



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 258 (Vol. 6, No. 6) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1

June 1, 1984

Editions in English, Spanish and Chinese

ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Rebellion in Haiti



Almost a month to the day after rebellion broke out in the Dominican Republic, the same Caribbean island was rocked by new uprisings, this time in Haiti. In the past week there have been major rebellions in two cities and significant mass upheaval in several others.

The trigger that released this flood of anger and channeled it into militant action in the streets was the apparent beating and subsequent death of a pregnant woman in Gonaïves on May 23. A member of the Ton Ton Macoutes (Haiti's infamous terror squad) tried to arrest the woman, who resisted. As he began beating her, others came into the street, and in the fight the Macoute was killed. News spread rapidly, and soon thousands were in the streets, shouting "Down with hunger, down with misery, down with Duvalier!"

The crowd destroyed the home of the murdering Macoute, then invaded and ransacked the commercial district, targeting, in particular, shops owned by known Duvalierists and Macoutes, and breaking into food depots. They then reportedly went to the local military garrison and surrounded it. One estimate is that out of 40,000 in the city, 20-25,000 took part in the rebellion which lasted four days. The masses of the slum area of Raboteau were particularly active.

When the local military units and police could not contain the masses, they sent an urgent wire to Port-au-Prince, the capital, one hundred miles to the south. Several government officials were dispatched to restore order, and when they failed (their "assurances" that "your

friend Jean Claude is going to send you food" didn't deter the angry masses who have suffered since 1957 under the Duvalier dynasty — first "Papa Doc," then his son Jean Claude), the regime responded with typically vicious and bloody military force.

Several transport trucks were dispatched with a regiment of the tractical battalion from the military garrison in Dessalines; a contingent of the Presidential Guard and the elite antiguerrilla unit known as "the Leopards" were airlifted in by helicopter. Added to this, the local police and Ton Ton Macoutes, all of the different arms of the regime's repressive forces were brought to bear on the masses of Gonaïves.

Witnesses reported that soldiers leapt out of the trucks spraying machine-gun bullets in the air — and making a number of hits, although no statistics are available as the one hospital there refused to talk about people they had treated, and many injured certainly dared not go there for fear of being turned over to the police. At least dozens appear to have been injured and probably many more.

Four days after the Gonaïves rebellion began, people took to the streets in Bombardopolis, a city more to the south, although little is yet known about exactly what happened. Then on Tuesday, May 29, Cap-Haïtien, Haiti's second largest city, with a long history of struggle and rebellion, exploded when a group set upon a convoy of five trucks delivering special swine feed imported from the U.S. (All of Haiti's pigs — we are now

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Political Rip Van Winkles and the Lost Years (See Centerfold)

Declaration By The Politbureau Of The Central Committee Of The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist

The international communist movement is experiencing a difficult phase. With the betrayal by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labour, a situation of confusion and disorganization developed within the ranks of the international Marxist-Leninists, and for years they were unable to sufficiently meet head-on the wild and thoroughly reactionary attacks of the bourgeoisie. The organizational disarray among the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, the difficulty these forces had rallying their strengths, their weaknesses in finding a way out of these difficulties, all give indications of how the first necessary steps need to be taken. It is impossible to be successful if one confines the struggle against the bourgeoisie within the borders of one country and does not link it with the struggles in other countries, and draw even further strength from that linkage. Today the proletariat and oppressed peoples in the individual countries find themselves facing a unified international bourgeoisie. It is impossible to defeat a unified enemy without building the internationalist unity, solidarity and the unity-in-struggle of your own forces. When Lenin alluded to the role of international solidarity of the proletariat in the success of the October Revolution, he meant these things.

The Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations has, through its decisions, achieved the first advances toward building that revolutionary international whose absence has been so sorely felt. A standing committee was built; the publication of a central journal is a correct decision which strengthens the movement and advances it. It will serve to coordinate the discussion within the movement over different points of view, to gather up, develop and broadly popularize experiences in order to be a weapon in the struggle against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, to strengthen the ideological and political basis upon which the

Marxist-Leninist movement can build itself, to knit and develop its unity still more firmly.

Looking back at the existing dividing lines, it becomes clear that that unity achieved by the conference is a developed unity which should not be underestimated. While this unity was being forged, the decision to lay differences of opinion on the table and to discuss them reveals that this unity was a serious thing that differentiated itself from contentless, posturing unities and which had the courage to take up differences openly and discuss them. This unity will develop through the exposition and discussion of political views and will gain strength.

Working People, Comrades,

The Politbureau confirms and supports this unity which has arisen on the basis of the revolutionary heritage of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. Our revolutionary struggle will gain even more strength through such unity. Let us strengthen the unity and struggle of the international communist movement with all our efforts! Propagate it widely and support the fundraising campaign!

Let us shout the common slogans together so that our powerful voices envelop the world!

Long live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which unites itself around the lofty goal!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

LONG LIVE THE RED PATH OF MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, STALIN, AND MAO TSETUNG!

(Translated from German by the RW)

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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, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico (\$30.00 for institutions). Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.

Rock Island: Arsenal In The Mississippi Mud

One hundred and sixty miles west of Chicago there is a scenic 3-1/2 square-mile island in the middle of the Mississippi River. On an ordinary day one can find tourists snapping pictures of this historic site, with its tree-lined main street flanked on either side by hundred-year-old stone buildings. Favorite sights, among others, include Fort Armstrong, built in 1816 on this island in order to drive the Sac-Fox Indian people from an area they considered sacred; there is also the Confederate cemetery, containing the graves of more than 1900 prisoners of war who died while held captive. This vintage scene is complemented by joggers allowed to use the island's running paths and bicyclists peddling over one of the three bridges which are owned by the U.S. Army... allowed, that is, as long as the cyclists and joggers steer clear of those "off limits" portions of the island. Also coming over the bridge every morning are nearly 9,000 people who work here, commuting much as if they were working for one of the big farm-machinery plants in this area. They're not. They're working for the Army's Rock Island Arsenal.

The quiet routine will be broken on Monday, June 4 as antiwar demonstrators carry out nonviolent, mobile blockades to shut the Arsenal down. "The time and place to fight arms is here and now," states a letter by members of Project Disarm. "We believe that a more serious peace effort must be undertaken than heretofore to end the continuous build-up and distribution of arms since World War II, which has made the world an armed camp... Rock Island Arsenal is in the midst of this murderous arms race."

"The Arsenal" is more than just the home of the Army's largest armament and munitions manufacturing plant, which ships 40% of its machine guns, artillery and howitzers to repressive U.S.-backed regimes such as El Salvador, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Philippines. It is more than a huge strategic arms factory employing 3000, and now in the midst of a multimillion dollar modernization program called "Project

Rearm." This, official literature assures us, will "ensure the Arsenal's ability to produce military hardware in an emergency while private industry converts to military needs." An even more critical and murderous aspect of "Arsenal Island" is its role as headquarters of the U.S. Army's Armament, Munitions and Chemical Command (AMCCOM). This is the Army wing which manages all the inventory, assembly and transport of the nuclear and chemical weapons' stockpile, prepares for the emergency airlift of these weapons, and keeps the computer records on the Army's — and probably the entire U.S.'s — nuclear arsenal. Hidden behind the stately Civil War-era landmarks is a vast array of computers, highly complex communications equipment and 5000 personnel managing the procurement and transfer across the globe of U.S. imperialism's ghastly instruments of mass annihilation.

Overseer

One measure of AMCCOM's importance is its overall annual budget — \$9 billion. In addition to the Rock Island Arsenal, AMCCOM's headquarters manages an incredible array of the Army's conventional, nuclear and chemical research and production sites: 47 installations in 26 states with a combined workforce of 40,000.

Arsenal Island manages such monsters as the Tooele Army Depot in Utah, where over one million gallons of agent GB nerve gas are stored, Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas and Rocky Mountain Arsenal near Denver, where these chemical weapons were produced. It oversees the Seneca Army Depot in Seneca, N.Y., which is said to be projected as a storage site of the neutron bomb and most likely the Pershing II missile (which is an Army weapon); Watervliet Arsenal near Albany, N.Y.; twenty-nine other ammunition plants; the Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Maryland; the Army's research labs in

Dover, N.Y. — these are all under the command of HQ, AMCCOM.

In addition this place oversees 285 contractors in private industry. The notorious Martin-Marietta Corp. in Orlando, Florida, prime contractor of the Pershing II and site of the recent Plowshares VIII action; Sperry-Univac in St. Paul, Minnesota, where guidance systems for the cruise missile are produced and scene of the Minneapolis Women's Camp for Peace and Justice; Morton Thiokol (formerly Morton Salt) which produces propulsion systems and operates three munitions plants, site of the recent action by Chicago Life Community — some or all of the contracts by these private companies are overseen by the headquarters of AMCCOM on Arsenal Island.

The stated mission of Headquarters, AMCCOM is to "Maintain a management overview of the initiation and transfer of assigned systems through the various aspects of development, engineering, procurement, production, product assurance, supply, maintenance, configuration control, deployment readiness, product improvement, and final disposition." This cold militarism should send a chill down the spine of all but Dr. Strangelove. This place is the brains, the Army nerve center, which oversees all these far-flung manufacturing sites, brings it all together, assembles it, stores it, and, when the imperialists are good and ready — will deliver it for battlefield use. "Assigned systems" here refers to nuclear, as well as nonnuclear, weapons, nerve gas and other chemical "items," and thousands of other weapons, munitions, parts, tools, etc. "The final disposition" of these weapons will be not only delivery to the U.S. Army but to U.S.-backed regimes in other countries, and in many cases to all branches of the U.S. military.

Pershing II

AMCCOM also has responsibility for contracting for the Pershing II and probably the cruise missile, although it won't publicly admit it. An Army public affairs brochure states that AMCCOM "pro-

vides systems and components to support the tanks, aircraft, and missiles managed by other DARCOM commands" (an umbrella for Army logistics agencies). Since the Pershing II is under Army jurisdiction, AMCCOM provides the systems and components for its construction. As for the Tomahawk cruise missile, this is employed by several branches of the military. But AMCCOM is probably also responsible for it under something called Single Manager System, in which it procures, produces, supplies and maintains conventional weapons for all U.S. forces.

Material obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by antinuclear activists in the local Quad Cities (cities around the Davenport, Iowa area) reveals AMCCOM has a Chemical and Nuclear Division located in a building on the island. Among its duties:

"Maintain(s) computer records on the status of the nuclear weapons stockpile..." or to *all* land-based nuclear weapons. The Department of Energy (DOE) has responsibility for producing nuclear weapons and it could very well be that the Army is assigned responsibility, delegated to AMCCOM, to maintain computer records on the entire U.S. stockpile.

Further proof of this is AMCCOM's responsibility to "Initiate(s) action to update Military Airlift Command Plan 9411, 'Emergency Movement of Nuclear Weapons,' and execute when directed." In other words they are responsible for delivering nuclear weapons from existing stockpiles for use in the event of war. They also provide information to other agencies concerning the status of this nuclear stockpile.

Another job: "coordinate custody transfer, accountability, and direct assembly action of nuclear weapons material." AMCCOM keeps track of the movement of nuclear weapons material, but in addition, AMCCOM directs the actual final assembly of these nuclear weapons, i.e., while the Department of Energy actually produces them, AMCCOM is probably responsible for the placement of them into the delivery systems.

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Peltier Fast

After more than 45 days on a protest "fast for life," imprisoned Indian activist Leonard Peltier and Standing Deer (Robert Wilson) announced their decision to break their religious fast and eat under protest. Their decision came in the wake of a ruling by Judge Beatty in U.S. District Court last week, where he lifted a temporary restraining order which had prevented Marion Prison authorities from force feeding the prisoners. The third Indian prisoner involved in the religious fast, Rechaza Lore de Chingatu (Albert Garza), has chosen to continue the fast and is refusing to even drink water at this time. His condition is said to be deteriorating quickly. Prison authorities may attempt to force feed him soon. Peltier expects to be transferred from the U.S. Hospital for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Illinois to the Segregation Unit at Marion Prison at any time. Standing Deer will remain in the prison hospital, suffering from loss of

eyesight due to the fast and also suffering from a severe back problem.

The fast was in protest of both the brutal conditions at Marion Prison and the Indian prisoners being denied religious articles, contact visits with a medicine man and prayer meetings. On May 17, the three were informed that they could have religious articles in their possession. The three were subsequently taken, naked and shackled, to the property room at Marion to claim their religious possessions. There they were forced to wait for over an hour, in the midst of a barrage of verbal abuse (including one guard sneering, "if you want to practice a real religion, turn Christian") before they were told that there were no such items in the property room. Most likely the items had been destroyed.

In the meantime, Peltier continues to wait for a date to be set for a new evidentiary hearing, a step in the defense strategy towards a new trial.

OLYMPIC ECHOES

A question for *RW* readers: which newspaper published the following paragraph in its coverage of the Soviet Union's withdrawal from the 1984 Olympics? "Los Angeles Olympic President Peter V. Ueberroth has played an honorable role, and they (the Soviet leadership) know it. Their sophisticated diplomats have been in this country long enough to understand that demonstrations by private groups are not sponsored by the government and cannot lawfully be forbidden. They know the Olympic Committee was entirely sincere in wanting the Soviets to participate and then promising to do everything possible to make them welcome and comfortable. Security arrangements were good." *Los Angeles Times*? *Washington Post*? *New York Times*? Perhaps a more scaled-down localized version of these — such as the *Des Moines Register*?

Good guesses, all of them, since the content of the above passage is quite consistent with the "facts" that the free presses all across the U.S. just happened to deem worthy of mention in their objective Olympics reportage. However, this item comes to us from the "left" — *In These Times*, to be exact — U.S. social democracy's answer (or is it echo?) to those other papers. And its article, "Scratch the Olympics" by Lester Rodney (May 23-29 issue), falls in line as yet another chauvinist weapon for the U.S. in the Olympic propaganda wars.

Just like the big boys, *In These Times* has suddenly discovered good vibes going into the Games. A recent visit to southern California by the Soviet shooting team for a pre-Olympic tournament is described as occurring without "one unfriendly incident." Of course, the yahoos weren't mobilized for this one. Indeed, hardly anyone knew the Soviet shooters were in town until *after* they had left — at which point the L.A. media was suddenly filled with stories of friendly relations between the locals and the competitors. And never let it be said that the social democrats don't appreciate the Olympic spirit as much as their superiors. "As Sarajevo recently showed, and as American Olympic athletes, spectators and those of us lucky enough to have covered the Olympics have always found, the spirit of getting-to-know-you fellowship flourishes at the Games." If Sarajevo in any way showed *this*, neither the major media nor *In These Times* bothered to show it to us. Of course, as the *RW* has previously noted, the point of all these tributes to a fabricated friendly Olympic

spirit is to blame the Soviets who, in the words of *In These Times*, "may have killed, or at least mortally wounded..." it.

The social democrats are also determined not to get left off the U.S.'s Olympic freedom train. After all, every major newspaper in the U.S. has noted that waving the American flag and going all out to get the Russkies will not and cannot be restricted in this free society, and *In These Times* would never lag behind the others when it comes to testimonials to such constitutional rights. Thus, not only do we get reminded that the planned anti-Soviet demonstrations "cannot lawfully be forbidden" in the paragraph noted above, but elsewhere in the article we are told that "We cannot do what the Russians were prepared to do in 1980 — simply round up all potential demonstrators and roust them out of town for the duration..." Of course, these are anti-Soviet demonstrators being discussed here. What "we" can do about certain volatile sections of the population — such as immigrants and proletarian Black youth, both of whom have been subject to an even greater number of "roundups" than usual in Los Angeles in preparation for the Games — is not deemed relevant for discussion here.

Similarly, *In These Times* mildly chides State Department spokesman John Hughes for stating, "We don't muzzle people in this country." This is referred to as "insulting," but unworthy of further comment — "without debating that claim now..." Ah yes, *now* is not the time to talk about any U.S. muzzling — e.g., American flag-burners, Leonard Peltier, Geronimo Pratt and countless other political prisoners in U.S. dungeons; *now* is not the time to talk about the death squads that patrol virtually every country the U.S. dominates. *Now* is the time for attention to be directed elsewhere.

In These Times also finds it useful to maintain the charade of "private groups... not sponsored by the government" that has blanketed the major media; indeed it is the Soviets who "have elevated the 'Orange County nuts' of the Ban The Soviets Coalition to a prominence they failed to gain for themselves," say the social democrats. No mention of encouraging letters from U.S. presidential aide Michael Deaver, nor attendance at a coalition meeting by State Department spokesman John Hughes, nor a speech before a member group of the coalition by Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights

Elliot Abrams, nor the U.S. plans to celebrate "Captive Nations Week" in the midst of the Olympics, nor the role of the INS, FBI, CIA and local police in spreading defection fever and the Great Olympic Spy Scare. But this would involve bringing up the official U.S. imperialist nuts — and it would be rather difficult to blame the Soviets for their "prominence."

"With this action," says *In These Times*, "the Soviet geniuses have stunned and disheartened American advocates of peace and the friendly intercourse the Olympics exemplify, while immensely cheering and strengthening anti-Soviet fanatics." Peaceful sentiments for better U.S.-Soviet relations *were* on the rise in the U.S. But that was before the Soviets launched their nasty boycott. Now, American "advocates of peace" (whoever they may be) are "stunned and disheartened." And thanks to who? To the Soviet geniuses, that's who! So, when U.S.-Soviet relations worsen still, we'll all know who to blame, won't we?

Of course, *In These Times* would never be so completely one-sided. Reagan's evil empire statements and his anti-Soviet

statements in China "didn't help, though that alone should be no excuse for boycotting the Olympics." U.S. officials also get criticized for not doing enough to "publicly disassociate" themselves from the Ban The Soviets Coalition (did they fail to grasp the dialectic between private association/public disassociation?), and for failing to assure the Soviets that, as everyone knows, they would be "warmly welcomed" in the U.S. And the Carter-Mondale "sabotage" of the 1980 Olympics is raised a couple of times for evenhandedness. All this is quite necessary given the sentiments of those *In These Times* seeks to influence.

But that was then and this is now, and in 1984 it is the Soviet leaders who have succeeded in "betraying their country's own youth, the Olympic organizers, the host city and the world's most hopeful carnival of peaceful fellowship," say the social democrats. They may give a little lip service to "a plague on both their houses," but it doesn't take a doctor to tell which house *In These Times* views as the terminal case. For social democracy, no other diagnosis is useful... in these times.

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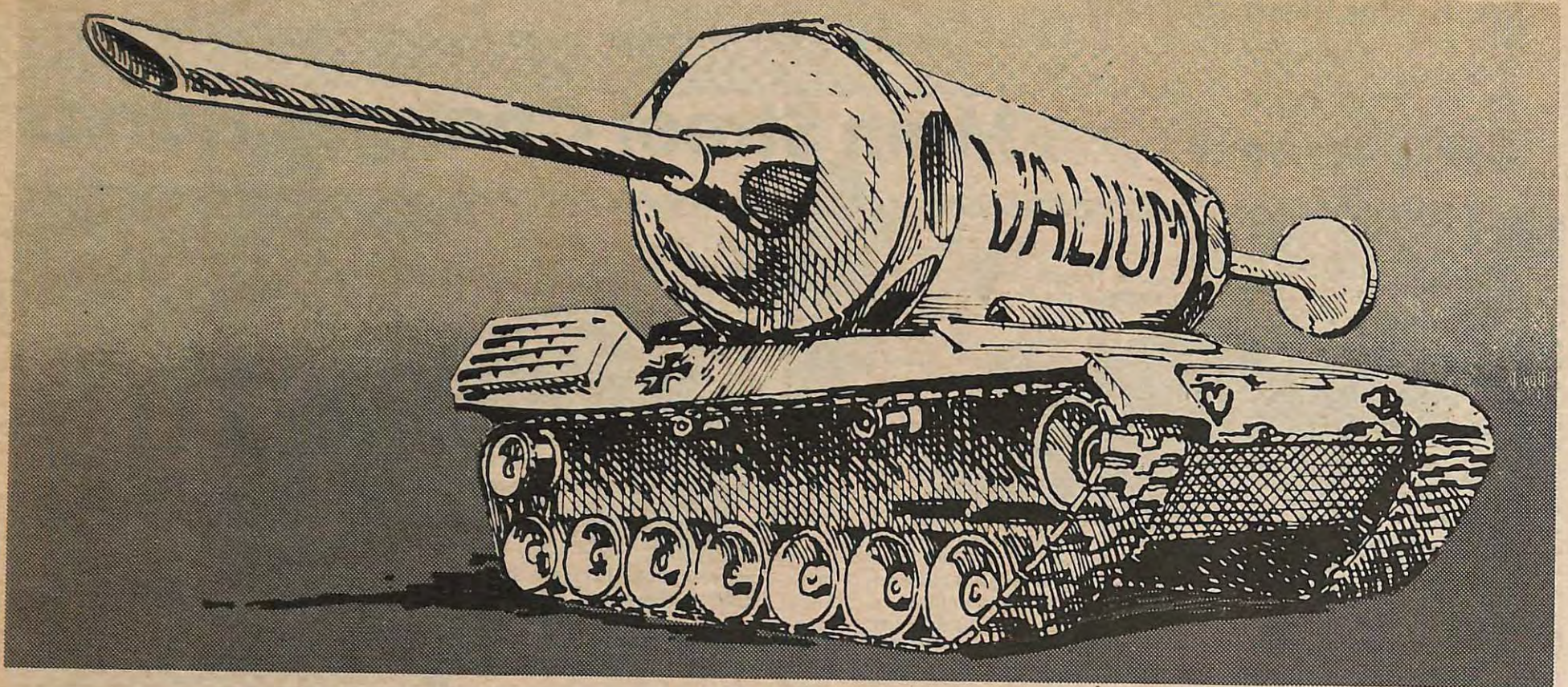
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West Germany Psych War Vs. The Panikpersonen

The following announcement was placed in the *German Pharmaceutical Newspaper* in July 1982, by the Procurement Center of the West German Interior Ministry:

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

The Procurement Center
of the Federal Interior Ministry
Post Box 14 02 90
5300 Bonn 1

PUBLICLY ANNOUNCES the stockpiling of the following public health materials for civil defense:

342,000 doses of Diazepam 10 mg, in ampules of 2 ml.
68,000 doses of Droperidol 2.5 mg/ml, in ampules of 10 ml.
103,000 doses of Haloperidol 5 mg, in ampules of 1 ml.
2,010,000 doses of Diazepam in 2 mg tablets.
50,340 units of electrolyte-mannit solution, in bottles of 500 ml.
56,000 units of electrolyte-lavulose solution in bottles of 500 ml.
30,000 units of Hydroxyethyl in 6% strength NaCl solution, in bottles of 500 ml.

The particulars of stockpiling can be obtained by writing to the Procurement Center of the Federal Interior Ministry, until October 15, 1982.

For those unfamiliar with these medications: Diazepam is Valium, while Droperidol and Haloperidol are powerful tranquilizers generally used to treat massive psychotic disturbances. The Valium doses here alone are enough to lay the 230,000 people of the city of Lübeck flat for a day. And there is every reason to believe that this batch of medicines is only one manifestation of a far more extensive program of stockpiling psychic drugs being carried out by the West German government.

Preparing for "catastrophe" has, with official sponsorship from on high, become quite fashionable in West German medical circles. The president of the Federal Chamber of Doctors, Karstens Vilmar, speaking for his association, made the moral imperative clear: "The professional ethics of doctors demands their further education in Katastrophenmedizin." Using the provincial medical associations, crash courses in this "catastrophe medicine" are being conducted for practicing doctors. The subject has been added to the instruction of all medical schools; pamphlets and books have been written and circulated. And as the announcement translated above indi-

cates, this is taking place in the context of other quite specific material preparations for "catastrophe." Which specific "catastrophe" is being prepared for is hardly a secret. In the book *Katastrophenmedizin 1981*, published by the Bavarian State Chamber of Doctors, the leading physician, Dr. Stordeur, gets down to brass tacks at the beginning: "Situation K" (as world war is known in West German newspeak) is the most likely catastrophe under discussion. To quote Stordeur: "Between catastrophe medicine, catastrophe defense, civil defense and military policy there arise persistent, close, direct and indirect links. The credibility of defense policies in densely populated and highly industrialized West Germany exists in direct relationship to having the best possible catastrophe and civil defense preparations. The morale of the fighting troops is ultimately inseparable from the knowledge that the state is making all possible efforts to protect those at home."

Time has come to shift gears, official voices shout from all sides. Professor Rebentisch, an expert on military medicine, insists in a new textbook that "thirty-four years of peace in our country have

passed since the end of World War 2. They have allowed the memory of the suffering threatened by weapons to fade away." To which Lanz and Rosetti, in the introduction to their new book *Catastrophe Medicine*, add, "The whole point is to prepare the coming generation of doctors for the mental and practical changes of all kinds that will be demanded of them by catastrophe and war, by epidemics and shortages of all kinds."

This new trend is hardly confined to West Germany. In 1980, the U.S. Secretary of Defense put forward the so-called Moxley Plan — which sought to enlist hospitals throughout the United States in a network that would provide 50,000 hospital beds in civilian institutions in preparation for the massive burn and radiation traumas of initial hostilities between NATO and Warsaw Pact troops in Europe.

Some revealing information has become available that documents the preparations in West Germany, and in the process illuminates the dangers and necessities facing the imperialists as a whole internationally. In this article, we will focus on one branch of West German "catastrophe medicine" — the so-called "defense psychiatry," which concerns itself with such matters as stockpiling the tranquilizers we have already mentioned.

When the West German Interior Ministry was confronted with inquiries about the stockpiling of powerful antipsychotic drugs, they answered by saying, "Haloperidol will be needed to handle the acute cases of overexcitement as they manifest themselves in individual people who might otherwise endanger themselves and others." In 1981 this same ministry was considerably more explicit. In their official pamphlet "Guidelines For Medical Care During Catastrophes," they wrote: "... in those cases where loud and distinct orders, plus firm manual encouragement don't influence behavior, it is necessary to take excited people, using massive force, hold them down, if possible take them out of public view, and inject them with a powerful anxiety-reducing tranquilizer." In another place, in the same document, they write: "Those who incite panic must be isolated as quickly as

possible and made calm."

This medical prescription is, as we shall see, highly political and carefully targeted.

A Prescription for "Panic Prevention"

Military psychiatry is as old as modern imperialist warfare — coming into its own during World War I, when bourgeois psychiatry was reaching maturity. In fact, Sigmund Freud himself was an honored consultant for the World War I "Commission of Inquiry into Service Related Injuries" to investigate the epidemics of tics, neuroses, hysterias, psychosomatic blindnesses and rebellions that swept through the trenches of this first of modern wars. As Freud himself later described the role of the psychiatrist in wartime, "The doctor plays the role of a machine gun set up behind the front, assuming the role of driving the deserters back into the fray... in practice no compromise is possible between the responsibilities that flow from military duty and the yearnings to subordinate all to humanitarianism..."

According to one of the foremost contemporary German experts on the subject, Herr Doktor Brickenstein, "The task of defense psychiatry is to grapple with the effect of weapons on the psyche of soldiers and civilians/citizens, to the extent that this leads to mental disturbances which influence the combat readiness of the troops and endangers the order of the state." In short, the task of military psychiatry is first and foremost to fortify the combat readiness of the army; under conditions of war the goal of healing evaporates in the face of military necessity, along with any serious consideration of the needs of the individual soldiers involved. The point is to psychologically compel former civilians to willingly kill and die on command.

Dr. Alfred Stümper, president of the Baden-Wurtemberg state police, and father of the concept of "mobile police attack commandos" and other notable innovations, remarked recently that "the destructive power of modern weapons, which is now almost impossible to comprehend intellectually, let alone control"

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Rochester Memorial Day

Main Street Changes Hands

Just like in years past, American Legion and VFW posts were busy beavers getting ready for the annual "war-in," the sacred, traditional Memorial Day parade. Tanks would roll and veterans would parade down Main Street, Rochester, New York, to affirm, as always, that hamburgers, apple pie and the red, white and blue are worth dying for. And such a time-honored tradition holds important meaning in these times when war preparations feverishly abound.

But something different occurred in Rochester this year. When the Rochester's Women's Action for Peace, a group which initially formed to support the Women's Peace Encampment in Seneca, New York, announced that they were going to march in the Memorial Day parade advocating peace, disarmament and passing out balloons which read "Teach Peace," well, the good ol' boys from the Veterans' Executive and Memorial Council burst a few blood vessels.

"We don't want to play ball with them," said the parade marshal, "so we pick up our ball and go home."

Twenty veterans' organizations in the Rochester area voted unanimously that if they had to march with the women they just wouldn't put a single musty World War 2 boot in the street. The Women's Action for Peace, however, went ahead and, joined by a diverse group of forces including the Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, numerous religious peace groups and a contingent from the Women's Encampment at Seneca, held a march of some 1,000 people through downtown Rochester. "We were the parade," one of the organizers triumphantly stated.

The controversy began when the Women's Action for Peace told city officials that they were going to participate in the Memorial Day parade and wanted to be included in the parade permit. The city said no. When pressed again the city made a concession — the women would be issued a permit to start up their march 15 minutes after the official Memorial Day parade was over. The women said no. The ACLU entered the case and argued that the women could not be banned from the Memorial Day parade citing a New York State precedent.

The veterans' organizations stuck to their, well, guns. The women were injecting politics into the parade, these veterans pontificated, also insisting that the parade wasn't about anything political, just honoring the dead. "It's just a time for everybody to think about the veteran and forget about the nuclear arms (opposition) and everything else" the parade marshal said. These veterans' groups sure do know about keeping politics out of the parade, like when they kicked out a sign "Blessed Are the Peacemakers" from last year's parade.

However, the leap from "no politics" to "very definite politics" was not long in coming. As one woman who helped organize the antiwar march described:

"We told them we were going to leaflet (at the parade), this is when we were trying to reach some agreement, and they said it's O.K. with us if you leaflet as long as it's not defaming the memory of veterans or dishonoring the dead. We said 'what would constitute that?' They said 'anything that would criticize the military budget, anything that would call for cuts in military spending.'"

Oh.

For six weeks negotiations went on as

the controversy widened. The Center for Dispute Settlement entered in to mediate. The ACLU was now involved, peace groups were contacting the women to say they wanted to join in with their march. The city then agreed that the women would have to be allowed to participate in the parade — at the end of it. But five days before the Memorial Day parade, veterans' groups met and decided once and for all that they would not march at all if they had to share the street with the women.

And what women, the veterans gasped. "They are strange, in a sense, in that they do look different from other ladies that I know," said Mr. Danylyshyn, the parade marshal, who also added that by the veterans refusing to march with the women they were eradicating a cancer on society.

Harassing calls were made to the women. Reactionaries called talk shows with the predictable idiocy about women marchers "going bra-less," and suggesting, as one put it, that women "mind their own business and go back to the kitchen." Ever present in the air was the threat of a repeat of last summer's Waterloo incident where veterans and true-blue citizens of that nearby town blocked a march of women en route to the Seneca Encampment. Would something like that occur in Rochester?

But it all backfired. The veterans themselves had cleared a path and the women took it, announcing that they were going ahead with their march. (One can only imagine the rage when veterans were asked if they wanted to participate in the march now being organized by the women — not on your life! they blustered.)

And so for Memorial Day 1984 the Veterans' Executive and Memorial Council of Rochester, N.Y. succeeded in knocking itself right off of Main Street.

Instead, about a thousand people, men and women, walked slowly through downtown Rochester. There were no speakers or chants and the gathering was very diverse. A peace song and "This Land is Your Land," were sung. There were signs which read, "Disarm or Die" and "Reagan Out, Peace In." One woman carried a sign calling for the U.S. to halt its secret war on Central America. The lead-off banner read, "In Memory of All People Who Have Suffered and Died in the War." Another banner read "Roots of War," which was followed by placards that listed racism, injustice, poverty, militarism and sexism. Members and supporters of the RCP marched, carrying a banner which read "Patriotism is a Poison, Internationalism is the Cure."

A couple of hundred people lined the streets in downtown Rochester in the cold and rain to show their support for the march. A contingent from the Seneca Encampment was especially applauded by people along the streets. The overall common theme was one of finding ways to oppose the military buildup and the outbreak of World War 3.

And...where were the reactionary veterans? Trying to find something to do. About 60 people, including VFW-types and the mayor of Rochester, gathered at one war monument. Another group of VFWers consoled themselves at a wreath laying ceremony at the Community War Memorial; but there were no military bands, no glorifiers of war and no rolling tanks in the streets of downtown Rochester on this Memorial Day.



Mr. Haig and the Mexican Ambassador: A Frank Exchange



The recent visit of Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid to Washington, D.C., has occasioned a new round of press commentary about the differences between the U.S. and Mexico over Central America. Once again displaying the vaunted independence for which Mexico's politicians have long been praised in some U.S. and Latin American circles, De la Madrid called for applying "the principles and rules of international law" in Central America, admonishing Ronald Reagan to accept "self-determination, nonintervention, equality of states before the law, peaceful solution of conflicts and international cooperation for development." A private 45-minute session with Reagan was supposedly filled with urgings from De la Madrid that the U.S. support the diplomatic efforts of the Contadora group — which includes the equally independent foreign ministries of Panama, Venezuela and Colombia — instead of the more militaristic policy it is currently following. Time magazine described Mexico's president as "polite but assertive."

However, Time neglected to reprint a somewhat different view of the relationship — that is, the division of labor — between Mexico and the U.S. which had appeared in its pages less than two months before. In its April 2, 1984, issue, Time published excerpts from Alexander Haig's new book, *Caveat: Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy*. The former Secretary of State's insider's report follows:

"When I was a private citizen, President José López Portillo of Mexico had told me that the difficulty he had had in a domestic Mexican sense in dealing with the Carter Administration was that, in his words, 'a President of Mexico cannot survive by taking positions to the right of the President of the U.S.'"

"Months later, as Secretary of State, I found myself seated next to the Mexican Ambassador to the U.S. at a dinner. He leaned over and made an offer. Would the new Administration like to open a discreet line of communication with the rebels in El Salvador? I exploded: no longer, I said, would Washington deal secretly with insurgents who were attempting to overthrow legal governments in the Western Hemisphere. In the next four years, the Americas would see a determined U.S. effort to stamp out Cuban-supported subversion."

"The Ambassador was at first startled by my vehemence, but he gripped my hand warmly. 'For years,' he said fervently, 'I have been waiting for an American to speak words such as these. Tonight I will go home and sleep well!'"

Brownsville Conviction

Sanctuary Activist Faces Severe Sentence

On May 14, a highly-political trial came to a conclusion in a federal courthouse in Brownsville, Texas. After four days of deliberation, a jury returned guilty verdicts on one count of "conspiracy to transport illegal aliens" and two counts of "actual transportation" against Stacey Merkt, a Catholic layworker. Stacey Merkt worked in a sanctuary house for people from Central America, operated by the diocese of Brownsville. She was arrested by Border Patrol agents on February 17th when she was in a car headed for San Antonio along with a man and a woman from El Salvador, the woman's 18-month-old daughter, a nun, and a reporter for a Dallas newspaper. She is now facing up to 15 years in prison and a \$9,000 fine when the sentencing is made on June 27.

Throughout the nationally publicized trial, the defense for Merkt attempted to bring in testimony illustrating the brutal repression in El Salvador — the thousands murdered by government troops and death squads and the countless others forced to become refugees. But the judge and prosecutor repeatedly emphasized to the jury that "moral" or "emotional" interpretations of events in El Salvador and their effects on the people there would not be allowed to influence the outcome of this case. This was not to be seen as a religious matter, the court ruled, and still less a political prosecution. According to the judge this was strictly a "criminal" affair and there was only one relevant question: Did Stacey Merkt knowingly travel with people she knew were in the United States in violation of its laws, and if so, then she, too, was in violation of the laws of the U.S. and must pay for it.

Brownsville is situated at the end of the lower Rio Grande Valley, where the Rio Grande spills into the Gulf of Mexico, and is directly across the river from the large Mexican city of Matamoros. It is one of the main cities people pass through from Central America to the U.S., and has long been the scene of intense activities by the INS and the Border Patrol. Between Brownsville and other major cities further north in Texas is a large, sparsely populated area of scrubby plains, through which there are only two paved roads leading north. Immigration checkpoints are maintained almost continuously along these two roads. Many people from El Salvador (as well as Guatemala, Honduras, and other countries) attempting to get further into the in-

terior of the U.S. from Brownsville and other Rio Grande Valley towns face enormous difficulties in finding a way out of the valley before the immigration police sweep down on them. Even for those who make it through, pressure intensifies en route to the barrios of San Antonio and Houston. It has become routine for the INS to stop U-haul trucks with up to 85 people stuffed into their unventilated trailers traveling through the heat of the south Texas prairies. In April, several Salvadorans were killed as they walked over a railroad bridge near Raymondville, Texas, trying to walk the 370 miles to Houston. A certain amount of hypocritical handwringing in the bourgeois press accompanied this horrible incident, but a Chicano living nearby pointed out that at least three or four people die on those tracks every month from rattlesnake bites or from getting hit by trains as they sleep on the tracks.

A year and a half ago, Bishop John Fitzpatrick of Brownsville founded the Casa Oscar Romero in the nearby town of San Benito. Fitzpatrick said during the trial that the purpose of this sanctuary house was to "give shelter, food, care, and hope to people who come without food, shelter, or hope." In a statement made around the time of Stacey Merkt's arrest, Fitzpatrick had expressed his viewpoint in founding the house: "Why treat the Salvadoran refugees as merely people looking for work instead of as political refugees fleeing for their lives? Why send them back to their country to face death? To do so is un-Christian and un-American. I stand with those who reach out to their brothers and sisters in their quest for justice." From its inception, the efforts of those working in the Casa Oscar Romero to provide sanctuary and transportation to Salvadoran immigrants were a matter of common knowledge around Brownsville and the Valley generally. In fact, Fitzpatrick had called both the local media and immigration officials to tell them of the opening of the house in 1982.

In the 19 months of its existence, numerous Salvadorans have passed through the Casa Oscar Romero. One person who works in the house pointed out during trial testimony that at different times officials from the INS detention prison in nearby Los Fresnos even brought Central American prisoners to the sanctuary house when the prison was overcrowded. In this light, a "news item" appearing in the *Brownsville Herald* dur-

ing the trial that "even if sanctuary movement workers don't actually transport illegal aliens, they can be legally charged with harboring them if they shelter them and try to conceal it from authorities" can be seen as a threat not only to sanctuary workers but as the most brazen of lies as well. The fact is that many people involved in providing sanctuary in south Texas had sought to publicize their efforts, and especially the crimes committed against the people of El Salvador, which, in their view, had made the sanctuary efforts necessary in the first place.

As the Casa Oscar Romero continued to take in more people, one fact began to deeply disturb the people working there. Not a single Salvadoran who applied for asylum at the district INS headquarters in Harlingen received it; in fact many people were arrested as soon as they applied. To some in the Casa it seemed that the immigration officials in Harlingen were being particularly vicious, and that the chances for obtaining asylum would be increased in San Antonio or Houston. Stacey Merkt was traveling as an interpreter in just such an attempt to obtain asylum elsewhere when the car she was a passenger in was pulled over in isolated Starr County.

The trial itself was a railroad with all the trimmings appropriate to American justice. For instance, some effort was made to have an all-Chicano cast in the featured role of judge, prosecutor and jury, apparently to try to demonstrate that all Americans now participate in and have a stake in "the American Way," even in an area where "No dogs or Mexicans" signs were a prominent feature of the terrain not too long ago. One might think that when a U.S. Attorney loyally doing his duty in a remote outpost like Brownsville gets a chance to try a case covered by the *New York Times*, major networks, etc., he'd jump at the opportunity. Not so this time. Neither did his top assistants get the case; senior attorneys, who were all white, were passed over until a relative low man on the list by the name of Robert Guerra, a Chicano, was assigned to be the designated hitter.

But some even more essential elements and methods of American justice were also utilized by the state. The weekend before the trial began, the two Salvadorans who had been in the car with Merkt were put in jail in Brownsville and the implicit threat they received is that if they didn't testify for the prosecution, they would most likely be deported and

the woman would be separated from her child. Despite this, both refused to succumb to the state's pressure, stating to the court that they have principles they will not relinquish, and in fact they did testify — for the defense.

The case Guerra presented consisted essentially of these elements: that the Salvadorans, Mauricio Valle, Brenda Sánchez and her daughter, were in the United States illegally, that Stacey Merkt was well aware of this as she tried to drive with them to San Antonio, and that, unbeknownst to Merkt, appeals procedures exist for people who are initially denied asylum here in the land where everyone gets their day in court, even "illegal aliens." At one point, when Merkt responded to Guerra's grilling by defiantly asserting that "I have not violated God's laws," Guerra responded with what was to prove to be his central theme: "Do you think you have the right to violate the laws of the United States because of a higher moral responsibility?" At the moments where Judge Filemón Vela thought Guerra was perhaps not being aggressive enough along these lines, he would cut into Merkt's testimony with comments like "For God's sake, we are not here to consider God's law, we are here to consider the laws of the United States of America." A side point here is that while we can certainly expect the stirring call to "defend the honor of God and country" to resound in a deafening roar in the coming period, this trial should help clear up any misconceptions as to just which loyalty is supposed to get top priority when religious people pose Christian principles in opposition to the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Stacey Merkt, in her defense, argued that not only was she upholding religious principles, but she was also attempting to uphold U.S. law, as she understood it, by trying to bring the Salvadoran refugees to San Antonio, which she thought to be the closest location where they would have a reasonable chance of gaining asylum. In an attempt to prove that the INS in the Harlingen district was excessively harsh in refusing to grant asylum to Salvadoran refugees, the defense called in the INS directors from San Antonio and Houston as well as Harlingen. What was demonstrated through their testimony, however, was not the deviancy of the Harlingen district, but rather a systematic policy of denying asylum to virtually all

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Political Rip Van Winkles and the L

With the bourgeoisie's quadrennial election follies now upon us, opportunists and reformists of every stripe and color are falling all over themselves honing their justifications for why it will be necessary, nay, imperative, to vote for the supposed lesser of two evils yet another time. In so doing, they will add their own puny efforts to the bourgeoisie's own massive campaign to "get out the vote" and award the imperialists with yet another mandate to govern in the name of the people.

From the CPUSA (garden-variety revisionists), to *Line of March* ("theoretical" revisionists), to the CWP (born-again revisionists), to the *Guardian*, to *Monthly Review*, to the social-democrats — the whole host of the "anti-Reaganites" each has his own particular nuance of programme and shade of justification, but for all the bottom line is the same. *This time* the difference is so clear, *this time* the stakes are so high, that *this time* voting can make an important difference.

Really?

Of course, on the face of it, it seems like our anti-Reaganites might have a case. No matter whether they phrase it as peace versus nuclear nightmare or guns versus butter, the central issue certainly is the rush of the imperialist powers toward World War 3. And there is certainly no doubt that since Reagan assumed office war preparations have heightened, national chauvinism and bellicose calls to arms have issued from the White House, and relations between the two rival blocs have reached a near-record low. One cannot pick up an anti-Reagan tract without being reminded of Reagan's MX missile program, Reagan's Euromissiles, Reagan's Star Wars proposal, Reagan's plan to fight a nuclear war and win, Reagan's political use of the Olympics, Reagan's buildup of nuclear warheads, Reagan's interventions in the Third World, and Reagan's all-around priority of war preparations over the social needs of the people.

But for the anti-Reaganites, who are like political Rip Van Winkles who fell asleep for some years to awake only on Reagan's inauguration day, the threat of imperialist war has become synonymous with the person of Ronald Reagan: *In the beginning there was Reagan. And Reagan said, let there be war. And lo, there was the threat of war.* For them there is no history before Reagan, and certainly no political economy of imperialism whose laws operate independently of whichever bourgeois politician happens to occupy the White House at any given moment. In the vision of the anti-Reaganites, a few critical years just somehow got lost.

Since all history for anti-Reaganites begins in the year 1 A.R. (Anno Reagani), we thought our readers might enjoy a trip back through time, to those ancient days lost in the midst of antiquity, farther back than any living anti-Reaganite can remember. Back, back in time, to before the Reaganite threat of war, back to before the needy were robbed to feed the greedy, back to those halcyon days of people's power that we could recapture if only Reagan could be defeated. Let us return to the year known in the ancient Christian calendar as 1976.

A New Mr. Deeds

Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976 and assumed office in January 1977, adding the commoner's touch by walking down Pennsylvania Avenue in his inauguration parade rather than riding in an ostentatious limousine. Carter assumed office at a very difficult moment for U.S. imperialism. It had just gone through the most severe economic

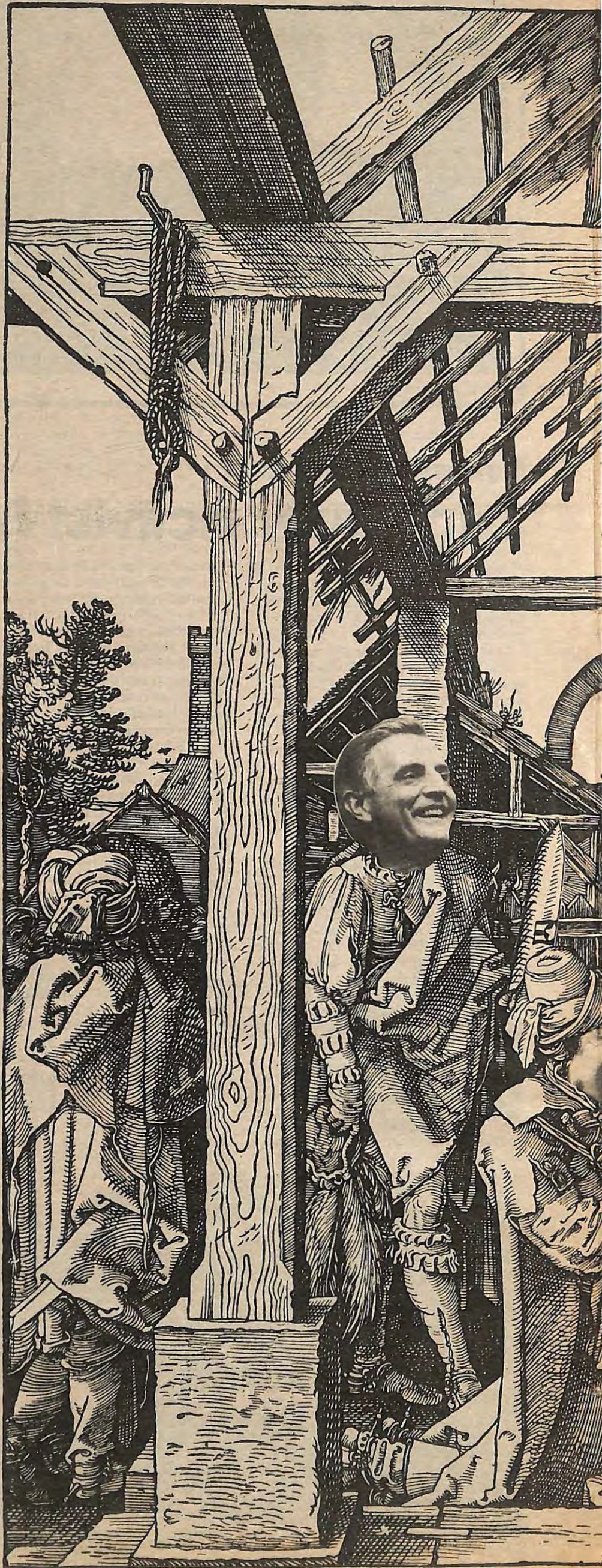
recession of the postwar period which had destroyed the Bretton Woods financial structure internationally; the U.S. had just suffered a devastating defeat in Vietnam; the rival Soviet imperialists had finally achieved parity with the U.S. in strategic nuclear weapons, while at home the ruling class was still reeling from the combined effects of mass protest movements and bitter internecine struggle within the ruling class which saw a lot of dirty linen washed in public. What was needed was a new presidential figure, someone not a Washington regular and not visibly connected with the preceding debacles.

And so Jimmy Carter, a modern-day Mr. Deeds, came to Washington — a humble peanut farmer from Georgia who had been trained for the big time in Nelson Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission. But the confetti had hardly been cleaned up after Carter's famous "people's inaugural," when the new chief of state launched into a major review of the procedures by which the president exercises control over the U.S. nuclear forces. He took a sample flight in the special airplane in which the president is supposed to ride out "incoming fire," and he tested the response times with an actual drill for getting the president out of the White House and into the plane at Andrews Air Force Base. He found the system totally inadequate and issued Presidential Directive 41, revamping the procedures. All this was done in quiet, of course. Public images aside, Jimmy Carter knew what time it was.

The first public manifestation of the demands of the new world situation was the raucous debate in 1977 over Carter's plan to deploy the neutron bomb in Western Europe. The proposal originated as the answer to Warsaw Pact superiority in tanks in Western Europe. The question was quickly becoming one of actually *fighting* a war (as opposed to the more ethereal rationale of "mutual deterrence"), and the response of the Carter administration was, "Nuke 'em." Enhanced radiation warheads ("neutron bombs") were intended to knock out concentrations of Soviet tanks since high-energy neutrons passed through armor as though it were tissue paper. At home, the debate was supposedly over whether the "neutron bomb" should be *built*. But the decision had long been made in secret and production of the W70-3 enhanced radiation warhead for the army's Lance missile actually began in October 1978 along with the W79 enhanced radiation eight-inch artillery shell (both were developed at the Lawrence Livermore Lab). The public debate was resolved with the decision to manufacture the component, while technically postponing "construction" (final assembly) to the final minute before launch.

By 1979-80, major decisions were reached, and a corner was turned toward the active preparation for world war. Here is not the place to go into an analysis of the decisions and the methods by which these were struggled out in the ruling class — but suffice it to say that they were decisions made entirely apart from electoral politics.

One of the first signs of the new course was a series of carefully placed stories warning of a "plutonium shortage." That is, in spite of cannibalizing obsolete warheads, the Carter administration was worried that there would not be enough plutonium to build "a new generation of nuclear warheads." All sorts of proposals were now floated out to meet the "emergency," including reactivating moth-balled government reactors, speeding construction of the Clinch River Breeder-Reactor, and reprocessing spent fuel rods from commercial power plants to extract the plutonium in them. The increased warhead production was finally formalized in Carter's Nuclear Weapons



ost Years



Stockpile Memorandum of October 1980, which not only ordered increased production of plutonium and tritium (for fusion weapons), but projected the production of 10,000 new warheads over the 1980s.

MX

And these were only the ominous preliminaries to major new war preparations soon to be announced.

There is the matter of the MX missile. First planned for the early '70s as the eventual replacement for the Minuteman series, MX did not get off the drawing board until Carter authorized the MX production program in 1979. Carter's request to Congress was for 200 MX missiles (which the fascist, Reagan, cut to 100) to be based in a maze of hardened shelters in the southwestern United States. In light of the Democratic Party's recent protestations of opposition to MX, it is instructive to recall that after the 1980 Democratic Party Convention, support for the MX became a virtual article of faith for the Democratic Party. When a minority resolution was introduced to cut support for the MX out of the Democratic Party platform, delegates to the convention suddenly found on their chairs a handwritten letter from Jimmy Carter on White House stationery. In the note, Jimmy said that he was writing not as their presidential candidate but as "commander-in-chief of the American armed forces." He went on to say that "It is crucial that our strategic nuclear forces not be vulnerable to a preemptive Soviet attack. The MX is our optimum means of meeting these vital goals."

This, of course, was so much nonsense. As has become clear today, the MX was never conceived primarily as an "invulnerable" weapon, but rather as an extremely lethal one. With its vastly increased accuracy, and advanced MIRV (Multiple, Independently-Targetable, Re-entry Vehicle) system consisting of ten or more warheads per missile, the MX was clearly a first-strike, and not a so-called "deterrent" retaliatory, weapon.

The same is true of the Trident II missile launched from nuclear submarines. The Trident II would be the first MIRVed, sea-launched missile accurate enough to hit hardened silos. Development was begun in the Carter years, although not completed until the Reagan administration. However, Carter pushed through the deployment of the Trident I which replaced the aging Poseidon missile. The first Trident I's were installed in an event entitled Poseidon Launch II of October 1979. By fiscal year 1979, the Carter administration had procured 230 Trident I missiles, and the keel was laid for the USS *Ohio*, the first Trident missile-carrying submarine.

And while we are speaking about deployment, how about those "Euro-missiles"? The decision to deploy 572 Pershing II ballistic missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles was made in December 1979 in the middle of the Carter administration; in fact, one factor in Carter's decision not to push through on the neutron weapons was his commitment to cruise missiles. In March 1980, Boeing was awarded the contract to produce 3,400 cruise missiles by the Carter administration.

Nuclear War-Fighting

But the most significant and far-reaching of the Carter initiatives for war preparation was his promulgation of a nuclear war-fighting doctrine. The new doctrine was enshrined in a series of Presidential Directives in 1980. The first of these was PD-53, which identified the existing national communications network as extremely vulnerable to attack. PD-53 mandated the creation of a communications system capable of executing a "retaliatory strike during and after an

enemy attack." PD-58 was concerned with the continuity of governments during and after a nuclear war, and provided for the swift evacuation and relocation of a host of government officials from Washington in a matter of minutes.

Presidential Directive 59 was immediately recognized as a major document that dealt with the basic U.S. approach to nuclear war. It made two highly significant changes from the pre-existing policy. First it directed that the declared priorities in the targeting of the U.S. nuclear strike force be shifted from economic targets in the Soviet Union to military targets, including both hardened ICBM silos and command and control targets. Second, it directed that U.S. forces be disposed so as to be able to endure a protracted nuclear attack which might last for months rather than the hour or couple days previously imagined. The essentials of PD-59, though never fully revealed, were given to the *New York Times* in July 1980.

One informative book entitled *S.I.O.P.: The Secret U.S. Plans for Nuclear War* (Single Integrated Operational Plans), by Peter Pringle and William Arkin, summed up the Carter administration in these words: "The Reagan White House opened with a new national security team vowing to put its own stamp on America's defense policies, but there was no need for yet another perplexing buzzword. Jimmy Carter had left a 'deterrence' strategy in place so close to war-fighting that it suited the Republican promise of 'nuclear superiority.' Carter may have spoken softly about peace and warned during the 1980 presidential campaign against choosing a belligerent alternative in Ronald Reagan, but his 'countervailing strategy' had made the final break with deterrence through assured destruction by actually calling on the American forces to be able to fight a prolonged nuclear war...." Some would say that the difference with Reagan has been the policy of *prevailing* in nuclear war, of winning it. But, as the *S.I.O.P.* authors pointedly remark, "No one plans to fight a war and lose it."

Conventional Forces

Carter's nuclear war-fighting programme was also complemented by sweeping changes in conventional forces. Early in his administration Carter created a special Caribbean strike command headquartered in Key West, Florida. This force was explicitly targeted at hot spots like Nicaragua, El Salvador and Grenada (whose new government, under Maurice Bishop, Carter refused to recognize). But with the Iranian Revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in swift succession, attention shifted to the Middle East. It was for intervention in the Persian Gulf that Carter established the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), which was based in North Carolina and was activated on March 1, 1980. At the same time groups of "Contras" were being lavishly financed in both Angola and Afghanistan.

The function of the RDF was enunciated in the "Carter Doctrine," which was contained in Carter's State of the Union Address in January 1980: "Let our position be absolutely clear: an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." To make his position *more* absolutely clear, the media was told that the president had authorized the use of nuclear weapons in the Persian Gulf and that B-52 bombers were being shifted to this area.

Since the impending world war would also require a vast increase in the U.S.

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Rebellion in Haiti

Continued from page 1

talking about the four-legged type — were destroyed several years ago, supposedly because they were carriers of swine flu. Since then a new breed of pig from the U.S. has been imported — which eats, of course, only rarified and expensive U.S. pig feed.) The thought of expensive food going to feed the pigs, while children die of starvation and people are forced to eat grass and dogs, was too much to bear — along with the fact that food from CARE warehouses, which was supposed to be distributed free of charge, was being sold. It's estimated that 25,000 came into the streets here, too, chanting "Down with misery, down with dictatorship!"

Again, food warehouses were broken into, and Jean Claude's emissary sent to Cap Haitien again promised food in return for free labor in various govern-

mental projects. Repression was especially swift and brutal here, with police firing into crowds and killing at least three (according to the bourgeois press) and probably dozens (according to those who had talked to people in Haiti). In another part of Cap Haitien, government troops sealed off several blocks and fired randomly into the area. This neighborhood may have been La Fossette, a slum area where the masses are particularly hostile to the police, and which, an earlier news report said, troops tried but were unable to enter. All told, those killed or wounded likely number into the hundreds.

Mass actions have also been reported in the cities of Grand Rivière, Petit Goave and in Les Cayes, the scene of a possible looting of a bank, although specific details are not known at this time.

Reports in the U.S. bourgeois press have made light of the rebellions so far,

giving them only scarce attention. The media has also tried to cover up the political content of the Gonaïves and Cap Haitien rebellions (the others haven't even been reported yet) by labeling them "food riots." The hunger of the people is indeed of massive proportions, the great poverty intensified by a recent drought — as indicated by the fact that dogs are being killed and eaten, which are not normally considered edible food in Haiti — and food warehouses and supermarkets were some of the targets of the people's fury. In Gonaïves the masses discovered two locations where the government was hiding food — some of it rotten with age — and distributed among themselves what was usable. However, the Duvalier regime and its political and military representatives were repeatedly hit, both in slogans and concrete action, and targeted as the fundamental source of this misery.

In an effort to intimidate any in Port-au-Prince who may be moved to follow the examples of Gonaïves and Cap

Haitien, government troops have been conducting military exercises in the streets. A press release from an ad hoc Haitian group in the U.S., the May 23rd Committee Against Repression in Haiti, also claimed that Jean Claude had requested "tactical support" from the U.S. — i.e., the Marines. The Haitian ambassador to the U.S. reportedly has been recalled to Haiti for talks, and the wires linking the U.S. ambassador in Haiti to Washington undoubtedly have been glowing with furious consultation.

There are rumors that changes in the government may be announced soon — and indeed the top officials in Gonaïves, from the local Ton Ton Macoute head to the mayor, have already been fired.

But no matter what may be the machinations of the bourgeoisie, it is the events of Gonaïves and Cap Haitien and the other cities — the most significant and massive outbreaks since the outset of the Duvalier dynasty — that are exhilarating portents of the future.

Political Rip Van Winkles

Continued from page 9

armed forces on short notice, Carter also announced in the same address that he was calling on Congress to institute draft registration. Secretary of Defense Brown went on to call for the registration of both men and women, Congress swiftly passed the legislation, and actual registration began on July 21, 1980 (although the Supreme Court knocked women out of the registration).

Behind the scenes, Carter also began all the basic research on "Star Wars" technology. In May 1978, Carter signed PD-37 calling for "activities in support of the right of self-defense, thereby strengthening national security, the deterrents of attack, and arms control agreements." The Directive was a call for intensified efforts on antisatellite and other space weapons, then, as now, pictured as "defensive" weapons. To facilitate this, Carter broke off negotiations with the Soviet Union on an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons treaty. Work had also begun at the Lawrence Livermore Lab and elsewhere on such space-based antiballistic missile weapons as the X-ray laser. *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported on February 28, 1981, that a successful test of an X-ray laser had been concluded. (One month, need we add, after the Reagan inauguration.)

In 1980, Carter also leaked to *AW & ST* the existence of the "Stealth Bomber" which was to be more sophisticated than the B-1 in evading detection by the Soviets.

As one might expect from this catalogue of events, a major increase in the military budget was required — and in fact Carter provided it. The Carter military budget request for fiscal year 1980 was up 3.3% in *real* dollars (a much higher percentage in current dollars). This inevitably brought angry complaints that the administration was emphasizing military spending over human need. But, as Carter remarked, "Who said everything in life is fair?"

Yes, some will say, Carter did all these things, but at least he didn't have the open belligerency and rabid calls for an anti-Soviet crusade that have characterized the Reagan administration. Well we might agree that the level of open jingoism has increased since 1980. But this is much more the result of the global heightening of interimperialist contradictions than the result of which imperialist turkey happens to be nesting in the White House at the moment. And before we leave the subject, let us not forget that Jimmy Carter wasn't exactly a slouch when it came to anti-Soviet campaigns and saber rattling. First let us recall the

alarms sounded by Carter in announcing that a brigade of Soviet combat troops had been "discovered" in Cuba (they had been there almost 20 years). And it was the Carter administration that made the first charges of Soviet "yellow rain" in Laos. The whole thrust of Carter's "diplomacy" was organized around "human rights," a code word for attacking Soviet client regimes around the world while turning the blind eye to the collection of goons and thugs in the U.S. stable.

Iran

With Iran and Afghanistan, the rhetoric of the Carter administration hit all-time lows. Only those who were truly asleep can have forgotten the day-in and day-out din of bellringing, flagwaving national chauvinism over the hostages in Iran which was designed to provide the right atmosphere for the implementation of the Carter Doctrine. And again it was during the Carter years that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was used as the rationale for tearing up the Salt II treaty and for the boycott of the Olympic Games in Moscow.

In the 1980 elections Carter was prepared to continue and intensify the efforts he had begun. But the changed necessities of U.S. imperialism now re-

quired a different image at the helm than that which Carter so admirably suited in 1976. The same Ronald Reagan, whose 1976 presidential bid had been summarily dismissed by the ruling class, was now the man of the hour. The basic decision having already been made, the elections would now be utilized as usual to mobilize public opinion behind them and sanctify them as "the people's choice" — a process that could hardly fail since both candidates were running on a platform of "rebuild America's defenses."

By this fall, however, our political Rip Van Winkles will not only have learned no history, they will have cast aside the last of their own pitiful pretensions about "mass independent politics" to line up for Fritz Mondale — the man who was at each meeting of the National Security Council, seated at President Carter's elbow.

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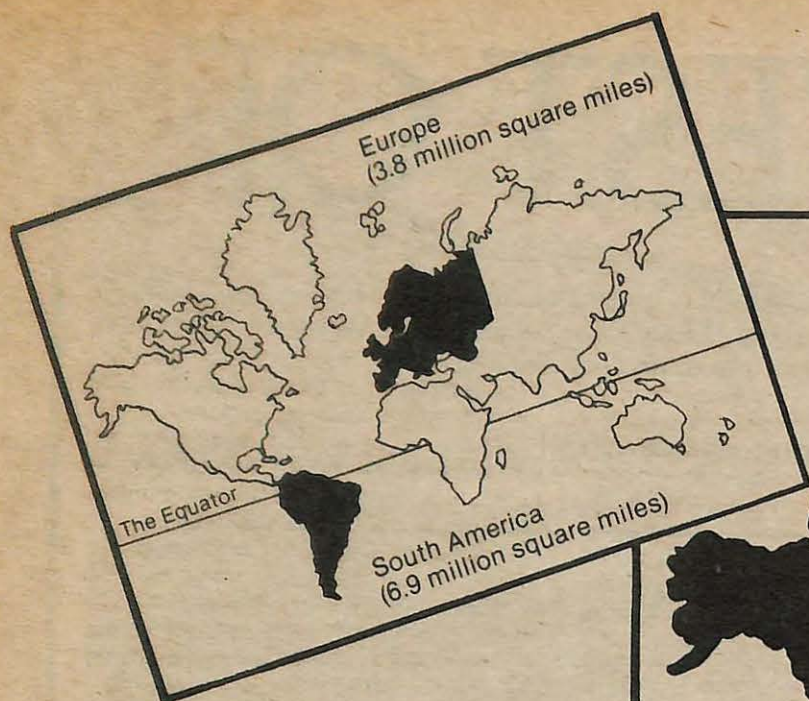
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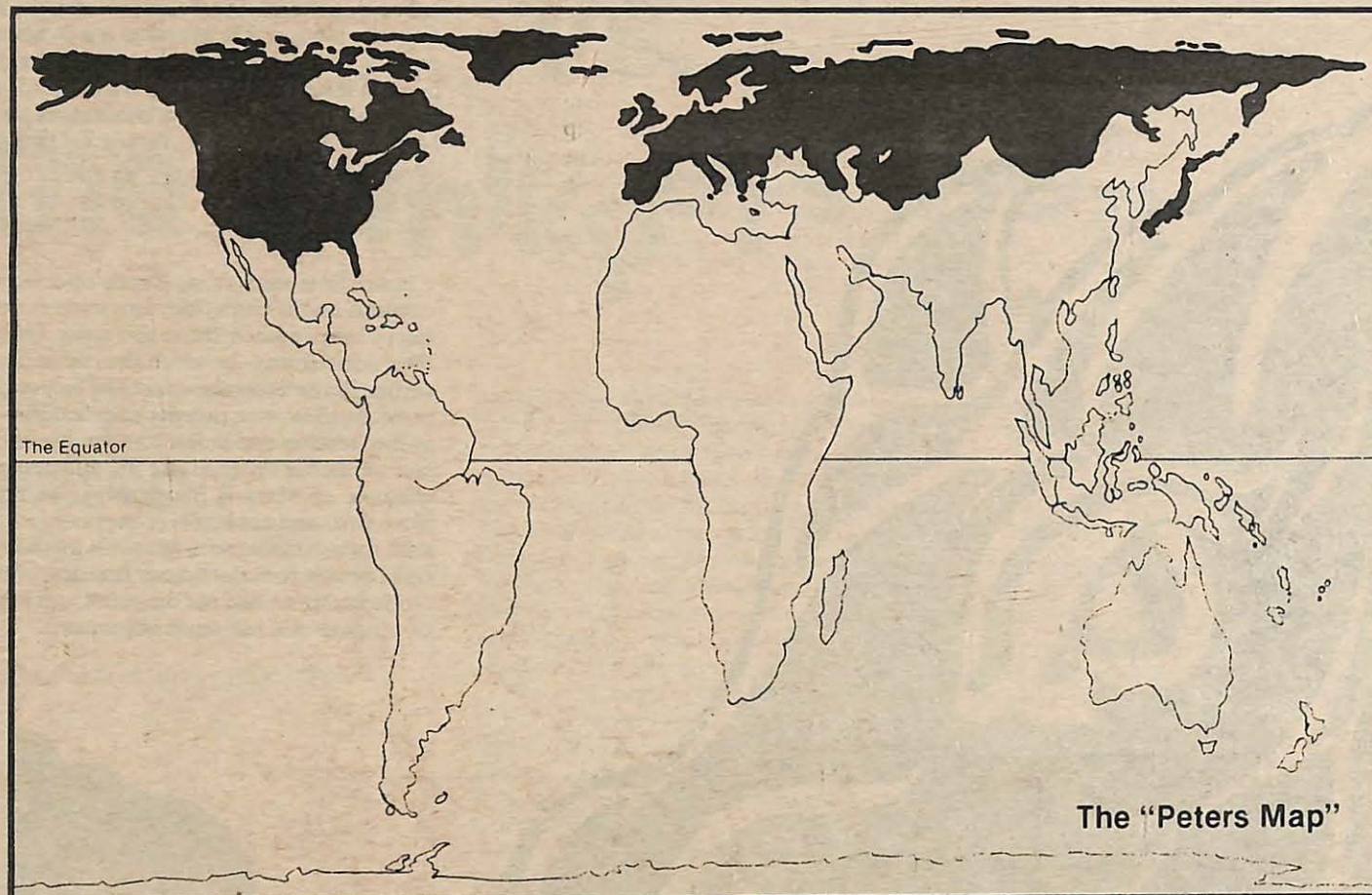
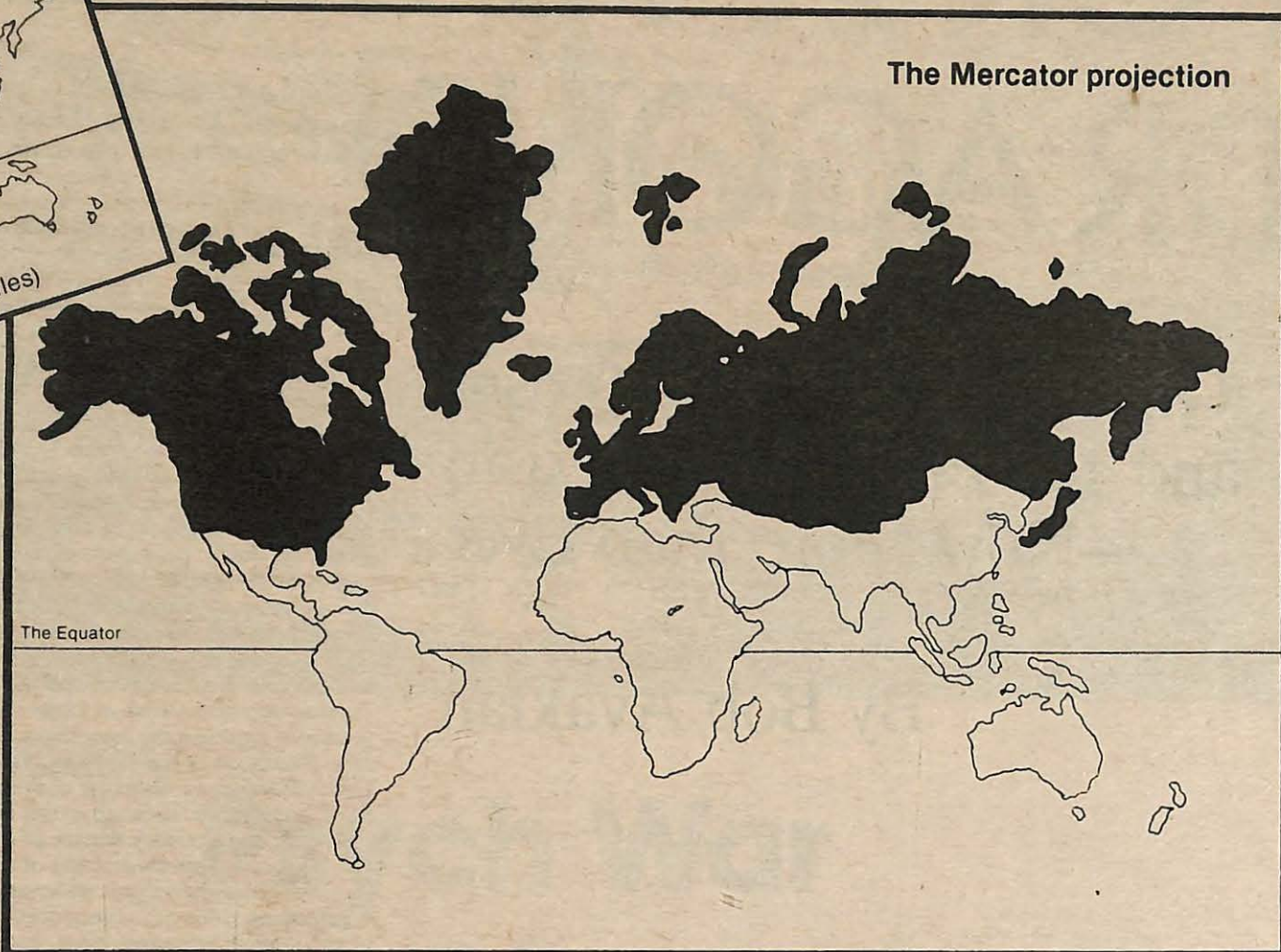


Recently, the "Peters Map," a new map projection of the world, was published for the first time in the United States (by Friendship Press, the publishing arm of the National Council of Churches). The map was created by West German historian Arno Peters, and said by him to sharply reduce the "eurocentric" distortions of the Mercator projection, the common world map for four hundred years.

The distortions of the Mercator projection stem from its placement of the equator. In any flat map, land mass appears distorted and enlarged the farther one moves from the equator. And since Gerardus Mercator placed the equator well below the actual center of the projection, the northern hemisphere appears significantly larger than the southern, therefore effectively inflating the size of the imperialist countries, all of which (except Australia) are well to the north. (In this country, projections commonly enhance this effect further by placing the U.S. in the exact center of the world.)

The result is that, in the Mercator map, Europe (including European Russia) appears larger than all of South America, whereas in reality it is only half as large. As a whole, the imperialist countries of the U.S., Canada, Europe, Greenland, and the Soviet Union together comprise about 18.9 million square miles, but appear overwhelmingly larger than the rest of the planet's land mass, which is in actuality 38.6 million square miles, about twice as large.

The "Peters Map" was the object of sharp debate when it was published in Europe (it has sold about eight million copies around the world). "I see the main reason for this," said Peters, "in that the struggle for or against my projection is in reality not for a world map but for a world picture."



Arsenal

Continued from page 3

Further, the chemical branch of the Arsenal Island headquarters has overall responsibility for all Army research into chemical warfare weapons (although the research is not done on the island itself). On at least one occasion the Command has circulated a step-by-step description for making nerve gas components to chemical manufacturers interested in helping produce the Big Eye nerve-gas bomb. The Big Eye weapons system uses a gas that attacks the central nervous system and, unlike gas used in previous wars, can be shot from a 155mm shell and exploded in an air burst in order to contaminate a much wider area. At present, AMCCOM maintains a contract with Uniroyal for the storage of chemical components of this type.

And this is just the Chemical and Nuclear Division. Freedom of Information material also reveals that another island building houses a separate Nuclear Munitions/Chemical Materiel Division and that, elsewhere, is the Large Caliber/Nuclear Engineering Division.

"The Army and Quad-Cities USA" provides more information. It lists numerous "directorates" or major offices and activities of AMCCOM. These include:

The Weapons Systems Management Directorate. This innocent little group has the job of coordinating all the development and research ideas of the various military think tanks, and other institutions, and putting this together with the weapons needs of the services, foreign governments, and whoever else is in the market for the products of America's gigantic death machine. (These various institutions of mass violence are described in the Arsenal's military doublespeak as "the user community.") Incidentally, the official pamphlet also reveals that through this Directorate, the Arsenal is one major conduit to the war machine for research done at U.S. colleges and universities.

Then there is the International Logistics Directorate, which makes sure foreign clients of the U.S. are supplied with weapons, ammunition, spare parts, tool sets, technical data, maintenance — everything, in short, a good flunkey neo-colonial government needs to keep its killing apparatus in working order.

And international repression and wars on behalf of U.S. imperialist interests is not the end of this tale. Something called the Program Analysis and Evaluation Directorate is, it seems, nothing less than a counterinsurgency command post. Its official job description: "the preparation and maintenance of contingency, civil dis-

turbance, disaster control, mobilization and war emergency plans." For this purpose the Army maintains a data repository in an underground cavern at Atchison, Kansas. Supervision of these records is the responsibility of HQ, AMCCOM and this information is readily available to them. Arsenal Island oversees studies of systems and programs to see how best to respond to a major urban rebellion, mass mobilization for war, martial law, etc.

Then, of course, Arsenal Island also is home to the Arsenal itself, largest in the U.S. The Arsenal has gained a worldwide reputation for technical "excellence" in producing ways to kill people. It gears production towards prototypes for new weapons and spare parts critical to the functioning of existing ones. Gun-mounts for tanks, recoil mechanisms for artillery pieces, aircraft weapons sub-systems, and machine guns are some of its specialties. A real big favorite produced by the Arsenal these days is the 155mm howitzer (M198), which is capable of firing nuclear artillery shells. The 155mm and also the 203mm are currently high on the orders list of not only the U.S. Army and Marines, but also officially non-nuclear countries such as Pakistan, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Lebanon and Ecuador. At last count orders were two years backlogged.

The whole of this deadly, computer-

ized quartermaster for the U.S. war machine is accessed by only three bridges it is these bridges which demonstrators say they will attempt to blockade this week.

On May 18 the *Quad City Times* carried an editorial stating: "There need be no confrontation involving the peace group because it has many avenues to peacefully and publicly make an expression of belief. Besides, those walking in the name of peace certainly should want to go an extra mile to preserve it." The June 4th action has already done much to expose this kind of hypocrisy. According to these apologists, peace groups should go an extra mile to preserve a "responsible" climate, while daily and hourly this monster, Arsenal Island, produces and transports to every corner of the world the most gruesome weapons in mad preparations for world war.

Sources for this article included: *The Army and Quad Cities USA*, published for Rock Island Arsenal by Marcola Publishing Co., 1982; *This is DARCOM*, published by Army Public Affairs Dept.; *Nuclear Weapons Databook, Vol. 1: U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities*; material released through the Freedom of Information Act; and interviews with former employees at AMCCOM.

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

"We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas.'" V.I. Lenin

An Essay Marking the 100th Anniversary of Marx's Death

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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

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Psych War

Continued from page 5

has led to "a sharpening of the ideological conflict which is not only growing by leaps and bounds, but which has burrowed its way into the very fiber of our society." As a result, he says, there exists "an extraordinarily powerful explosive force, especially among young people, that is at the disposal of activities, of forces hostile to the state." (Stümper, 1981, p. 29.)

For psychiatric experts attuned to such problems this phenomenon became acute after the 1960s, when the wave of student and antiwar rebellion and awakened revolutionary upsurge swept West Germany along with much of the world. New psychological "abnormalities" started cropping up among military recruits, including such things as "protest against the authority of father figures."

A central concept has emerged to illuminate the practice of "defense psychiatry." It is the so-called "phenomenon of panic." Brickenstein defines "panic" as "the purposeless and inappropriate defensiveness of a collection of humans that have degenerated into a mass, and which then emerges as a basis of a unified response to actual or alleged threats to their existence." The defense psychiatrist Mikorey perceived such a pathological panic in the flight of "the body of troops" when the "until-then suspended instinct for self-preservation asserts itself in explosive ways." The West German Ministry of Defense more sharply specified its concerns when it added that "panic" means "every manifestation of violence by a rabble. As the word implies, this means the troops becoming a 'rabble' which, instead of raging on against the enemy, directs itself against its own superiors."

On the basis of their scientific investigations, the psychiatrists point out that a central problem with "panic" is that once it has broken out it is extremely difficult to dam back up — at some point it requires the use of naked violence to suppress. In their view therefore, the crucial task of responsible medicine is to evolve the analytical tools to anticipate "quasi-panic preconditions," and develop the necessary forms of preventative countermeasures, and guide the preparations of the prewar period. In their jargon, this is called "panic prevention."

According to panic-specialist Brickenstein, such early warning signs are "all manifestations of the dissolution of military discipline" which act as "summer lightning that foreshadows the hurricane bolts of panic." "Most in danger of succumbing to panic," he continues, "are above all demoralized, combat-weary troops, that are slipping from the grip of their leaders, and among whom incidences of desertion, self-mutilation, simulation of sickness, and war neuroses are increasing by leaps and bounds..." Brickenstein then lets the political essence of this whole problem out of the bag when he continues, "Chronic panic broke out above all in the last two years of the First World War among the combat-weary troops of France, Ger-

many and Russia." And he adds that examples of such "chronic panic" in even today's world will most likely take such extreme forms as "insubordinations, mutiny or revolution."

Applied to civilian populations, "External characteristics of an impending outbreak of panic" are described by Brickenstein as "repeated wildcat strikes, collective irregularities, insubordinations, destruction of property, ruthless persecution of minority opinions and vast vandalism." For his colleague Deussen, the precursors of "panic" are "generalized feelings of insecurity, lethargies, defeatism, destructive criticism and the erosion of self esteem."

In short, an examination of the theoretical framework guiding the present psychiatric war preparations makes it completely clear that the West German imperialists are acutely aware that they face not only the problem of getting soldiers to fight and die, but also of preventing these soldiers and the population at large from going over from imperialist war to collective resistance, and even to revolutionary civil war!

Identifying the Panikpersonen

Being extremely practical men, they do not rest long with evolving abstracted definitions; the purpose here is to bend the resources of psychiatry to find remedies for these dangers. The point here is not simply to brand resisters as "sick individuals" and "psychopaths" but to evolve the means of neutralizing them.

In the opinion of "defense psychiatrists" the process of transforming masses of people into a "critical mass" dangerous to the system always requires the activity of individuals, the so-called *Panikpersonen* (loosely translated as "panic mongers"). Such people are seen as catalysts and bacilli of panic within crisis situations. Their "modes of behavior" are such that (according to Brickenstein) they are capable of misleading other people into "false activities."

Two kinds of individuals emerge as prime candidates for the label of *Panikpersonen*.

First (according to the work of the eminent Dr. Panse) are those "with impulsive, emotionally unstable personalities, people whose everyday psychic and character structures, and psychological superstructures suddenly reveal their deficiencies, such as weaknesses of discipline or will, and even intellectual inferiorities." A panic mood, Brickenstein asserts, "always flows from the unstable, fearful soldiers, those with a tendency to capitulate to neurotic reactions, and quickly spreads itself like an infectious disease further and further."

Trying to construct a model of how such "panic" develops, researchers like Brickenstein have come up with a theory that when human beings act as a mass, the level of collective intelligence drops below the level characterizing the individuals involved, so that the collective decision-making inherently sinks to the level of emotional impulses and rapidly loses the capacity for rational deliberation. Under these conditions, the psychiatrists warn over and over again, masses of



"Insuffiziente Vaterlandsliebe durch frühkindlich libidinöse Traumata."

"Insufficient Fatherland-love arising from early childhood libidinal traumas."

people in crisis situations become extremely susceptible to indoctrination. Not only is this theory soaked with disdain for the masses, and not only is it totally imbued with the traditional dichotomy reactionaries erect between rational thought and emotion, but it actually assumes that marching off to nuclear war like lemmings is a prime example of this "rational" thought, while collectively discussing the possibility of desertion and rebellion is a descent into the mindless emotionalism of the rabble!

Based in this bourgeois model of "mob psychology," it is natural that Brickenstein would conclude that those already predisposed to "emotional thought" are the naturally fertile ground for the seed of panic — and that starting with them it is possible for "ideological or religious fanaticism" (Brickenstein) to quickly get the upper hand. This leads us to the second crucial "type" of *Panikpersonen*:

These are the individuals who are the carriers of "ideological or religious fanaticism," people with a long history of "pathological alienation" who can quickly come to play the role of "ring-leaders."

Where are these "carriers" going to come from? The following quote from the official publications series of the Bavarian Medical Society is a remarkable example of bourgeois class analysis. A lead article by Colonel a.D. H. Fink informs the doctors as follows:

"The first phases of an act of aggression need not necessarily fall directly on the actual front. It is therefore to be expected with great likelihood that there will emerge internally-conducted violent actions in connection with psychological warfare measures, which will aim at reducing the state's capacity for defense or at spawning panic. The anticipated forces for this will be led and supported

from the outside. These can be subversive combat troops that have been infiltrated into the country earlier. It can be combat troops that have been built in our country as a 'fifth column' of the enemy, and which place a functioning organization and leadership at his disposal. In addition, there will be an extremely high degree of likelihood that the not insignificant, but at this point difficult to estimate, numbers of anarchist fanatics, citizens sympathetic to the enemy, and immigrants will form brigades of a new, as yet undefined, military 'sixth column' which could arise as forces to wage a hidden struggle serving the enemy."

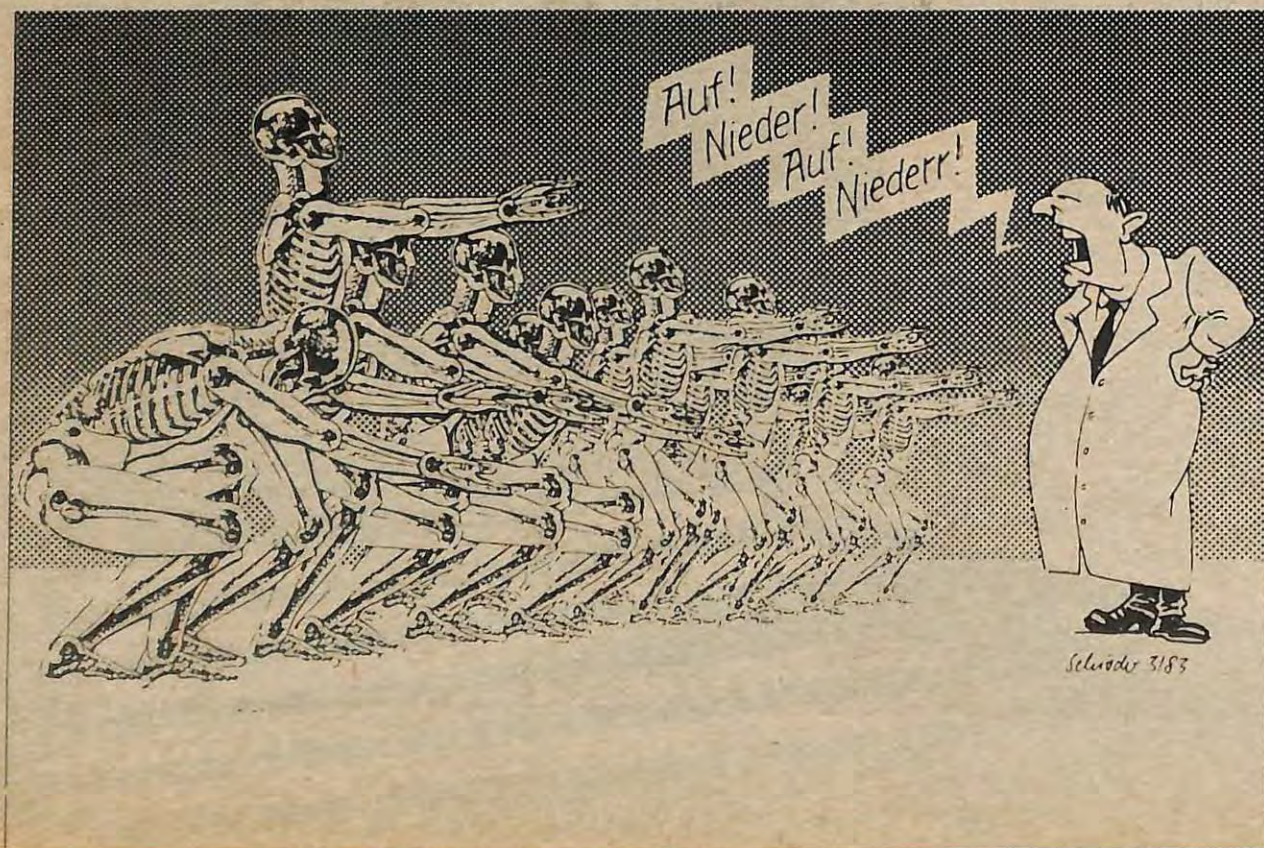
Could there be a clearer example of the imperialist awareness that they face twin dangers of a war-time enemy and the independent specter of genuine revolution? On the one hand they have the possible "fifth column" of pro-Soviet forces transformed into sapper squads for the Warsaw Pact, and on the other hand they clearly fear an "as yet undefined" sixth column of the revolutionary masses within West Germany consciously seizing the conditions of extreme crisis to wage revolutionary civil war!

Controlling the Paniksturm

What then are the practical plans being proposed by modern "defense psychiatry"?

First and foremost, "The elimination of the germ cells of panic," which is explained as "isolating *Panikpersonen*" and when possible, transferring such people to individualized medical treatment. The use of the word "elimination" here, especially given its lingering connotation in the German historical experience, implies drastic medical treatment indeed. In times "pregnant with panic," Brickenstein calls for the "abrupt, energetic suppression of unfounded rumors" and beyond that the effective suppression of all mass discussion. Gatherings of people (including obviously anything resembling demonstrations, teach-ins and rallies) are to be (as it is aromatically phrased) "led toward dispersal."

Particular attention is to be paid to dissipating the energy of any masses that seem to be led "away from desired (state) goals by a single panic center, by drawing these forces, to the extent possible, into different and conflicting directions." In particular, Brickenstein calls for "shifting the direction in such a way that the *Paniksturm* breaks on the enemy." Similar plans are prepared for the "civilian" sphere: here the "Psychological Warfare Units" of the West German Army (the so-called PSV) have been developing ways of making military use of sections of the people that have precipitated "panic." "It is possible to prevent, or certainly retard the advance of an enemy simply by sending one's own population streaming in his direction in refugee-terror — for example by announcing imminent nuclear strikes against given regions" (Lossman, 1982, p. 1970). Special civilian "gathering points" are also to be erected where material aid (food, medicine, shelter, etc.) are to be com-



"Up!
Down!
Up!
Down!"

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Psych War

Continued from page 13

bined with "terse, unmistakable and firm directions given by leaders and appointed sub-leaders." In this way, people are to be directed toward "useful, mechanical" tasks.

As has already been stressed, "panic" is to be opposed by all available means. Already in 1962 the directives of the West German Defense Ministry on the topic of "panic prevention" openly discussed the purpose of using firearms against deserting soldiers and "panicked civilians": "Everything depends upon finding an emergency brake!... In such emergency situations the use of weapons is not to be ignored as a possibility." "Here the question to consider is the following: unused weapons often cause a more mystifying and therefore more effective impact than those used too early. As long as those standing in opposition to conditions of panicked excitement have not yet shot, each individual must feel fear that he, meaning he as an individual, might well get the bullet. Once warning shots, dispersal shots, or carefully aimed shots are fired, that spell is broken." (BuMidVtg. 1962, p. 37). Taken as a whole the assumption of official bodies, and their various "defense psychiatrists," is that under conditions of imminent nuclear war, internal unrest will inevitably increase in intensity, and can only ultimately be contained with the use of the most brutal, naked use of the bourgeois state's dictatorial power. Based on those assumptions, their drawing boards in these relatively tranquil times are now being used to develop and propagate their

plans.

In 1976, W. Siedschlag, the National Director for the Academy of Civil Defense, pointed out that giant demonstrations, political disturbances and anti-terrorist maneuvers should be approached as training grounds for later, more extensive crises. In an article in *Der Polizeier* he wrote: "Many measures that are used for counteracting terrorism, can also serve well in times of tension and national defense to preserve the public security. ... They should be approached with zeal so that any future crises do not become our undoing, simply because we overlooked necessary preparations which could ensure their favorable resolution."

Such suggestions have already been put into practice at numerous levels. In recent years, the Federal Border Troops have been refined as an elite internal security force, built up to 3,000 men and so structured as to be able to undergo a rapid expansion to 10,000. Among their official tasks: "participation in the evacuation and blocking off of areas." They are charged with direction of the flow of movement among the people during catastrophe, the use of force to keep military arteries clear and the fight against "terror and sabotage-troops as well as any other armed and unlawful gatherings." It is well known in West Germany that these troops used the massive demonstrations of last fall as dress rehearsals for future sweeping police actions, testing mass incarceration techniques and even inaugurating their spanking-new, nuke-proof underground combination of command-bunker-and-prison outside Bonn.

In addition, there is extensive documentation that arrested demonstrators have been systematically subjected to in-

depth "psychological profiles," to analyze the character structures of such potential *Panikpersonen* and provide material for evolving psychiatric techniques for "individualized medical attention" under conditions of war and revolution. Such reports run into the dozens of pages, containing such choice observations as the following, taken from a report on a draft resister who refused to wear uniforms, answer orders, eat or even drink while in their hands:

"At the time he was admitted into the hospital, he was clearly conscious of his surroundings, and showed every sign of being fully oriented. He revealed himself to be both willing and capable of holding discussions and showed himself in the course of conversation to have a good, average intelligence, expressed himself thoughtfully, in a language which was ordered in both form and content. ... His entire thinking occupied itself, without exception, with his personal global concepts and points of view, and in that sense his fixation with his idea-world was highly developed to such a degree that his relationship with reality was visibly disturbed. The intensity with which he pursued his romantic, idealized thoughts had reached a point where a grandiose fanaticism dominated and revealed itself fully in his willingness to defend his ideas even at the point of self-destruction. There is no evidence at all of any feelings of sickness on his part, and certainly no conscious recognition of his illness."

Truly the hypocrisy of these people is remarkable! First, soldiers and civilians who act to preserve themselves in the face of nuclear war are labeled "sick" and dangerous to society. And then, on the other hand, a committed opponent of

war is labeled "sick" when he disregards self-preservation and risks his life in an act of dogged noncooperation! The only link between the two verdicts of "mentally sick" is that "sick" is, by definition, whatever contradicts the interests of the imperialist war effort. Truly a partisan science, this psychiatry.

DULCE ET DECORUM PRO PATRIA MORI!*

Bertolt Brecht wrote a relevant couplet in his work *Fear and Misery in the Third Reich*. It went:

And here come the honored men of medicine
Those willing servants of the state.

This whole article certainly supports this observation.

But in another way it also shows that in the medical field, as in every sphere, things are not monolithic. In fact, most of the material for this story comes from a documentation undertaken by radical West German psychiatrists — the "Military Psychiatry Working Group" of the "German Society for Social Psychiatry." It seems that the increasingly naked preparations of the imperialists for war are prodding people into protest and political life, and creating "mental health" problems for imperialism, even among psychiatrists. These radical doctors have performed an extremely useful task by placing such rich information broadly at the disposal of laymen outside their field; or, as they put it, tongue in cheek: "PANIKPERSONEN and Pathologically Alienated of the World — Unite!"

* "How sweet and honorable it is to die for your country!"

Activist

Continued from page 7

Salvadoran applicants. While Hal Boldin of the INS's Harlingen office arrogantly declared that his office has given asylum to no Salvadoran applicants for the last two years and has actually arrested most who apply, the other directors spoke of similar statistics on an even larger scale.

Merk and others, particularly Brenda Sánchez, spoke passionately of the persecution and terror unleashed in El Salvador. Brenda Sánchez spoke of her school days in San Salvador: of the time she was caught in a crossfire while waiting for a bus; of trying to escape shooting in the street by hiding in a garage, only to see the garage blown apart by a tank; of being on a bus when the bodies of men in front of her were shattered by the guns of death squads, covering her with their blood, while soldiers warned her that "nothing had happened"; of seeing a pregnant friend of hers hacked to pieces by the bayonets of the National Guard.

But the good Judge Vela intoned, and Prosecutor Guerra emphatically agreed, that all the "emotionalism" surrounding the trial had to be put aside, and the cold facts evaluated. While Merk's defense had repeatedly driven home their contention that "by any standard, these people are bona fide political refugees," Vela instructed the jury to disregard everything except for the definition of the charge of "transporting illegal aliens."

The jury took longer in reaching its verdict than any in the history of the federal district in Brownsville, but a conviction was obtained. In the face of the conviction and potentially stiff penalty, Merk and others remained unbowed. When asked if she would try to soften her stand when she faces Vela for sentencing, Merk replied, "On my word, no! I have broken no law. I will continue to say that to my death, I can't retract that ever." Fitzpatrick said that he and others would see that the sanctuary house in San Benito will remain open. After her sentencing Merk will probably appeal her conviction, and the case of another layworker in the Casa Oscar Romero is also coming to court soon. INS officials in the Rio Grande Valley have intimated they expect more such cases to be brought to court in the coming months, and Dan Hedges, the U.S. Attorney in Houston, expressed his hope that Merk's conviction will "warn those involved in the sanctuary movement not to expect preferential treatment." Hedges continued with this weighty observation: "If we treated church people different from those who

smuggle aliens for money, then we would be guilty of violating the separation of church and state."

But the unrepentant defiance of Stacey Merk and others, and their avowed determination to continue providing

what help they can to refugees driven from Central America, just may prove to be difficult for the champions of "no preferential treatment" to contain. □

REVOLUTION is the propaganda organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP,USA). It is published quarterly.

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

In the U.S. \$14/year
Other countries \$16.50/year—
surface mail
\$24.00—
air mail

Payable by check or money order.

Send all subscription orders to:
RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart, Chicago IL 60654

Correspondence: We welcome correspondence to REVOLUTION magazine. All letters and manuscripts should be sent to: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 1317, New York, NY 10185

Articles in the Summer Issue (to be published soon) include:

- Notes Toward an Analysis of the Soviet Bourgeoisie
- Against the "Lesser Evil" Thesis: Soviet Preparations for World War 3
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The Military Line of the PLO
and the Lessons of Beirut: A Letter
by Paul Case

S.F. May Day Charges Reinstated After Three Years

A Blatant Resurrection

Eighteen May Day '81 defendants were ordered to appear in Superior Court in San Francisco several weeks after this year's successful May First celebration. Various misdemeanor charges ranging from trespass to assault on a police officer were reinstated on the defendants. A case that is over three years old and had been thrown out of court once is now being stoked up all over again.

District Attorney Jim Costello, who has prosecuted other cases involving RCP supporters in San Francisco, and Judge Meeks have made it clear in carrying out some pretrial maneuvers that this case will be a continuation and an intensification of the government's strategic plan to brand the RCP with the tag of "violence prone" by getting convictions

in ridiculous railroads. The government also appears to be bending every effort to time the trial to coincide with the Democratic Convention in San Francisco, as part of the latest efforts of the local police and media in attempting to "distance" the RCP from other progressive forces.

A new stench became evident in the initial hearing when Judge Meeks spoke in a carefully dry and sardonic voice. He instructed defense attorneys to make sure that their clients appear in his court at the next scheduled date and that when they do, to "bring their immigration attorneys with them." A threat of deportation for any of the 18 defendants, who may or may not be in such a position, reveals the seriousness and viciousness with which

this case is being approached. Attorneys for the defendants plan to file a motion for dismissal June 8th.

During other pretrial maneuvers the district attorney openly admitted what has been quite clear in the ongoing attacks on the party: that he is not ultimately in charge of this case. "People upstairs will review the list of defendants," he allowed, and after a review of the arrest records of the defendants since 1981, a determination will be made — "upstairs," no doubt — as to who will or will not stand trial.

The foul odor emanating from the court, as well as the speed with which these charges are being resurrected have to be seen in light of the overall scene in San Francisco as it prepares for the conven-

tion. It is undoubtedly the case that the stoking up of another trial, with deportation threats being thrown around, is connected to the overall activity of the political police responsible for working on the convention. The specter of a trial at convention time aimed at creating public opinion against political opposition that is decidedly not channeled into the electoral process; the opportunity to spread more disinformation about the RCP, get more convictions, and further strengthen the state's "distancing" program have all clearly contributed to the state's embarking on another trip on their outrageous railroad. □

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

To whom it may concern,
There is a movement inside these gray walls which "cheers" your cause. I am part of this movement. Your paper brings a bright light in what else would have been a clearly blight day. We the people in white, cheer you!
Our movement needs this light, to which, we can hold on to our beliefs and styles. We live in one of the worst Dictatorships around, and can understand your thoughts and actions. Long may your organization "Run" true to form.

If we could, we would sign up today, but unfortunately we can't, so we wait and watch. Your paper only comes in thru, quote, "primitive methods"; I would like to ask if we could get your paper thru a prison donation project.

Thank you for another "BRIGHT" Day.
Brothers-in-Arms
Houston, Texas

Dear Comrades
As part of the task of "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" is getting revolutionary literature to prisoners behind bars. I realize the urgency of sending sustained contributions. In this light please look forward to a contribution on a monthly basis from me. While I am working I will try to send \$10 a month. Whatever I send I will send it on a regular basis.

Red Internationalist Greetings.

Editor of RW

I hope that this letter finds you standing strong against our imperialist enemy. I am writing you to let you know that I've read your March 2, 1984 newspaper. I found the entire paper very informative. I also loved the write-up by the three sisters of fury. I loved it!
Also after my release I would like to distribute your paper in my area. I will be out by next month I hope. They have been making me do twice the length of this program because of my political beliefs. This is a 6-month program. I have been here for 15 months. They know I am going out to the streets to work. Nothing has changed. And it never will. My direction will always be forward against the enemy.

In struggle
Norco, CA

I'm currently incarcerated at CRC in Norco. I understand you publish a newsletter fitting of my views of the government. I believe in the cause and would appreciate if you could put me on your mailing list. I hope to eventually send a donation of stamps in the future if I can ever get ahead here. Thank you.

Fraternal greetings:

I am presently in the possession of all of Mao's basic writings with the exception of his *Red Book* and his *Selected Works* 2, 4 and 5. I have had these books as a part of our library; however, they had become casualties of the chaotic movement characteristic of a prison situation. As secretary and librarian I am obliged to obtain material essential to the sustenance of our *Study Collective*. To this endeavor I address your *Literature Fund*. The extent of your contribution shall be held with praise. Enclosed please find a nominal token of appreciation.

Set the Captives Free!
Somos Uno
New York

Greetings RW

Time plus the pleasure gives me this wonderful moment to extend my revolutionary love.

At this writing I haven't been in contact with RW like I should for some time now, due to my present situation here at S.Q. I have been lately pre-occupied with these studies here in this hell hole. But this brings me to my or should I have said our problem here at S.Q. Maximum Security Section. We the progressive Afrikans of S.Q. would like to extend our greetings and muniqué concerns our study class here at S.Q., our studies consist of Black Nationalism, Mao Tsetung, Marxist-Leninist Doctrine, etc. We receive much knowledge and insight in the subject matter. So at this point in my missive to you all we would like to request available books on these subjects. I can list a few names. A Critique of Che Guevara, "Angola: A Case Study in Soviet Neocolonialism," "The Military Line of the PLO and The Lessons of Beirut" by Paul Case and some Marxism-Leninism. So whatever you think's appropriate or whatever you comrades at RW can contribute to our cause and studies. We the Afrikans of this hell hole are trying to understand and grasp the true meaning of Marxist-Leninists, etc. And it's very conducive to our case as Afrikans to progress and become more in tune with the classes and class struggle here in Amerika. I'll end this communiqué in hopes that you'll acknowledge my request. Thank you again.

Uhuru Sasa

To RCP
Greetings Comrades.

I send these few lines of my revolutionary strength and heart hoping that you comrades are mentally, physically, and spiritually well, at this certain state of time in our struggle in this imperialist (USA) and you can acknowledge that I am a subscriber of RW, and I have been noticing an article in the RW about a magazine by the name of *Revolution* and I would to the up-most appreciate that I could also obtain a subscription to your *Revolution* magazine, and that it is very much appreciated without a doubt, so I close these few lines for now, but not my thoughts and love for my comrade Brothers and Sisters oppressed in this nation, and I embrace you with all my revolutionary fervor.

In the struggle,
Comrade
Auburn, NY

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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Released In 22 Languages Worldwide On May 1st, 1984

Adopted by the delegates and observers at the Second
International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and
Organisations which formed
the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.



Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

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