



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

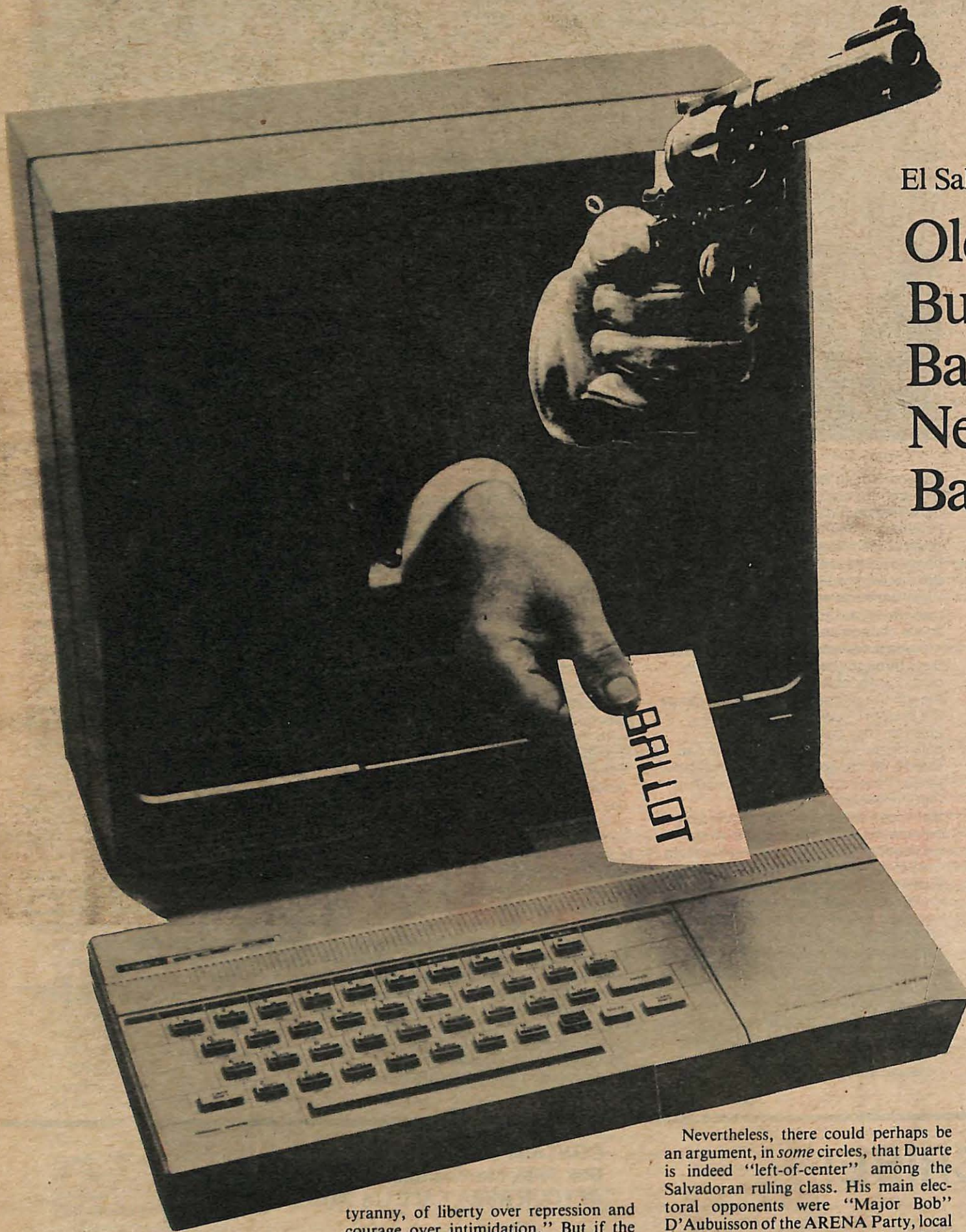
No. 249 (Vol. 5, No. 47)

Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1.

March 30, 1984

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485

50¢



El Salvador Election

Old-Fashioned Bullets Back New-Fashioned Ballots

Some of the lines sounded as if they had come from a two-year-old script. *ABC News* declared that "The voters of El Salvador were the *real* heroes." The U.S. Congressmen, fresh from the rewarding experience of "observing" the election, returned to Washington, D.C. still buzzing about the "dedication," "perseverance," and "loyalty" (among countless other qualities lifted straight from the *Boy Scout Handbook*) demonstrated by the voters. What's more, the U.S. observers spoke with hundreds of the humble folk and *nary a one* said that they were voting out of fear. Aside from their natural ease with these representatives of the benevolent U.S., the voters were helped along in their free-thinking comments by the announcement, prior to the election, from a Central Election Council member who said, "If you feel good about El Salvador and you love El Salvador, you shouldn't have any fear." And as before, the best lines were left for the star, Ronald Reagan, who declared that the proverbial *turnout* was "another victory for freedom over

tyranny, of liberty over repression and courage over intimidation." But if the last U.S. exercise in Salvadoran death-squad democracy already demonstrated this troupe's ability to play farce, this one showed that they were even more adept at theater of the absurd... although there is a noticeable lack of subtlety in their performance.

For one thing, this election marks the umpteenth resurrection of Christian Democratic savior José Napoleón Duarte as a "moderate" — even "left-of-center" — in much of the U.S. press. Duarte, an alumnus of Notre Dame University in the U.S., is perhaps most famous for having been president of El Salvador's junta prior to the 1982 elections, and for "moderating" the neocolonial security forces to the tune of tens of thousands of assassinations, massacres, and tortures of all who might be suspected of opposing the regime; under Duarte's presidency, the U.S. brought in the *death to the tiller* land program, the state of siege and countless other "reforms" to facilitate official counterinsurgency, while the death squads attained new depths of the unofficial variety.

Nevertheless, there could perhaps be an argument, in *some* circles, that Duarte is indeed "left-of-center" among the Salvadoran ruling class. His main electoral opponents were "Major Bob" D'Aubuisson of the ARENA Party, local organizer and field commander of the death squads, and Francisco Guererro, a long-time hack of the National Conciliation Party through which a succession of generalissimos ran El Salvador from the Alliance For Progress days to the first junta in 1979. The most meaningful way of determining "left," "right," and "center" in this bunch would be to see how they line up in a group photograph. However, they are fine representatives of the full range of political thought and action of the U.S.'s ruling compradors in El Salvador.

As is well known, the masses in Central America just *love* being dominated by the U.S. and its local overseers, and to demonstrate that point the U.S. spent about \$10 million to stage its election. One-third of this went into designing and implementing a computerized voter registry, which supposedly listed all the eligible voters and apportioned them, by code number, to the various polling places around the country and to different voting booths within the polling places. This registry is unanimously described in the U.S. press as intended to

prevent "fraud" — the kind where someone votes more than once to enhance a *particular* candidate's chances. None of these commentators seem to have noticed that such a system could enhance the *real* fraud; by enabling the immediate pinpointing of those who had — and more significantly, had *not* — done their civic duty, the registry would allow for a more efficient "get out the vote" campaign by the security forces, thus "proving" once again that U.S.-style democracy is the "will of the people."

Ah, but the best laid plans of imperialists often get royally screwed up. In this case, trying to use a sophisticated, computerized operation in a country which suffers from overall enforced backwardness resulted in mass confusion, with the lists virtually indecipherable to many voters and election officials alike, and numerous potential voters being assigned to polling places that they couldn't get to, or not being allowed to vote because officials couldn't find their name on the appropriate lists, and so forth. When, a few days before the election, it became clear that the registry would create chaos, U.S. Agency for International Development (AID — a well-known CIA front) spokesmen publicly stated that they had been against the operation all along, but Salvadoran officials had demanded it; therefore, as the story goes, AID officials had to bow to the wishes of the totally independent Salvadoran government — a matter of "sovereignty," you know — by designing it, financing it, and putting the whole operation into effect. Far be it from the U.S. to interfere in internal Salvadoran affairs.

The computer confusion was bad
Continued on page 8

On Bringing Back The "Hot Autumn"

The following letter is from a member of the "For A World Without Imperialism" Contingent:

To the RW:

When the "For A World Without Imperialism" Contingent returned to the United States in December of 1983 we were all struck by the extent to which the protest and resistance of the fall in West Germany was a nonissue. The multibillion-dollar free press industry had done a thorough job blacking out and prettifying the hot autumn; it was mostly RW readers who knew about the clashes in Bonn, Mutlangen, and Frankfurt. Even the peace movement presses failed to cover the situation in a meaningful way. Clearly some public opinion needed to be created.

Support committees across the continent began building for Contingent presentations. There was no prettifying what we would be speaking to: flyers generally showed the masses battling watercannon and proclaimed the Contingent's controversial slogans: "Desert America's Warmongering" and "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist World War."

In Eugene, Oregon I spoke to a mainstream peace rally. Seven other speakers blasted America, the arms race, and "Reagan's" domestic policy, and then told the 70 people present that they should go out and work in the elections. At one point I asked them if anyone had heard anything through the media about the major battle between the West German resistance and the state that went on for four days in Frankfurt. A long pause: no one had. I went on to tell of the use of police clubs in "democracy" and the role of politicians in sucking people into support for the system. Afterwards a number of people expressed to me their frustration with the peace movement's within-the-system strategy, and then showed up later in the week for the Contingent's forum to hear more about the politics and tactics used in West Germany last fall.

The makeup of the forum audiences varied greatly from city to city. In San Diego there were people from the church that sponsored the presentation, a sizeable section of anti-imperialist feminists, some anti-nuke activists, foreign-born, and punks. In Portland there were, in addition, upper-tier factory workers and high-school students. In Seattle one presentation was made at a punk club to a mostly punk audience. In Eugene the audience was mostly college students and members of both the mainstream and direct action wings of the peace movement.

Germans, mostly Green Party supporters, were frequently in attendance. One of the many debates that broke out after the presentations centered around the Greens. We had said that the Greens focused almost exclusively on American and Soviet imperialism, ignoring German imperialism and catering to



The Battle of Bonn.

nationalism. In Berkeley one Green Party supporter said they were not nationalists because they are not rabid flagwavers, and the debate was over whether Germany-first positions could be reconciled with internationalism. In Seattle, after a slideshow in a cafe, four West Germans argued, each in their own way, that the Greens stood for social change and that since West Germany is a democracy, that could be done through the system, perhaps including peaceful demonstrations, though the ultimate goal was to change the system. From their position of idealism they basically refused to believe that the Green leadership had sided with the government on the importance of maintaining law and order, or that the Greens had called for blockades without building for them in order to maintain their radical image while not actually threatening the state.

At Evergreen State College in Washington state the discussion raged for three hours after the presentation was over. Because we talked about the *Autonomen* and revolution we drew flack from several quarters. Those who believe in democracy and parliamentary reform thought street fighting would alienate the voters needed to win reforms. A group of nonviolent activists put forward that the goal of the movement must be to break the cycle of violence, starting with ourselves. One

woman put forward that revolution, like war, gets lots of people killed but does not change the system. In that regard it was interesting to contrast these positions and the anarchists' with the Turkish workers'. Like the anarchists, they were willing to have a physical presence on the street and fight the police when necessary. However, they made their main task creating public opinion, handing out thousands of flyers detailing their positions as revolutionaries. In Mutlangen, December 11th, everyone seemed to have their pamphlets and to be debating the points with their friends; shortly afterward the crowd overran the police's first line of defense, a totally unexpected, spontaneous escalation of the stakes that day.

In Berkeley a woman suggested that by targeting the Soviet Union as imperialist we were helping Reagan build up the paranoia that makes arms control impossible. After I spoke about the danger of painting the Soviets as being on the side of peace and a party spokesperson spoke to the material basis for pro-Sovietism, another woman said that the Soviet Union has to defend itself, and in addition, aid anti-imperialist movements in the oppressed nations. At that point three foreign-born men made an important contribution to the debate, detailing how the Soviet Union opposed or used revolutionary

movements for its own purposes in their home countries, El Salvador, Iran and Turkey.

Though it was not actually a question addressed to the panel, in talking to people afterwards and getting a better sense of where they were coming from, I felt the major underlying question was: Is world war on the agenda? The Contingent took to West Germany the position that... the missiles were deployed because the imperialists are being driven to war. Generally speaking, the idealist, reform-oriented people did not see this. The events we described were a bit of a shock to such people; watercannon in a democracy are as much of an outrage as plans for war or ongoing genocide. To me the focus in the peace movement on weapons counts and elections is dangerously narrow, having seen the outcome in West Germany and capitulation that resulted from it. Hopefully sections of people who heard the Contingent, through forums, radio interviews and the alternative press will be planning something different for the ruling class if a constitutional crisis over the arms race develops here.

Jack Straw

SUBSCRIBE!

One Year—\$20 (U.S., Canada, Mexico) Ten Weeks—\$4.00

- English Edition Chinese Edition (monthly) \$12
 Spanish Edition French Edition (monthly) \$12

write to: Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____ Zip _____

I want to distribute the *Revolutionary Worker*, please send me information on bulk rates. I would like to receive _____ copies per week.

Order Chinese edition from: Everybody's Bookstore, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133.

Order French from: Revolution Books, 138 W. 10th St., NY, NY 10014

To comply with postal regulations it is necessary to send both the English and Spanish sections together, even though you may desire only one of the language sections. It has also been necessary to make changes on the outside of the envelope containing your newspaper to comply with postal regulations.

The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- California:
 Los Angeles Area, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 746 S. Alvarado No. 7, Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 484-2907
 San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
 San Francisco, c/o Revolution Books, 1541 Grant Ave., San Francisco, CA 94133 (415) 781-4989
 District of Columbia: c/o Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
 Georgia: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 859-1/2 M.L. King Dr., Atlanta, GA 30314 (404) 577-4656
 Hawaii: c/o Revolution Books, 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
 Illinois: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657 (312) 528-5353
 Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
 Maryland: Revolutionary Worker, P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
 Massachusetts: c/o Revolution Books, 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
 Michigan: c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
 Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
 New York:
 Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205
 NYC & New Jersey: c/o Revolution Books, 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
 North Carolina: P.O. Box 11712, Durham, NC 27703 (919) 688-2879
 Ohio:
 Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 Cleveland, c/o Revolution Books Outlet, 2800 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 (216) 932-2543
 Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 281-4275
 Oregon:
 Portland, P.O. Box 3821, Portland, OR 97208 (503) 288-1374
 Eugene: c/o RCYB, P.O. Box 3723, Eugene, OR 97403
 Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 625-8567
 Texas: P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77223 (713) 926-2080
 Washington State: c/o Revolution Books, 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 527-8558

New Bedford Trial: A Case of Purging The Women Not the Soul

Recent events in the New Bedford rape trial could be titled, "Local boys become heroes," or maybe "Rapists and cheering fans given national instant replay." The all-American tale could also be subtitled, "Rape victim re-raped and run out of town."

The trial has been attributed with testing the nation's moral and social consciousness because the public was forced to confront the ugly realities of rape in daily coverage by national cable TV. The judge appeared on a national TV program to proclaim that the wide publicity was good because it had given people a live civic lesson on the "day-to-day workings of the third branch of the government." And even some who were righteously disgusted at the court proceedings initially, then sighed in relief at the convictions because "justice had been achieved in a major rape case." Liberal editorials, filled with all but tear marks on the page, lamented the humiliation of the victim, but congratulated the convictions because they went against social pressure and delivered justice.

Perhaps New Bedford is a positive sign that America has come to its senses; is more liberated and more open about airing its problems and publicly solving them through televised trials. Perhaps we are on the road to dealing with one of the ugliest concentrations of women's oppression in this country. Don't hold your breath. Liberal soul-searching aside, quite opposite conclusions must be made.

One thing should be granted the New Bedford rape trial. It has been an excellent lesson — a lesson in the all-American character of rape. And the "democracy in action" of the media and the court system have been very appropriate vehicles for delivering this lesson. The first instruction in the New Bedford primer was aimed at pumping adrenalin into the chauvinist veins of true-grit American males. After all, not every red-blooded male in America could participate in the gang-rape at Big Dan's Tavern last year. And unfortunately television cameras weren't on hand to capture the celebrated event on film. But never fear, when actual instant replay isn't available the workings of the court will be used to present graphic recreation; cheering crowds and all. And this time, viewing was hardly restricted to the Saturday night crowd at Big Dan's.

Appropriately, one local resident appeared on *Nightline* — sitting in a bar, sipping a cold beer, baseball cap and all. Profound proclamations dribbled out of his mouth and into the television microphone as he sat in front of the bar-room TV watching the trial: "This is just great.... I haven't even watched the soap operas since the trial started." Koppel then does a quick camera switch to give us yet another peek at the wondrous art of "impartiality" used to facilitate the democratic "airing of both sides of the issue." Mr. D.J. of a local radio station berates a caller sympathetic to the rape victim with the oh-so-sharp comeback, "Do you realize how much money this woman stands to make when she writes a book.... We're talking thousands." (Well, no one yet has claimed that the rapists' fans are arguing at an extremely high intellectual level!)

The trial itself became a somewhat magnified re-creation of the cheering

crowd at Big Dan's — making voyeurism a new national sport among male chauvinists across the country and "un-zipping" a certain loyal, philistine rooting section. And when thousands marched in protest of the convictions and *in support* of the rapists, the front pages had been reserved in advance (certainly these demonstrations were given more media attention than the 2,500 who demonstrated a year ago against the rape). Some of the "unbiased" television coverage and newspaper editorials might as well have just come right out and said, "Hey boys, if any of you feel you didn't get a yellow-ribbon welcome when you came back from Vietnam, perhaps you should try gang-rape right here in the good 'ole U.S. of A. where you'll not only be cheered in the act but made a local hero!"

Then there was the trial itself. It's hardly anything new in rape cases to completely humiliate the victim by making them recount step by step every detail in the incident (much of this aimed at emotionally breaking the woman down and creating the impression that the woman did not resist or "liked it"). But for this cable mini-series of the week, new heights were reached in re-raping the victim through "America's great system of justice." As the attorney for one of the rapists revealed in *Nightline* — much of his client's defense was aimed at proving that the woman was a liar, a cheat and "asked for it" in the bar. In other words, no one at all is denying that several men had sex with the victim — they're just saying, "what did she expect, walking in there unescorted?" And despite legislation which is supposed to prohibit using a woman's past to establish guilt or innocence in a rape trial, the rapists' attorneys were virtually given free rein in dragging up everything they could to establish a defense that rested on the argument that rape is fun. (The defense lawyer stated in his closing statement: "She's saddled with two small children and she's lonely. She wanted to have a little fun.")

All in all, the New Bedford trial was a broad message to women in general — rape is an all-American sport and should you try and prosecute it's *you*, not the rapists, who are gonna pay. Interestingly, the rape victim in New Bedford seems to have understood in a basic way that taking this to court was bound to become an issue way beyond her own particular case. Last year the coalition that organized the demonstration protesting the rape got a short note from her, thanking them and saying, "I am going to see this through, not only for myself, but for all women." And indeed, the effect of the New Bedford trial sent out a message way beyond the particularities of this one woman's audacious decision to try and put her attackers in jail. One rape counselor at a center in Massachusetts reported that "Prior to the trial about one-third of our clients were willing to report the crime. Once the trial got underway, the reporting diminished to zero."

New Bedford has become a highly celebrated, widely propagated example — and threat — of what kind of shit will be used against women who dare to bring rape cases to trial — and a great example of how all this can and will certainly be done within and through the vicious

bourgeois weapons of the "letter of the law" and the "fairness of the media."

One other point must be made here in regards to the charge of discrimination that has been raised in this case. It's quite a bizarre scene, to say the least, when thousands of people are mobilized to march under a banner of national pride which has been wrapped around six rapists! And it's quite a feat of twisted logic to charge anti-Portuguese discrimination in the conviction when not only the rapists, but also the victim, the prosecutor and half the jury were Portuguese. Beyond this, there is a certain sickening opportunistic way the whole discrimination issue is being used. There is, indeed, a whole history in America of vicious racism in rape cases in particular. It wasn't all that long ago that a Black man could be convicted of rape (or probably lynched) for just looking at a white woman. And *perhaps* things in New Bedford might have gone somewhat differently if the rapists had been nice all-American white boys. But to take this and twist and pervert the New Bedford case into a mini-nationalist movement to make four convicted rapists heroes and drive the rape victim out of town (literally fearing for her life) is not just sickening but quite an indictment in itself of the whole reactionary way the New Bedford trial has been played out.

Despite the ugliness of the trial, there have been those who claim that some good has come out of it all; that it has forced many to grope with issues of right and wrong, or that it has enlightened an uneducated public around the growing problem of rape. Some have pointed to the fact that \$68,000 in federal money was granted after the Big Dan's incident to open up New Bedford's first rape-counseling and crisis-intervention center — a sign that things are finally going in the right direction of effectively dealing with rape. But such conclusions are anything but the truth and dangerously misleading.

Above all, the events in New Bedford are yet more searing evidence that the oppression of women and rape in particular is a deeply imbedded part of the capitalist system. The New Bedford rape and subsequent trial weren't some ugly aberrations of the way things are in America. In fact, New Bedford isn't even that unusual of a case. While the New Bedford trial was in progress, the police in Wanaque, New Jersey have intentionally kept quiet the investigation of a similar gang-rape in a bar. The chief of police said he wanted to avoid publicity that might create a "mess here." Earlier this month another, less publicized, rape case came to a preliminary hearing at a county court in Pennsylvania. Becky Brown, a high-school student in Chataqua had been raped by three teenage boys and left semiconscious in the woods where she was later found drowned. Several people have admitted in the town that they heard the teenage rapists bragging about their conquest in a local pizzeria after they left Becky Brown to die — but in the spirit of Big Dan's they mostly shrugged it off because according to many this 13-year-old "had a reputation... she was a loose girl..." — and when Becky's mother went to the pizzeria to look for her, no one bothered to tell her that her daughter was lying in a ditch.

Rape itself is quite a document on the state of affairs of social relations in America today. (Need we repeat that one rape occurs every eight minutes in this country and this statistic is on the rise.) But this fact — that a significant percentage of men actually get off on brutally dominating a woman in this kind of way doesn't just say something about a certain small "sick" section of society. No, to the contrary, the widespread phenomenon of rape is a highly concentrated picture of the dominant ideology and the relations between men and women today in this advanced imperialist country. (Couldn't a large number of marriages today be appropriately described as not only between the bourgeois and the oppressed, but between the rapist and victim?)

No landmark trial or nationally publicized conviction; no moral-searching campaign around the question on national television; and no amount of federal grants for more rape crisis centers is going to fundamentally deal with this problem. The oppression of women and rape is something which is only going to be eliminated by radically and thoroughly transforming all property relations and social relations, including those that now prevail between men and women, and with them the dominant ideas and values. And if, as a result of the New Bedford trial, some of the women who have come to the conclusion that relying on the police and courts to "protect" you from rape is not only futile but dangerous are beginning to search for more profound conclusions to such madness, well and good. □

The following article continues the description of various social forces in West Germany by the RW correspondent who covered last fall's antimissile demonstrations.

Heidelberg, in West Germany's beautiful Neckar Valley, is in most respects a typical German university town. It boasts the medieval seat of learning, a ruined castle overlooking the town, and even has the very beerhall where the *Student Prince* was filmed. But that's in the old city. There's also a newer, sprawling side of town that houses the U.S. Army headquarters in West Germany, complete with PX supermarkets, a high school for the children of American servicemen, and a vast housing project named "Patrick Henry Village." Heidelberg was one of the few cities in Germany not bombed during World War 2, because the American's had selected it in advance to be their occupation headquarters.

This juxtaposition of a university that was a hotbed of radical activity in the '60s and a massive U.S. Army military presence makes for a tense combination. Nobody has to be told that Heidelberg would be a prime target for nuclear attack by the Soviets in the case of war. Stickers calling for Heidelberg to be made a nuclear-free zone express the politics of wishful thinking.

My visit to Heidelberg happened to coincide with a major local forum on trends in the German peace movement, which was held in the large backroom of a local beerhall, and featured speakers for pacifism, German neutralism, and a "defensive weapons only" military. After the program, one of my hosts suggested I might like to attend the *Planspiel* that was to be held in a few days.

"What's a *Planspiel*?" I asked.
 "Well, it's an exercise in grassroots democracy. It's a game where people play the different political parts in society, but it's also a serious attempt to prepare people to actually run the government."

A few days later I took the streetcar across the Neckar to the Catholic student dorm where the *Planspiel* was to be held. Most of the players were university age or a little older; most were local antiwar activists. The *Planspiel* was in fact created by the local antiwar group of the Green Party which served as kind of a catchall action group in Heidelberg. When I in-



roduced myself as a journalist from the U.S. writing on the antiwar movement, I was given a ringside seat: I was invited to join the game!

The *Planspiel* was a little like the American board game *Diplomacy*, except there were no fixed rules. Different teams played the part of the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, the Reagan administration, the Soviet Union, the U.S. Freeze movement, and the German press. The teams received an information sheet that outlined the political situation at the beginning of the game, but after that they were on their own. Each team worked out of a different room and was free to communicate and make public pronouncements or secret deals. The object was to make the game as realistic as possible. The teams were chosen by drawing lots, and I ended up on the Soviet team.

The game, which lasted for hours, had a life of its own with many twists and turns, and provided a fascinating look into the views of the young German activists who created it. It revealed quite a bit about how they looked at their society, the forces in the world, the threat of war, and what they saw as "practical politics" in that situation.

The game takes place in 1986. Here, in their own words, is the political situation which they seriously expected to unfold, with both its dangers and its opportunities:

The General Starting Positions

The parliamentary elections of 1986

have produced a sensational result: the SPD and Greens have at their disposal an exceedingly bare parliamentary majority (SPD: 40%, Greens: 10%) the CDU and the FDP who wanted to continue their coalition government, received only 49% of the vote (CDU: 43%, FDP: 6%). With only a bare majority, the SPD and Greens face the question of whether they will dare to form a government, and on what security concepts (that is, what peace politics concepts) they could unite in coalition negotiations.

Background History:

The election battle took place in a situation of dramatic domestic and foreign politics. Domestically, the principal issue was the absence of the economic upturn promised by the government. More decisive, however, was the peace question. In the last few years, East-West relations had deteriorated. Reagan had intensified his politics of strength since the beginning of his second term. The U.S. had intervened militarily in both Nicaragua and El Salvador. On the other side, the Soviet Union also appeared to lose its original interest in the politics of de-escalation. After the death of Andropov, the influence of the so-called pragmatists in the Politburo was notably reduced. The new party chief had to give way to the demands of the hawks for higher armaments expenditures and for intensified pressure on the Eastern European allies in the face of an ever-stronger American politics of confrontation.

Six months before the parliamentary vote the East-West conflict reached its most dangerous high point since the Cuban Missile Crisis. Unrest broke out in Saudi Arabia. The West feared for "its" source of oil. Moscow was accused of wanting to penetrate the Persian Gulf in order to control the oil supply of the Western industrial states. The U.S. mobilized its rapid deployment force. The West German army was enlisted to provide logistical support for U.S. troops in Germany. Parts of the Frankfurt airport were closed to civilian aviation at times. After some weeks, the unrest in Saudi Arabia slowly died down. Troops loyal to the government won back control of the country with massive American help.

Three months before the parliamentary vote the acute danger of war had been averted. But the peace question remained the dominant theme of the campaign. The decisive influence on the outcome was presumably the leak of a secret Pentagon document, which the Green Party made public three weeks before the vote. This document, which was worked out by Pentagon planners at the beginning of the Gulf crisis, recommended to the president that in the event of a serious escalation of the conflict, the Soviet Union be compelled to give in through "pin pricks" with the help of Pershing II missiles fired from West German soil.

The publication of this document shocked the West German public. The ensuing discussion led to an even stronger polarization: the radicalization of the extra-parliamentary resistance and the "alternative security concept" on the one hand, stronger professions of loyalty to the Atlantic Alliance, intensified anti-communism and open revanchism on the other side.

On this basis of information, the game got off to an active start with both negotiations between the SPD and the Greens and jockeying from the outside by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It was the role of the "press" team to post "the

news," that is, the public actions and the statements of the participants. Another group of game organizers monitored all the secret communications between teams and played the role of other forces not directly represented when necessary (for example, statements by the East German government).

Right off the bat as a publicity ploy the U.S. announced a unilateral troop reduction in West Berlin. The Soviets instructed East Germany to hint broadly at the possibility of German reunification if a "progressive" government were formed in West Germany and it got out of NATO. Then a delegation from the SPD and Greens came to "Moscow" (the second-floor student lounge!) to meet with us Russians. They said they had to give the West German public something to reassure them, so would we publicly announce that we would not overrun West Berlin if the U.S. pulled out completely? But of course! What motive would the peace-loving Soviet republic have for attacking Berlin? But then they asked if we would pull out of East Germany completely. Alas! As much as the peace-loving Soviet republic would like to, there remains the problem of the revanchist, aggressive NATO. (After the game, we learned that the U.S. team had refused to meet with the Greens at all, meeting only with the SPD and threatening economic sanctions if a Green-SPD government was formed.)

War preparations and "peace wars" were now in high gear. The Soviets moved another division into East Germany while warning against a U.S.-backed right-wing coup in West Germany. At the same time the Soviets called for a world congress of popular peace forces with heavy emphasis on the Greens and the U.S. Freeze movement. But this was upstaged by an invitation from the Freeze movement to their own conference which included both the Greens and the SPD. As a side action, TASS announced a pro-Soviet military coup in Burma, which was promptly followed by a landing of U.S. forces in Burma.

There was much intricate play, but the game was finally called on account of time... and because the desired result had been achieved: a formation of an SPD-Greens coalition. The sum-up which followed the game, and brought all the participants back together, was also interesting. First the terms of the SPD-Green coalition were announced. The SPD agreed to the withdrawal of all Pershing and cruise missiles, and eventually all atomic, biological and chemical weapons, from West Germany. But any withdrawal of U.S., British and French troops was "postponed." Second, the West German army was to be restructured to a solely defensive role... but "slowly." Third, there would be negotiations with the NATO and the Warsaw Pact about the eventual dissolution of the bloc... but in the meantime, the Greens agreed not to push immediately for the withdrawal of West Germany from NATO.

The general consensus was that the game had been very realistic. I demurred a bit suggesting that it would have been a little more realistic to have a team playing the Christian Democrats, who might also have been negotiating with the SPD to form a grand coalition government as has happened before. Several people didn't think it was realistic that the Soviet Union sent instructions to East Germany or that it would increase troop strength there. But one of the Green players said that

Continued on page 11

West German Radicals Get "Free World" Sentences

The trial of Micha Klöckner and Benny Härlin, the two German activists prosecuted under West Germany's press censorship laws, has now come to an end. For their association with the company that is the nominal publisher of the revolutionary anarchist publication *radikal*, Klöckner and Härlin have been sentenced to two and a half years in prison each. (For a full account of this important case see *RW* No. 232,

November 25, 1984.)
 At the same time, West Berlin courts also handed down tough sentences on five activists arrested during the demonstration against Ronald Reagan's visit to West Berlin on June 11, 1982. Reagan's visit produced unusually large and militant demonstrations that were viciously attacked by the police. The West German bourgeoisie has now struck back by sentencing the most prominent defendant to three years in prison for "aggravated breach of peace" and sentencing the remaining defendants to between 23 months and three years. □

革命書店
کتابخانه انقلاب

Revolution Books

کتاب نوریه
Libros Revolución

Livres Revolution

All of the literature published by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as well as many other progressive and revolutionary books and periodicals, is available from the Revolution Books stores and outlets listed below:

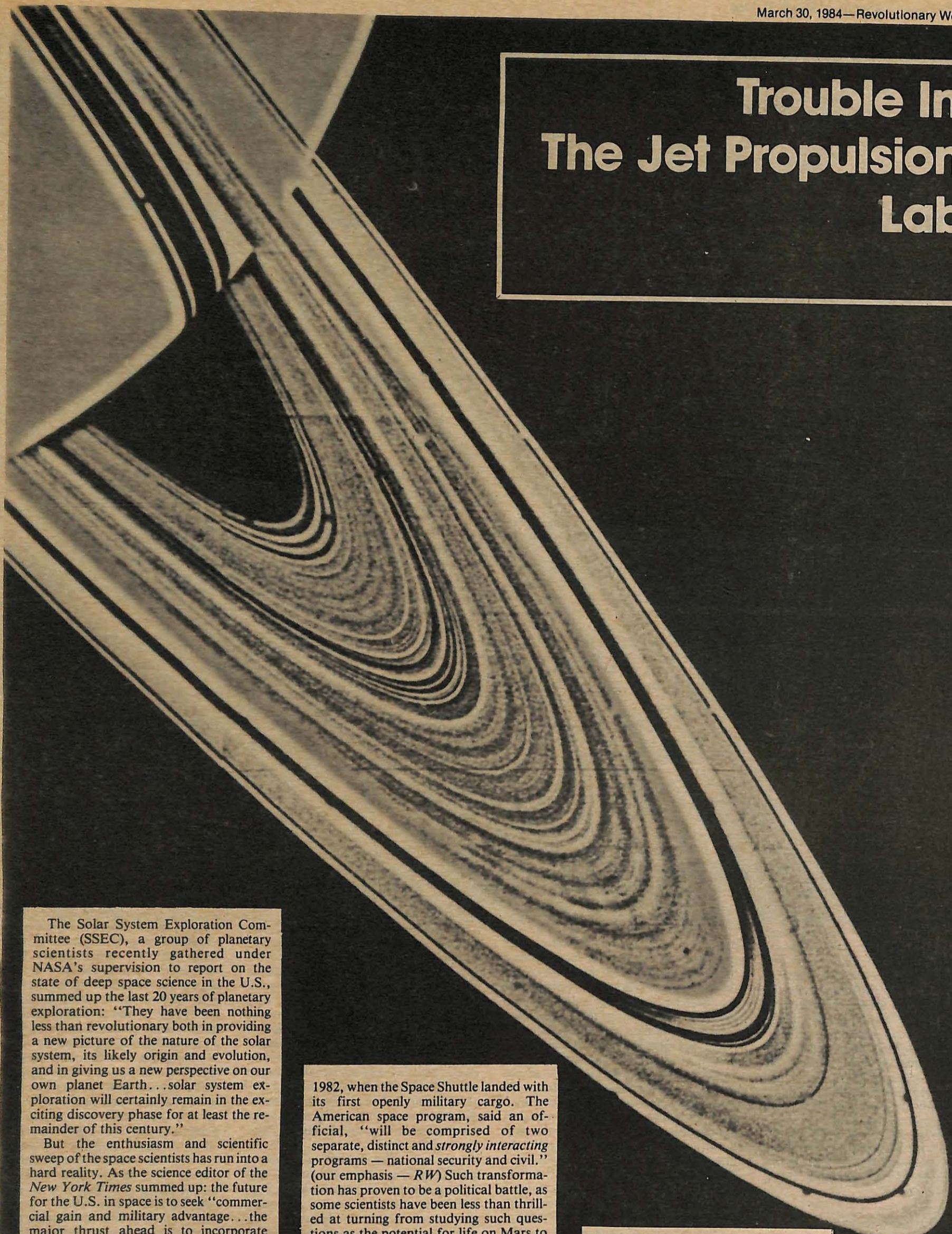
Bookstores:

- New York: 138 West 10th St., NY, NY 10014 (212) 691-3345
- California: 1541 Grant Ave., SF, CA 94133 (415) 781-4989
- District of Columbia: 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Hawaii: 2648 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Massachusetts: 90 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-9016
- Washington State: 5232 University Way N.E., Seattle WA 98105 (206) 527-8558

Outlets:

- California: 746 S. Alvarado No. 7, Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 484-2907
- Georgia: 859-1/2 M.L. King Dr., Atlanta, GA 30314 (404) 577-4656
- Illinois: 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657 (312) 528-5353
- Michigan: 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 872-2286
- Ohio: Cincinnati, 110 W. McMillan St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
- Cleveland, 2600 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland Heights, OH 44118 (216) 932-2543

Trouble In The Jet Propulsion Lab



The Solar System Exploration Committee (SSEC), a group of planetary scientists recently gathered under NASA's supervision to report on the state of deep space science in the U.S., summed up the last 20 years of planetary exploration: "They have been nothing less than revolutionary both in providing a new picture of the nature of the solar system, its likely origin and evolution, and in giving us a new perspective on our own planet Earth... solar system exploration will certainly remain in the exciting discovery phase for at least the remainder of this century."

But the enthusiasm and scientific sweep of the space scientists has run into a hard reality. As the science editor of the *New York Times* summed up: the future for the U.S. in space is to seek "commercial gain and military advantage... the major thrust ahead is to incorporate space into the economic and political thrust of things on Earth." What is to be "incorporated" is the technical and scientific knowledge gained in the space program, and even more, the scientists themselves. And in fact, what the SSEC was set up to do was to develop a program for scientific exploration of the planets which could squeeze a little science, as a kind of low-budget afterthought, into the space program of the 1980s for the U.S.

The space program, even the more "purely scientific" aspects of it, like the deep space probes to the planets, has always, to one degree or another, fit into the "thrust of things on earth." But what the *Time's* science editor is talking about is an attempt at a major reshaping of the space program. And this is but one part — though a concentrated and quite visible part — of the efforts of the government to shift and transform the immense scientific superstructure that the U.S. has built up since World War 2 to more fully serve the requirements of World War 3. The Reagan administration outlined the basic shape of things to come on July 4,

1982, when the Space Shuttle landed with its first openly military cargo. The American space program, said an official, "will be comprised of two separate, distinct and *strongly interacting* programs — national security and civil." (our emphasis — *RW*) Such transformation has proven to be a political battle, as some scientists have been less than thrilled at turning from studying such questions as the potential for life on Mars to developing the killer satellites of World War 3.

The Mars Lander and WW3

One recent and very important example of the ongoing struggle in scientific circles has unfolded in recent months on the campus of the California Institute of Technology (Cal Tech) in Pasadena, and at NASA's Jet Propulsion Lab (JPL), which Cal Tech administers. JPL is NASA's most important deep space laboratory. It was responsible for building and flying the Viking Mars Landers, and for operating the Mission Control and Computing Center and the Deep Space Network tracking stations for that mission. JPL also had similar responsibilities for the Voyager mission to Jupiter and Saturn, as well as a number of other missions and projects. And Cal Tech is probably even more important than the scientific center. Though very small, it has a worldwide reputation for the quality of its research and for the quality of the students who graduate. Cal Tech faculty have won 20 Nobel Prizes

over the years, and Cal Tech's administrative supervision and extensive scientific ties to JPL have been crucial in developing JPL. Particular fields in which Cal Tech is strong are some of the fields most central to the high-tech war effort. It must have been no little shock to the government, then, when a furor erupted at Cal Tech/JPL, focused on the proposed establishment of the Army Analysis Center, a.k.a. "the Arroyo Center," a high-level military think tank that the army had founded as a branch of JPL.

At the end of January, the Cal Tech faculty held a tense and politically charged meeting with the Cal Tech administration to deal with this subject — one deemed so sensitive that all "outsiders," including even students and graduate students at Cal Tech, were banned from the meeting. Cal Tech president Marvin Goldberger and Provost Rochus Vogt were on the hot seat as the meeting started. They had already committed Cal Tech/JPL to affiliation with the Arroyo

Continued on page 10

Computer-enhanced photo of the braided rings of Saturn. Much of the data on Saturn radioed back by Voyager II is still unprocessed — the mysteries of the universe fall victim to budget cuts and the need for a "positive bottom line."

Statement of the Haitian International Revolutionary Group (G.R.I.A.) on the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Since the overthrow of proletarian rule and the coming to power of the revisionists in China, the attacks of the Party of Labor of Albania and Hoxha on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, the coming to power of pro-imperialist regimes in many of the countries which were waging national liberation struggles against the U.S. and other imperialist powers in the 1960s and 1970s and the lull in the struggle of the masses worldwide all greatly weakened the international revolutionary proletariat.

Thus, in the late 1970s and early '80s, the international communist movement was affected with all kinds of ills and deviations such as open attacks on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought by different revisionist forces, liquidationism, splitism, demoralization and the disappearance of many formerly revolutionary organizations and parties in different parts of the world. While significant sections of revolutionaries were deserting the camp of revolution and turning their backs on the proletariat to join the camp of imperialism and reaction, other revolutionaries stood up against this wave of revisionism and opportunism, upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, defended Mao against the attacks of the revisionists and demarcated themselves from the opportunists and other deviationist tendencies within the revolutionary movement.

In the late '70s and early '80s with the heightening of the contradictions of imperialism and the overall preparation of the rival imperialist blocs to launch a world war for a new redivision of the world and to determine which of the imperialist blocs were going to have the privilege of lording it over the oppressed proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, another factor is the continuation and intensification of the national liberation struggles in the oppressed nations and the struggle of significant sections of people against the imperialist war preparations and other struggles of other sections of the oppressed minorities in the imperialist countries. With the development of these overall contradictions, the international communist movement found itself in a relatively weak position. The Marxist-Leninist forces who were waging battle against the revisionists were small, the level of ideological and organizational unity among these forces was very low. Thus, the capacity of these forces to meet the challenges posed by the objective situation was very limited.

In 1980 with the launching of the First International Conference and the release of the *Joint Communiqué* of the different Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, of the *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists* written by the RCP of Chile and RCP, USA for discussion among revolutionary forces, the struggle that followed in the ICM and the coming into being of a trend of international communists in different parts of the world was a major leap to turn the negative situation facing the ICM into its opposite; i.e., struggle to change the crisis in our movement into strength to prepare the ranks of the revolutionaries and the advanced masses to meet the challenges facing them now and increasingly facing us in the future.

The successful conclusion of the Second International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations, the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the *Declaration* released by the 14 parties and organizations who formed and signed that *Declaration* is a major leap ideologically, politically and organizationally. We Haitian revolutionaries of the Haitian International Revolutionary Group (GRIA) uphold and fully support these steps, because this is a sign of political maturity and the willingness of Marxist-Leninists around the world to take responsibility for the whole movement, and their willingness to, as stated in the message to the imprisoned fighters for revolution: "...further uniting our ranks, by further grounding our revolutionary determination in a scientific understanding of the nature, means and goal of the class struggle, we can, together, help hasten the destruction of the forces of darkness and advance forward in our glorious battle to build a world without classes and exploitation." Indeed this should be the task of all those who want to destroy the forces of darkness.

Together with all the other revolutionaries who formed this Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and put out this *Declaration*, we dare to rise to the challenge, to start taking steps to form our own proletarian internationalist organization, an International of a new type based on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and with that daring spirit we urge other advanced proletarians and genuine revolutionaries to also rise to the challenge of participating in the process of building this international organization, of developing a general line for the movement and hastening the development of revolution both in their own countries and internationally. We of GRIA truly think that the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* is a step in that direction; it's a powerful blast to all bourgeois elements, imperialists, opportunists and revisionist forces and at the same time it's a weapon all genuine revolutionary forces should uphold and fight for. For us one way to wage this struggle is to take up the call to propagate and struggle over this *Declaration* upon its release, to actively participate in the worldwide fundraising drive and the adoption of the common May Day slogans on May First. We urge all revolutionary elements to join the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in fulfilling this noble task; we urge them to wield this powerful missile against the forces of reaction and darkness. We must also continue to struggle among ourselves (the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces) to further our ideological, political and organizational unity and thus achieve our noble aim of breaking our chains and winning the world. This is no small task but collectively we can do it if we base ourselves on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and dare do the impossible — storm heaven.

Haitian International Revolutionary Group
(G.R.I.A.)

Messages of Support

The following letters and messages were received by the RW following publication in RW No. 247 of the *Communiqué* of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations which announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and important decisions and resolutions of the Second Conference, including the forthcoming publication of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on May 1st, 1984 in 22 languages and the international slogans for May 1st. Further correspondence greeting the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can be sent via the RW, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654.*

When I first heard about the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement from a friend who heard it on the Spanish news, I could feel some chills running up my spine because I almost couldn't believe it, that such a historic thing could happen at such a time. A few days later, I got some copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* and there it was in bold letters in a background of red. Then I knew that it was really true. Since then, I have left some papers around where I work. People are staring at them and making comments about how impressive it is that there is now an actual movement formed on a world scale along the same political orientation and has begun to deal with how to defeat imperialism all over the world! This formation is definitely a great thing to happen, especially because of the sharpening situation in the world where both imperialist governments, the U.S. and the USSR, are facing a deteriorating situation as they prepare to redivide the world in an upcoming world war. Now the other side to this horror they are preparing for is that there are revolutionary struggles developing in the oppressed countries and sparks flying in the imperialist countries.

However, there has been one thing lacking — the leadership of the international proletariat and its line has not yet gained the upper hand. I think the formation of this leading center around a unified line is the beginning step in being able to strengthen the ability of the international proletariat to fight the imperialists and really win some territory from them and thus be able to put us in a better position to seize enough strategic parts of the world before the imperialists plunge the world's people into a nuclear holocaust. In a sense, the international proletariat can now begin to act in its own interests in a unified and organized way and really bring full meaning to the fact that proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains and they do indeed have a world to win. I am sure that the formation of this leading organization was forged through a great amount of struggle and am very impressed with the level of unity achieved. I have talked to many people who have become cynical about the possibility of genuine revolution and blame it on the setback that took place in China and the Soviet Union. But now the trend of opposing all forms of imperialism and striving for a vision of world revolution is making itself known once again and this can perhaps awaken some of those who were embittered by the actions of the revisionists.

Another thing that is quite exciting is the task that the excerpts from the *Declaration* speaks to about helping the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties and the strengthening of existing ones. Some Central Americans with whom I have talked to lately are kind of demoralized about the situation in Central America because they have a certain straight-line view and an expectation that the revolutionary struggle was going to reach the top and be free of the imperialists during the upsurges in 1980-81. Along with this thinking is that all you have to do is take up a gun and everything will be solved. The road to full liberation

is not quite that simple. In the meantime, political questions arose about the leadership and how to move forward and the Soviet Union was beckoning the masses with this easy road of peaceful compromise. The masses were not very prepared to consciously come to the forefront and put its line at the head of things nor able to distinguish a wrong line from a correct line. So, no matter how much people were swept into the struggle and took up arms when they thought they never would before, there still remains the crucial element of having a vanguard force based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

I am not saying that all the problems and complex questions involved in how to make revolution on a world scale are solved automatically just by the formation of this movement. However, I do think that we can now really lend strength to those places where the masses are fighting through the chains of imperialism. I have heard it raised again and again about how it is very difficult to wage struggle against the U.S. imperialists because of the backwardness of the oppressed countries economically and politically, and because of this they say it is okay to rely on the Soviet Union to get rid of the U.S. It is not just simply telling them that you have to rely on yourself and rely on the masses, because we still do have to resolve the question of how do you chart out a correct course of making genuine revolution in the oppressed countries. This is why I think that the message to the Communist Party of Peru is significant because here is a party who's going up against the intense pressure to capitulate to one or another imperialist and leading the people of a small country to developing their own war against all imperialism. This is like a budding rose that people worldwide need to take note of and learn from.

Also, when such a thing emerges, we have to realize that they are also being surrounded and it is very encouraging for

them to see that there is a proletarian internationalist pole supporting them. It seems that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can now draw from the experience gained by the Communist Party of Peru and the struggle the masses are waging to add to that arsenal of the international proletariat, to further increase its fighting capacity.

I think that the Resolutions are very significant in that it wasn't just superficial support statements, but what I believe reflects some real thought on how to help advance things where revolutionary forces are trying very hard to break through. Supporting the stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao because they have refused to back down on their support of Mao and his line will certainly give inspiration to those subversives in China who are waiting for the moment to seize the stage back from the revisionists. The statement to the Palestinian people is one that gives a certain guidance on how to view the struggle at this time and what happened after the invasion of West Beirut. This is very important for them to know and equally important for people worldwide to support their just struggle.

Just to look into the future a little bit, one thing that has always troubled me is how to make revolution throughout the world and protect and expand on spreading socialism when one country is able to seize power from the imperialists. The actual situation is that these socialist countries have been encircled by reactionary forces and they are always trying to take it back by attacking it. Maybe this seems like a dream of some kind, but I really do think that it seems now that we might be able to scale the heights to surround the imperialists. It wouldn't be bad at all for the reactionary imperialists to feel isolated and surrounded by a communist conspiracy. It would be quite fine indeed if an internationalist army could be sent to those places where they need this kind of support, and there is a need to

May 1st Slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

- ★ **Long Live Red 1st of May,
Symbol of the World Proletarian Revolution!**
- ★ **Build the Unity of the International Proletariat!
Hail the Formation of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**
- ★ **Prevent World War!
Step Up the Struggle for Revolution
Throughout the World!**
- ★ **Develop the Struggle of the Masses Against Imperialist War Preparations
As a Mighty Force for Revolution!**
- ★ **Support the Peoples War in Peru and All Revolutionary Struggles of the
Oppressed Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction!**
- ★ **Solidarity with All Imprisoned Fighters for Revolution! Fight for Their Liberation!**
- ★ **Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!**

fight a decisive battle. Of course this army's strength comes from having a correct line.

In a certain sense the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is completed, but there is still the complete *Declaration* to come out on May First, and also the proletariat here, and around the world, needs to know that there is such a movement. It needs to be taken into their own hands. This is where there is much to do. Sometimes when one lives in an imperialist country so long, you take a lot of things for granted and forget there are things you have that people in other countries don't have access to. For example, the ability to print literature and other press is not a given in some of the oppressed countries. So, if the imperialists are going to suck up the wealth from the rest of the world through exploitation, then we here should siphon some of that to be used against them. I would like to really urge that proletarians as well as other social strata here contribute money to support the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, and when people in other parts of the globe hear about this, they will feel inspired to know that even in this bastion of reaction, there is a proletariat conscious of its class loyalties and standing with forces worldwide to put an end to imperialism.

Proletarian internationalist
from Central America
San Francisco

Speaking up and out, only a fool would not speak up for his or her life, or set around waiting for bombs to fall or without letting the world know how one feels about oppression, starvation,

murder, and aggression going on around the world for instance in El Salvador and Central America, Iran, Turkey, Colombia just to name a few of more than 40 outbreaks of war in itself on this planet made and designed by the two so-called superpowers, which is the imperialist U.S. and imperialist U.S.S.R. playing games with the lives of every one of us on earth; power doesn't mean play god.

Let me take time now to say that I welcome and support the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement formed in March. I also give them credit for having foresight for trying to bring about a positive world order without blowing the people of this Planet to hell.

Most of all aggression, oppression, starvation, rapes and murders are designed by the system and are going on in this country and I know this from my own living experience in this land what imperialists will do if you keep your mouth shut, so why not speak out. I've always spoken out in ways, not always in words but in action also. Even in 1966 when I was drafted I refused to be part of the aggression and oppression that was being spread by this imperialist system and still being spread even more so now in other countries and against other people of this planet, so instead of outright murder, oppression, aggression being spread by me I went to prison and did 2-1/2 to 5.

I can't see doing what I don't want done to me as a human being, I am more than glad to be able to speak out and call for the support and donations to support the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, in giving us the chance to express our opinions when I am not able to carry out thoughts and opinions in any other way.

A Black Proletarian of Detroit

Support the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement! Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is the road that all proletarians have to follow, since it supports and builds all types of demonstrations, struggles, and protests, and always springs forward to help the progress of the masses. Today more than ever people have a lot to learn, especially what is real dialectical materialism; I'm aware of this because I'm an internationalist revolutionary.

A Salvadoran
Houston, Texas

The struggles of all the peoples of the world are the liberation of the proletariat of the world, and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is now adding its force to the fight to destroy capitalism.

We proletarians support all just struggles. Therefore we will fight until the final victory for the entire world as one.

A Salvadoreño
Houston, Texas

The new International! This is excellent, but will be better still as it echoes throughout the world. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement appears to be an immediate necessity required by the world situation, and also required by the necessity that we build our tasks in struggling for power on a strong foundation.

Today in the '80s, more than ever, we have the possibility to struggle together; to move faster toward worldwide revolution, realizing as well that there is much to learn from the failings and sufferings in the past. But it is now that proletarians of

all the world must unite ourselves, and hold up a correct general line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The struggle in Peru, in El Salvador, and the struggle of the Palestinian people aren't different from each other. But now we must develop a unity and a general line that is truly communist.

¡Viva la lucha en Peru!
¡Arriba la lucha en Estados Unidos!
¡Arriba el internacionalismo!
¡Viva la nuevo Movimiento
Revolucionario Internacionalista!

2 Salvadorans
Houston, Texas

I think the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can bring basic unity to the world. It will make the oppressed very much stronger to accelerate the struggle for world communism. For the whole world to be communist, to gather our strength and unity — that is our future.

A Pissed-off Jamaican Youth
Houston, Texas

When I first heard of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, my first thought was this is really heavy. The very thought of all these parties struggling over line, and being able to unite around a common goal — the elimination of worldwide imperialism and the establishment of socialism and on to the final goal of worldwide Communism. It came to me that this is really making a statement; it says we are an organized force that's becoming more organized

Continued on page 8

Messages

Continued from page 7

every day. And if you've ever wondered about what exactly is internationalism, this is it. Not just individual parties in individual countries, but united with parties around the globe, actually united with the proletariat around the world. Think about the proletariat in all these different places raising the same slogan in unison on May First, not to mention the *Declaration* being printed in 22 languages being distributed that day, both hitting at the very gut of reaction. That's inspiring as hell.

With the imperialists' feverish moves towards world war, they can't do this in isolation. What I mean by this, they are caught in a contradiction which is, as they prepare for their war, they have to bludgeon the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities into submission. As Mao said, "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war." Within this contradiction they are caught in, great opportunities open up. There is no way of foreseeing which weak link will break. It may not be in the U.S. first, but wherever it should weaken, we should hit hard. And this year May Day becomes even more significant for the advanced proletariat in this country and on a world

scale to step up and step out on the political stage. In this you can see that this movement is right on time.

We have to know that this is a hell of a beginning, but that it is going to require a lot of work and struggle. It can't be seen as a straight line forward and all the problems are solved. For example, I've talked to some Black masses in this country and they don't quite agree that opportunities are opening up for some fundamental changes because they look around them and observe the lack of motion in their own community or amongst their own nationality. I think that their view has to be much broader, into the international scene and begin to judge the possibilities from that vantage point. Now, if this is a question to be struggled out here, then I'm sure this must be a question in other countries also. So, it seems that there needs to be a lot done in every country to more fully arm people with a proletarian internationalist view and what this really means. I was very enthused about the coming out of an international journal because this is a very concrete way of debating over key questions facing us.

Those of us who happen to live here must really rise to the challenge and put preparation first. We indeed have a role to play in this process. The formation of this organization doesn't mean we have got it all together. It means we work harder to raise our own political understanding. But the rewards that we see from past experience are great.

I used to think that dealing with the different lines in the international com-

munist movement was none of my business and too difficult to understand. But the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement does pose some new challenges for the proletariat in this country. This worldwide movement is *ours*, and we had better take part in contributing to it and taking up the struggle to achieve an even more higher understanding of what it's going to take to defeat imperialism worldwide. I've been reading parts of the book, *For A Harvest of Dragons*, by Bob Avakian and I think that it has shed some light on why forging even further forward on applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is so important. I think that other people should really study this book too.

My own experience in taking this out to the advanced at this point has been limited. But the response I have gotten is that people see this as a real accomplishment and want to get into how it develops further. When you think of the press conference and the U.S. media not attending, you know straight-up why they were consciously boycotting. This is their way of downplaying the significance of it. But what's rising in opposition to the Bourgeoisie's plan for the masses is something they will not be able to ignore in the future. The media of the U.S. imperialists doesn't want it to be known that they are realizing their worst nightmare, "Proletarian Internationalism," the advanced in one country is working along with the advanced in other countries towards the final demise of imperialism.

One other point I would like to raise and that is that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has announced the launching of a worldwide fund drive to the furthering of the unity of the Communists. I am calling on all of you who think and dream of a new kind of world, who find that even in the best of times life for us is a living hell under the boot of imperialism, when they lie to us and say that things are getting better, most of us ask the question, better for who? In short, if we really want to get rid of life-draining shit we have got to act today, we have got to act today to prepare our ranks and share in the preparation for the acceleration of world revolution...to draw in and win new soldiers, as a part of carrying this out we need to make great sacrifice. Most of us don't have a lot of money because we are the proletariat and from the oppressed nationalities, but every day of our lives we are told it is our duty to keep this bloodsucking system alive, they say we must sacrifice and sacrifice. Well, I think the time has long past for us to sacrifice for them. What we must do is sacrifice to get rid of them. We must dig down deep and contribute financially to the task involved in furthering the unity of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. I myself will give all that I can, I call on you to do the same.

From a Black revolutionary woman looking forward to putting imperialism into its grave all around the world.
California

Rally At Chapel Hill

A very successful "Rally Against Women's Oppression" was held at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill on March 15th (IWD always falls during spring break). Sponsored by the Anti-Imperialist Organizing Committee, the Internationalist Bookstore and the Women's Book Exchange, and including supporters of the RCP, the rally attracted a constant group of about 75 people, and a shifting crowd of hundreds. To grasp the significance of this rally in this small southern college town, picture dress-shop windows full of Scarlett O'Hara-type dresses — "Old South Balls" are a highlight of the social season on fraternity row, with the men wearing Confederate uniforms! Picture also red ribbons hung by a women's group at various sites on campus where women have been raped, with most hanging on dorms to demonstrate the prevalence of date rape.

A Black feminist began the rally by questioning why the oppression of

women is generally considered less important than other forms of oppression, saying, "When the Sandinistas fought for the liberation of Nicaragua, as they should have, they were not accused of being selfish. Why should we be accused of selfishness when we fight for our liberation?" An RCP supporter, wearing an IWD T-shirt (labeled "vicious" by a local revisionist), said "Once every eight minutes in this country a woman is raped — ah, the good life in America!" Perhaps it was such statements which led the campus newspaper to cover the rally with an editorial entitled, "Fanaticism Unhealthy and Offensive." (Indeed, one jock-type was so offended that he demanded the rally be interrupted so that he could announce that he personally did not oppress women!) Other speakers included a disenfranchised ex-Peace Corps worker who described the life of women in Benin and a woman who read a poem by Alice Walker.

One measure of the rally's impact in

the area was the appearance of folk singer Holly Near, in town for a concert. She urged support for Nicaragua, and for many other issues from gay rights to world peace. While her statement was the high point of the rally for many, some feminists and RCP supporters were disturbed that she barely discussed the particular oppression of women, and an RCP supporter disputed Near's view that getting rid of Reagan is the most important task of 1984.

Today, several weeks after the rally, controversy about it still rages in the campus newspaper. While there were quite contradictory opinions among rally organizers as to the origin of women's oppression and its eventual solution, the highly-charged atmosphere was the result of a conscious decision to make the rally such a strong exposure of the condition of women that would serve as an indictment of both the line that "Equal rights is the problem, ERA is the solution," and the traditional left (revisionist-inspired) liquida-

tion of women's oppression."

A significant issue debated in the course of organizing the rally was the relationship between the necessity for women to take the initiative in emancipating themselves, and the necessity for men to take the initiative in fighting against male supremacist ideology. Most of the women felt that a contemporary manifestation of male chauvinism among politically advanced men is the view that support for the initiative of women is enough — the bottom line being that women's oppression is still a women's issue. The women struggled for greater initiative by the men, and some men did rise to the occasion.

Altogether, it was a very successful event.

An RCP supporter
Chapel Hill, NC

Old-Fashioned Bullets New-Fashioned Ballots

Continued from page 1

enough, but it was compounded many times over. Many of the polling places failed to open at the scheduled time, while others closed early. Pollwatchers reported that there were too few ballots at a significant number of the places; in one location, there were thousands of people in line, and slightly more than one hundred ballots available. A large number of the ballots were "lost" and are now being discovered — in many cases, already marked — in rivers, fields and other unusual receptacles. This situation appears to be mainly the result of heightened infighting among the comprador parties, as each poll official tried to figure out how best to advance his own party's interests at the expense of the others. And the fighting was fierce at the top levels of the electoral game. For example, the vice-president of the Central Election Council, who is a Christian Democrat, fired the head technician, who is a member of ARENA, and called in the security forces to make sure the technician left the premises.

As a result of all this, several of the smaller parties began calling for an an-

nulment of the election. At one point, even the leading Christian Democrats, claiming that they should have had over 50% of the vote and been able to avoid a run-off, threatened to protest and overturn the results. At that point, named and unnamed U.S. officials began reiterating the scenario they had called for prior to the election, and U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering's statement that "We have consistently said that there will be no first-round winner" was repeated many times. In other words, any challenge to the election would have torn asunder the already quite threadbare cloak of "legitimacy" that it was meant to serve. And besides, it was time to begin the hammering process — first used two years ago by then-ambassador Deane Hinton — whereby the U.S. embassy threatens, pressures and cajoles the various party leaders (not to mention giving direct orders to them) so as to broker some form of mutual compromise government that, it is hoped, will hold together somehow. Thus, the candidates began to speak about the upcoming run-off election in April or May (between Duarte and D'Aubuisson), and Duarte himself loudly confirmed that the Chris-

tian Democrats would accept the election, since to do otherwise would "invalidate not only the election but the will of the Salvadoran people."

It appears that exercising discretion in commenting on this election is a prime requirement of both U.S. officials and the U.S. free press. Thus, there is no mention of the fact that the estimated turnout of the voters amounts to less than half of the potential voter estimate announced by the Central Election Council prior to the election. Neither is it announced that out of 261 municipalities in the country, 89 of them (34%) had no election organized, since they were firmly under the control of the armed opposition. Prior to the election, Social Democratic and revisionist leaders of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) had tried to promise that the opposition forces would "respect" the election and some had even called for a "truce" in its honor; there were even stories of certain guerrilla organizations urging people to vote in disputed areas. All of this was, of course, part of the strategy of compromise and negotiation that is being pursued by the leadership of the opposition. However, it appears that there was disagreement over how to deal with the election, as many of the roads and highways were blocked, "cédulas," or ID cards, required in order to vote, were confiscated in some areas (and in some cases, were stamped by the guerrillas to make it appear as if the cardholder had actually gone and voted),

and there was sporadic fighting in a number of municipalities where the voting was supposed to take place.

This occurred amidst a concerted effort on the part of the U.S. to intimidate the opposition troops and Nicaragua in conjunction with the Salvadoran election. U.S. paratroopers conducted an Emergency Deployment Readiness Exercise — described as preparations for short-notice flights into combat conditions in Central America — by dropping into Honduras for three days of maneuvers to coincide with the elections. This was the caper to a full week of military announcements and threats. The action involved: the new deployment of Green Berets "training" their Honduran counterinsurgency counterparts on the border; the arrival of three American warships in the Caribbean; the announcement that Ocean Venture '84, the largest naval exercises yet in the Caribbean, will begin April 20 to "enhance the perception of the capability of the U.S. to project military power"; the announcement that a series of exercises called Grenadier I (coincidentally sounding very similar to a certain Caribbean island recently invaded by U.S. forces) will begin April 1 and may involve Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Panamanian troops in addition to those from the U.S. and Honduras.

As we have noted before, this election is particularly instructive in answering the question "Where does political power come from?" □



Intrusion in Computerland

On the evening of Thursday, March 8th, International Women's Day, the young proletarian from El Salvador walked through the gates of a medium-sized computer assembly plant in the Silicon Valley wearing a T-shirt with an image of a furious lioness on the front and "Desencadenar la Furia de la Mujer como una Fuerza Poderosa para la Revolución" ("Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force For Revolution") on the back. This was not simply an act of solidarity with the struggle of women or just a show of defiance in the bowels of the monster whose tentacles reach out to strangle his native land. In our interview with Juan sometime after IWD, and with a Mexican co-worker from another shift, an image began to emerge of a small, yet potentially very significant group of class-conscious proletarian immigrants working in one of the most strategic of imperialist industries. What their sentiments, thoughts, and actions attest to is the rather fertile ground for the spread of revolutionary and internationalist sentiments and outlook here in California's Silicon Valley, where the wonders of modern technological production rest on the foundation of the most backward and decrepit social relations, in particular the subordination and oppression of women, especially immigrants from Mexico, Central America and Vietnam.

The following are excerpts from separate interviews conducted with Jorge, a Mexican worker in this 30s who has worked in the Silicon Valley for five years and Juan, from El Salvador and in his early 20s.

From Jorge we found out about some of the conditions in this plant which employs 3-400 workers on each of two shifts. This medium-sized assembly plant is typical of similar labor intensive operations which employ mainly unskilled women workers and semi-skilled men. In the Silicon Valley there are as many as 4-500 plants of this size with similar conditions.

On the day shift, where Jorge works, the majority of the workers are women (Juan works on the evening shift where there is a larger percentage of men). Most women do assembly work, which is the least skilled and the lowest paid. Many make just the minimum, \$3.35 an hour. After working for three years they might be making all of \$3.80. There are quota sheets. These are closely watched by the supervisors. In order to get a raise of even 15¢ you have to show a big increase in production on the quota sheet.

Added to the pressures of low wages and the constant tension of the quota sheet is the misery of forced overtime.

Jorge explained, "There is a line made up mostly of women where failure to work overtime resulted in punishment. For example, when the work slows down people might get laid off two or three weeks, and these periodic layoffs go to those who refuse to work overtime in busy times." Jorge explained that he himself is not caught up in the pressure for forced overtime nor are most of the men who are more skilled workers, and thus have more leeway in the plant. But the women can be replaced easier and thus have more pressure on them. After several months of 7-day work weeks during the busy period, the women had a work stoppage to protest. Then, "the company put an ad in the newspaper and began interviewing people — a lot of people showed up — but they actually only hired a few because they were really just trying to intimidate the women." As to the excuse given for these conditions forced upon women that, after all, they are not working out of necessity but only to make extra money, Jorge scoffed, "The vast majority (of women) work because the husband alone can't make it. But little is left to them, because most have children... and they pay \$40 or \$50 a week in babysitting. For the women who are single they have a tough battle."

Of course the oppression the women face is in addition to the national oppression all immigrant workers suffer, particularly those from Latin America who are faced with the stepped-up raids by the immigration authorities.

It was into this situation that a rather defiant young Salvadoran stepped and began arousing both controversy and interest in discussing the revolutionary struggle in his homeland. Jorge described how some younger Salvadoran immigrants challenged the influence of some conservative Salvadorans in the plant, "This was a family that feared, was very much against, revolution. I believe they had relatives in the government over there. But when the others (Juan and other young Salvadoreños) arrived they left them speechless." Soon after, the conservative family left altogether. With discussion about revolution more prevalent in the plant among the Salvadoran workers, other workers were drawn into discussion. In all this Juan played a quite open and active role.

When IWD approached, Juan took an active interest and an active role in raising it. However, the step to take up IWD and the struggle against the oppression of women did not get taken either automatically nor without opposition. In addition to having to fight the weight of tradition which holds that one only fights around one's own oppression, Juan faced criticism from other revolutionary-minded Salvadorans who held that women's oppression needed to be fought,

but only after revolution had been won. Juan opposed this thinking as really an excuse to keep things the way they are.

The desire for revolution, to overturn the present oppressive order of things, compelled Juan to look into the question of women's oppression. "I am trying to get more of an understanding of both why it is important for women to be able to be part of the revolutionary movement as well as what it's actually going to take to do so. Women have a very important role. They are part of the moving things forward. To be able to do that, you need to bring forward some of these women and change the ways of men at the same time."

For many who come to the U.S., the enormous contrast between the material abundance here and the extreme poverty in places like Central America and Mexico blinds them from seeing the oppression here, let alone taking up the struggle against it. Juan encountered this kind of sentiment in the plant — "There are lots of people, each searching for a way to survive because where they came from they were oppressed, and they believe that once here with a job and some money they are no longer oppressed, but yes they are."

Not that Juan was not himself greatly influenced by the immense gap between conditions here, and say, El Salvador. While this has raised doubts in his mind about the possibility of revolution here, it has also brought to the fore in his thinking a very important point: "... There does not exist nearly as much oppression here as in our country. But yes, one can see that from this country comes oppression over other countries around the world... We must try to change that situation that today rules over the whole world."

Over a period of time, Juan became more conscious of the oppression of women here. "There are no possibilities for women in this society as I see it. I see that nothing is easy for them because as much as they work on the job as much discrimination is put on them. If I was like the majority of people and had a wife and kids, whatever the husband says the wife would have to do. If she doesn't listen he beats her or whatever to make her do what he says. I really think that is bad. That kind of oppression of women should not be allowed to exist... and perhaps, I believe we will be able to do something to change all of that." Juan had already seen some transformation take place in El Salvador as a result of the war there, where many of the previously sacred social relations had begun to break down and women had entered actively into the struggle.

On the eve of IWD Juan bought two T-shirts, one for himself, and one for a friend who also works in the plant, but

she did not wear the shirt to work. She felt the risk to herself and her two children, one who lives here and the other in El Salvador, was too great. Nevertheless, Juan wore the shirt himself to the night shift. Afterward, Juan played down reaction to the shirt at work, but according to another worker in the plant it set off considerable discussion among the mostly male workers on the night shift. Some people said, "Women's liberation is a good thing in general, but I'm not sure about that picture of the pouncing lioness, isn't that a bit too much?"

Though Juan did not appear to be overly deterred by the obstacles and tough questions which have been posed to him, actually taking up the question of women's oppression and revolution has brought some of his own questions strongly to the fore. In particular, Juan had a strong disagreement with a section in the RCP *Programme* dealing with abortion. "I believe that this (abortion) is bad, because we have come into the world, many others have that right as well. We must not deprive others of life. For me, the government here, as well as in many other countries suppresses us, deprives us of liberty, the right to let another enter the world, to give new life. We don't know what (that person) will do, but we know that he will follow after us."

The discussion and struggle that ensued touched on the naked hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie who oppose abortion while carrying out widespread forced sterilization. The issue of birth control in China served as a useful illustration of how different classes view this question. Birth control in formerly socialist China was promoted and struggled over as an important aspect of the battle to overthrow the conditions of women's oppression. Today birth control in revisionist China has more to do with better utilizing women's labor power as a commodity, and is imposed increasingly through coercion and punishment.

The discussion also began to hit on the question of just how profoundly the "traditional role" of women would be transformed through proletarian revolution, or whether the fight against women's oppression would be just a fashionable means of drawing women into the ranks of the revolution.

These and other questions stimulated a desire for further study. □

Jet Propulsion Lab

Continued from page 5

Center, and kept the faculty pretty much in the dark about the nature and purpose of the center. As word had slowly leaked out about what the center would do a loud protest had arisen on the campus.

At the end of the January faculty meeting, a "sheepish" President Goldberger gave the results to the press — a faculty resolution passed almost unanimously that read: "We recommend that once Cal Tech's present commitments have been carried out, Cal Tech divest itself of the Arroyo Center expeditiously and in a responsible fashion at the earliest possible time."

Now, technically the Cal Tech faculty does not have the power to order severance of the Arroyo Center from JPL (as Provost Vogt bluntly stated, "The Cal Tech Administration does not operate by public opinion polls or by votes"). But the vote, and the faculty's overall mood, had seemingly caught the government and the administration by surprise, and posed a monumental political problem at the prestigious institution.

Opposition Builds

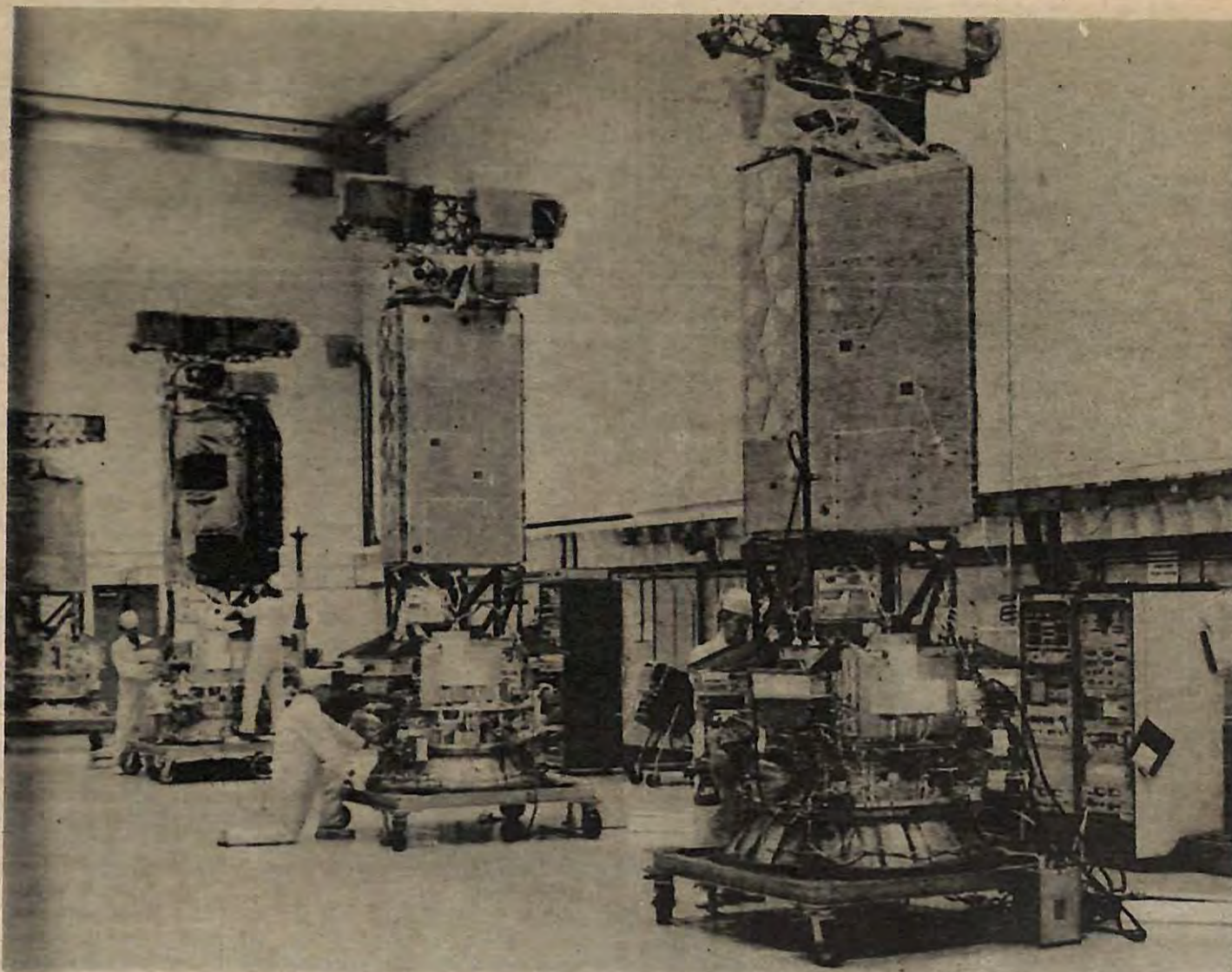
Perhaps the opposition to Arroyo Center shouldn't have surprised the government so much. It must have known that sentiment against military work, and against the kind of changes in the life of the institution that would inevitably come with the work, had been simmering for some time. Until 1981, there had been very little classified research or Department of Defense work at JPL. But at that time, federal funding for deep space science had been slashed and the cuts were taking their toll: in early 1982 JPL was faced with the prospect of laying off 1500 of its employees or accepting classified research projects from the military.

Right at the time this was coming to a head, General Lew Allen was hired as head of JPL. His "credentials" for the heretofore civilian science lab job were past posts as Air Force Chief of Staff, Deputy Director of the CIA, head of the National Security Agency, and participation in the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. Clearly, the government, teamed with the Cal Tech/JPL administration, had big plans for changing the character of the place.

It wasn't long before Cal Tech was allowing JPL to accept up to 30% of its budget in the form of classified military projects. Included were projects integral to the drive by the U.S. to produce overall military superiority over the Soviet Union: garnering the biggest dollar amounts was the Airland Battle Advanced Technology Project, new weaponry for a land war in Europe and other parts of the world; other secret projects such as Talon Gold and the Autonomous Spacecraft programs took on antisatellite and other space war work, while parts of the lab began work on improved command and control systems such as the Electro-Optical Sensor, for remote surveillance.

Already, these projects had generated anger among some. According to an internal faculty memorandum obtained by the *Los Angeles Times*, one faculty member rose at a faculty board meeting in October 1981, and asked Cal Tech president Marvin L. Goldberger whether the institute should right then consider withdrawing from JPL. Goldberger replied, "It is well to recognize that 50% of the general budget (of Cal Tech) comes from federal sources and 20% from the JPL overhead." This not-so-diplomatic waving of the federal funding stick was apparently enough to squelch the idea at the time.

But the issue was far from dead on the campus which had at one time included Carl Sagan on its faculty, and which has long been the home of an active chapter of the progressive periodical *Science for the People*. One Cal Tech professor complained to a local Pasadena paper: "The grassroots campus had almost nothing to say about it all. There were always



A few decades ago satellites were only the stuff that science fiction was made of, today they are a production line item.

pseudo-discussions while the trustees did as they wanted." In the fall of 1982, scientists and engineers at both Cal Tech and JPL took out a full-page ad in the *L.A. Times* supporting the nuclear freeze position. About 1500 signatures were put to the statement. Such a position was not exactly the same as an outright rejection of military research — indeed, the freeze proposal inherently allows for certain kinds of "good," "stabilizing" or "defensive" weaponry and to some scientists the freeze was therefore a way to justify "good" military research. Nonetheless, the ad was another clear indicator that all was not harmony between the government's military-oriented plans for Cal Tech/JPL, and some of the faculty and staff who were supposed to implement them.

Sometime in mid-1983 it became known on campus that the government and administration had secretly established working plans for a new project, qualitatively different, and to many, qualitatively more dangerous, than existing programs. Since the news was not formally announced it is not known how the existence of plans for Arroyo Center became public knowledge. But however it was leaked, the news was decidedly upsetting to many (while many others, of course, seem to have supported the proposed project: it is known that the administration conferred secretly with a faculty board at least once during the year).

In the fall of 1983, a few on campus learned that Richard Montgomery had been hired as the head of the new think tank. Rumors about the purpose of the Center flew furiously, some of which turned out to be exaggerated, but many turned out to have validity. When the purposes of the center were announced finally by Montgomery in February 1984, this is how they were described — the Center would study:

- Problems and constraints faced by the army in the future; "what kind of army will it be."
- "How should the army be manned and trained?"
- "How the army is to fight."
- Development of logistics.

Evidently, these are sweeping questions for the imperialists in the overall shaping of the forces that are meant to fight World War 3; to some on the campus they were even worse — far worse — than the strictly technical weapons projects which had existed up to that time.

Furthermore, many suspected that among the army's "problems" in future fighting would be development of counter-civilian tactics. This was confirmed finally by Richard Feynman, a physics Nobel Prize winner, who wrote this month to the *Cal Tech*, the student

paper:

"A task the army may, constitutionally, be asked to do is control severe civilian disturbances. The army came to JPL, explaining that they really did not know how to do this, and one of the things the Center (Arroyo Center — *RW*) might do would be to think about how to train their soldiers, what weapons to allow, etc., so such catastrophes as Kent State could be avoided. Thus if they were ever called upon to be in this difficult position, they could do it with the least amount of harm and misunderstanding."

Feynman added that in his opinion it was "good they are thinking about these things" but that since there was so much misunderstanding of the project, the Center should be severed from Cal Tech.

Not everyone was willing to go through such acrobatics in justifying the Arroyo Center. Groups of people on campus met informally to discuss and oppose the Center. One graduate student explained: "I was always interested in politics. But actually getting involved has come out of a sense of crisis in the world. My natural tendency would be to let others handle the political problems of the world and spend my time doing research. But I find myself pulled in two directions: on the one hand trying to advance human knowledge, on the other... trying to save from destruction what humanity has already achieved."

The Bottom Line

Not all of the opposition to the Center by any means has been consciously and deliberately antimilitary. There are many at the institution who react, rather, to the sharp change in the character of the place that must accompany any massive influx of classified research, military projects, and, put even more broadly, "practical science." Indeed, the broadest current of opposition probably stems from this sentiment. Take Willy Fowler, a long-time Cal Tech professor who received the 1983 Nobel Prize in Physics for work which mainly centered on his study of how, in the development of the universe, heavier elements were built up out of hydrogen and helium in the center of stars. In a story in the Cal Tech student newspaper, Fowler commented that since receiving the prize he had been very frequently asked what practical application his work had. He told the paper: "Practical applications are not what have motivated me..." Instead, he said, he had been motivated by the goal of "cultural and intellectual contribution to the sum total of human knowledge."

Fowler is decidedly out of step with today's American scientific spirit. The head of the American Association for the Advancement of Science put it this way: "The government believes... research

will have to produce a positive bottom line. And that is clearly a different signal than basic science is accustomed to hearing."

In the period since World War 2, the U.S. government did front a lot of "pure research" in the United States. In a general way, this has been part of the U.S. drive to be "number one in everything." This has taken on added intensity in the space science field, where the rival Soviets have always produced formidable capabilities of their own. Overall, of course, government funding and direction of science has been one-sided and distorted — much of it in direct service to economic and military needs of empire — still, scientists have had a certain latitude, and have produced exciting discoveries. Today, the U.S. wants to "reap" this apparatus — to bring to bear its best scientists on the problem of winning nuclear war.

This "reaping" of the scientific apparatus is seen by many at Cal Tech as more like "raping." Some of the broadest concerns expressed in the opposition to the Arroyo Center were on the effect it would have on the character of life at Cal Tech, on the quality of its reputation for scientific work, and on its relation to an international community of scientists. Some of this was raised even before too much was known about the Arroyo Center and how it would operate; but the militarization of science had already had its effect on Cal Tech/JPL, and in that context, the Arroyo Center justifiably gave rise to nightmares of a campus turned into a warren of security officers, secret projects and classified information, which would not only strangle the kind of open discussion of science and ongoing scientific experiments that is valued on the campus, but would also automatically exclude the many foreign students at Cal Tech from the central scientific work of this school and of JPL.

The kind of changes feared at Cal Tech/JPL have already occurred, to varying degrees, across the country. The staff at the Stanford linear accelerator, for example, a prestigious high energy particle accelerator which does research into the basic structure of matter, recently burst into hot debate over accepting classified research — i.e., research whose results can only be seen by those with government security clearances. The question of classified research is being forced to the fore and is becoming a center of controversy in a number of fields. And more frequently these days, research projects which start out completely public end up being slapped with security classifications — or the scientists who try to present papers at international

Continued on page 11

Continued from page 10

scientific conferences are warned by the government that they might violate laws regulating the export of high technology. Sometimes government pressure goes far beyond that. At a fall 1983 conference on the vacuum physics, six FBI agents registered, demanded that the conference organizers not divulge their presence, then proceeded to stroll around wearing large, old-fashioned earphones; the agents ended up making a highly publicized arrest of an East German physics professor on espionage charges, making crystal clear to the scientists involved that times were changing and that even at public conferences, where no classified information was being discussed, they had better watch who they talk to and what they had to say.

The fear that Cal Tech, too, might soon be plopped into this cesspool of military security, continues to haunt even those who are not sure where they stand on accepting military research.

Slap in the Face

All of the various currents of opposition surfaced with a loud bang as the January faculty vote to reject the Center as part of the institution. And this was followed by a Graduate Student Council resolution which read in part:

* "Many graduate students are concerned that much of military research is leading the world into an extreme danger. Thus, many of them fear that the proposed 'Arroyo Center' could become a negative contribution to national security."

* "Many graduate students feel that the talent, energy, and resources of the Cal Tech community should not be devoted to issues of purely military interest."

The rejection of the Arroyo Center was quite a slap in the face to the political/scientific/military authorities heading up the U.S. offensive in science. Yet the reaction of these authorities has been rather restrained. First reactions were predictable. General Allen said only that: "The tenor and tone of the discussion was more strident than we expected."

Center director Montgomery expressed regret: "I think they have hurt themselves. I think the faculty should welcome the opportunity to help influence government policy. The combination of Cal-Tech and JPL had something unique to offer the Army." But then the capper: the administration gave in to the faculty... at least for the present. The Arroyo Center will continue its present relationship with Cal Tech/JPL until it is "established." After that, the promise is that the Center will be severed from JPL. Montgomery said: "I am accepting as a given that the long-term plan will not have a formal association with Cal Tech and JPL." General Allen elaborated: "We will proceed to establish the Center with vigor, and we will simultaneously begin discussions with the Army to find other ways for us to sponsor the activity."

The kid-gloves treatment of the faculty protest was also reflected in an editorial by the *L.A. Times*, three weeks after the vote, titled, "Second Thoughts on Think Tanks." The *Times*' stance was to reluctantly concede to the faculty — and then to deny that there was anything politically threatening to them: "This action should not be compared to the anti-military attitudes that have wracked some campuses. A substantial number, perhaps a majority, of faculty members at Cal Tech have security clearances and regularly engage in important research on matters related to national security. They bring to that work a particular intellectual rigor and has won the institute international recognition and its faculty 20 Nobel Prizes."

The *Times*, which has been fed plenty of inside information throughout the Arroyo Center dispute, knows full well that "antimilitary attitudes" played a large part in the faculty vote. But the scientific and political authorities seem to have decided that however much they might have wanted the Arroyo Center attached to JPL, there is something more important at stake here: the political allegiance of the scientists, something which could not be just bludgeoned into being. The authorities seem to have decided that if the Arroyo Center has to go (or appear to go) in order to cool the political heat and pull in the scientists in the longer run, so be it.

Of course, along with the politeness

and diplomacy of the handling of the Arroyo Center vote, there has all along been the not-so-veiled threat of coercion. Most of this comes out in the question of funding for research at Cal Tech/JPL. Especially in a field where even the most basic experimentation requires literally hundreds of millions of dollars, government funding is a very powerful lever. For the scientists involved in such research, whether they like it or not, this fact produces a very close relationship with and dependence on the state.

For some, this dependency has made for an uneasy and wary relationship with the government, inflamed in the field of physics by the history of atomic bomb development which has left lasting scars on the collective conscience of a section of scientists. Many others — and the more socially conscious scientists are the first to warn you of this — will prostitute their talents to whatever authority offers the means for their research. And there is, of course, a section who outright support military research.

It is in this context that the government has been wielding the funding weapon at Cal Tech/JPL, as elsewhere. Only the most naive can believe that this stick will not be somehow brought to bear, either on the Arroyo Center issue itself, which is not necessarily a closed question, or on the inevitable further military-related projects for the institute which the government must have in mind.

Budget Cuts

The government effort to draw this most influential institute into its planning for world war has its parallel in the space science field generally.

Deep space science has opened whole new scientific vistas in the last 20 years. Much light has been shed on extremely important questions: how the solar system was formed; what similarities and differences exist between planets; what underlying conditions on planets favored the development of life; totally unexpected and still little understood

phenomena have been discovered, like the "braided rings" of Saturn, which cry out for further exploration. The space program has also matured technologically, and the production of things like weather satellites, which 20 years ago had never been done, and which are similar to certain kinds of deep space probes, is now almost a production-line operation. The technical capacity to make enormous strides into extremely exciting territory is right at hand.

Yet the budget for deep space science is nearly nil. Until recently, no new missions had been started since the late '70s. The situation has been so bad that data from the Voyager mission, which discovered the "braided rings" of Saturn, live volcanos on a moon of Jupiter, and a host of other new things, has not even been all studied and evaluated — there has been too little money budgeted to even systematically figure out the meaning of what has already been radioed back to Earth by Voyager.

There is a yawning chasm between what the planetary scientists are capable of doing and learning, and what the system is going to let them do. For another example, our understanding of not just the solar system but of this section of the universe, could be considerably deepened by a series of probes — which are quite possible technically — of the huge outer planets of the solar system: Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune. Prospects for such a project are zero, for all practical purposes. Instead, money is being poured into the Space Shuttle, the proposed manned space station, and the beginning development of killer satellites and the like.

But, as is signalled by the struggle at Cal Tech/JPL, the government can't simply bludgeon its scientists into the war effort. For that reason primarily, there has been in the most recent NASA budget the promise of a new trickle of funding for deep space science. The Reagan administration has requested funds for a

new probe to Mars and a new probe to Venus. This is in part a direct result of the Solar System Exploration Committee report quoted at the beginning of this article. George Keyworth, Reagan's science advisor, upheld this report as an example to other scientists — of scientists within a discipline getting together and working out a concentrated program for low-budget basic research that could fit within the overall needs of the U.S. transformation. The sums for these probes are paltry by space standards — a few hundred million at best, compared to the many billions which are counted in the overall NASA and Defense Department space budgets. But they are the first new deep space efforts since the last decade, and are being held up to the scientific community as "at least something."

The funding of the Mars and Venus probes, the two key requests in the SSEC report, appear to be a sort of reward and encouragement to scientists generally to work within the constraints currently being imposed; it is certainly not a retreat from the militarization of science and the creation of a space program with "strongly interacting" military and civilian components. More, the funding of the two new probes represents a recognition on the part of the government that the process of transforming space science and winning over the scientists has encountered serious opposition, and requires a more protracted approach, combining compulsion and seduction.

This process could certainly give rise to further eruptions of opposition and struggle. Although, taking academic science as a whole, the Arroyo Center affair is at the moment, as one physicist put it, "a positive exception." The best of the scientists are being pushed into political life and turmoil, and indications from Cal Tech/JPL are that the government is far from having this critical section of society roped in. □

Heidelberg Crisis Game

Continued from page 4

both the Soviet and SPD teams were quite realistic and, "It helped us to really experience the problems and not just study about them."

For me, the written starting position and the course of the game itself displayed a number of characteristics of the student peace activists in West Germany today. Chief among these is the view that the world consists of two great superpowers together with a number of other countries which, although aligned, are still relatively independent. Indeed, the whole premise of the game was that West Germany had a great deal of freedom to at least move toward withdrawal from the Western alliance, and in fact move towards the dissolution of the rival bloc. Underlying this view is the rejection of any material basis for the alliance, such as the global investment of West German capital throughout the U.S. hegemonic sphere. It is material reality, however, which forces imperialist powers to combine, expressly to better carry out their competition on a global scale. That means that not only is a West German withdrawal from NATO not in the cards, but it impells West Germany toward ever-tighter alignment and preparation for war. This is what the deployment of the new missiles was all about, and why a united West German bourgeoisie pushed it through.

But there is a constant search among the student activists for some formula for reducing tensions in Central Europe and even the possibility of German reunification. Most young activists would be horrified by the idea that West Germany's own imperialist interests would actually drive it to war with East Germany, a country whose global interests are enmeshed in the rival bloc. Still, that is far more the reality of things than dreams of German reunification.

A rationalization one frequently hears from German activists concerning West Germany's obvious collusion in war preparations is the idea that Germany is

still an "occupied country"; that it is the United States that forces these things on an unwilling Germany, which is somehow trapped as the victim of geography between the two superpowers. This, of course, is a complete flip from the position that West Germany (and East Germany too) can simply waltz out of their bloc alignments if a majority were to so choose. I was often told of examples where local peace initiatives have placed demands on the U.S. forces stationed in West Germany to reveal what types of atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weapons are stationed within their particular localities. When the U.S. forces predictably refused, local groups would respond: "see, it's our country but Germans can not even find out what weapons are being stored in our own backyard. That proves we are occupied." This argument conveniently ignores the fact, however, that the U.S., British, and French forces are in West Germany not by "right of conquest" today, but precisely because the West German bourgeoisie wants them there. Any attempt to reduce U.S. forces in Germany is inevitably met with a howl of protest from the West German imperialists who see themselves on the frontline of the inter-bloc contention.

Second, the analysis of the major imperialist powers, be it the U.S., the Soviet Union, or West Germany, was invariably in terms of "hawks" and "doves." There was no underlying compulsion to the rivalries of imperialism, it simply depended on which group of politicians is in ascendancy at the moment. This view opened the door to reformism, and the hope of voting world war away.

While there is no love for the Soviet Union, the tendency is to see the U.S. as the truly dangerous or aggressive power. The Soviet Union is seen as reactionary, heavy-handed, belligerent, but nonetheless a part of "the continent" whose interests require European stability.

There is also a deep feeling among the young activists that no matter how urgent the issues of peace and ecology which they raise may be, realistically there is no hope in German society of it becoming the majority view. The Greens will never be the ruling party in Germany. But if they can't rule alone, and if German society cannot be fundamentally changed, then there is the possibility to

use their electoral leverage to negotiate better terms of bourgeois rule, particularly by appealing to those in the SPD who are more "rational" about Germany's national interest in a very dangerous international situation.

Work in this direction has already gone far beyond the "game board" with the recent formation of an SPD-Green coalition government in the state of Hesse. Here the Hessian SPD represents to a tee every swine-ish aspect of German reaction that the Greens are supposedly against. It was the Hessian SPD that used legions of cops to smash the demonstrations against the expansion of the Frankfurt airport to serve wartime logistical needs. It was the SPD cops who smashed the blockade of the U.S. Army-Pershing facilities in Frankfurt in December. It was the Hessian SPD government that held a reception in honor of U.S. Lt. General Paul Williams, Commander of the U.S. V Corps (at the reception Williams was splattered with blood by a Green parliamentary deputy). The Hessian SPD has constructed West Germany's largest nuclear power plant. And so on. And so on.

What the terms of the real Hessian coalition and the hypothetical game coalition showed was the inevitable tendency to capitulate to the SPD, the established bourgeois liberal party. In the games, the Green team gave up real positions for promises, negotiations and postponements.

But the views of West Germany's young peace activists correspond not to the hardened opportunism of the SPD and DKP, but to desperation guided by the pull of spontaneity and bourgeois political science.

Some weeks later on the streets during the "Battle of Bonn" I ran into one of my fellow "Soviet" teammates. He was dressed in his rainslicker ready to deal with the watercannon, and was leading a group from Heidelberg. Later I learned that when the parliamentary vote actually came down (the whole debate was broadcast live over German radio), the students of Heidelberg took to the streets at night beating pots and pans and blocking major thoroughfares. Finally, at Mutlangen in December many of these same activists were again on the line, skirmishing with police around the entire base perimeter. □

"The proletarians have
nothing to lose but their chains.
They have a world to win."
Communist Manifesto



Support The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

The Revolutionary Worker calls for a special effort to build support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so that this new movement may launch its historic work in the most powerful way possible. We call for:

- Continued expansion in broad circulation of the RW No. 247, which carries the historic Communiqué of the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations announcing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and important decisions and resolutions taken at the Second Conference including international slogans for May 1st, 1984, and RW No. 248 containing the transcript of the London press conference, March 12, 1984 where representatives of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement made public these announcements and responded to questions from the international press. Readers are especially encouraged to put the paper in the hands of proletarians and others from countries around the world and to send this news to their friends, relatives and contacts internationally.
- Correspondence, statements and messages to greet the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. (These can be sent via the RW, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654.)
- Banners and other forms of internationalist exchanges to be circulated and readied for May 1st.
- **Full support for the launching of a worldwide fund drive called for by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement by pledging and gathering funds.**

On May 1st, 1984 the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement Will Be Published!