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Report From Peru

Recently the RW was forwarded the following important statement and report from the Communist Party of Peru, often referred to as Sendero Luminoso. The U.S. press often calls the Peruvian revolutionaries "isolated" because they have shunned the approaches of bourgeois hacks, including various appendages of Soviet revisionism. Here they communicate with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

To the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

The PCP sends its most cordial greetings to the Committee and hails the successful carrying out of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations, which has taken the immensely significant step of forming the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to which we've adhered and whose *Declaration* we've signed by express agreement of the Central Committee of our Party.

Comrades, the process of the proletariat, of its communist parties and of the world revolution, has won great victories and confronted hard setbacks, but from them it has summed up substantial lessons, especially from setbacks which are always very educational, and today, clearly, it is more and more entering a new period of powerful revolutionary storms. It is within this context and with this perspective that we communists are once again uniting and surging forward as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so as to continue—and of necessity develop—the glorious road of the International Communist Movement concretized in the invincible ideology of the proletariat and its three great peaks: Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung. Thus we firmly believe that this resurgence of such far-reaching historic importance for the world revolution, signified by the RIM, is born under the lasting watchword "Proletarians of all countries, unite" and will develop upholding, defending and applying imperishable Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

As for the armed struggle in Peru; we would simply like to emphasize that it continues to blaze victoriously four years after it was begun, advancing further in the construction of the People's Guerrilla Army, in the building of the basis of the New State applying the slogan "Strengthen the People's New Democratic Republic," all under the leadership of the Party which has won new and remarkable victories in its combat against the armed forces and police of the reactionary Peruvian state, having achieved the extension of the armed struggle to other areas of the country in order to generalize guerrilla warfare through developing high mobility. And it is most important to reiterate that the armed struggle led in Peru by our Party under the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is only a part of the world revolution which it serves and for whose sake it develops, all the more now that we adhere to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!
Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru, Peru 1984

(Report continues on page 8)

100 Days of Death Squads:



Duarte The Second Time Around

The first 100 days of the second reign of El Salvador's president José Napoleón Duarte have passed and the tributes in the U.S. press have begun. Once again, there are tales of an "improving human rights record" and a Salvadoran military "trying to woo" the masses. Once again, there is the "promise of democracy" floating in the ether. Once again, the "democratic center" has appeared in the field of neocolonial fascism, and it is "struggling against the extremes of left and right." Once again, all this seems to be based on the theory that the more a vicious lie is repeated, the closer it gets to becoming credible.

The fact is that while imperialist praise for Duarte's "moderation" flows thick and fast, the sad-eyed butcher is paving the way for a reign of terror that will make his first stint (when between 20,000-30,000 Salvadorans were murdered) seem "moderate" by comparison. *Time* magazine managed to come up with some figures purporting to show that killings had fallen from over 200/month to only 150/month in Duarte's first three months in office. They and the rest of the U.S. press have managed to ignore the statement from El

Salvador's Human Rights Commission (not the one that includes the head of the Treasury Police and other death-squad leaders, but the one that *isn't* run by the government) that the wanton massacre of peasants by the Salvadoran army has *increased* since Duarte's inauguration.

Nevertheless, more proof of Duarte's "commitment to human rights" must be produced; *voilà!* the much-heralded announcement of a new government commission to investigate death squads. Of course, there already is the above-mentioned government Human Rights Commission, which was also heralded when it was established as the means to investigate the death squads, but the U.S. press seems to continually forget previous "human rights progress" in El Salvador whenever there is a need for some *new* "progress."

There has been a great deal of public exposure over the past several months of the involvement of numerous named Salvadoran officers in death-squad operations. And in one case, an article in the May issue of *The Progressive* magazine, some of the involvement of U.S. agencies, especially the CIA, in setting up these operations within the Salvadoran security forces, training the Salvadoran officers in physical and psychological torture and other aspects of death-squad modus operandi, and pointing out the proper targets for all this has been concretely documented. Given previous infighting among El Salvador's ruling compradors (and among their U.S. superiors as well), there must have been some concern that Duarte's new commission could become a battleground — and perhaps put some embarrassing new material on public display. Duarte quickly reassured the proper authorities with a statement that was not widely published in the English-language press. Speaking of the decision to form the death-squad commission, he said, "I want to make clear to the country that this doesn't mean that I know how to discover this matter, but that I will dedicate myself to see if I can discover it."

Actually, apart from the "human rights" facade, much of the strongest praise for Duarte from the U.S. press has been concerned with his efforts to accommodate the so-called "Right" and the military. When a Catholic radio station granted a 90-minute interview with Guillermo Ungo, the president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), its news show was suspended; of course, this doesn't harm Duarte's democratic credentials, but rather shows that he is taking a harder line in order to develop a

consensus "within the army and on the Right," according to the *New York Times*. The *Times* also notes approvingly that Duarte "has spent much of his time with army officers, courting them with a blend of praise and an attentiveness to their complaints." Along with the above-mentioned peasant massacres, such obsequiousness has earned Duarte "good grades for his handling of the military," according to *Time* magazine.

This is, after all, what counts in El Salvador. While Duarte may have certain value as a prettifier, it is the U.S.'s ability, or inability, to force submission to its absolute domination of the Central American region that is at the heart of the Salvadoran matter — and this, of course, in the context of the extremely strained international situation. To that end the Salvadoran military has been tripled in size in the last five years — and whether through death-squad operations, peasant massacres or the continuous dropping of white phosphorus and 300-, 500- and 750-pound bombs on areas under the control of the opposition, that expanded military has produced nearly 50,000 dead and hundreds of thousands of refugees in that period. Now the U.S. is officially "considering" sending AC-47 gunships, known as "Puff, the Magic Dragon" in the Vietnam War days, to add to the arsenal. AC-47s fire 18,000 rounds a minute and are capable of putting a bullet in every square foot of an area the size of a football field.

Of course, one should not get the idea that the U.S. is now ignoring the human rights component in El Salvador. Perish the thought. According to the *New York Times*, some government and military officials are arguing that the AC-47s, because their firepower can be more precisely controlled, will be less indiscriminate than the A-37s that are currently dropping the heavy bombs. On the other hand, some "diplomats and human rights officials" are arguing that there could be even greater casualties with the AC-47s. What a debate — undoubtedly one that will be solved by using both... and a great deal more.

Meanwhile, the Christian Democrat Duarte will bless it all in the name of democracy. He is on a mission from god, and compares his task to that of Moses in delivering a "line of conduct" to his people. And while certain forces like to point to El Salvador as reason enough to back Mondale against Reagan, it is useful to note that the Democrats have unanimously praised Duarte's brand of religious fervor to the hilt. After all, the lord is, as they say, bipartisan. □

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Upsurge in South Africa!



It was written on their faces: almost indescribable joy had broken out and taken over. A group of Azanians — kids from 6 to 10 years old, and teenagers and adults — were caught on TV cameras doing the dance of the oppressed. They jumped up and down, shouted and laughed, they repeatedly threw their clenched fists high in the air in roaring defiance of the South African army helicopters hovering over the township which were assisting the South African police force. The scene was tremendous, but it was also fleeting as the jostled cameras shifted their focus to the smoke-blackened skies, burning buildings and the ever-popular scenes of "rampaging mobs" fleeing from the police. However fleeting on film, this one scene abundantly captured the thrust of what has been going on inside Azania for the last weeks.

On September 3 Azania erupted into the most widespread and serious uprising since Soweto in 1976. As we go to press, these rebellions have gone on for three straight days in more than a dozen black townships, mostly around Johannesburg but including at least one town in the vicinity of the South African capital, Pretoria. Hundreds have been wounded and 29 have been officially reported as dead. The combined population of these townships — mostly sprawling slums in which the apartheid regime forces the Azanian people to live — is approximately one million. These townships are located in what is known as the Vaal Triangle, the industrial heartland of South Africa. The most intense scene has been in Sharpeville, a town etched in the history of the Azanian people with the blood of 69 people killed by machine-gun bearing South African police during a 1960 demonstration against one of the bulwarks of the apartheid system, the Pass Law. Since 1960 this police attack has been known around the world as the Sharpeville Massacre. This last week, however, the tables were decidedly turned and Sharpeville has earned a new spot in the history books.

In all of the rebellious townships youth erected barricades in the streets out of burning tires, overturned vehicles (in-

cluding quite a few police cars), garbage cans, uprooted trees, rocks and signposts. Whenever the police charged the barricades and managed to dismantle them, they were quickly rebuilt as soon as the police withdrew. From behind these barricades the youth took on police in armored personnel carriers, army helicopters and troops as well as combat-equipped police foot patrols armed with automatic rifles, shotguns, tear gas, three-foot-long batons and leather whips. In addition, there have been some reports of "private individuals" acting in "self-defense" against the rebellious Azanian people. For their part, the Azanian youth have met the government forces head on using rocks and siphoning gas from cars to produce what the *London Times* referred to as "primitive gasoline bombs."

Press accounts have tended to depict these rebellions as "rampant, tragic and deplorable violence carried out by looters and arsonists." Actually, the targets of these uprisings seem to paint a very different picture. Literally anything even vaguely associated with the South African government has been hit. Schools have been stormed and destroyed. Migrant workers' barracks have been burnt to the ground. Buses and government vehicles have been stoned and destroyed. Not a few township municipal buildings have been reduced to dust and ashes. And members of the black Town Councils (bodies connected to the South African government which administer the townships) have been attacked.

By September 4, army combat troops had been called upon to guard government buildings surrounding the townships. At the same time, it was reported that the police had retreated and, except for occasional nighttime forays into the battle zone, had been stationed on the outskirts of the townships, in part an attempt to seal the townships off and confine the rebellions within their borders. It seems quite likely that the government strategy is based on starving the struggle out as literally every piece of food in townships has been seized by the people and once this runs out the nearest source of supplies is ten miles away.

The South African government has

kept their comments on the uprisings to a minimum. The most frequently heard explanation for them — and one echoed in the U.S. press — has been that the uprisings were due to dissatisfaction around rent increases in the townships. While these rent increases may have indeed been the drop that tipped the bucket, it seems pretty obvious that these rebellions — the most significant ones since Soweto — were brought on by more than just increased rents.

That South Africa is a powderkeg waiting to explode has been evident for quite some time now. The actions of the government itself over the last year or so — attempts to both strengthen the repressive apparatus of apartheid and undercut potentially troublesome developments among the Azanian people — speak to just how tenuous the situation is. For instance, the government implemented some extraordinary measures in relation to this year's celebration of the 1976 Soweto uprising. For the first time since Soweto, the government officially declared June 16 (the first day of the Soweto Rebellion) as a holiday and closed all the schools. Since all schools have been boycotted by students on this day ever since 1976, this official holiday was clearly aimed at thwarting political mobilization this year. In addition, in a number of places the annual Soweto memorials were banned outright while in other places the commemorations were once again attacked by the police.

Just before this, in May, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO — a revolutionary organization associated with the Black Consciousness Movement) came under increasing harassment and attack. The president of AZAPO had his passport seized by the government. Following this, 50,000 copies of the first issue of an AZAPO journal, *Frank Talk*, was seized by the government. Shortly afterwards, regional and branch offices of AZAPO throughout the country were raided and all office equipment and documents were seized. (This equipment and documents have since been returned to AZAPO following a court battle.)

One point well worth noting is the fact that these rebellions were drawn forward in the context of the upheaval around the new South African constitution and the recent elections mandated by it. This con-

stitution was adopted by white South Africans in November 1983. Billed as a "step in the right direction" by both the South African regime and the U.S., this "reform of apartheid" is a total sham and serves only to further strengthen the apartheid oppression of the masses of black Azanians. The principal point of the new constitution is the total exclusion of blacks from any role at all in the South African political process. The reasoning behind this is the apartheid principle that blacks are not citizens of South Africa and thus "enjoy no political rights inside South Africa." (Supposedly, black people are only entitled to citizenship in the prison-camp homelands to which they have been assigned by the government.)

In addition, this "new dispensation" (as the new constitution has been labeled by the South African government) also has a very specific purpose insofar as it is yet another attempt by the government to carry out its divide and conquer scheme among the Azanian people. In Azania the South African government has divided the Azanian people into three different racial groupings — Indians, "Colored" (or mixed race) and blacks (black people have been even further divided into tribal groups and assigned to a homeland on that basis). While black Azanians bear the heaviest brunt of apartheid, the other two groupings are also subject to its restrictions and oppression. This new constitution forms a new three-tiered parliamentary structure — a white parliament of 160 members, a "Colored" parliament of 80 members and an Indian parliament of 40 members. This setup supposedly offers the "Colored" and Indian Azanians a stake in the South African state. This "stake" amounts to little more than allowing certain elements from within these groups a chance to sit at the table and watch the South African ruling class eat while hoping to grab up whatever crumbs are thrown their way. These two new parliaments are virtually powerless and can be easily overruled by the white ruling class on any matter of major importance.

It was elections for seats in the Indian and "Colored" parliaments that were held on August 27 and August 28. These elections became the focal point for very broad opposition. Ironically, although this constitution and the elections were designed as part of increasing the clamp-

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Recently, the U.S. government has moved to step up efforts to deport to certain death in El Salvador two Salvadoran revolutionaries, Emilio Henriquez and David Mendez. These two toured the U.S. in late 1981/early 1982, speaking to thousands about their first-hand experience in El Salvador, exposing imperialism as the source of the oppression and supporting revolution as the way forward. The tour was sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). The Salvadorans' attorney recently learned that the State Department Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs has issued their advisory opinion, a form-letter denial of political asylum for these two revolutionaries, which states that the Salvadorans have "failed to establish a well-founded fear of being persecuted in El Salvador. . . ." This is what the U.S. tells 97 percent of Salvadorans who apply for political asylum. A deportation hearing has been set by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for December 3 and the state is gearing up its railroad apparatus, while the legal defense is preparing for a major battle to stop the deportations and demand political asylum for David and Emilio.

An important twist in this latest development reveals something of the significance of this case. The date stamped on the State Department form letter is April 18, 1983; the advisory opinion was apparently issued at that time and received by the INS on May 2, 1983, and then held over one and a half years until being released this month. While the particular reason for this unusually long delay needs to be further investigated, this move does come at a time when the U.S. is increasing attacks against Salvadoran refugees in this country, and this is certainly linked to developments involving U.S. moves in Central America.

Only a few months ago, on May 14, the U.S. government obtained its first felony conviction against a member of the sanctuary movement which aids Central American refugees. Stacy Merkt, the woman convicted for "transporting illegal aliens," was traveling with Salvadorans to help them apply for political asylum, and the government was sending an obvious message.

In July 1984, and again in August, the INS staged well-publicized raids on plants in the Silicon Valley, a large industrial area in northern California where thousands of immigrant proletarians live and work. In the July raids,

U.S. Gov't. Moves To Deport Salvadoran Revolutionaries

many of the workers arrested were whisked hundreds of miles away to El Centro with INS functionaries screaming threats and orders to sign "voluntary departures" and demanding the workers "tell the truth" about whether they were from El Salvador — making a point most directly that Salvadorans are a particular target of INS activity.

In the Damián García Park area of Los Angeles, LAPD patrols routinely have taken to stopping, harassing and threatening Salvadoran immigrants. In fact, in late August, one of the two Salvadoran revolutionaries himself was stopped by a LA cop and accused of being Salvadoran. "You're from El Salvador?" the cop barked. "This used to be a nice city until you people from El Salvador came here and messed it up. . . . You want to go back to your country? I'll send you back there right now."

And most recently, as we go to press, in L.A. the INS is currently holding a four-year-old Salvadoran child hostage, demanding that the mother come to the INS to claim her child and refusing, of course, to grant the mother immunity from deportation if she does step forward.

All this is also taking place when the INS is generally streamlining their asylum process and stepping up the rate at which they are denying claims made by Salvadorans and deporting them into the hands of the U.S.-backed butchers in El Salvador.

But how the latest move in this case

came down reveals how much the government is going after these two in particular, and targeting them because of their politics. On August 3, District Court Judge Byrne's office called the Salvadorans' attorney and anxiously requested his participation in a conference phone call involving the judge and the U.S. Attorney. The conference call regarded a civil suit filed by the Salvadorans against the INS. (The suit charges discriminatory law enforcement in the Migra's kidnapping of the two as they were embarking on their national speaking tour, and its immediately instituting deportation proceedings against them without even hearing their claim for political asylum.) The not-"business as usual" tenor of the request was portentous. On August 9 the call took place. Judge Byrne said he wanted to go full speed ahead with the civil suit proceeding so they could be finished by late September or early October. Government Attorneys chimed in with the incidental information that they recently checked with the INS and were informed that the INS had received a recommendation from the State Department to go ahead with deportation proceedings. The proceedings were to be set to start on December 3. This was news to the attorney and to David and Emilio, who had not yet received any notification from La Migra. Not to worry — David and Emilio duly received their notice — dated August 15, almost one full week later!

In other words the government attorney in the civil suits, having consulted with the State Department-directed INS, which is a party to a legally and technically separate case, is well aware of the INS's intentions well before the Salvadorans — who are the objects of said case — are given any notification. And the judge in the civil suit anxiously moves up the court actions in order to get this case out of the way before the INS's deportation proceeding (which, again, the defendants and their attorneys had not been informed of) so the INS could have clear sailing. This same judge had previously thrown out the Salvadorans' efforts to get the FBI and State Department included as defendants in the case, dismissing out of hand any charge of government conspiracy. And even when he ruled against an INS motion to dismiss the suit, Judge Byrne implied that the suit would certainly lose — and then, the INS could go about the business of deporting these revolutionaries. Everything that has transpired in this discriminatory law enforcement suit has provided further confirmation of the Salvadorans' charge, so imperiously denied by Judge Byrne (who was once considered for the post of FBI director by then Attorney General John Mitchell of Watergate fame), that there is a concerted government conspiracy to deny political asylum to these revolutionaries and to deport them to certain death in El Salvador.

Salvadoran political refugees have always represented a big threat to the U.S.'s ability to cover over its bloody domination of El Salvador; the threat posed especially by the influence of revolutionary internationalist immigrants, such as Emilio and David, who reject and expose all imperialism, in the U.S. and El Salvador as well as internationally, is seen as one which must be drowned in blood.

The defense is preparing for a major battle to stop the deportations, especially gearing up for the deportation/political asylum hearing on December 3. A key part of this will be the trial and the civil suit, which will be set at the upcoming status conference on September 19.

The El Salvador Tour Legal Defense Committee has called for letters and statements of support, and for funds. The Committee can be reached at P.O. Box 30922, Los Angeles, CA 90030, (213) 487-2918. □

Upsurge in South Africa!

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down, instead they generated quite a bit of debate, struggle and turmoil among all sections of the Azanian people. All kinds of demonstrations and rallies were held to protest the elections for varying reasons. A school boycott was launched among Azanian students as part of the opposition to the elections and by August 22 approximately 630,000 "Colored" students alone were boycotting classes while many black and Indian schools throughout the country were also shut down. A movement to boycott the elections was launched — again for very wide ranging reasons — with the end result that less than 18 percent of all those eligible to vote did so. The activity around the elections provides the immediate backdrop to the most recent upheavals which began on September 3, the day the new constitution was officially implemented.

(According to sources with first-hand knowledge of these events, AZAPO played a major role in the boycott movement, but the U.S. press has not reported on AZAPO's involvement at all. The major group credited by the press with leading the boycott has been the United Democratic Front (UDF), although its role appears to have been limited. This organization is a coalition of community

groups and liberals — including collaborationist forces among the Azanian people and white liberal organizations. The UDF has a close working relationship with the various ruling-class opposition forces such as the Oppenheimer-backed Progressive Federalist Party. The UDF is also very heavily influenced politically and organizationally by the pro-Soviet African National Congress.)

Recent developments have naturally not stopped the South African government from claiming that it has been given a "mandate to rule." And, of course, it has been given this mandate — from the Western imperialists who sustain and rely on it. The U.S. bloc, while maintaining some distance from its ugly offspring of imperialism in South Africa, is increasingly openly declaring that apartheid is here to stay. Chester Crocker, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, was in Pretoria consulting with the South African government even as the elections were taking place, and even as expressions of "concern" over the exclusion of black people appeared in the U.S. press. And just last June, South African Prime Minister Botha was given a very cordial reception during his tour of seven Western European countries and the Vatican — the first such tour taken by a



Evaton, South Africa — One of numerous buildings set ablaze by the masses during the rebellion.

South African head of state since the Nationalist Party came to power in the late 1940s. (Along these lines, it is also true that over the last two years many of the calls to "reform apartheid away" coming from various bourgeois quarters inside the imperialist countries have been reduced to the most half-hearted and empty rhetoric.)

But the Azanian people have issued a mandate of their own, especially these last few days. And this is a sight warmly welcomed by the oppressed and exploited people the world over. □

WARFIGHTING:

Turning Points In U.S. Strategy



The following is a slightly edited version of a presentation made at a recent conference of the Union of Radical Political Economists, entitled "Military Strategies of U.S. Imperialism Since 1945 and their Political-Economic Context." The author writes that the speech should be considered "an exploratory consideration of the objectives and turns of U.S. military strategy in relation to key developments and shifts in the world situation over the post-World War 2 period."

by C. Clark Kissinger

It is a significant failure of the corpus of national security literature that military doctrine and the history of its development are discussed overwhelmingly without reference to global political economy. This, of course, is neither accidental nor unexpected, but reflects the methodology of bourgeois social science in general. Rather than approaching military science from the foundation of the global accumulation process and its contradictions, the most elementary precept of Clausewitz is tossed out the window and idealistic paradigms are substituted. For some scholars, the military dispositions of U.S. imperialism have resulted from the thoughts of a few "great men," for example, John Foster Dulles and Massive Retaliation, Robert Strange McNamara and Mutual Assured Destruction, or James R. Schlesinger and

Selective Options. Other scholars root all developments in the appearance of new weapons technologies: nuclear explosives, intercontinental missiles, Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles (MIRVs), etc. Still others perceive only an eternal ebb and flow between contradictory approaches (counterforce versus countervalue targeting, symmetrical versus asymmetrical response, minimal deterrence versus war-fighting capability, etc.).

Even within the left, the same methodology has been predominant, with explanations of military doctrine built on madcap generals, military-industrial complexes, defense contracting profits, or the relative ascendancy of conservative hawks over liberal doves. What all these approaches have in common was expressed well in the concluding remarks of one recent study of U.S. postwar containment (of the Soviet Union) policy: "To a remarkable degree, containment has been the product, not so much of what the Russians have done, or of what has happened in the world, but of internal forces operating within the United States."

By contrast, this paper seeks to analyze the significant turning point in U.S. military strategy since the end of World War 2 by reference to the dynamics of a single global accumulation process and its contradictions. The point of departure is a periodization developed by Raymond Lotta in "On the Contemporary Relevance of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism,"² based on Lotta and Shannon's *America in Decline*.³ Stated succinctly, Lotta's thesis is that in the era of imperialism finance capital remains rooted in national markets, but the accumulation process is thoroughly internationalized and capital cannot be decisively reorganized within the national framework. At points of crisis, only the forcible redivision of the world through

world war, that is, the recasting of imperialist power relations can establish a new political-economic framework conducive to the global reorganization of capital. World wars thus constitute nodal points of the imperialist accumulation process.

Between these nodal points are spirals of accumulation highly contingent on the matrix of accumulation established by the preceding redivision of the world and by revolutionary struggles. Of particular relevance here is Lotta's periodization of the trajectory of accumulation since the last world war into three periods, each marked by the dominance of a particular contradiction on a world scale. The first period, from approximately 1947 to 1958, was shaped principally by the contradiction between the imperialist bloc and the socialist camp. The second period, running approximately from 1959 to 1972, is marked by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the shift of the principal contradiction to that between imperialism and the oppressed nations. The third period, beginning around 1973, finds imperialism running up against the limits of accumulation and interimperialist rivalry intensifying, with the contradiction between the U.S.-led and Soviet-led imperialist blocs now becoming principal. Each of these periods is quite multifaceted and characterized by the interpenetration of other contradictions, but even in outline form they present the major contours of the global accumulation process against which political phenomena can be assessed.

For a more complete exposition of the dynamics of imperialist accumulation and the key features of these periods, the reader is referred to the works cited.

1947-1958: MASSIVE RETALIATION

The United States emerged from World War 2 as the uncontested dominant power in the world, possessing not only the atomic bomb but 50 percent of the world's industrial production. The only force capable of opposing the U.S. was the Soviet Union, which possessed both a formidable army and a social system antithetical to capitalism. By 1947, the United States had fully reoriented its foreign policy to antagonism toward the Soviet Union with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine. From 1947 to 1950, this U.S. national security policy concentrated overwhelmingly on the economic rehabilitation of Western Europe and Japan as counterpoises to the Soviet Union. U.S. military doctrine, however, remained unchanged from the Second World War, placing reliance on the strategic bombing of economic targets, augmented quantitatively by the atomic bomb.

In 1949 the idyllic visions of the American Century were rudely shattered by the Chinese Revolution and the Soviet development of the atomic bomb. The result was a full-scale study for the newly established National Security Council of how to deal with the Soviet challenge, which was completed in 1950 and adopted as NSC-68.⁴ NSC-68 character-

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The Dallas Revenge

The wild outbreak of political struggle that rocked the streets of downtown Dallas on August 22 deeply stunned society's overlords, and they are moving quickly to make an example of those who dared rupture with the stifling confines of "legitimate protest" 1984, i.e., expressing dissatisfaction with imperialist warmonger Ronald Reagan by voting for imperialist warmonger Walter Mondale.

When hundreds of riot-equipped Dallas cops surrounded the youth at the end of the Republican War Chest Tour (see *RW* No. 269), a calculated political attack was being set into motion against the youth who had so righteously intruded upon the Republican Convention pre-war pep rally with some rebellious internationalism. Next step was to throw all the arrested youth in jail and see that they stayed there throughout the duration of the Convention. This was "preventive detention," designed to further prevent political statements from being made and a tactic also used by the police in San Francisco during the Democratic Convention. The overwhelming majority of the youth arrested in Dallas were in jail several days, despite being charged with disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor that in Texas carries *no jail time*.

While the youth were being put in jail, the police strategy of who to prosecute with much heavier charges was being worked out by the representatives of the various police agencies in town. Dallas papers had long talked about the contacts developed between the San Francisco and Dallas police to hone their tactics for the two Conventions, and it is also certain that the political police were making the circuit of San Francisco to L.A. to Dallas this summer. A hint of the high-level teamwork for political repression being

worked out was noted in a *Dallas Times-Herald* article on July 29. It said, in part, "Preparations are being made to install a special FBI computer with massive memory capabilities — on loan from Washington, D.C. — that will link intelligence data from hundreds of local and federal agencies. Law enforcement officers say they also plan to tap into a national data processing center recently installed in Dallas by the Justice Department for tracking illegal aliens, terrorists, and criminals."

As of this writing, three youths are being charged with "desecrating a venerated object" (the American flag), a higher degree misdemeanor that carries sentences of up to two years in prison and a \$2,000 fine. The possibility of others having these charges slapped on them as police and prosecutors review the copious amounts of videotapes and photographs taken by pigs and others on the Tour is also being floated by the Dallas County District Attorney's office. Four other youths are being targeted for criminal mischief, a felony with sentences of up to 10 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine.

The two main tracks the state's attempted railroad is following also point to the strength of the *political* blows that were dealt by a relatively small number of determined youth in Dallas. As the world's attention was supposed to be fixed upon the patriotic stink rising from the Dallas Convention Center, it was briefly but very effectively directed to the actions of youth who made their utter disrespect for the red, white and blue known to the world. Youths who were visible as representatives of different trends in the activities in Dallas, including an RCYB member and an anarchist, are being singled out for the flag desecration charges. A

representative of the Dallas D.A.'s office alluded to the calculated revenge being plotted by his office and others when he said in an interview with a Houston radio station that "The very nature of the offense itself (desecration) has forced public attention to it. We in Dallas consider it a very serious offense, and we intend to prosecute it as such."

The objectively internationalist actions of the Republican War Chest Tour had an *international* character as well, and this is also the focus of concentrated attack by the prosecutors. Three of the four youths facing felonies were born in countries other than the U.S. The felony charges are for spraypainting and other activities that supposedly resulted in thousands of dollars of "damage" to the imperialist centers of worldwide plunder and murder the Tour exposed. The D.A.'s office has hinted to attorneys that a certain statue in Dallas is one of the objects "defaced" by the youth. For this alleged act, felonies will likely be charged. The statue is in front of Diamond Shamrock, described in the Republican War Chest Tour leaflet as manufacturing Agent Orange and having investments in South Africa. The repugnant, racist offensiveness of the statue gracing their property is almost beyond belief. It depicts six cops carrying a prostrate Black man who has been beaten and clearly is in agony. That this insulting obscenity is allowed to stand, and indeed become a respected artistic symbol of Dallas, while youth spraying circled-A's on sidewalks are accused of "vandalism," is an appropriate indication of the social relations the youth want to tear down and the U.S. imperialists want to defend. Right from the time of the arrest and jailing of the youth, it was clear that those who had come from other countries to take part in opposing the war preparations of the U.S. were being especially picked out for selective punishment. Jailers singled them out and threatened them by taunting, "You think we're going to let you come over here just so you can fuck things up? You'll see."

The District Attorney's office is moving very rapidly to bring all these cases to trial, and to reach what they undoubtedly consider to be a foregone conclusion of sending the youths to prison. One lawyer who is defending some of the youths charged with "desecration" said at an interview that the "state has put extraordinary attention on the cases in which the accusations are that the defendants desecrated the American flag... basically they (the prosecutor's office) are treating this as though the charges were similar to a capital murder charge."

Evidentiary hearings are being held in the next few weeks for the youth who are being charged with "desecration," and the felony charges are being submitted to the grand jury. The state's plans are to ramrod through these cases very quickly, and include calling a series of preliminary hearings for different defendants in the next couple of weeks to financially drain the youth, most of whom have long distances to travel to get from their homes to Dallas. Along with this, the state's expectations undoubtedly also include their thinking that getting through the trials quickly will hinder building broad support for those accused of participating in the War Chest Tour, both in Dallas and elsewhere.

When the youth being hit with the "desecration" and criminal mischief charges were being held in Dallas jails, they received a sample of the kind of hideous treatment that the loyal defenders of the red, white and blue would like to subject them to for rising up against that most sacred symbol of U.S. imperialism. They were quickly separated off from the other prisoners and sent to a different jail. Several of the men prisoners were thrown into cells with a gang of reactionary white inmates, who told them that the guards had said they could "do whatever they wanted" to the rebel youths. This collection of chauvinist goons then threatened to carve American flag tatoos on the chest of the youths charged with "flag desecration," repeatedly punched one of the youths, and were preparing to sexually assault an RCYB member just as he was bailed out.

With the cadence of the war drums resounding louder and more insistent than ever, it is imperative for the imperialists to see that all in America, particularly all the youth, are marching like sheep to their beat. But in Dallas, an electrifying action at the Republican Convention politically broke through and helped expose the warmongering preparations the Convention was a part of. The imperialist state intends to exact punishment for this defiant act, to send some of the rebel youths who participated to the penitentiary smoothly, efficiently, and viciously.

In singling out some who they view as "leaders," along with youths from other countries for its attack, the bourgeoisie is clearly sending out a deadly message to all who are heartened or jolted awake by the courageous acts of internationalism in Dallas — no violations or disruptions of the orchestration of mindless flagwaving and "U-S-A" chanting helping pace the way to World War 3 will be tolerated. The response of the revolutionary proletariat is equally clear. The sight of rebel youths turning the symbol of the U.S. to a pile of ashes is most welcome and timely. And, as the bourgeoisie intends to make examples of those who took part in the Republican War Chest Tour, so too does the proletariat — but with a completely opposed goal. The lessons of this summer's upsurge of youth must be learned from, spread more widely, and deepened, and the railroads of those being picked out for attack in Dallas, San Francisco and Los Angeles opposed.

Further developments in these important cases will be reported as they unfold.



Reporters Notebook

Invasion of the Hennepin District

Darkness had just settled over Minneapolis. It was Saturday night, August 25, the night usually anticipated by those who traffic in the sex trade as the most lucrative time of the week when eager patrons pour into the local downtown porno strip for "a good time." A "good time" that includes a rape rate five times higher in the area surrounding these joints than in the rest of the city.

But tonight was different. Thousands of women invaded this almost exclusively male preserve along downtown Hennepin Avenue to challenge the sexual and domestic violence against women and children perpetrated daily, hourly, continuously and on a mass scale in this society. Chanting "Take back the night, women, take back the night!" the spirited march, which included many men, stepped into the street accompanied by the boisterous rhythms of a women's conga-drum band.

"I feel really strong here," a 14-year-old punk and her friend told me as the march took off. "I can stand on the corner and do anything I want, say anything I want to those people out there," she said making a sweeping gesture with her arm towards the porn shops and the downtown skyscrapers looming beyond them.

"Stop rape, organize, we will not be victimized!" the chants continued. The pervasiveness of rape and other forms of violence against women was demonstrated in a dramatic way throughout the march. In a grim parody of Miss America, a shockingly high percentage of women wore sashes across their chests inscribed "I Survived Rape" and "I Survived Battery" or "I Survived Incest." Some women wore multiple sashes.

A 60-year-old woman standing on the sidelines was watching the march go by. Each time a woman passed by wearing the "I Survived Rape" sash she stepped forward to emotionally give them a quick embrace. With tears in her eyes the grandmotherly woman told me she had been raped when she was 19-years-old and had lived with this secret locked inside her until now. "I think it's wonderful what these women are doing," she smiled.

Thinking about this, it becomes clear that donning these sashes in a public demonstration is no small matter. To do so goes up against the oppressive tradition that rape must be a private terror — the woman's fault — "she was in the wrong place, she was out too late," or — if she was even casually acquainted with her attacker — "she should have known better." It is one way violence, and the threat of violence, has served to terrorize women, to keep them "in their place." In a powerful way the Women Take Back the Night movement has challenged the age-old assumptions about violence against women by taking it out of the realm of a "personal problem" and raising it as a political question. One woman wearing a "I Survived Rape" sash told me, "I don't know how many times I was told 'you shouldn't have been out at night,' that it was *my* fault. Bullshit!"

"Pornography is political propaganda that encourages, celebrates and legitimizes violence against women. Pornography is sexual assault against women. Pornography reduces women to object status, objects like a piece of meat. In pornography men can do whatever they want to women because objects have no feeling, no intelligence, no integrity...."

A speaker at the march



We entered the porno strip section of Hennepin Avenue where many of Minneapolis' 15 "adult book stores" and six "adult movie theaters" are located. Like most women, I have never set foot inside one of these joints but images flash past — images from "bondage" magazines that describe how to tie a woman up, what knots to use to give her the "greatest sexual pleasure." Images from a *National Lampoon*-style comic book aimed at youth showing a mentally retarded girl being fucked in the ear with a caption explaining "she'll never be believed!" I remember a several-page spread we had been shown from *Hustler* of a woman being gang raped on a pool table several months before the real incident was replayed in a New Bedford bar. And just in case their readers might get the idea that this rape was anything less than all-American sport, six months after the fact *Hustler* printed a postcard in its magazine bearing the inscription "Greetings from New Bedford, Gang Rape Capital of the World!"

It is all part of an enormous industry. According to the California Department of Justice, by the late '70s pornography in this country grossed \$4 billion, more than the combined sales of the record and film industries. Current statistics put sales up around \$7-8 billion. There are three to four times as many "sex emporiums" around the country as there are McDonald's restaurants.

The mood of the march is reaching a high pitch. "Porn is lies about women!" chants an angry section of the march, as women shake their fists at patrons of the porn shops who have come out and lined the streets in a belligerent standoff. One young woman steps out of the street and goes right up in their faces. Pointing at the porn shops she shouts, "Shut it down! Shut it down!"

One demand of the movement against pornography here has been for a local ordinance which would, among other things, allow a woman to sue the makers and sellers of pornography if she has been assaulted and can prove a link to pornography, or if she has been forced into making pornography. Last winter, public hearings were held on pornography gathering testimony from 300 people. The hearings provided important exposure on some shocking aspects of the pornography industry. There is the boom

in the new, do-it-yourself genre of pornographers, for example, utilizing the latest in home video equipment. A whole underground industry has sprung up around this that has included filming the actual rapes of women.

Linda (Lovelace) Marchiano, star of *Deep Throat*, also testified as to how she was coerced into making the movie. After filming her actual rape, which appears in the movie, she was threatened with her life if she did not perform for the film.

The porn-shop owners come out on the sidewalks, not just to stare the women down but to protect their property. And for good reason. The antipornography movement in Minneapolis has doggedly and persistently harassed the porn-shop owners and their customers as well as created public opinion to expose the political role of pornography. We heard about a demonstration last winter where "the crowd was on fire," as a participant told us. Two hundred women marched into a porn store and tore all the magazines off the shelves and dumped them. Then they barged into a porno movie theater without paying and disrupted the whole thing so that the projector was shut off and the startled patrons, like cockroaches exposed to daylight, scurried out with their coats over their heads.

Smaller roving bands of women have invaded porn shops and harassed the patrons by kicking on the private peep show booths shouting, "Does your wife know you're here? What are you going to do to your kids tonight?" Porn-shop operators have also found their coin-operated machines sabotaged with liquid lead and the locks of their stores filled with epoxy glue.

As the march leaves the porno strip behind and enters the downtown entertainment district, the movie *Tightrope*, lit up on a neon marquee, serves as a fitting symbol of how pornography has become as much a part of mainstream American culture as McDonald's. This latest major production with a theme of brutality against women is in lots of company this year, according to a recent survey. In 1982 only one out of 20 films showed such acts while in 1983 this number had jumped to one out of eight.

The numerous actions against por-

nography and violence against women, the exposure of its role in society as well as the movement around the ordinance, has created a climate where the oppression of women is a broad social question in Minneapolis. As a key center for women's studies it has attracted many feminists, which explains something about why this city has turned out up to 7,000 people for Women Take Back the Night marches almost every year since 1979.

Besides the women's movement, the march has drawn the participation of women from the nuclear Freeze movement and progressive church groups to the Minnesota nurses who recently ended a month-long strike. A large number of men also joined the mixed section of the march which comprised about one-third of the demonstration.

One of the banners held aloft in this section was inscribed "Men Against Rape." "We started the group with about ten men because there aren't any men's organizations against rape," a University of Minnesota student explained. As their first activity they had invited a speaker to talk about "acquaintance" or "date rape" common on college campuses and afterward 40 people joined in a protest.

The Women Take Back the Night Movement, composed largely of students, professionals and white-collar workers, has also had an impact on the small population of oppressed nationalities in Minneapolis. A contingent of ten Native American women carried a banner for Women of Nations, a group formed two years ago to address the question of domestic violence in the Indian community. "I was raped and battered and nothing like this existed then," the founder of the group told me. "We had nothing to start with but our determination and our spiritual belief that women are connected to the earth and can use this to strengthen ourselves."

The antipornography movement here has also been met with opposition — indeed, a quite broad opposition, which itself reveals how deeply ingrained in society is the oppression of women mirrored (and encouraged and enforced) in pornography. The movement is opposed not just by the local porn merchants and their backers, although this is most cer-

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Report from Peru

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On May 1st and the Armed Struggle

Together with the above letter the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement received reports on May 1 activities in Peru as well as the launching of a new offensive by the Communist Party of Peru. May 1st activities were carried out by all the participating parties and organisations of the RIM under unified slogans representing the important leap marked by the formation of the RIM. The forms of struggle were determined by the participating parties and organisations in keeping with the concrete stage, tasks and development of the revolutionary struggle in each country.

Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

To the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Comrades:

We want to report on two questions:

(1) On the Celebration of May 1

We have printed the poster, announcing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. This poster was and will continue to be used mainly for propaganda and agitation; it has been distributed to Party organisations, platoons of the People's Guerrilla Army, People's Committees (forms of the new state power in the villages and small towns), unions and peasants' organisations and people's organisations in general. The majority of the posters were sent to the countryside for the education and mobilization principally of the poor peasants; in the cities it was centered especially among the proletariat and also the poor working masses who live in the slums, as well as among university students. The center of this campaign is the RIM as a new world unification of communists faithful to Marxism; and the explanation of the revolutionary content of "Break the Chains" and "Proletarians of all countries, unite" is of great importance.

Also, a hundred thousand leaflets were printed with the designated slogans. . . . The distribution and development of this leaflet campaign has been along the lines previously described, nevertheless, we should emphasize that because of the concentration of workers and of greater literacy in the capital, almost 30 percent of the leaflets were distributed there.

Finally, we've also celebrated this May 1 by carrying out various armed actions: hanging banners, launching red balloons painted with hammers and sickles, wall painting campaigns, blackouts, harassment, sabotage, liquidations and arms capture, the seizure of a radio station to broadcast the message, incursions, attacks on police posts, razings and ambushes, all this in different parts of the country, which made the reactionary dailies speak of a "Wave of attacks," "New terrorist (sic) escalation," and publish a rather telling front-page headline, "Terrorists (sic) Work On May 1." Keep in mind that these actions were carried out after the conclusion of a military plan.

Among these actions we would emphasize the blowing up of 30 meters of the oil pipeline in northern Peru, a hard blow to the reactionary state as the Minister of Energy and Mines himself admitted. This action was carried out exactly on the dawning of May 1, as were the majority of those mentioned. We'd also underline that the most resonant of these actions were carried out in the region of Ayacucho and in the city itself, and in the very capital of the republic. And there were also celebrations among the ranks of the Party in the PGA, the People's Committees, the People's Schools and especially in the concentration camps where the prisoners maintain as always their unbending revolutionary spirit.

The hanging of red banners with hammers and sickles has a great impact among our people, because in them they see the symbol of the armed revolution on the march, the defiant unfurling of their centuries-old aspirations, so we will quote what the pro-government daily *Expresso* said: "Also in an audacious action the subversives raised today at dawn two enormous red banners with the hammer and sickle symbol on the 35-meter-high antennas of the radio stations 'Ayacucho' and 'Voice of Huamanga' With the first appearance of the sun's rays the people of the slums saw five-meter-long banners waving on the metal towers of these radio stations. This took place despite the fact that the antennas are surrounded and under permanent guard."

This May 1 has been a brilliant day of combats and revolutionary successes for our people; and it took on a higher significance being part of the worldwide celebration agreed upon by the RIM. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been a great revitalizing inspiration for the Peruvian proletariat and people, for the revolutionaries, and especially for the armed fighters and communist followers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and at the same time it has been a hard blow for reaction and electoralist opportunism, especially revisionism.

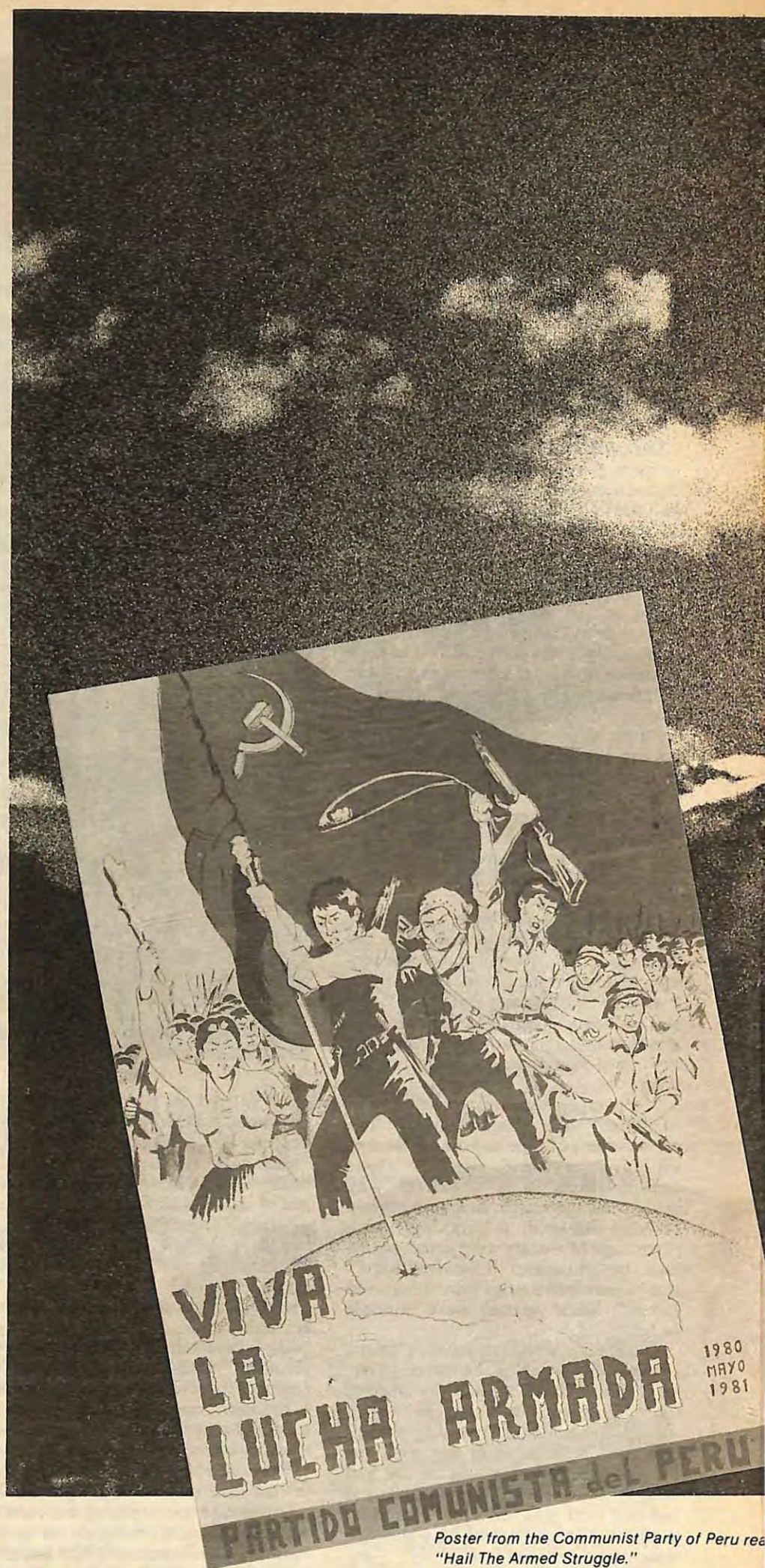
For the workers, peasants and working people of our country the emergence of the RIM is something with great prospects, as they themselves say: "It's great that the real communists are once again united," "this is a guarantee for the development of the revolution," "it is a great service to the international proletariat that we organize and unite ourselves in an international center," or as the fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army and the rank-and-file communists say: "To march together, under the same banner, is decisive for the world revolution which we serve"; "To unite ourselves under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on a world level is the condition for victory in the world." The welcome that the poster and the leaflet have had among the government workers is outstanding (500,000 workers employed by the state held out for more than three weeks in an indefinite strike), since agitation, with the RIM documents, was carried out in the midst of their strike, especially in their protest marches and confrontations with the police.

In sum, this May 1 has been a successful fighting celebration of the Peruvian proletariat and people, and together with the campaigns underway served to root the RIM among the lowest and most combative layers of our people, among those who have little or nothing in this world except the necessity to build a new one.

(2) On the New Military Campaign

June 22 we began a new military campaign called "Begin the Great Leap!", which is the first of various successive campaigns with a view towards the political conjuncture in which we are developing in this country, part of which are the 1985 general elections. The current campaign is developing as part of the political strategy of "Conquering Bases" (that is, revolutionary base areas) and it serves to concretize the orientation of "Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the base areas and advance the People's New Democratic Republic."

The objective conditions are broadly favorable, since a developing revolutionary situation is continuing to unfold; even more so spurred on by the armed struggle. As far as our revolutionary forces are concerned, they have grown remarkably: the Party has grown in membership, especially in terms of poor peasants, and it has been strengthened and further tempered; the People's Guerrilla Army, organized in the first part of 1983, has become several times larger through the massive joining of peasants, especially poor peasants; the People's Committees have multiplied considerably, and most importantly, have developed in terms of their exercise of state functions, and an Organizing Committee of the People's New Democratic Republic has been formed, while the Revolutionary People's Defense Front in the countryside and in the city the Revolutionary People's Defense Movement are taking form, with the centers of resistance as



Poster from the Communist Party of Peru reads "Hail The Armed Struggle."

their axis; finally, 1983 saw more than half of the 15,000 armed actions carried out in the four years of armed struggle. Thus we can say that this year of combat against the armed forces (which came in to fight against the guerrilla actions at the end of 1982, setting up a Political-Military Committee in the state of emergency zone which now includes 13 provinces of the departments of Ayacucho, Huancaavelica and part of Apurimac, under the orders of a brigadier general), has been fruitful in every sense for the development of the revolution.

Nevertheless, the reactionary state, through its representatives, had been bragging, as they usually do every time we finish carrying out a plan and enter a period of preparation for a new campaign, that we've been turned back, that we've retreated and shrunk, so that according to them we were in full retreat under the blows they boasted of dealing us. As a result, the campaign "Begin the Great Leap" has taken them by surprise and at present we are carrying forward the greatest offensive we've carried out so far . . . both in breadth (at this point we are active militarily in 15 of the country's 24 departments, in the mountains as well as the coast and the jungle highlands) and in terms of our armed struggle reaching a higher level. We are dealing very heavy blows to the reaction, its armed forces and police, and, very importantly, we are taking back areas we'd lost and until now could not reconquer, while at the same time our action is reaching into new areas.

The struggle is taking a very cruel form and the bloodshed will grow as the reaction launches its counteroffensive; thus the repression applied so far will worsen in every way. But taking into account the grave problems and contradictions which burden the reaction in this country, and above all the objective conditions and the development of our revolutionary forces, we have the ability and the resolve to pay the necessary price, no matter what, to carry forward the armed revolution in our country, unshakably decided to build the New State which has already begun to be built, since, as Lenin said, "Without state power, everything is an illusion."

This is our commitment and responsibility to the Peruvian revolution and even more to the world revolution of which we are a component part and which we serve and will serve. . . .

With Communist Greetings,
Central Department
of the Central Committee
PCP, Peru 1984

(Coverage continues on page 10)



Support The Revolution In Peru!

The following is one of the resolutions adopted by the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations. This resolution was one of four (see RW No. 247) taken by the Conference which formed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement:

Message to the Communist Party of Peru

The Second Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations sends its fraternal greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru which is boldly leading the Peruvian proletariat and people in waging an heroic armed struggle against the reactionary Belaúnde regime and its imperialist masters. The Communist Party of Peru, which is continuing on the shining path charted by its founder, Carlos Mariátegui, has dealt a mighty blow against revisionists of all stripes, in particular against the revisionist usurpers in China who have attempted to force the proletariat and oppressed peoples to capitulate to imperialism and its servants and against the treacherous attempts of the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania to deprive the communists and the masses of Mao Tsetung's qualitative development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Thus the advance of People's War in Peru inspires and strengthens the Marxist-Leninist forces the world over who are struggling against modern revisionism and its recent ugly manifestations.

The advance of the struggle in Peru is of great importance in the context of today's situation in the international communist movement and the revolutionary movement in general. In the absence of a correct Marxist-Leninist line most of the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations that are being waged today are being utilised by the two imperialist blocs in their rivalry. But the revolutionary War in Peru concretely shows that a correct line can enable even the people of a small country to initiate and develop their just war against all imperialisms and their reactionary puppets. This is why both imperialist blocs are actively involved in trying to suppress the struggle in Peru and are spreading a barrage of lies and distortion through their media and by other means. But as Mao Tsetung put it, "To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing."

Despite the savage repression of the reactionary regime backed up by the im-

perialists, the proletariat and people of Peru — led by their vanguard Communist Party — have persisted in their struggle and have achieved important victories.

The Second Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations calls on all the participants in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, on all genuine communist forces, to actively take up support for the New Democratic Revolution in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru and its Chairman Comrade Gonzalo. The Marxist-Leninist forces of every country must mobilise the class conscious workers and revolutionary masses to support this struggle through propaganda, sympathy and material aid.

Long Live the Armed Struggle in Peru!
Support the Communist Party of Peru!

The participating organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are:

Central Reorganisation Committee,
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Ceylon Communist Party
Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]
Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist
Haitian International Revolutionary Group
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups [Britain]
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla [Bangladesh]
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
Revolutionary Communist Party, India
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]
Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

Free Meche!



Recently we received the following information from Peru:

"We would like to let you know that on the 20th of July of this year professor Laura Zambrano Padilla, also known as 'Meche,' was detained. She is a great revolutionary combatant and therefore we need to develop a campaign to save her life and against the cruel and savage tortures she is undergoing, since they are trying to assassinate her just as Gastelú, the director of DIRCOTE (Directorate against terrorism), has threatened to do. Therefore it's necessary to denounce this incident.

"Here we will be developing a campaign in defense of the political prisoners and to denounce the disappearances. Since the struggle has entered its highest level and likewise the repression, tortures and disappearances have also increased. Once again they are committing massacres and the bodies are found in the hills and creeks. On the 25th of July, 80 National Guardsmen, known as the 'Llapan atiq,' entered the prison in Callao where 84 women combatants are being detained and who have been violently mistreated. They stole from them anything of value and destroyed the rest; they launched tear-gas canisters and brutally beat them with sticks. As a result 12 of these comrades have been injured, they are: Delia Taquiri, Elizabeth Romani, Dihla Ruitón, Juana Cuyubamba, Jenny Rodríguez, Isabel Gonzáles, Nancy Burga, Dora Muñoz, Isabel Carhuantico, Aida Zaire, Lina Romero, and Marina Infanzón. But overall the focus of the campaign of exposures should be professor Laura Zambrano, known as 'Meche.'

"With revolutionary greetings,
Your friends from Peru"

We have received a report that leaflets titled "Save Meche" have appeared on the streets of Lima, the Peruvian capital, signed by the Communist Party of Peru (known in the press as Sendero Luminoso).

Worldwide support for Meche's freedom is developing. In Europe, some supporters have begun sending telegrams addressed to Peruvian president Belaúnde (Plaza de Armas, Lima), to the magazine *Caretas* (Jr. Camana 615-308, Lima), the magazine *Equis* (Jr. Soledad 416, 3° piso, Lince, Lima), other magazines, and to Peruvian embassies in Europe.

In this country, the address of the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru is: 2483 Hearst Ave., No. 225, Berkeley, CA 94709. □

Masters of Terror

As the above letter pointed out, the Peruvian government has stepped up repression, tortures and disappearances. This reactionary counteroffensive was frankly discussed in the pages of the liberal *New York Times*. On Sunday, September 2, 1984, the *Times*' Lima correspondent wrote, "Showing a videotape of mangled peasant bodies, a police chief at the Andean town of Ayacucho said: 'The terrorists (sic) have the support of 80 percent of the Ayacucho people. What we need here is the Argentine solution.'" The *Times* went on to say, "His view, reportedly shared by a number of senior military officers, was an allusion to the military campaign in Argentina in which thousands of armed guerrillas, unarmed sympathizers and peaceful opponents of the Government were killed." □

The Burn-To-Death System

Less than three miles west of the towering glass and steel of Chicago's financial and corporate nerve center stands Henry Horner Homes, a stark cluster of 14- and 16-story high-rise projects which closely resemble huge concrete bunkers. Walls made of concrete blocks divide the rooms. Three-foot gangplanks just outside the apartment doors are encased in floor-to-ceiling iron gratings. Vacant apartments line each of the floors and some residents live in boarded-up apartments. Abutting a major Chicago Transit elevated track, ear-deafening noise as often as every few minutes makes it impossible to hear and be heard. On the asphalt surrounding these highrises abandoned cars never are towed; broken glass pits the surrounding streets; and several buildings, sometimes the whole project, experience blackouts lasting up to a few hours.

The people who live in Henry Horner Homes are Black. With 1,750 apartments, Henry Horner Homes closely resembles many other projects in the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), which altogether houses 141,000 people, 95% of whom are Black — 10% of Chicago's total Black population.

On Saturday, September 1, a fire broke out at Henry Horner Homes on the 13th floor of a building, killing Debbie Mitchell, 24, her 12-year-old brother and two children, ages five and three. Debbie Mitchell's stove literally exploded. "The pipe coming out of the wall had a leak in it," one youth from the project told the *RW*. "The lady's been complaining about the stove for the longest. She went down and told the Housing Authority about it, but they didn't do nothing. They kept talking about how they were going to put a new stove in. Everytime something happens and they go to the Housing, they don't do nothing about it. We have a leaking stove too. Everybody in this project's got a complaint."

Minnie Wilson, a neighbor, told the

Chicago Defender: "We just didn't live next door to each other... she was like my sister. Debbie and her kids never had a chance because there's only one way in and out of these living hellholes. When we finally got the door open, we threw water on the fire but it was too late. I couldn't hear Debbie's screams no more.... For months Debbie had complained about gas seeping from her kitchen stove, but they didn't fix it. When I heard the screams, I tried to open the door, but it was stuck. She had complained about that too." All that remains of the apartment now is some mattress springs along with some charred pieces of wood. Even the bathroom was consumed in the fire.

The Chicago Fire Department has since said they thought that this fire might be arson-related. But, so they say, since the damage to the apartment was so extensive they may never be able to determine the cause.

A fire station is located two blocks from the fire, easily close enough to see the Horner Homes projects. Residents told the *RW* it took 15 minutes before the firemen arrived on the scene. In the meantime Debbie Mitchell had caught on fire. Trapped in the apartment she pushed her 12-year-old brother, Andre, to the window where 13 floors below four people had stretched a blanket in case someone jumped. Still the fire department didn't arrive with safety nets and flames poured out the windows. Debbie pushed her brother out. He crashed through the blanket mortally injured, though not immediately killed by the fall. While he lay on the ground Andre tried to tell those around what caused the fire. He died on the way to the hospital.

When the fire department finally did arrive neither elevator in the huge building worked. Both had been broken for the three weeks prior to the fire. On the average, 25 to 40 percent of all CHA elevators are broken and last winter over

70 percent were down. "The elevators don't work regularly, like clockwork," someone in this building told the *RW*, irony ringing in his voice. In 1982 one woman living at the Henry Horner Homes went into labor and had to walk down fourteen flights of stairs while bleeding profusely because the elevators weren't working and the fire department paramedics refused to walk up to her. Her baby was stillborn.

With all elevators down, the firemen decided to carry their hoses up the thirteen flights of stairs. On each floor there are standpipes for fire emergencies. None of these had any water pressure — the CHA had turned them off. "I ain't never seen them check those water pipes in my life," one man told this reporter. Firemen had to drop hoses down to ground level, across a parking lot to a hydrant before getting water.

At this point Minnie Wilson, the neighbor, continues her story. When the firemen came she asked them to knock out her living room wall to get to Debbie. "I could still hear her screams, but the firemen told me they couldn't tear up CHA property. The wall is just made of cement... Debbie was a human being." "It hurts," she added. "It ain't a good feeling to live in a death-trap. I have five kids, I'm on aid and have no place else to go. I'm trapped."

Following this fire the CHA transferred extra workers on an emergency basis from other housing projects in order to tend to such problems as leaky gas stoves. The *RW* talked to one of these maintenance people who normally works at the Cabrini Green Housing Project. He told us that there is a shortage of janitors — 700 were laid off last year — and the people who do maintenance work in the apartments have to do janitorial work instead. Orders for such things as replacing old stoves just pile up. "But some projects are worse than Henry Horner," he said. Amidst the bustle of

maintenance and janitorial crews in front of this particular building, though, one CHA division takes the highest profile — security.

Other "help" has also volunteered itself. Wallace Davis, a Black alderman with close ties to Mayor Washington, arrived on the scene and threatened to lead a mass demonstration on CHA headquarters. However, when it quickly became apparent that anger was sweeping the projects and this kind of thing could get out of hand, Alderman Davis chose instead to meet alone with the CHA Executive Director Zirl Smith. Later, in the company of CHA chairman Renault Robinson, Davis responded to angry demands at a meeting of one hundred furious CHA residents by announcing that even he would be willing to move into a CHA apartment if the agency would allow it.

The appointment of Robinson, the former head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's Association, as CHA chairman and executive director was one of the big changes of Mayor Washington's "reform administration" last year. "It's been a long time for some of us who started in the early '60s," Robinson said on the day of his appointment. "This is the first giant step to raise the level of conditions our people have suffered under past administrations." One columnist trumpeted that Robinson had "a revolution on his agenda." Although Robinson has since been replaced as executive director, he remains CHA chairman. But in this past year the actual content of this "revolution" in Chicago's public housing has become better defined. Faces have been changed at certain levels of government. But the same America remains. One Black youth said it this way: "If the stove blew up and she had a complaint in on it, I believe it was murder, don't you?" □

Correspondence On:

CLASH BREAK-UP POSES IMPORTANT POLITICAL QUESTIONS ON CULTURE AND REVOLUTION

In the July 13, 1984 issue of the Revolutionary Worker, we published an interview with Joe Strummer by DJ Miller Francis of the "Revolution Rock" show, WRFG, Atlanta. The interview was reprinted in the RW because we believe that given the role of The Clash, important political questions are involved for all revolutionaries and especially revolutionary artists.

In our introduction to this interview, the RW said:

"The Clash represented by far the best in practice of the left upsurge that occurred in Britain and the U.S. among artists during the late seventies to the early eighties. They were, first and foremost, a truly great rock band. They also unleashed an advanced audience as no one else, with the exception of Bob Marley, had done for a decade or more. They had a tremendous impact on the struggle among artists, first and foremost the musicians.

"Perhaps their greatest contribution was that they allied themselves openly with the left and they did so in a truly pathbreaking way. They were revolutionaries, they said.

"Around six months ago, Mick Jones, guitar player and co-writer with Joe Strummer of much of the band's material, was fired from the band. Regular RW readers in the U.S. are no doubt aware of the fact that all this occurred on a not too friendly basis, to say the least.

"Our party wishes Joe Strummer and his 'new' Clash well, and we also wish the same for Mick Jones."

In RW No. 269 (August 24, 1984), we published correspondence from readers addressing some of the questions posed by The Clash break-up and the interview. This week, the debate continues. All revolutionaries, and especially revolutionary artists, are encouraged to continue to correspond with the RW concerning their views; and new readers who wish to join the debate can contact your local RW distributor and Revolution Books (see box page 2) for copies of the interview and complete correspondence.

Dear RW,

I heard the interview with Joe Strummer on "Revolution Rock" here in Atlanta and am very glad the RW decided to publish it. The issues raised in the interview are indeed very important in the revolutionary movement as to what role culture should and does play. The Clash are a band I have highly respected and learned a lot from. Living under the epitome of everything millions hate, it's quite inspiring to hear such revolutionary art as The Clash is — and I dare say, get off even more when I hear it blasting out of the most controlled mainstream radio stations.¹ But, I'm real concerned with the reevaluation Strummer's doing, at least the conclusions he's drawing.

The DJ raised to Strummer an old statement he made. I have come across the actual quote and it is definitely worth repeating here in its entirety. It's from an interview Joe Strummer did with the RW in 1979, RW No. 21. "... You could just get into saying 'America is full of shit,' but there's no point in saying that 'cause everybody already knows that. I think all these people coming to the show, they know that already and that's some of the reason they're there, so I want to say something more constructive, like going about attacking the radio stations and just getting in there, everywhere we can." Also, I want to draw on an interview done with Bob Marley at GSU in Atlanta. The interviewer asks him, "... With all the oppression people face in Jamaica and for that matter the world, do you find reggae the best means to reach people with?" (In the context of informing them and exposing this oppression.) Marley's response was, "I'm not trying to reach anyone. I am who I am and there are a lot more people out there like me." These similar attitudes toward their audience and what their art did not have to do, is a very key part as to what led both artists in creating some powerful music that at-

tracted a very strong and advanced audience, and as the RW said, unleashed this audience.

But Strummer is now reversing this. One reason supposedly being some backward assholes at Bonds. Here I think the points made by the interviewer should be taken to heart: there were those who did not distinguish rap and funk from the escapist disco; this was a time of increased attacks on The Clash by the state, as well as attacks by reactionary jerks; and, though people are attracted to The Clash because of the content of their music, the audience is still not monolithic. But the more fundamental reason for this reevaluation seems to be "how right-wing everything has become," and Strummer is making some desperate moves toward becoming a political orator with his music, educating his audience so they can "get it," versus being a revolutionary artist who entertains and inspires those that already do get it to one degree or another — including those who may be more politically aware than Strummer!

Instead we are to expect more songs like "Know Your Rights." "Know Your Rights" starting point seems to be to "get the point" and hence I think it's the weakest song of a great album. Except for the element of satirizing a state authority, there is little translation of the political contradictions set up by bourgeois dictatorship into art. The song is told in "political" terms of telling us our so-called rights are illusions, versus perhaps, expressing this in art through characters and situations where illusions such as these knock the character upside the head. As Marx once wrote, commenting on great art and literature and the heart of tragedy, "Ignorance is a demon, we fear that it will yet be the cause of many a tragedy;..."² One definitely "gets the point" in "Know Your Rights," but the majority of The Clash's audience know this point anyway. And for those that don't agree with it, a song will not change that if they're buying the bourgeoisie's rationalizations for the crimes it commits carrying out its dictatorship.

I want to make clear I am not making this a question of subtle versus overt (though I do agree that sometimes the more subtle is the more powerful). "I'm So Bored With The U.S.A." is as overt as they come, but it's not agit/prop. It has no pretensions of telling people what they don't know. It's the expression of a character who hates all this shit with a rebellious spirit, even though he doesn't know what to do about it. The sentiments of this character are certainly those which many people can relate, which is why many loved this song. This is also why reactionaries really hate it.

As for "the newer, wider aspects" of The Clash's audience, who were turned on by songs like "Rock the Casbah," Strummer's concern was that they're not getting the song and that they mean nothing more to people "than a couple of good Top 40 hits." The song "Rock the

Casbah" may have been derived from the suppression of rock music in Iran and the repressive conditions generally; but the particular situation and characters in the song are also more universal, i.e., the repression of culture by many Shareefs and a rebellious stance against this. (Huey Lewis', "I Want A New Drug..." also has universality, but the two songs are two opposite Top 40 ideological extremes.) I was invited to a Combat Rock concert in Williamsburg, Virginia, by one of these "newer and wider aspects." The mayor of this quaint and stifling homage to colonial America had been editorializing in the local paper against the unwanted invasion of punk and new wave and the elements it brought with it. So, some young women in my sister's sorority made up a flyer advertising a pre-concert Clash party entitled, "The mayor don't like it, rock the campus." Yes, one-of-many Shareefs, and yes even here, some of them do understand, on varying levels.

Where Strummer's conclusions are leading him to, is leaving the company of artists like Marley, and heading towards those condescending promoters of "message art" that aims to educate the so-called "ignorant" of the atrocities in the world through preachy art to "get the point."

Recently a young artist I know had a piece rejected by a gallery art exhibition called "The Political Show." The exhibit was dominated by this trend of "message art" (though there were those who rejected this and created some interesting works). His piece was unacceptable because it was abstract expressionist and, it was argued, "was not political," had no content or, if it did, it was purely subjective. The artist was somewhat astounded, particularly because the same piece had been exhibited the month before at the May 1st punk and reggae concert!

I'm not arguing for the form of abstract expressionism as the way for visual artists to go, but it certainly has content which is in this case, as some others, progressive. What I am arguing is the inevitable narrowness and bastardization of art, from a line which tries to use art for the purpose of politically educating. And also bastardizes real revolutionary political education, which must be deep and thoroughgoing.

The artists at the May 1st concert did not play the role of political educators. It was a concert! There was also a May 1st political celebration apart from the concert, a meeting where political questions were addressed by the RCP and others. The artists at the concert did what a revolutionary organization cannot do.

They entertained an audience who wanted to celebrate. The content of the music and art was definitely that which challenged the existing values they hated and ideologically represented them. Art can be emotionally very powerful. It cannot replace the political task of revolutionaries in raising consciousness, but it is quite indispensable.

The Clash have created music for those who "think like they do" ... and inspired many. These same people who are disgusted by, or are demoralized by, bourgeois art, The Clash has let them laugh, sing, dance and even cry. But now they seem to want to leave this audience and cater to the so-called "ignorant." In the past, when they didn't feel they needed to be educators, they identified with forces that they thought could and were changing the world. It's a long way from a Red Brigades "Italy" T-shirt to finding hope in the promotion Gary Hart got. It's a long way from writing on a guitar "First of May, Take a Holiday" a week before the first revolutionary May Day 1980 on national television to the illusions and national chauvinism of the British Labour Party. I understand the frustration that Strummer has with the moves toward war shaping at present a suffocating scene. But the rebels out there, including Strummer and all revolutionary-minded artists, need real revolutionary leadership. And we also need revolutionary art ... "It blows a hole in the radio, and when it hasn't sounded good all week ... Now the boys and girls are not alone, now that Hitsville Hit UK."

A visual artist, Atlanta

¹ A jab to "A reader from Cleveland" RW No. 267.

² Marx and Engels, on Literature and Art, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976.

RW:

There is a line out, common in anarchist and some punk circles, but also found elsewhere among artists and intellectuals, that you cannot contend in the cultural arena, gain any influential standing or mass audience, because as soon as you do you will sell out, go bad, and end up like all the crap you hate so much. The litany goes: Power, success, and CBS corrupts; The Clash are hypocrites and phoney; and what did they do with the money; once you achieve popularity, you are no longer revolutionary. The bourgeoisie must love that kind of shit,

Continued on page 15

WARFIGHTING

Continued from page 5

ized the Soviet Union as an implacable military threat to the United States, and it called for the massive rearmament of the U.S. to meet this threat. NSC-68 proposed primary reliance on nuclear weapons, rejected any "no first use" doctrine, and explicitly endorsed the decision to develop the H-bomb. It specified all measures, covert or overt, as being legitimate tools in opposing the Soviet Union, it warned that the Soviet Union was an aggressor state and would be capable of a nuclear attack on the U.S. by 1954, and finally it ruled out diplomacy as a means of dealing with the Soviet Union until the Soviet system itself was changed.

Already before the adoption of NSC-68 by President Truman, the Strategic Air Command had drafted plans for a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. And the systematic encirclement of the Soviet Union by regional military pacts had begun with NATO in 1949. Yet NSC-68 explicitly recognized that "preventive war" against the Soviet Union was not feasible — at least not yet. (In national security studies jargon, "preventive war" is a deliberate surprise assault on a strategic adversary to knock it off before it can grow too strong. "Preemptive war" is striking first when intelligence confirms that the adversary is planning an imminent attack.) The problems were that the U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons was too small, aerial tankers and forward bases were not sufficiently available for the bomber force, and studies of the ineffectiveness of World War 2 strategic bombing confirmed that nuking a number of Soviet urban areas could not prevent the Red Army from overrunning Western Europe in a couple weeks.⁵

The U.S. set about, however, to remedy these difficulties, using the hysteria of the Korean War to push through the appropriations. In 1947 the U.S. had 13 nuclear warheads. By 1954 it had 1,750.⁶ Bases were built in Greenland, England, North Africa and Japan. During this period the Eisenhower Administration seriously considered the use of tactical nuclear weapons on at least three occasions: in Korea in 1953, to relieve the French at Dienbienphu in 1954, and against China in the Quemoy crisis in 1955. In addition, Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, promulgated the doctrine of "massive retaliation."⁷ Massive Retaliation rejected the Truman policy of opposing "communist aggression" on a case by case basis, replacing it with the threat to hit the Soviet Union directly with a massive nuclear attack instead.

By 1954, the U.S. had gone so far as to draw up a full-scale war plan. In May of that year, the Joint Chiefs of Staff submitted a proposal to "deliberately precipitate war with the USSR in the near future" before the Soviets could fully develop the H-bomb.⁸ Although Eisenhower rejected this plan, one cannot overestimate the seriousness with which it was considered, nor the U.S. capacity to launch such a war.⁹ The nuclear arsenal and bomber force (185 B-36s and 329 B-47s) had been amassed and the threat of Soviet retaliation would not become real until the Soviet Bear and Bison intercontinental bombers became operational in 1956-57.¹⁰

Why was this plan, and undoubtedly others like it in that period, rejected? Here we can begin by dismissing the fatuous claims of Eisenhower's diary that such an attack would have been unconstitutional without a Congressional declaration of war! Eisenhower right up through the last year of his presidency continued to approve war plans that consisted of a single, preemptive, all-out nuclear attack on the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe. But there were several contravening factors, for example, the unpredictable consequences on Western Europe, and the consideration that medium-range Soviet bombers could strike the U.S. by flying one-way suicide missions. And there was also the possibility of substantial change within the Soviet Union. Stalin had died in March 1953, and almost immediately the Soviet military began to repudiate

Stalin's military doctrine, which emphasized the political cohesion, class nature, and economic strength of socialist nations and had resisted U.S. nuclear blackmail.¹¹

In the decade following World War 2, the Soviet Union and the socialist camp objectively represented the major obstacle to the maintenance and extension of the new imperialist order. But however sharp this contradiction was, until the mid-fifties, the U.S. did not have to go to war against the USSR. World War 2 had in fact dramatically changed the conditions of accumulation, integrating both the axis powers and the allies into a U.S.-led bloc, rationalizing capital on a global scale, opening up Anglo-American oil in the Middle East to West Germany and Japan, and opening up Europe's colonies to U.S. capital. By the mid-fifties, the U.S. had still yet to exploit the full extent of the potential, and, most important, in its expansion of international investment it did not have to go up against any rival imperialist power. The compulsion did not exist to risk all on a nuclear gamble.

By 1957-58, there were signs that the limits of this expansionary period were beginning to be felt. Had the Soviet Union remained socialist it would have been necessary for the imperialist bloc as a whole to go to war against it. Their freedom of movement would have been ever more constricted.

This, however, did not come to pass.

1958-1972: COUNTERINSURGENCY AND MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION

The military doctrine of Massive Retaliation was to continue through 1960. Yet by the end of the 1950s new phenomena arose which profoundly influenced military doctrine. The seizure of power by Khrushchev and the new Soviet bourgeoisie in 1956 represented the most significant realignment of international forces in the postwar period. The shifting requirements and capabilities of the new ruling class would impact profoundly on subsequent events. The propagation of Khrushchev's "three peacefuls," (peaceful transition, peaceful coexistence, and peaceful competition) and the international stance adopted by Khrushchev, allowed the imperialists greater maneuvering room internationally — indeed the expansion of the 1960s cannot be understood apart from this.

The expansion was indeed marked. While U.S. capital investment was still weighted heavily toward Europe, the U.S. was beginning to massively expand investment in the Third World — investment which played a stimulating role in the economy out of proportion to its volume. As a part of its global expansion the U.S. cast itself in the role of supporting decolonization (for example, the public rebuke of Britain and France for

their 1956 seizure of the Suez Canal), but for the purpose of opening Europe's colonies to U.S. capital and the establishment of neocolonial regimes. The U.S. also undertook vigorous political and economic programs in the Third World designed to rapidly extend capitalist relations together with suitable superstructures. Thus the Alliance for Progress and Kennedy's criticism of *latifundia*, the White Revolution in Iran, etc. Investment also began taking more the form of direct investment (direct ownership of productive facilities, "multinationals," etc.).

The course of global accumulation and contention was deeply influenced by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its new necessities. In the initial years following the CPSU 20th Congress, the Soviets placed emphasis on the restructuring of the domestic economy and its relationship with the economies of Eastern Europe.¹² But the compelling role of the law of value forced the Soviet rulers to refashion external relations in a larger context. The Soviet Union was still surrounded by a network of hostile military pacts (NATO, CENTO, and SEATO) and a ring of U.S. strategic air bases. One response of the Soviet bourgeoisie was to attempt to break out of this encirclement: First, through selective economic penetration of the Third World (principally Egypt,¹³ India,¹⁴ and Afghanistan) by offering very attractive low-interest capital and arms sales. Second, by a protracted buildup of military power, and some selective confrontations with the U.S. (see below). On the other hand, their purposes were also served by blatant collusion with the U.S., as in the Congo in 1960-61. And revisionist parties in the Third World were advised to eschew armed struggle and pursue a parliamentary path. Overall, the global interests of the Soviet Union were temporarily served by a policy of accommodationism.

(But again, while the Soviet Union colluded with U.S. imperialism in many parts of the world for a time, it could not eradicate contradiction. The arms race was to continue with the Soviets getting off to an early lead with Sputnik and the development of the first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile in 1957. The inability of the Soviets to acquire bases on the periphery of the U.S. dictated the early development by the Soviet Union of the ICBM).

It was in this setting that the national liberation struggles of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were to explode and become concentrated in the Vietnam War. The principal contradiction in the world had changed to that between imperialism and the oppressed nations.

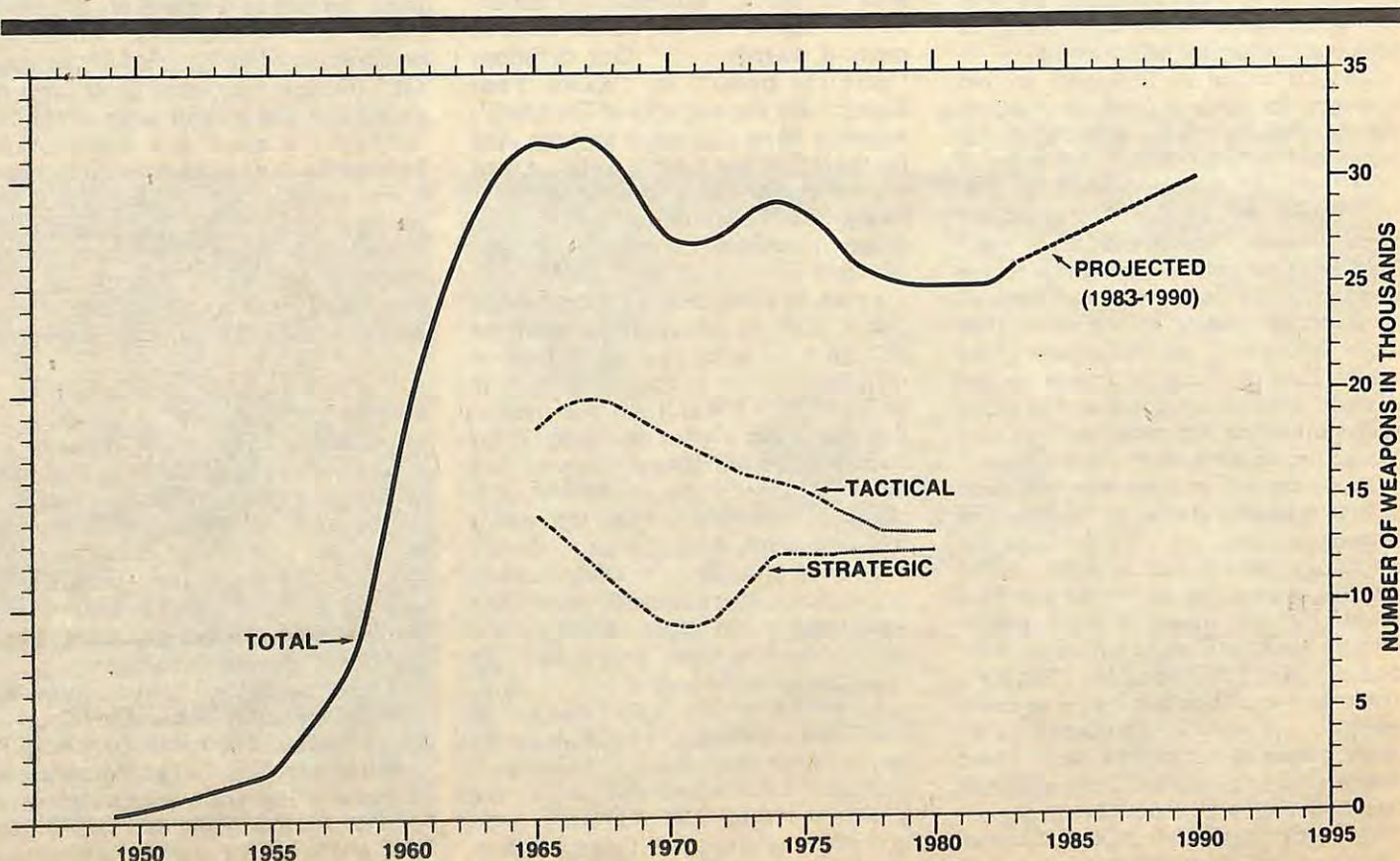
The military doctrine of Massive Retaliation was totally ineffective against the new threat to U.S. imperialism. The guerrilla fighter in the jungles of Asia was

not deterred by threats to nuke Magnitogorsk. Similarly, Massive Retaliation meant that the U.S. Army was wholly unprepared to fight either limited conventional or irregular warfare. General Maxwell Taylor resigned in protest as Eisenhower's Army Chief of Staff, warning of the dangerous understrength of the army,¹⁵ and then signed on as an advisor to the presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy.

The onset of the Kennedy administration in 1961 saw the most dramatic shift in U.S. military posture in the postwar period. While Kennedy had campaigned publicly on the alleged threat of a "missile gap," one of Kennedy's first acts was to radically upgrade the conventional armed forces and direct their application to counterinsurgency in the Third World. The key national security advisors to Kennedy were all known critics of Massive Retaliation from the Council on Foreign Relations and university think-tanks.¹⁶ Kennedy set up the Special Group on Counter-Insurgency, headed by Maxwell Taylor and Bobby Kennedy.¹⁷ Out of this came the dramatic upgrading of the Army's Special Forces (John Kennedy personally authorized their famous green berets), and Maxwell Taylor was subsequently appointed Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (and later ambassador to South Vietnam). Che Guevara, Mao Tsetung, and Vo Nguyen Giap became compulsory reading at the U.S. service academies, and Vietnam was seized upon as the test case to demonstrate that modern counterinsurgency techniques could in fact defeat People's War.

During the Kennedy Administration, the conventional forces of the U.S. were dramatically expanded, and military doctrine was yanked about 180° to face a totally new threat to continued U.S. expansion. Similarly military assistance programs and CIA operations in the Third World were expanded. China loomed larger in U.S. military calculations, to the point where the Johnson Administration in 1964 even considered a joint military action with the Soviet Union against China¹⁸ and Robert McNamara cited the "Chinese nuclear threat" as justification for a U.S. Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system.¹⁹

The Kennedy Administration also produced dramatic changes in U.S. nuclear force strength and targeting doctrine. Robert McNamara installed as his principal nuclear advisors much of the senior staff of the RAND Corporation.²⁰ They immediately threw out the long-standing Massive Retaliation doctrine based on World War 2-style bombing of industrial potential in one massive strike. As an alternative was installed the "war-winning and damage-limiting" counterforce doctrine. Counterforce sought to "rationalize" nuclear war by striking only military targets while deliberately



U.S. nuclear stockpile, 1949 to present (with future projections).

Chart from Nuclear Weapons Databook.

holding back from striking cities and governmental command and control. The benefits were supposed to be (1) knocking out the adversary's immediate war making capability; (2) inducing the adversary to reciprocate by not striking U.S. cities; (3) thus side-stepping European doubts about whether the U.S. would risk U.S. cities to save European capitals; (4) holding Soviet cities hostage to further strikes aimed at them; and (5) leaving intact the Soviet leadership to negotiate a settlement of the war short of all-out destruction.²¹

To create the ability to carry out this counterforce strategy, the Kennedy Administration carried out the most dramatic increase of U.S. nuclear weapons in the postwar period, installing 1,000 Minuteman missiles in hardened silos and increasing the total stockpile of warheads from 18,500 in 1960 to 31,000 in 1964.²² In Europe, the doctrine of "flexible response" (a term coined by Maxwell Taylor) was introduced, giving the U.S. the options of conventional attack, tactical nuclear weapons, and theater nuclear weapons, short of an all-out attack on the Soviet Union which had been the only previous plan for war in Europe.

The turn of the U.S. away from the massive annihilation of the Soviet Union and toward counterinsurgency in the Third World was briefly interrupted, however, by two major confrontations with the Soviet Union in 1961 and 1962. Particularly in Europe where it held major tactical advantages, the Soviet Union attempted some open saber rattling to try to reverse the scales with regard to containment. The result was that in 1961 the U.S. again very seriously considered initiating a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.²³ President Kennedy went as far as mobilizing the Army Reserves and dispersing Strategic Air Command bombers from SAC bases to civilian airports around the country.²⁴ The crisis was averted only when the Soviet Union backed down on its threat to expel Western forces from West Berlin. In 1962 the

same drama was repeated when the Soviet Union attempted to install intermediate-range missiles in Cuba. Again, the U.S. enjoyed such an overwhelming strategic advantage (and in this case, tactical advantage too), that the Soviet Union was forced to remove the missiles.

By 1963 then, the new period was stabilized with the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the "hot line" agreement, and the U.S. decision to withdraw its obsolete intermediate-range missiles from England, Italy, and Turkey. For the rest of the decade the U.S. was preoccupied with Indochina and the Third World in general. McNamara withdrew from counterforce to a more traditional nuclear strategy targeting Soviet cities and command and control. Describing his policy as "assured destruction,"²⁵ McNamara held that it didn't make much difference what the Soviet Union did in the way of strategic armaments, since the U.S. had the assured ability through the Triad of ICBMs, sub-launched missiles, and bombers to totally destroy the Soviet Union before or after a Soviet strike.

But why did the U.S. not carry through with its very serious plans for a nuclear first strike on the Soviet Union in 1961? In point of fact, despite saber rattling and selective, localized confrontations with the Western bloc, the Soviet Union was not prepared to mount an all-out challenge to the U.S.-led bloc in the 1960s. For its part the U.S. (and the Western alliance) was favorably positioned to expand and restructure capital. A tremendous economic transformation was taking hold in the Third World, breaking down feudal relations and opening the way for industrial production and capital accumulation which was able to stimulate and sustain the economic vitality of the entire Western bloc in an unprecedented trajectory of accumulation since the Second World War — something which was, in turn, closely linked to the international stance of the USSR.

1973-PRESENT: NUCLEAR WAR-FIGHTING DOCTRINES

The second postwar period was brought to a dramatic conclusion by the concatenation of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, the achievement by the Soviet Union of strategic military parity, the collapse of the U.S. dollar and the Bretton Woods arrangements, and the first deep global recession of the postwar periods. Nixon and Kissinger continued to fight the end-game in Vietnam, while at the same time looking more toward restoring the somewhat frayed European alliance and turning attention toward global confrontation with the Soviet Union (this was the significance of the U.S. desire to normalize relations with China). "Detente" was the rubric under which this U.S.-Soviet contention was played out.

The U.S. had sufficient reserves to cut its losses in Vietnam and get out, but the global conditions for sustained accumulation were now running up against their limits. The changes brought about in the Third World were producing increased disarticulation of economies and an unmanageable increase in Third World debt, and the imperialist economies were lunging into crisis. Also the U.S. was now facing an intractable rival in every corner of the world driven by the same compulsion to expand. The Soviet Union was increasingly able to challenge the U.S. militarily, in particular with proxy forces, in areas outside the Soviet periphery such as Angola and Ethiopia. The Western imperialists could no longer press forward with investment as they had in the fifties and sixties.

The military response of the U.S. was both technological and doctrinal. The U.S. made immediate use of the 1972 SALT I agreement, which limited only the number of ICBM delivery vehicles, to equip its missiles with multiple warheads (a technology in which it was ahead of the Soviet Union) and thus maintain a temporary advantage. But with the change of the principal contradiction in the world to that between the two rival blocs came a storm of criticism against the doctrine (which had been continued through the Nixon Administration) of Mutual Assured Destruction. MAD was an adequate doctrine for keeping at bay an inferior power, but it simply did not speak to the new necessity to win a nuclear war with a well-armed global adversary.

The result was the adoption of National Security Decision Memorandum No. 242, the "Schlesinger Doctrine."²⁷ NSDM-242 was a step away from MAD, and toward the flexible war-fighting options and counterforce targeting which McNamara had projected as the "rational" way to fight the Soviet Union. Added now was the additional necessity to achieve "escalation dominance."

The advent of MIRV technology, together with important advances in missile guidance accuracy, produced an extremely unstable military situation, which now coincided with the intensification of interimperialist rivalry. Under the old technology, three warheads were normally targeted on an adversary's hardened silo in the hopes that at least one of them would strike close enough to knock it out. Thus it took three missiles to kill one. Under the new technology, one missile with many super-accurate warheads could knock out several opposing missiles. In other words, the "kill ratio" was reversed, and true counterforce strategy began to appear feasible. Immediately a hue and cry went up about the "window of opportunity" which the Soviets supposedly possessed — the ability for the first time to knock out U.S. ICBMs. In reality, it was a window through which the U.S. could more readily jump, since Soviet strategic arms are concentrated in fixed ICBMs while the U.S. force is more broadly dispersed in

submarines, manned bombers, and now the mobile Pershing II missiles in Europe.

The approach of explosive confrontation between rival blocs in a setting of global economic crisis was becoming more acutely visible in 1979, as revolution swept Iran and Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. The collapse of the regional gendarme for the U.S. and the first deployment of Soviet combat troops outside its borders or those of Eastern Europe set in motion a series of events in Washington. In general, there was an acceptance of that school of analysis (the "B Team,"²⁸) which held military confrontation with the Soviet Union to be inevitable. The Carter-Mondale Administration in short order dropped Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State, decided to deploy the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe, decided to proceed with the construction of the MX missile, ordered the production of a new generation of nuclear warheads, reinstated the draft, created the Rapid Deployment Force, announced the Carter Doctrine for the Persian Gulf, and signed a series of Presidential Directives culminating in PD-59 that established nuclear war-fighting, with special attention to command, control and communication, as basic doctrine.²⁹

"What transforms a particular international framework into an obstacle to the continued expansion and reorganization of capital is the dialectical interaction of economic crisis, developing out of a specific dynamic of internationalized accumulation, with the political challenge of rival imperialist powers."³⁰ The intensification of contradictions in a particular spiral reaches a point past which a major strategic gain by either side can no longer occur without rupturing the whole framework. By the mid-1970s the U.S.-led and Soviet-led imperialist blocs were embarking on a program of conscious preparation for war.

In addition to its military preparations, the U.S. also turned its attention to tightening up the Western alliance and forging it into an actual war bloc. The annual economic summit meetings which had been started in the mid-1970s to deal with trade and currency contradictions, now increasingly took on the character of councils of war, bringing Japan directly into the planning. (For example, the deployment of the Euromissiles dominated the 1983 Williamsburg summit.) The U.S. also stepped up its pressure on its allies to increase their share of both the military cost and the military risk. In addition to their military significance, the new cruise missiles were consciously distributed through most of the European allies as a means of "visible risk sharing" — that is, a mechanism to prevent any of the allies from trying to "sit out" a nuclear exchange. And there has been an increasing emphasis on both unity of will and unity of action. This was especially clear in the Falklands crisis, and in the battle to overcome popular resistance to the stationing of the new U.S. missiles in Europe (which was openly acknowledged to be a test of will for the alliance).

The Reagan-Bush Administration confirmed the decisions of the Carter-Mondale team, adding to them a significant ideological component: identification of the Soviet Union as the "evil empire," a campaign to overcome the "Vietnam Syndrome" (domestic opposition to foreign military engagement), and the general promotion of reaction and national chauvinism. In military affairs Reagan developed a \$1.5 trillion five-year plan to build up U.S. military forces, and gave public expression to the goal of "prevailing" in a nuclear war. In 1982 the U.S. Army adopted a new operational doctrine for U.S. ground forces known as AirLand Battle.³¹ The doctrine seeks to deal with the contradictions involved in the "integrated battlefield," that is, how to deploy and maneuver troops where nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons will be in general use. This is a particular problem for U.S. forces in the European theater, where the danger is that nukes would potentially cause more damage to NATO than to the Warsaw Pact — especially if the NATO forces were retreating through West Germany. The new doctrine seeks to avoid this by

Continued on page 14

U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile

Year	Number of Warheads
1945	2
1946	9
1947	13
1948	50
1949	250
1950	450
1951	650
1952	1000
1953	1350
1954	1750
1955	2250
1956	3550
1957	5450
1958	7100
1959	12,000
1960	18,500
1961	23,000
1962	26,500
1963	29,000
1964	31,000
1965	31,500
1966	31,500
1967	32,000
1968	31,000
1969	29,000
1970	27,000
1971	27,000
1972	27,500
1973	28,500
1974	29,000
1975	28,500
1976	27,500
1977	26,000
1978	25,500
1979	25,000
1980	25,000
1981	25,000
1982	25,000
1983	26,000

Stockpile numbers for 1945-1948 are taken from an undated State Department memorandum circulated in 1982, and David Alan Rosenberg, "U.S. Nuclear Stockpile, 1945-1950," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, May 1982; Authors' estimates of the current size of the stockpile and historical trends are derived from SAC, FY 1981 EWDA, Part 2, pp. 798-799, 808; JCAE, *Development, Use and Control of Nuclear Energy for the Common Defense and Security and for Peaceful Purposes*, Second Annual Report, 30 June 1976, pp. 135-136; HASC, FY 1982 DOE, p. 142; DOD, FY 1984 Annual Report, p. 55. For the years 1949-1958 the estimate is rounded to the nearest multiple of 50 warheads, and for the years following 1958 to the nearest 500 warheads.

Chart from *Nuclear Weapons Databook*.

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 270, August 31), in the article on page 7 entitled "Philippines: The Simmering Crisis," a quote from a U.S. reporter is incorrect. In the third paragraph of the article the quote should read: "virulently anti-American...."

WARFIGHTING

Continued from page 13
abandoning a fixed frontline and executing "deep strikes" into Eastern Europe to attack second and third echelon Soviet armies, using rapid maneuver, an array of "smart weapons," and tactical nuclear weapons.³²

CONCLUSIONS:

While different imperialist political leaders have always had different analyses and programs, the general decision-making process for U.S. military doctrine in the postwar period has taken place within a larger framework of compulsion and opportunity shaped by the current global spiral of accumulation. The periodization of this spiral has thus provided the most cogent starting point for any analysis of trends in military affairs. Developments, for the most part, have not been shaped by the ideas of strategic thinkers nor by advances in weapons technology, although these have interacted with the broader dynamic of imperialist accumulation. Nor have elections played any significant role, there being no essential difference between the two imperialist parties, a fact that becomes obscenely apparent when one examines the changing military requirements and the specific military initiatives of U.S. imperialism.

Perhaps the most important conclu-

sion from this line of approach is that while there have been several moments of extreme tension between the United States and the Soviet Union in the past, the actual outbreak of war is more likely at the current time than at any previous time since the last interimperialist world war, and the current military preparations of the U.S. reflect this reality. Among the pundits and intellectual spokespersons for the U.S. bourgeoisie, there has been a growing awareness and articulation of the fact that no durable and sustained economic recovery is possible, that there is no real solution to the debt crisis and the budget deficit within the present framework, and that things are very likely to blow up. A number of leading bourgeois publications have recently raised the analogy between the current situation and that immediately preceding the outbreak of World War I, with the Persian Gulf playing the role of the Balkans.³³

While grounded in the contradictions of imperialism, war also has its own dynamic, and the logic of the tightly interlocked systems of warning and control makes extremely likely the launching of preemptive war by one side or the other, with little warning and from a "standing start."³⁴ The extreme seriousness of the situation should cause us all to cast away illusions about preventing war by relying on and working within the system that gives rise to war. □

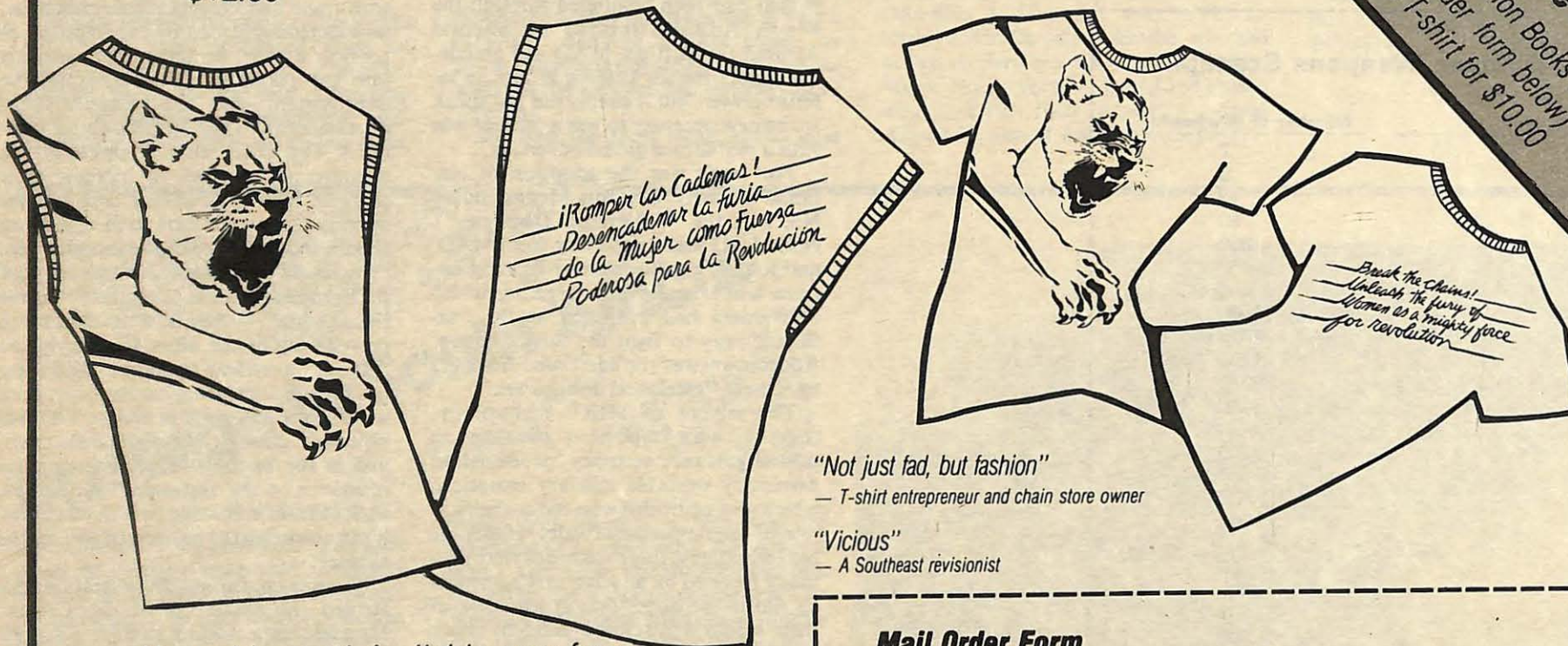
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Clash

Continued from page 11

because they can't love The Clash, except to love them to death. And in that vein, it is not far-fetched to conceive that CBS would sign The Clash in an attempt to have more control over the thing. But if true, to what extent did the CBS maneuvering backfire? Sure, some of the music The Clash made did progressively become more accessible; and in doing so, it gave many people an opportunity to discover The Clash through such albums as *London Calling*, *Sandinista!*, and *Combat Rock*. I know quite a few people who were really turned on to The Clash by the hardhitting rock and lyrics on *London Calling*; and I know what really won me to The Clash was the amazing quantity, quality, and variety of music on *Sandinista!*, very expressive to me in an artistic sense, of the essence of internationalism.

Mao, in the Yenan Forum, had something to say to specialized artists being conscious "that their specialities do not become 'ivory towers' detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content and life." The Clash rejected the "ivory tower" and sought to connect with the masses by creating art with "content and life" that could reach the broad ranks of the advanced rather than just those into punk. In the same talk, Mao also said, "The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising standards means raising the level for the people." I think it is hard to think of many artists that have done more to popularize revolutionary culture in the past several years than The Clash. The Clash were popularizing reggae, just as a kind of reverse thing occurred with Bob Marley's "Punky Reggae Party." Also, The Clash helped unleash interest in rap and graffiti art through their work with Futura. And although some of their white audience may not have appreciated Grand Master Flash in 1980, that situation has changed as popularization raised standards around rap music. But more directly in terms of their own music, with hits like "Rock the Casbah" and "Should I Stay Or Should I Go," The Clash were, objectively at least, maneuvering into a position of being able to deal bourgeois culture some even heavier blows in the superstructure.

Also, what Mao also meant by "raising of standards" has interesting applications in regard to the work of The Clash. Clearly, the early Clash albums reflect the punk scene they were coming out of, but those albums were somewhat inaccessible to those whose ears were not yet tuned to punk. To paraphrase a comment I heard recently, "nobody is born with a mohawk." The Clash seemed to agree at least objectively with Mao, that "you will get nowhere by simply scolding them (the masses) instead of trying to raise their level." In that light The Clash raised standards broadly by creating popular music that both raised levels, leading listeners to take a closer look at punk, and not only that, *The Clash provided a basis to raise levels even further*. Bring in here Mao's line that "so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards... and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale." The Clash were carrying out that work, and now it is important to sum up exactly how correct they were, because it seems like Joe Strummer is now revising their stance.

To be sure, a lot of pressure comes to bear on a band breaking into the central arena, especially when the band presents a sharp edge poised threateningly at bourgeois art, and says fuck you, what are you gonna do when the masses see how bankrupt your art is in comparison to ours? The bourgeoisie would be pretty red in the face with masses of new "Rock the Casbah" fans discovering an album like *Give 'Em Enough Rope* just as a Cowboy God is being resurrected in all His vicious reactionary splendor. Yes, bourgeois democracy needs to promulgate a notion of pluralism, the liberal freedom of art in the West, but that does

have limits, and The Clash were really treading those limits. The principal question, though, in this situation, is the political line of Strummer. For starters, all the remarks he made around "cultural imperialism" must be dismissed as camouflage. The Clash formerly rejected that viewpoint, themselves, by identifying with and uniting with not only art forms of the oppressed internationally, but also the content of those forms.

So why, after the breakthroughs they have made in terms of popularization and raising of standards, why are The Clash retreating from what they have laid the basis for? Why are they returning to *their* sound, *their* culture? What is *their* culture? The upper strata of the working class in England? The Labour Party? Would The Clash allow themselves to be sucked into a position of social chauvinism? And how does this retreat to *their* culture relate to the importance Strummer places on how clearly his audience is getting the message? It is tempting to recommend that if he is really bent on making a clear political statement he should be writing books instead of songs. Ahh, but who reads books; the masses prefer listening to songs than studying rigorous political theory, right? So why not wrap up this neat little political message, nothing too complex, otherwise it won't fit, and then the masses can go for it, taking it up like a fortune cookie, chewing on the sugary fluff while they read the tiny slip of paper they find inside.

The tendency to agit/prop in art is not peculiar to Strummer. I think all revolutionary-minded artists who really want to change the world feel a strong desire to do so with their art, especially as we approach world war, a war that raises the question, openly debated in society, of whether life as we know it can even survive. And though great art can be and is being created in this environment, there are problems artists must overcome in regard to the pull toward agit/prop in their work. For instance, there is a tendency among artists (as well as others) to be disenchanted with or cynical about real revolutionary leadership due to the reversals of proletarian rule in the Soviet Union and China, the negative effect of bourgeois propaganda aimed at burying the science of revolution and the absence of a revolutionary situation. The result is artists attempting to fill what they see as a gap, giving up the task of inspiring the awakening advanced in order to toss fortune cookies at the sleeping in an effort to waken them — bound to fail, however, as it takes a lot more than sugar-coated messages to do that. In an underlying way, that mistake, trap, tragic blunder or whatever, as stated in an *RW* article "Left-Economism in Theory and Practice," "is a result of and a response to the sins of revisionism." This legacy of revisionism must be recognized and parted with.

Once again, back to the Yenan Forum, Mao had something to say that revolutionary-minded artists must grasp firmly: "We do not favor over-stressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favor underestimating their importance. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in turn exert a great influence on politics.... The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form." This is a heavy thing Mao is laying down. Even artists like Strummer, who have been successful to a certain point, must somehow come to terms with the truth that Mao was observing about the relationship of art and politics. Of course, this is not China in 1942, but the science developed by the best in communism must be applied, not only to analyze the world, but to change it, and in the process test the science itself for truth. As stated so well in the *Declaration of the R.I.M.*, "Marxist-Leninists must not abandon the field of analysis of new phenomena to others and must actively wage the theoretical struggle concerning all the vital problems and questions of the day in the revolutionary movement and society as a whole."

Musician in Atlanta

More on The Clash:
The reader from Cleveland (*RW* No.

269) raised a couple of important questions. They are:

(1) Is signing with a major label the cultural equal of taking arms and foreign "aid" from an imperialist superpower? I think our writer from Cleveland misses the point. It's not what label or publishing house you sign with, it's what's recorded or published. Frankly I think The Clash cannot be condemned for signing on with Epic/Columbia. Their music touches many revolutionary-minded youth and some not so youthful rebels. Signing on with Epic/Columbia did get The Clash a larger audience and they did not water their music down.

Our reader from Cleveland thinks it's easy to start or sign with an independent record company. Hey, it's hard! Bassist/composer Charles Mingus tried twice to start an independent record company. The second time the combined pressure of all the record companies forced him to fold. His wife is now trying for a third time. Carla Bley has been working for years with New Music Distribution Service and it's been uphill ever since day 1/2. So it's not *that* easy. Both Ms. Grahm/Mingus and Ms. Bley would however sign with major labels if they had artistic and financial control (my opinion). The Clash have some artistic control. For one thing their records have always been cheaper in price than *any* other ones I've bought! Let me end this part by asking our Cleveland correspondent this question? If for some wierd reason, say Random House wanted to publish *as is America In Decline* or *For a Harvest of Dragons* would R. Lotta or B. Avakian be sellouts?

(2) I went to a Clash concert and sold more *RWs* in 2 hours than I ever sold. I believe I sold over 100 and the bulk of those were sold to people who knew of the *RW* and knew the politics of the *RW*

Invasion of the Hennepin District

Continued from page 7

tainly an actual grouping of reactionaries who hate what the movement is doing (this you quickly find out through the occasional hail of beer cans that come raining down on the march from upper story windows in the porn district, and from the threats and jeers, like from the guy who screams out "Fuck you through the night!" as we go past). Much more formidably, the movement confronts the fact that, as a thoroughly acceptable part of American society, and as a huge, monied industry, pornography has a large, organized network of supporters and contacts. On a national level Hugh Hefner's *Playboy*, for example, funds the ACLU's Women's Rights Project, while Bob Guccione, publisher of *Penthouse*, maintains a scholarship in his own name at Brandeis University. Furthermore, arguments rage about the relationship between porn and erotic art, while liberals have become entangled in endless debates about "infringing the First Amendment." There are, in short, many who do not want to oppose pornography, either standing on principle, or for self-serving reasons.

Meanwhile, in the legal arena there is a further twisting of the knife against women. I am reminded of this as the march passed Shinder's Read-More Bookstore where only a month ago, 23-year-old Ruth Christensen set herself

and dug the politics of the *RW* and saw a link between the *RW* and the politics of The Clash.

(3) Give me some documented proof about what you say; i.e., where did Joe Strummer say he supported Hart and the British Labour Party?

(4) Finally I do agree to a point that The Clash have the same instruments as 1000 other bands. However their form is not the same. For you to say that shows you don't listen too much by The Clash. However there is a *point* to what you say. I agree musicians must bust through the guitar/drums/keyboard stranglehold and include new instruments and other instruments. This should be done with politics in command. Albert Ayler (who was from Cleveland), John Coltrane and Sun Ra have used different instruments in their bands yet in some cases their music is *not* revolutionary. Charles Mingus and Archie Shepp used relatively standard instruments and their music was revolutionary (at that time — that's not to say it's bad). There is nothing revolutionary about an additional horn section; however, it is artistically a breakthrough of sorts at times.

There is also nothing reactionary about 4/4 or 2/4 time. Coltrane, and Charlie Haden did revolutionary work in 3/4 time. Phillip Glass does reactionary work in any time; so do Joan Baez, The Beach Boys and the U.S. Marine Marching Band. It's not the time signature it's the message.

With The Clash the *beat* reflects the rebel politics. It's like a pulse beat!

Red Internationalist Greetings
AB

Baltimore

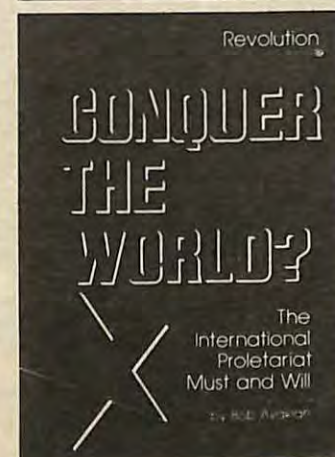
Aug. 29, 1984

Charlie Parker's Birthday.
Bird Lives!

on fire as a cry of anguish and protest against the social relations and woman-hating ideology depicted in the porn shops. The authorities are now studying the possibility of filing charges of arson and destruction of property *against Christensen* (whose condition has stabilized despite burns covering 65% of her body). That the possibility is even being considered of further torturing this woman in order to protect the rights of porn merchants is a fact which all by itself cries out for revolution to overturn a system which has spawned such twisted social and legal relations.

I spotted a proletarian woman in the march wearing an International Women's Day T-shirt featuring a pouncing lioness on the front and on the back the slogan "Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!". She towed her three- and four-year-old children behind her in a little red wagon. She was, she told us, looking for work while living temporarily at a center for battered women.

It seemed to concentrate the tension in a society where more women are out of the home, while the oppression of women is more decadent and degrading than ever. And where there are not a few who are chafing and straining at those chains, and will indeed be a mighty force to break them asunder. □



This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- Leninism as the bridge;
- Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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