For the big powers — both East and West and particularly the U.S. — the war was an opportunity to stick their claws deeper into Iran, Iraq, and the whole region and try to crush the revolutionary masses. If they want “peace” now, it is only because they think that would be good for their reactionary interests.

Dramatic new developments have taken place in the past two weeks in the Iran-Iraq war, a brutal conflict which started eight years ago and led to over a million casualties. On July 18 the Iranian government announced that it would accept the UN’s “comprehensive peace plan” for the war, and indirect cease-fire talks between the two countries have begun.

Almost immediately (and very predictably) a chorus of hypocrisy rose up from U.S. officials and media. They shed crocodile tears about the “immense human cost” of the war and pretended that “peace” was what they wanted all along. These rulers of America — along with their allies and their rivals of the Soviet bloc — are the same vultures who pumped both Iran and Iraq full of weapons, money, and military aid.

Continued on page 15
Three Main Points
by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

This Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and actually overthrow this system.

Support this Party, join this Party, spread its message and its organized strength, and prepare the ground for a revolutionary rising that has a real solid basis and a real chance of winning.

Seattle
Fitting Welcome for Ollie North

Seattle, July 20. Eight hundred to 1,000 people demonstrated against Oliver North. The "Just Say 'No' to North Coalition" called for the protest under the slogans "To Hell with Oliver North, Rambo, and All They Represent!" and "Oppose U.S. Intervention and All Acts of Aggression in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa, and Around the World!"

Several revolutionary Republican groups had invited North to speak. And while they had hoped to fill the 14,000-seat Seattle Center Coliseum, only 2,500 reactionary, white, fun-loving rabble ensured North's appearance.

The "Just Say 'No' to North Coalition" was initiated by the Seattle chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialists) which also put out a call for a verts contingent behind YWAAJ's slogans: "The U.S. Deserves to be Defeated in Vietnam, and It Deserves the Same Today Around the World!" and "From My Lai to Managua: The World Knows Who the Real Terrorists Are!"

A core group of two dozen Alf members and supporters were joined by another forty to fifty verts - mainly Vietnam era vets but also World War II and Korean War vets as well as vets from the U.S.'s "peacetime army."

Those who came to hear North speak were met by protesters right at the doors. Some decided not to go in, bought anti-Ollie buttons and took leaflets. At one point 200+ counterdemonstrators of likely to forty reactionaries was forced to retreat when people chanted right in their faces, "To hell with Oliver North and all he represents." Inside, four people from the Seattle Non-Violent Action Group unfurled a banner, "North, Contras, Cocaine, Murder, Torture, Lies," and chanted until they were kicked out. While organizers for North's speech refused to comment officially on the less-than-expected turnout, one person in their office informally speculated that the "can't-turn-out rabble outside" probably intimidated people with families.

Picket signs made with the Ollie North posters, "Prewee's Big Adventure" and "I was only following orders," had been endorsed by the Coalition and were extremely popular. Many creative signs and banners targeted North's plans for domestic fascism and international aggression, like the ones that read, "Contra Cocaine: Heated on Drugs? Thanks Ollie!"; "Ollie North Is A Drug Dealer, A Gunrunner, and a Psychotic Jerk!!"; and "U.S. Billions to Israel Aide Apartheid and Contra Terror!" The RCP's banners in English and Spanish read: "Ollie North: A Fitting Hero for a Dying American Empire!!; "Racists, Rambo-Americans, Rulers of America, It's All Going to Fall on You!!"; "Out-

--Continued on page 12--
Jesse Jackson Post-Convention Blues

[Image: August 1, 1988—Revolutionary Worker—Page 3]
Nuclear Worker Plows Shares Sentenced

July 26, Norfolk, Virginia. Sentencing of the Nuclear Worker Plows Shares for their Easter Sunday protest aboard the USS Iowa battleship concluded with the judge sentencing Phil Berrigan a six-months misdemeanor sentence. Berrigan, Greg Boertje, Andrew Lawrence, and Sister Margaret McKenna were convicted on May 19 of pouring blood on and damaging Tomsahawk cruise missile launchers on the Iowa, which had just returned from duty in the Persian Gulf. All four had been in jail since the April 3 action, refusing any further discipline than to include Greg Boertje, who was also held for going underground after being convicted for an earlier Plows Shares action.

Sentencing had been rescheduled for four separate days in an effort to counter state and media's attempt to do a media blitz of the case. On the last sentencing there were over sixty people, and that at least 75 percent of the people surviving by the 24-hour protest vigil responded positively.

Sister McKenna, who suffered serious health problems in jail, was the first to be sentenced on July 13. She was released on a supervised probation. In her presentence statement to the court McKenna noted that she was held without bond as a possible "threat to the community." She then commented on why she would look like "if all those engaged in the nuclear threat to the world community were held in these jails for a year. William E. Lockhart, chief of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, said that no such "common" inmate would be allowed to build more support and press coverage over the two-week period. One organizer told the RW that if the time of the sentencing was changed, he considered it a "violation of his "human rights."" During the proceeding, McKenna was convicted for an "unauthorized entry" to the court building, and a "management of the Sandia Nuclear facility" was also convicted. All four had been in jail on May 19 of pouring blood on and damaging Tomsahawk cruise missile launchers on the Iowa, which had just returned from duty in the Persian Gulf. All four had been in jail since the April 3 action, refusing any further discipline than to include Greg Boertje, who was also held for going underground after being convicted for an earlier Plows Shares action.

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NBAU at the DNC in Atlanta: Truth and Consequences

To the RW:

It was Sunday, the day before the Convention started, and a spectator section of the Atlanta stadium was filled with people. Having successfully driven the Klan and similar groups out of the Atlanta, the RW was out in force. "It's only Sunday; you ain't seen nothing yet." Over 1,000 people had taken over the streets, and NBAU with its politics was in the mix. The Atlanta Constitution got one thing right when it described No Business As Usual at the end of the week as "youthful, angry, energetic."

Tuesday was our day. No Business As Usual at the DNC. At 9 a.m. we converged at the Carter Presidential Center, which sits on a hill to the west of downtown Atlanta. Inside, Carter was presiding over a break in the Senate, and there was a foreign policy session. Part of a series of sessions at the Carter Center, closed to the public, the focus of scrutiny, let alone reaction, was the meeting of the committee on the future of the Georgia Senator and Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Herman Talmadge, the Senate's top Defense; Clifford Alexander, Carter's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; and a foreign policy advisor, Madeline Albright and Joseph Nye. Their purpose, and theirs was just one of many, was to try to restart the "two-track strategy," the main image of the Democrats and a declare a "more muscular" Alternative in response to the JFK who "didn't blink" in the Cuban Missile Crisis. This was exactly what NBAU came to do. By the end of the day, the Democrats were boldly proclaiming that they were the party of war for the U.S. This was the Carter who said that the deactivating first-strike PD-59 into effect, as well as starting the 1980s war preparations and taking the world to the brink of war against the Soviets over Iran in 1980. The drive was blocked.

Cops gathered menacingly and threatened a mass arrest. Traffic was gridlocked at the Blendon Park rotary, so a tension was released that had been building up. Three were arrested for "arresting the intersection illegally." Arraigned after the bighorns arrived, the group set off in pursuit, Danish style. Traffic was ignored and arrested. Too late, the war criminals got it, but not without being challenged right in their face.

At 3 p.m. we stopped onto the Andromed with 2,000 people and the protest ghetto in a parking lot across the street from the Omni. NBAU youth perished over a wild rally which featured satirical street, speeches, and a parade. A man who was sitting on a lawn chair had a sawing head: one side a donkey, the other an elephant. A demonstrator described the new war strategy: VM vs. Medigating, Stein vs. B-10. Stars Wars now vs. Star Wars a little later. And so on. In the end they declared themselves blood brothers. Dr. Tom at Emory University was blasted Sam Nunn and exposed Star Wars as a great new government planning. A young woman from Knoxville called to the stage to announce that the backbone of the Oak Ridge nuclear weapons plant, Rich Hultchison of the National purse and the Plows Shares members exposed Dukakis/Bentsen and the Demo- crats for their war policy. It is the Democrats leading the U.S. to war, Carter's role in launching U.S. ag- gression. "It's only Sunday: you ain't seen nothing yet." Over 1,000 people had taken over the streets, and NBAU with its politics was in the mix. The Atlanta Constitution got one thing right when it described No Business As Usual at the end of the week as "youthful, angry, energetic."

NBAU at the DNC in Atlanta: Truth and Consequences

The Convention and the protests were almost over. Thursday night the An- norchod, one contender for Commander-in-Chief, gave his acceptance speech. NBAU's political exposure had been marked in a big way evident by the level of police attacks and press dis- traction. It was time for a No Peace Conference As Usual. Without a rap- ped edge, the NBAU crew converged at a pre-arranged location from all over town at exactly the corner where the attack had gone down on the previous Saturday, then rang out, and a typed statement was read aloud on the sound system, denouncing the Democratic war ticket, proclaiming the week's victories, exposing the Democrats, and calling for further resistance on the elections and beyond. Wednesday, Andy Hayman, as the corpse, just before the NBAU crew and the War Monster hit the streets behind the Free Speech Cafe, obligating about U.S. nuclear first-strike strategy and raising ball for those arrested Tuesday.

The Constitution said on Friday that "No Peace Conference As Usual." . . . . . and refused to confirm their demonstrations to the city's police. They were right, as was the truth. But what really concerned the talk was that NBAU not only refused to bow down to the "lessor- twosome" were, but boldly went underground in the face of the Democrats and a government's war preparations and called for mass resistance to prevent World War III, no matter what it takes! A sore spot, to say the least.

An NBAU activist
It got hotter and hotter driving south to Atlanta. The sun finally slid away and nightfall dropped a curtain of darkness. The sights had everything from sight except the taillights straight ahead. The Democrats were getting ready to hold their national convention in Atlanta. The car radio chattered with talk of the Democrats bringing change in America, talk about the New South, the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement and a black presidential candidate. The real deal was just down the road in Atlanta.

In Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young prepared to welcome the Democratic National Convention, attention was focused on the anticipated arrival of the Jesse Jackson roadshow, and the Ku Klux Klan prepared to march in Atlanta with the full approval of the city. The New South.

Friday's issue of USA Today wrote: "The contrast is vivid: In the civil-rights era, [Andrew] Young demonstrated, marches and fought against the government. Now, as the mayor of Atlanta, he leads the city that in three days will host a Democratic National Convention... Young and his generation have come of age, and so has Atlanta. For the first time, a national political convention comes to the city that launched the civil rights movement and produced its top leadership. And it comes in a presidential season when a black man — the Rev. Jesse Jackson — mounted a historic challenge to the notion, for the presidency, only white males need apply..."

But looking over a daily newspaper put out especially for delegates to the DNC, I noticed an official tour organized to take delegates to visit Stone Mountain — the historic gathering place of the Ku Klux Klan. It was not listed whether the visiting delegates had to bring their own sheets. Shortly before the opening of the convention, the mayor of the town of Stone Mountain had voted to rename the mountain after a well-known leading Klansman. After a public uproar, the city council backed down, but there was still an angry buzz in the city because of this incident.

Sunday, the day before the convention, a representative of the right-wing, white supremacist group, the Nationalist Movement, stood on the front steps of the Georgia state capital building. He declared, "We’re going to be marching with flags in our hands, songs on our lips, and love for America in our hearts. And all those folks who say are you hateful towards anybody else, no sir, we just love America. We love our country..."

A tape-recorded phone message of the KKK was more direct: "You have reached the hotline for the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Next Sunday, July 17, 1988 we will have a Defend South Africa march and rally in Atlanta, Georgia... We will have hundreds of policemen, state troopers, and GBI agents surrounding our parade to protect us from the savage half-ape niggers that have taken over Atlanta... We will have banners that praise God for AIDS, as we all know that AIDS is cleaning up our world by killing queers, niggers, and Jews... This event is a must..."

On the steps of the capital building a young woman reporter was interviewing the speaker from the Nationalist Movement. "You don’t think America is the land of everyone?" "It may be now," he fired back, "but when we’re finished it’ll be America for the Americans..."

Down in the street, the ranks of anti-Klan protesters began to swell as political activists of various trends assembled, including people from All People’s Congress, anarchists, homosexual rights activists, No Business As Usual, and Jesse Jackson supporters. The T-shirts of the Jackson roadshow, and the Ku Klux Klan protesters began to swell as political activists of various trends assembled, including people from All People’s Congress, anarchists, homosexual rights activists, No Business As Usual, and Jesse Jackson supporters. The T-shirts of the Jackson roadshow, and the Ku Klux Klan protesters began to swell as political activists of various trends assembled, including people from All People’s Congress, anarchists, homosexual rights activists, No Business As Usual, and Jesse Jackson supporters. 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The T-shirts of the Jackson roadshow, and the Ku Klux Klan protesters began to swell as political activists of various trends assembled, including people from All People’s Congress, anarchists, homosexual rights activists, No Business As Usual, and Jesse Jackson supporters. The T-shirts of the Jackson roadshow, and the Ku Klux Klansmen in Southern camouflaged fatigues giving a Heil Hitler salute, and skinheads were gathering downtown in the designated "Free Speech Zone" right across the street from the Omni convention center in downtown Atlanta.

The protesters headed for the Omni. In
The United States government claims that it has been "neutral" in the Iran-Iraq war and that it had no interest in supporting either country. In one sense this is a big lie, since in the recent period the U.S. has openly sided with Iraq in militarily attacking Iran. In another sense it is true that U.S. policy and actions in the Persian Gulf are not based in the First World War sense. It is not about the global necessities and interests of the American empire. For the eight years of bloody conflict, the U.S. and its allies have sent arms to both Iran and Iraq and "helped" one side or the other depending on what gave them the most advantage. (And the same can be said for the Soviets and their allies as well.) A brief review of the moves by the U.S. rulers in the Gulf war shows that the blood of the more than a million people killed in the war is thick on their hands.

Months before the fall of the Shah in 1979, American strategists were developing plans to deal with the loss of this very important pro-U.S. regime in a highly strategic region. These involved containing and suppressing the revolution in Iran while trying to pull their own regime back firmly into the Western "sphere of influence" and locking Soviet advances in the region; strengthening the pro-West client regimes in the Middle East such as Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf states; and building up American military presence in the Gulf.

In 1980 President Carter declared: "Any attempt by outside forces to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

Everybody understood that "outside forces" meant America's Soviet rivals and that "any means necessary" included nuclear weapons.

After Khomeini came to power in Iran, the U.S. put political, economic, and military pressure on the Islamic Republic to force openings for Western influence and to encourage pro-U.S. forces within Iran. In this context, the Iraqi invasion of Iran in September 1980 was very valuable for the U.S. The invasion was backed (and very possibly directly instigated) by the U.S. in the hope of further pressuring Iran as well as increasing Western influence in Iraq, where the Soviets had a major presence. Because of the complex situation, the U.S. did not throw its full weight behind Iraq — so the U.S. might have pushed Iraq decisively into the embrace of the Soviets. The Soviets, for their part, needed to back their ally Iraq while being careful not to alienate Iran. So the U.S. and the Soviets, and their allies, each played both sides of the war in order to push their own big-power interests.

The first period of the war, from the invasion to the summer of 1982, was marked by Iraq's efforts to recover territory occupied by Iran's initial push. Even as Western governments backed Iraq, 40 percent of French arms sales were going to Iraq and waged an economic boycott against Iran, the Iranian armed forces were getting weapons from international markets through channels in Europe, Argentina, or Israel — which the U.S. and its allies knew about or were directly involved in. For example, the pre-1986 "Socialist" government of Mitterrand in France made large amounts of arms deals with the Islamic Republic, and much of the arms flow from Israel led directly to the U.S. Pentagon.

The Western imperialists also showed approval of the Khomeini regime's bloody suppression against the mass movements, communist and revolutionaries, organizations, and individuals and groups in the bourgeois opposition. During a period of more than a month in the spring of 1981, the Iranian government executed more than 500 people per day. There was no condemnation of these atrocities from Western governments; on the contrary, a leniency of necessities was even allowed to take place on the Iraqi front so that the Khomeini regime could turn its attention to crushing internal opposition.

By the spring of 1982 the Islamic Republic managed to recoup most of the territory seized by the Iraqi army in the invasion. This began a new phase of stalemate, which the Western media called the "forgotten war." The U.S. saw this deadlock as a way to weaken both Iraq and Iran and make them more dependent on the West. Weapons continued to flow to both sides. Iraq signed big contracts with France and other Western countries for modern, sophisticated weaponry, including chemical bombs. Pro-West Arab countries poured in.

Continued on page 12

On July 3 the United States gave permission to Captain Will Rogers of the U.S. cruiser Vincennes and killed 290 innocent people. President Reagan insists on calling it a "mistake." How many "mistakes" will he make before he's killed the world of innocents? With all the high-tech power, radio, TV, receivers and computers, how and why did this happen? This government has taken us and other countries by the balls and pulls any time they feel like making a "mistake." America says it's okay to kill 290 innocent people. Their lives and the lives of the oppressed proletarians in this country and around the world have no meaning to the imperialist system. They want us to think that we are a part of this country and that when they do those things they're doing it for us. We are not a part of a system which openly murders innocent people and have it justified by saying the captain has an obligation to protect America. We are part of the people who lost their lives. We are part of the oppressed around the world.
Reprinted below is an excerpt from a statement by the Union of Iranian Communists (Saberdaran) on the shootdown of Iran Air #655.

An outspoken and expert member of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, Henry Kissinger, known for his gangster-like tactics, is referring to his class as the "wise people." This is part of U.S. imperialism. It points out that the massacre was "a particularly revealing monstrosity" because it laid bare "the most criminal barbarism, the third world imperialism world war, are also developing due to the very own workings of the imperialist system they belong."

The quickely escalating tension and the possibility of a strategic shift in favour or against between the imperialist gangsters, the great powers and the US imperialists. It points out that the massacre was "a particularly revealing monstrosity" because it laid bare "the most criminal barbarism, the third world imperialism world war, are also developing due to the very own workings of the imperialist system they belong."

The Union of Iranian Communists (Saberdaran) is actively working to unite all the revolutionary proletarian fighters at the head of the oppressed masses in waging People's War on the path charted by Mao Tse-tung. It looks like the revolutionary war will not be an obligation of the Shah of Iran before the nation finishes his miserable existence, however the chances are good that Rafsanjani and his ilk will face the revolutionary justice or follow the footsteps of the Shah on board of the USS Forrestal.
Drug Lords, War Lords and the U.S. Military

Part One: The Secret War in Laos

Now that the U.S. military is being called upon to throw its considerable expertise into the "war on drugs," it is appropriate to look at the role and impact of these armed forces vis-à-vis international drug trafficking. Since May, 1979, Congress has been readying legislation ordering the Defense Department to deploy troops sufficient to "substantially halt" drug smuggling along the southern border and coastal waters of the United States (see "CIA Joins the Drug Squad," RW No. 458). But the real history of the various military agencies shows that the U.S., far from pursuing any sort of "war on drugs," has not only casually tolerated the production and export of drugs by its overseas political allies but has actively used the drug trade to finance its own wars and proxy wars for the last several decades. Based on several important books and a recent PBS TV "Frontline" documentary, this two-part series in the RW looks at this shameful story of how the U.S. government has used the drug traffic for their own international interests.

This history has not skipped lightly out of the pages of any textbook or government fact sheet. It has had to be dragged into the light of day by the persistent efforts of a small corps of journalists and lawyers and, in some cases, by the governments that have suffered from these actions. The facts in this series will show that the drug trade has been an integral part of the struggle for power in Southeast Asia, not just a revenue source, but a tool. The loyalty of those who may be sympathetic to the U.S. effort can be ensured by facilitating their role in lucrative drug production. They can be offered the use of unmarked transport aircraft and other advanced technology. A portion of the profits from these ventures can then be siphoned off into the war effort itself. The trade in drugs, on the one hand, and the procurement of reactionary arms and armies, on the other hand, profit from one another in a symbiotic relationship.

In 1972 Alfred McCoy's book The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia exposed that the CIA had already begun to exploit the lucrative Southeast Asian opium trade in the 1950s. According to McCoy, the trade was centered in the Golden Triangle, the mountainous tri-border region where northern Laos, northern Thailand, and northeastern Burma adjoin one another. After the People's Republic of China was proclaimed by Mao Tsetung in 1949, the CIA linked up with reactionary Kuomintang (KMT) forces that had fled to the Shan states of northern Burma and re-armed them to carry out sabotage and sniping against revolutionary China. The KMT armed forces helped support themselves by gaining control of a huge portion of the opium trade out of Burma. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, they sent Burmese-grown opium on long caravans of pack horses and mules across the mountainous ridges of northern Laos to sale to Laotian and South Vietnamese merchants. With the proceeds they bought food, arms, and other supplies. In the same way, the CIA used a Shan secessionist movement, led by anticommunist monarchists, that began in northern Burma in 1958. Since the Laotian border with China was controlled by the leftist Pathet Lao, both the KMT and Shan patrols that were trained and directed by the CIA in Laos were forced to enter China by a roundabout route via Burma. Once inside China, the patrols transmitted data to receivers in Laos that relayed it to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The CIA relied on the KMT and Shan troops not only to protect these far-flung patrols but to supply them as well. In fact, a Shan military commander who worked for the CIA told McCoy that the CIA paid the KMT and Shan opium caravans — lightly loaded after their sales in the east — to transport arms, ammunition, munitions, and radios, on their return back to China, to the Americans' forwarding listening posts.

Drug Lords and the U.S. Military through Laos into South Vietnam. This activity soon developed into a covert war fought by the CIA's secret army of paid mercenaries in Laos against the Pathet Lao and Vietnamese throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. It was an American war which, as we shall see, was financed largely by the trade in opium.

The whole of Laos was plunged into a three-way civil war in 1960 when a group of army officers overthrew the rightist government of Phoumi Nosavan, a colonel whom the CIA had hand-picked and installed a couple years earlier. Contenders in the prolonged civil war consisted of rightist forces backed by the CIA, neutralist forces who had overthrown Phoumi but were themselves soon overthrown by him and ultimately were defeated in 1960, and the leftist Pathet Lao, who steadily advanced from base areas in the north and eventually achieved nationwide victory in 1975. Quickly after the civil war began in 1960, Phoumi recruited a young, little-known army officer of the Meo tribe named Yang Pao to seize northeastern Laos for the rightists. With support from Air America — a CIA-chartered airlift company in Southeast Asia — Yang Pao armed a force of peasants and took control of the area. He was promoted to the rank of general and remained the "warlord" of the northeast for more than a decade. There, McCoy's book details, General Yang Pao, with CIA support, soon controlled the traffic in opium.

In early 1962 President Kennedy, fearing for the moment a confrontation with the USSR in Laos, cut off official U.S. aid to Phoumi and his rightist forces, who continued nevertheless to enjoy CIA support. To finance his embattled Vientiane government during this cutoff of American dollars, Phoumi set up a semi-official Laotian Opium Administration to profit from the trade in Burmese opium. General Ouane Rattikone, military commander or "warlord" of northwestern Laos, was appointed its chairman. According to a CIA agent in Laos whom McCoy interviewed, a commander of the CIA's Secret Army put Ouane in touch with the opium traders of the CIA-led Shan army, and a tidy by means relationship ensued. The opium would be paid for by the...
This is a kind of horror story: how the U.S. government used international drug traffic to finance its wars of counterinsurgency from the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia to the borders of Nicaragua. The toll in human life has been great. There are many high-placed men who would like the people to think that this dirty activity by the U.S. government is going to stop and also that it is somehow in contradiction to the current “war on drugs.” But this story shows that the “secret drug wars” and the “war on drugs” are just two sides of the same currency. The secret drug wars have been increasingly used to pursue American global interests in a covert fashion — under both Republican and Democratic administrations — with callous disregard for the masses of people whose lives are torn up by this drug traffic. Now under the cover of fighting against drug traffic the so-called “war on drugs” is being used by the government to put into place all sorts of counterinsurgency measures in the U.S. and around the world which are necessary for their global strategic interests and have absolutely nothing to do with stopping drug addiction. The only real question is: why should the people be cannon fodder in either of these wars?

Shans into northeastern Laos by caravan, traded to Ouane's people for arms, then loaded onto C-47 aircraft operated by French Corsican drug syndicates and dropped into the Gulf of Siam to be picked up by fishing boats and taken to ports in South Vietnam.

When the U.S. and USSR signed an agreement in late 1962 to withdraw all personnel from Laos, the CIA operatives simply moved into nearby Thailand, making daily border crossings to direct the covert war. The CIA claimed that its Air America drops of supplies and weapons to the northern villages were “humanitarian aid” and thus exempt from the agreement.

Drugs for Arms

Rival rightist generals became so jealous of Phoumi’s CIA-assisted enrichment from the opium business that they overthrew him in 1964. Ouane was given control of the drug trade in the northeast. But Ouane refused to work with the Corsican airlines and forced them out of business. With Laotian aircraft tied up as never before fighting the Pathet Lao in the northeast and launching secret reprisal raids against North Vietnam, Ouane had a major transport crisis on his hands. Finally, in late 1966 he demanded two Air Force planes for opium transport and had the Laotian Air Force commander unseated when he refused. Once air transport was assured, Ouane commissioned a Shan warlord that he knew from his old CIA connections to assemble a huge caravan of 300 mules bearing sixteen metric tons of raw opium worth half a million dollars wholesale. The caravan was attacked by jealous KMT units (which had relocated to northern Thailand in 1961), triggering the much-publicized 1967 Opium War. Ouane went so far as to send bomber squadrons which attacked both the Shan and KMT forces, killing almost 200. As a result of this showdown, Ouane himself seized personal control of a major share of the trade in Burmese opium.

One group of Laotian Air Force officers described to McCoy a typical transaction which they were part of in 1968. It illustrates the way in which CIA mercenary troops in the region made a practice of trading drugs for arms. According to their account, a C-47 loaded with crates of weapons (M-14s, M-16s, M-79 grenade launchers, and recoilless rifles) was flown from Vientiane to Ban Houei Sai on the Laos side of the Mekong River, which forms the border with Burma. There the cargo was transferred to an Air Force helicopter and flown to a group of Shan mercenaries camped on the Burma side of the river. Meanwhile, the C-47 was dispatched to pick up opium that the Shans had just sent down river by boat. Continued on page 10
Drug Lords

Continued from page 9

The opium was flown to Vientiane for processing. The middlemen profit directly from the purchase of Opium and the other military essentials fighting the American war in Laos.

In 1967 two different Time-Life correspondents reported that Ouane had even set up his own refinery in Ban Houei Sai and was consigned to Vientiane. The opium was flown to Vientiane for processing. The consignment note contained the entry of "classified cargo." As the special operations telephone would ring and a voice said, "This is the customer," which was what we called the CIA agents who recruited and paid us. "Watch out for flights arriving from Ban Houei Sai," the voice continued, "we've been sending a cargo and somebody's going to come and look it after. No one is to touch it in the meantime, and nothing is to be unloaded." These consignments always took priority and were handled by special personnel. They were known as "classified cargos."  

The largest delivery of this type I ever saw arrived on a DC-10, and took up half the aircraft. It had come from Ban Houei Sai and was consigned to Vientiane. Sometimes the opium was unloaded at Vientiane and stored in the Air America sheds. At other times it was reloaded aboard C-130s flown to either Savannakhet and Pakse in Laos, the American bases at Udorn in Thailand or Don Muang in Bangkok, or other locations.

When asked whether he was certain these shipments consisted of opium and not something else, Del Rosario replied, "Several CIA agents I'm not sure, who were directly concerned with the cargo, actually told me it was opium. The aircraft also carried gold to the Laos in the hills, probably to pay the Men for their opium.

And when asked whether he thought these flights were actually being run by the CIA rather than just a few rogue elephants, he replied, "It is possible to be handled by a pilot or someone working on their own account. How could they carry and unload cargoes of this kind without their superiors finding out? Half a DC-10 isn't something you can just slip into your pocket. You can't use American military equipment in this way unless you have orders from your superiors, or at least their consent." Bill Marshall, a Green Beret from Detroit, realized that an airport in Vietnam he had seen a military aircraft being loaded with opium in cases marked "Aero-engine parts."  

During this time, the air wing commander of the U.S. secret war in Laos was none other than Air Force Lt. Col. Richard Secord (who later directed relief aircraft to the Contras in Central America). Secord reported to Gen. John K. Singlaub, a CIA veteran, head of the Special Operations Group, whose members were drawn from all services and entrusted with carrying out America's unconventional war throughout South-East Asia. Both men worked together in the Iran-Contra deal.

The Secret Village

The direct involvement of the CIA in air dropings was even more apparent in northeastern Laos, where Gen. Vang Pao had been installed as warlord. In 1963 Anthony报e of the CIA branch of Special Operations was sent to Laos as Vang Pao's chief advisor. He helped Vang Pao capture Meo mountain villages and press-gang peasants into a mercenary army, which reached the level of 30,000 Meo organized into teams called "Camel strike forces." McCoy learned from interviews with local CIA officers how the operation worked. Air America planes were used to fly the teams to attack villages,此事 suppressed Pathet Lao and set the other residents to work building airstrips to land various supplies, including rice as bribery. As the New York Times reported (April 25, 1983), these hundreds of airstrips were then used by the Contras to fly imported firearms as well as locally harvested opium to Vietnam. The expanded air support completely revolutionized the opium trade of this region.

Diggers of Truth

Wide-ranging drug financing of America's war of aggression in Southeast Asia was first reported in an article in the progressive magazine Ramparts in May 1973. This account was expanded with the publication of Alfred McCoy's book The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia in August 1972. McCoy, currently a history professor in Sydney, Australia, was then a doctoral student at Yale. He and two associates were assigned to dozens of people, ranging from U.S. government officials to military personnel, to press-gang peasants working the mountain slopes of war-torn Laos. The CIA tried to block publication of McCoy's book, but failed when it was unable to dispute the evidence.

In this decade some of the inner workings of the Contra war in Central America, including its drug-based financing, were revealed by information gleaned in preparation for a major lawsuit filed by the Christian Institute and its attorneys, Daniel Sheehan, against twenty-nine Contra leaders, drug smugglers, and ex-American officials. The case, which alleged "CIA involvement in a drugs-for-arms network and in the attempted 1984 assassination of the leader of an opposition group in Nicaragua," was covered by a federal jury before it was due to finally come to trial following two years of preparation. The government's Batista plans to appeal the dismissal.

Most notable has been the work of Leslie Cockburn and other CBS News reporters covering the Iran-Contra affair. The reporters have done extensive work for ten years for the TV programs "60 Minutes" and "West 57th." One of their most fruitful research locations has been the posh Metropolitan Correctional Center in Miami, which is crawling with Contras and other networks who, once indicted, are sometimes willing to spill their knowledge to a persistent reporter. Cockburn's findings culminated in a book One of Canada, published in late 1987, and an Academy Awards-winning documentary, qui 11112. Drugs, and the CIA, on PBS TV's "Frontline" program in May 1988. Outside of scattered reports in the Boston Globe and in the Miami Herald, the revelations released on CBS have been virtually blacked out of the mainstream press.

It is also possible that further revelations will be made in two important upcoming trials. Former Air Force Weapons Specialists Sheén and Hakin and former National Security officials North and Poindexter were all granted grand jury indictments on March 16 for conspiring to divert U.S. arms sales profits to the Contras, and Joseph For- 

nie, former CIA station chief in Costa Rica, was indicted June 9 for participating in the Contra resupply operation by importing weapons to a secret air strip in Santa Elena, just south of the Nicaraguan border. As Cockburn's work has shown, these arms networks were financed in large part by drug profits. The two trials are scheduled to open in September.
When Gen. Ouane forced the Coriscans out of business in 1964, Vang Pao had to look elsewhere for aircraft. His problem was magnified when, at the same time, the Pathet Lao took over the Plain of Jars, a key area of northeastern Laos which had been used by the Coriscans earlier to tax and store opium. The Laotian Air Force had no light aircraft available of the sort that could use the short landing strips which Air America had built in the Plain. Without air support for the opium harvests, Vang Pao’s counterinsurgency work for the CIA would collapse from lack of funding, and the CIA would lose all support from their allies among the Meo peasants who, living outside the liberated areas, had become dependent on poppy cultivation in the course of the war.

Beginning in 1965, therefore, Air America used its helicopters and light airplanes to carry opium from the Meo villages to Vang Pao’s Laotian Air Force headquarters in the secret village of Long Tieng to the south. This was confirmed to McCoy by various Laotian peasants, village officials, military generals with whom he spoke. In late 1965 the CIA and USAID even gave Vang Pao financial assistance as well as aircraft to form his own private airline even though, as one USAID official told McCoy, they knew the general would use it to transport drugs between his buiten and the clearing stations. McCoy related that in 1973 Vang Pao opened his own heroin lab at Long Tieng, where a Hong Kong chemist supervised the refinement of opium into high-grade heroin.

A Meo village official described to McCoy the CIA flights from Long Tieng to pick up the harvested opium:

Every Thursday at dusk, a C130 without markings — only the U.S. Air Force used C130s — would land at Long Tieng. The engines were kept running while a special team unloaded crates brought by Laotian porters and then put others on board. Only that particular team was allowed to see the cargo which was stored in a building guarded day and night by Meo militia. Most likely this was the refinery. At all events that’s what I was told by one of my friends who worked at Long Tieng. My duties brought me into direct contact with Udom Base in Thailand and I learned by radio which machines were flying across Laos. The C130s from Long Tieng always used to make for that base.

The CIA’s involvement in the sordid drug trade was appalling.

The exploitation of the Meo tribesmen to support this drug trade was appalling. McCoy and his assistants visited a typical village called Long Pot, some 30 miles northwest of Long Tieng. It was a village of 300 Meo people living in forty-seven wooden, dirt-floor houses. McCoy was told that the harshness of the opium cultivation forced the villagers to slash and burn new fields, till and hoeing the soil, planting and harrowing the poppies, and tagging the roots meticulously from each family. A family would be paid about $500 for a year’s good harvest of ten kilos of raw opium. That quantity would later be processed into heroin capsules that fetched $225,000 on the streets of San Francisco.

As the Pathet Lao gained territory, the CIA tried to force the local population to them by evacuating the Meo villagers and destroying the poppy fields. McCoy was told by a Meo officer with three red stripes (captain or major) came from Long Tieng to buy one opium. They came in American helicopters, perhaps two or three men at a time. The helicopter lands them here for a few days and they walk to villages over there, then come back here and unload the Long Tieng helicopters for them. They take the opium back to Long Tieng.

The official went on to explain that the helicopter pilots were all Americans.

Ex-CIA worker Del Rosario described the CIA drug flights out of Long Tieng itself:

When one surveys the legacy of the CIA’s secret war in Indochina, the suffering of the Indochinese peasants killed by the mercenary army, the evacuation or outright destruction of whole villages, and the devastation of the countryside. By after this, one should also reckon how the CIA’s activity created in Laos, and northern Burma a regional economy almost totally dependent on opium production, riddled with exploitative drug cartels. Only in areas liberated by the Pathet Lao and the Burmese Communist Party — who drove out the warlords, abolished the oppressive opium taxes, and led the introduction of substitute crops — was the curse of the poppy lifted. But in areas where the CIA and its allies held sway, the unprecedented introduction of air transport dramatically facilitated both the opium trade and the reactionary war effort, in a symbiotic relationship. By the late 1960s, due to the intervention of U.S. military forces, the area had become the world’s major source of opium and opium derivatives, producing 70 percent of the world’s illicit supply. New Laotian refineries produced heroin that rivaled that of Hong Kong and Marseille in both quantity and quality. By the time U.S. troops withdrew in 1973, much of this heroin was being exported directly to the United States. The CIA’s involvement in the drug trade was not only the bloody covert war that was eventually defeated by the Laotian people, but a network of shady operatives experienced in dealing with drugs, cash, and weapons — a network which the CIA would soon have occasion to redevelop in the Middle East, Central America, and other hot spots around the globe.

Next Week: Part 2. The Contra Connection
U.S. Hand in the Gulf War

Continued from page 11

Iran and the Gulf War. The Iranian forces started another major offensive on the Iraqi city of Basra. There was speculation that the Iranian forces were in fact the largest such buildup in any area since the Middle East war of 1973.

In addition to its own military buildup, Iran also introduced a new weapon into the Gulf War: the F-14 fighter jet. The F-14 was designed specifically for combat in the Persian Gulf and was considered a major threat to Iraqi air defense.

The U.S. response to the Iranian threat was swift and decisive. On January 20, 1987, the USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian passenger jet with 290 passengers on board, killing all onboard. The incident was a major blow to the Iranian military and the Iranian government. The U.S. government claimed that the jet was a military aircraft, but the Iranian government claimed that it was a civilian aircraft.

The incident sparked international outrage and led to increased tensions between the U.S. and Iran. The U.S. government faced criticism for its actions, and the incident led to a temporary freeze in diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In the end, the U.S. military response to the Iranian threat was successful in deterring further aggression and in protecting U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf. The incident also served as a reminder of the importance of maintaining strong military capabilities and of the potential for military escalation in international conflicts.
To the RW:
A major assault on alternative cultural and political expression is now underway in New York City. In May 1986 the New York City Council quietly enacted an anti-postering ordinance subjecting anyone deemed to be any kind of an embarrassment to a fine of $260 found on public property to a fine. Now wherever there are signs or posters on public property, such as by having their name or address on them, are subject to a $50 to $100 fine for each poster. In fact, as far as the law is concerned, who actually did the posting is irrelevant. Someone or some organization does not pay the fines or appear at a hearing before an Environmental Control Board (ECB) officer to 'argue their case.' Those hearings are really no more than kangaroo courts; in hundreds of hearings at the ECB in the past two years almost no one has been found innocent.
The sweep has been broad and far-reaching -- targets have ranged from political organizations to music clubs, small businesses and even small area churches. The amounts of the fines have been astronomical -- for example, "Bad News Presents" was hit with $10,000 in fines for seventy-four flyers advertising punk concerts. A karate school received fines totaling $2700. Pathfinder Press's Mural Project faces thirty-five citations for broad distribution of such signs or posters, such as having their name or address on them.

Recently an activist from Refuse & Resist! (parts of whose political, religious, or cultural material posted, regardless of who someone associated with those identities put it up, could be jailed. And as Hitler and others have shown, these calls for "cleaning up" society by eliminating "subversy" elements have long been an easy signboard for increased state repression to come. A broad coalition has been formed of those victimized by this anti-postering campaign and others who see the importance of waging a battle to defeat it. There have been several demonstrations at the Sanitation Department, appearances by coalition members on talk shows, and the ACLU is considering joining the case. Such resistance needs to be welcomed, strengthened, and greatly expanded. The true impact and intent of this "sanitation law" needs to be exposed very broadly. Organizations, artists, promoters, and all those who see the importance of defeating attempts at political and/or artistic repression need to speak out and join in the battle.
The whole convention area was turned into a heavily policed zone where passers were demanded before being allowed to enter certain areas. The Mafia suburb by the Omni was sealed off. Homeless people and the revolutionary solution and undercut the Democratic convention area were rounded out. Under the pretext of drug raids, the cops had raided some of the housing projects in the city during the Democratic convention. Police have this habit of building up a party... and people who want to get down and Handed our weekly newspaper, the Revolutionary Worker, which this week has an article by me on the Jackson campaign and the whole elections thing. And I'll really like people to check it out and give me some feedback on it.

No Business As Usual

The Democrats took the "no first use" of nuclear weapons plank that was pro-posed for the party's platform and killed it. Many people feel that if Jackson were to be re-elected from being able to wage war was not for use on a major scale. But No Business As Usual made a different mark in Atlanta. On Saturday an important symposium and workshop was held on "Democracy in Action.

The Concerned Democrats, a group of activists from Act Up! held a protest to the KKK, that "KKK Get out of here, you don't belong here..." I looked at our capital building and said, "I really furious seeing my city, my state, the whole convention area was turned into a heavily policed zone where passers were demanded before being allowed to enter certain areas. The Mafia suburb by the Omni was sealed off. Homeless people and the revolutionary solution and undercut the Democratic convention area were rounded out. Under the pretext of drug raids, the cops had raided some of the housing projects in the city during the Democratic convention. Police have this habit of building up a party... and people who want to get down and Handed our weekly newspaper, the Revolutionary Worker, which this week has an article by me on the Jackson campaign and the whole elections thing. And I'll really like people to check it out and give me some feedback on it...

The Disinherited and the Future

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Continued from page 1

... intelligence. They were between spurring the war and trying to rope it up, depending on what's more to their advantage at any time.

They say that this war is now coming to an end. But not for a major reason; major hypocrisy. For the big powers — both East and West — was the war an opportunity to lock their claws deeper into Iraq, and the Arab world, to the detriment of the revolutionary masses. If they want "peace", it is now, only because they think that would be good for their reactionary interests.

... The Khomeni regime's acceptance of the U.N. cease-fire agreements was not a sign of good faith in fighting on the Iran-Iraq front. In fact, the Iraqi war's end came much earlier than expected, on July 18 as Iraqi forces pushed into Iran, using chemical weapons. The Hussein regime, by using chemical weapons, put a lot of pressure on the Islamic Republic, and at the same time, the Iraqi civilians who were suffering so much were being used as a bargaining chip in the negotiations between Iraq and Iran.

When the Iraqis entered Iran, they put a lot of pressure on the Islamic Republic to receive feelers from Iran about holding talks. They threatened to round up "volunteers" for the war if the Iranians did not receive feelers from Iran about holding talks.

The growing power of the Rafsanjani bloc. The "moderates" in Iran are headed by Rafsanjani, the head of the Majlis, and the "radicals" are headed by M. Khatami, the head of the Revolutionary Guards. The "moderates" are headed by Rafsanjani, the head of the Majlis (the Islamic Republic's parliament). The "radicals" are headed by M. Khatami, the head of the Revolutionary Guards. The "moderates" are confident that their messages are being received from Iran and Iraq.

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