



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

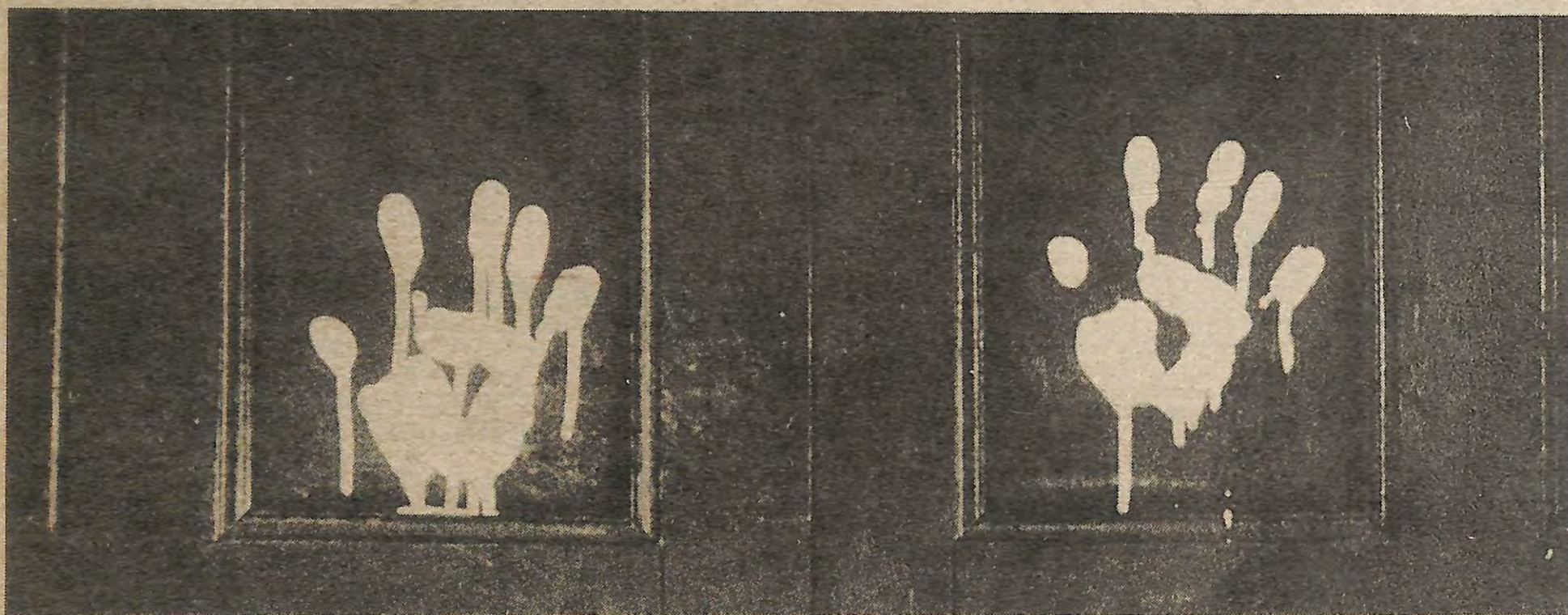
No. 261 (Vol. 6, No. 9) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1.

June 22, 1984

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## Death-To-The-Tiller: The Legacy of the Democrats in Central America



The white handprint symbol of  
Salvadoran death squads.

Over the past few years, Central America has occupied an important position in the "anti-Reagan" racket. It's been *Reagan's* war in El Salvador; *Reagan's* secret war in Nicaragua; *Reagan's* military buildup in Honduras; and *Reagan's* intervention in Central America. And in the coming months, such phraseology is bound to escalate, so to speak, designed to induce the choice this year of the "lesser evil" — that is, the Democratic Party — just one more time, of course. There will likely be lots of preaching about the peace and tranquility that YOUR VOTE can bring to Central America. But somehow, none of the revisionists, social democrats or plain old bourgeois liberals delivering these homilies refer to those golden days of yore when a Democrat held the presidency (and, if memory serves correctly, the vice-presidency as well), and the U.S. was so nice to the happy people in its "backyard." Perhaps we should refresh their memories.

Jimmy Carter (and Walter Mondale) took office declaring that "human rights" would be "the soul of our foreign policy." The main point here was to focus on Soviet-bloc dissidents and seek maneuvering room within the ranks of the U.S.'s imperialist enemy. Obviously the application of "human rights" rhetoric within the U.S. bloc — in the few places that it showed up — had a different point, including enhancing U.S.

maneuvering among opposition forces. In any case, it had imperialist value only for a certain period of time; one doesn't hear Walter Mondale making a big deal about "human rights" these days.

During the first few months of 1977, a number of incidents drew international notoriety to El Salvador. The blatantly phony national elections were protested by thousands of supporters of the opposition; Salvadoran troops opened fire on them, killing more than 200, and then quickly washing away the blood as if nothing had happened. Government security forces in the guise of death squads murdered two priests and tortured several others. The Salvadoran army stormed the rural town of Aguilares, where one of the priests had worked, murdering at least 50 peasants and throwing them in mass graves, while dragging away hundreds more. Citing "human rights," the U.S. Congress held hearings on the Salvadoran election, and the U.S. held up support for a \$90 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank for a Salvadoran hydroelectric project. But no problem. The State Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs told Congress that under pressure from the U.S., the reigning generalissimo in El Salvador, Humberto Romero, had decided to crack down on the death squads, had "indicated his intent to pursue socio-economic reform," and had "made conciliatory gestures toward the Church." Carter's first ambassador to El Salvador, Frank J. Devine, declared that Romero "seriously intended to improve the human rights situation." The loan sailed through with approval from such heavy-duty "human rights" critics as Teddy Kennedy and Congressman Tom Harkin of Iowa.

Less than a month later, the Salvadoran government enacted the Law for the Defense and Guarantee of the

Public Order; it outlawed all criticism of the government, legalized the blatant crushing of all forms of protest and made it a crime to express any opinions "through word of mouth, through writing or any other means that tend to destroy the social order." Would this qualify for punitive sanction for violating the "soul of U.S. foreign policy?" Not exactly. Speaking of the new Salvadoran law, Ambassador Devine told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "We believe any government has the full right and obligation to use all legal means at its disposal to combat terrorism."

The fact that the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala did not receive any direct military aid from the U.S. in the first few years of the Carter administration has often been cited as evidence of Democratic efforts to "reform" these regimes. However, equipment and training continued to be supplied through U.S. client-states like Israel, Argentina and Brazil, and the same State Department that was publicly criticizing Guatemalan transgressions was approving the sale of weaponry by U.S. corporations to the Guatemalan army and security forces. As for El Salvador, in addition to funneling weapons and training through its clients, the Carter administration also maintained a military mission in the country throughout the late '70s and approved

Continued on page 6



# Oppose the Execution of TKPML Comrades by the Turkish Government!

The last months in Turkey have seen a marked acceleration in the processing of condemned political prisoners — grease is being applied to the railroad tracks leading straight to the gallows. It is almost as if you can see the primitive wheels turning in the brains of the Turkish fascists: many months have now passed since the Turkish election of last November; the new “democratic” government of Özal has run through its paces; and the European Parliament has passed its verdict of approval on the whole “democratic” face-lift...so now the real business of government beckons once again — proceeding with the executions.

Three revolutionaries from the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) have just been passed one step closer to their execution. These three, who have been in prison since 1977, were charged with a successful raid in which Orhan Bakir (member of the TKP/ML subsequently martyred in 1980 at the hands of the fascist military forces) was sprung from the Izmir prison. During the raid a uniformed pig was killed.

The new procedure being followed to the letter illustrates well how these constitutional institutions operate as simply another mechanism for carrying out counterrevolutionary terror against the people. On May 23, 1984, the death sentence given to Feridun Ihsan Berkin was confirmed by the Justice Commission of the new Turkish Parliament by a vote of 8 to 7. A week later, the death sentences of Sedat Yilmazsoy and Muzaffer Öztürk were also affirmed by the Commission. The court decisions of all three had previously been approved by the Supreme Court of Appeal, even before the new “civilian” government came to power. Now the next step is the Parliament itself. After that the final phase takes the sentence across the desk of the president, after which the executions will be carried out.

What a remarkable thing this democracy is! Whereas before, the political prisoners were lined up against the wall after torture and shot, now there is an intervening period where every fascist henchman, large and small, of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government all get their chance to add their signatures to the execution orders. How civilized! Now they consult, pass papers from one office to another, dangle these cases before the people as a warning, go through legal mumbo-jumbo for the benefit of the Western European public...and then they kill you!

At this point, there are 26 more cases waiting confirmation by the Parliament's Justice Commission — all of them concerning revolutionaries. And in a new court proceeding against TKP/ML and its military arm TIKKO, the prosecution is asking for 59 death penalties out of the 310 defendants on trial.

In a letter to the *Revolutionary Worker*, the Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners, based in West Germany, has announced that they are launching an all-out campaign to prevent the execution of Berkin, Yilmazsoy and

Öztürk. They are asking for individual protest letters and telegrams to be sent to the Turkish regime, and request that funds be contributed in support of the campaign.

Address for Protest Letters to the Parliament:

TBMM Baskan  
N. KARADUMAN  
ANKARA, TURKEY

Contributions to the Committee should be sent to:

Committee in Solidarity with Political Prisoners (ÖMDK)  
Kaiser-Wilhelm Str. 252  
41 Duisburg 11

(Bank account: #274-001502, BLZ: 350 550 50 Sparkasse Duisburg.)

## Attention Readers!

Next week, the price of the *Revolutionary Worker* will be raised to 75 cents per copy. This increase is necessary in order to better meet the actual costs of producing and distributing the *RW*. Readers should take note that the *RW* is one of the most professional quality papers ever to run on such a shoe-string budget; and regular and consistent financial support for the paper is extremely important in order to expand and advance the political exposure which is vital to the revolutionary movement. We also want to notify readers in advance that subscription prices will be raised accordingly in two months and urge people to **SUBSCRIBE NOW** at the current rate.

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# Hart miss a golden opportunity to catch Mondale?

By John Dineen

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Ronald Reagan's Magic

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Mondale cla  
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on Margolis  
to figure  
ANGELES—The Democratic  
begin a ritual dance toward  
yesterday as Walter Mondale  
of the presidential nomination  
Hart seemed to acknowl-  
ed claim by his manner, even  
saying it with his words.  
"I be the nominee," Mondale  
St. Paul, charming 1,600 de-  
more than the 1,367 needed  
nomination at the Democratic  
Convention next month.

### MONDALE ASS NOMINATION HART NOT GI

By HOWELL BAINES  
Walter F. Mondale claimed victory  
yesterday in the race for the Demo-  
cratic Presidential nomination, and a  
number of party leaders united behind  
the former Vice President to urge his  
main competitor, Gary Hart, to fold his  
campaign.  
Mr. Mondale declared that his victo-  
ries in New Jersey and West Virginia  
and a flurry of endorsements from un-  
committed delegates had pushed him  
past the total of 1,967 delegates re-  
quired for the nomination. Of the 218  
delegates he won on Tuesday, 104 were  
in New Jersey.

However, Mr. Hart, who won 207  
delegates in the California primary  
and refused to concede. He and  
others said they would con-  
sider Mondale delegates to take  
rules that allowed  
states if they

### Jackson out Democrats'

By Basil  
Talbot Jr.  
Writing from

### CURRENTS IN THE NEWS

### Mondale: In Front But Under Attack

Walter Mondale

### ork Time

DAY, APRIL 4, 1984

### MONDALE WIN BY WIDE MAF JACKSON

Section 1 Chicago Tribune

### On the Campaign Tr

### President shows his stu

Reagan waves the flag at air acaden

By James Coates  
Chicago Tribune

COLORADO SPRINGS—Accompanied by a  
spectacular fly-over from six howling jet fight-  
ers trailing red, white and blue smoke, Presi-  
dent Reagan told a cheering crowd of Air  
Force cadets Wednesday that they have the  
right stuff.  
As photographers for the Republican Party  
reared the spectacle on film and  
it was clear that Reagan

### gan's Magic

early cost

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Mondale as he spoke. The clear message  
that came out of the incident was that  
Mondale was stronger on environmental  
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As the Democratic front-runners go  
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June 5, the obvious need for Hart is to  
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But in the meantime, Mondale  
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# Jackson Candidacy Is Giving New Shape to Politics in U.S.

By FAY S. JOYCE

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy  
for the Democratic Presidential nomi-  
nation is reshaping the con-

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which be-  
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John Lewis of Atlanta, a veteran of the  
civil rights movement, who marched  
with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King  
Jr. "He's creating the climate for some  
man or black woman to come  
President of this

## Democrat platfo

By Morton  
Kondracke

The Democratic Party  
shortly will choose  
whether to declare it  
self the party of hope  
or that of fear and  
strength. The prospects for  
the latter, sadly, are not too  
good.

The choice will be posed  
at the drafting sessions  
of the Democratic Na-  
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committee which begins in  
Washington on June 17.

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## Politics and Politics

by Bob Avakian

Editor's note: The following is some material from a book that Bob Avakian is  
presently working on. It is being run now because it seems especially relevant in  
these times of election politics — and the need for revolutionary-minded peo-  
ple to inject some revolutionary politics into this deadly (and we don't just  
mean deadly dull) scene.

As the U.S. imperialists most often define it — and seek to confine it —  
politics is the contest, within their own ranks or at least on their own terms,  
centering around conflicts that pit the interests of individuals (or particular  
segments of society, and segments of the ruling class in particular) against the  
overall interests of the ruling class as a whole. Such politics means the contest to  
hold office (elections), the conflict of "special interests" versus the "general  
good" (the general interests of the ruling class), etc.; "bringing in politics" or  
"making something a political issue" means bringing in personal or particular  
aims or interests, in conflict with the general interest (as just defined).\* It is  
hardly accidental that such a defining (and confining) of politics leaves out  
such "minor details" as the division of society into oppressor and oppressed  
classes and nations — fundamental conditions in society at this stage, the  
recognition of which is essential for even beginning to have a correct under-  
standing of politics.

For the proletariat, and in reality, politics is the struggle to influence and  
change society, which in the era in human history in which society is divided in-  
to classes finds its most basic and essential expression in class struggle. In ac-  
cordance with this, it is of crucial importance for the class-conscious proletari-  
at to mount the political stage, in every important arena and dimension, and  
contest with the ruling class and its major representatives, of all various  
stripes, over the major social questions and world events — all in preparation  
for carrying the class struggle over to its highest form, the armed struggle for  
political power, as soon as possible.

In today's world especially, it would be a disaster if the ruling class and its  
representatives succeeded in containing the awakening and activism of op-  
pressed masses within the arena of politics as the bourgeoisie defines, confines,  
and controls it. But it would also be a disaster if especially the advanced among  
the proletariat did not enter into that decisive arena of what politics really is —  
especially now. (Of course the bourgeoisie does on occasion use politics in  
another, more general sense — and then generally in a negative sense, to denote  
"bad politics": opposition to the established order, or order as they are deter-  
mined to establish it. Then we hear the cry against "bringing in politics" in a  
larger dimension, for example the 1968, or 1984 Olympics — as opposed to  
1980. In this sense we must give them much more of such "bad politics" —  
working toward doing so in its highest form as soon as possible!)

\*The recently published book, *The Media Monopoly*, by Ben H. Bagdikian (Boston: Beacon Press,  
1983), is a good example of this: it does contain some interesting exposure of the control and  
manipulation of the media by large corporations and it has stirred some controversy, but it presents  
the fundamental conflict as the attempt of such corporations to pursue and serve their own  
"private" interests against the general good — which places the problem squarely within the con-  
fines of bourgeois democracy — and bourgeois rule.

## UNITY EFFORT MADE

Ex-Vice President Gains  
the Support of Many  
Prom



## Griffiss Plowshares Conviction

# The Blood Was Already There

A federal judge in the trial of the Griffiss Plowshares defendants opened the proceedings with the exclamation, "As Gary Gilmore said, 'Do it!'"

It wasn't the last veiled reference to executions that was to issue from the government during the trial.

And it was only the first of a long and sometimes bizarre string of suggestive remarks and crude political insinuations which preceded the June 13 verdict on seven antiwar activists: guilty on conspiracy and destruction of federal property, to wit — hammering on the B-52 cruise missile weapons system housed at Griffiss Air Force Base in upstate New York.

But the jury voted "not guilty" on the charge of sabotaging the national defense, carrying very high penalties. The Plowshares defendants expressed encouragement at defeat of the heaviest political charges, and stood firm in the wake of their conviction on other counts.

From the first, the trial was staged as a very political hanging. The state was forced, in order to press the security charge, to discard the tattered legal fig leaf of "criminal actions" — the usual assertion

that these Plowshares cases are mainly a question of destruction of private property by some misguided and naive religious protestors who have their politics and Christian religion badly mixed up.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1983, these defendants had targeted a sensitive strategic military base which is an integral part of the first line on U.S. war preparations and operations. The cruise missiles have been fitted and tested on the B-52s at Griffiss since 1981 and they fly regularly to the extremes of the U.S. "defense" perimeter to within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military targets in eastern Russia. When the Griffiss Plowshares carried out their symbolic disarmament act inside the hangars at that base, they breached yet another sacrosanct line protecting the U.S. war machine.

The seriousness with which the ruling class views this was up-front in the prosecutor's opening statements to the court and the press. He urged that more severe sentences be given to these defendants than in the past Plowshares trials in order to discourage further actions at military installations: "This case has added im-

portance because the defendants went beyond the accepted norms of protest. There is concern that if the situation is not dealt with promptly, we could see more problems like it across the country. . . . Sabotage requires proof of intent to damage the national defense. Their stated intent was to disarm the cruise missile; it doesn't matter if they could have done more and chose not to."

That this fear of "more problems like it across the country" is well-founded has been borne out by stepped-up protests at these military bases and arsenals. And in the midst of the trial of the Griffiss Plowshares in Syracuse, a major blockade of the gates at the Griffiss Air Force Base was staged on June 4 by a coalition of area groups. Seventy-nine people were arrested.

The prosecutor then proceeded to question defendant Carl Smith:

PROS: "Nuclear weapons are used to maintain a lifestyle in this country and this includes freedom. There are many Americans who think that nuclear weapons are there to protect that freedom. What do you think?"

C.S.: "Nuclear weapons are wrong and they are not in the interests of the people."

PROS: "How many Soviet weapons have you banged up?"

Other defendants were also faced with the suggestion from the prosecutor that their actions aid the Soviet Union.

Neither were the expert witnesses called by the defense immune from this.

Writer Howard Zinn was brought to testify on the history of social movements and resistance, and the role of illegal actions in social change. This interchange with the prosecutor ensued:

PROS: "What have you heard of the phrase 'violence begets violence'? Have you heard of John Brown? Well, he was a murderer."

ZINN: "He wanted to create many revolts among the slaves."

PROS: "There was a way to get rid of slavery through dialogue among reasonable people."

ZINN: "No, slavery could not be ended by dialogue simply. It required more acts of rebellion than there was."

These fatuous references to freedom and dialogue were alternated with threats on the lives of the defendants, thus demonstrating how this dialogue works. For example, in cross-examining defendant Elizabeth McAlister, a "philosophical" point was raised by the prosecution — what if the nonviolent demonstrators had been spotted by a guard who shot and killed them? "You would have been the cause of that violence," the prosecutor declared.

The same threat was repeated to Carl Smith:

"You all risked a guard shooting someone. Your nonviolent stand could have been misinterpreted."

More than once the government went on a little intelligence-gathering expedition right on the stand, concerning Jonah House, the political center for the Plowshares people. How many people live there? What is the governing body? Are there any children? Who are they? Who watches them? How are decisions made? How are conflicts resolved? These and other questions were thrown at Smith and some others, and, given the overall threatening tone of the proceedings as well as the material fact of the conspiracy charges, these were clearly meant to be taken as part of the attack.

The defendants battled back. As in the earlier trials the Plowshares people used this trial to lay bare the truth about the U.S. nuclear weapons war preparations, exposed the lies and hypocrisy and challenged people including the jury to take a stand against it. In this case they argued and introduced expert testimony to show that the cruise missile was a first-strike system, an offensive and not a

defensive weapon.

A major legal battle in the trial was on the issue of "justification." As in earlier anti-nuke trials, and particularly in the Plowshares trials, the defendants have fought to establish that the protest actions taken to prevent nuclear war are legally justified since they are aimed at the prevention of an unprecedented disaster to all of life. This defense of "justification" was simply ruled out of court in the first Plowshares trial in 1980. In later trials the judges have allowed some expert testimony on the imminent danger of nuclear weaponry but have not allowed the "justification" defense to be considered by the jury.

The Griffiss Plowshares argued that since the cruise missiles are a first-strike weapon and that the threat of nuclear war is imminent, this combined with the ineffectiveness of bringing about change through the "accepted channels" — particularly the elections and the parliamentary process overall — made their actions not only justified but a duty. Federal judge Munson allowed substantial expert testimony as to the physical, psychological and environmental dangers of nukes and on the question of whether "real political democracy" was working in the U.S. But after that exercise in "political democracy," he carried out the usual political lobotomy on the jury by telling them that the defendants had not made their case and to disregard the "justification" defense and all evidence related thereto!

This had the effect of further politicizing the trial. Instead of ruling out of order the expert testimony of international law expert Richard Faulk, antinuclear weapons writer Richard Aldridge, Daniel Ellsberg, and Howard Zinn, the court gave some play to these arguments. . . . and answered them, essentially by suggesting that they verged on the subversive and that those voicing them had better watch their step. Only then was the testimony ruled irrelevant.

But much of this testimony nevertheless contained revealing exposure precisely of the democratic process so highly touted by the prosecutor. Daniel Ellsberg, for example, spilled some beans on his insider experience in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Ellsberg testified that during the 1960 presidential campaign, both candidates Kennedy and Nixon knew that Eisenhower was firmly and operationally committed to nuke China if China moved to reclaim its offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Not only did neither Nixon or Kennedy reveal this, in what was supposedly a decisive issue in the campaign, but Nixon actually played "dove" to Kennedy's "hawk" on this question in the supposed "great campaign debates" of that year.

In 1964 not only did Johnson boldly lie to the public by insisting that he would not send American boys to fight in Asia, when in fact the plans were already in motion to land tens of thousands shortly after the election, but he also lied about not bombing North Vietnam. Ellsberg testified that on election day itself in 1964 he and his colleagues were busy in the Pentagon plotting target options in North Vietnam.

Further, the "hawk" candidate, Barry Goldwater, as a Reserve Air Force General, knew of all of these classified things, and naturally said nothing. Johnson, of course, won in a landslide as the "sensible, peace-seeking" candidate.

The government did not "clean up" in this trial, for they failed to get the sabotage conviction and strode about rather nakedly throughout the trial. The impact on the large number of supporters who packed the courtroom every day in Syracuse and carried on an impressive array of support activities was one of outrage and further determination. And in the main, the defendants effectively turned the tables on the government. Asked to defend her actions at the Air Force Base, Elizabeth McAlister shot back:

"When we went into the hangar of the B-52, the blood was already there; we just made it more visible." [ ]

## Jesse Jackson: The "Right Stuff" For U.S. Imperialism



by Carl Dix

Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker*

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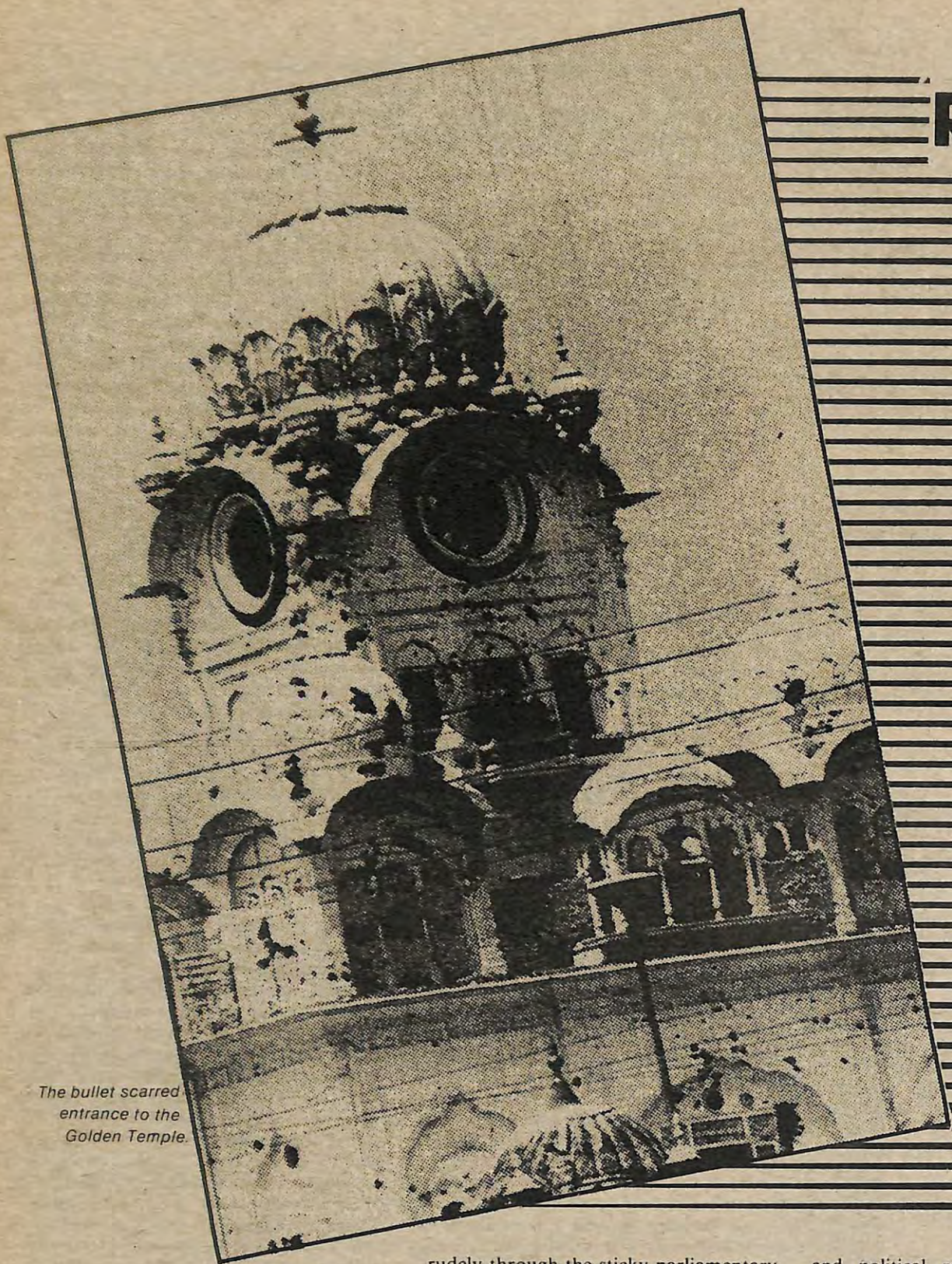
\* The 1983 March on Washington: The American Dream Roadshow

\* Jesse Brings Home the Bacon

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# Rupture In Punjab



The bullet scarred entrance to the Golden Temple.



Throughout the first week of June, escalating events in the Punjab foreshadowed a decisive clash. Fighting flared sporadically in the city of Amritsar. Troops streamed into the northern Indian state, which had been strait-jacketed by "President's rule" since October 1983. Curfew was imposed. Phone lines cut. All transportation was stopped, even bicycles and trains. Strictest censorship clamped down on the circulation of information; even foreign journalists were bundled out of the state under police escort.

On June 5, the central Indian government of Indira Gandhi launched its *coup de force* against the entrenched Sikh militants within the Golden Temple of Amritsar. 5000 government troops rolled into position around the shrine. For at least 36 hours, intense mortar and machine-gun fire raked the grounds. Minarets had their tops sheared off. Government grenades bounced off the bricked-up windows. Finally after hours of tank and artillery assault, the machine guns within fell silent, and army sharpshooters moved in, backed up by waves of bayonets, to finish off the massacre. Forty other temples were stormed on that same day throughout the Punjab.

Official government reports are that 84 soldiers and 492 Sikhs died, while "persistent, though unconfirmed" Western reports place the "death toll" between one and two thousand.

One fact that no one denies is that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, leader of the extreme fundamentalist wing of the Sikhs' Akali Dal movement, lay dead. The government autopsy claimed he was riddled with 14 bullet wounds at close range, 6 of them to the head.

Message sent...message received, gangster-style.

Indira Gandhi loves to proclaim India "the world's greatest democracy," and she parades herself across the international stage as a nonaligned apostle of peaceful cooperation. But now she has paused for a moment in this performance and used the time to bathe her arms, once again, in the blood of the people she rules. Once again, guns have spoken

rudely through the sticky parliamentary haze of Indian politics, claiming their place as the bedrock upon which the Indian state, its vaunted unity, and its whole social system ultimately rests.

However, what actually stands out here is not the strength of the central government, but rather the precarious and worsening situation the Indian ruling classes confront. Bourgeois Indian spokesmen were quick to proclaim this as yet another "decisive if cynical masterstroke" by Indira, which will outflank oppositions and lead to a new electoral majority in January's elections. On the contrary, this assault seemed more an act of brutal desperation of a government which had tried for months to find some alternative, and it was an act which by no means resolved the government's acute dilemma.

## "Green Revolution"

Over the last years, a growing sense of discrimination has given rise to an increasingly strident movement among this religious minority, the 13 million Sikhs. It was based in the Punjab state where Sikhs form a bare majority. In a sense it is ironic to hear allegations of discrimination coming from the Punjab — it is known as the breadbasket of India, producing 50% of the grain that reaches national markets. In the wake of the imperialist-financed "Green Revolution" of the 1960s, the Punjab became a showcase "miracle" of imperialist development, as Western investment and technique swelled production and widely introduced capitalist relations into agriculture. By most measures the Punjab ranks far above average Indian standards of income, production and investment. On that basis, Gandhi has claimed that the present disturbances were simply a "sour grapes" reaction by the Sikhs' Akali Dal party to recent losses suffered at the hands of Indira's own Congress Party. However, this is in fact only one of several triggers.

The rapid changes of the last years have produced renewed interest in Sikh fundamentalism as traditional ways seemed besieged by a "Hindu wave" and "modern corruptions." Sikhs raised the demand for an official recognition of their religion as distinct from Hinduism,

and political realignments to ensure themselves a stable Sikh-ruled state with increased political and cultural autonomy from the rest of India.

Two quite significant economic issues were raised, which reveal the rise of a rural capitalist class in the wake of the "Green Revolution" as one of the causes of the current disturbances. One demand was that the waters of the rivers Ravi and Beas, recently diverted to Hindi-speaking regions, be returned to the overwhelmingly Sikh rural areas of the Punjab, to quench the tremendous thirst of more technically advanced capitalist agriculture. Another demand was that the purported bias of the central government of directing flows of industrial capital toward southern India be reversed to create investment opportunities and industrialization in the north which would be favorable to the propertied Sikh classes.

While the religious contradiction between Sikhdom and Hinduism certainly has an ancient history, it becomes clear that the present eruption has far more contemporary roots which are more linked to the explosively uneven development of intruding imperialist relations than to historical and purely religious sensibilities. Riptides of conflicting claims have been unleashed, in which the central government faces demands for relief it cannot provide and for equilibriums it cannot create. In addition, the declining profitability of rural agriculture in recent years, itself linked to the international crises of the imperialist system, has even further aggravated conditions, puncturing the rural "economic miracles," driving newly proletarianized peasants to desperation, and reducing the options of the central government.

The inability of the central government to resolve any of the substantial issues agitating the Punjab gave rise to the acute political crisis of this spring and summer. The most Indira was willing to even negotiate were the most narrowly religious questions, and even there she was under extreme political pressure from Hindu chauvinist forces pivotal to her ruling coalition to resist making even cosmetic compromises. Her real response was playing for time and clamping down

with notorious "shoot on sight" curfews and the like, while gradually positioning her political and military forces.

Such central intransigence spurred the rise of Bhindranwale, an obscurantist rural preacher, at the expense of the familiar, pliable "moderate" parliamentarians of Sikh politics-as-usual. With his rise came a statewide Sikh campaign of increasingly military action, starting with armed demonstrations, and developing into "gun-snatchings" and the assassinations of both Hindu officials and "corrupted" Sikh moderates. The sharpest challenge to the state was the fortification of a headquarters for the movement within the Golden Temple.

## Aftermath

If the inability of the central government to resolve the crucial issues of this dispute led to their necessity to rely on brute force, that same acuteness of contradiction has meant that the military assault aggravated rather than resolved the crisis. A scan of events since the storming of the Golden Temple confirms this. Martial law remains throughout the Punjab. Despite the reported arrest of 3,000 suspected "extremists," military terror has proven necessary to control the countryside. In fact, the military assault on the "extremists" seems to have politically discredited the moderates, at exactly the time when the Gandhi government has such an acute necessity to soothe the situation by negotiating at least superficial concessions. "They can find no one to talk to;" Sikh sentiments have swung even more firmly behind autonomy, and even secessionist demands. New assassinations of Congress politicians have already taken place.

In the wake of the Temple assault, mutiny and desertion of the Sikhs erupted within the Indian army. Because of the government's necessity to pooh-pooh the mutinies, it has been extremely difficult to get a picture of the size of this reaction — however, it clearly has been both large and violent, especially in the Indian northeast. The significance of this goes beyond the fact that Sikhs have a long military tradition and presently constitute an important part of the army, in-

Continued on page 15



# Death-To-The-Tiller

Continued from page 1

three World Bank loans and an additional Inter-American Development Bank loan in '78 and '79, even while the State Department's Human Rights Bureau was mouthing its criticisms of the growing repression.

By 1978, the sharpening crisis in Central America was causing serious problems for the Carter administration, especially in Nicaragua where the regime of long-time U.S. frontman, Anastasio Somoza, who'd been an important regional actor as the U.S.'s "policeman" for Central America, was reeling. Democratic benevolence notwithstanding, the Carter administration's response to a February nationwide general strike was to release a \$150 million loan to help prop up their cop; in July, shortly after Somoza conducted indiscriminate bombing raids against areas held by the Sandinistas, resulting in the mass murder of hundreds of civilians, Carter sent a letter to Somoza congratulating him for his respect for human rights. As the situation worsened for the U.S. and Somoza, the State Department tried to hammer together a new government that would serve its interests — *somocismo* without Somoza — a plan that was wrecked by Somoza's nasty habit of attacking and murdering his bourgeois opposition. In response, the U.S. decided to leave Somoza in power to try and wipe out the Sandinistas and their supporters, before proceeding further toward broadening the ruling apparatus. The strategy failed, of course, although thousands of Nicaraguans were killed in the process.

By spring 1979, the Sandinistas had clearly demonstrated that Somoza's days were numbered. They set up a provisional junta involving broad sections of the population — including a number of pro-U.S. bourgeois forces. In June, the Carter administration tried to install a pro-U.S. majority in the provisional junta, and, most importantly, to maintain intact Somoza's hated National Guard. As the social upsurge destroyed these plans, there was a sharp debate within the Carter administration over whether or not the U.S. should invade Nicaragua. Secretary of State Vance went to the Organization of American States to demand an "Inter-American Peace Force" to invade Nicaragua, but the international situation was not so favorable at that time for such a move; within the Carter/Mondale administration, there was also consideration of a unilateral U.S. invasion, but it was ultimately decided to try and work to maintain and promote U.S. interests within the new regime. And to surround it.

Thus began the U.S. military buildup in Honduras, a country described by Viron Vaky, Carter's first Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Af-

fairs, as having a key role to play in stopping "regional conflicts and potential infiltration" into other countries in the region. William Bowdler, Vaky's successor under Carter, stated: "Honduras's location between Nicaragua and El Salvador gives it a key geopolitical position in the bridge-building process we hope will emerge in Central America."

And how did the U.S. under a human rights Democrat build bridges in Honduras? Between 1976 and 1980, there were three times more top-level Honduran officers taking Command and General Staff courses at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas than the officers of any other Latin American country; Honduras received more U.S. aid in the 1978-80 period than any other country in Central America and became the largest arms importer in the region; the U.S. sent ten UH-1H (Huey) gunships to Honduras to patrol the El Salvador border; the U.S. sent 37 military advisors to Honduras; the Honduran and Salvadoran military began cooperating after a decade of antagonism between them, with their first joint action trapping hundreds of fleeing Salvadorans trying to cross the Río Sumpul into Honduras and resulting in 600 killed — the first in a string of mass murders of Salvadoran refugees trying to escape to Honduras. This particular bridge was built immediately after the return of Honduras's ruling generalissimo from a trip to Washington, D.C. where he met with Democratic Carter-Mondale administration officials. It was also in this period that Honduras's first death squad came on the scene — the Movimiento Anti-Comunista Hondureño (MACHO).

In addition, *Contra* activity also began prior to "Reaganism." According to a "dissent memo" published at the end of 1980, apparently by analysts for the State Department, Department of Defense, National Security Council and CIA who had all at one time or another worked for the Carter administration, "a paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries has been formed in the past year...."

"...It should be noted that U.S. intelligence has kept informed of the plans and capabilities of the paramilitary strike force in Guatemala. U.S. intelligence has been in contact with Nicaraguan exile groups in Guatemala and in Miami and it is aware of their relationship with Cuban exile terrorist groups operating in the U.S.... (N)o attempt has been made to restrict their mobility in or out of the U.S. or to interfere with their activities. Their mobility and their links with the U.S. — it seems reasonable to assume — could not be maintained without the tacit consent (or practical incompetence) of at least four agencies: INS, CIA, FBI and U.S. Customs." Incompetence was hardly the question here. And left out of the picture was the fact that this (or another) "strike force" was already operating in Honduras in this period, with U.S. funds funneled through the Honduran military.

But it was El Salvador that received the most concentrated and careful Carter ad-

ministration attention following the overthrow of Somoza. U.S. officials were determined not to allow another Nicaragua to develop. Indeed, as Carter's second ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, was to say after leaving his position, "The primary purpose of the foreign policy was to preserve the military as an institution." So, with Salvadoran society in turmoil in the face of mounting brutality from that institution, the U.S. backed a coup to remove its exposed and isolated generalissimo and replace him with a new "reformist" — even "revolutionary" — junta. The officers in charge invited Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and the pro-Soviet revisionist Communist Party into the government in an effort to defuse the impending explosion; they all jumped at the opportunity. Two weeks after the coup, the Carter-Mondale administration announced that it would provide "significant" military assistance — in the form of riot gear — to the new junta; the announcement came the day after Salvadoran military forces had opened fire on and killed 24 demonstrators. Indeed, in the three months that this particular junta reigned, more Salvadorans were killed by the government than in the previous two years under General Romero.

With the increasing polarization of Salvadoran society, the position of the Social Democrats and revisionists on the junta became untenable. They resigned to be replaced by more Christian Democrats. This new junta was the beginning of the "caught between the extreme right and extreme left" tale that the Carter administration told at every opportunity. Meanwhile, Colonel Vides Casanova was reminding all of the 1932 massacre of 30,000 peasants, and stating pointedly, "Today, the armed forces are prepared to kill 200,000-300,000 if that what it takes to stop a communist takeover." But some might see this as proof that the Democrats are better than Reagan. After all, today Vides Casanova is the Minister of Defense, while under human-rights Carter, he was only the chief of the National Guard. See what a difference a Democrat makes.

On January 22, 1980, a demonstration of 200,000 was broken up by the National Guard, which opened fire and killed 67 while wounding over 250, according to El Salvador's Human Rights Commission. Shortly thereafter, the Carter administration proposed \$5.7 million in new military aid for El Salvador. Of course, this was merely "nonlethal" stuff — night-vision and image-enhancing equipment, trucks (to move soldiers) and communication monitoring sets. But even so, Archbishop Romero (no relation to the deposed generalissimo) wrote a letter to Carter urging him not to send any military aid. Patricia Derian, Carter's human rights secretary, told *New York Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner that, "The general attitude was that he (Romero) was interfering and trying to embarrass the president."

Romero was searching for a "third way" that would defuse El Salvador's polarized society, and he continued to speak out against the repression of the security forces — and the U.S.'s support for this repression. On two occasions, Carter sent his envoy, former New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner to the Holy See to complain to Pope John Paul 2 about the archbishop. In Raymond Bonner's new book, *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador*, Wagner is quoted as saying "There was a fear that he (Romero) was a little too far over to the left." The Pope called Romero in for a reprimand, but the Salvadoran archbishop continued to speak out against the Salvadoran regime. With the Carter administration complaining and the Pope refusing to back Romero, it was simply a matter of time; Romero was assassinated while delivering a mass. Immediately, John Bushnell of the State Department commented: "We do not think at this point that the event should cause us to deviate from the course which we have embarked on in the government." The State Department tried to push through a vote on the \$5.7 million immediately, but the liberal Democrats in the House thought it was untimely. So, they waited until the following week to pass it.

Robert White, currently one of the leading liberal critics of the "Reagan policy in Central America," was the U.S. Ambassador at the time. After the massive funeral procession for Arch-

bishop Romero was disrupted by government security forces once again opening fire on the crowd, this time killing about 40 people, White said that "Armed terrorists of the ultra-left sowed panic among the masses and did all they could to provoke the security forces into returning fire. But the discipline of the armed forces held."

And let us not forget what White called "The most revolutionary land reform in Latin American history." It was designed and implemented by the AFL-CIA's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) and Dr. Roy Prosterman, who cut his counterinsurgency teeth on similar programs in Vietnam and the Philippines. Prosterman claimed that the combination of forming new peasant cooperatives and "breed(ing) capitalists like rabbits" would result in a situation where "the leftist onslaught would be effectively eliminated by the end of 1980." He based his estimate on incidents like the following, told to *NACLA Reports* by a former worker for the Salvadoran Land Reform Agency: "The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back, and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders." This was not an isolated incident. According to a former top official of the Land Reform Agency, this death-to-the-tiller program resulted in the killing of 240 leaders of peasant cooperatives between March and December, 1980.

In fact, there were over 9,000 people killed by this "moderate" junta's security forces in 1980 — while the Carter administration stepped up its Salvadoran military training program in Panama. As the body count increased in the first few years of the Reagan administration, the Democrats could take pride in the fact that many of the officers leading the midnight raids and peasant massacres had been trained under a Democratic president.

Indeed, there are so many attributes of the quality of life in El Salvador today that got their start in the Carter-Mondale years. Today, the National University is still shut down, but this first occurred in July 1980, when the National Guard stormed the place killing at least 50 students. Today, the opposition newspapers are shut down, but that first occurred in 1980 when they were bombed and the editor-in-chief of one of them was hacked to pieces by a government death squad. Today there are piles of U.S. combat equipment in El Salvador, but they began arriving under the Carter administration and so did the U.S. military advisors to direct their use. Today José Napoleón Duarte is Reagan's puppet-president of El Salvador, but he was Carter's puppet-president of El Salvador way back in 1980.

It is true that within weeks of his inauguration, Reagan raised the number of officially sanctioned military advisors from 20 to 55; then he added another \$25 million in military aid (and it went up exponentially from there over the next few years); that the CIA began playing an even more active role in Central America in the Reagan years; that we began hearing much more from U.S. officials about "outside forces" and "external aggression" and so forth to justify the escalations, etc. But these moves were a product of U.S. imperialism's *necessity* in Central America, as it moves more rapidly to shore up and clampdown "its own backyard" in preparation for the global showdown with the Soviets. And they were begun before Reagan took office. Raymond Bonner cites a secret cable from Robert White to the State Department four days before Reagan entered the White House: "We are on the verge of a major policy shift on the eve of the inauguration of a new administration. Why are we faced with this important decision right now? Basically because sworn enemies of the United States are mounting a tightly orchestrated campaign of propaganda and political manipulation to cover the introduction over the last few months of hundreds of tons of sophisticated military equipment and hundreds of foreign-trained guerrilla fighters into this country." In other words, the Carter and Reagan administrations are on the same imperialist continuum when it comes to U.S. actions in Central America. □

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Rapid Deployment Force training in Egypt.

## RDF and The Temple Of Doom

Over the past four years, the United States has undertaken a massive military buildup aimed at bolstering its power-projection capabilities in the Persian Gulf. The billions of dollars spent in building up a network of military bases in the region, the development of the Rapid Deployment Force, the massive flow of U.S. arms to regional allies, have all gone towards establishing what Pentagon planners call a "credible deterrent" in the Gulf. The public justification for this undertaking has largely rested on a concept of the U.S. as Gulf "policeman" — the supposition here being that such a vital region cannot be allowed to slide into chaos and disruption, given the vulnerability of the Western economies in their reliance on Gulf oil. Thus the ballyhooed posture of the U.S. as "guarantor" of Gulf shipping.

Were this the primary yardstick by which the U.S. was gauging its actions, it would seem that the sustained disruption in Gulf shipping over the past two months would have certainly triggered a stronger U.S. response. Certainly, the U.S. military presence in the area has provided no overwhelming deterrent against the widening "tanker war" being aggressively pursued by Iraq. In part, this is explainable by the strategic orientation of the United States towards the Iran-Iraq war, its desire to prevent an Iranian victory even as it angles for greater influence in both countries. Further, the relatively low U.S. profile in the face of mounting Gulf turmoil is in part a calculated maneuver designed to secure more open, all-around military cooperation from its Gulf-state clients, most especially Saudi Arabia, whose U.S.-designed and built air bases constitute a major, and not so secret, component of America's regional buildup.

But mainly, present U.S. "caution" stems from the fact that it is only incidentally interested in playing the role of "policeman" in the Gulf (such "caution" itself should not be exaggerated; after all, while maintaining a low profile, the U.S. has significantly bolstered its own presence in the area. The U.S. aircraft carrier group cruising just outside the Strait of Hormuz now numbers ten vessels; a U.S. guided-missile cruiser was recently observed near

Bahrain). U.S. designs on the Gulf certainly comprehend "police" actions, and the question of Gulf oil and its relation to the whole structure of the Western economic order is itself of major strategic importance. But these and other concerns (the continued stability of the Gulf states, for example), can be viewed only in the context of the strategic calculus of U.S.-Soviet rivalry, and the emergence of the Gulf, not simply as a troubled outpost of empire, but as a major focus of this contention. The military expression of

U.S. strategy in the Gulf, the Rapid Deployment Force (renamed Central Command, or CenCom in Pentagonese, in early 1983), itself attests to this fact. The premise of the RDF/CenCom has never been one of simply maintaining the regional status quo in the Gulf. Rather, the introduction and development of this force has from the beginning signaled a deliberate U.S. attempt to gain global advantage against its Soviet rival.

The RDF itself was formed in 1980; while the idea of a "super-intervention-

ary" force had been kicked around inside government circles for some time, the fall of the Shah of Iran, coupled with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, provided the necessary impetus. But it was not only U.S. losses, and Soviet gains, in the Third World during the mid- to late '70s which prompted the formation of the RDF. These developments coincided with the emergence, by decade's end, of a rough strategic nuclear parity between the U.S. and Soviet Union. Such a development called forth a reappraisal within U.S. circles of both conventional and nuclear forces. General David C. Jones (then head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) warned in 1979 that "there could be a reversal of the Cuban situation (the missile crisis of 1962) where (the Soviets) might have a strategic advantage combined with a local conventional force advantage." The interplay of conventional and nuclear strength can be seen from earlier Middle East crises, most notably the Jordanian crisis of 1970 and the Arab-Israeli War of 1973. That the U.S. still enjoyed a clear nuclear advantage in these situations played a major part in conditioning the Soviet response. The emergence of rough strategic parity, however, signaled a new, more ambiguous set of ground rules which, in effect, have yet to be decisively "rewritten." More, the development of crisis in the Gulf, the Iran-Iraq war, and the emergence of postrevolutionary Iran as both a threat to regional stability and as a major strategic prize, have occurred within the context of all-around sharpening U.S.-Soviet contention, in which the accumulation of crisis within both blocs has propelled both to the brink of global conflagration.

That the American military response since 1979-80 has been one of massive development of both strategic nuclear weaponry and conventional forces is not, therefore, based on two different sets of contingencies — that is, RDFs to attend to crisis and destabilization within the empire, nukes for the Russians. Rather, the buildup is a complementary one, based on an orientation of global contention and war preparations.

What, after all, is new about the RDF/CenCom? As Harold Brown (Defense Secretary under the Carter ad-

Continued from page 13

### The Gulf: Illusion and Reality

The danger of world war, sparked in the Persian Gulf, is real. The possibility objectively exists. It is set by extremely acute international contradictions. The profound crisis confronting, *indeed compelling*, the U.S. and Soviet blocs is, on their terms, irresolvable short of war. This is a hair-trigger international situation, and the Gulf remains a flashpoint.

Things, of course, might *appear* otherwise. Attention, for example, has focused on different international and regional diplomatic moves aimed at ending the fighting between Iraq and Iran. But the war itself has been a battlefield of imperialist intrigue and maneuver with each bloc attempting to strengthen its position vis-à-vis the other, and these diplomatic moves can be nothing but an extension of the very same thing. There may be talk of "momentary interests" between the U.S. and Soviet Union in enforcing some ill-defined Gulf "stability," but this is talk from the mouths of the big destabilizers.

The imperialist governments are all dancing around the actual stakes involved, themselves contributing to illusory appearances. Both the recent NATO ministers meeting and the Western bloc economic summit simply issued terse statements on the Gulf. The potential for U.S. "involvement" has been largely

framed in terms of "reluctance and resolve" — reluctance to "get involved," but resolve, "including with the use of force," to keep open the Straits of Hormuz. As if shipping lanes were the essential matter! And where are the public predictions, so common in the not-too-distant past, that the U.S. and Soviet Union could easily go head-to-head in the Gulf? Where is the editorial discussion of present or potential global crisis? What these imperialists aren't discussing in public only raises the question of what they *are* discussing, and preparing for, in private.

World war may not *appear* "right around the corner." But world war need not be preceded by some gradual military/political buildup. The U.S. imperialists' arsenal for this war has *already* been assembled. And the outbreak of war itself can bridge any divisions in the imperialist alliance.

No one can predict precisely when war will break out. This crisis may spark it, or the next one. The point is that the stage is set for such a war. And more, the point is that the underlying essence of today's situation — the real compulsion of these imperialist blocs to go to war — must be grasped in all its urgency, and that those who see this, act accordingly. □



On the morning of June 10, a Minuteman 1 Intercontinental Ballistic Missile was fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in southern California, aimed at the Kwajalein Atoll in the South Pacific, 4,200 nautical miles away. Twenty minutes into its suborbital flight, the ICBM nose cone was picked up by radar on Roi Namur Island in Kwajalein, and almost immediately a second modified Minuteman was fired from nearby Meacham Island. The two missiles screamed towards each other at over 13,000 miles per hour.

The payload of the intercepting missile was the U.S. Army's new antiballistic missile weapon. It's nonnuclear warhead was guided at first by ground radar. But as the two warheads approached each other, guidance was taken over by a sensitive infrared sensor in the interceptor, which could "see" the slight heat given off by the incoming warhead against the cold background of space. Blasts of compressed nitrogen then corrected the final course of the interceptor. Moments before impact, 36 metal arms popped out from the interceptor like spokes on a wheel, making it effectively 15 feet in diameter. At an altitude of over 100 miles, the incoming warhead was completely destroyed by the impact alone of the antimissile interceptor.

After three previous failures in 1983, this was the first successful test of the new system. "It was like hitting one rifle bullet with another," gloved one Pentagon official. The previous Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system employed by the U.S. in the early '70s did not attempt the seemingly impossible task of actually hitting an incoming missile, but was designed to explode a nuclear warhead close enough to count.

The next morning in Washington, two U.S. army generals held a Pentagon press conference to crow about their achievements. "It was an absolutely tremendous success," said Major General Melvin R. Heiberg III, who commands the Army Ballistic Missile Defense Systems Command. "We do know we can pick 'em up and we can hit 'em." And the best part, the beaming generals reported, was that the Sunday test did not violate the terms of the 1972 ABM treaty with the Soviet Union.

#### Star Wars

But the Sunday test shot was more than the test of a new weapon's technology. It was also the opening shot of two weeks of intensive infighting within the U.S. ruling class, centering on the proposed "Star Wars" program — the development of a new generation of antiballistic missile and antisatellite (ASAT) weapon. The test shot had been deliberately scheduled for the beginning of the week in which the U.S. Senate would debate the Star Wars section of the 1985 defense budget.

As expected, liberals raised a great hue and cry that the new weapon violated the 1972 ABM treaty, was inherently destabilizing, and raised the danger of a U.S. first-strike capability — the ability to launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union coupled with the ability to shoot down all missiles fired in response. But as the ensuing events well demonstrated, the real debate going on was not one of hawks versus doves on the question of nuclear war, but rather a more chilling debate over how best to wage such a war and win.

As in last month's Congressional debate on the funding of the MX missile (see "MX — Through the Looking Glass," *RW* No. 256, May 18, 1984), the liberal Democrats once again worked themselves into a lather publicly denouncing the appropriations, while quietly agreeing to support the whole package. Their public denunciations and claims to have "restrained Reagan" were cynically aimed not at preventing war but in using honest popular opposition to war preparations in a behind-the-closed-doors debate over war-fighting doctrine.

For what both the generals and the liberals knew full well was that the Sunday test shot was perfectly legal under the ABM treaty. This 1972 agreement, a model of imperialist arms treaties, had codified the decision of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union not to engage in the deployment of weapons whose technology had not yet been perfected. It also banned the still far distant space-based weapon, but explicitly allowed the continued development of land-based

ABM missiles by the U.S. at its Kwajalein test range and by the Soviet Union at its test range in Kazakhstan. Such "legal" tests could and would be used by both sides to develop precisely those weapons forbidden by the treaty, until one side or the other was ready to "break out" and explicitly renounce the agreement.

Thus while the generals at their Monday press conference stressed that the test did not violate the treaty, other Defense Department officials were more candid in speaking to aerospace industry publications: "This experiment that resulted in the destruction of a Minuteman re-entry vehicle shows that the Strategic Defense Initiative is not the 'star wars' concept that it has been tabbed. . . . A lot of the technology demonstrated in the recent test applies to the Talon Gold program, a pointer-tracker experiment to determine accuracy required for a space-based laser battle station." (*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, June 18, 1984)

The next day, June 12, the U.S. Senate went into a rare secret session for two hours, during which representatives of the administration allegedly briefed the Senate with lurid presentations of what the Soviet Union might be up to in its own Star Wars program. Satellite photographs were shown of two Soviet

installations, one that was supposed to have a powerful laser that could "blind" the optical system of U.S. satellites and another which was supposed to be able to jam radars on U.S. satellites. There was talk of "space mines" disguised as ordinary spy satellites but which would explode when maneuvered near U.S. satellites.

Just how seriously the U.S. actually regards the Soviet space weapons was demonstrated by the administration in quietly deleting from the budget request all funds for a Maneuvering Reentry Vehicle (MARV) which was supposed to allow U.S. nuclear weapons to dodge Soviet ABMs.

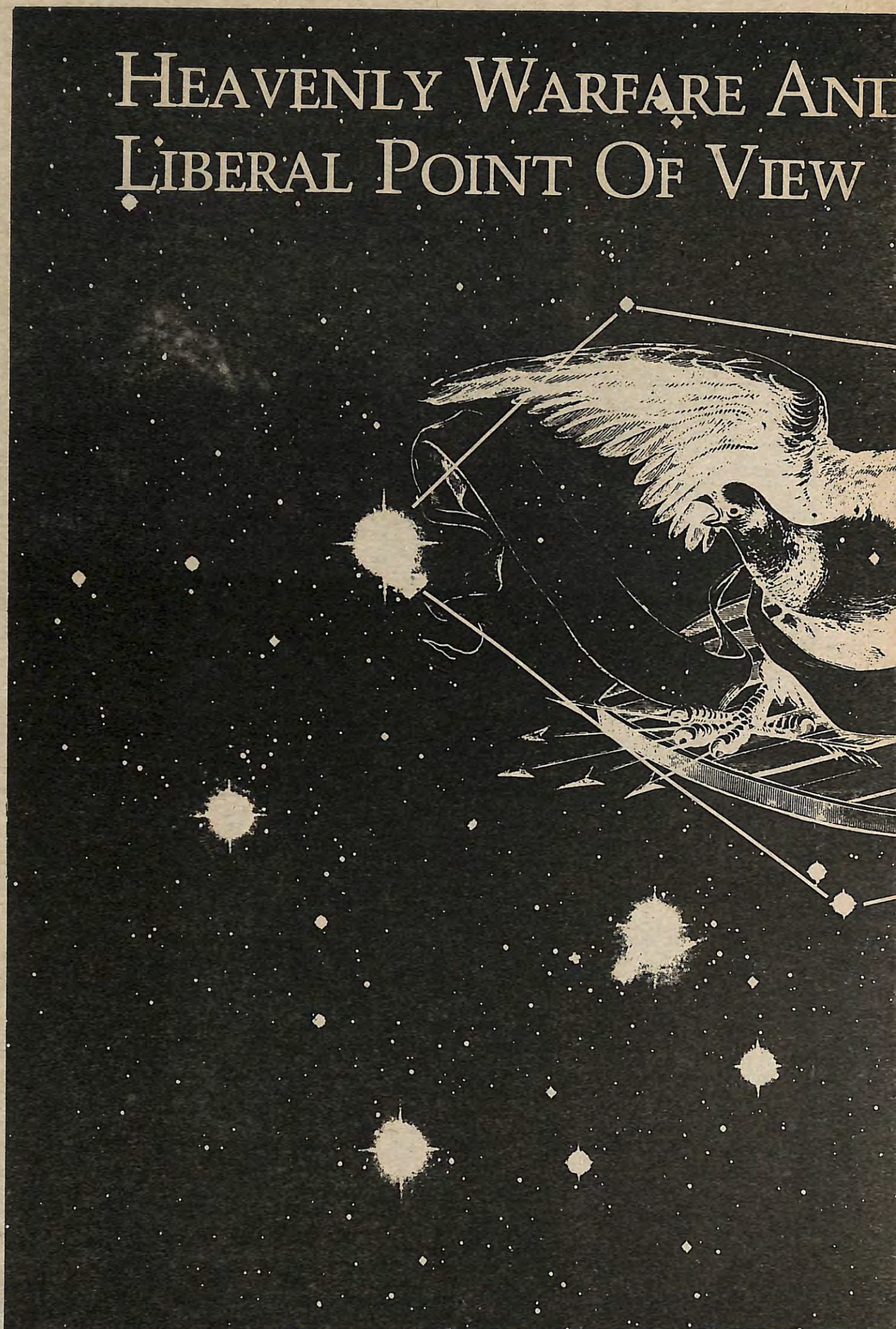
In fact, far from being threatened by Soviet superiority in space and electronics, the U.S. enjoys quite an advantage in these fields and the actual debate at hand was over how best to preserve and utilize that advantage. The special secret session of the Senate was occasioned by the fact that in considering the 1985 budget, the House had prohibited any antisatellite weapons test unless the Soviet Union conducted similar tests. Such a "restriction" was clearly a farce since the Soviet Union had already conducted twenty ASAT test shots and showed no signs of stopping. And in its "tough" ac-

tion the House had deleted only \$400 million of the proposed \$1.8 billion Star Wars budget for 1985.

More to the point was the fact that the Soviet ASAT weapons are cumbersome monstrosities built on retired SS-9 ICBMs which can only maneuver close to their target and try to blow it up. The U.S. is in possession of a much more advanced guided technology (as demonstrated by the Sunday test shot) and the administration wanted a completely free hand to proceed with an antisatellite test shot scheduled for November. Thus a Senate version without restraints was demanded. Still, however, there were sharply differing views on the ASAT weapons program which could not be discussed in an open session. A secret session of the Senate was certainly not necessary to keep the Soviets from finding out about their own installations!

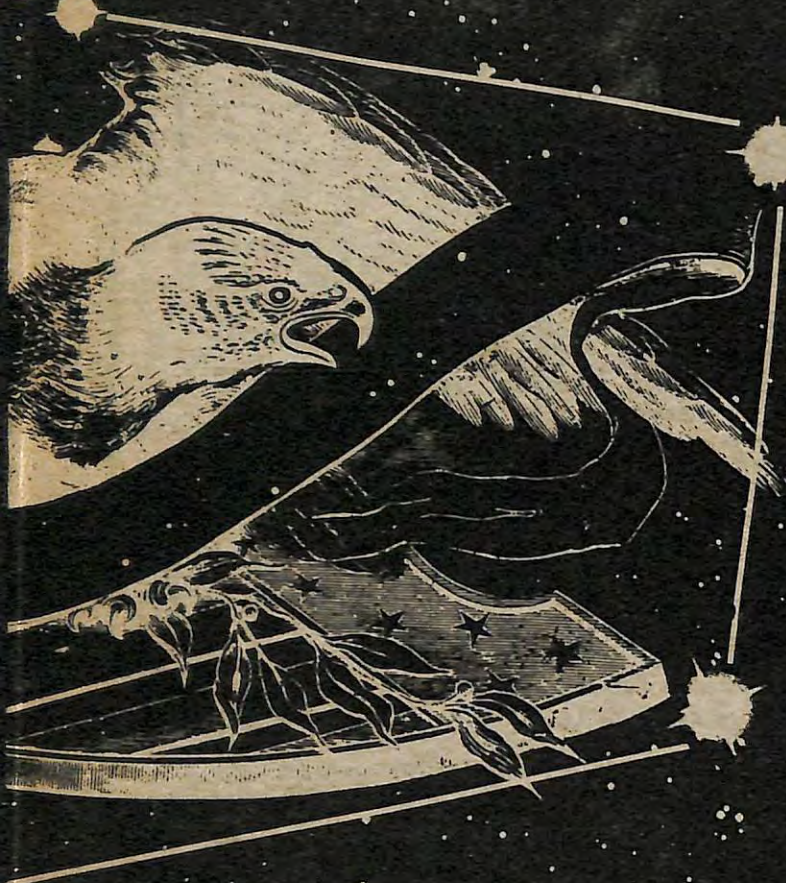
Leading the "opposition" in the Senate was the great Massachusetts liberal Paul Tsongas. Tsongas had originally prepared an amendment which would allow ASAT testing only if the president were making an effort to achieve a treaty with the Soviet Union banning or limiting ASAT weapons. This amendment was then watered down to re-

# HEAVENLY WARFARE AND LIBERAL POINT OF VIEW





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CONSTELLATION EAGLE HAWK DOVE AMERICANUS

quire merely that the president certify that the U.S. was "endeavoring in good faith" to negotiate an ASAT treaty.

But then from the mighty bowels of the Senate arose the powerful voice of Senator Wallop of Wyoming (yes, there is such a creature). Incensed by the Soviet menace depicted in the secret Senate session, Wallop of Wyoming introduced his own amendment (which was defeated by only 48 to 45) which would allow the president to ignore *all* provisions of the ABM treaty if he considered it in the national interest to do so. "Who runs this country," thundered Wallop on the Senate floor, "this Congress or the leadership of the Soviet Union?" The effect of the Wallop foray was to make the liberals look good by contrast. Certainly Paul Tsongas needed no lessons on the question of who runs the country.

Having now saved the nation by defeating the Wallop amendment, good liberal Tsongas quickly negotiated the deal with administration floor leader, Senator John Warner from Virginia. Under the compromise wording the administration will get its Star Wars money, provided only that the president certify to Congress that he is *willing* to negotiate space weapons limitations! This passed the Senate 61 to 38, a margin which

demonstrated the broad support of Democrats and Republicans alike. The "limitation" passed by the Senate is actually weaker than the existing restrictions on such tests which were passed by the Congress last year. Tsongas offered up as a lame excuse for dropping the ASAT test ban requirement his opinion that such a test ban is not feasible because of verification problems — exactly the same argument that Reagan has made all along. A clear demonstration of where the liberal leadership is at.

#### "Sweet" Technology

Just what the closed-door argument over ASAT weapons was actually about became clearer with an editorial in the *New York Times* on June 13 entitled "This Missile Is No Magic Bullet." First the *Times* notes that the infrared sensing device used in the June 10 test is precisely the same technology as used by the air force in their antisatellite missile fired from an F15 fighter at high altitude, so the ABM and ASAT programs are basically one and the same. "It's an ingenious technology, sweet to its inventor and builders, and attractive to all who prefer a shield to the naked terror of deterrence. But the idea of a shield remains wishful, not wise, and the antisatellite

device will make the world more dangerous, not less.

"The Air Force's homing vehicle is far more sophisticated than the erratic antisatellite missile so far tested by the Russians. Yet once the Air Force has tested its device, Moscow will feel compelled to improve its own system. The ensuing race will, among other things, make American satellites less secure. That, in turn, could endanger the means to detect and reply to the Soviet attack."

Ah, now we are getting somewhere. The heart of the problem is that the U.S. uses many more — and more sophisticated — satellites than the Soviets do, and consequently are more dependent on — and are depending on — satellites as a fundamental part of their military arsenal. Already 70% of all overseas military communications pass through satellites. Satellites are used for wide ocean surveillance to keep track of Soviet warships and nuclear submarines. Satellites are used as precise navigation aids for submarines to aim their nuclear missiles. Satellites with infrared sensors constantly scan the Soviet Union for the blast effects of a missile launch, giving almost instantaneous warning — something the whole Star Wars program is banking on.

In short, what our good liberals are arguing is that the U.S. has far more to lose through unrestrained satellite warfare than the Soviet Union; that it would be to the U.S.'s *military* advantage to negotiate a restriction on ASAT weapons.

At the present time, satellites are employed in basically four different types of orbits. One type is a low circular orbit at about 100 miles altitude. One is highly elliptical, dipping as low as 100 miles, and two are very high, beyond the reach of existing ASAT weapons possessed by both the U.S. and the USSR. Further, the bulk of Soviet satellites are in the low orbit, while more U.S. satellites are in the higher and presently safe orbit. Thus, even a negotiated freeze of ASAT technology at its present level might be to the U.S.'s advantage. Of such reality is the fervor for arms control negotiations born.

With the Senate voting, however, to allow the administration to proceed with Star Wars solely on the basis of proclaiming *willingness* to negotiate, all of official Washington became excited with anticipation of word from the White House. Would Reagan be *willing* to negotiate? After all, it was the U.S. that had walked away from the ASAT negotiations in 1979. And Reagan had repeatedly declared that he would not meet with the Soviets without demonstrated progress and a specific agenda. And had not the administration made clear in so many words his intention to abrogate the existing ABM treaty?

#### Taking the Hint

The answer was quick in coming. On June 13, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker was visiting the White House and was pulled aside by White House Chief of Staff James Baker III. James suggested to Howard that as he was leaving he should suggest to the press boys out front that they ask the president about the possibility of a summit at the following evening's press conference. Never slow to take a hint (especially when it comes from the White House) the first question at the June 17 press conference was, would the president be willing to meet with the Soviet leaders. Funny you should ask! "But yes, I'm willing to meet and talk any time. So far they have been the ones not responding, but we have kept in communication."

But, Mr. President, you always said you wouldn't go without a prepared agenda?

Oh, that. "I'm not talking about, oh, a free-constructed meeting in which you've got a list of points you, you can have an agenda in which it is the general area of the things that you think could lead to better understanding. (sic) And that's good enough for me. But right now, we're getting a response from them that they want a very carefully prepared agenda."

Thank you, Mr. President.

The next day administration spokesmen went on to amplify on the president's position. According to the *New York Times*, "Seeking to clarify comments by Mr. Reagan at his news conference, administration officials decided only this week to open the door somewhat to a summit conference with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader." And about the willingness of the administration to negotiate an ASAT treaty with the Soviets? Sure, why not! "Another official said the administration might propose a limited measure on the weapons, such as a ban on high altitude testing." You know, limiting ASAT weapons to just the low altitude where the bulk of Soviet satellites are. Who says they're not willing to negotiate?

On the same day (June 15), however, the U.S. delegate to the U.N. Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space walked out of the session in Vienna in protest of a Soviet proposal to include the militarization of outer space on the agenda. The State Department said the Committee should limit itself to discussions on scientific and technical issues; presumably things like The Northern Lights, and, Can Spiders Spin Webs in a Gravity-Free Environment. The U.S. position should not be taken too literally.

#### Aspen

By the week's end, with victory for unrestrained development of ASAT

Continued on page 11



# 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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## More On 007

## Satellites and Spyflights

When Korean Airline flight 007 "strayed" 300 miles off course last September and overflowed some of the Soviet Union's most sensitive nuclear submarine bases, Western sources all stoutly claimed that it was an accident. In the jingoist beating of war drums that followed the Soviet shooting down of the airliner, many of the details were deliberately obscured; such as how this could happen in air lanes that are constantly monitored by U.S. military radar, why the airliner had its transponder turned off so that it would not be identified on Japanese air traffic control radar which detected its flight, why a U.S. Air Force RC135 flew alongside 007's flight path for a while, or why the U.S. could monitor the conversations of Soviet fighter pilots but couldn't warn the KAL plane that it was dangerously off course.

But the stiff upper lip, stoutly maintained by the Western war bloc, began to quiver last week with the publication of a new analysis of the 007 incident in the highly respected (by imperialist war planners) British military magazine *Defence Attaché*. In an article signed with the pseudonym "P.Q. Mann," *Defence Attaché* reports that 007 was in fact deliberately sent into Soviet territory for the purpose of "turning on" Soviet air defense radars which were then monitored and analyzed by a U.S. Ferret-D Elint (Electronic Intelligence) satellite which was passing directly overhead. In an introduction, the editor of *Defence Attaché*, Rupert Pengeley, vouched for the competence of the author who, "for professional reasons must remain anonymous."

mous."

The "fortuitous timing" of the 007 flight in conjunction with the passes of the U.S. electronic eavesdropping satellite, first over Kamchatka Peninsula (first pass by the satellite) and then over Sakhalin Island (second pass by the satellite), is not new information. It was in fact widely publicized by the Soviet Union at the time, and just as thoroughly censored out of U.S. accounts of the incident. What is new in P.Q. Mann's article is the bringing up of previous incidents of the same sort in conjunction with the Ferret satellite series, and an explanation of the role of the RC135 spy plane in the incident.

For example, an early Ferret satellite was launched from California on January 19, 1964. On January 28, when the satellite was in position over East Germany, a U.S. Air Force T39 jet trainer flew 60 miles directly into East Germany and was shot down. Then on March 10, 1964, only 42 days later, when the same satellite was again in the same position, an RB66 reconnaissance plane flew into East Germany again, and the intruding U.S. plane was again shot down.

The importance of such intelligence forays should not be underestimated. The major Israeli air victory over the Syrians during the invasion of Lebanon was brought about by precisely such electronic intelligence. In that case, the Israelis flew pilotless drone aircraft over the hidden Syrian anti-aircraft missile emplacements. This caused the Syrians to turn on their missile-aiming radars in the emplacements, and Israeli missiles then

used the Syrian radar signals to home in their own missiles on the Syrian emplacements, totally destroying them.

Thus a constant battle goes on between potential adversaries to learn the location, frequencies, and "signatures" (distinctive electronic particularities of each emitter) of the rival defense installation. And of particular interest to the U.S. are the defenses of the Soviet naval installations on the Pacific Coast which are the home base for much of the Soviet Union's nuclear missile submarine fleet.

According to P.Q. Mann, the U.S. deliberately sent the KAL flight in to activate the Soviet defense radars, expecting that the Soviets would then not dare shoot down a civilian airliner. The role of the RC135 was to confuse the Russians into thinking that the blip on their radar screen was in fact one of the U.S.'s military spy planes (which regularly fly off the Russian coast), goading them into turning on the defense radars which they would not do if they thought it was only

an airliner off course. For this reason the flight paths of 007 and the KC135 were deliberately intersected.

Mann also goes on to claim that the launch of a U.S. space shuttle from Cape Canaveral was also delayed by 36 hours in order to put it near the area at the time of the planned incident, "amply close to involve the shuttle in its command, control and communications role in the conducting of the extended intelligence operation...."

Furious over the publication of the article, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger called the article in *Defence Attaché* a rehash of "the total set of lies that the Soviet Union published." But according to the *Sunday Observer* of London, commenting on the *Defence Attaché* piece, "One thing seems certain. The Soviet electronic activity provoked by Flight 007's intrusion provided Western intelligence with its biggest coup for many years." □

## Heavenly Warfare

Continued from page 9

weapons under their belts, a host of Reagan's Star Wars aides decamped to a two-day conference, sponsored by the Aspen Institute, to discuss the higher things in life in a more relaxed setting. Present were National Security Advisor Robert C. McFarlane, retired general Brent Scowcroft, Arms Control Director Kenneth Adelman, Paul H. Nitze (Reagan's negotiator in the Euromissile talks), Edward L. Rowny (negotiator in the ICBM talks), Max Kampelman (negotiator in the Human Rights talks), and a host of lesser lights.

In this quiet setting, several of the officials explained to the *Washington Post* that actually the administration had only asked for \$1.8 billion this year for Star Wars because it's an election year. "He's (Reagan's) low-keyed the program this year, but that does not reflect lessened interest, because he does believe it's a moral imperative."

One official, who asked not to be identified, pointed out that the administration actually foresees a long period of difficult competition with the Soviets, and that there was little likelihood of "deep and substantial cuts" in the nuclear arms stockpiles. This didn't mean that there is not a place for arms negotiations in the arms race, however. "The problem is, we tended to look at arms control as a solution, instead of as something which might modestly make a contribution." That is, some people still mistakenly believe that arms control negotiations are about reducing arms, rather than contributing to the arms race.

The same unnamed officials also decried the still insufficient bipartisanism in Congress, and suggested a better idea — a permanent bipartisan commission to consider the technical aspects of new weapons systems. Such a commission, modeled on the Scowcroft Commission which was made up of Democrats and Republicans who debated out the merits of the MX missile behind closed doors, could eliminate the need for unseemly secret sessions of the Senate. Since the basic decisions in all imperialist countries are made behind closed doors and are only subsequently "approved" by the public bodies, the evermore intense debates involved in war preparation might necessitate giving some organiza-

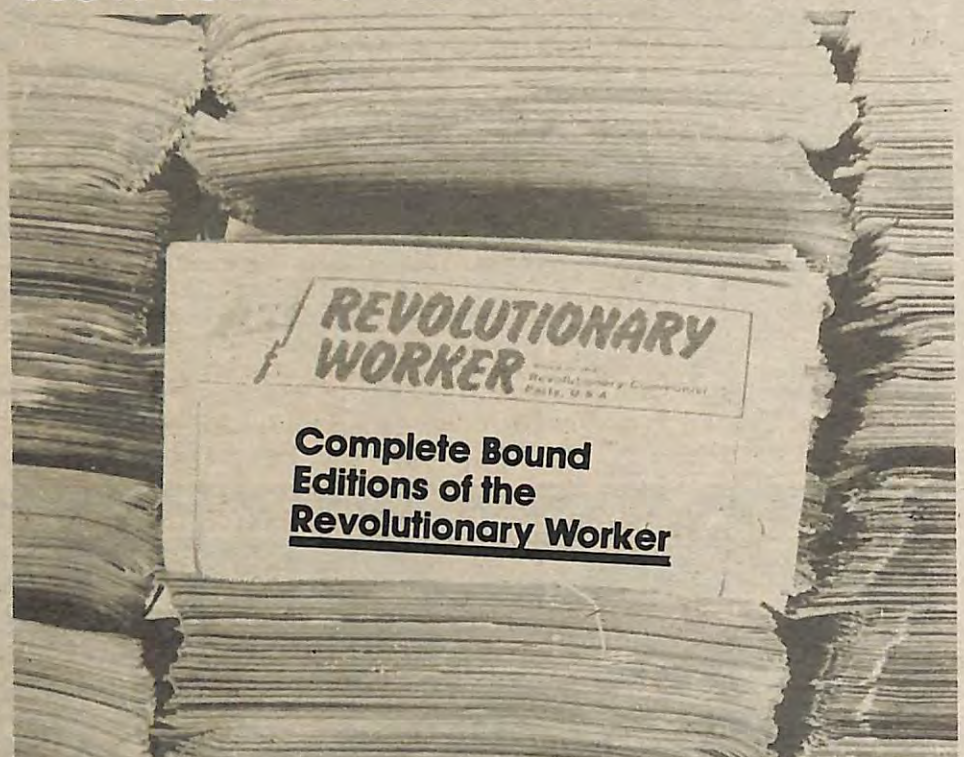
tional form to this process.

That the liberals were not buying this — at least not publicly — became evident on June 19 with the announcement of the formation of a new "national campaign to save the ABM treaty," which would campaign against funds for the various Star Wars systems. Among the 46 sponsors of the new committee are such humble citizens as former president Jimmy Carter, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, former Army Chief of Staff Maxwell D. Taylor, and former CIA directors Stansfield Turner and William Colby. Not surprisingly, these are precisely the forces that have raised a serious debate over just how the U.S. should go about conducting a major land war in Europe, advocating a strategy of "delayed first use" of nuclear weapons combined with deep strikes into Eastern Europe with conventional forces (see "Nuclear War Fighting With a Certified Dove," *RW* No. 244, February 24, 1984). Speaking for the group was Gerard C. Smith, who negotiated the ABM treaty in 1972. True to form, Smith made it clear at a news conference at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that the new group definitely favors continuing research on advanced ABM systems as a hedge against a possible Soviet breakout from the terms of the 1972 treaty.

What the last two weeks have shown once again is that the public debates waged between liberals and conservatives will continue to present themselves in the form of support for, versus opposition to, the obviously increasing preparations for world war. Digging beneath the surface appearance, however, quickly reveals both the underlying communality of purpose as well as the increasingly bitter tactical differences over just how, with what weapons systems, and with what forms of public justification such a war can be launched — and successfully fought.

Because the decision-making process of imperialism never coincides with its ostensible public forms (elections, congresses, and parliament), it falls upon the proletariat, its revolutionary allies, and all those who oppose the rush towards war, to analyze and expose these events for themselves. In observing the shadows cast by the actual players who operate hidden from public view, we are being increasingly aided by the evermore public and frantic debate within a ruling class driven to war as the global contradictions of imperialism intensify. □

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Following is the text of a leaflet being distributed in the New York City area, where there are many thousands of Haitian and Dominican people, calling on people in that area to take political action in support of the uprisings in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

# Hail the Heroic Uprisings of the Dominican & Haitian Masses! Take Political Action June 27!

To the great delight of the class-conscious proletariat worldwide, the U.S.'s "own backyard" has been rocked by rebellion recently — beginning on April 23 in the Dominican Republic and then bursting out on the other side of the same island, in Haiti, on May 23. The outrage of the masses in many different cities in both countries, lasting several days, exploded out of years of economic misery and brutal political repression — no matter that the U.S. masters call the current Dominican regime a "shrine" of freedom and democracy; its so-called progressive rulers showed themselves to have the same bloody hands as open dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier in Haiti when it comes to dealing with the peoples' resistance. The lid that had been clamped down for so many years has blown off, signaling the possibility of more to come — pointing toward national liberation and socialism.

These uprisings must be boldly upheld and championed as events which have dealt sharp blows to imperialism. As the *Declaration of the recently formed Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* states: "The relative stability of the major imperialist powers and the relative prosperity of a handful of countries based on the blood and the misery of the exploited majority of the world's people and nations is coming unraveled. The revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples is again on the rise and delivering new blows to the imperialist world order."

Both the Dominican Republic and Haiti are tied to and dominated by U.S. imperialism by many chains — from the International Monetary Fund to various so-called aid programs. Gulf & Western

# Hail the Heroic Uprisings of the Dominican and Haitian Masses!

Corp. alone owns the eastern half of the Dominican Republic. And U.S. businesses suck up the masses' labor in return for pennies. (Haiti, for instance, has the lowest wage scale in the world — so low that companies have left the cheap labor of Taiwan and Singapore for the even cheaper Haitian labor!)

But more than a profitable area for investment, the island shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti is of strategic military importance for U.S. preparations for world war. Cuba, dominated by the Soviet imperialists, lies just 60 miles across the Windward Passage from Haiti. And as a U.S. ambassador stated, in the event of a NATO conflict, many "reinforcement shipments" must steam through the Caribbean and pass by the Dominican Republic. No wonder that for the past several years the U.S. has been planning to erect a new naval base on the Dominican/Haitian island — the only question being, which end to locate it on. The recent rebellions undoubtedly are giving the imperialists considerable anguish not only about where to put their base but how to keep their client regimes patched together; and more, the rulers are worried about thoroughgoing revolutions, led by the proletariat, taking place in either or both countries and transforming them into bastions and base areas for the world revolution.

Of course, such things won't happen spontaneously, without leadership, and there is much bitter experience on that score, too. But today the first steps toward building that leadership, and on an international plane, have been taken: we refer to the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement just several months ago. This movement, based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-

Mao Tsetung Thought, includes signatories from over a dozen countries, including the Haitian International Revolutionary Group, the Revolutionary Communist Union in the Dominican Republic, and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

The rulers of the U.S., and of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, fear nothing more than the masses taking up and acting on the revolutionary internationalist orientation. Indeed, as one way to prevent this, they work overtime to foster chauvinism and callousness among workers born in the U.S. towards the struggles elsewhere on the globe. Frankly, much of what they fear is the contagion of revolution! Now, just weeks after the uprisings, the U.S. Congress is passing a bill designed to suppress and isolate immigrant workers, exactly to curtail their political influence. And this tool of chauvinism extends even to the island itself, where Haitians are oppressed relative to Dominicans, and anti-Haitian chauvinism is promoted. In the latter case, the recent uprisings, some of which occurred in the border region of the two countries, begin to break down some of these barriers.

But just as the U.S. imperialists have a great stake in containing and suppressing the struggles of the Haitian and Dominican peoples, the class-conscious proletariat in the U.S. of all nationalities has a great stake in upholding and supporting them. Just as they attempt to sow divisions among the proletariat in the U.S., including isolating the hundreds of thousands of Dominicans and Haitians and their rich political experience, the proletariat must take class-conscious political action in support of the rebellion and of immigrant workers in the U.S.

After all, is it not possible that a

revolutionary challenge for power in either one of these countries could... somewhere down the line... ignite such a challenge here? Or even vice versa? If such things seem like dreaming, they are very real nightmares that haunt the U.S. rulers.

But it is not enough to say "It's about time!" — or to moan about there being "no leadership."

What is required is to influence and quicken the tempo of the struggle:

We call on proletarians, students, and others to take up Wednesday, June 27, as a day of solidarity with the Dominican and Haitian uprisings, to boldly take up the sparks kindled there and fuel them further here — so that rebellion there will be echoed in the shops, factories and city blocks of New York, and then reverberate back to the Haitian/Dominican island;

We call on people to wear red arm-bands to work, to school, in the community; to sign messages and banners of support to be sent to the rebellious masses in both countries; and

We call on people to take up and circulate broadly the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*. The Movement is also calling for a fund drive.

## HAIL THE HEROIC UPRISINGS OF THE DOMINICAN AND HAITIAN MASSES!

BUILD THE UNITY BETWEEN THE HAITIAN AND DOMINICAN MASSES AND THE PROLETARIANS OF ALL NATIONALITIES IN THE U.S.!

SUPPORT THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT!

TAKE CLASS-CONSCIOUS POLITICAL ACTION ON JUNE 27!

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA  
New York District

## Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund



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:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund  
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

## Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Dear RCP,

I just received the copy of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Communist Movement you sent and I really thank you very much for it. So far I have read the first 2 sections and I agree with you 100%. I appreciate the copy very much and I also thank you with all my heart for the *Revolutionary Worker* which thanks to you, I get each week. I thank you very much for the propaganda I have received from you...

Sincerely,  
Parchman, Mississippi

June 6, 1984

Comrades:

Enclosed is a \$7.00 contribution (one month's slave wage) in support of the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund to keep the progressive voice of proletarian revolution, via the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, reverberating behind the prison walls. I should have written long before now, but decided, instead, to await the next, rare availability of the aforementioned pittance for subsequent donation.

To be sure, the above amount obviously is not very much (in fact a mere pittance here also, especially here) for the invaluable educational assistance and information, domestic and global, rendered this writer by the PRLF. But under the present circumstances, and as of this date, the slave wage was all that could be mustered — as, most assuredly, is indicative of the case for most captives. However, when it is feasible further contributions will be made.

A revolutionary prisoner

Sir:

...The publications are circulating among the slaves in lock-up, enlightening an education group, in this oppressive sty of the state.

I thank you for the publications, and request a list of the publications available to the oppressed.

Again, thank you. Hoping to hear from you soon. I remain,

Comradely Yours

Dear Revolutionary Worker!

I am very, very proud to say that I've been a recipient of the *RW* newspaper and other RCP publications since early November of 1983. Since that time I have been awakened to the harsh realities and cold facts of life here inside these American boundaries, and also internationally, for us the oppressed and working class people. The work that's being done by your party (our party) as vanguard (in this country) to the struggle for world revolution is unequalled by that of any other progressive revolutionary party that I know of to date. It has given me an understanding of what revolution really means and of how necessary, and inevitable, it is for oppressed peoples worldwide.

I am really ashamed that I have not contacted you earlier so that you would know I've been receiving your publications. Along with the newspaper that I've received weekly, I've also received a copy of *The Science of Revolution, An Introduction*, by Lenny Wolff, *For A Harvest of Dragons*, by Chairman Bob Avakian, and the spring 1984 issue No. 51 of *Revolution*. I have gained tremendously from the contents of these materials and I wish to assure you that I'm most grateful to you for them. I wish also to subscribe for the summer issue of *Revolution*. Thank you very much!

"In Solidarity For World Revolution,"

A comrade,  
Alabama



# The Defiance of the U-Zulu Troupe

Four years ago, two black South African artists were working as carpenters in South Africa. Their job was to help build the massive stage in "Sun City" where Frank Sinatra later performed for \$2 million a week. Today these two men are part of the U-Zulu Dance Theater of South Africa, living in exile in Oakland, California.

In the predawn hours of June 5th their home was visited, and a message spray-painted in huge letters on three vehicles belonging to the troupe: KKK, NIGGER GO HOME, KAFFIR, YOU'LL DIE. In addition, tires were slashed and one car damaged by a gasoline bomb. There was also evidence of an attempt to firebomb their house.

This latest attack was the most blatant in an ongoing history of threats against the U-Zulus since they formed their troupe in the "democratic" U.S.... driven here by the conditions of apartheid rule in their own country. For the U-Zulus, telephone threats have become almost commonplace, and only a few months ago the wheel of their van "mysteriously" came off while they were traveling at freeway speed. The van overturned, but amazingly they avoided what could have been a fatal accident. The California Highway Patrol's report came as no surprise: The wheel had been deliberately tampered with. Clearly they were not intended to make it home that night.

The U-Zulus are three women and four men, all skilled dancers and musicians, who came to this country in 1980 as part of Ipi Tombe, a slickly packaged dance company that served as window dressing for apartheid and grossly exploited the culture of the black people of Azania. On

a tour sponsored by the South African government they performed in nightclub spots like Las Vegas and Reno. The all-black cast worked for low wages, doing two shows a night, often with anti-apartheid protesters picketing outside. By the time the tour reached the Houston area the contradictions became unbearable and some members of the company "defected," determined to bring their own culture and viewpoint to the stage.

Their first taste of freedom in America was a fitting reminder of the opportunities that abound here in the "land of plenty." After having sunk all their earnings into the instruments and equipment necessary for their art, the newly-formed U-Zulus found themselves stranded in San Diego without backers or a place to perform, without a home and often without food... sometimes forced to eat out of garbage dumpsters.

Despite all these difficulties they succeeded in creating Igugu-Lethu (our pride), a dance drama that has been performed before approximately one-quarter million people, mainly on the West Coast. Igugu-Lethu is a weaving together of songs, dances, and languages from different black South African peoples, and tells the simple story of a young man who leaves his Zulu village and goes to Johannesburg in search of work. There he encounters the ridicule and destruction of his culture, the full force of repressive laws, and the hypocrisy of the Christian church. After 72 hours he is then forcefully returned to his village. In the closing scenes the men are armed with shields and spears and the women clothed in leopard skin; these scenes are both a celebration of their

culture and a declaration of war on the invaders who come from "across the waters...." It is this revolutionary edge to their art that has been welcomed by their audiences everywhere.

The latest attack took place only a few days before the U-Zulus were to premiere excerpts from their new work about life in South Africa's diamond mines. Indeed, recent years have witnessed a growing history of attacks against theater from and about South Africa. Two California theaters were destroyed by arson fires just before South African plays were to open, as well as the usual telephoned bomb and death threats the artists receive. In each case the art involved was progressive. Within this scenario the U-Zulus are an unusual, and welcome, element in that they not only speak about the oppression of life in South Africa, but are themselves black South Africans who have not only deserted the South African government's attempt to pretty-up its image but are creating art with a revolutionary edge to it. This clearly has something to do with the persistence and virulence of the threats made against them. For whether in South Africa or here, "Kaffirs" must know their place; let them *build* its stages; let them perform as "happy natives" under the watchful gaze of Las Vegas producers. But dare to create their own art filled with the strivings of their people? That is quite another story.

While no one has a complete answer as to who is behind these threats, the pattern of attempts to silence South African theater suggests that this is more than just the work of a lone racist nut or even just the local KKK. One view is that this is the work of the South African Secret Police

operating abroad. Certainly there have been other incidences of collaborative efforts between the U.S. and South African governments to crush dissident elements living in exile, the attempt to extradite poet/professor Dennis Brutus being a recent example. But regardless of exactly who was "unleashed" to do the dirty work, and regardless of how much conspiring was involved, the words of a local artist in response to the attack rang true: "This is democracy in action...." U.S. imperialism has indeed a long and vigorous history of relying on right-wing extremist elements inside the U.S., as well as on its many henchmen throughout the world, in its attempts to crush revolution and revolutionary strivings in all countries and among all sections of the people.

As word of these particularly vicious and visible attacks spread among artists and audience in the San Francisco Bay Area, it provoked a strong response. For many who have been disturbed and angered by the previous attempts to silence black South African theater, these latest events were too much to tolerate. Along with these widespread feelings of outrage was the desire to immediately expose what had happened. A letter was quickly written, circulated and signed by many local theaters and artists... and was then distributed among fellow artists in the audience. Individuals also took initiative in urging the press to cover the events. As for the U-Zulus opening performance that weekend... it was far from silenced. The theater was packed to overflowing while others had to be turned away. □

## RDF

Continued from page 7

ministration) told the Council of Foreign Relations in 1980, "the United States has been in the rapid deployment and power projection business for a long time." But the RDF/CenCom, whose range of responsibility centers in the Persian Gulf/Arab Peninsula region, does signify a marked change in the emphasis of a specifically American military presence in that region. As Robert Tucker, in a 1981 *Foreign Affairs* article widely considered representative of a broad ruling class consensus, put it: "The experience of a decade... has amply demonstrated the truth that should have been apparent from the outset; that there is no reliable substitute for Western power in the Gulf. The continued search for such a substitute — whether in the form of another American surrogate (here Tucker is referring to the deposed Shah), or alignment with the West by means of a regional arrangement, or of collective nonalignment — is entirely vain."

And while Tucker argues that "the conditions of domestic instability and interregional rivalries that characterize the Gulf" render the other, pro-West Gulf states incapable of rising to the occasion, it is quite clear from his argument, and from the whole logic of the U.S. buildup, that the "occasion" being considered involves the Soviet Union as its central aspect.

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, in his 1982 annual report to the Congress, outlined the strategic dimensions of the RDF: "For many years, it has been U.S. policy to let the investment and planning for our conventional forces be determined primarily by the requirement for fighting a war centered in Europe, and in which NATO forces would be attacked by the Warsaw Pact.... In recent years, however, it has become increasingly clear that the members of the Alliance in the northern, center, and southern regions are bound together as one and critically depend on each other and even outside the NATO treaty boundaries — notably

the Persian Gulf. At the same time, the Soviet Union has been greatly increasing its ability to exploit political instability and to project military power into precisely such areas.... For the region of the Persian Gulf, in particular, our strategy is based on the concept that the prospect of combat with the U.S. and other friendly forces, coupled with the prospect that we might carry the war to other arenas, is the most effective deterrent to Soviet aggression."

What constitutes deterrence? And what, for that matter constitutes Soviet aggression? With respect to these questions, Weinberger calls for an "intellectual reform of our policy," the need "to discard artificial definitions and contrived categories — habits of mind that obscure rather than clarify reality." As for the Soviets, he stresses "the importance of realistic warning assumptions — that to plan for unambiguous warning is to plan for the type of warning that we are least likely to get." More, Weinberger proceeds to reveal some of the strategic calculation lurking behind the notion of "deterrence," castigating "the mistaken argument as to whether we should prepare to fight 'two wars,' 'one-and-a-half wars' or some other such tally of wars. Such mechanistic assumptions neglect both the risks and opportunities that we might confront. We may be forced to cope with Soviet aggression, or Soviet-backed aggression, on several fronts. But even if the enemy attacked at only one place, we might choose not to restrict ourselves to meeting aggression on its own immediate front. We might decide to stretch our capabilities, to engage the enemy in many places, or to concentrate our forces and military assets in a few of the most critical areas...."

Weinberger's call for "intellectual reform," the shedding of "mechanistic assumptions," also pertains to the developing view in U.S. circles regarding the interplay between conventional and nuclear war. To be sure, the RDF/CenCom represents on one level a heightened commitment by the United States to respond to events through the deployment of conventional forces, though such forces as it commands include elements of America's tactical (and in the case of the B-52 bombers of the "Strategic Pro-

jection Force," strategic) nuclear arsenal. Not itself a new branch of service, the Central Command today draws from a possible pool of some 300,000 troops from the various services. It provides for infrastructural development designed to support the maintenance of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf, and has undertaken yearly exercises designed to familiarize U.S. troops with the terrain. The Bright Star maneuvers of last summer, for example, involved some 26,550 U.S. soldiers, airmen, sailors, and marines in simultaneous exercises in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, and Oman. B-52 bombers were flown in from bases in the United States to make simulated bombing runs, paratroopers held joint exercises with the Egyptians, and Marine tanks stormed Somali beaches. Perhaps most importantly, the Central Command represents a command structure that provides for contingency planning and draws these disparate forces together for maximum effect. As Lt. General Robert Kingston, Central Command leader, recently noted, "Four years ago, if the President had directed us to send a military force to this area of the world to protect the vital interests of the United States, its friends and its allies, no one could have told you what forces would go, in what order, how long it would take them to get there, how they would be sustained or who their commander would be. Today, I can answer all those questions."

At the same time, what does such a commitment of conventional forces represent? From its beginning, the RDF/CenCom has been criticized in some quarters as representing a nuclear "tripwire" strategy in the Persian Gulf. That is, the bolstering of U.S. abilities to project conventional military force would heighten the possibility of direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation, and would lead, either by preference or "last resort," to the use of theater nuclear weapons. Daniel Ellsberg, for example, has labeled the RDF/CenCom enterprise a "portable Dienbienphu," in reference to the U.S. offers in 1954 to "save" the French garrison from the Vietnamese by using nuclear weapons.

Some U.S. spokesmen have attempted to refute such suspicions by asserting that

the bolstering of conventional forces lessens the possibility of a "last resort" to nuclear weapons. Harold Brown, for one, attempted to debunk the "tripwire" critique in 1980, arguing that while "any conflict between American and Soviet forces carries the risk of intensification and geographical spread of the conflict... that by no means implies that the escalation to the use of nuclear weapons will be the consequences of a U.S.-Soviet clash in Southwest Asia." The argument is not terribly convincing, if for no other reason than that it centers on the "when" of using nuclear weapons, the underlying assumption — "if necessary" — remaining fully in place.

But more, the "nuclear versus conventional" argument fails to fully comprehend the essential complementarity of the two to imperialist strategy in this era. There is no contradiction between the role of the RDF/CenCom in strengthening conventional-force projection into the Persian Gulf area, and in its establishing a nuclear tripwire in the process. Indeed, in large part its conventional abilities derive from just such a nuclear tripwire. As Ronald Reagan put it, shortly after assuming his responsibilities as commander in chief, the U.S. buildup in the Gulf amounted to much more than an "empty threat": "You just don't plant a flag in the ground and walk away and leave it. There would be Americans there... we're doing that now with the Navy in the Indian Ocean. But I think we need a ground presence also.... It's based on the assumption — and I think it's a correct assumption — the Soviet Union is not ready to take on that confrontation which could become World War III.... They're going to have to take that into their computations."

As can be seen, Reagan's point of departure and destination is the same: *the U.S. will prevail*. Indeed, imperialism can scarcely look at the situation from any other viewpoint, and knows no greater compulsion. That the U.S.-Soviet death dance focuses heavily on the Persian Gulf, and that the escalating crisis in the Gulf (including growing signs of splits within Iran itself) offers both "risks and opportunities" to the U.S. and Soviets alike, is something that the proletariat must take into its own computations. □



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# Jericho... 'Til The Walls Come Tumbling Down'



Border police attack a Jericho resident who strayed onto the film set.

There are a host of reasons as to why the U.S. film industry goes overseas for location shooting — international financial and marketing arrangements, the Dream Machine's search for exotic "authenticity," and so forth. In the case of a soon-to-be released Paramount picture, *The Best Defense*, the sheer perversity of imperialist relations and arrogance seem to have been the greater factors. The film, a comedy starring Dudley Moore and Eddy Murphy, is supposed to be set in Kuwait, the oil-rich Gulf state nestled just south of the Iraqi border. The film's rib-tickling premise is that a Captain Landry, representing the U.S. Army, is given the task of training the Kuwaitis into a credible fighting force, triggering a war between Kuwait and Iraq in the process.

With such a theme, Paramount (a Gulf & Western subsidiary) could hardly expect to secure the cooperation of any of the Arab states for location shooting. Not that the film's makers were terribly concerned about representational authenticity in the first place: none of the many extras employed in making the film, as it turned out, were Arabs. In any event, the Israeli state stepped in to provide a happy solution. The Palestinian town of Jericho, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, was offered as a shooting locale. So it came to be that, for two weeks in January, the Palestinians of Jericho were subjected to a new form of occupation.

Normal expectations are that a film crew, coming into an area for location shooting, represents an economic boon to local business. In Jericho's case, the experience was no different than yet another of Israel's 24-hour curfews. Local activity was forcibly brought to a halt as the film crew, backed up by a special contingent of Israeli border police, took over the town's center. Local residents who strayed onto the set were

set upon and beaten by Israeli security. In one incident, a misfired rocket from the film went over its intended target, bounced off the street, and struck a local Palestinian in the chest. He was last seen being hauled away from the scene by the Israeli guards. Out of sight, out of mind.

Cafes and shops were shut down throughout the period, without compensation. As one shopkeeper complained, "For 10 days I have done no business. No one asked us if we wanted this film... they just came here and closed the street." Numerous efforts were made by local Palestinians to approach the film crew and present their grievances. Such contact was prevented by the Israeli guards who kept them from crossing the barricades; even so, it was clear that a number of the film crew's members were disturbed and distressed by what was happening. In one instance, a fruit and vegetable stand on the film set was blown up (as part of the film's story line, not as an act of protest). The barricades were for a few seconds overrun as a group of children surged past, gathering from the street what little produce remained. Doubtless, the Israeli authorities would cite the incident as a clear example of "trickle-down" benefit to the community.

Compared to the ongoing terms of Israeli occupation, such depredations inflicted by Hollywood's two-week occupation of Jericho are, of course, rather mild, though that's hardly the point. That America would transform the occupied West Bank into a movie-set for the sake of a comedy, all the while appearing as the "neutral" party to the conflict, does more than add insult to injury. It demonstrates that even as the U.S.-Israeli "special relationship" grows ever more special and refined, the oppression upon which it is founded finds increasingly sick and ugly expression as well. [ ]

## In Punjab

Continued from page 5

cluding major sections of the officer corps. Given the prominence of the Indian army as both a symbol, and a bloody instrument, of vaunted "Indian unity" — the fact that the army is reduced to firing upon itself reveals much about the seriousness of these recent events.

Viewed as a whole, then, the aftermath of the assault hardly supports the claims of "great victory" coming from Delhi. Both the *New York Times* and the British *Economist* raise the specter of an "Indian Ulster" and discuss the danger to Indian national unity in morose tones. It seems safe to predict that the blood spread at Amritsar will hardly calm Indian waters.

In an attempt to obscure the actual issues bound up in the Punjabi crisis, the Indira forces have made the charges of foreign intrigue more and more openly. Indira Gandhi herself supposedly told the dynamic duo of German Social Democracy, Schmidt and Brandt, that the Sikh movement was a CIA plot carried out via Pakistan. While it is beyond the scope of this article to even attempt an overall analysis of all the complex and contending class forces raging in the Punjab and the broader Indian arena, it is clear that far more is at stake here than subversion by foreign gold passing through Pakistan. The violent contradictions quite internal to India, thrown up by both imperialist penetration and the hemorrhaging of semifeudal relations themselves, are erupting in many ways and produce terrible strains of jury-rigged linkages and institutions holding the country together.

At the same time, it would not be at all surprising to find out that the U.S. imperialists were somehow involved in the Punjabi events, either through their Pakistani allies or through innumerable political forces they have cultivated within India itself. India is a state deeply penetrated by the economic and political interests of both the USSR and the Western powers. The intensification of international rivalries cannot help but inflame contradictions within Indian society, egging on numerous endemic conflicts within the ruling classes, including disputes between regions and the Center.

Given the proximity of the Punjab to Pakistan, a major U.S. ally in the region; given the necessity of the U.S. to find levers to pry India or parts of India more firmly into the U.S. orbit; and given the narrow political focus of the Sikh movement, and its obscurantist ideological trappings — there are certainly openings here which the U.S. is unlikely to pass up. Unlike most of the world press, which cynically asserted that "Indira had to do it," there is an unmistakable "tilt" in the U.S. media toward pricking, if not gouging, the Gandhi regime. It is hardly an accident that "Sikhs Plan International Meeting in New Mexico on Strategy" was a headline in the *New York Times* of June 20, nor is it an accident that American TV has run extensive interviews with Sikhs living in the U.S. vowing implacable war against the Indian government and concerted efforts to raise funds in the U.S. for that struggle.

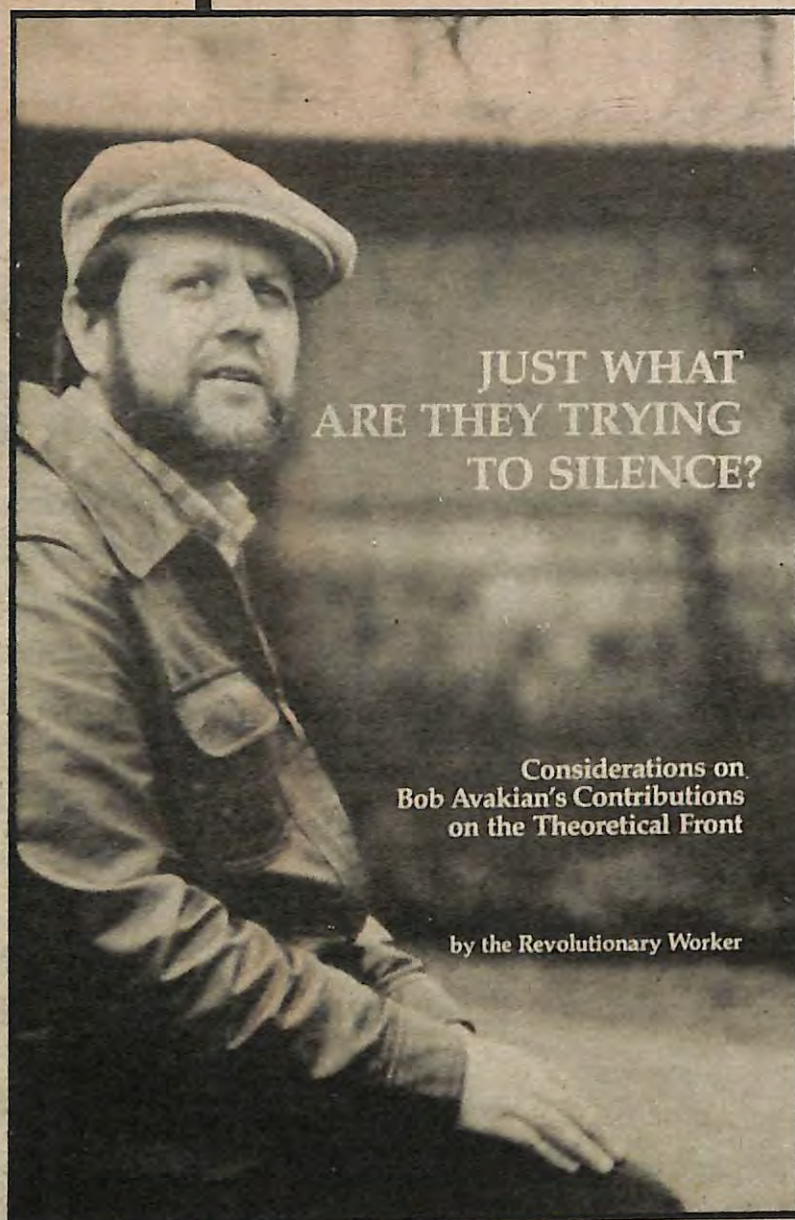
The Punjabi events are one of the most acute manifestations in a decade of the raging contradictions tearing at the dry-rotted fabric of Indian society. The intolerable viciousness of semifeudal conditions, the disruptive explosion of capitalist relations in agriculture, the inflammation of regional and "communal" antagonisms, and the provocative role of international rivalry using India as a battleground — this convergence of factors contains the promise that the present wave of disturbance washing over Southern Asia is unlikely to subside, and might well take more revolutionary expressions. [ ]

### CORRECTION

In RW No. 259 (June 8, 1984), an error appears on page 9 in the article "Ghouls on the Beach." In column 4, the footnote at the bottom is incomplete. It should read:

For a fuller discussion of the line of the Comintern on this issue see *Revolution* magazine, No. 49 (June 1981), various articles; *Revolution* No. 50, Special Issue, *Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will* by Bob Avakian; *Revolution* No. 51 (Spring 1984), "Advancing the World Revolutionary Movement: Questions of Strategic Orientation" by Bob Avakian. For a fuller discussion of the character of World War 2, as discussed here and below, see *Revolution* Nos. 49, 50, 51, and *America in Decline*, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon (Chicago: Banner Press, 1984). [ ]

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