



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

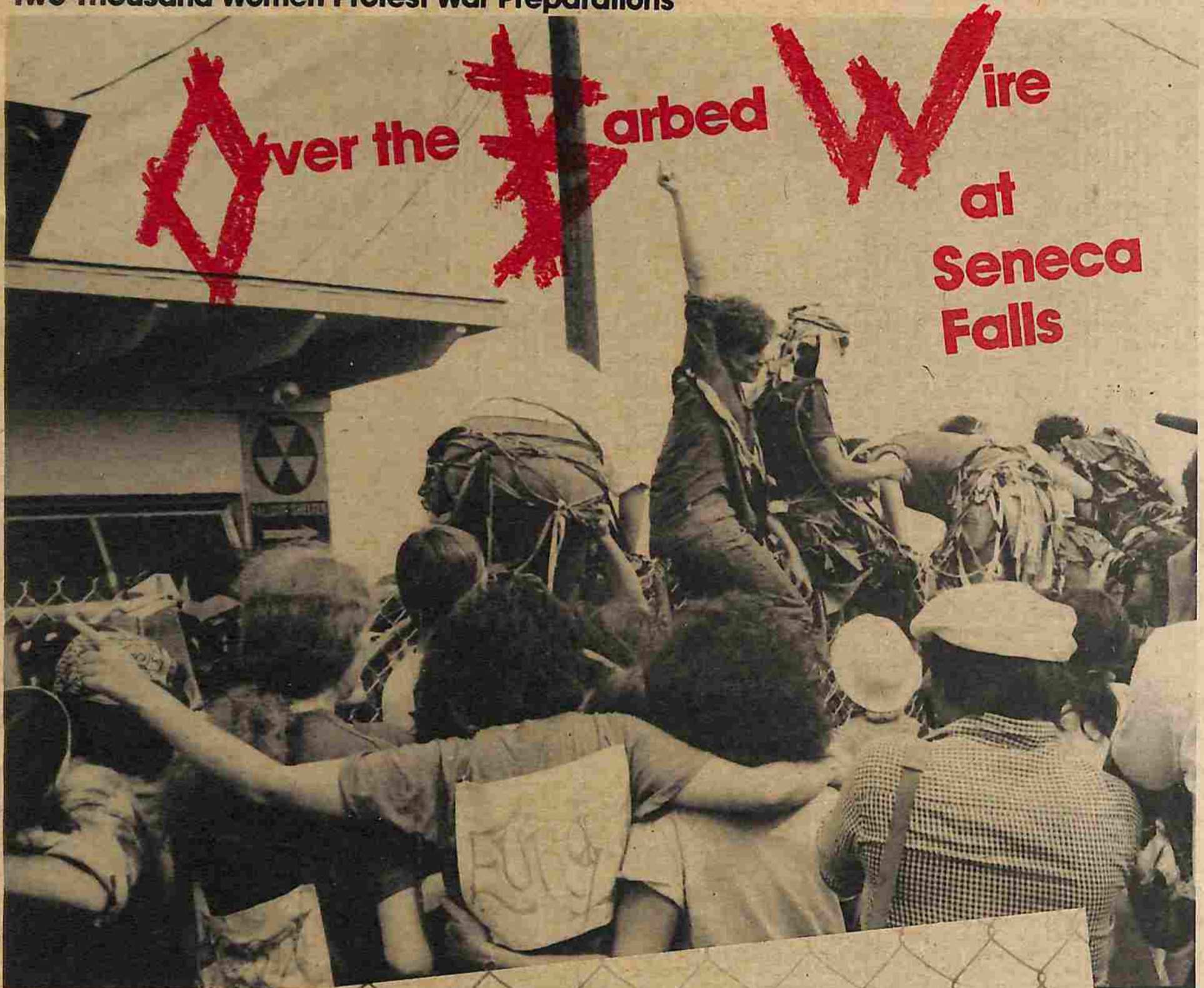
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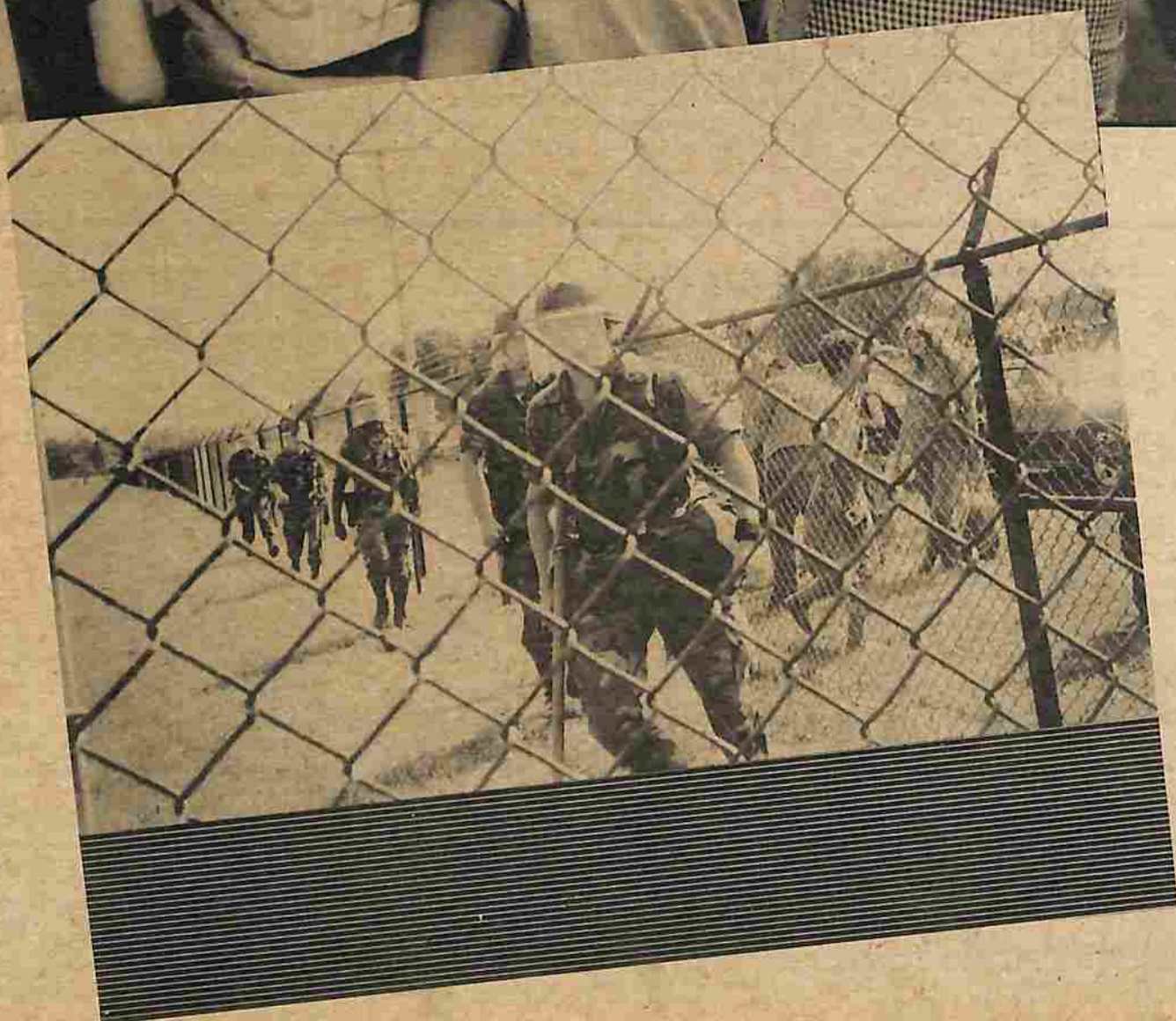
Two Thousand Women Protest War Preparations



Over the ~~F~~ barbed Wire at Seneca Falls

The Seneca Army Depot in the Upstate community of Romulus, New York, is a warehouse of death and destruction stocked with conventional and nuclear weapons and is the main transport point on the East Coast for nuclear weapons going to Europe. The base will not confirm the presence of these missiles, neither will they deny it. Arriving at the Women's Encampment For a Future of Peace and Justice adjacent to the depot for the major August 1st women's protest organized by the Women's Pentagon Action, one got an eyeful of military preparations of another sort.

This base appeared to be on battle alert. GIs were dispersed around the base's perimeter in hurriedly erected watchtowers. Soldiers and MPs were decked out in combat camouflage fatigues, binoculars in hand, some with plastic riot shields, all with weapons. Newly posted signs on the depot fence declared "Patrolled by Patrolling Dogs. This Is Panther Country" complete with a printed claw. Coils of razor wire, thin, double-edged, flattened but jagged wire, were rolled out to fortify barbed-wire fences. These coils were also placed in spots in an apparent attempt to stop the small successive groups of women who have repeatedly penetrated the base over the past four weeks. Huey helicopters now stalk the perimeter of the depot in-



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The Day Father Bourgeois Hit the Fort



At Fort Benning, in Columbus Georgia, there are today 525 Salvadoran troops involved in a 13-week counterinsurgency training program under U.S. auspices. These are meant to become part of a reliable core of troops fighting to prop up the U.S.-backed junta, something which is hard to come by considering the wholesale pressganging of Salvadoran youth into the reactionary armed forces. According to recent reports, even these troops have turned out not to be so reliable — 70% to 80% of them fail to re-enlist after one term. And last month, yet more hair-tearing must have affected the U.S. and Salvadoran military, as peace activists carried out an action that can only have made matters worse.

On Saturday, July 30 and Sunday, July 31 at Ft. Benning, Father Roy Bourgeois, an antiwar Maryknoll priest, Rev. Larry Rosebaugh, an Oblate priest, and Linda Ventimiglia, an Army Reserve warrant officer, disguised themselves as high-ranking officers, snuck onto the base and distributed hundreds of leaflets in Spanish and English to the Salvadoran soldiers asking them to desert and seek asylum in the U.S.

"The leaflet says the problem there is poverty," Father Bourgeois told the *RW*. "The problem is people struggling for food on the table, the problem is oppression and exploitation. We say they (the Salvadoran troops) are being used, first of all by the oligarchy there to protect their self-interest, their land. . . Then we say they're being used here to protect the economic interests of the large corporations. We clarify that the cause of the war is an economic system created and perpetuated by the oligarchy, the rich in

El Salvador and the rich in the U.S. Then we ask them not to cooperate with this but to resist, not to return to El Salvador, to join us, take asylum and refuge. We're prepared to give them protection and asylum if they call on us."

These three have been part of a group that has been holding weekly vigils in front of Ft. Benning to protest the Salvadoran war. They decided to escalate their actions partly in response to the massive series of military maneuvers by the U.S. in Central America in recent weeks.

They bought uniforms at an Army surplus store in Columbus and had been on the base several times before to map out their plans. Entering a restricted area at 8 p.m. Saturday night, the activists came through about 200 yards of wooded area, and then split up. Father Bourgeois (who was dressed as a major) says that at first he had some false information and went into a training barracks for U.S. troops. "I went in like I belonged," said Bourgeois, a Vietnam veteran. "There was an enlisted man there. He saluted. I said, 'Where's the Salvadorans' like an officer talks and he told me to go next door. I told him to carry on."

Bourgeois says that in the 25 minutes they had before being detected he personally got out over 300 leaflets in two barracks. He says they were all over the place: in lockers, on bulletin boards, in the johns, under pillows.

While Bourgeois was covering the barracks, Rosebaugh and Ventimiglia talked in Spanish to a group of Salvadorans on a porch. There was a mixed response: some becoming cold and silent, while many others nodded and said, "si, estoy de acuerdo" (yes, I agree). Soon a group of

curious Salvadorans was following Rosebaugh and Ventimiglia as they moved about the base. This was definitely not what the Army had in mind in terms of training in the U.S.

Rosebaugh and Ventimiglia approached a nearby contingent of 75 Salvadoran soldiers standing at ease. They began leafletting and speaking to them in Spanish. When the officer in charge realized what they were doing "he ordered the soldiers at attention and commanded them to run up a hill and out of our presence," Rev. Rosebaugh said.

All three were approached about the same time. Father Bourgeois was finishing leafletting the second barracks when a group of at least seven MPs led by a U.S. military trainer charged in the door. "He's not one of us, he's not one of us," shouted the trainer. "Halt!" As Bourgeois began climbing out the barrack window an MP tackled him and then "they all wanted a piece of me," he says. He was repeatedly punched and one guy in particular was into kicking him while he lay on the floor. He was handcuffed behind his back and his face was ground into the dirt. In the meantime a group of Salvadoran troops had gathered around and Bourgeois kept agitating to them about how they were being used and how they should refuse to cooperate. Finally the American trainer put his hand over his mouth.

After being interrogated on the base, during which time they refused to give any information other than names, the three were charged with criminal trespass and impersonating an officer (although no bond was set) and ejected from the base in the middle of the night. "Better not come back," were the last words

from the MPs at the gate.

A few hours later at 8:30 a.m. the three were back — this time with the two priests dressed in clerical robes, leafletting the Sunday morning mass on the main post. Father Bourgeois leafletted outside while the other two put leaflets in the pews. After about five minutes the chaplain came running out "like a wild man." He tried to physically grab Bourgeois, who got away. After running back inside to call the MPs the chaplain yelled, "Why aren't you saving souls instead of doing all this." Bourgeois responded: "How can you say mass when you're killing people." The three again were evicted from the base and the case has been handed over to the FBI to determine what, if any, additional charges will be made.

This action has had a major impact in the area. Groups in Montgomery, Alabama, Auburn, Alabama, and Americus, Georgia have called wanting to join the weekly vigil and any other actions aimed at protesting the training of Salvadoran troops at the base. Father Bourgeois has been preaching in several churches in Columbus, Ga., a military town of 100,000 surrounding Ft. Benning. The response of the officers has, of course, been especially hostile. But there are many active-duty enlisted men who say "it's another Vietnam" and some who say they would desert before they would go to El Salvador.

"People on the base are saying that the Salvadorans are going to be leaving early because of this," says Bourgeois. "We're going to continue. This is not our last action, but actually preparations for something sharper, more clear, more bold. We're not going home."

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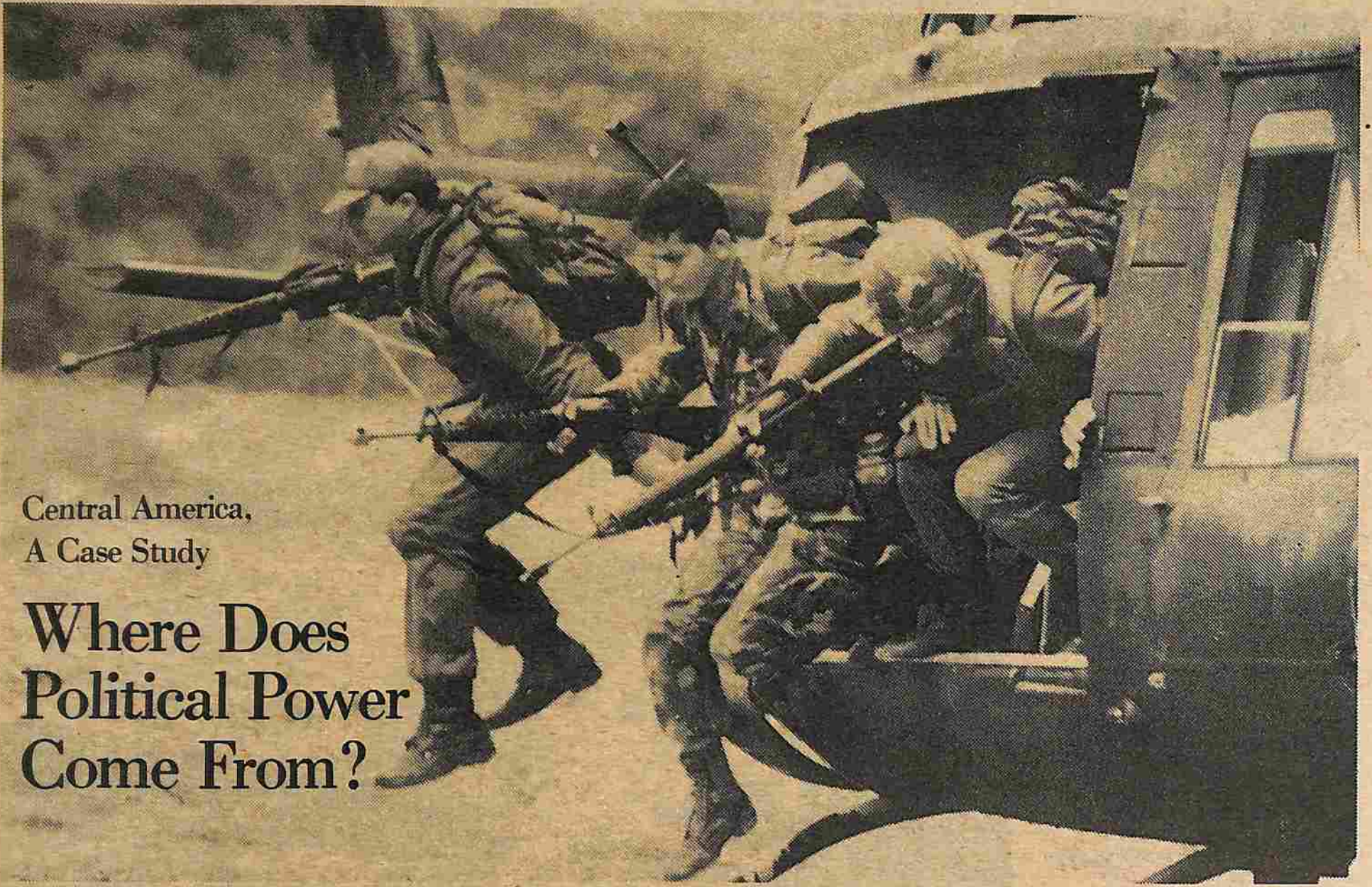
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Central America, A Case Study

Where Does Political Power Come From?

The subject of elections in Central America has been a favorite theme of U.S. officials for the past few months, and nowhere is this more evident than in the frequent speeches of Ronald Reagan. On the one hand, we have the glowing descriptions of the "democratic process" in El Salvador, including both past and future glories. Reagan speaks of last year's election, spinning a yarn about guerrillas supposedly threatening all who vote with death. "But on election day, an unprecedented 80% of the electorate braved ambush and gunfire and many of them trudged for miles to vote for freedom," he says. "It is the voters who are the real freedom fighters in El Salvador," Reagan says. And this is just the beginning: "El Salvador is moving toward a more open society and government in the midst of a foreign-supported guerrilla war. National presidential elections are planned," he adds. On the other hand, Reagan invites his audience to "contrast this with the corrupted revolution in Nicaragua," where there aren't any such spectacles. "It is the ultimate in hypocrisy for the unelected Nicaraguan government to charge that we seek their overthrow when they are doing everything they can to bring down the elected government of El Salvador." (our emphasis)

As the *RW* said at the time, one would think that Reagan would at least have enough sense to try to avoid getting into a contest with anybody over the "ultimate in hypocrisy." One example of that hypocrisy, as we shall shortly see, is that Reagan has no case at all when it comes to El Salvador's "legitimate" elections and Nicaragua's "lack of" elections; but on a deeper level of hypocrisy than that Reagan and the rest of the U.S. imperialists don't even care about elections. They care about power. And there's a lesson in that.

Take El Salvador's infamous elections, for example. In the first place, those elections were organized only in the areas controlled by the Salvadoran security forces; the zones controlled by the armed opposition, such as large parts of the provinces of Chalatenango and Morazán, and the area of the Guazapa Volcano, were not considered suitable for polling the electorate. Secondly, there was the method by which the voting took place — under the gun, the government's gun. The bullet-covered balloting included a vigorous "get out the vote campaign" using tanks, M-16s, helicopter gunships and death squads, while various "volunteers" went into certain

neighborhoods reminding everyone that it was against the law not to vote. To back up the threat an indelible mark was put on each voter's hand and their identification papers were stamped so as to prove to future inquisitors that the "real freedom fighter" had, indeed, done as he had been told. Then, even while the voting was taking place, the U.S.'s Salvadoran henchmen were actively waging war against the opposition whose leaders are their principal rivals for power in the country. And, to top it all off, the 80% turnout that Reagan described so lovingly was about twice the actual number of voters, according to a magazine published by the Jesuit-run University in San Salvador, so as to "prove the fundamental thesis that the Salvadoran people were against the guerrillas."

Can there be any doubt that the question of power was never at stake in these elections? Rather, they were a naked extension of already held power — growing out of the barrel of the U.S.'s guns, to paraphrase Mao — in a situation where that power is being contested. And in that context, the elections were nothing but auxiliary political weaponry to assist the real weaponry (and to justify the U.S. sending more tons of the real stuff). Simply put, the Salvadoran elections were staged to "legitimize" the armed power

have all held elections to choose delegates to various municipal bodies, and these delegates have elected other delegates to higher bodies and so forth, all the way up to the delegates that sit on the Council of State. The same approach — with elections at every step of the way — has been taken by the Sandinista unions and women's group and the other organized forms through which the Sandinistas exercise their own version of the "democratic process." How come these are not "legitimate elections" to the U.S. while the Salvadoran elections represent "democracy in action"?

Of course, elections are always "illegitimate" in the eyes of the loser — but there are more important and fundamental questions involved here. For example, José Napoleón Duarte, supposedly a "loser" in the Salvadoran election, had no complaints about the vote, but cried as if mortally wounded over the above cited exposé of vote doubling that appeared in the Salvadoran magazine, accusing its editors of "trying to destroy the democratic process." And in Nicaragua, it is hardly a lost election that is at issue. Elsewhere we have made clear our own views on the fact that the Sandinista-led government in Nicaragua is becoming increasingly subservient to the needs and strategy of Soviet social-imperialism. For Reagan, it is not Nicaragua's subser-

Is Central America an Exception?

Some may argue that all this about how elections aren't the decisive thing may be true for Central America — where there is obviously a great deal of turmoil — but you can't really compare all that to elections in a democratic country like the U.S. Central America is just an exceptional case, they might say. But what is so different about Central America is that power is on the line — in fact, there is a war going on over state power — so that things that are always true stand out more openly. That is always the virtue of revolutionary situations. The superficial is cast aside and the real relations, the mainsprings of society, are revealed.

Of course it's not so blatant and obvious here because the class struggle is not at that stage yet. Voters in the U.S. aren't herded to polls via tanks, M-16s, etc., because those who hold power don't have to rely on such methods yet. In fact, relying on such terror in the neo-colonies has played a crucial role in keeping things all nice and democratic-like in the imperialist countries. Even though the "thin blue line" of armed and dangerous police — the rulers' first line of defense internally — is out in force, as usual, on election day, the big guns still remain, for the most part, hidden away in the barracks. But the question of who — that is, which class — holds those big guns is not a choice on the ballot, and the guns are at the ready, to be used when the class struggle advances to the point where the ruling class deems their use necessary.

So, to Reagan, the real issue in Central America is not elections but guns. And, as we have said above, there's a lesson in that. The key difference between El Salvador and Nicaragua for Reagan is whose hands the main guns are in, and, in fact, more generally the key question in all class societies is whose hands the guns are in (whether those guns are out in the open or in reserve). There is no such thing as pure democracy; like everything else in class society, democracy is a question of democracy for whom, for which class. Even though the rule of the proletariat, its dictatorship, is qualitatively different from that of all other classes both because it represents dictatorship over the minority of exploiters and democracy for the broad masses, for the oppressed, and also because its final goal is the abolition of any form of state or class rule — still, even given that qualitative difference, the fact remains that elections are always organized under a gun; if you don't organize them under your guns, then someone else will organize them under theirs. □

Elections are an extension of power relations — which aren't established by elections.

already exercised by the U.S.'s compradors. But this only underscores a basic truth: *elections are always extensions of power relations which themselves are not established by elections.*

Nicaragua

This same basic truth is the case for Nicaragua as well. And Reagan's "elections make the difference" argument is just as phony when looked at from the Nicaraguan angle. While it's true that national elections aren't scheduled in Nicaragua until 1985, there have been lots of elections since the overthrow of U.S. puppet Somoza in 1979. For example, the Sandinista Defense Committees that have been formed in nearly every neighborhood and village in Nicaragua

vienced to imperialism, but which imperialism, that is the problem here. Reagan talks of "illegitimate elections" in Nicaragua but it's the power relations there that he doesn't like, and those relations were settled before the elections. First, there was the little matter of the overthrow of Somoza, which removed the U.S.'s main compradors from the throne in Nicaragua. And subsequently, other pro-U.S. forces have also increasingly been iced out of the main seat of power. This is what makes Nicaragua "illegitimate" to the U.S. And this is why the CIA-equipped Nicaraguan *contras* are now, according to Reagan, "fighting to restore the true revolution." They were chosen in a "legitimate election" at the U.S. State Department.

Counter-Insurgency in the

Riot Corridor

On July 10th, Washington, D.C. police conducted their first "citywide crime sweep" called "Operation C-note Sevenfold" supposedly meant to disrupt the drug marketplace. Roadblocks were set up in 30 locations around the city and from 1 o'clock in the afternoon until 9:30 at night police stopped cars and demanded the drivers produce their license and registration. Names were checked against a five-inch thick computer print-out of "wanted criminals." If police could find a reason to make an arrest or if the driver was suspected of having made a drug transaction the driver and car were searched. Those charged with the heinous crime of driving without a license or the even more threatening and onerous "urinating in public" were in some locations handcuffed together in a long line with plastic cuffs used in mass arrests, and herded into 18-wheel tractor trailers. Some cars were booted on the spot (the penalty for accumulating unpaid traffic tickets — a boot is physically locked onto a wheel, immobilizing the car). These roadblocks were later described by police as "diversions." "With attention of the public diverted to the roadblock activity" undercover police in "hidden observation posts" swoop in on supposed drug transactions. At the end of the day, 448 people had been arrested, one-third for traffic and other non-drug offenses, and the rest for mainly misdemeanor drug charges like possession of marijuana or PCP.

At the very same time this operation was going on, a "Reclaim Our Neighborhood Festival" was taking place with many city officials in attendance. This is an annual affair against crime and drugs in the 14th Street area and this year in particular was celebrating the "renewal both physical and spiritual" being generated by the construction of the new municipal building on the corner of 14th and "U" which is, not coincidentally, the very spot where the very building was torched in the rebellion in 1968.

These two simultaneous events, seemingly worlds apart in intent, actually are closely tied, and represent a conscious double-whammy being performed against the masses in D.C. and especially in the 14th St. and nearby Shaw area "riot corridor" as it is called. These areas, not far from the White House and official Washington, have historically been trouble spots for the ruling class. The rebellion which erupted in D.C. in 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., began in the 14th Street area. The flames of that rebellion came within 10 blocks of the White House, a shocking and unforgettable experience for the bourgeoisie to say the least. At that time there was some hurried coordination between federal and local authorities. Cyrus Vance himself had to venture out to do on-the-spot observation and coordination of the activity of police and federal troops. The bourgeoisie does not intend to be taken by surprise again. A "comprehensive plan for the national capital" has been developed, envisioning sweeping changes in the social make-up of

many now-ghetto areas, including conspicuously the Shaw and 14 St. communities, now to be known as "redirection areas", and involving the nationally familiar tactics of gentrification: condominium development, influx of "young urban pioneers" and a more stable Black population — the "renewal, both spiritual and physical" referred to at the street festival. There is grandiose talk of building a shopping plaza in a major intersection which is now a major drug market; turning renters into home-owners, and by the time the subway begins to tunnel in, Shaw should have become the "hottest real estate area in the city in three to five years." Short of this, which is a plan still mainly twinkling in the eyes of real estate investors, the existing population dangerously near the White House and seat of government must be pacified and controlled, and military plans must be developed and tested.

Considering this background, one gets the strong feeling that the "assault" on drugs involving roadblocks and mass arrests is a pretext for accomplishing other objectives, indicated in the above. A column in the *Washington Post* by one Courtland Milloy confirms this: "Operation C-note Sevenfold was billed a drug bust... but it gave police an opportunity to take the pulse of the town." As Deputy Chief Kelly, coordinator of the operation admitted: "The police's concern is not the big dealers — we don't even know who they are." This was a frank — if partial — admission; yes, those were petty small-time dealers caught in the operation who were back on the streets the following day, in many cases, and as the press admitted, really could not affect drug traffic; as to big dealers, the police can begin by looking in the mirror and this is to say the almost obvious, that the police have no interest in general in ridding the Black community of drugs. Operation C-note Sevenfold was rather a military operation, aimed at gearing up for a clampdown on the masses of people with an eye to the projected upheavals of the '80s and helping lay the basis to "redirect" — forcibly drive out — the poorer sections of people in the "riot corridor."

The issue of drug-dealing also provides

the authorities with an opportunity to further develop a less visible, and somewhat newer, aspect of their mechanisms of control and repression. This is the effort to draw more stable elements in the target neighborhoods into the actual apparatus of repression, similar to the policies exposed in the article. The operation was, in fact, billed as a *demand of the community*; and strictly speaking, it was, at least by elements such as Walter Fauntroy, former Southern Christian Leadership Conference D.C. representative, who have in turn a long-standing relationship with the authorities, and whose base is the respectable section of people in the neighborhoods targeted.

Two years ago, Reverend Congressman Fauntroy launched a "war on drugs" from a church in the Shaw community, where he has been a lifetime resident. This affair was attended by all the city officials and the police force and it hoped to involve the federal government in playing a more direct role in working for "sanitizing" the neighborhoods that surround the seat of power. The war has involved the development of citizen's groups against crime and drug abuse, all under the umbrella of an organization called the Shaw Church Leadership in which Fauntroy is a leading member. These groups have marched and rallied, usually with Fauntroy leading the charge and complete with little kids carrying homemade signs, almost monthly in Shaw, 14th Street, and other areas around the city. They are made of white and Black middle-class professionals who are moving into the area, old people who are terrorized by the drug-pushers and addicts, and other oppressed people who are drawn into supporting this kind of solution to the very real problem of drugs and crime.

Another prominent fighter in the war against drugs is Mr. Ibrahim Mumin who is the executive director of the Shaw Project Area Committee which is a citizen's participation group to work with the city on issues of housing and economic development in the Shaw community. Both Fauntroy and Mumin sit on the steering committee for the Howard Gateway/Shaw Area Committee which is

made up of business organizations, city council officials, federal government officials and Howard University officials, which functions to draw up proposals on the little matter of the "hottest real estate area in three to five years" and the transformation of Shaw. Evidently, Fauntroy and Mumin are not involved with the "war on drugs" purely out of the goodness of their hearts.

According to Mr. Mumin, he and the Shaw Church Leadership have been very active especially in the last two months. They have met with the police; the superintendent of schools; the U.S. Attorney; two mass-based drug rehabilitation groups; held a minister's workshop on the question of drugs, and met with the Select Committee on Narcotics of which Fauntroy is a member in his capacity as congressman.

As part of this stepped-up activity, Congressman Reverend Fauntroy was meeting with a group of residents in a church on the very day of the raids. Only hours before the raids took place, Fauntroy told this gathering, "We expect the police to slam-dunk anybody arrested from this area." Mr. Mumin, meanwhile, was quoted in the press in the same vein, asserting, "I for one am not going to live in my neighborhood oppressed, hiding behind the blinds and being afraid of pushers. There is a connection between what we neighbors are doing and what the police are doing. We need the police to keep the pressure on." Mr. Mumin, moreover, openly admits that he knew about the operation in advance and had seen beforehand a manual of police guidelines for such sweep-type operations! (Deputy Police Chief Kelly confirmed that such a manual does indeed exist.) Mumin claims that he didn't know the exact dates the operation would be carried out and was not allowed to actually read the police guidelines. This will not put him back in good standing with those Shaw residents busted at a roadblock for an old traffic ticket.

So it is clear that to a certain degree there already exists a functioning network of citizens groups helping control and change the ghetto areas, and whose leadership is tied in various ways to the

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Mr. Shultz Goes Bloc-building

The Vietnam Syndrome and the Bangkok Summit

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, in a speech to the ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) who were gathered in Bangkok, Thailand for their annual summit conference in late June, chose his words with diplomatic care: "The U.S. support for ASEAN's policy toward Kampuchea signifies our full commitment to support our common goal in Southeast Asia.... We follow your lead." In the recent period, however, there have been much uncertainty and debate about what exactly are the "ASEAN policy toward Kampuchea" and the "common goal" of the U.S. bloc in Southeast Asia. And surely, Shultz' words to the contrary, the tail—the ASEAN countries of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines—does not lead the U.S. imperialist beast. Shultz was not in Bangkok to act as a cheerleader on the sidelines, but to forcefully bring some of the wavering elements into line and hammer together the bloc, in the process turning up the pressure on Vietnam and Soviet imperialism.

A few years ago, the Kampuchean situation was more or less at a stalemate. In June 1982, the Democratic Kampuchea coalition came into being, bringing together the three anti-Vietnamese groups: the Khmer Rouge, which came to power after the defeat of U.S. imperialism and then was overthrown by the January 1979 Vietnamese invasion; the forces led by Prince Sihanouk, who ruled Kampuchea until overthrown by a CIA coup in 1970 that put Lon Nol in power; and the group headed by Son Sann, former prime minister in the Sihanouk government. ASEAN and China were the up-front sponsors of the coalition, but its creation was impossible without the full support, if not direct back-stage managing, by the U.S.

The forging of the coalition was an unequivocal statement by the U.S. bloc of its "common goal"—keeping up unrelenting military, political and economic pressure on Vietnam in order to force it out of Kampuchea, set up a pro-U.S. regime in Phnom Penh and possibly even destabilize things in Vietnam as well as shake up Soviet imperialism's hold in Hanoi. Instead of the three bickering factions, the U.S. and ASEAN could put forward a "united" and "legitimate" resistance. Forming the coalition was also a means of dealing with the Khmer Rouge. The U.S. and ASEAN needed the Khmer Rouge, since it is the largest, best organized and militarily the strongest of the three factions. At the same time, the Khmer Rouge is not the kind of force the U.S. wants to see in control. Despite the Khmer Rouge's vulnerability due to its heavy dependence on Chinese arms supplies funneled through Thailand and sanctuaries in Thai territory, the Khmer Rouge was, after all, the leading force in Kampuchea in the struggle against U.S. imperialism during the Vietnam War and even now is not as closely tied into the U.S. bloc as the other



Clockwise: A partial cast of characters in S.E. Asia — Suharto of Indonesia, Heng Samrin, Norodom Sihanouk, Yuri Andropov, Reagan, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Bin

Mohamad of Malaysia, Thach, Deng Xiaoping, George Shultz, Pol Pot, Sitthi, Marcos of the Philippines, Malcolm Fraser of Australia.

two groups. By forcing certain restrictions on the reluctant Khmer Rouge in the process of forming the coalition, the U.S. and ASEAN increased their control on the Khmer Rouge while laying the basis for pumping more blood into the other two groups. The Chinese revisionists were not happy about the tightening of the collar on the Khmer Rouge, their main avenue for exerting influence in Kampuchea, but they strongly supported the U.S. policy of bleeding Vietnam and its Soviet backers dry in Kampuchea.

At the same time, it was evident that Vietnam, despite the enormous burden of maintaining 150,000-200,000 troops in Kampuchea to prop up the Heng Samrin regime, was not going to be moved out easily. From its point of view, Vietnam has compelling reasons to hang on to Kampuchea come hell or high water. The control of Kampuchea (and Laos) puts tremendous pressure on the pro-U.S. ASEAN countries; conversely, a Kampuchea in the hands of unfriendly forces would be like having a knife thrust toward Vietnam's stomach. And despite the expected increase in aid flowing into the three factions, the newly-formed coalition was still far from being able to mount an immediate challenge to Vietnamese control of Kampuchea. It seemed likely that the stalemate that had existed in Kampuchea since the 1979 invasion would continue for some time.

Repercussions of China/Soviet Talks

However, the opening up last October of "normalization talks" between the Soviet Union and China definitely has stirred up the Kampuchea stew pot. By pursuing negotiations with China that might lead to some easing of tensions, the Soviets aim to reduce the defense commitments they need to keep on the Sino-

Soviet border and, more importantly, to exacerbate contradictions between the U.S. and China as well as foster the growth of pro-Soviet forces and sentiments within China. Although aware of the dangers involved, the Chinese revisionists are responding to Soviet overtures in the hopes that the talks will help ease the tremendous pressure exerted by the hundreds of thousands of Soviet troops amassed on the northern border and by Soviet-backed Vietnam to the south, with the aim of increasing their bargaining position vis-à-vis the U.S., and their ability to maneuver to lessen the dangers of being used by the U.S. as a sponge for Soviet attack as things move toward world war or when the war actually breaks out.

Questioned by the authoritative magazine on Asian affairs *Far Eastern Economic Review* about whether Vietnam was worried by the fact that its Soviet sponsors were holding talks with China, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach replied that in the past, the ASEAN countries based their Indochina policies on the assumption of collusion between the U.S. and China on the one hand, and on the conflict between China and the Soviet Union on the other. "Now with the lessening of collusion between Beijing and Washington and the lessening of tension between Beijing and Moscow," Thach said, "they are afraid their policy will not work." In short, Thach was saying that it is ASEAN that should be, and is, worried.

There is, in fact, real apprehension within ASEAN about what effect the Sino-Soviet talks will have on the Kampuchean situation. China plays a pivotal role in Kampuchea, especially since the U.S. has been unable to assume an open and aggressive role in Southeast Asia

since the mid-70s because of the legacy of the Vietnam War (the so-called "Vietnam War syndrome," which applies not only in the U.S. but also in Southeast Asia, where even the pro-U.S. forces have had to tone down the open expressions of ties to the U.S.). China has been the source of active political and material support for the anti-Vietnamese Kampuchean forces, and the Chinese military threat on Vietnam's northern border has been a counterweight to Vietnamese activity in Kampuchea and Southeast Asia in general. On the other side, the Soviet backing of Vietnam (to the tune, according to Western reports, of \$5-6 million a day) obviously has a lot to do with Vietnam's ability to stay in Kampuchea. Now China and the Soviet Union are holding talks, with the Kampuchean question included as a point of discussion. At the first round of talks held in October, China presented a concrete proposal on Kampuchea, calling on the Soviets to stop support for the Vietnamese occupation and for Vietnam to set up a timetable for and take major steps toward a complete withdrawal of troops. Some observers have noted that there are already subtle but detectable shifts in China's position on Kampuchea, e.g., toning down the attack on Vietnam as a "Soviet pawn" or calling for a "timetable" for Vietnamese withdrawal instead of an immediate pull-out. What worries ASEAN is the possibility that China might work out some deal with the Soviet Union over the heads of the regional players, leaving ASEAN exposed on the front lines of conflict. One ASEAN foreign minister told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that although Kampuchea was an international question that can't be solved without Soviet

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A Case of Self-Exposure

U.S. Discovers Aggressors In Chad

On July 31st the U.S. State Department issued its strongest statement thus far in condemnation of "open aggression" by Libya in Chad. This U.S. statement followed closely on the heels of reports that Libya's air force had started to make frequent bombing runs in northern Chad on behalf of Goukouni Oueddei. Of course, the U.S. is certainly in a position to know "aggression" when it sees it, having had so much experience in unleashing it themselves. In fact, over the last month the U.S. and its bloc have had quite a bit of experience in imperialist aggression in Chad — their own.

Since we last reported on Chad (see *RW* no. 212) the situation has considerably heated up. Over the last month the Hissen Habre government, backed to the hilt by the U.S. bloc, has managed to turn around the six-month military offensive being waged by the Libyan- and Soviet-backed forces of Goukouni Oueddei. By the end of July, Habre had recaptured the strategically important northern city of Faya-Largeau, although Oueddei's forces have continued to wage a fierce battle just outside the city in order to defend their traditional base areas in northern Chad from further advances by Habre.

Habre's amazing and rapid military recovery was only made possible through a massive infusion of U.S. bloc military and political support. France upped its original supply of military aid from 35 tons in late June to 400 tons by the beginning of August. On top of this, France has also supplied Habre with a Casa 200-212 transport plane and a French crew to fly it — this plane is considered to be a tremendous asset in terms of enabling Habre to wage an offensive in nor-

thern Chad since its takeoff and landing requirements make it very suitable for use in rugged terrains. The French Secret Service, long experienced in attempting to maintain France's neo-colonial empire in Africa, has taken over the logistical works for Habre's army. In addition to the 665 French paratroopers who have recently been moved to the Cameroon/Chad border area, the French have also sent a number of civilian advisors to Chad — advisors who have been described as "soldiers in everything but dress." And, although the U.S. is openly urging France to provide "air support" for Habre in northern Chad, France has so far been reluctant to "intervene" in such a direct manner! Lately, however, the French have been muttering that continued Libyan "air support" for Oueddei could provoke a "response in kind" from France. Zaire has also dispatched 2,000 Zairean troops to occupy the Chadian capital of Ndjamena in order to free up Habre's forces for the battle in the north.

The U.S. imperialists have played a dual role in Chad. While, according to White House press spokesman Larry Speakes, the U.S. "condemned" the fighting in Chad "in the strongest fashion," the U.S. has played both the role of overall coordinator as well as providing its own military and political support for Habre. By mid-July the U.S. had authorized and begun sending \$10 million in military supplies to Habre. At first the U.S. aid was reported to be "non-lethal" military equipment but was later revealed to include such "non-lethal" equipment as guns, ammunition and anti-aircraft missiles. In addition to directly supplying Habre the U.S. is also using a portion of its military aid to arm

and finance Mobutu's Zairean commandos. On August 1st the U.S. support took on an added dimension as two U.S. fighter planes confronted two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra, which Libya claims as its own territorial waters. The Libyans were forced back into Libya as the U.S. planes assumed a combat-ready position behind them (a position which makes it much easier for the U.S. heat-seeking missiles to strike their target). The U.S. planes later returned to the nuclear powered aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* — part of a group of U.S. carriers and other warships put on alert in the Mediterranean. This group also includes the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* whose departure for Central America has been delayed for a few days by the situation in Chad. By August 3rd, U.S. anti-aircraft missiles and 4 U.S. "training advisors" had been added to Hissen Habre's arsenal in Chad. And 2 airborne warning and control systems surveillance planes (AWACS) were moved into Egypt a week earlier than originally scheduled. These planes were originally scheduled to arrive in time for U.S. military exercises in Egypt some time next week. According to the U.S. State Department however, the planes were brought in early because of the situation in Chad.

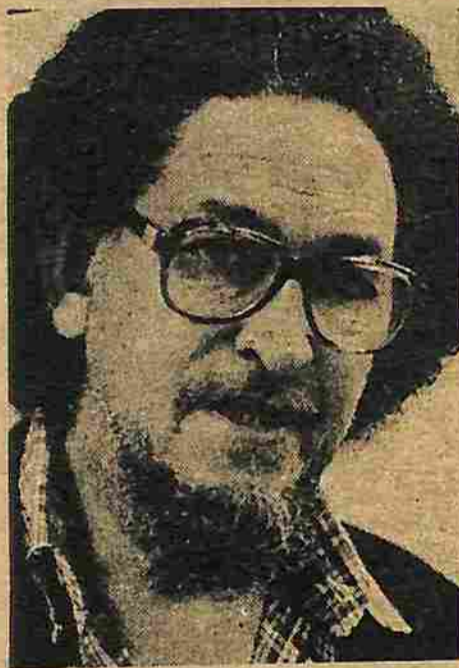
No one even attempts to deny all this. This isn't "aggression" but "help for the legitimate government of Chad in its opposition to Libyan aggression." In fact, Habre has even taken to holding mass rallies in his military strongholds to demand even more direct combat intervention by the U.S. and France in order to save Chad. (Habre is well-acquainted with the effectiveness of direct U.S. aid since it was a CIA operation that played

the key role in his coming into power in the first place.) And Mobutu, in an August 3rd luncheon with his U.S. "bossmen" in Washington, D.C. — Vice-President Bush, CIA Director Casey, Secretary of State Shultz, and other top U.S. officials — was praised for his "courageous action" in sending in his troops to oppose Libya in Chad. Sudan, too, has been a very active partner on the U.S.'s bandwagon and just recently issued a statement calling for direct French and U.S. intervention in order to stop Libya in the interests of all of Africa.

Of course, Libya and the Soviet bloc are also quite adept at using charges of "aggression" as their battle cry against the U.S. bloc. While both Libya and the Soviet Union have issued statements condemning U.S. bloc intervention in Chad, the Libyan government, and through it the Soviets, is the main weapons supplier to Oueddei. In addition, it has been reported that the Libyan air force has begun dropping phosphorous and fragmentation bombs on Faya-Largeau in support of Oueddei. (It should also be pointed out here that the Libyans are more than a little concerned over the possibility that Habre's forces will continue to advance beyond Faya-Largeau and make an attempt to retake the Aouzou Strip which Libya seized from Chad in 1973.)

More than anything the recent and future developments in Chad serve to underline the fact that no amount of charges and countercharges of "aggression" furiously hurled by both the U.S. and Soviet blocs at each other should be allowed to provide a cover for their intensifying contention in preparation for world war, and indeed for war itself. □

New Maneuvers in Dennis Brutus Case



As a last resort against U.S. efforts to deport him, Dennis Brutus, a South African poet and opponent of apartheid filed for political asylum early last year. A major five day hearing was held in Chicago from July 18-22 before a federal immigration judge to hear testimony in the case.

"Mr. Brutus is being treated like anyone else would who got himself afoul of the immigration laws and procedures. We have laws and they must be applied," stated Chester Crocker, head of the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs, on *Nightline* after the first day of the hearings. "This is not a case of expelling an opponent of apartheid." This kind of baldfaced lie has been used from the beginning as a shabby cover. The case against Brutus rests on a host of ridiculous technicalities, aided by the INS "losing" his file for six months.

There couldn't possibly be any political motivation here, or any connection to U.S. efforts to strengthen relations with South Africa starting in 1981. As came out in these hearings, Dennis Brutus led the campaign to ban South Africa from the Olympics in 1964, 1968, and since then played a major role in the banning of Rhodesia from the Olympics in 1972, in the boycott of 29 (mostly African) countries from the 1976 Olympics over New Zealand's inclusion (for participating in sporting events with South Africa) and in the protests in the U.S. against the visiting South African Springboks rugby team. As one of the defense witnesses stated, "His presence and voice in opposition to apartheid in South Africa would be a tremendous source of embarrassment to the U.S. with the Olympics being held in Los Angeles next year."

To win political asylum Dennis Brutus had to show in these hearings that he has a well-founded fear of persecution in being deported to his country of origin. This would seem quite straightforward. In a book called *Inside BOSS* (The Bureau of State Security), a South African ex-agent calls him "one of the 20 most dangerous South African political figures overseas." He is subject to immediate ar-

rest on returning to South Africa.

Though born in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), Brutus has never lived there as an adult. But this same immigration judge has already ruled that he is deportable to Zimbabwe because when he left South Africa in 1966 he had to travel on a Rhodesian/British Commonwealth passport (since South Africa denied him one). Therefore, his lawyers devoted the main part of the hearings to showing that he faced a very real threat to his life in Zimbabwe. Numerous witnesses documented South Africa's efforts to destabilize its neighboring states: arming former deposed colonial forces, sabotaging key economic facilities, carrying out kidnappings and assassinations against, and even bombing from the air, South African refugees living in neighboring countries.

This is not, however, the opinion of the State Department. In a September 15, 1982 advisory opinion, which traditionally carries a lot of weight in these kinds of hearings, they stated that "It is our view that Mr. Brutus has a well-founded fear of persecution in South Africa..." but "we are not able to confirm that Mr. Brutus' life or liberty would be at risk in Zimbabwe." According to the State Department it has never been "proven" that South Africa is carrying out these assassinations. Apparently attempting to elucidate on the State Department's position, the judge asked one witness if South Africa had ever, like the IRA, publicly claimed responsibility for these terrorist acts.

The State Department did not, however, recommend sending Dennis Brutus to Zimbabwe but advised a less politically exposing solution. They implied that he had been "firmly resettled" in Britain because his wife lives there and he traveled on a British passport (Rhodesia was formerly a British colony). Since Brutus has the option of returning to Britain, they argue, and there is not "a well-founded fear of persecution" there, political asylum could be denied. This, despite the fact that Brutus has not lived in Britain since 1970, has been a professor in the U.S. for over 10 years, and was

denied a British passport as soon as Zimbabwe was established in 1980.

From the beginning, the attempt by the U.S. to deport Dennis Brutus has been linked very clearly to "constructive engagement," the current U.S. policy of strengthening economic, military and political ties with South Africa. A key part of this is to project an image of South Africa "making progress in race relations." Bringing the Springboks to the U.S. (and other countries) in 1981 was part of this (as is the decision by the Dallas Cowboys to hire, starting in August, 1983, a placekicker who is a member of the South African police). As an important symbol of the struggle against apartheid, especially in a key arena where South Africa seeks to effect world opinion — sports, particularly the Olympics — Dennis Brutus has been a thorn in the side of the U.S. and South Africa and therefore became "deportable."

This case, however, also coincides with an inner-ruling class struggle over southern Africa. There are efforts by important sections of the bourgeoisie to brand the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" a failure (see "Apartheid: Problem Child of Imperialism," *RW*, June 3, 1983). Major representatives of the ruling class have issued statements of support for Brutus' asylum case, including House Speaker Tip O'Neil, Republican Senator Charles Percy (head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee), 20 U.S. Senators, and 50 U.S. Congressmen. The *N.Y. Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* have also come out in favor of letting Brutus stay in the U.S. How all this will get worked out remains unclear. But it could be some time before a final decision is made concerning deportation and, if so, to which country. The case has been continued so the INS can present its witnesses, although no new dates for court appearances have been scheduled. The judge is not expected to rule on the case, at the earliest, until the end of the year and then appeals are expected. □

THE SOVIET UNION:

Socialist or Social-Imperialist?

Essays Toward The Debate
On The Nature Of Soviet Society

Compiled by the Editors of *The Communist*

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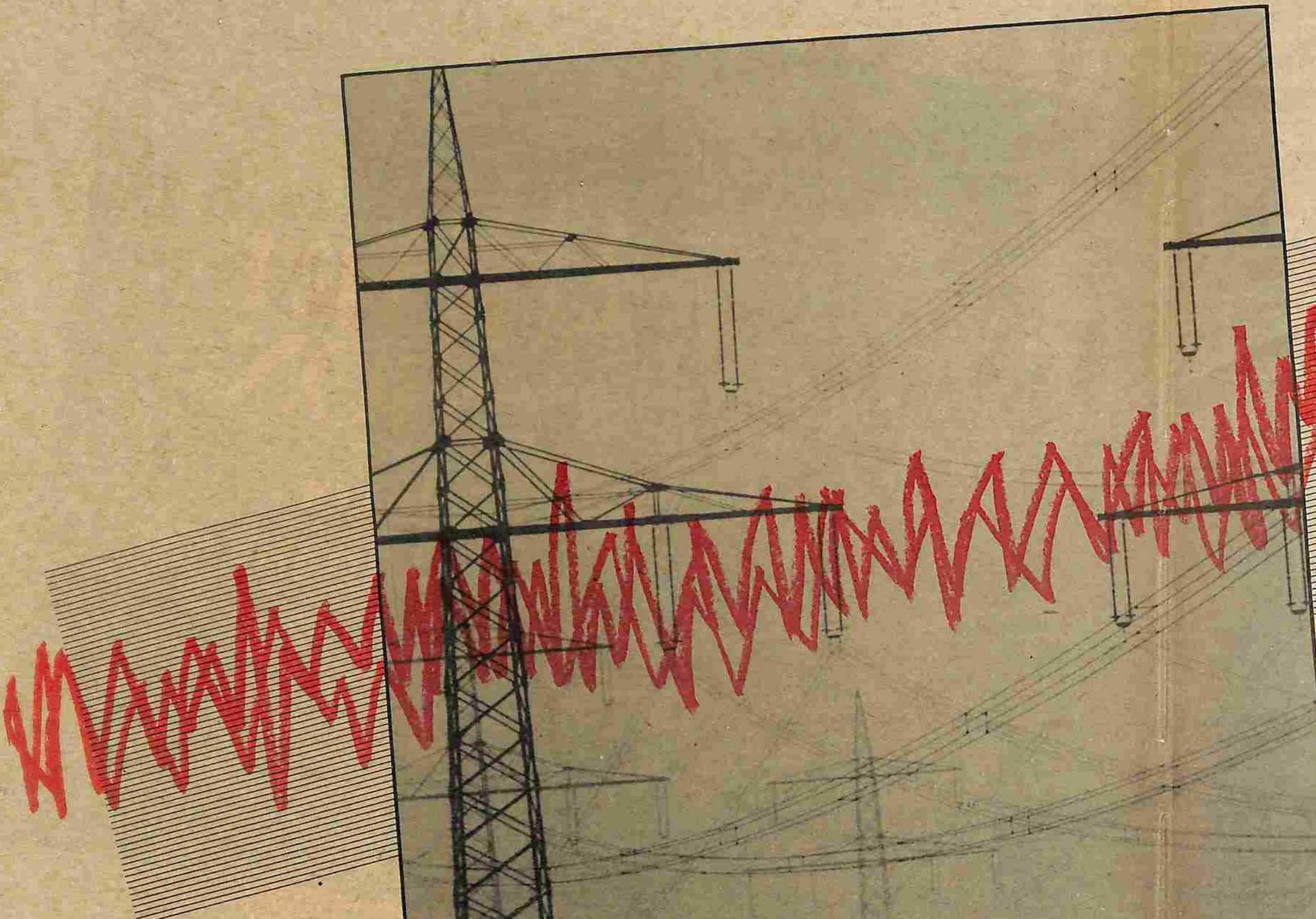
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Watch for the Soon-To-Be-Published book of transcripts from the main debate between Raymond Lotta and Albert Szymanski at the Conference and Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union: Socialist or Social-Imperialist?, held in New York City, May 22, 1983.



A recent issue of the slick Soviet magazine *Soviet Life* contained an interesting article entitled "The Everyday Life of an Everyday Worker." The article is about a middle-aged machinist in the town of Gomel named Anatoli Bedrikov. Bedrikov's story is an interesting one, because it is so familiar to us. After graduating from high school, he failed the strictly competitive entrance examinations for higher education, and was promptly drafted into the army. When he was finally discharged, he found that there was "a flood of high school graduates applying for jobs at industrial plants and construction projects." The article goes on: "Their teachers had taught them an important truth: before you choose a trade, you should know what trade is most needed. The high school graduates understood that if they learned jobs for which there was a demand for workers, they would get established more quickly and fully and success would come sooner. So Bedrikov took a job at the Machine Tool Plant in Gomel. The personnel department told him that the plant needed planers more than anything else and that they made good money. Shortly thereafter he became a planer."

Over the years, Bedrikov was bounced from machine to machine, ending up on a metal slitting machine. Now comfortably settled into Archie Bunkerdom (Soviet-style), we are told that Bedrikov spends his weekends picking mushrooms and berries, is satisfied with his pay, and feels that "money shouldn't interfere with the normal development of interests and the established rhythm of life." His future is clouded, however, by all too familiar concerns: "Bedrikov believes that in the long run he may have to give up his slitting machine altogether. Automation of production, though, will have the decisive say."

All this occurs, of course, in that society which apologists for Soviet social-imperialism assure us is totally different from capitalism: where there is no labor market, where the planned economy assures the balanced growth of the economy in the interests of the workers, and where men control machines rather than machines controlling men.

Not surprisingly, the realities of state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union and its enslaving subordination of the working class even showed through attempts to paint a bright face on it for foreign consumption. But even more blatant is the explanation given in Soviet political and economic texts to justify this enslavement, and particularly to deny the historic revolutionary role of the proletariat to transform all society and liberate all mankind. Revolution? Oh, we had that back in 1917. Now the task is creating the "material and technical bases for the transition from socialism to communism."

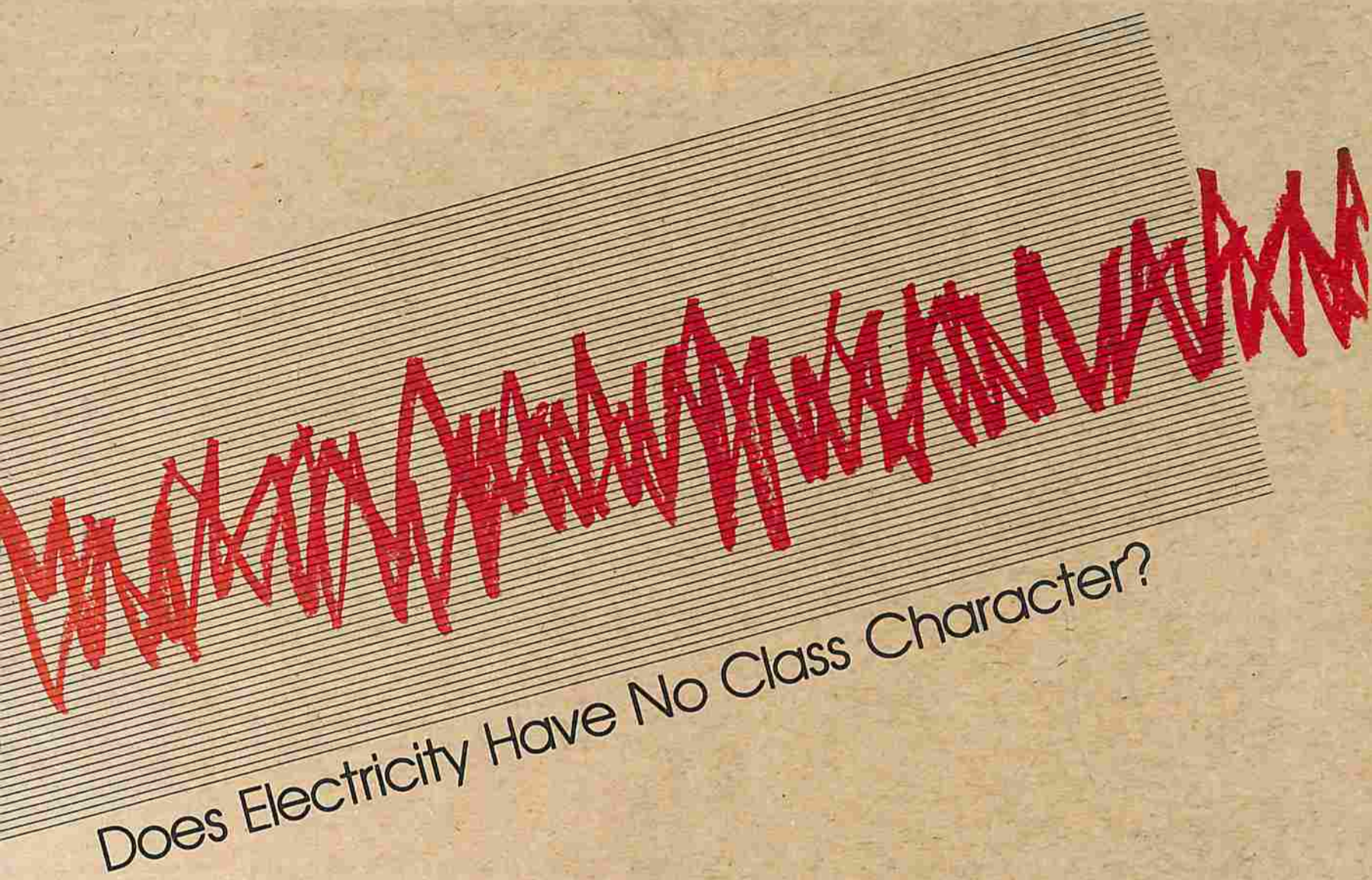
According to *Political Economy: Socialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), "A distinguishing feature of com-

munist is, above all, its higher level of development of the productive forces, ensuring an abundance of material wealth. . . . The transition from socialism to communism is a *natural process*. Communism grows out of socialism." Bedrikov really has nothing to worry about, you see, because "the material and technical base of communism will be automated systems of self-controlled machines embracing social production," and "the type of energy best corresponding to the automated system of machines is *electricity*. The sources for obtaining power under communism will be much more powerful and varied, the generation of electricity by using controlled thermonuclear and atomic energy and other sources will make the power resources applied in the production of material wealth practically unlimited." (All emphases in the original by these truly electrifying revisionists.)

Another revisionist work, *Political Terms: A Short Guide*, by Boris Putrin (Moscow: Novosti, 1982), takes it even further in developing the "material and technical bases of communism": "It

means the high level of development of automation, atomic power production, electronics, computer technology, semiconductor production, etc., on the basis of combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist organization of society. The high level of development of social production will make it possible to implement the basic principles of *communism*, 'from each according to his ability to each according to his need.' " This, of course, places Silicon Valley in the vanguard of the transition to communism!

And if some Soviet Bedrikov were to look up from his mushrooms and be so brazen as to ask, "Doesn't the transition to communism have something to do with the abolition of class distinctions, production relations on which they stand, social relations corresponding to these relations, and the ideas that result from these social relations?", the Progress Publishers volume cited above is ready with yet a "deeper" explanation: "The ethics of human history are differentiated by the instruments of labor with which



Does Electricity Have No Class Character?

people are equipped and which they use to create material wealth. . . . Using this unique scientific methodology of periodizing the epoch of social development, one can conclude that the main, distinguishing feature of the material and technical base of communism, the one that will determine all its other aspects, is the historically determined instruments of labor that the workers of communist society will use in the process of producing material wealth."

Not unexpectedly, the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union wish to confine any and all "revolutions" to the sphere of science and technology. This revisionist explanation of the relations of people to the instruments of labor provides precisely the "theoretical" justification required by the state monopoly capitalists to keep the Bedrikovs of Russia harnessed to the accumulation of value — their nose to the grindstone and the carrot of "communist distribution" in the distant future being dangled before their sweating faces.

For Marxists, the epochs of human history are defined by "modes of production" — which are not a simple matter of the various tools which people employ in production, but rather are marked by specific *relations between people* within which production takes place. And while differing relations of production are ultimately determined by the level of development of the productive forces, it is only through class struggle that the social relations are revolutionized, further unleashing the productive forces and moving history forward — ultimately out of and beyond the historically limited epoch of commodity production and class society. "Tools speak" as Mao put it, but "they speak through men."

It was precisely questions such as these, the relationship between workers and the tools of production (and, yes, even the question of electricity), that were taken

up by the revolutionary masses of China during the Great Leap Forward and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Through these hard-fought *class struggles under socialism*, and by summing up both the positive and negative experience of the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries in the Chinese Communist Party were able to formulate the correct relationship between economic growth and revolutionary transformation: "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production." Thus, what Lenin referred to as the "shoot of communism" were seen to grow and were nourished by the conscious activism of the masses, even at relatively low levels of development of the means of production — things which, according to the enslaving theory of the primacy of tools over workers, could never have happened at such low levels of development of the productive forces.

By way of example is the following account of a visit in 1975 to a commune in South China by a revolutionary from the U.S. The transformations described have now been brought to a complete halt and reversed by the 1976 counterrevolutionary coup in China and capitalist relations are being re-established with abandon in China's countryside. Still, the achievements of then-revolutionary China remain the high-water mark of the historic struggle of the international proletariat, and the basic path for all future advance.

Located in a mountainous area, three hours by bus from Canton, the Liang Kou Commune was in 1975 a community and production unit of 26,000 people. Because of the terrain, the commune members had only 4,000 acres of rice paddies and other fields but over 8,000 acres of rocky hills and gulleys. The problem which faced the people was one of

how, in this seemingly unfavorable situation and relying mainly on their own efforts, to achieve the levels of agricultural productivity called for in the national plan. And how could the backward ideas and social relations left over from the old society finally be eliminated?

The solution adopted by the people of Liang Kou was to follow the road of Dazhai (Tachai), the national model in socialist agricultural development. Through their own physical effort (not waiting for the availability of mechanized equipment) and after considerable political struggle, they began to transform the conditions of their existence. What Liang Kou lacked in arable land it made up for in heavy sub-tropical rainfall. By damming up even the smallest creeks, creating catchbasins in the hills, laying standpipes down the sides of mountains and utilizing the flowing currents of rivers without large dams, the people of Liang Kou set up hydroelectric stations all over the commune. By the end of 1975 the commune as a whole owned and operated 52 power stations, and most of the commune's subdivisions operated additional hydroelectric generators of their own. The commune's weakness had been turned into strength, but only by knocking down old ideas and politically mobilizing the most powerful force of production: the working masses.

By 1975 Liang Kou's "self-electrification" program had brought electricity to 94% of the homes. It had expanded irrigation by powering 16 water pumping stations. It had provided the basis for industrial expansion in the form of a papermill, a saw mill, and a farm

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The Grand Dragons of the GBI

June 1983 — for the first time in almost 20 years, the Ku Klux Klan holds an open march only a few miles from downtown Atlanta. One hundred robed Klansmen marched from Main St. in College Park, a suburb that is 50% Black, kept safe from hundreds lining the route by both city police and agents of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation — Georgia's state equivalent of the FBI. As the Klan stops to rally, they are met by more counter-demonstrators, straining at the ropes surrounding the rally site. An unmarked car slowly makes its way through the crowd, going behind police lines, and stops only a few feet from the rallying Klukkers. Two men wearing GBI baseball caps get out, open the trunk of the car, check the contents inside, and leave it conspicuously open facing the Klan and easily accessible by them until the rally is over and the KKKers are driven out of the area in a GBI bus. No one could see exactly what had been in the trunk, but whatever it was, it was there for the use of the Klan — should they need it (à la Greensboro, perhaps?). The GBI "Anti-Terrorist Task Force" was hard at work.

The GBI Anti-Terrorist Task Force was established with much hoopla from the press shortly before the summer of 1981, only weeks after the arrest of Wayne Williams for the Black youth murders and while the projects and communities of Atlanta were still seething. Not surprisingly, this was a time marked as well by an increase in overt Klan activity, especially in rural Georgia. A group of state legislators, headed by Black officials met with local and federal police officials and out of that introduced a bill to establish the task force, giving it broad powers. The bill was widely promoted at the time as an anti-Klan measure, and many, such as Julian Bond, who is a state senator in Georgia, as well as quite active in opposing the Klan, advocated it as such. Other anti-Klan organizations also backed the bill. Its chief sponsor, Tyrone Brooks, is an officer in the National Anti-Klan Network, headquartered in Atlanta.

Indeed, if you read the bill you will find that it sounds like it *could* be aimed at the

Klan: its stated purpose is to "identify, investigate, arrest, and prosecute individuals or groups of individuals who illegally threaten, harass, terrorize, or otherwise injure or damage the person or property of persons on the basis of their race, national origin, or religious persuasion."

But appearances can be quite misleading. For the GBI and the "officials" who prompted the bill in the first place (and despite whatever intentions others may have had) this bill and the task force it created never had anything to do with stopping Klan violence. In fact, during the first summer of its existence, one many had expected to be potentially quite a hot one in Atlanta's ghettos, the Anti-Terrorist Task Force aimed its efforts at finding ways to keep things calm in the Black community while the authorities prepared their "closing" of the Black youth murders case. And just this spring it was revealed that in the two years since then, they have expanded their work in quite a different direction indeed from "anti-Black groups."

As it turns out, the task force has developed a list of no less than 17 "terrorist groups operating in Georgia." This is *not* a list of the dozens of Klan factions operating in the state. Far from it. As GBI head Phil Peters admitted in a speech given to the Atlanta Metropolitan Crime Commission on May 17th that was not reported on in the press, "The anti-terrorist bill was designed to deal with anti-Black terrorism. However, it can be interpreted to be encompassing enough to cover a wide range of terrorism in Georgia, not just anti-Black activity." Under the guise of this bill the GBI has launched a campaign of "surveillance" of a broad range of organizations and groups of people the government deems a "threat" to the normal workings of things — including the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which has been under sharp attack from authorities in Atlanta these past three years. The GBI's "list" is quite a potpourri. Of course there is the obligatory mentioning of the Klan and Nazis (this is, after all, supposed to be based on an "anti-Klan" bill).

But the list goes on. There's the party. There are a number of revolutionary nationalist organizations, including the Republic of New Afrika, Black Liberation Army, and FALN (which has never been active in Georgia). There are some Trotskyite groups. And finally there are such so-called "terrorist organizations" as "Iranian students" and "Libyan groups."

While Peters faintly attempted to pawn this off as combating "terror from both the right and the left," the underlying motivation for this eclectic list was cleared up when he presented *another* list, the so-called victims of "terror" seen as the most important things to protect — military installations, power plants, and regional headquarters of multi-national corporations. Not quite the concerns of "anti-Black" groups who intend to terrorize people because of their "race, national origin, or religious persuasion." In fact, the clear and embarrassingly crass implication here is that any political activity aimed at exposing the military or "multi-national corporations" is at least potentially "terrorist" and should be dealt with as such.

But don't get us wrong — the Anti-Terrorist Task Force is *very* concerned with Klan activity in Georgia — and how they dealt with the Klan march in College Park is only one of several shining examples. In fact, in his speech Peters went on a good deal about how much the Klan has "grown" in recent years, and how deep its ties are with the "official" police — even using the occasion to inform people that one of his predecessors, a former head of the GBI, was *himself* a grand dragon of the KKK.

(The story of this particular individual is quite interesting. Peters was referring to Sam Roper, who in 1949 headed the GBI and the Association of Georgia Klans. This was during the period, following World War 2, when the bourgeoisie was driving tens of thousands of Black sharecroppers off the land into the factories in the north, and the Klan played an important role in carrying that out through terror. In light of this the government faced the task at that time,

no doubt a high priority for Roper, of uniting several Klan factions into one organization. Today they face a similar problem — the need to forge together the various Klan factions into a more unified force in preparation for the '80s. Could Peters be giving us a thinly disguised hint?). Combine Peters' remarks with the Anti-Terrorist Task Force's escapades with the Klan and you get the *real* picture — an important arm of the political police openly promoting the Klan while aiming its guns squarely at the masses and various revolutionary and progressive groups.

Actually, it is exactly because of this that Peters spoke in his speech to a particularly sticky contradiction they face in carrying out their task today — the fact that a lot of people, including possibly some who were behind setting this task force up in the first place, might not be too happy with such a course. He pointed out that "people complained that Big Brother is watching. We were pressed to come up with a justifiable defense for this (the 'list'). What we need to be concerned about is the potential. These are groups we believe intend to commit illegal acts." His point, made repeatedly throughout the speech, is that in order to diffuse the idea that "Big Brother is watching" it is important to disguise the blatantly political purposes of the task force by establishing that the groups targeted "have a predisposition for violating the law." With this requirement for preparing for intensified attacks in the future, clearly the GBI will be doing much more than just conducting surveillance in the immediate period. A "case" has to be not just made, but created; the proper atmosphere has to be forged.

In getting down to the nitty-gritty of just what the task force *plans to do* with their list, Peters was quite blunt: "Whatever steps are necessary must be taken... on the national level, there have been changes in policy in counteracting terrorist groups. The FBI has new guidelines that permit it to do things that it hasn't done for a few years." While Peters did not elaborate, those "things" include such creative strategies as the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO program under which it murdered and jailed hundreds of Black revolutionaries in the '60s, particularly targeting the Black Panther Party.

With the exposure of this list, it has become abundantly clear just what the GBI is up to with its Anti-Terrorist Task Force in Georgia.

Electricity

from page 9

machinery factory. It had provided income through the sale of excess electricity to the state to purchase capital equipment (the commune in 1975 had nearly 200 tractors) and to expand social services. And on the basis of this all-around development, Liang Kou had achieved a grain yield of about 5,280 pounds per acre, equalling the target set for areas of southern China.

These accomplishments were made possible only through fierce class struggle against the traditional self-interest orientation of the peasantry and against the revisionist line. For example, the construction of some of Liang Kou's power stations came to be "financed" by village production teams donating young people to work on the project. That is, these young people were paid in work points from their home teams, even though the home teams might be miles away and stood to gain no immediate return from the investment. This was a sharp departure from the profit-oriented, dog-eat-dog existence of the old society. Differences between town and countryside were further attacked by "educated youth" from the urban areas coming to work on the construction and live in the countryside.

By the standards of industrialized nations the hydroelectric stations of Liang Kou were not very impressive. Some generated as little as 2.8 kilowatts (enough to power 28 100-watt bulbs). But their effect on a mass scale in China's countryside was stupendous. In Guangdong (Kwangtung) Province alone, by 1972 there were 5,000 such mini-stations generating 100,000

kilowatts — all with little or no capital investment by the state.

Such revolutionary innovations by the masses did not go down, however, without the sharpest struggle both among the people and between the advanced and the revisionists holding positions of authority — the type of struggles which characterize socialism. One similar project in north China was the construction of the Red Flag Canal, where both construction and bitter internal struggle went on for 15 years! At one point in 1962, the county party committee called a mass meeting to try to stop the project, but the masses voted to continue. In 1966, organized groups were formed among the local masses to oppose the canal (it was branded the "death canal" because of the accidents that took place during its construction). Three different times Liu Shaoqi — the then-leading Chinese revisionist — ordered the canal stopped and at one point the number of workers dropped from 3,000 to 300, but the work went on. Once when a carload of officials came out to verify that the work had actually stopped, they were fooled as seven hundred people hid in a tunnel until they left and then work continued!

Only with the victory of the Cultural Revolution were such struggles given public recognition and support. Only the political victory of the proletarian line at the level of state power made it possible to pursue a revolutionary line locally and to use industry to turn out the thousands of small generators, motors, and other "unprofitable" equipment needed by the masses in the countryside to carry out their own electrification program. In the field of hydroelectric power, for example, the ideas of Liu Shaoqi placed first importance on the development of great hydroelectric projects using high technology and heavy state investment. For Liu, little rural generators were backward, inefficient, and something of

an embarrassment! Of course big generators had an important place. One state-owned 42,000 kilowatt hydroelectric station near Liang Kou provided some of the power for nearby Canton. But if socialist society as a whole were to continue on its path of revolutionary transformation, there had to be a unified development of industry and agriculture. The alternative policy, "milking" the peasants to finance industrial growth could only lead to increased disparity between city and countryside and increased disunity between workers and peasants.

The advances in agricultural production made possible by the Cultural Revolution in turn laid the basis for further revolutionizing the relations of production. Within the commune structure, groups of adjoining teams were organized in production brigades. In Liang Kou, one production brigade (out of 22 in the commune) had become the basic accounting unit. That is, its production teams east their lots together, pooling their land holdings and income into a higher level of collective ownership and social relations. But this was made possible by an increased political consciousness and higher levels of material production, especially by raising the productivity of less well-off teams. Liang Kou's increased production through its electrification program made possible both the gradual expansion of the basic accounting unit and an increase in the percentage of commune assets which are owned directly by the people of the commune as a whole. (By contrast, Deng Xiaoping and the current leadership of China are emphasizing the family as the basic unit of agricultural production.)

Finally, yet another striking revolutionary change was taking place in Liang Kou as the result of its productivity based on revolutionary politics. The vast majority of China's homes and institutions purchased electric power like any other

necessary commodity. In 1975 Mao Tsetung had spoken of the continued existence of commodity production (production of goods for exchange based on value rather than for use) as a remaining basis for capitalism within socialist society. In many of Liang Kou's teams which owned their own power station and in the one brigade with brigade accounting, they proceeded to eliminate the watt-hour meters and made electricity completely free. When a visiting revolutionary from the U.S. observed that this represented a "first spark of communism," the vice-chairman of the commune readily agreed. That was the whole point! "Electricity is no longer a commodity," she said, "but a social benefit."

Yet, being on the cutting edge of history inevitably meant being in the thick of the class struggle against revisionism. Just how controversial within China these experiments and innovations were was demonstrated only one week after the visiting revolutionaries went to Liang Kou, as the first "Learning from Tachai" conference opened. Here the revisionist line was presented in the main report by Hua Guofeng who focused solely on production and "Speeding Up the Building of Large Scale Socialist Agriculture." He was soundly attacked on the rostrum by Chiang Ching.

The story of Liang Kou was a living example of what were then called in China "socialist new things," harbingers of the new society which the Chinese revolutionaries were fighting to bring into being. There, in China's "backward" countryside, we saw the seeds of the conscious elimination of commodity production itself.

All this was, of course, quite impossible according to the theories of academic apologists for social-imperialism. They didn't even have semiconductors!

A Language Test

All the quotations below are from two recent New York Times articles and a recent editorial in Time magazine. One of the New York Times articles, "It's Nyet if you don't speak Russian in Soviet," purports to describe and "deplore" the suppression of minority languages and culture in the U.S.S.R. The other two items deal with the "language question" back home in the USA. Note the — how shall we put it — altered emphasis of the coverage.

Fill in the blanks where required to test your ability to distinguish where the "horrors of life in the Soviet Union" are being portrayed and where "traditional American culture and values" are being upheld.

1) "Speak (Russian/English) please," the ticket agent said, turning away from the swarthy traveler standing at his window. The traveler, unable to make himself understood in his native (Spanish/Kazakh) ceded his place in the line and walked away disconsolately.

2) The (mayor/commissar) had noticed that "some of the girls in the office were jabbering away in a foreign language while the other girls didn't understand what was being said." So last month, he sent a memo to the heads of all departments asking them to make sure that (English/Russian) was spoken at all times during working hours unless another language was necessary to do business.

3) Despite a clause in the (Soviet/U.S.) constitution guaranteeing equal rights to citizens of different nationalities, life has become difficult for people without at least a spoken knowledge of (Russian/English).

4) "Now, however, a new bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism is being promulgated that would deliberately fragment the nation into separate, unassimilated groups," said (Time/Pravda).

5) "Personally," said the head of the local (City Hall Employees' Association/Government-controlled 'Workers' Council'), "I agree with the memo. This is the (United States of America/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Don't we have the right to have our national language spoken in the offices of the government? Is that too much to ask? I don't think so. That is the way I feel. I haven't had any complaints from the rank and file."

6) For anyone with ambition, the pressure to learn (Russian/English) has always been strong. Positions of any importance in the (central bureaucracy/federal government) are effectively closed to those who do not know (Russian/English).

7) "The rise of a large group, detached from the main population by language and custom, could effect the social stability of the country..." a recent (Pravda/Time) editorial complained.

8) The (mayor/commissar) would not get an argument from specialists in good manners. Speaking a language in front of people who do not understand it is "exactly like telling secrets and is equally rude," says the (new Emily Post etiquette/the new Soviet encyclopedia).

9) "I think the women understand," the (mayor/commissar) said. "If they want to talk over coffee they should do it in (English/Russian)."

10) Strong opposition has been provoked by measures (tightening (Russian/English) requirements in schools and colleges... in some areas (English/Russian) is the required language of instruction in scientific and technical subjects in high schools and colleges. At the doctoral level, all dissertations must be submitted in (Russian/English).

11) From the (Kremlin/White House) viewpoint, the "free acceptance of (Russian/English) as the national language as

it is called in official pronouncements, is an economic and strategic imperative... of even greater concern are the problems caused in the armed forces by recruits, mostly from (Central Asia/the Southwest) who understand barely a word their (Russian-speaking/English-speaking) commanders say.

12) "The disruptive potential of bi-lingualism and bi-culturalism is still worrisome: millions of potential draftees inculcated with dual ethnic loyalties, millions of would-be employees ill-at-ease in the language of their workmates..." noted a (Pravda/Time) editorial.

13) Not in a million years would anyone be fired the (commissar/mayor) said, "Unless some person was bent on causing trouble and there was absolute, deliberate, malicious and flagrant abuse of the language thing."

14) "Beyond practical politics and economics, separatism belittles the all-embracing culture that (America/the Soviet Union) has embodied for the world," the editors of a recent (Time/Pravda) article stated.

Answers to "Language Test"

- 1) Russian; Kazakh
- 2) Mayor; English
- 3) Soviet; Russian
- 4) Time
- 5) City Hall Employees Association; United States of America
- 6) Russian; Central bureaucracy; Russian
- 7) Time
- 8) Mayor; new Emily Post etiquette
- 9) Mayor; English
- 10) Russian; Russian
- 11) Kremlin; Central Asia; Russian-speaking
- 12) Time
- 13) Mayor
- 14) America; Time

Tina Fishman Case Moves to Illinois

On July 29, Cook County Domestic Relations Judge Richard Jorzak made a truly amazing discovery. Illinois, he ruled, should assume jurisdiction over the custody case of RCP supporter Tina Fishman, whose daughter Riva was kidnapped by Tina's ex-husband two years ago, and move the case from the California courts where it has been for the last two years. While the decision to assume jurisdiction in this case may have come as a sudden revelation to Judge Jorzak, it has been evident to Tina's supporters for two years that California, the home state of ex-husband Ted, would never have heard the case for one hot second had it not been for the purpose of perpetrating a political attack on the RCP; and Jorzak's ruling is, in effect, an admission that the last two years of court proceedings have been exactly that.

The question of jurisdiction is a significant one in this case because it reveals something about the actual political motivation underlying what is alleged to be a simple custody battle being waged "in the best interest of the child." California assumed jurisdiction of the case two years ago when it agreed to grant Ted's petition for temporary, emergency custody of Riva. Judge James Browning had to bend and break the Uniform Child Custody and Jurisdiction Act and the Parental Kidnapping Prevention Act in order to invent a new and unprecedented definition of "emergency" to uphold Ted's kidnapping. The "emergency," according to his 1981 decision, was based on Tina's status as a Mao Tsetung Defen-

dant at that time facing serious felony charges. This ruling was so blatantly illegal, far-fetched and politically exposing, that in December 1982, California Superior Court Judge Ragan was forced to admit that an emergency never existed, that jurisdiction should be returned to Illinois, and custody of Riva should be returned to Tina. While this part of Ragan's ruling was packaged for public consumption — the case was gaining national attention and support for Tina, particularly among a wide range of women from various classes, strata and political trends — the heart of the ruling was Ragan's extension of six more months of "temporary" custody to Ted (which Ragan recently extended for another month until July 30 in another blatantly illegal move whereby his honor contradicted his own previous ruling).

In many ways Jorzak's recent decision upholds the spirit of the Ragan ruling. While both Ragan and Jorzak granted jurisdiction to Illinois, the bottom line of both rulings is the continued denial of custody to Tina. Illinois' assumption of jurisdiction should render Ted's temporary custody granted by the California courts meaningless. But does Jorzak follow through on the logical conclusion here and return custody of the child to Tina? Hardly. Speaking with the proverbial forked-tongue, in one breath Jorzak specifically recognizes Tina's original divorce decree which granted custody to her, while in the next breath he speaks of a court-ordered visitation to be granted to Tina from August 3 until further

specified by the court. And of course "visitation" is a category that applies specifically to the non-custodial parent. When pressed on this contradiction, the judge replied that he did not want to rule in terms of "custodial terminology."

Just why Jorzak does not want to deal with "custodial terminology" with regard to Tina slipped out a little bit during the hearing. The concerted effort to keep everything within the framework of "the best interests of the child" was punctured when a former attorney for the Mao Defendants took the stand to testify. Jorzak immediately snapped out of his semiconscious state and called all lawyers to confer with him out of earshot of the spectators. At this point Ted's attorney agreed not to contest Illinois as the home state of Tina and Riva if the testimony of the Mao Defendant's lawyer would be dropped, which the judge readily agreed to. While the judges in this case have been eager to raise a certain kind of politics — such as pointed references to Tina being "doctrinaire" and "obsessed with a political cause," it seems that they are now anxious to keep certain other political issues out of this case altogether.

The question of jurisdiction itself was becoming another arena in which it was increasingly exposed that more was at stake in this case than meets the eye. As was pointed out during the hearing by Tina's attorney, to continue to sanction California's jurisdiction at this juncture would amount to giving a green light to every child kidnapper in the country to grab their kid, run to another state and

file for custody. The problem with this kind of flouting of the UCCJA and the PKPA is not only that it sets a precedent-breaking pattern, but it makes it quite clear that the only explanation for a whole series of trend-setting decisions that have come down in this case is politics.

So the courts have been forced to change their tune on the jurisdiction question; however, this hardly means that the machinations to place Ted in the best possible position to win final custody have ceased. While the ruling most definitely does not return Tina's child to her, for example, it does solicitously offer some legal advice to Ted. It is actually written right into the judge's order that Ted should file for temporary custody in Illinois before August 8 which, he has made clear, he intends to do.

Also, Judge Jorzak has appointed a psychiatrist whose opinion the judge will attempt to enter as evidence in a custody hearing. Exactly what line of attack will be pursued here is not yet apparent, but Ted's attorney has already voiced his plans to push for a final custody hearing to take place at the end of August. As this date approaches, the twists and turns and gyrations in this case are bound to intensify demanding that all who want to defeat this vicious political kidnapping heighten their vigilance. □

Bangkok Summit

Continued from page 5

and Chinese participation, "we disagree with any attempt by powers outside the region to settle the problem without our playing an active role."

On the other hand, despite Thach's confident statement, Vietnam is also concerned about the effect of the Sino-Soviet talks. At this point, it is not likely that the Soviet Union is entertaining serious thoughts of sacrificing its relations with Vietnam in order to improve those with China. Despite the heavy burden of supporting Vietnam, the strategic foothold the Soviets have gained in Vietnam is much too valuable. Moreover, although there are real contradictions between the U.S. and China that can be taken advantage of, recent developments such as the upgrading of China's status for technology exports or the announcement of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's trip to Beijing have underscored China's continuing ties to the U.S. bloc.

But there are signs of tactical differences between the Soviets and the Vietnamese over how to deal with the Kampuchean situation. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "informed sources" in Hanoi reveal that the Soviets have been pressuring Vietnam recently to make a major partial withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea. And in March, a Soviet military attaché in Beijing reportedly told Thai officials that they need not fear any attack from Vietnam on their country because "we control every drop of fuel used by Vietnam in Kampuchea." Just days later, Vietnam troops on an offensive against the Democratic Kampuchea forces were reported to have crossed into Thai territory.

These "tactical differences" have more than a little similarity to the much ballyhooed "differences" between the U.S. and Israel, only here it is the Soviet imperialists playing the "reasonable" master, trying to keep their Vietnamese clients on the leash. However, there are at times contradictions that do crop up between the broader and more far-sighted (from an imperialist perspective) interests of the leader of the imperialist bloc and the regional ambitions of a subordinate. For the Soviets, the best scenario would be one in which, while not endangering their hold over Vietnam or Vietnam's strength in the region, they could induce Vietnam to be more tactful and defuse some of the tension with ASEAN. This would give the Soviets more ammunition in dealing with China as well as with the countries of ASEAN. Thus, there is some wariness on the part of the Vietnamese about the talks going on between their Soviet imperialist backers and their arch rival, China. Vietnamese commentary on the final Soviet talks reflect this anxiety, making sure to point out Vietnam's "independence" alongside of assurances that the Soviets will reject China's demands on Kampuchea — as if to say, "we think we can trust you, big brother, but in case you're cooking up something behind our backs, remember that we might kick up a big fuss."

Death of the "Five-Plus-Two" Formula

Thus, the Sino-Soviet talks have spawned a degree of uncertainty and concern within both ASEAN and Vietnam, leading them to maneuver to get some initiative in their hands. In March of this year, just as the Soviets and the Chinese were meeting for the second round of talks, the Malaysian and Vietnamese foreign ministers met in a private session and reportedly came to an understanding over a proposal for a dialogue on Kampuchea based on the "five-plus-two" formula — the five ASEAN countries sitting down with Vietnam and Laos. Excluding the Democratic Kampuchea coalition and the Heng Samrin regime from the discussion table was a way to get around the problem of ASEAN's refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the Heng Samrin government and Vietnam's refusal to have anything at all to do with the coalition.

At the ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting in late March, however, the "five-plus-two" proposal was shot down due to strong opposition from Thailand

and the Philippines. This was an expression of the contradictions that exist within ASEAN; Malaysia and Indonesia in particular have supported a more flexible approach toward Vietnam, pointing out that offers of negotiations and good relations with ASEAN would be more effective in luring Vietnam away from the Soviets than a more confrontational approach. They also argued that China's regional ambitions posed at least as much danger as that of Vietnam's. Thailand, the "front-line state" in the Kampuchean conflict, has had tight relations with China. Although the U.S. made no direct comment on the "five-plus-two" proposal, it is worth noting that Thailand and the Philippines maintain the most open relationship with the U.S. and have been more supportive of the hard-line policy against Vietnam.

Almost immediately after the "five-plus-two" idea was snuffed out, the Thai-Kampuchean border erupted in late March and April. In their heaviest military action since storming into Phnom Penh in 1979, Vietnamese troops, numbering 16,000 and backed-up by a "significant force" of Soviet T55 tanks, opened a general offensive against Democratic Kampuchean strongholds along the border. The main headquarters of the Sihanouk forces was completely overrun. Although Vietnam has conducted dry-season offensives every year since 1979, this time there were direct and sustained confrontations between Thai and Vietnamese troops for the first time. Both sides used artillery, and Thai jets strafed and bombed Vietnamese troops which, according to Thai claims, had crossed over the border. The Thai army commander-in-chief described the border situation as "serious," noting that instead of using hit-and-run tactics as in the past, Vietnam was showing a willingness to directly confront Thai troops. One military analyst said that there are now more field artillery, radar-controlled anti-aircraft guns and other armor in western Kampuchea than ever before. Clearly, Vietnam had made some significant military gains through this offensive.

If the hint of flexibility in regards to the "five-plus-two" proposal was the carrot being offered by Vietnam to ASEAN, the military offensive was the stick. The show of force was intended to demonstrate to ASEAN that the Democratic Kampuchea coalition had no chance militarily and that ASEAN should come to the negotiating table on Vietnam's terms. Adding more carrots to the bunch, the communiqué issued by an "extraordinary meeting" of Indochinese countries a few days after the offensive ended ignored ASEAN's earlier rejection of the "five-plus-two" idea and simply noted that ASEAN "did not decide on the matter." The communiqué also announced that a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops would take place in May and that foreign observers would be allowed into Kampuchea to witness the departure of the troops.

Then in mid-April, as the Vietnamese offensive was winding down, Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila announced that if Vietnam were to pull its troops back 30 kilometers (about 18 miles, the range of Vietnamese artillery) from the Thai border, he would be willing to go to Hanoi to hold a dialogue with Vietnamese leaders on the Kampuchea question. This showed that Vietnam's stick and carrot tactics — turning up the military heat while dropping hints of a willingness to negotiate — was putting a lot of pressure on Thailand. The unprecedented Vietnamese offensive in March and April apparently had shook up many people in Thailand. Sitthi explained that his proposal was "a confidence building measure for the public" to "assure them that they had nothing to worry about over the border situation." On the other hand, Vietnam's "flexibility" on negotiations was also putting Thailand on the political defensive. One "Western analyst" quoted by *Far Eastern Economic Review* said that Sitthi made the proposal "because he was getting tired of being 'Mr. No.' All the time, the Vietnamese come out with their pseudo-reasonable proposals and Thailand, the frontline state, has to turn them down." The magazine also quoted one high-ranking Thai Foreign Ministry official as saying "with some exasperation" that "just about everybody is calling on us to be flexible, so Sitthi said, 'We

will talk to you (the Vietnamese).'"

Sitthi knew that Vietnam was unlikely to accept a unilateral 30-kilometer withdrawal. That would be like accepting ASEAN's charge that Vietnam was the "aggressor" in Kampuchea. Nor was Vietnam likely to give up the military gains from the offensive so easily. Therefore, Sitthi's proposal was in part a tactical ploy to ease domestic concern about the military situation and to take back the initiative from Vietnam by presenting an "offer" that Hanoi would most likely have to refuse. But the fact that Thailand had made any proposal for a dialogue with Vietnam was unexpected and significant. Thailand had been the foremost advocate of the hard line against Vietnam and, only a month before, had killed the "five-plus-two" proposal. Now even Thailand was showing signs of bending under the pressure with the raising of the possibility of a dialogue with Vietnam. All this indicated the increasing wavering within ASEAN on the U.S. hard line.

Although Vietnam was publicly cautious in its appraisal of the Sitthi proposal, it was clear that they welcomed the new development. Asked about Thach's response to his proposal, Sitthi answered, "He said if it was a pre-condition (for talks), he would reject it, but if it's a proposal, he would consider it." While not referring directly to the Sitthi proposal, Thach said in an interview published by the official Vietnamese news agency that Indochina had made proposals in the past about ensuring security along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and that he was ready "to examine every proposal of other countries." He also repeated his standing invitation to Sitthi to visit Hanoi.

Not surprisingly, China has been very disturbed by increasing signs of flexibility within ASEAN toward Vietnam, which threaten China's desire to maintain pressure on Vietnam and wield influence within ASEAN. When the "five-plus-two" proposal was being floated around, the Chinese media reproduced Democratic Kampuchea's denunciations of the proposal, and the Chinese ambassador to Thailand met with Sitthi to press home the point that China expected to be consulted fully before ASEAN took any steps on the Kampuchea question. China did not directly criticize the 30-km. proposal, but an official Xinhua news agency commentary made China's displeasure clear by attacking Vietnam for trying to sow discord between ASEAN and China and by warning Thailand and ASEAN of Vietnam's "tricks." Vietnam was "waving a bunch of roses only," claimed Xinhua. "When you accept them, their thorns will prick your hands until blood is drawn. People must be on the alert not to get hurt by the roses."

China's Dilemma

But China is caught on the horns of a dilemma here. The Chinese revisionists may get all puffed-up about ASEAN's dealings with Vietnam and demand that ASEAN consult them before making any moves in Kampuchea. But ironically, it is China's talks with the Soviet Union which is creating uncertainties within ASEAN and prompting them to explore possibilities of a dialogue with Vietnam. Moreover, while prodding ASEAN to stand firm against Vietnam, China itself is showing signs of flexibility in the hopes of getting something out of the Soviets. Speaking of the Chinese proposal on Kampuchea presented at the Sino-Soviet talks, Sitthi pointed out that "the proposal seems to me that Beijing has softened from its original tough position. Instead of insisting on a total withdrawal before any negotiations, the Chinese now say that they are ready to negotiate with Vietnam if Hanoi pledges to withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea and starts with a partial military pullout." In this light, being warned by China not to be "soft" on Vietnam must make ASEAN feel like a patient being told to give up cigarettes by a doctor who is chain-smoking.

A further disturbing note to the ASEAN countries was China's reaction to the most recent Vietnamese military offensive. Back in February during a visit to Bangkok, the Chinese army chief-of-staff publicly reassured Thailand that China would "stand by" Thailand if there were any threats to Thai territory from Vietnam. But despite the fact that

Thailand accused Vietnam of encroaching on Thai territory in the recent offensive, it was only after the offensive had come to a halt that China, claiming Vietnamese border provocations on the China-Vietnam border, fired some cursory artillery shots across the border. China's action, in the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, was "an exercise in symbolism — at worst a half-hearted attempt to sustain its credibility as a regional peace-keeper." China pointedly refrained from mentioning another "lesson" — like the thrust into Vietnam after the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. Not only would such a military adventure be costly and messy for China, it would no doubt bring the Sino-Soviet talks to a grinding halt. Thus, a more forthright show of support for Thailand was left up to the U.S., which conducted emergency sea- and air-lifts of weapons and ammunition to the Thai armed forces.

Adding more complication to the situation was the activity of the newly-elected social-democratic government in Australia. Australia, a staunch member of the U.S. bloc, has extensive interests in S.E. Asia which it seeks to expand. The election of the social democrats did not change these facts at all. But during the campaign, the social democrats pledged to reverse the previous Australian policy on Kampuchea by reopening aid to Vietnam (cut off after the 1979 invasion of Kampuchea) and withdrawing support for Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the UN. Once in office, the Australian foreign minister put forward that "time may be in favor of Vietnam" in Kampuchea and that by restoring aid to Vietnam, the West could induce Hanoi to "escape from the stifling total dependency that has been established with the Soviets." The Australians seem to be learning from the "socialist" French who, on behalf of the U.S. bloc as well as to further their own interests, go around to certain Soviet bloc countries offering "aid." The catch to such "aid," of course, is that those Soviet bloc countries must lessen dependency on the Soviets and increase dependency on the U.S. bloc. But while Australia is overall working within and for the U.S. bloc, it is also true that the new Australian position on Kampuchea reflected certain differences in analysis from the U.S. hard line. ASEAN attacked Australia's pessimistic assessment on the anti-Vietnamese resistance in Kampuchea and the argument that, instead of simply beating Vietnam over the head, the U.S. bloc should use promises of aid in order to lure Vietnam away from the Soviets. But the recent developments, such as the Thai 30-kilometer proposal showed that a similar assessment of the situation was gaining some ground in ASEAN as well.

There are also at least some forces within the U.S. bourgeoisie that hold similar views on the Kampuchean situation. In February, four retired U.S. diplomats, including the former ambassador to Phnom Penh during the Lon Nol years, made a "private" visit to Indochina. The group concluded that the U.S. policy toward Vietnam and the Heng Samrin regime of economic and diplomatic isolation and military pressure was not working in Kampuchea and in fact was having an opposite effect. According to the group, the Heng regime "is steadily gaining experience and consolidating its authority and influence." They contrasted reports from Afghanistan of Soviet troops moving around Kabul in companies to Kampuchea, where "you see Vietnamese (soldiers) shopping in markets or travelling along roads alone and unarmed." Referring to the Democratic Kampuchea coalition, one member of the group remarked, "I feel history is repeating itself. Here we are, 10 years on, supporting another group of Khmers who have even less chance of winning than Lon Nol."

In a polemic against such views and reflecting the more mainstream thinking within the U.S. bourgeoisie, a series of articles written by a correspondent from inside Vietnamese-controlled Kampuchea appeared in the *New York Times* around the time of the Vietnamese offensive in April. The articles were prominently placed on the front page. The correspondent claimed that, "Despite Vietnam's military superiority over the Kampuchean rebels, there are compelling reasons to doubt the optimistic assess-

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Reader Writes: Moon, Mann, and Otto or The Suppression Of Evolution In High School Science Education

Dear RW,

I want to share a story I just came across which invokes feelings of *deja vu* yet is also strange and even shocking.

Chapter 21 of Stephen Jay Gould's latest book is called "Moon, Mann, and Otto". That won't mean anything to anyone under 30 but up through the early 60's, they were the authors of the most widely used high school biology textbook *Modern Biology*. I first remembered (only after Gould's prodding) how we in California used to joke about the authors' names. Gould's New York memories are a little different but there's no doubt we're remembering the same book: "We all appreciate how powerful an unexpected sight or odor can be in triggering a distant remembrance of things past". I knew what I had the minute I saw that familiar red binding with its embossed microscope in silver and its frontispiece in garish color, showing a busy beaver at work."

"Well, so what", you say. As Gould tells the story, he came upon and bought an old copy of this book only recently and in perusing it he realized he (and all of us) "had been a victim of Scopes' ghost (or rather, of his adversary, Bryan's). Most people view the Scopes trial as a victory for evolution, if only because Paul Muni and Spencer Tracy served Clarence Darrow so well in theatrical and film versions of 'Inherit the Wind', and because the trial triggered an outpouring of popular literature by aggrieved and outraged evolutionists. Scopes's conviction (later quashed on a technicality) had been a mere formality; the battle for evolution had been won in the court of public

opinion. Would it were so. As several historians have shown, the Scopes trial was a rousing defeat. It abetted a growing fundamentalist movement and led directly to the dilution or elimination of evolution from all popular high school texts in the United States. . . ."

I had previously believed exactly these misconceptions myself. I went to what was considered a liberal high school in a fairly affluent community and without having really thought carefully about it I had always assumed I must have been taught evolution in my high school.

But as Gould points out, this biology text had literally no entry in its voluminous index under "evolution", nor did the word "evolution" appear anywhere in the book. As a concept, it did get one 18-page chapter, chapter 58 out of 60 in a 662-page book. But here it goes under an alias "the hypothesis of racial development" (note: *hypothesis*). And even in the confines of this shame-faced chapter, the idea of historical continuity of organic change — that "prehistoric creatures are the ancestors of modern animals" is given only guarded and eclectic confirmation. How many classes even got to chapter 58 and if they did, what did they learn about evolution — as Gould calls it, the "central theme of all biology"?

Even more interestingly, Gould compares this 1957 edition to an earlier book by Truman J. Moon called "Biology for Beginners". This was the predecessor of Moon, Mann, and Otto and was published in 1921, before the Scopes trial. As Gould describes it: "Its frontispiece substituted Mr. Darwin for the industrious beaver, and its text re-

flected a thorough immersion in evolution as the focal subject of the life sciences. Its preface proclaimed: 'The course emphasizes the fact biology is a unit science, based on the fundamental idea of evolution rather than a forced combination of portions of botany, zoology and hygiene'. Its text contains several chapters on evolution and continually emphasizes Darwin's central contention that the *fact* of evolution is established beyond reasonable doubt, although scientists have much to learn about the *mechanism* of evolutionary change."

So the period after the Scopes trial right through the late 1950's was a period of retrogression in biology teaching as the course was consciously denuded of its central pivot. As Gould relates, these dark ages only lifted after 1957 because after the Russians beat the U.S. into space with Sputnik, the U.S. went into a frenzy doing a "searching inquiry into the shameful state of science education in America's high schools." In the new race to turn out a crop of better scientists and engineers for the cold war, we saw "new math", the re-entry of evolution into biology texts, etc.

My class was right on the edge of these developments — I got new math but I also got the old Moon, Mann, and Otto. I thought biology was just a bunch of boring memorization of isolated facts or as Moon himself earlier said, "a forced combination of portions of botany, zoology and hygiene." I grew up loving science but hating biology and thinking it was not very scientific. Conventional wisdom had it that biology wasn't as scientific because it

wasn't a "hard" science like physics or chemistry but the truth is it wasn't scientific because it had evolution stripped out of it.

As Gould says, "Thus were millions of children deprived of their chance to study one of the most exciting and influential ideas in science, the central theme of all biology. A few hundred, myself included, possessed the internal motivation to transcend this mockery of education, but citing us seems as foolish and cruel as the old racist argument 'what about George Washington Carver or Willie Mays,' used to refute the claim that poor achievement might be linked to economic disadvantage and social prejudice."

I think that this whole episode gives a vivid glimpse of how the entire ruling class controls education as a vital part of the superstructure of society, which is in turn vital to their maintaining their overall rule. *Newsweek* in a review of Gould's book, calls Gould: "A one-man advertisement for the necessity of a classical liberal-arts education, he is capable of beginning an essay on James Hutton, the 18th century father of modern geology, by quoting Vergil (sic) on Lucretius, elucidating Aristotle's complex theory of causality, and citing Ecclesiastes as a source of Hutton's cyclical notion of geological history". All these paeans to classical education aside, rather more to the point, as Gould has made plain, is to overcome precisely the suffocation and backwardness characteristic of the bourgeoisie's control of education and science.

—a reader—

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ment offered by Hanoi, Phnom Penh, their Soviet-bloc allies and some Western analysts who consider Kampuchea essentially conquered and secured." The correspondent also wrote that many "educated" Kampuchians are "skeptical" of Heng Samrin's efforts to draw a distinction between the present regime and that of the Khmer Rouge: "Though Phnom Penh's official views today are modeled closely on those of Vietnam, its talk of plots, hegemonists and socialist construction reminds many Cambodians here of the old (Khmer Rouge) government." The underlying argument being presented in these articles was that there is a basis among the middle classes for strong opposition to the regime in Kampuchea.

U.S. Clarifications at Summit

With the situation in a state of flux, attention was focused on the June ASEAN summit conference. Because of the presence of the high-level U.S. delegation led by Shultz, the conference was expected to clarify the U.S.-bloc posture on the Kampuchea question. Indeed the U.S. made sure that the Bangkok conference put a stop to the wavering seen in the recent period and delivered a strong reaffirmation of the will and unity around the "common goal" of staying tough with Vietnam. Much of the U.S. maneuvers undoubtedly happened behind closed doors, but there was some open arm-twisting conducted on Australia. In a direct rebuke of Australia's contention that "time may be in favor of Vietnam," Shultz countered that "time is on our side" and counseled "patience." Shultz was even reported to have referred to the Australian initiatives as "stupid" during a closed-door session. In a press conference, Shultz admitted he had used the word "stupid," but "not in any respect to Australia." Shultz' explanation brought on laughter from the press corps — it was obvious that Australia's face was being rubbed in the mud. Shultz went even further: "I used the word in characterizing a process. . . . I said it seems to me that sometimes we get involved in a process where we say that we want to be reasonable — and we do want to be reasonable — and we make a proposal and the other side says no. And so people say: Be reasonable, make another proposal. So we make another proposal and the other side says no. . . . And I say pretty soon in that process we are not being reasonable, we are being stupid." The "process" that Shultz called "stupid" is

precisely, in the view of the U.S., what has been going on in the past period within ASEAN and Australia.

Making sure there was no ambiguity about the U.S. stand, Shultz fired a whole series of strongly worded accusations against Vietnam: Vietnam was "probably" withholding remains of "hundreds" of Americans killed in the Vietnam War, "a cruel and heartless action"; the flood of refugees from Kampuchea is a "deplorable consequence of Vietnam's policies"; Soviet use of bases in Vietnam "introduces a further disturbing element of tension" into Southeast Asia; Vietnam should stop using chemical and toxic weapons in Laos and Kampuchea. Such utterly hypocritical blustering by U.S. imperialism, which has committed countless crimes in Southeast Asia, is not only a means of putting pressure on Vietnam in the immediate sense over Kampuchea — it is a crucial part of U.S. imperialism's ideological preparations for war. The U.S. is working from various angles to reverse the verdict on the Vietnam War and paint it as a "just" war on the part of the U.S. which might have prevented the "tragedies" happening now.

Statements by ASEAN ministers after the conference fell right in line with Shultz' tough stance. Several ministers parroted Shultz' pronouncement that "time is on our side." In a speech to the ASEAN meeting, Sithi cast doubt on the "practicality" of his own 30-km. proposal. In an interview with a Bangkok newspaper, the Malaysian foreign minister claimed that villagers inside Kampuchea "are providing a lot of assistance to the resistance, even to the Khmer Rouge. This is an important point. The fear of the Khmer Rouge is not what it used to be. . . . Two years ago a lot of Kampuchians were convinced that the Vietnamese were much better than the Khmer Rouge. This is not the attitude any more. They consider the Vietnamese not much better than Pol Pot and his men." This statement, rather reminiscent of the line pushed by the April series of articles in the *N.Y. Times*, was a marked departure from past practice. Previously, the U.S. and ASEAN always made sure to condemn Khmer Rouge "atrocities" and claim that it had absolutely no support among the Kampuchean people. The Malaysian statement, which in the context of past treatment of the Khmer Rouge was almost favorable, was another message to Vietnam and the Soviet Union that the U.S. bloc was ready to rally around the "common goal" and

maintain the all-around pressure, including supporting the anti-Vietnamese coalition.

The starkly contrasting commentary on the conference by China and Vietnam also emphasized the winning out of the U.S. position. A "commentator" article in the English-language *China Daily* titled "On the Right Track" noted with smug satisfaction that ASEAN had "reaffirmed their support" for the Democratic Kampuchea coalition and reissued the call for an end to Vietnamese occupation. The commentary termed the ASEAN decision as "welcome stands" which "demonstrates a unity of purpose." Vietnam's official *Nhan Dan* newspaper blasted the ASEAN conference, saying it "obviously was held under the evil influence of the Beijing rulers in collusion with U.S. imperialism." The paper lashed out at the ASEAN communiqué as "regrettable," since it "repeated the same old erroneous allegations and held Vietnam responsible for the threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia although the broad masses of people and many leaders of the ASEAN countries have recognized that the threat comes from China, not Vietnam." On the Thai proposal, *Nhan Dan* accused ASEAN of bowing to Chinese pressure to make the 30-km. pullback a "pre-condition" for dialogue.

However, Vietnam did leave the doors open somewhat. The *Nhan Dan* article concludes with a fairly conciliatory tone: "Contacts have been established between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries in the recent past. They are initial but encouraging steps. The two sides have also made concrete proposals. The best course of action now for the two sides is to seriously consider these proposals with a view to accelerating the trend of dialogue and easing tension, thus contributing to peace and stability in Southeast Asia." Similarly, ASEAN did not close all the doors either. The joint communiqué by ASEAN did endorse the Thai 30-km. proposal. Also, the communiqué did not press Vietnam to accept the International Conference on Kampuchea that Vietnam so strenuously rejects, as last year's ASEAN summit had done.

While falling in line behind the U.S., ASEAN asked for something in return from their imperialist backer — that the U.S. take a more openly aggressive role in Southeast Asia. The shift in China's position due to the talks with the Soviets has left the ASEAN countries feeling rather vulnerable. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, ASEAN countries sug-

gested a number of concrete steps that the U.S. could take. One is for the U.S. to receive Sihanouk with the honors of a head of state when he goes to New York this September for the annual vote on Kampuchea's UN seat. Such an official reception by the U.S. would give more legitimacy to the coalition. Another subject is aid for the coalition. The U.S. has so far left it up to China and ASEAN to give up-front aid to the coalition members, restricting itself, at least out in the open, to dishing out "humanitarian" aid through international relief agencies dealing with refugees. The *Monitor* quotes an ASEAN official as saying, "Now we'd like the U.S. to give non-humanitarian aid. If the U.S. hasn't gotten out of the Vietnam syndrome, it can start with non-lethal weapons — communications equipment, boots, uniforms." The U.S., according to the official, agreed to consider this.

For both the Soviets and the U.S., maintaining and extending influence in Southeast Asia is crucial because of the region's strategic position on the passageway between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. But since being kicked out of Indochina and being widely exposed for its role there, both within the U.S. and in Southeast Asia, the U.S. by necessity has had to stay in the background in pursuing its aims in the region. At the same time, it has had the freedom to do so, since, with the rise of the pro-U.S. revisionist clique to power in China, it could rely on China as a counterweight to Soviet-backed Vietnam. But the recent wavering on the part of pro-U.S. forces in dealing with Vietnam has created a new necessity for the U.S. to act more assertively in the region. But looked at from another angle, this situation might just be the opening that the U.S. will seize on to further crack the "Vietnam syndrome" and become an open and aggressive force in the region again. The Soviets accused the U.S. of staging a media blitz to blow the Vietnamese March-April offensive out of proportion and create an impression of an "emergency," thus paving the way for restoration of open U.S. military presence in Thailand. And as Shultz was in Bangkok, the White House announced that Reagan will be visiting Japan, North Korea and Indonesia in November. The itinerary has since been expanded to include the Philippines and Thailand, giving further indication that the U.S. indeed intends to seize the opportunity and play a much more active role in Southeast Asia. □

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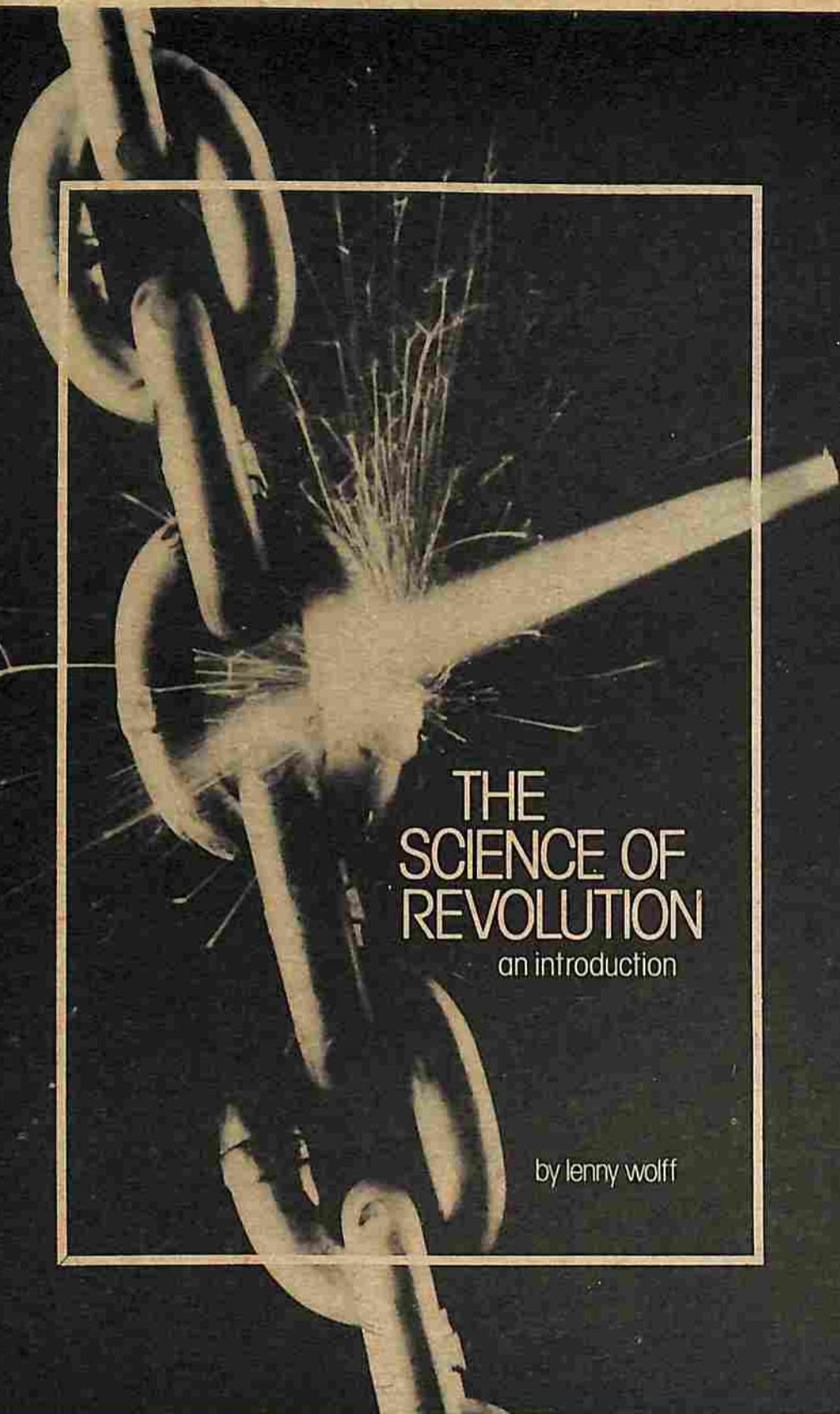
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THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION

an introduction

by lenny wolff

Revolution, as opposed to mere resistance, demands a scientific world outlook and analysis. "The difference it can and does make lies in just what that resistance will accomplish: whether the slave chains will merely be rattled, or really shattered; whether the fortress of the old order will only be shaken, or new ground seized for the cause of emancipation; whether people will fight blindly (even if fiercely, for a while), or with head up and eyes fixed on the furthest horizon, prepared to win."

Seneca Falls

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cluding where it meets the women's encampment and at night a glaring spotlight from the chopper shines on women's tents, prompting one of them to exclaim, "I feel like the Vietnamese."

An additional 450 MPs had been shipped to the Seneca Depot for the August 1st demonstration and housed in specially-built stockades inside the base. MPs had received "unique" training in combat, war, teamwork, law and order, 18 hours in "nuclear security," and 8 hours in how to handle people engaging in civil disobedience. These preparations were all the more striking, since their target was an explicitly nonviolent protest.

The military has had to expect the unexpected over these past weeks: July 9th — affinity groups of women entered the depot at night and wove webs on the fence and sprayed anti-nuclear slogans on the depot runway before returning without arrest. July 13th — women staged a dramatic action in a high-security area of the base erecting a large figure called "Every Woman." July 18th — all sorts of things happened including the actions of 58 women who chained themselves to the fence and blocked the entrance to the truck gate. They were detained and released with "Ban and Bar" letters, a legal warning barring them from the base. July 22nd — 8 women entered the airstrip, painting shadows on the strip resembling the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Several vigils of women have been held at depot gates. And five days

before the August 1st action, a group of women somehow managed to get to the depot's water tower and paint out half of the base slogan; by dawn the MPs looked up to see the original motto "Mission First, People Always" reading only "People Always."

The situation in the area approaching the August 1st action grew very intense as a counteroffensive to the women mobilized. Three days before August 1st, a confrontation developed between flag-waving townspeople and a women's march to the encampment. The county was put under a state of emergency. More police were shipped into the area. American Legion and VFW halls were bristling in the business of going into active duty themselves, organizing a counterdemonstration against the women's August 1st action. Threats were blatant and eagerly publicized in the local press: 150 Hell's Angels were on their way to deal with the women, or residents were freely quoted spewing comments like one suggesting somebody should burn down the encampment. At night firecrackers were tossed from speeding pickup trucks onto the encampment. What caused the bourgeoisie great alarm and had some of the reactionary residents to the point of hemorrhaging was that the protestors were *women*, out of their place and out of their roles as bearers of babies and apple pie. Two 13-year-old boys were quoted as saying "The women shouldn't be doing this. It's not their place to be doing it." And "I think the protest is stupid. They shouldn't have anything to say about it (nuclear arms)." One sign at the August demo read: "Traitors to America and Womanhood Go Home." Shouts of "Go Home" were meant quite literally —

women belong in the home.

Townspeople were flipped-out over all sorts of un-American activity among the women, like showering in a carwash (the encampment's water, supplied by the depot, is quite scarce). How undignified of them! At the demonstration, a representative from the local social welfare department showed up at the encampment's daycare area to threaten action if any signs of negligence or danger to the kids were present. There were previous threats that children of arrested women at the encampment would be snatched up and placed in foster homes. The state, in effect, is threatening to enforce the slogan "Women Go Home." How dare these women take a stand in opposition to war!

The Battle of Waterloo

Things came to a head and sharpened at this confrontation on the Saturday before the main demonstration. A contingent of women organized by the Women's Pentagon Action had arrived from New York City in Seneca Falls and was holding a 15-mile walk to the encampment to call attention to Monday's demo and to highlight historic figures in the women's movement. Meanwhile, back in Waterloo, that town of distinction in the annals of American history for being the birthplace of Memorial Day, the good ol' boys at the American Legion were busy handing out stacks of American flags and working up the townsfolk. Open rumors had circulated for days that a group of reactionary Vietnam vets would stop this women's march. And true to the memory of John Wayne, they did mass on a bridge in Waterloo and blocked the road as the

women from New York approached. Among the reactionaries were those who not only get their jollies memorializing the death of human cannonfodder, but those who pride themselves on their track record of murder in the service of U.S. imperialism in World War I, World War 2, and the Korean War. As the women came up to the bridge they were met by this throng of GI Joe types who clutched firmly in their fist a banner which read "Many men and women have earned the right for anyone to protest in America. Respect *them*, our flag, and our country." A local resident stated, "We cannot allow demonstrations against our government. Somebody had to make a stand for what the majority of people feel." Shouts and taunts were hurled at the women like "Pinko, commie, lessies, go home" as flags were shoved in their faces. The decent women of the town spoke, "I'd rather my daughter were killed by a bomb than to grow up to be a lawbreaker or a lesbian." A handmade sign stretched across a bar read "Nuke 'em till they glow and shoot them in the dark." Riot-equipped cops were called in. Pepper gas was released, perhaps by the American Legion-types or out-of-uniform soldiers. No one rushed to claim responsibility perhaps because the gas did more to disperse the townspeople than the women. A man with a 12-gauge shotgun and a pocketful of ammunition rushed towards the women. He was detained, given a ticket for menacing the public, and released.

A small group of women who would not be intimidated sat down right in the middle of the road while this mob of proud Americans showed them what this

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Berkeley Rebels Protest U.S. Military Moves

Wednesday night, July 27, rebel forces marched through the streets of Berkeley in response to the announcement of U.S. plans for massively expanded U.S. military presence in Central America. People gathered at the Shattuck Ave. BART station after an unsigned leaflet had gone out calling for a "BART alert" (in Berkeley it is understood among movement forces that this means something is going down and the main BART rapid transit station is the place to be). The leaflet demanded: No blockade of Nicaragua, U.S. Out of El Salvador, and support for protestors jailed a few

days before, blockading the Concord Naval Weapons Station, a major source of U.S. weapons shipped to El Salvador. Those who gathered represented some of the more rebellious currents in Berkeley — radical feminists, anarchists, anti-nuke activists, students from UC Berkeley, and junior high and high school students from Berkeley, as well as some slightly more staid forces from the Berkeley movement.

The group quickly took off into the streets and marched for several miles through Berkeley, up to the campus and through the downtown area.

New forces joined as the march went along with people jumping in from the streets and cafes, outraged by U.S. moves in Central America and drawn by the spirit of the march. At its peak, about 125 people were marching and chanting. And while the police generally took a hands-off attitude, they were watching the march carefully, overtly and covertly; plainclothes cops peered rather conspicuously around key streetcorners.

Despite its relatively small size, the march reached thousands of people in Berkeley, as drivers passing by honked their horns and people in apartment

buildings overlooking the street crowded out onto their balconies, drawn by resounding chants. At one point, when the march went past a porno shop whose window was decked out in red, white and blue bunting, some feminists went inside and dumped some of the trashy books, and started banging sharply on the windows.

One of the chants raised and taken up by some feminists at the beginning of the march, well characterized the spirit of the day: "Take Back the Night, Take Back the Day, Make Revolution in the U.S.A." ||

Seneca Falls

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country is really made of. It was almost comical to hear people scream things like "You couldn't do this in Russia" — worthy defenders of democracy these citizens. Threats by police and local reactionaries and even appeals from some of the other women to get up and retreat went unheeded. In fact the number of women who sat down grew to over 50. They were then all carted off to jail as the foaming Ozzie & Harriet Nelsons of Waterloo cheered on.

The events in Waterloo came as quite a shock to a number of these women, not to mention some other townspeople who witnessed their neighbors, tenders of the "Amber Waves of Grain," explode into a mob of stormtroopers.

Within the ranks of the women of the peace encampment, on the one hand, political questions which have been present from the beginning — centering on whether the camp should at all costs avoid "offending the community," or whether a strong stand against nuclear war must be taken regardless of opposition — have become far sharper. While some women were urging that more women from the encampment come into Waterloo during the confrontation, other women back at the camp prevented this, saying it would only escalate the situation and alienate the community further. Some were quite angry with the women who sat down, while others fought a determined battle to have these women supported and staged vigils where the women were held in the face of gathering reactionaries. Discussions continued on into the night at the encampment — should they now cool down things and readjust plans for the August 1st demonstration? Some women considered deleting the "rage and anger stage" for the August 1st demo. Others urged that they carry the flag at the demo as a gesture to the community as others argued back: no way!

There were also discussions and debate over the police and why the so-called neutral local sheriff arrested the women and not the townspeople — with even one local farmer telling the women things like "It was organized. There's no way this could have happened without the police knowing it." (And for those women who urged that the state police were needed to protect them they should consider asking the brothers in another New York institution, Attica, what a fine job the state pigs did there.)

Within all this, a section of women were most open and eager to discuss a proletarian revolutionary analysis of what is happening and entered into numerous discussions concerning the questions of revolution as a civil war between two sections of the people, of the role of the state, and of the possibilities of revolution. One woman who bought the party's pamphlet on national nihilism said, "Maybe this will tell me why I've been arguing against carrying the flag." A banner carried by supporters of the party at the main demo, with the slogan "A World Without Imperialism, Not An Imperialist War," drew attention and a number of women signed statements on it. When a group of local reactionaries later tore banners off the depot fence, including the party's, women saw to it that it was put back up. One woman had come over to the banner saying, "If we should carry the American flag, we should carry it to burn it. It stands for oppression, sexism, and bigotry."

The sharpness of the confrontation in

Waterloo also heightened the falling out among townspeople, many of whom are not exactly eagerly looking to the prospect of nuclear war. A number of churches and restaurants have offered their places to the women for meetings and slideshows. Several people from Waterloo and other towns made a point of saying that they were sickened by what was going down and offered the women the security of their cars for a ride back to the encampment. Two local women at Monday's march explained that they "were not for nuclear war — who is?" but disagreed with the methods the encampment women were using to protest. When reactionary townspeople called on them to join the counterprotest they refused to do so, explaining to the encampment people that "they (the reactionaries) don't speak for us." And then there was the wife of a local bank president at Waterloo who sat down with the encampment people and got arrested, too. Thousands of people in Upstate New York have, in this way, found themselves embroiled in the issue of nuclear war. One farmer told us: "I've farmed ten miles from this depot all my life. I never thought about it. Now I have to think about it."

Come the morning of the August 1st actions, the stakes were quite high. At 9 a.m. women began to gather at Samson State Park. Various affinity groups, some of them pulled together just the night before, began to assemble. By noon they had moved out for a two-mile march to a truck gate at the depot. At the depot townspeople who had vowed to stop the demonstration were beginning to gather. Helicopters hovered overhead.

Enroute the sheriff attempted to have the women disband, warning "There are some very irate citizens up there at the gate. I'm afraid some of the ladies will be shot." The sheriff was indeed observed talking with his buddies the "irate citizens," making helpful suggestions about where to stand and what to say... but the part about shooting was a fabrication of his own, and a fine little example of the way authorities have encouraged, but also exaggerated and used the local reaction against the peace encampment women.

The reality of the situation was that, for the bourgeoisie, larger considerations weighed against encouraging a total blow-out at the depot at this time; this would cost a high political price. New York's governor Cuomo cancelled a trip to a governor's conference to monitor the situation and sent personal representatives to negotiate at the scene. Bella Abzug arrived to partake in discussions with the local authorities and to urge Cuomo's intervention — he sent 150 state police. Representatives from the governor were seen conferring with the local sheriff and initial plans for the citizens to block the entrance to the depot had to give way to larger considerations. The local reactionaries were then given one side of the depot, the women the other side, as the forces of the state stood between them and were so nice as to guarantee that if gas was released they would announce it to the women — who had been placed on the downwind side of the depot.

Within the march some back-and-forth ensued among some of the women; for instance, women who sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" had anarchist women shouting back at them, "Nationalism, nationalism" and saying chants like "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Us Around/Sell Us Out."

Some four hours later after much delay and maneuvering the women finally were able to move into the front of the depot.

Before the planned civil disobedience began one group of five women took to the fence and hopped over causing MPs to scurry and grab them. Out came coils of razor wire. Still one woman scaled the fence — razor wire and all — clinging to the top of the fence. Later on a woman inspired by this told her friend "We can do anything. We can eat barbed wire for breakfast." A punker-type guy who had come in support of the women's march turned to the women yelling "Go girls, go."

When the march had moved in, women tied banners, flowers, yarn, and pillowcases with peace slogans on them. The reactionaries were being kept politically tense but were restrained physically, with a local reactionary vet telling them "We're here to show our flag as law-abiding citizens. They have violated the law and we won't be proving anything if they bring us down to their level. Don't touch any of them, and if one of them puts a hand on you, scream your head off for a sheriff."

As the demo moved to civil disobedience, most drew back while affinity groups of women sat down. Wails and screams of anger went up from the women. But the MPs did not move. And then, suddenly, in waves, women climbed over the fence at the depot gate. Over 200 women, one of them on crutches, went over the fence and were taken into custody by the MPs. And the reactionaries took to spearing balloons released by the women with points of American flagpoles.

Under great pressures and threats from numerous quarters and all sorts of jockeying and maneuvering by the

Riot Corridor

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government and can potentially begin to work closely with the police in the suppression of the masses of people. Overall, D.C. is a city which provides a lot of opportunity to do this. The mainly Black ruling apparatus is almost entirely composed of former civil rights activists. Mayor Marion Berry was a SNCC activist and a leader against police harassment of the Black community in the '60s — who is better qualified to consolidate the middle-class elements of the Black community today? Second in command, Ivanhoe Donaldson, has reportedly been asked to become Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign manager. An editorial by the *Post's* day city editor pointed out the irony that since yesterday's angry young men are now in power or at least have some stake in the orderly development of the Black community, they are the ones calling for the clampdown on today's angry young men who because of high unemployment can often be found hanging-out on street corners. The column remarked that, "If ever there was a time and place where Blacks have become conscious, even militant, regarding Black-on-Black crime and decided that almost any method should be used to fight it, Washington, D.C. in 1983 is that time and place."

Significantly, this editorial, while recognizing the inevitability and necessity of the clampdown, was written in the form of a lament that more democratic methods cannot be used in the grand cause of internal pacification. Similar noises arose from other liberals such as the current chairman of the D.C. City Council, Dave Clarke, who wrote a public letter to Mayor Berry questioning

the use of roadblocks as a "diversion" to other police activity. Their use has "not shown themselves regularly within the operation of democratic society... Such use has been more characteristic of totalitarian societies." The ACLU is considering filing a lawsuit on the grounds that the roadblocks violated 4th Amendment Rights. (The legal director of the ACLU Arthur Spitzer, respectfully explained that, just because of a few massive police suppression operations and the problems of massive poverty and drug traffic, one still shouldn't go so far as question the American system: "Moscow might be a safer place to live than Washington, D.C.," warned the director, "but there are lots of other reasons why people would rather live here.") But liberal objections have been bulldozed out of the way in the name of the community's demand for action against drugs and crime.

All of this handwringing, however, does point to a potentially explosive contradiction for the bourgeoisie as massive police attacks and the plans to drive people out of the inner-city are put into effect. A sharp illustration of this is an incident that occurred in 1980, when a particularly hated drug-squad pig was shot and killed on the corner of 14th and U. In retaliation, the police unleashed a wave of terror and gunned down Bruce Griffith on the street, only to be taken by surprise when 4,000 people attended Griffith's funeral in an outpouring of respect for Griffith and outrage at the police. The efforts to crush or at least scatter this kind of sentiment, to move it away from its concentration around the seat of federal power in a decade when that power must be exercised not just to contain rebellion in major cities but to preserve its empire and defeat its rival on a world scale, may prove a dangerous undertaking for those who must attempt it. ||

Clearly, the rebellious women will continue to collide furiously with the war plans of imperialism. ||

Greetings to you there in the 'Windy City'! May this find you at your best!

Unfortunately for me, there is not even a small breeze here where I am in this solitary confinement cell and I am not doing too well!

You see, I'm in this oppressive monster called the Texas Dept. of Corrections! Conditions are cruel and inhumane to say the least! In relation to such conditions words like ghastly, bizarre and unbelievable are very appropriate! But — despite all the negative factors I am enduring, EVERY DAY I have a fire burning in my heart that compels me to stay strong in every respect and to constantly seek the TRUTH and strive for better conditions down here, complete prison reform, even an alternative to prison, as well as the regaining of my freedom! I am, and have been a very active patriot to this cause for quite some time and even once free I will continue to try and lighten the load on my oppressed brothers and sisters in 'the belly of the beast'! Also I will always take the message to the common people in the so-called 'free world' of why and how our very oppressive capitalistic and imperialistic government is manipulating our lives and WHAT we can do about it!!

Which brings me ultimately to the reason for writing this letter! Would you please add my name to your subscription list and start sending me your paper *Revolutionary Worker*? I have heard about your paper from several people who tell me it is very enlightening and that it fits my character!! So if it isn't asking too much I would very much like to start receiving it!

I am an indigent prisoner at the time but will gladly put forth an effort by writing you and expressing things as I see them concerning this barbaric system! I will gladly answer all questions and letters to the best of my ability!!

Thank you for your time and consideration in this matter!

I remain the 'One'
for Truth
for Solidarity
Rosharon

Dear Comrades and Friends,

I'm incarcerated here in Pennsylvania. . . .

I am writing in hope that you'll place me on your mailing list to receive *Revolutionary Worker* literature and party information as well as the *Revolutionary Worker* paper.

I would like to read and study seriously and develop a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought as it's my present understanding that communists should be the advanced elements of the proletariat.

Even though I'm in this dungeon, it's my belief that, in spite of it all, I can find help with the Revolutionary Communists in developing a truly revolutionary consciousness of my own. A consciousness I hope that will enable me to be a productive force in the establishment of True Dictatorship of the Proletariat Nationally and Internationally.

I have enclosed my prison account statement to assure you that I am an indigent person who earns \$14 monthly prison wages and cosmetics and legal mail more than depletes my meager resources monthly, but my mother sends me \$20 bi-weekly whenever possible as assistance but these meager resources don't allow me to buy the books and literature, etc. necessary, and unavailable here, to develop a National and International consciousness, i.e., Revolutionary Consciousness that I hope to develop and share in the struggle to break the mental chains of International Colonialism-Imperialism, and in our struggle to build a true dictatorship of the proletariat.
So I close and await your response.

In Solidarity

Greetings Friends,

How is everything going, I hope that all is going well.

I am writing because I would like to receive the *Revolutionary Worker*. I've had the chance to read a couple of issues in the last year and find them to be very informative about what is happening in the world. Basically I'm interested in News of The Americas and Native Peoples.

Hoping to receive the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Stay Strong.

Your Friend and Brother,
Wildcat Rises Fighting
Hunlingdon

Dear RW,

I have been transferred from one dungeon to another. Please forward my subscription to the above address. Thank you.

Very truly yours,
Menard

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls 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 a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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