense but of how we win in the largest sense. One of the significant (if perhaps subtle and little-noticed) ways in which the enemy, even in defeat, seeks to exact revenge on the revolution and sow the seed of its future undoing is in what he would force the revolutionaries to become in order to defeat him. It will come to this; we will have to face him in the trenches and defeat him amidst terrible destruction but we must not in the process annihilate the fundamental difference between the enemy and ourselves. Here the example of Marx is illuminating: he repeatedly fought at close quarters with the ideologists and apologists of the bourgeoisie but he never fought them on their terms or with their outlook; with Marx his method is as exhilarating as his goal is inspiring. We must be able to maintain our firmness of principles but at the same time our flexibility, our materialism and our dialectics, our realism and our romanticism, our solemn sense of purpose and our sense of humor."
More On 007

Satellites and Spylights

When Korean Air Flight 007 "struck" 300 miles off course last September, it carried into the United States the Soviet Union's most sensitive nuclear submarine bases, Western sources all said. The flight was intercepted by the Soviet Union's cruise missile carriers and by fighter pilot planes, and was brought down in the Barents Sea. But the exact details of how the flight was brought down are still hidden from public view, we are being informed by the actual players who operate the nuclear weapons systems.

The "fortuitous" timing of the 007 flight in conjunction with some losses of the U.S. electronic intelligence satellites, first over Kamchatka Peninsula and then off Sakhalin Island (second pass by the satellite), is not new information. It was in fact widely known by the Soviet Union at the time, and just as thoroughly removed from U.S. accounts of the incident. What is new in P.Q. Mann's article is the bringing up of previous incidents of possibly intentional aircraft collisions with the electronic intelligence satellites, and an explanation of the role of the RC135 spy plane in the incident.

For example, an early Ferret satellite was launched in December 1963 and overflew Korea on January 19, 1964. On January 28, when the satellite was in position over East Germany, a U.S. Air Force F-111A dive bomber was shot down. On March 10, 1964, only 42 days later, when the same satellite was again in the same position, an RB16 reconnaissance plane flew into East Germany again, and the intruding U.S. plane was again shot down.

The importance of such intelligence forays should not be underestimated. The major Israeli air victory over the Syrians during the invasion of Lebanon was brought about precisely by such electronic intelligence. In that case, the Israelis flew piloted drone aircraft over the hitherto Syrian anti-aircraft missile emplacements, which caused the Syrians to turn on their missile-adjusting radars in the emplacements, and Israeli missiles then used the Syrian radar signals to home in on their own missiles on the Syrian emplacements, actually destroying them.

The "alarming" situations of the 007 flight in conjunction with some losses of the U.S. electronic intelligence satellites, first over Kamchatka Peninsula and then off Sakhalin Island (second pass by the satellite), is not new information. It was in fact widely known by the Soviet Union at the time, and just as thoroughly removed from U.S. accounts of the incident. What is new in P.Q. Mann's article is the bringing up of previous incidents of possibly intentional aircraft collisions with the electronic intelligence satellites, and an explanation of the role of the RC135 spy plane in the incident.

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The constant battle goes on between potential adversaries to learn the location, frequencies, and "signature" (distinctive electronic particularities of each emitter) of the rival defense installations. And of particular interest to the U.S. are the defenses of the Soviet naval installations on the Pacific Coast which are the home base for much of the Soviet Union's nuclear missile submarine fleet.

According to P.Q. Mann, the U.S. deliberately sent the KAL flight in to activate the Soviet defense radars, expecting that the Soviets would then not dare to take off their own pilots' minute flight path, which was in fact one of the U.S. military 'spy planes' (which regularly fly over the Russian coast), goading them into turning on the defense radars which they would not do if they thought it was only an airliner off course. For this reason the flight path of 007 and the RC135 were deliberately intersected.

Mann also goes on to claim that the launch of a U.S. space shuttle from Cape Canaveral was also delayed by 36 hours in order to ( possibly) be near the area at the time of the planned incident, "tightly coupled to involve the shuttle in its continuing, control and communications role in the conducting of the extended intelligence operation.

Various other incidents of the publication of the article, e.g., a U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger called the article in Defence Attack a "rehash of the total set of lies that the Soviet Union published." But according to the Senate Observer of London, commenting on the Defence Attack piece, "One thing seems certain. The Soviet electronic activity provided by Flight 007's intrusion provided Western intelligence with its biggest scoop for many years.

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The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the battlefronts of struggle in the United States and elsewhere. We are committed to helping the oppressed in their fight against imperialism and封建ism! We call on people to take up and circulate broadly the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement! POLITICAL ACTION ON JUNE 27! The Revolutionary Communist Party USA New York District

The Revolutionary Communist Party sends this copy of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to all its supporters and invites you to share it with your friends and loved ones. We are committed to helping the oppressed in their fight against imperialism and feudalism! We call on people to take up and circulate broadly the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement! POLITICAL ACTION ON JUNE 27! The Revolutionary Communist Party USA New York District
Four years ago, two black South African artists were working as construction laborers in California, decades ago, to help build the massive stage in "Sun City," Frank Sinatra later perform the song. The two young men are part of the U-Zulu Dance Theatre, which is now living in exile in Oakland, California.

In the predawn hours of June 5th their home in Oakland was painted in huge letters on three vehicles belonging to the troops: KKK, NIGGER GO HOME, KAFFIR, YOU'LL DIE. In addition, tires were slashed and one car dashboard was broken. The men were not even aware of the attack, there was also evidence of an attempt to焚烧 their home.

This latest attack was the most blatant in an ongoing history of threats against the U-Zulu, a black South African dance troupe in the "democratic" U.S. . . . driven here by the conditions of apartheid rule in their own country. For the U-Zulu, telephone threats have become almost commonplace, and only a few months ago the wheel of their van "mysteriously" came off while they were traveling at freeway speed. The van was overturned, but amazingly they avoided what could have been a serious accident. The California Highway Patrol, however, raised no notice: The wheel had been deflated. Before the U-Zulu could move to a new location, they were not intended to make it home that night.

The U-Zulu are three women and four men, all skilled dancers and musicians, who came to this country in 1980 as part of the "black power" movement. They have danced in many theaters throughout the U.S. and have been in the rapid deployment and power projection business for a long time. But the group also has taken on the responsibility centers in the Persian Gulf, and the Persian Gulf war, and RDF-Centcom, that provides for contingency planning and draws these disparate forces and assets into the instruments and equipment necessary for their art, the newly-formed U-Zulu found themselves in San Diego without backers or a place to perform, without a home and without food . . . sometimes forced to eat out of garbage dumpsters.

Despite these trials they succeeded in creating Izga-Lethi (our pride), a dance drama that has been performed for over a quarter million people, mainly on the U.S. military bases. "Izga Lethi" is a series of songs, dances, and languages from different black South African provinces, and it is joined together. Young man who leaves his Zulu village and becomes a Babylonian slave. There he encounters the ridicule and destruction of his culture, the full force of repression against the people and the hypocrisy of the Christian church. After 12 hours he is finally able to return to his village. In the closing scenes these are armed with shields and spears and the world is caught up in its own art filled with the strivings of their peoples. That is quite another story.

The RDF/Centcom, just as no one has a clear idea as to who is behind these threats, the pattern of attempts to silence South African artists suggests that this threat extends just to the work of a lone racist nut or even just to the local KKK. One very high-ranking official of the South Africa Secret Police operating abroad. Certainly there have been other incidences of collaborative efforts between the U.S. South African artists in South Africa, and those who have been living in exile, the attempt to extradite poet Dennis Brutus being a recent example. Perhaps one who was "unleashed" to do the dirty work for the South African spring was involved, the words of a local KKK in response to the attack firing more...
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Jericho... 'Til The Walls Come Tumbling Down

Continued from page 5

In Punjab

Continued from page 5

major sections of the officer corps. Given the prominence of the Indian army as both a symbol and a bloody instrument, of vaunted "Indian unity" — the fact that the army is reduced to living upon itself reveals much about the sullenness of these recent events.

Viewed as a whole, then, the aftermath of the assault hardly supports the claims of "great victory" coming from Delhi. Both the New York Times and the British Economist raise the specter of an "Indian Ulcer" and discuss the danger to Indian national unity in morose tones. It seems safe to predict that the blood spread at Amritsar will hardly calm Indian waters.

In an attempt to obscure the actual issues bound up in the Punjab crisis, the Indian forces have made the charges of foreign intrigue more and more openly. Indira Gandhi herself supposedly told the dynamic duo of German Social Democracy, Schumich and Brandt, that the Sikh movement was a CIA plot carried out via Pakistan. While it is beyond the scope of this article to even attempt an overall analysis of all the complex and conflicting patterns of imperialist penetration and the provocative role of international rivalry using India as a battlefield, the character of World War II, as discussed in the 5th edition of a soon-to-be-released Paramount picture, The Best Defense, the sheer porosity of imperialist relations and arrogance seem to have been the greater factors. The film, a comedy starring Dudley Moore and Eddy Murphy, is supposed to be set in Kowaid, the oil-rich Gulf State nestled just south of the Israeli border. The film's red-hot premise is that a Captain Ladies, representing the U.S. Army, is given the task of training the Kuwaitis into a credible fighting force, triggering a war between Kuwait and Iraq in the process.

With such a theme, Paramount (a Gulf & Western subsidiary) could hardly expect to secure the cooperation of any of the Arab states for location shooting. Not that the film's makers were terribly concerned about representational authenticity in the first place: none of the many extra employees in making the film, as it turned out, were Arabs. In any event, the Israeli state stepped in to provide a happy solution. The Palestinian town of Jericho, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, was offered as a shooting locale. So it came to be that, for two weeks in January, the Palestinians of Jericho were subjected to a new form of occupation. Normal expectation are that a film crew, coming into an area for location shooting, represents an economic boon to local business. In Jericho's case, the experience was no different than yet another of Israel's 24-hour curfews. Local activity was forthcoming brought to a halt as the film crew, backed up by a special contingent of Israeli Border police, took over the town's center. Local residents who stayed onto the set were set upon and beaten by Israeli security. In one incident, a misfired rocket from the film went off target, bounced off the street, and struck a local Palestinian in the chest. He was last seen being hauled away from the scene by the Israeli guards. Out of sight, out of mind.

Cafes and shops were shut down throughout the period, without compensation. As one shopkeeper complained, "For 20 days I have done no business. No one asked us if we wanted this film... they just came here and closed the stores." Numerous efforts were made by local Palestinians to approach the film crew and present their grievances. Such contact was prevented by the Israeli guards who kept them from crossing the barricades. So it was clear that a number of the film crew's members were disturbed and distressed by what was happening. In one instance, a fruit and vegetable stand on the film set was blown up (as part of the film's sexy line, not as an act of protest). The barricades were for a few seconds overrun as a group of children surged past, gathering from the street what little produce remained. Doubtless, the Israeli authorities would cite the incident as a clear example of "takkle-down" benefit to the community.

Compared to the ongoing terms of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, that America would transform the occupation of Jericho are, of course, rather mild. The Israeli assault on the media center, two weeks ago, demonstrates that even as the U.S.-Israel special relationship grows ever more special and intimate, it cannot be invested upon which it is founded finds increasingly sick and ugly expression as well.

Available as a Pamphlet

Just What Are They Trying to Silence?

Considerations on Bob Avakian's Contributions on the Theoretical Front

by the Revolutionary Worker

CORRECTION

In NW No. 259 (June 8, 1984), an error appears on page 8 in the article "Ghoul on the Beach". In column 4, the footnote at the bottom is incomplete. It should read:

For a fuller discussion of the line of the Committee on this issue see Revolution magazine, No. 49 (June 1981), various articles, Revolution No. 50, Special Issue, Conquer the World: The International Strategy of Maoist and Other Revolutionary Movements. Revolution No. 51 (Spring 1984), "Advancing the World Revolutionary Movement: Questions of Strategic Orientation" by Bob Avakian. For a fuller discussion of the character of World War 2, see the following:

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