



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 251 (Vol. 5, No. 49)

Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

April 13, 1984

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

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MADE IN U.S.A.: Mines and Crocodile Tears



The anger from Congress mounts, resolutions thunder condemnation at "Reagan's mining" of Nicaragua's harbors, and Congressmen display their inimitable ability to find new ways to express shock and disbelief that such actions have been going on without, of course, *their* knowledge. Congressional reaction has dominated national headlines for days, but perhaps nothing more truly indicates the real significance and weight of all this furious opposition than the emergence, as a major critic, of a man who has been hailed by all for his own outspoken reaction — "the nay that counts most" as the *New York Times* put it — our latest man of La Mancha: Barry Goldwater! When the hyena who wanted to nuke North Vietnam is leading the dog pack, one is inclined to wonder just where the dogs are heading.

Where they are most *definitely* not heading is towards downgrading U.S. intervention in the region. What, after all,

has been the content of the outrage from D.C.? Why, that the Congressmen were not *informed* about what the CIA was up to, and so couldn't be held responsible. This refrain was virtually unanimous — from Goldwater to the liberal Democrats. But then the CIA offered transcripts showing that it *had* in fact informed the appropriate committees of the mining. This was either simply to confuse those with short memories or aimed at giving some quick protection to Congressional images, for the *contras* had *themselves* announced in January that they had mined Nicaragua's harbors and CIA direction of the *contras* has been publicly acknowledged for months!

First reports were that the CIA had nothing to do with the mines; later admissions were that they only manufactured the mines (without "made in the USA" markings so as, according to the State Department, not to link them to the U.S.), and later still that they only ran the

boats and didn't actually put the mines in the water. Such is the *modus operandi* of U.S. "advisors."

Or further gauge the real intent of the Congressional critics by the actual measures they have taken: a sense of the House and Senate that no U.S. funds should be used for mining Nicaragua's harbors. The fine print says, though, that the resolution is "nonbinding." (And even at this, Goldwater voted *against* the resolution, though nobody's talking about it — some "nay," eh?) How convenient — and Reagan promptly added that he "could live with that." Of course he can — hasn't he lived for almost a year and a half with the world famous Boland amendment? That was the last great and much acclaimed step of the liberals in late 1982 which supposedly slammed the door shut on "Reagan's war on Nicaragua" by making it illegal to take any action "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua." Since then: the

bombing of Nicaraguan refineries; the mining of its harbors; murderous harassment of its rural laborers; and all by an army of 15,000 mainly *ex-Somocista* goons, created, trained, advised and funded by the U.S. government, in a "secret war" which has (purposefully) been kept secret from no one, least of all Congress, which discusses it constantly.

What we have here is not a "failure to communicate," so decried, but a very skilled and worked out form of communication indeed, one where real differences and strategy are carefully framed within the bounds of overall agreement and support for the main planks of U.S. imperial activity in the region. Just in the past week, for instance, the Pentagon has made three announcements which have provoked barely a peep: first, that the Defense Department, in what was termed "a significant shift in thinking," had accepted a political policy of

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Coming
May 1st,
1984!



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Movement



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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, POB 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.)

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May 1st, 1984

Take Heart, Take Part

Wherever revolutionary proletarians are to be found, May First, International Workers Day, is always a day of celebration and of struggle. This year, it is specially so. Always, May First is a celebration of the historic mission of the proletariat — freeing itself and all humanity by wiping out every form of oppression worldwide. Always, May First is a day of struggle — to renew efforts to batter at the barriers between the present and this future.

May First 1984 is something special. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has just been formed and its *Declaration* will appear around the world in 22 languages this May Day. After a series of reversals at the international level, particularly the loss of revolutionary China to revisionism and the bourgeoisie, a red flag of proletarian internationalism and communism has been raised high again. And, reflecting this achievement, red will appear in unity and solidarity in many parts of the world this May First. Given today's world situation, this is a very timely development and needs to be celebrated. That same world situation, the growing and clashing trends of world war and revolution, demands that struggle be heightened as well.

When the *Declaration* appears this First of May, revolutionaries will no doubt grab it up so as to carefully study it in the days and weeks that follow and examine what kind of political and ideological foundation has been laid for this Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. They will find it firm. Even before such scrutiny, there is much evidence of the meaning of this advance: the Communiqué issued March 12; the announcement of the initial signatories at that time; the resolutions.

Then there is the fact that this year, for the first time in decades, there will be unified international slogans for the May First actions being held in many countries. In the face of a world divided by imperialism, this goes beyond just the symbolism of proletarian internationalism and takes it further into the realm of material force. This is a force that can breach barriers — barriers between the masses in the oppressed and oppressor nations; missile-lined barriers that separate the proletariat in the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Voices and actions unified and magnified in this way, even if small today, have a potential to do great things now and in the future.

It is all this that calls on revolutionary-minded people in the U.S. to take heart and take part in the development of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. It is a development of real, material significance when a significant number of parties and organizations unite and declare (as they do in the *Declaration*): "Armed with the scientific teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung we are fully conscious of the tasks expected of us in the present situation and are proud to accept and act in accordance with this historic responsibility." This requires — and makes even more possible — a similar stand by class-conscious proletarians and others in the U.S. On May First this can take the form of joining in an internationalist — and international — festival of the oppressed.

Fight Against World War

Within this international unity, there is a responsibility that falls to those of us within the U.S. on account of the special times we live in and the role this country plays internationally. The U.S. today dominates and oppresses more of the world than any other imperialist power and is heading up one bloc of great powers which is now preparing to go to war with the other imperialist bloc, headed by the Soviet Union. This puts special responsibility on us to rid the world of the ruling class of this country and, as part of our preparation for this, to fight every act of aggression it commits against the oppressed of the world and to fight against its world war preparations.

Last year, the RCP,USA called for proletarians in the U.S. to take "independent historical action" (as Lenin put it) on May First in the fight against imperialist world war. This year the situation is still more urgent, the need and the possibility for such action all the greater.

This past year, war preparations — both in word and in deed — reached new highs in the U.S. Flight 007, Grenada, Lebanon and the

Euromissiles marked just a few of the highlights. Now, amidst the most crude and hollow election-time peace talk, the war beat goes on with new provocations directed against Nicaragua and in Central America generally — provocations with regional purposes, but, even more importantly, all in the service of the global position of U.S. imperialism.

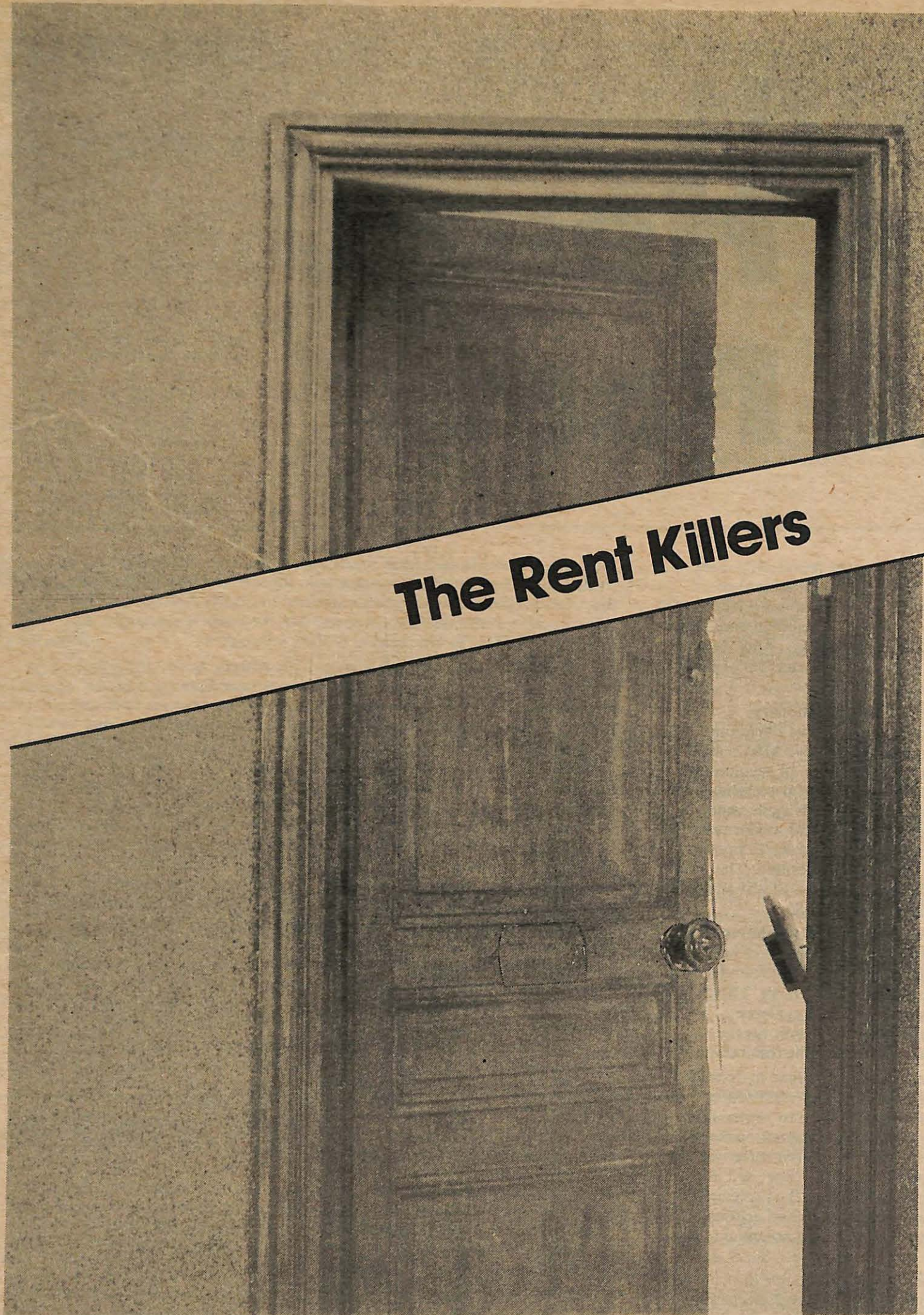
Also this past year, the experience of the struggle against these war preparations, here and internationally, demonstrated both the need — and the potentially far-reaching importance — for proletarians to enter this arena of struggle. The experience in Europe, in the crucible of the struggle against the U.S. missiles, was particularly important. Here, due to the Western bloc's war moves and the conflicts they provoked, a political crisis developed rapidly in a short time, reaching its peak in the fall. Every political force entered the field: imperialist spokesmen (both "bad guys" and "reformers"); radical and reformist wings of the petty bourgeoisie; revolutionary youth; and even some revolutionary proletarian forces. The results of all this, including the imperialists' dogged pursuit of their war goals even while they fostered a loyal opposition, raised deep questions about what would be required to stop world war. The weaknesses of the political programmes of the other class forces showed themselves against this backdrop — along with the continued desire of many of these forces to oppose the system. And while the objective weakness of revolutionary proletarian forces in West Germany was apparent, so too was the potential significance of their actions when they *did* mount the political stage (for example, in street actions outside the German Parliament which included revolutionary forces from Turkey, the U.S. and West Germany). The potential for even a small section of proletarian forces to have a big impact was shown, even though the potential was far from fully realized in this crisis.

If today in the U.S. the situation seems quiet and calm, then that is only part of the picture, and the less important part. The most important thing is not what millions are doing at any given time, but what the underlying developments in the world are going to force them to do. The imperialists are far from quiet — they are preparing to go to war — and that is already having its effects. Revolutionary struggles, too, are developing around the world, with Peru a notable example of a revolutionary war developing under the leadership of a correct line.

In a situation like today's in the U.S., revolutionary preparation is what is needed, and the actions taken by even a relatively small number of proletarians can influence things a great deal. Even if there is not now a high tide of struggle in the U.S., there are still movements stirring — including a very significant movement against imperialist war. The fact that this movement is penetrated by imperialist spokesmen and is, mainly composed of middle-class forces is no reason to scorn it. Rather it is all the more reason for class-conscious proletarians to intervene. If there is an element of calm today, it is not a "laid back and mellow" calm, but a calm which is more like that of a bow string tight with a tension born particularly of the threat of war. Class-conscious proletarians should take note.

This May First is an opportunity for revolutionary forces to put their political stamp on events. Last year, there were some initial experiences in various places in the country where proletarians took part in broader actions against world war, brought their revolutionary class perspective and engaged in comradely struggle with other forces over solutions and the road ahead. This year, the heightening of world contradictions, the experience of the past year and — not the least — the birth of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement should increase the basis for more of the same. If groups of proletarians — and revolutionary youth armed with a proletarian internationalist line — take part together with broader forces in struggles against war, if they take May First actions of all kinds with the fight against war as an important focus, then revolutionary preparations will take a further step ahead.

May Day 1984 gives great cause for celebration. We are confident that all over the world, including here, class-conscious proletarians will discover appropriate ways to celebrate the spirit of the First of May, the spirit of internationalism and independent historical action. □



The Rent Killers

Robert Baldwin lived in the Yesler Terrace Housing Project in Seattle. He was Black, unemployed, and late with his rent.

The eviction started at 1:00 p.m., Tuesday, March 27. The police say that when the door to Baldwin's apartment was unlocked from without, he reached through the open door and stabbed an attending officer who died an hour later. Baldwin locked himself inside. And then began what the press later identified as an exercise in "admirable restraint" by the police.

Police cordoned off the area and called in numerous guns of the state. Swarming in were at least one SWAT team, regular uniformed cops, plainclothes, and officials from the Housing Authority. Amidst the arsenal brought onto the battlefield: an Israeli-made Uzi submachine gun. An area four-buildings deep was cordoned off, residents were evacuated from their homes. One home was turned into police central headquarters for Operation Extermination. Cars were rerouted several blocks beyond the zone. One resident told the *RW*, "It looked like half the Seattle Police Department was down there." Another commented, "They were everywhere, even up in the trees." Others have reported hearing police say, "We're gonna get him."

Hundreds of people gathered around the barricades. Parents, removed from their apartments inside the bar-

ricades, searched frantically for their children. Two women were seen stalking officials of the Housing Authority, watching their every move. They followed the project manager, Carl McCray, who had personally threatened Baldwin with eviction, as he studiously avoided the angry crowd. He took a dirt road for an escape route. As one woman put it, "He did a lot of ducking and dodging that day." Throughout the afternoon and late into the night, the waiting in the war zone continued. As the night turned cold, the crowd thinned out.

Robert Baldwin was executed at 6 o'clock the following morning. At 6 a.m. several stun-grenades were tossed into the apartment. At least one person said they heard Baldwin call out, "I give up." Then shots rang out. Some say they counted 14 shots, others over 30. The police aren't saying. "Half the neighborhood was woken up to see him dragged off." Police dragged Baldwin out of his apartment bleeding from the mouth.

The cops did not place Baldwin in either of the medic vans on standby at the scene, but straight into a police car which drove him off to a nearby hospital. According to official reports, this was because it was the fastest way to get him to a hospital. It is widely believed that the police wanted to make sure Baldwin was dead. The police also let slip that they were afraid that to work on him in the

projects would further upset the neighborhood, describing it as a "high-risk area."

Baldwin's brother released the results of the Coroner's Report. His brother

died of multiple gunshot wounds to the back and there were muzzle wounds on his back. The police claimed that they opened fire because they believed that Baldwin had fired at them. Then they claimed that they were confused by a stun-grenade that some of their own had thrown unbeknownst to them. Then they claimed that Baldwin had thrust a sword at officers who were breaking in and then they opened fire. His brother asked, "How can you shoot a person in the back when he was lunging at them?"

Inquiries are a cheap commodity in America and there will certainly be one in this case. A local paper provided a sense of the mood among the masters, if that's needed: "We will not predict the outcome of that inquiry, but it is clear that the police exercised admirable restraint to persuade Baldwin to give himself up, before officers stormed the barricaded apartment." Persuasion and restraint — SWAT style!

Outrage has erupted over the murder. Spraypainting appeared throughout the projects reading "Rent Killers." Community council meetings have been seized by people to blast the police for murder. Some have drawn comparisons to the murder of Nevell Johnson and exoneration of cop Alvarez in Miami. And as to the media charges that Baldwin had mental problems, one woman's remark was more to the point: "His only problems were with authority. We all have those problems." □

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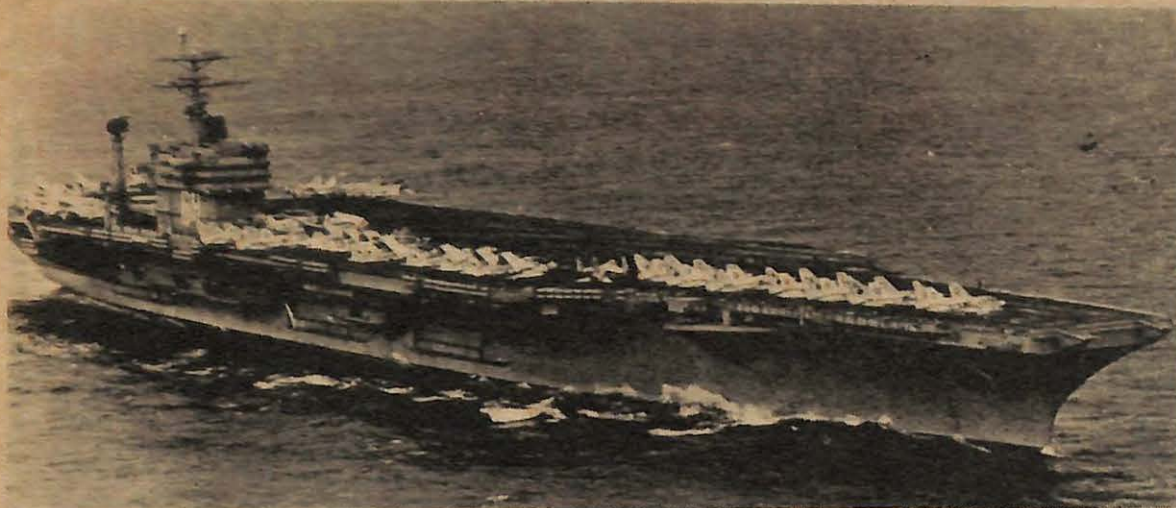
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The U.S. aircraft carrier Nimitz

The Case of the Vanishing War Games



O = U.S., other NATO maneuvers
X = Soviet maneuvers



Soviet nuclear powered cruiser

Early this month, the ministers of NATO were celebrating their 35th anniversary. Only a few months ago, the bloodpact of "risk-sharing" had been sealed with the deployment of U.S. Euro-missiles. What better cause for imperialist rejoicing!

As the glasses clinked, Western military activity around the world shifted into high gear. The U.S., during March and April, mounted major exercises in Honduras and South Korea, and planned later this month major naval maneuvers in the Caribbean. The U.S., British, Dutch, West Germans, Belgians and Danes took to the waters north of Europe for important spring maneuvers called Teamwork '84; as of this writing, more naval exercises were going on in the Baltic Sea, apparently an extension of a second series of NATO maneuvers in this area called Baltops '84.

But that wasn't all. In early April, the U.S. also announced "Global Shield '84," an innocent little number which was described as merely "realistic training for nuclear war." It was to include test ICBM and cruise firings.

However, you wouldn't know much of this if you read the Western press. Instead, the papers splashed across their columns the news of Soviet naval maneuvers, centered also in waters north of Europe, but also including worldwide deployments. These deserve comment all right, but some people really have no right to speak. Starting on March 28, the Soviets concentrated more than 250 ships in northern areas, accompanied for the first time by Backfire bombers in what some observers said was the largest Soviet battle fleet ever seen. Smaller Soviet squadrons also appeared in the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean. But... wasn't the coverage a bit "imbalanced"? *Time* magazine, for example, ran two and a half pages on "Soviet muscle-flexing," while the Western maneuvers were reduced to a sentence on Global Shield — in a footnote! But privately, various military analysts for major bourgeois newspapers commented that something big was going on.

Official reaction from the U.S. took it from a different angle, but to the same point. "Well, it's spring in Russia and that's when you have war games," Ronald Reagan shrugged at a press con-

ference. Again, scant mention — and no questions asked from the "objective" gentlemen of the press — of the U.S. operations (perhaps this would have required too much time). Thus the West has given enough attention to the Soviet maneuvers to squeeze some political mileage out of its opponents' activities, while not enough to call attention to its own identical and extensive military practices.

Actually, Reagan went on to formulate things more or less accurately. War games, he said, are carried on with an eye to "what contingencies could arise... so that you set up to train or practice for that." Okay. Fair enough. The imperialists are planning for a global conflict, and they need to practice for it. Indeed, this spring has seen the seas turned into a giant practice-run for World War 3. While it is true that militaries do generally get a spring fever for maneuvers, the size, scope, and doctrines being played out on the high seas this year reflect the gathering momentum toward world war.

"Teamwork"

The Western naval forces, of course, have longstanding offensive missions all over the globe. The British, for example, recently made a show of moving warships and minesweepers closer to the Persian Gulf for "maneuvers" with obvious threats intended. This spring, NATO was first into the northern waters as well with "Teamwork '84," involving the U.S. and other countries flanking the area. This was a major practice, with one important aim being to test NATO ability in holding northern Norway so that NATO could move on Soviet naval bases just on the far side of the tip of Scandinavia. This was, in short, an apparent practice-run for an attack force, aiming to bottle-up the Soviet navy near its home ports. It is part of an emerging NATO naval doctrine which is moving to establish a battleline closer than in previous doctrine, which has up till now projected the major fighting at the "G.I.U.K. Gap" (the

waters between Greenland, Iceland, and the United Kingdom).

The stakes of this strategy are of the highest order, and are not limited to Europe. The U.S. has been saying it wants to send its "big carrier groups" — naval forces grouped around the huge U.S. aircraft carriers — straight at all the Soviet home ports, while the Soviets, of course, want to stream out of port before this happens and go after U.S. naval supply routes and nuclear missile-firing submarines. In Europe, this clash of strategies centering around the northern waters might hold the key to the success of armies fighting on the continent.

On April 2, NATO mounted another exercise in this same area, named Baltops '84, this one involving 35 ships. During the same week, Global Shield was announced. This "training for nuclear war" will see over 300 SAC planes dropping dummy nuclear bombs on target sites in the U.S., as well as test firings of Minutemen missiles from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, and testing of cruise missiles

launched from B-52s. Perhaps connected to this is the command and control exercise, Night Train '84.

... And the Soviets

On March 28, a gigantic Soviet exercise began north of Europe with 29 warships, scores of support vessels, amphibious craft, long-range reconnaissance aircraft, and for the first time, the supersonic, nuclear-capable Backfire bombers — 50 of them — representing a good percentage of the total Backfire force. Flagship for the maneuver was the 22,000-ton battle cruiser *Kirov*, one of the largest Soviet combat vessels. The naval deployment was accompanied by what Western reports called "intense air activity," with the Soviets reserving the sensitive air corridors to Berlin and the U.S., Britain, and France firing off a note of protest, marking one of the first "international incidents" involving Berlin since the agreements on the city in the early '70s.

The Soviet fleet deployed in groups be-

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A World Without Imperialism — Not an Imperialist World War!

May First Greeting From Organising Committee, Revolutionary Communist Party, India

May First Greetings

To All the Constituents of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

A new colour has been splashed over the celebrations of May First, 1984. A bright red star, the star of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, will shine over the dawn of May Day 1984. A new wave of enthusiasm has spread over all directions. After the dissolution of the Third International, more than four decades ago, a new path is broken for the international communist movement. For the international proletariat new horizon is opened up to look yonder. May First 1984, resounding the same slogan everywhere, shall weld ever more solidly the new unity of international proletariat. Wielding the declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on May First 1984, the international proletariat shall storm the world political stage with new vigour. The banners of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement shall show up on all continents signalling its bid to snatch the whole globe from the hands of imperialists. Unmistakable signs point that the day is not far off when earth shall shake under the feet of marching armies of the proletariat sweeping all the dirt away from the face of earth.

With Revolutionary Internationalist Greetings,
Organising Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party, India

Messages Provoked by New Communiqué

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.

5 April 1984

To: The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

RW No. 247 and 248 have given our reading circle some heavy things to talk about, and act on. With the formation of an international — and internationalist — interim committee to forge a draft proposal for a general line for world revolutionary action, a new day is dawning for the international working class. Not just the proletariat where we are, in the Mission District of San Francisco, but everywhere! This coming May Day is going to be cut from a brand new bolt of red, revolutionary internationalist cloth, unprecedented since the '30s, emblazoned with slogans of internationalist revolutionary action against the imperialist system as a whole. (Even in the '30s the International at that time tended to pick on one set of imperialists and then on another, leaving many honest revolutionaries, to say the least, disoriented.)

Let there be no doubt about potential for an internationalist revolutionary line to take hold here in the Mission; in spite of the demoralizing influence generated by the various revisionist forces who counsel reformist recipes that hold fast to a dream of bourgeois legalism, of a much more dynamic character are all those masses (many recently arrived from the terror in Central America) who are filled with rage and are seeking a more profound analysis.

The Communiqué is good news, and better than good news: it is something the world has got to hear, above the rattle of the imperialist war drums, and soon!

We are going to take the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's analysis and line out broadly in the Mission, and we challenge other proletarian internationalists to take up this cause ideologically and materially. For our

part, we pledge a Red Wages Day, before May Day '84, in support of this shining new movement, whose red standard is now planted on the horizon of action.

6 Proletarian Internationalists
Mission District, San Francisco

To the RW:

In today's world of ours with its ever interwoven, complex relations growing stronger among its inhabitants, and in view of the encouraging recent inception of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with its Declaration, as a native of one of the most controversial spots I'd like to register a few thoughts concerning the Middle East and particularly the Palestinian issue; hoping to establish some form of methodical process leading to, and helping in the emergence of, some of the questions relentlessly begging for surfacing and ultimately debate.

All throughout the Palestinian and Arab peoples' struggle against oppression and occupation, there has never been neither a lack of heroism and self-sacrifice, manifested today as ever before; nor has the oppressors' brutality been more ferocious as compared with the racist international Zionist movement with its imperialist nature, heart and soul.

A brief historical analogy will try to shed some light on one major topic deserving our utmost attention leading hopefully to some form of debate concerning the futility of our continuous alliance with one or the other of the major powers:

1916: Complete assurances by Britain and France of our full independence and self-determination in helping defeat the Ottoman empire — during the same period they were meeting on Rhodes Island and signing the Sykes-Picot Agreement dividing the whole area among themselves!

1917: The British Balfour Declaration for the establishment of Jewish homeland in Palestine!

1919-35: More assurances of independence for Arabs during which they worked on implementing the Balfour Declaration.

1935-47: World War II, continuous Arab help for the Allies' war fronts with men and material, with more promises of stopping Jewish emigration to Palestine and full independence to the Arab world. The majority of colonial occupying troops left only when reactionary puppet regimes and protectionist treaties were signed insuring their eternal exploitation

and control of the whole area.

1947-48: Imperialist Britain and Western Europe helped immensely in the establishment of the Zionist state after helping and arranging the mass exodus of Jews to Palestine!

1956: Invasion of Egypt by Britain, France and Israel.

1958: U.S. troop landing in Lebanon for the protection of reactionary regimes in Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan... against the will of the people.

1967: Imperialist war against the new tide of nationalism in the Arab world by the Israeli-U.S. alliance.

1967-73: USSR and all other imperialists calling for capitulation and peace conferences in Geneva, etc., U.S. and West helping Jordan massacre Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

1973: War against the Arab people by the major powers. But eventually the war was consciously limited by reactionary Arab regimes in order to open path for capitulation and peace process ending with isolating Egypt through Camp David agreement. Again the two major powers, U.S. and USSR, competing for domination and the highest level of manipulation.

1981-82: Signing of ceasefire between the PLO and Israel on northern border with mediation of U.S. and approval of USSR; and right after the neutralization of Egypt, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, and invaded Lebanon with full U.S. help and cooperation, and with USSR seemingly shocked and paralyzed!

1982-83: Massacres of Palestinian and Lebanese people continued by British, French, U.S. and Israeli troops and fleets.

In viewing the historical succession of events, we come to a whole barrage of thoughts and questions as to:

- Have we always had a profound scientific doctrine to shield us from the continuous gyrations of the long struggle and to help us methodically and ideologically continue in our just struggle to help unite us against all the currents that blow in the region?

- Have we reviewed our alliances and drawn upon our own experiences and history?

- Have we tried to liberate our ourselves from our deep-rooted bourgeois methods of thinking?

- Have we armed the masses to stick relentlessly and unwaveringly to our prin-

ciples, especially the full liberation of Palestine, through the most intense debate and continuous correction?

- Have we tried to educate the masses that the armed struggle is their salvation not only from the occupiers but also from the grip of the capitalists totally and open the way for the intended transformation of society from the suppressive form to the socialist power and rule of the people?

- Have we educated the masses in the different experiences and struggles of other oppressed people and so united them with such people as to realize that they are not isolated from others and their plight is part of all the oppressed masses in the world as a whole?

- Have we clearly defined our friends and our enemies, and allied ourselves with the oppressed and not the oppressors? Have we coordinated with such movements on a world level and showed them the future power and undeniable rights of the working class?

Until these and other related questions are openly debated, studied, and addressed, only then do we start on the long road of liberation and freedom.

A Palestinian

The Political Persecution of S.A. Rawoof

Last year, on March 10, 1983, S.A. Rawoof, a leading member of the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was arrested in Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh, in southeast India. He was surrounded by a number of plainclothes cops and taken to Warangal Central Prison, where he defiantly refused to cooperate with the state's interrogators. The Indian authorities tried to spread the lie that he was wanted for murder and other crimes; but as was pointed out in Mass Line, this arrest was part of a larger attack on the CRC, CPI (M-L) in Andhra Pradesh, where fourteen members of that party had been murdered in the preceding two years. On December 5, 1983, Comrade Rawoof was granted conditional bail by the Warangal court. However, as he was coming out of jail, the police rearrested him on the serious and openly political charges of subversion. Comrade Rawoof was taken to Hyderabad, where he was detained in Chenchalguda jail. According to Mass Line, posters, leaflets and press statements condemning this despicable action by the Indian government appeared in several parts of Andhra.

S.A. Rawoof is no stranger to India's dungeons. Along with thousands of other revolutionaries, he was arrested in 1973 as the Indian state was clamping down on the Naxalbari movement. This movement was a high tide of revolutionary armed struggle among the peasants and other sections of the masses, including thousands of revolutionary youth and students, which swept across India in the late '60s and early '70s. Comrade Rawoof's biography is itself something of an outline of the history of the communist movement in India. When the Communist Party of India (CPI) split in 1964 over the question of opposing Soviet revisionism, he was with the CPI (Marxist). He joined the CPI (M-L) in 1969

which was formed in support of the armed struggle and Mao Tsetung Thought. After the reactionary coup d'état in China in 1976, Rawoof took a clear stand in opposition to the revisionist usurpers in China. After his release from prison in 1979, Rawoof took up the task of rebuilding the CPI (M-L). He was a founding member of the Reorganisation Committee which later grew into the Central Reorganisation Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The following statement by Comrade Rawoof was made on his appearance in Kadiri Magistrate Court on the 5th of November. Translated from Telugu, it was printed in the January issue of Mass Line.

Final Victory is Ours! Com Rawoof's Statement in Court

LET US INTENSIFY THE
PEASANTS' ARMED STRUGGLE

LET US OVERTHROW THE
EXPLOITATIVE RULING CLASSES
AND THEIR IMPERIALIST
MASTERS, TO ESTABLISH A NEW
DEMOCRATIC INDIA

Where is the country being led? Every patriot is disturbed and pained at the reality that our comprador rulers are mortgaging the interests of this country to the benefit of all imperialists. Every conceivable channel is opened to facilitate the imperialist loot. Today, the imperialist agencies, namely KGB and CIA, have penetrated into all vital sectors of national life, ie, political, economic and cultural. The compradors behave as no more than robots serving imperialism. At a time when the two super-marauders have exposed themselves as the biggest merchants of death and thus as the enemies of the people of the whole world, our country has become a battle ground

for them. The Indira government moves within the parameters set by the two superpowers. While leaning a bit more on the Soviet imperialists, it simultaneously befriends the US too. Indira Gandhi knelt at the feet of Reagan, to beg for the IMF and World Bank loans, the insulting conditionalities notwithstanding. At the same time, she is virtually praying for the direct interference of Andropov into the internal affairs of our country to get the CPI and CPM over to her side and thus save herself from any eventuality of losing power.

Following the footsteps of the Soviet social imperialists and their foreign policy, the Indira government has exposed itself before the world people. Through supporting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and by nakedly supporting the Vietnamese aggression on Kampuchea, it has proved that its non-aligned stance is absolutely deceptive. And its expansionist ambitions were made abundantly clear by two incidents—the dismemberment of Pakistan in '71 when it sent its army to invade East Pakistan following the military pact with the Soviet Union that same year; and the blatant annexation of Sikkim in '74. All this has led the people of the neighbouring countries to bitterly hate the Indian government. Posing as a great democrat, Indira is operating as an agent of the imperialists and unleashing dictatorial rule at home. The masses demanding food, clothing and shelter get only bullets from her. This is Indiramma's democracy. In her own country, while the Nagas, Mizos and Manipuris fighting for self-determination are being butchered wholesale, she sheds crocodile tears for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. While the peasants, workers and intellectuals fighting for their just rights are being ruthlessly suppressed under her fascist rule in an undeclared emergency, she weeps for the people of Pakistan. But this arch-decep-

tive role of Indira is getting exposed with every passing day. Just as the days of Jayewardene's and Zia's fascist rule are numbered, so also is Indira's dictatorial rule fast nearing its own doom.

While on the one hand the Indian ruling classes are mortgaging the country's interests to the imperialists, on the other they are cruelly suppressing the working people. As a result, a handful of parasites and traitors are amassing hundreds of thousands of crores* of rupees while the overwhelming majority of the people are thrown into the verge of starvation and death. To enhance their already infamous prestige, the rulers are throwing away fabulous amounts in revelries. Rs. 1500 crores are wasted on Asiad, many crores are spent on the Non Aligned Meet in Delhi, the so-called Commonwealth Summit is celebrated and honours are offered to the British Queen—which stands to show the slave mentality of the rulers—but the victims of cyclones and droughts are shown empty hands: such is the way that the Indira government is working for the welfare of the people.

The people are heroically fighting against the pro-imperialist, anti-people and dictatorial rule of Indira. Punjab is burning. Assam is again astir. In the face of heavy military onslaught the struggles of the Nagas, Mizos and Manipuris are continuing. The Kashmiri people are getting ready for struggles. In several States the armed struggle is advancing. As a result of all these struggles the rulers are sinking into an ever-deepening economic-political crisis. The dogfight within the ruling classes is at its height. And the government has failed to put down all these people's struggles through the gun.

Even communal and religious conflicts fomented by the rulers with the intention of diverting the people from the path of

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* A crore is ten million rupees.

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World the Russian Revolution

Comrades! Internationalists!
 danger of the world — but they take care not to let the justice and peace
 and ending. And these words are your words and these wishes. Who
 to the Soviet power? Then join the International Legion of the Red
 and to it are ready the fighting revolutionaries from around the world
 for your space time to drill, the practice and the military course
 behind — over the Temple of the Carrot.

Internationalist!
 Internationalisten!
 der Polen Armee

Internationalistes!
 le mouvement de la guerre mondiale et en attendant la
 de leur oppresseur. La Russie n'a pas seulement été
 et pour eux. La Russie n'a pas seulement été
 de la Legion Internationaliste de l'Armée Rouge.
 et de votre pays de votre travail de combattre
 de nos travailleurs dans l'armée de la Russie.

Internationalisti!
 Internationalisten!

Internationalisti!

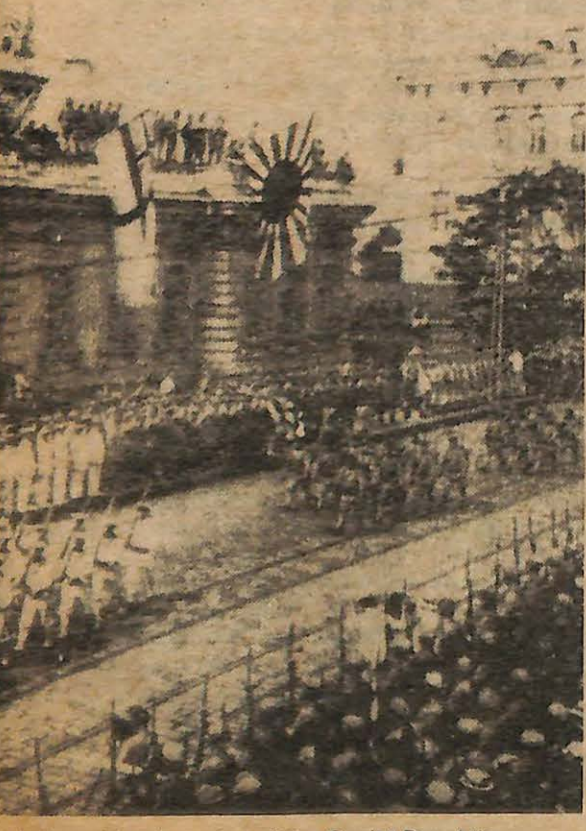
Moscow appeal of the International Legion as it appeared in five languages.



Jeanne Labourbe—the daughter of a French peasant who fought in the Commune. At 18 she went to Poland to teach school. There she met Russian Marxists, and when the 1905 Revolution broke out, she took part in it and became known as a fiery agitator. She was arrested and deported to France, but a few years later returned to Russia and undertook underground work as a Bolshevik. In 1917, she organized among French immigrants in Moscow, and led in conducting underground agitation and propaganda among the French troops which invaded the Soviet Republic in 1918.



Bela Kun—a revolutionary from Hungary—was ordered into the Austro-Hungarian army in WW 1 as punishment for carrying out anti-war activity, which he then continued to carry out in the soldiers' ranks. Captured by the Tsarist Army, he became a revolutionary leader of the Hungarian POW's, and then took great initiative in joining with the Bolsheviks to mobilize the POW's into the international sections of the Red Army. In 1918 he returned to Hungary where together with other revolutionaries including many ex-Russian-POW's who'd fought in the revolutionary civil war there, he led in forming the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Its brief life was ended by massive imperialist intervention.



...tok, launching invasion of the Soviet Republic.

advanced, and some Bolsheviks too, who were torn between the "realism" of continuing the war and the "utopian" hopes of the revolutionary internationalists. Events moved dramatically ahead, and many *zarubezhniki* began to arrive from around the world to see and participate in the revolution. One socialist from the U.S. enlisted in the Red Guard (the Bolshevik militia). He describes what happened next: "Hearing this, Lenin sug-

gested that I form a foreign detachment. *Pravda* printed our 'call' in such English type as they could muster." (See reproduction of this on next page.) "About sixty men joined the detachment. Amongst them was Charles Kuntz, heretofore a Tolstoyan with scruples against killing even a chicken. Now that the Revolution was in peril, he threw over his pacifism and took up a gun. A tremendous change, to convert a fifty-year-old philosopher into a soldier. In target practice his rifle would get tangled in his beard, but once his bullet hit the bullseye, and his eyes glistened with joy. "We were a motley crowd and our fighting-strength really amounted to little. But the spirit of it had a good moral effect upon the Russians. . . ." By now, in early fall, the desire for insurrection was burning among significant sections of the workers and among masses of peasants and soldiers as well. In October the Bolsheviks toppled the bourgeois government and immediately set out to consolidate proletarian power and to help launch world revolution. In this context the Bolsheviks along with revolutionary internationalists among the prisoners called on the former POW's to

take up the tasks of defending the revolution and at the same time prepare to carry the flames of revolution into the heart of Europe and set the continent ablaze. Special schools were set up to give the POW's concentrated courses in Marxism, as well as to teach them things like how to fabricate passports and personal papers. By the spring of 1918 almost 20,000 revolutionaries had been trained in these schools and sent abroad to Germany, Hungary, Romania, Poland and many other countries. The Bureau of Revolutionary Propaganda in Moscow published 3 million copies of newspapers in over a dozen languages to assist them. The main training, however, was the experience of the revolution itself, as right before the eyes of hundreds of thousands of former POW's a new world fought for its life and drew them into this fight. A Slovak POW wrote of these times:

"I met with several Czech Social-Democrats, who were at that time in Moscow. The newspaper, 'Prukopnik,' was coming out in Czech, informing us of the victories of the revolution. Hundreds of Czechs and Slovaks in Moscow were going into the legions of the Red Army. A few of my comrades and me went in too. Later we found out a section was organizing for people speaking Czech and was forming up in Red Square in the heart of Moscow. So we took off for there. We quickly got into combat preparations while some people undertook guard duty and others made a search of bourgeois houses. The Austrian Consul came upon us and demanded to know what the hell we, Czechs and Slovaks, were doing going into the Red Army for, why didn't we just go back to the 'fatherland.' Maybe later on, when the 'fatherland,' that is, Austro-Hungary, was shattered and his majesty 'Father Joseph' overthrown, maybe then he understood things a little better."

Just after the October Revolution, the Russian Revolution had a vital but short-lived breathing space. Soon new and more intense contradictions presented themselves. The former imperialist army was melting away, with desertion massive and everywhere. In February 1918 the German imperialists seized the opportunity to press ahead rapidly, towards the heart of the revolution in Petrograd (now Leningrad), and into the Ukraine and industrial districts of Russia. The Russian people were exhausted by the war; it would take time, months at least, to put together a revolutionary army that could fight the civil war Lenin knew was imminent.

At this point, with the Russian revolution under heavy attack and with revolution in Germany or elsewhere not imminent, the Bolsheviks and revolutionary internationalist POW's called a Congress of POW delegates which issued a call to all former POW's: "The fate of the Russian Republic is linked with the fate of International Revolution. It is the duty of every prisoner of war to defend the Russian Soviet Republic. The Congress appeals to all prisoners of war to join our ranks and as revolutionary soldiers take up arms against the imperialists."

Internationalist POW Congress

From the scattered fragments recounting this Congress, it is clear that it was a gathering the likes of which had never been seen on earth. Hungarian peasants, German artisans, Austrian long-haired students and Turkish dockworkers, a dozen nationalities from the mountain regions of the Balkans, and even a few Chinese and Koreans. In sum, over 2,000 POW delegates, hardened by years of war and prison, only just freed from the brutal labor camps, men who had already seen so much bloodshed and fighting in the trench-warfare of the Eastern front, men who hadn't seen their families, their homes, their friends in years — but who came to Moscow not reluctantly but fired with the determination to fight, and perhaps to die, for the dream which was being born by the heroic efforts of their Russian brothers and sisters. The session opened in chaos, with translators shouting everywhere to be heard above the din. A German soldier took the floor: "Our Excellencies the German imperialists and their Russian colleagues, the bourgeoisie, know damn well that the proletariat of Russia does not stand alone: At this critical moment

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Russian Revolution

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we guarantee the support of many, many thousands of prisoners of war. Only over the corpses of us proletarians will the bourgeois bandits ever take the red fortress of the Russian revolution!" Resolutions were read from different camps, including one which stated that "The Russian revolution is in its very heart a revolution of the workers and peasants, it is a struggle against the yoke of capital . . . therefore we, workers and peasants who are prisoners of war, will defend it to the end . . . for if the Russian revolution perishes then there will also perish the cause of the liberation of all mankind." A Hungarian worker asked: "Here in the vast expanse of Russia is now being decided the fate of the workers of the world. Is it possible to stay away? Is it possible not to act?!" It was announced to thunderous applause that a group of Hungarians, Germans and Czechs had already gone to the Eastern front to fight the advancing army; it was a stunning moment, for up to that point the imperialist war had seen Hungarian, German, Austrian and Czech against Russians, Englishmen and French — now was developing not only a revolutionary civil war within Russia, but elements of a revolutionary civil war internationally. The slogan went out from the Congress to the POW camps: "All into the Ranks of the Red International Army" — for so it was conceived and built.

The ranks of the Legions swelled. There were cases of a Chinese commander leading Hungarians and Czechs who all tried to speak German; of Germans leading Croats, Serbs, Slovenians; of Turks, Greeks and Bulgarians, and many others. As their ranks further grew, the Karl Liebknecht Brigade from Germany, a revolutionary regiment of Poles, and other units formed. In the spring of 1918, just as the Red Army began to mobilize, between 40,000 and 90,000 soldiers, making up 30-40% of the Red Army, came from countries outside Russia.

The imperialist governments reacted to this with horror. One of the first acts of the newly established German Embassy in Moscow was an official protest against these efforts "to subvert the prisoners from allegiance to their own governments." An order was issued stating that Germans who joined the Red Army would be treated as deserters. Indeed some of the finest deserters in history!

The governments of the Anglo-led Entente screamed as well. The American Consul in Irkutsk (Western Siberia) telegraphed the Secretary of State: "(Conference with Soviet Representative Jansen) began with the arming of prisoners of war. Jansen openly admitted that the Hungarians mentioned in my I, armed by the Bolsheviks to fight the Cossack Semenov, as claimed. Justified this under the theory of international class war, saying that these workmen willingly went against the supporters of bourgeoisie. I vigorously protested against Russia, an Ally of America, (sic — he was invoking the imperialist war treaties which the Bolsheviks had repudiated — RW) arming the enemies of America for any purpose whatsoever. Declared this against international law and public morale, as forces so armed were a possible menace to America and American interests."

Imperialist Intervention

The imperialists brought to bear their own brand of "internationalism" against the Russian Revolution — the invasion of the Soviet Republic in the summer of 1918 by imperialist powers led by the U.S., England, France and Japan. Once it was in their interests the imperialists proved not at all reluctant to arm certain POW's. An army of Czechs and Slovaks, led by White Russian officers, had determined that they were going to exit Russia via the Trans-Siberian Railroad in order to get to the Western front. Many were hardened reactionaries. For others, the bottom line was: by God, I'm going home from all this shit and nobody better try and stop me. This petty backwardness amid the world-historic upheaval shaking Russia was soon carved into a weapon against the Revolution, with many of the Czechs mobilized around a special hatred for the *zarubezhniki* whom they viewed as foreigners who had taken Russia from the Russians. Soon they had become the core of Denikin's counter-revolutionary army in Siberia and were doing the work of the imperialists. The following account of the taking of Vladivostok from the Soviets by the imperialists vividly portrays the vengeance with which they attacked the Russian Revolution:

"The occupation proceeds swiftly, like clock-work, according to plan.

"The Japanese seize the powder-magazine, the British the railroad station. The Americans throw a cordon around the consulate. The Chinese and others take up lesser points. The Czechs converge upon the Soviet building. They encircle it from all sides. With a loud 'Hurrah,' — they rush forward, and go crashing thru the doors. The Red Flag of the Socialist Republic is pulled down, and the red, white and blue flag of autocracy is run up. Vladivostok passes into the hands of the Imperialists.

"The Soviet has fallen,' a hoarse shout goes up in the street, and runs like wildfire thru the city. The patrons of the Olympia Café, rushing out into the street, burst into yells, flinging up their hats, cheering the Czechs. The Soviet and all its works is a cursed thing to them. It is fallen. But that is not enough. They would obliterate every trace of it. . . .

"With incredible swiftness a complete change passes over this city of the proletarians. It becomes a city of the well-fed and well-groomed, their shining faces exultant, congratulating one another, praising God and the Allies, and cheering the Czechs.

"Poor Czechs! These cheers embarrass and mortify them. Their heads hang in shame, meeting a Russian workingman. . . . And the bourgeoisie want more than a holiday with bands and streamers. They want a Roman holiday with blood and victims. They want vengeance and retribution on these workmen who have forgotten their station in life.

"Now, we will put them in their proper places,' they exclaim. 'We will put them on the lamp-posts. It's red these birds admire, is it? Very well, we shall give them all they want of their favorite color. We'll draw it from their veins!'"

The *zarubezhniki* became a special target of attack for the counter-revolutionary armies. Instead of just shooting those whom they believed to be Bolsheviks as was the custom, they often hung them and let their bodies hang as a warning.

Mass rallies were held to send these *zarubezhniki* units to the fronts. At one of these for the Warsaw Revolutionary

Regiment, consisting of 16,000 Polish revolutionaries, Lenin spoke: "As you go to the front you must remember above all that this war alone, the war of the oppressed and exploited against the violators and plunderers, is legitimate, just and sacred.

"An alliance is coming into being between the revolutionaries of different nations — something that the finest people have dreamt of; a real alliance of workers, and not intellectual dreamers.

"The guarantee of victory lies in overcoming national hatred and mistrust.

"It is your great privilege to uphold sacred ideas arms in hand, and to make international brotherhood of nations a reality by fighting together with your front-line enemies of yesterday — Germans, Austrians and Magyars.

"And comrades, I am confident that if you muster all your military forces and set up a mighty international Red Army and hurl these iron battalions against the exploiters and oppressors, against the reactionary thugs of the whole world, making your battle cry 'Victory or Death!' — no imperialist force will be able to hold us!"

The Polish revolutionary regiment left the front with the words of revolutionary battle songs on their lips:

Fix bayonets! Under the flag of hearts,

Let our burning blood boil.

To battle, proletarian battalions!

Let the song of liberation resound. . . .

Besides the critical field of military battle, underground political agitation, propaganda and fraternizing was carried out on a number of the fronts, particularly against the armies of the Entente forces which waged more protracted warfare. These underground units consisted of a number of Russians who sometimes spoke Japanese, French, German, etc., and a number of *zarubezhniki* comrades from the nationality they were seeking to infiltrate. Leaflets were distributed in these languages, as well as newspapers and pamphlets.

The backbone of the imperialist intervention was U.S. imperialism, which had stayed out of the bulk of the World War I combat and now threw fresher troops and supplies into the intervention. Wielding its banner of democracy, Woodrow Wilson denied any intent to crush the revolution: the Entente troops were simply securing war materiel which had been shipped to the Russian bourgeois government and was now in danger of falling into German hands. The U.S. Ambassador to Russia explained that the war supplies were stored in "such points in the interior as Kotlas, Sukhona, and Vologda, as well as in Petrograd and Moscow." The motto of the Polar Bears, the nickname of the American troops, the bulk of whom had volunteered, was taken from Stephen Decatur: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country right or wrong."

The revolutionary forces who conducted underground work against the U.S. troops consisted of internationalists from Russia and France as well as England and the U.S. Their paper, *The Call*, was edited by, of all people, a British journalist from the *Manchester Guardian* whose life had been profoundly shaken as he reported the developments in Russia during 1917, as well as some British proletarians. These men had a difficult task, for the American and British soldiers were largely volunteers — and after the hell of World War I that indicated something. An example of their effort to sabotage the military intervention and help neutralize these often backward troops is contained in an excerpt from a leaflet:

"Why have you volunteered to come to Russia?

"Why? Is it that you like war so much? Do you enjoy this rolling in mud and blood? Do you get satisfaction from seeing mangled bodies, and wrecked towns and villages? You claim to be the representatives of a civilized race! Is this how you propose to bring civilization into Russia? . . .

"Does it not strike you that what you are getting for your work is sheer *Blood Money*? It is the kind of work that cut-throats, blackguards, thieves and hooligans undertake to do for money. If these are the reasons for which you came, it is not much use appealing to your reason and humanity. The only argument that we can effectively use against you is the

bullet and bayonet, and you will find that the Red Army will give you all you want of that. You will find your job 'soft' enough when you find yourself sucked in the mud, in the marshes and forests of Northern Russia.

"We cannot believe, however, that the majority of you volunteered for these reasons. Probably you were induced by the lies circulated by the capitalist press about the anarchy and terror prevailing in Russia. Probably you have been induced to believe that Bolsheviks are devils, who must be destroyed in order that the peace of the world may be secured. If that is so, we are convinced that when you learn the truth about Russia, you too will refuse to be the executioners of the Russian people, just like the British troops you replaced in the Caucasus, and the French and foreign troops in other parts who have refused. . . .

"Volunteers! You are workmen too. What interests have you in fighting for the gang of Russian counter-revolutionaries and international capitalists? As workmen, your business should be to support your fellow-workers in those places where they succeed in taking power, for the victory of the workers in one country is a step toward the emancipation of the workers in all countries."

Internationalism in Action

An inspiring example of the heroism of these underground revolutionaries and of the success achieved in actually winning over an advanced section of these troops who were up against the Red Army took place in the Southern Front, among the French forces on the Black Sea.

The work of the *zarubezhniki* internationalist underground on this front was led by Altera Zalika, a Romanian, Helen Sokolovski, a Russian, and Jeanne Labourbe, a French woman who became a legendary figure among the French sailors. Labourbe, the daughter of a French Communist who had trekked throughout Europe seeking work after having been driven out of France, came to Russia alone at age 16 at the time of the 1905 Revolution. She was deported as an unwanted foreigner in the ebb following the revolution. In 1917, she undertook work among French people in Moscow, formed a group of French-speaking Communists and then at the time of the French army's intervention, volunteered to lead them in underground work.

Operating out of Odessa on the Black Sea coast, she wrote leaflets and articles for "Le Communiste," the organ of the French Communist group from Kiev, and translated other articles. She went into sailors' bars where she carried on fervent discussions among the French troops. She was renowned for gathering contacts for the paper, some of whom themselves wrote articles for "Le Communiste" opposing the intervention.

A soldier from the 156th French infantry division recalled how the Bolshevik agitators had come to them: "Our commanders just weren't able to stop us from talking to the Russian workers. The courage of these people astounded us. They boldly walked right into our midst, armed with assorted dozens of French words which they mutilated in their Russian way. But these words hit us like powerful bullets: they devastated us. . . . There also came to us people who spoke French beautifully. From obedient sheep we little by little turned into people with some class-consciousness and then finally we categorically refused to fight against the Bolsheviks."

The French underground section was itself a living rebuke to the imperialist history of France, for it was composed not only of women and men from France, but also Senegalese, Algerians, Moroccans and Vietnamese. On the night of March 1, betrayed by a spy, the bulk of the group was arrested by French counter-intelligence agents. The imperialist agents were determined to break the back of the insurgent forces among the French military. They concentrated their efforts on breaking the revolutionary women. The men were lined up in front of the women, and then one by one shot with a revolver point-blank in the face. Not a word from the women. They were beaten. Still not a word. The next morning their mutilated bodies were found floating near the shore.

Accounts of the heroism of the French-speaking women and the infamy of their butchers rocked France. Within weeks,

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MAY 1984

World Revolution — Not World War!

The Workers Of The World In The Russian Revolution

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the name of Jeanne Labourbe was pinned on lapels all over France, and it became a battle cry too among the sailors and soldiers with whom she had worked.

At that time there had already been minor mutinies in the ranks of the French troops; one unit had even cut off communication lines between the command post and the artillery squad in the midst of shelling a Bolshevik-held town. On the heels of the execution of Jeanne Labourbe, soldiers and sailors burst out in isolated but furious rebellions, which were quickly put down with the aid of Romanian military police squadrons in another display of internationalism, imperialist-style. Hundreds were arrested, and the first French sailor was shot as a Bolshevik. But the tocsin had sounded.

In April a decisive battle for the Black Sea coast loomed, as the Red Army units gathered for an offensive. The French Command prepared as well—but so did their troops. On the 19th of April, 1919, as the Red Army troops neared the outskirts, the Command ordered several ships to shell Sevastopol. The sailors refused. They were quickly joined by the sailors of four or five other French military vessels.

The events that followed are described in the account of the leader of the Sevastopol revolutionary underground Bolshevik Party unit: "Morning came on the 20th of April. I almost didn't recognize the French fleet: the flags they were flying were red! The excitement of people gathering on the streets of the city rose with every minute. At noon on the Grafski pier, rowboats, launches and skiffs began to come in, overflowing with French sailors. Suddenly on the Bolshoi Morskoi a column of French sailors formed up. Hugging each other, slapping each other on the back, the jubilant excited sailors stepped off. Sailors' caps were flying into the air. Red ribbons were pinned to their caps and chests. You could hear shouts of 'Vive la Rusi! Vive le Bolsheviki!' They bellowed revolutionary songs. As they marched along, new groups of French

sailors kept joining in, as they continually arrived from the launches. A red flag flew at the front of their ranks. This flag had its own story. The sailors had come to the union hall of Sevastopol metal-workers and said that they needed a red flag. It was this flag, given them by the metal-workers, which they now carried through the streets."

The people who had remained in Sevastopol, mostly women, older men and youth, joined in the French sailors' procession. Together, these former "enemies," French, Russian, Ukrainian, stormed the nearby prisons, where they freed almost 3000 French sailors and soldiers who had been locked up for refusing to fight the Red Army. The procession, now some 5 or 6000 strong, erupted into an uproar of internationalist solidarity.

Then, near 4 o'clock, on orders of the French Command, Greek soldiers set up firing positions. Without warning, they opened fire with rifles and machine guns on the marchers. Soon the blood of French sailors and Russian proletarians ran together on the streets of Sevastopol. Again from the account of the underground Party leader: "The sailor carrying the red flag at the forefront was shot and fell. Another sailor picked it up. Then he too was killed. Then someone else seized the flag and flung it high into a tree-top. It was saved..."

The uprising of the French sailors and their mass fraternizing with the people of Sevastopol was brutally suppressed and the participants arrested. News of the events stunned France; the already broad opposition to intervention was felt more powerfully than ever. In the Black Sea fleet a week later, on the very flagship as well as the command cruiser and several other ships, mass gatherings of sailors announced that if the interventionist attack was not halted and the fleet sent back to France, then they were not just going to mutiny. They were going to go, ships, weapons, and all, over to the Red Army. Within days the entire French fleet set sail homeward.

On May 1, 1919, the region around Sevastopol celebrated with the units of the



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Red Army who had now entered the city. A number of French sailors had chosen to remain behind in the city, and marched as well. The red flag which had flown at the

front of the mutineers' procession flew once again, but now on it was inscribed in French: "To the Rebel French Sailors From the Proletariat of Sevastopol. Long Live the III Communist International."

By December 1919, the bulk of the Allied interventionist troops had been sent home, and in the next year the Bolsheviks went on to carry the civil war to victory. In analyzing these events, Lenin pointed out the vast superiority in numbers of men, technical level of equipment and personnel, command of sea routes and transportation, all of which were possessed by the Anglo-French-American forces—and he asked, in light of this, how did the Russian Revolution, with a small Red Army drawn from a war-exhausted populace, prevail?

He then went on: "From the very outset of the revolution we have said that we constitute a party of the international proletariat, and that, however great the difficulties facing the revolution, there would come a time when, at the most decisive moment, the sympathy, the solidarity of the workers oppressed by international imperialism would make itself felt. For that we were accused of being utopians. But experience has shown that while we cannot always and in all cases rely on action by the proletariat, at any rate we may say that during these two years of the world's history we have been proved correct a thousand times.... That was our first and chief victory, because it was not only a military victory, it was not really a military victory at all—it was actually a victory of that international solidarity of the working people for which we began the whole revolution, and which we pointed to and said that, however numerous the trials we would have to undergo, all these sacrifices would be repaid a hundredfold by the development of the world revolution, which is inevitable." (Vol. 30, pp. 210, 212) □

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Eviction At Cook's Landing



Native American net fishing on a tributary of the Columbia River

Driving out the Columbia River to Cook's Landing, one is struck by its beauty and size and how remote you can be less than an hour from Portland. All that is out here or along the way is a huge dam and a couple of large aluminum plants and mills. Cook's Landing can only be found by watching for No. 56 milepost on the road — carefully. It's a tiny postage-stamp piece of land right on the river, with a few boats and people living there. But those living at Cook's Landing and others — certainly up against those in the tribes who have urged and argued especially with David SoHappy, Sr., to be more "realistic" — are a continual and painful thorn in the side of the imperialists and a symbol of resistance way beyond their size and locale. For this they have been the target of frenzied attacks by the U.S. government.

Effective April 15, Native Americans at Cook's Landing and four other traditional fishing sites along the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington are to be evicted on order of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs). While the Yakima Tribal Council has filed an appeal with the Bureau which is expected to postpone any actual moves at eviction, this order represents a sharp escalation in the U.S. government's war against the Indians and fishing rights in the Northwest.

This eviction order comes on the heels of a number of other assaults on the area. Once again, Cook's Landing and the SoHappy family are a particular focus. They, along with others, are currently appealing a five-year sentence from June 1983 on federal felony charges for fishing at the "usual and accustomed places" of their people, a right supposedly guaranteed by treaties. The attacks on them have included massive government surveillance and undercover operations mounted against them, a brutal predawn raid on the fishing camp at Cook's Landing, a public opinion campaign up and down the West Coast painting Indian fishermen as "poachers" who are destroying the salmon fishery, and a trial in L.A. last year. Since their sentencing last June, about 15 other cases have appeared in scattered courts throughout the

area. In The Dalles, across the river from Cook's Landing, it's estimated an Indian fishing case is now scheduled every other week. This is besides the "usual and accustomed" daily harassment meted out by the Fish and Game Dept., like the seizure of equipment and the assignment of fishing seasons to the Indians. This year, for example, the Indians were given about a month to fish but it was during a time there were no salmon in the river. Now, on March 15, all five federally-designated "accustomed" fishing sites along the Columbia River in Oregon and Washington were ordered to remove all permanent structures and all permanent residents within one month or be guilty of trespass on the order of the BIA.

A slight probe into this eviction order further reveals the calculated long-range and all-around attack the government is waging here. Stan Speaks, Area Director for the BIA out of Portland, Oregon said, "When I arrived here 18 months ago we had not been assuming proper responsibility for the sites" (meaning people had been living on the sites for 20 years and had not been removed—*RW*), and it was then he began laying the groundwork through various means to remove people from these areas. Of course it is just coincidence that 18 months ago puts him operating squarely in the midst of the salmonscam — the popular name for the massive government attack that resulted in the conviction

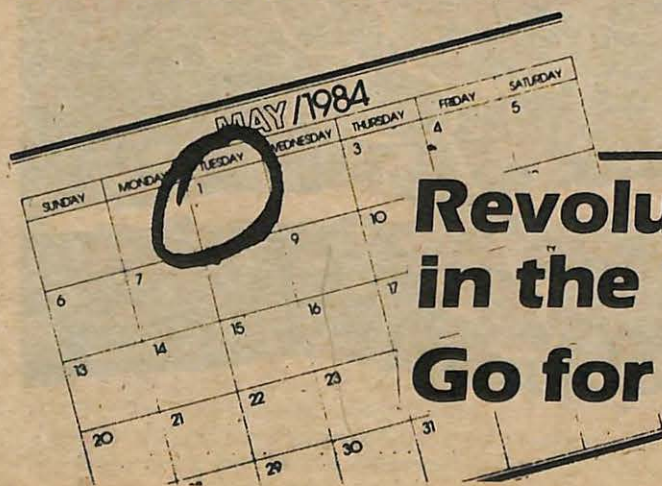
at Cook's Landing. Further, when Mr. Speaks was asked what it was that had triggered his investigation and actions, whether fishing had been interfered with, etc., he said it was because he had "received complaints." From whom? From the local police who have jurisdiction over the sites and the Fish and Wildlife thugs who complained that the BIA was permitting Indians to live there supposedly in violation of the use of these sites. In other words, complaints from the very forces who were carrying out the assault at the time! (The press has not carried a word about this most recent eviction but it has carried pages on the shortages of salmon and the dangers this poses to sports and commercial fishermen.)

The five sites are officially called "in lieu" sites, which means "instead of" the traditional fishing grounds used by Indians for centuries, which were flooded and destroyed after construction of giant hydroelectric dams around World War 2 to generate power for the war-related aluminum industry. Over 40 such sites were promised to the Indians based on usual and accustomed fishing sites, but they only received five. Some of the rest were turned into parks and boat launches for pleasure boats and sport fishermen. When traditional fishing sites were flooded, the many homes along the river where Indians

lived and fished year-round were destroyed. David SoHappy, Sr., describes his mother and many of the older people who "died waiting for homes the government promised to rebuild along the river." Instead the government used the occasion of the floods to permanently diminish those who lived and fished on the river. This is much of what underlies David, Sr.'s defiant, public statement that "there's not going to be an eviction at Cook's Landing."

Out of these five sites, only Cook's Landing and Underwood, a short distance away, have permanent camps. The other sites posted for eviction have structures built (other than fish-drying sheds which are "legal") and are used by Indians when they come to fish and stay during the seasons. The SoHappys have lived at Cook's Landing for at least 20 years, and the camp is looked to as a spiritual and cultural center. The camp is open to anyone to come and fish and to camp there. Living there all year long, the SoHappys feed those who come to fish from what they have caught and dried throughout the year. The Salmon Ceremony, a traditional ceremony of Northwest Indians celebrating the catching of the first salmon of the year, is held at Cook's Landing.

In response to the eviction notice, David Sr. told the *RW*, "They say we can stay as long as we're drying fish at the in lieu sites. Well, I can get fish out of the river year-round. They call these temporary sites. I told them I'm only on this earth temporarily. They called this 'messy' and said that 'we need to clean up the camp.' I told them if you don't like my country, get out. Besides, I've had no time to clean up with you dragging me to court all the time." It is this spirit that prompted the prosecuting attorney in an L.A. courtroom last year to refer to Cook's Landing as a "permanent enclave of resistance." □



**Revolution
in the '80s . . .
Go for it!**

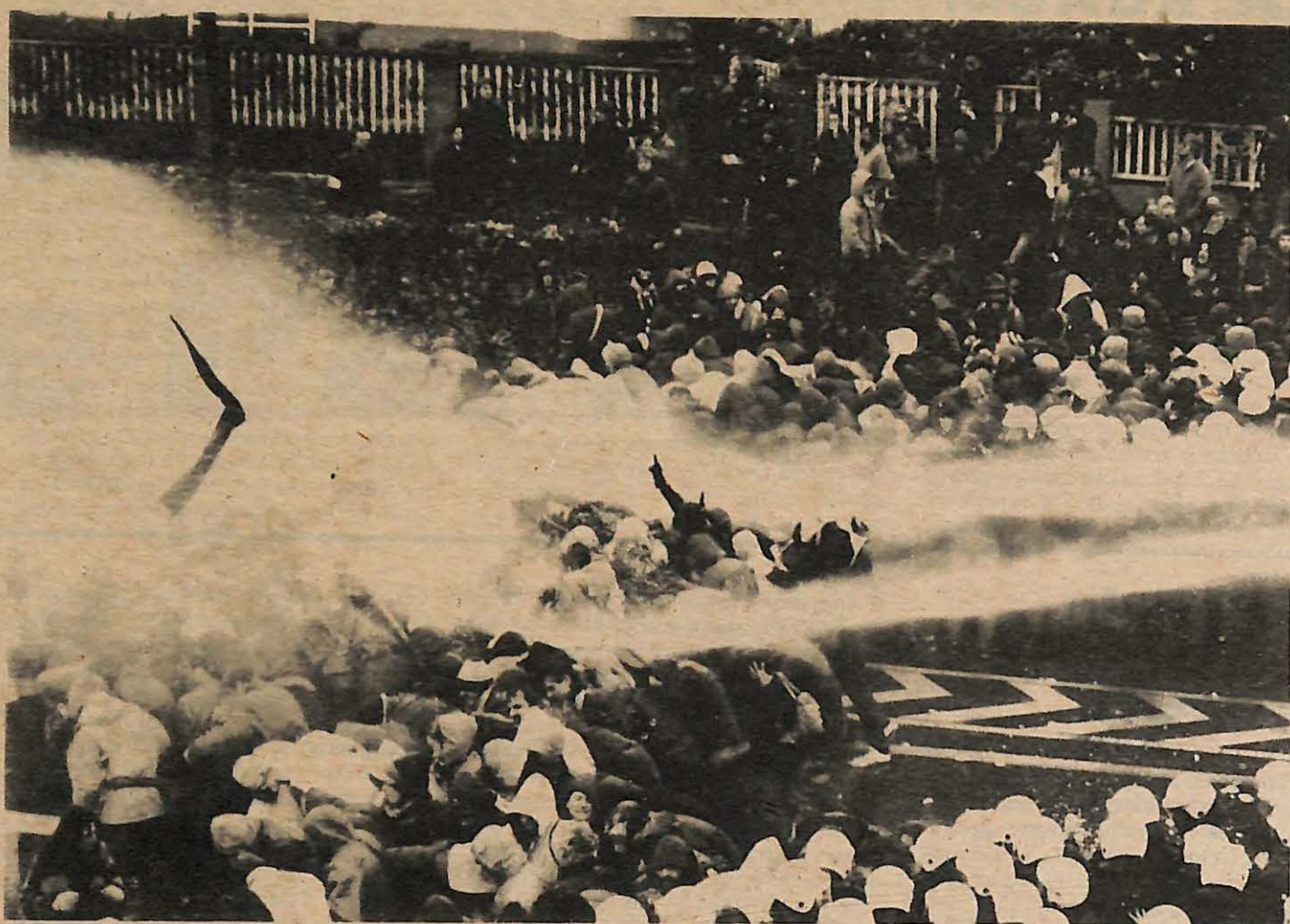
Deserters Tour U.S.

The return of the World Without Imperialism Contingent to the U.S. marked a new phase in its work. From mid-January to the end of March these deserters from America's warmongering have made concerted efforts to convey the urgency, scope and diversity of their experience in West Germany to people in the U.S. Their accounts of and participation in the protests in West Germany last fall (referred to in a press release, issued by the Contingent, as in-depth, behind-the-demonstrations view of the multitude of political forces and their various programs) have sparked interest and provoked challenging discussions among a wide spectrum of forces. To date, Contingent members have made over 60 presentations from Hawaii to New York, from Buffalo to Atlanta, including approximately 25 presentations at colleges/universities, over a dozen at high schools, about 15 community programs/forums and meetings with 15 or so groupings in the antinuclear and other social movements. Between the three national spokespeople, over 30 media interviews, including radio, TV and newspaper articles have been done. Other Contingent members have also been interviewed by several campus newspapers and radio stations in conjunction with speaking engagements.

The Contingent has been welcomed by and has stirred controversy among politically diverse audiences — from mainstream "Nuclear Freeze" groupings to more revolutionary-minded activists from the various social movements, from rebellious youth to proletarians who have been struck by the complexity of the movement and the role of the class-conscious proletariat as exemplified by the workers from Turkey in West Germany. The hair-trigger intensity of world events, and the Euromissile crisis in particular, has stirred broad and profound questioning — and some of this can be seen in the fact that at programs which were broadly publicized, particularly on college campuses, and at community meetings, approximately one-quarter of the audience came from seeing the broad publicity.

The Contingent has been able to bring the experience of the "battle-testing" of some of the lines and programs to the varied anti-nuke and antiwar forces in the U.S., who are confronting many of the same basic political hurdles confronted in a concentrated way in West Germany. A Freeze group in Eugene, Oregon invited the World Without Imperialism Contingent spokesperson Jack Straw to speak at a rally where he shared a platform with eight others. They included the Oregon State Speaker of the House; Alliance to Counter Militarism; representatives of the Faculty Arms Control and the Associated Students, at the University of Oregon; and a 12-year-old youth from Children's Campaign for Disarmament. While the speakers exposed the threat of nuclear weapons and the policy of U.S. military intervention in Central America, they all called for people to vote in a peace candidate and participate in the electoral process. Jack took on this point of relying on an electoral strategy, drawing examples from the experience in West Germany. Jack and other World Without Imperialism Contingent members later made presentations in Portland and Eugene where people active in stopping the "white trains" attended.

The crucial role of women in the struggle against war has been highlighted in the various women's peace camps inspired by



The Battle of Bonn

Greenham Common. In Berkeley, as part of the International Women's Day activities, sponsored by the University of California Women's Center, Dolly Fong, an RCP representative on the Contingent, spoke at a program on March 8th called "International Women and the Euromissiles." On the panel with Dolly were a UCB student from Britain who had protested at Greenham Common, a woman from Comiso, Italy, now working with the Livermore Action Group, and a woman from the Women's International Peace League. Dolly was able to bring to life some of the meaning of International Women's Day by drawing on the experience of the Contingent in Germany: "The anger and fury these women feel towards the missiles and world war brings with it the profound bitterness of their own life experience under an exploitative system where women are constantly reminded that we are commodities in a flesh market. And, talking about the '80s and tumultuous times, we can already see an example of women stepping out of their traditional roles like in Greenham Common and Seneca, and the hot autumn demonstrations, and inspiring people all over the world to change the world, including getting rid of our oppression as women, but not limited to that. . . . One of the most exciting meetings we went to was a discussion between West German feminists and some proletarian Turkish and Kurdish women. This kind of political exchange between women from the oppressor countries and women from the oppressed countries like Turkey was a new and exciting development. While they share common views of the need to get rid of the hideous daily occurrences of women's oppression, there was a good deal of healthy debate over who was the enemy, and what was the solution to women's oppression and to war."

Among the anti-nuke, antiwar forces in the U.S., many had followed the hot autumn actions and were hungry for further analysis: how was the movement there summing up the deployments; what was next in West Germany; what did the splits among the Greens spell for the future? In the Boston, Washington, D.C., Berkeley and San Francisco areas, a number of activists had traveled to Europe and had face-to-face contact with the different groupings and trends in West Germany; they had their own summations of the different strategies and tactics, which they debated with the Contingent. Many of these forces feel somewhat suffocated by the current political climate in the U.S. and in the movement, and eagerly welcome the analysis the Contingent brought. Direct Action Now, an antinuclear group in the Chicago area, sponsored a public forum where a representative from the Contingent, someone from International Military Resistance, and Gwin Kirk, co-author of the book *Greenham Women Everywhere* and an organizer for Greenham Women's Camp, spoke on a panel. The discussion after the presentations was wide-ranging and lively and summed up by one of the sponsors as a "sharp relief from what passes for antiwar forums here otherwise."

In the course of discussion with anti-imperialist groupings, particularly foreign students and those involved in support for revolutionary movements in the oppressed countries, there has been controversy over whether the Euromissile preparations are a prelude to world war or "more of the same." For instance, at CCNY (City College of New York) where the Haitian Club sponsored a program, sharp debate erupted among club members over the relationship of the events in West Germany to the struggle in Haiti.

Among punk youth, questions have been raised about the role of the *autonomen*, their strategy and tactics, and whether or not revolution is possible in West Germany. During a Midwest tour by Contingent spokesperson and RCYB (Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade) member Rich Newberger, serious discussion went on with these groupings at the Jockey Club, a punk club in Newport, Kentucky and with a group of musicians and other people involved in the arts in Kent, Ohio.

The numerous opportunities to speak on campuses at programs sponsored by student groups have not been without struggle. At Tufts University in Boston, at the University of Hawaii, the University of Buffalo, the University of Califor-

nia (San Diego), and at CCNY, students fought to bring the Contingent on campus, debating with those within their groups who argued that the Contingent's politics were too radical and that its association with revolutionary communists, especially the RCP, might alienate people. With one exception the Contingent was able to unite with these groups and make presentations on campus. At some campuses, professors invited Contingent members to speak in classes. This was also the case in some high schools. Youths who were not as politically familiar with the various lines in the movement had many questions about imperialism, the nature of the Soviet Union, the response of the U.S. troops to the protests, the effect of international events on war preparations, and how to prevent World War 3.

Contingent speakers have painted a vivid picture of what it was like to be in a situation where all of society is in turmoil. Their "glimpse of the future" has drawn forth lessons and analogies to political programs and lines surfacing in the movement here. For instance, the issues raised in the Seneca debate have many similarities to the West German "respectable" movement's criticism of the more militant actions taken by the *autonomen* at Krefeld, during the visit of George Bush. In Boston, several women who had been involved in Seneca Falls women's encampment approached a Contingent member after her presentation wanting more discussion, saying they had faced similar political controversies over the questions of militancy, how far to go, who to target, etc., drawing parallels to the political trends they have come into contact with in the antinuclear movement here.

In popularizing their rich experience in West Germany, Contingent members have encountered intense interest in their internationalist political stand. They've discovered that there is ferment among many; and although it is not at the level it is in West Germany, it is quite obvious that the situation in the world is posing serious questions to broad sections of people who are quite open to more radical and revolutionary points of view.

The National Office of the "For A World Without Imperialism Contingent" can be contacted to arrange speaking engagements through April. Please write to the Contingent at:
World Without Imperialism Contingent,
44 Monterey Blvd. No. 9,
San Francisco, California 94131.
Messages can be left for the Contingent at (415) 469-0153 Monday to Saturday.

MAY 1984

**Break Out,
Break Free
— Take History
into Our Hands**

Persecution of S.A. Rawoof

Continued from page 7

struggle do not seem to be yielding the desired results. So, Indira wants to get away from all this by showing the danger of foreign aggression and arousing national chauvinism. However, even this conspiracy of the Indira government is bound to fail. In sum, the all-round crisis and the consequent all-embracing instability is all the more favourable for the advance of the revolutionary movement.

Like in any other State in the country, in our State also a tremendous revolutionary situation is existing. The Telugu Desam government of NTR (N.T. Rama Rao) which replaced the notorious, corrupt Indira government in the last January elections is also rapidly getting isolated from the masses. The experience of the past ten months shows that the

NTR government is also treading much in the footsteps of the Congress government. Not even a single basic problem of the people is resolved. Moreover, with each passing day the miseries of the people are increasing. Atrocities on the harijans and girijans committed by the notorious anti-people landlords are growing apace. Murders in the name of encounters, illegal arrests and torture besides shooting down of the fighting people—are being perpetuated by the police and are continuing to be a commonplace. Facing all this ruthless repression against them, the exploited are rising in revolts. Every field, every factory, every educational institution and every office have turned into a battlefield. The revolutionary movement is steadily advancing. Taking the gun in his hand the oppressed peasant has jumped into the battle-field. And the earth and the sky are roaring with this battle-cry. The powerbase of NTR is being debased. In order to suppress the revolutionary movement the NTR government has appealed to the central government for help. And the CRP has already arrived.

No doubt the repression is going to be stepped up in the coming days. But this will only arouse the sharp class hatred of the people and further sharpen their fighting will. Despite the heavy odds in its path, the revolutionary movement will certainly march ahead; this is the law of motion of history. The world revolutionary movement has demonstrated this truth time and time again.

REVOLUTIONARY MASSES!

As a result of the intensified contention the world over by the two super-marauders mad after war, the danger of the third world war and the possibility of it breaking out are growing day by day. "Either revolution will prevent war, or the war will give rise to revolution." If the ongoing revolutionary struggles of the people the world over, and more importantly that of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America fail to prevent the war, and if the war does burst out, our country too will inevitably be dragged into it. In such an event, although the people will have to face untold miseries as a result of the war, the revolutionary situa-

tion will turn more in our favour. It is our sacred duty to intensify the ongoing armed struggles in our country along the path shown by com Charu Mazumdar so as to overthrow the Indian reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters and to establish a new democratic India in which there will be no place for exploitation, hunger and tears. Let all the revolutionary masses of this country get prepared to realise this goal. Let us once again say no to the inept bourgeois parliamentary road, firmly holding on to the path of armed struggle.

No reactionary power, however strong it may be, can check the current march of the revolutionary movement, both at State and country levels. Final victory is ours.

Let us Dare To Think!

Dare to Fight!!

Let us overcome all obstacles in the path of victory!!!

Final Victory is Ours!

Long Live the Proletarian Revolutionary line of com Charu Mazumdar!
Long Live CPI (ML)!

Made in U.S.A.

Continued from page 1

being prepared to use U.S. combat troops in Central America if the insurgents could not be defeated by other means; second, that involvement in combat activity by U.S. advisors in El Salvador has already been stepped up; and third, that next week, on April 20, will begin the largest military maneuvers the U.S. has held to date in Central America — Operation Ocean Venture '84. Barely a peep as well over U.S. efforts to turn Honduras into Ft. Bragg South. As for El Salvador itself, Congress has delayed giving an escalation of aid to the death-squad government there for a month or so, until after the presidential runoff election — a truly heroic step. Besides all this, we note in passing that our Congressional critics haven't exactly offered to slip into wet suits and clear out the mines from Nicaragua's harbor!

Meanwhile, the U.S.'s efforts continue on as before; the chief *contra* group has

even issued a statement that it will carry on with the mining regardless, just as shipping companies have begun to announce that they will cease runs to Nicaragua. And, who knows, even if some funds are cut off to the *contras*, this only means public direct funds: when the U.S. cut off funds to Guatemala in the late '70s the slack was ably taken up by Israel and others — who naturally got their aid from the U.S. This provided a lesson which even the dullest *contra* can easily understand — as of course can U.S. Congressmen.

All in all, the Congressional "outrage" at the mining of Nicaraguan harbors provided an instance of boundless hypocrisy — one could almost say *unmatchable* hypocrisy, except that Reagan himself did in fact equal it with the U.S. response to Nicaragua's taking the whole issue before the world court (the International Court of Justice in the Hague, Netherlands). Nicaragua announced that it was suing the U.S. for the mining of its harbors and other breaches of "international law."

The U.S. response was simple enough — "sorry, Charlie." It declared that it would simply refuse the "jurisdiction" of

the court for up to two years. The State Department declared that this was because Nicaragua was just after a "propaganda forum" and that the august body was being "misused."

Propaganda? Did somebody mention propaganda? It wasn't exactly the dim and distant past which had all America up in arms, shrieking in common chorus about violations of "international law," and demonstrating what is considered proper use of the world court. The American "case" against the Iranian Revolution, focused on the hostage seizure, was presented to this very same world court whose "jurisdiction" the U.S. now declines. But then, *America* was the plaintiff.

Here again, the liberal critics have sounded off, decrying the U.S. "flaunting" of international law. But actually the U.S. maneuver is very much in keeping with the spirit of the international legal system of the world court, which was set up as a reflection of and guarantor of the post-World War 2 system of world relations with U.S. supremacy as its bedrock. From the outset the U.S. has reserved exceptions to world court jurisdiction, excluding in particular U.S.

domestic matters — tariff policy, immigration policy, and of course that very domestic matter of the Panama Canal.

The *New York Times*, in arguing for the U.S. to accept world court jurisdiction, points out that the U.S. can hardly be expected to be bound by the world court, if things should go awry — everyone else ignores it, why shouldn't a Great Power? This hints at a broader point being made through the jurisdiction hubbub: the international "routine" and institutions reflective of four decades of imperialist peace (truce) are rapidly growing outdated.

Regarding Central America, what would make the *Times* happy — along with lesser liberals, presumably — would merely be for the U.S. to justify its policy according to "the norms of United States democracy in foreign policy." That shouldn't be too tall an order — and certainly isn't, even for REAGANISMMM: the name of the bill which would provide \$21 million for the *contras* to carry on their mayhem is the "Central American Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative." □

War Games

Continued from page 5

tween Greenland, Norway, and the Shetland Islands off Scotland. Then a flotilla was formed which began duplicating the tactics that NATO had just used in Teamwork '84. After further maneuvers, the fleet withdrew north of the Arctic Circle, and then headed for home ports.

The fact that the Soviets acted to test the Teamwork '84 operations, which they had shadowed with at least a dozen submarines, does not necessarily mean that they were playing out a defensive scenario — that remains to be seen, based on further reports. Of course, the Soviets do want to show that they can take on anything the West throws at them. To this end, they moved their huge force out very swiftly, surprising some Western observers. This is also, possibly, the reason for the first-time appearance of the Backfire bombers. Recent U.S. naval development has continued to emphasize its "big carrier groups," with a projected addition of three more such groups at a cost of \$50 billion. This is obviously a powerful new addition, with an admitted aggressive purpose. Some U.S. naval experts have complained that this would make the carriers vulnerable targets for relatively long-range, land-based Soviet bombers like the Backfire, and thus perhaps it is no surprise that the Backfires have now turned up in the Soviet maneuvers.

But what else the Soviets practiced is simply not known — though there are signs that it may have been a lot more than naval defense. The presence of amphibious craft suggests this for example — as part of global Soviet maneuvers in 1975, amphibious landings were practiced on the northern coasts of East Germany and Poland. Also, the Soviet craft now deployed in other parts of the world, though mainly quiet during the European

maneuvers, may still become active — as of this writing there are reports of Soviet exercises 130 miles south of New Orleans in the Caribbean, for example. If so, part of the practice may involve a test of Soviet offensive global strength.

Past Soviet maneuvers have concluded with a practice ICBM firing, simulating strategic nuclear war, in order to test command and control of the weapons. The *Times* of London reported the possible presence of the Soviet missile-firing *Typhoon* submarine, the largest in the world. This would confirm the existence of a strategic nuclear phase to the Soviet exercise.

Hairtrigger

The exchange of exercises this spring shows the two blocs poised more and more on a hairtrigger, as the military buildup accelerates on both land and sea. Recent developments have shown each side increasingly capable of smashing destructive blows against the other. Soviet naval expansion exploded in the '70s, and has resulted in a Soviet blue-water navy, capable of sea warfare anywhere in the world (although not on the scale of the longer-established U.S. deep-water forces). The U.S. is frantically procuring combat ships and expounding openly offensive doctrines. And naval capabilities on both sides have been multiplied by the far greater range, accuracy, and destructive power of modern weapons, of which the Exocet missile has become the most popular example. All this is making for a regular drumbeat of practices and counter-practices of greater duration and more far-flung in scope. The spring exercises, though an annual event for NATO and not brand new for the Soviets either, are not "routine" this year: they are hard training for a real event that grows perceptibly closer.

Muscle-Flexing

The worldwide exercises have in-

evitably also become the occasion for political pushing, and pushing back on the part of the rival blocs. In the explosive Caribbean area, the U.S. and Soviets both plan exercises; in the Indian Ocean, where both French and British vessels have recently been deployed, and not that far from the Persian Gulf, Soviet squadrons showed up.

One political clash occurred over the use of the air corridors from West Germany to Berlin during the Soviet maneuvers. These corridors are administered jointly by the U.S., British, French, and Soviet Union, which take part in a Berlin Air Safety Center. This month, as their maneuvers began, the Soviets began filing reservations for use of the corridors, as stipulated by the Berlin agreements, whereupon the West protested, claiming it had been forced to divert commercial and military flights from the corridors by Soviet "abuse of its privilege." It was, according to some European newspapers, a means by which the West raised up the specter of "another 007" and turned the knife yet again on that campaign.

A Soviet response wasn't long in coming. On April 5, Soviet Chief of Staff of Air Defense Forces, Colonel-General Semyon Romanov, stated that Soviet planes were "in permanent combat readiness" to shoot down any intruders into Soviet airspace. This was taken to apply to the Berlin situation and meant: "if you want another 007, we'll give it to you."

Apart from general political pushing and shoving, one specific object of the European naval maneuvers has apparently been the countries on Europe's northern front, in particular Norway and the Netherlands. Each set of maneuvers has involved a test of each side's capacity to hold the strategic coasts of these countries as part of commanding the seas in this area and carrying out its missions. And when the real deal goes down, this will have much to do with how, when, and with what degree of destruction these

countries become battlegrounds.

The Soviets exert pressure by demonstrating that these countries are vulnerable to Soviet power — as indeed they appear to be; Norway with hundreds of miles of exposed coastline right at the threshold of the Soviet naval bases on the Kola Peninsula, the Netherlands as, among other things, one possible resupply route for NATO. NATO, which includes both Norway and the Netherlands, shows its ability to hold these countries — and more, to take it to the Soviets — and moves its primary battleline further north, as in the Teamwork '84 exercise.

The Netherlands has voiced certain doctrinal differences with NATO; possibly this is connected to the fact that the Netherlands is the only one of five European receivers of the Euromissiles which is formally uncommitted to the deployment; its decision is due in late May or early June. These are family squabbles and not divorce proceedings (it will be noticed that Dutch ships took part in the Teamwork exercise for example). However, the Soviets do hope to exacerbate these intra-NATO tensions, and so accompanied their naval maneuvers with a not-so-subtle statement that it would "guarantee" that it would never unleash a nuclear attack against the Dutch, if the country rejected the Euromissile deployment.

But no matter whether the imperialists laced their maneuvers with overt political threats and messages, as did the Soviets in Europe, or the U.S. in Central America, or low-profiled them and chalked it all up to "spring fever," the central fact is that both blocs are practicing with a vengeance. They will score political points along the way, and an "exercise" could even turn into an outright intervention in one place or another, but as Reagan also said in the same press statement, "there is no substitute for victory," and it is this bloody need for all-out and thorough redivision of the world for which they practice and prepare. □

"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!

