



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Pope John Paul II in Poland

## The Smell of Incense in the Morning



Given the tone of the U.S. media coverage through the final days of the Pope's trip to Poland, one almost expected headlines to at some point blare out: "Holy Father Incites Insurrection Against Red Tyranny!" But such an occurrence did not materialize; in fact, by the end of the trip what seemed to hold sway (at least in journalistic quarters where analysis must comprehend more than banal gutter politics) were any number of "sober assessments" — frank and hard-nosed discussions of precisely what had been possible to accomplish and what was in reality accomplished, and how these two things were generally convergent.

So, did Jaruzelski's knees shake when he met the Pope, or didn't they? And from clarity on this salient issue, what further conclusion can be drawn about the shakiness or steadiness of the position of the Polish government as a whole in the wake of John Paul's Pilgrimage? As it turns out, the general was shaking a little, according to Andre Konopacki, a Polish official interviewed Wednesday night on ABC's *Nightline*; but this was just because all parties concerned "were uptight" due to normal tensions associated with an occasion such as this. Host Ted Koppel seemed content to let the summation stand, as did Konopacki's counterpart interviewee, Lawrence Weschler, a writer for *New Yorker* magazine and author of a favorable book on Solidarity. There seemed, in other words, to be overall agreement that expectations of the impending demise of the Warsaw regime are frivolous.

The trip, however, was far from-frivolous. Moreover, it reflected the different advantages and difficulties of the principal players involved, and the fact that the players approach things in Poland (like things everywhere) from a very strategic viewpoint. The Pope's trip was mutually beneficial to both the U.S. imperialist-led West, of which this Pope is a creation, and to the Soviet social-imperialists, to whom the rulers of Poland answer.

A clue to the inner workings of the intrigue unfolding last week was provided by Konopacki in the same aforementioned interview. He said that the govern-

ment and the Pope "agree on the issue of war and peace." Now there is no agreement between East and West that heightening crisis and conflict will be resolved through peace and not war — *that* becomes increasingly obvious daily. What this Polish official has actually let slip out of the bag is that there *is* agreement that the decisive contemporary international issues — like who's going to run Poland when all is said and done — can not, from the perspective of imperialism, be "settled" short of world war. The Pope's trip reflected this deadly consensus.

A *New York Times* editorial, June 21, runs somewhat counter to the paper's news accounts (which conveyed the impression that the Pope gave 'em hell in Poland): "In his most political act ever, the Pope returned to Poland bearing witness, not revolution. Though he did not counsel resistance, he refused to overlook or forgive suppression. Though he prayed for both sides, there's no doubt which side he came to comfort." This is a little strange: did anybody really expect him to bless martial law and "comfort" the ruling clique? Why does the *Times* seem so apologetic?

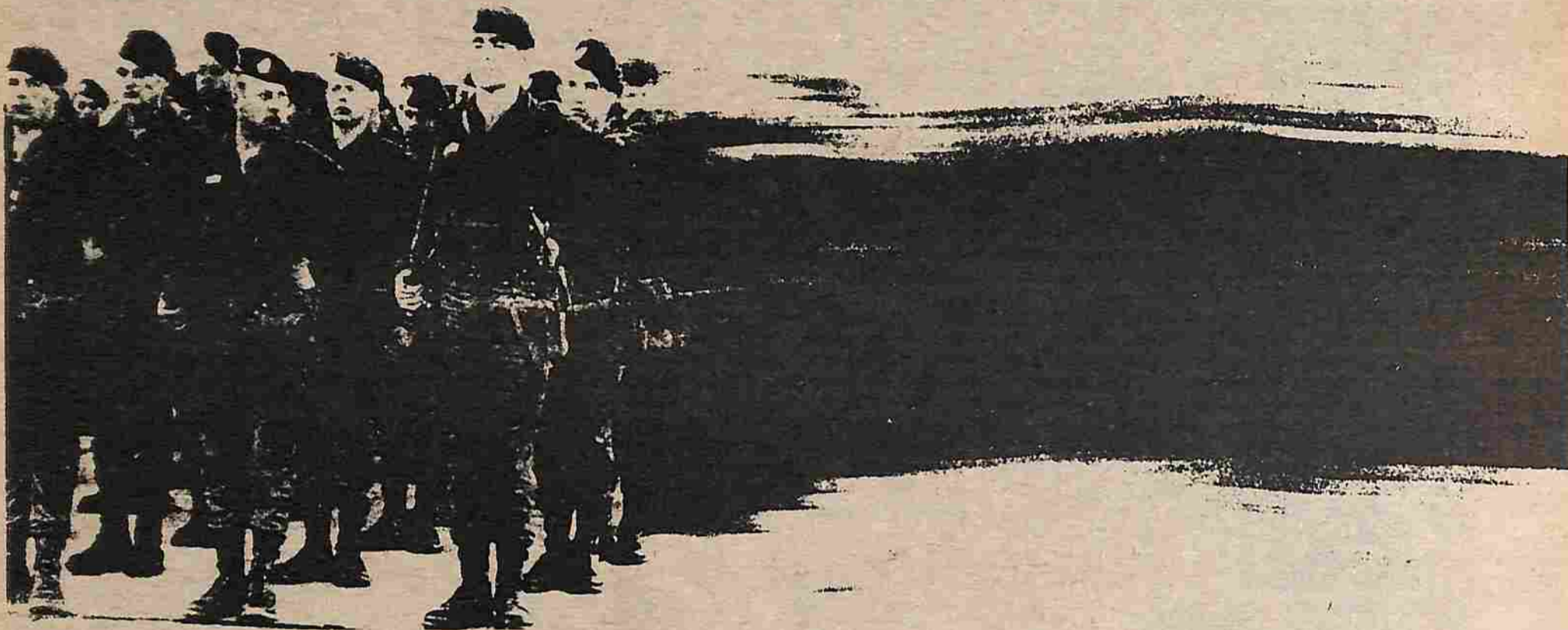
Probably because in reality, the trip smacked from top to bottom of a highly orchestrated endeavor — worked out in consort between the Vatican, Washington, D.C. and Warsaw — in which even the Pope's "tough talk" was OK'd by Jaruzelski and company. Much was made, for example, that the Pope's itinerary didn't include Gdansk — the impression being that the government was afraid of outbreaks in the former Solidarity stronghold, thus restricting the Pope from the city. But it turns out the itinerary was entirely worked out by the Polish episcopate! And no, the Pope didn't exactly call for revolution. What he did do, along with praying for "both sides," was repeatedly urge the masses to dissolve hatred and revenge into "the school of silence and humility," adding standard rejoinders to the crowds to "leave for home in tired tranquility."

The observation of a leading Polish churchman was to the point: "Those who expect a miracle in the social and political

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# The Socialist Rapid Reaction Force



Last week France's Defense Minister, Charles Hernu, revealed that the Mitterand government was creating a new "rapid reaction force" as part of its 1984-1988 military spending program. The force will consist of 47,000 men and will include an armored division, a special force of 140 anti-tank helicopters, and an infantry regiment trained in anti-tank warfare. According to Hernu, the principal mission of this rapid deployment outfit (sometimes referred to as a "mobile intervention force") will be to stop "an armored thrust" into Western Europe outside France's own frontiers. "It will be a large unit capable of opposing the armored thrust of an aggressor and engaging in defensive combat wherever we decide," he said. At the same time Hernu also announced that 100 extra tanks were being sent to reinforce three French armored divisions already stationed around Baden-Baden in southwest West Germany.

Peaceful, socialist France readying to defend itself in West Germany? Yes, indeed: last October, Hernu told the National Assembly that the French armed forces were being reorganized because threats to the nation were no longer limited to "the invasion of (French) terri-

tory." As the Dec. 16, 1982 issue of *Le Monde* explained: "Due to the fact that its immediate neighbors are also its allies, and thus that the defense of its vital interests does not begin at its own borders, France has come to draw the conclusion that it is necessary to be able to project its forces, if need be, beyond its own national space, and, if such were the urgent necessity, at the front of the allied military formation in Central Europe..." (emphasis ours — RW)

Residents of the U.S. will easily recognize this as the classic rhetoric of an imperialist power. Use your imagination a bit and you're at a U.S. press conference on Latin America! Moreover, it is a telling further exposure of the vaunted French "independence" from the U.S. bloc, NATO in particular. As the *New York Times* put it,

"Ever since the announcement of plans for the rapid reaction force, officials and military experts have been saying it implies a greater willingness to fight a forward defense of Europe."

France, in other words, is signifying to the U.S. bloc its willingness and capacity to get into the confrontation in Central Europe from the very beginning, even

though that country, of course, withdrew from NATO's integrated command in 1968.

No, no, M. Hernu hastens to add, there is no chance of the rapid reaction force actually coming under NATO command. France's farcical stance of "we-have-nothing-to-do-with-NATO" does hold advantages for its rulers as the best way of handling its twin objectives of furthering French imperial interests while doing its bit to look out for the bloc as a whole. Both of these rest on the necessity to plunge on ahead in readying for all-out war under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, which task has been taken up by France with fervor unmatched in Europe. The French are aiming to add a new nuclear-capable submarine to its fleet which, let it be said, does not spend all its time guarding the coast of Marseilles. It is working on a more modern nuclear missile, the SX (Socialiste Experimentale?), a new generation of tactical nukes called the Hadès with an expanded range of 400 kilometers, and is developing its own neutron bomb which, it is rumored, may grace the armament of the new rapid reaction force. All the better to defend France's sacred national space, wherever in the world it happens to be. □

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# Anti-Nuke Protests

## in the Shadow of

On Monday, June 20, thousands of people in Europe, the U.S. and Japan capped a weekend of demonstrations opposing nuclear war by blockading, sitting-in, and encamping around symbols of the military. For the first time, the actions prominently targeted the approaching deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, as well as the MX and other of the new U.S. nuclear weaponry.

More than forty actions had been planned in this country, the largest of which took place at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory outside San Francisco, where 1,028 people had been arrested as of Monday evening, the 20th, while the most direct collision between peace activists and the bourgeoisie came at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, where about 100 people invaded the base with the intent of disrupting the first test launching of the MX missile. At least 118 people were arrested at the Groton, Connecticut commissioning of a new Trident-capable nuclear submarine (see accompanying article); news of the demonstrations in Europe and Japan was not available as of press time.

Somewhere between two and three thousand people besieged the lab at Livermore, California, where most U.S. nuclear weapons have been developed and where 60% of the employees are engaged in nuclear weapons design. People chained themselves together and to posts at the sides of the roads leading to the lab; some blocked an intersection with a gigantic wooden cross that they wrapped themselves around, others simply lay or sat in the street. By mid-morning three of the four gates to the lab had been shut.

During the weeks preceding the demonstration, authorities had threatened to imprison those arrested in a gymnasium at the Army's Camp Parks, a facility which had been used for 20 years, until 1980, as a site for experimentation with radioactive materials and which was suspected by activists of being contaminated with radiation. Last year, over seven hundred women were actually imprisoned at the Camp after demonstrations against Livermore. Finally, on the Friday before the demonstrations, a court order was obtained by lawyers for the organizers of the action, Livermore Action Group, barring use of the Camp as a prison, but the incident obviously still hangs as a threat by the authorities for future use, directed especially at the enormous numbers of radical women who have become a major driving force in the demonstrations.

The confrontation itself followed the pattern of many of the nonviolent direct action demonstrations of the anti-nuke movement. However, when faced with the determined jail solidarity of demonstrators, the fist of the bourgeoisie became more than usually evident. One widely used tactic of protest has been to refuse to give one's real name to the police, using instead names like "Edward Teller," "Karen Silkwood," "Nancy Reagan," "Nuke Rockne," and so on; people who used this protest tactic were slapped with a charge of "providing a fraudulent name to a police officer" with bail for all charges set at \$1000 — no 10% bond allowed. People reported being roughed up and provoked by jail guards. And as of Wednesday, 900 of those arrested remained in two improvised jails — huge circus-type tents and a warehouse-type building — with some lawyers predicting that people would be held there through the weekend, that is, at least a week.

At Vandenberg Air Force Base, on the central California coast, it had been clear for some time that the first test firing of the MX was imminent; people had been encamped around the base for about nine days before the test was actually carried out. But the timing of the launch, on Fri-

day, June 17, and the flowery patriotic garbage with which it was surrounded in the media, was certainly no accident: "The MX launch was a slap in the face" intended to show that the imperialists' war plans are relentless, said one member of the Death and Taxes Affinity Group.

But people, organized by the Vandenberg Action Coalition, were determined to go up against and even try and disrupt the launch. Some of their sentiment is captured in a statement written by VAC before the test, and addressed to the "protestors at Groton and Seattle...and other places worldwide." It said in part:

"The conflicts between different countries towards war only benefit the ruling elites, particularly the U.S. and the USSR. We're acting in solidarity with your actions June 20, with all nonviolent direct actions to stop the arms race and prevent world war. We shall win because nothing less than the earth is at stake.

Venceremos!

A world without imperialism, not an imperialist world war!"

One person described the action as it began on Friday morning:

"A lot of us went in (to the base — RW)...The Pacific Peacemaker (Greenpeace vessel) was there Thursday, and it was seized, and the marine alert went out that all ships had to clear out of the area (during) a ten day launch window....The perimeter of the base was the hard part to get into but once you got into the sand dunes there was no way they could find you. The dunes, the rivers, the coastal scrub. One guy walked right up to the pad, woke up a guard, and said, 'I'm here to protest the MX.'"

Another activist, a Vietnam vet, said, "You know this reminds me of Vietnam. We're the North Vietnamese...."

When the missile was finally launched at least one person was 300 yards from the site and was hit with missile debris.

One California newspaper fairly drooled with warlike eloquence in describing the launch:

"Moments after the missile was propelled out of its white cylindrical launcher by clouds of billowing white steam, its first-stage rocket ignited with a flash of brilliant yellow flame. Then the missile, which is designed to deliver as many as ten thermonuclear bombs against an

enemy, rose swiftly into a blue evening sky and vanished at the fringes of space..." (SF Chronicle 6/18)

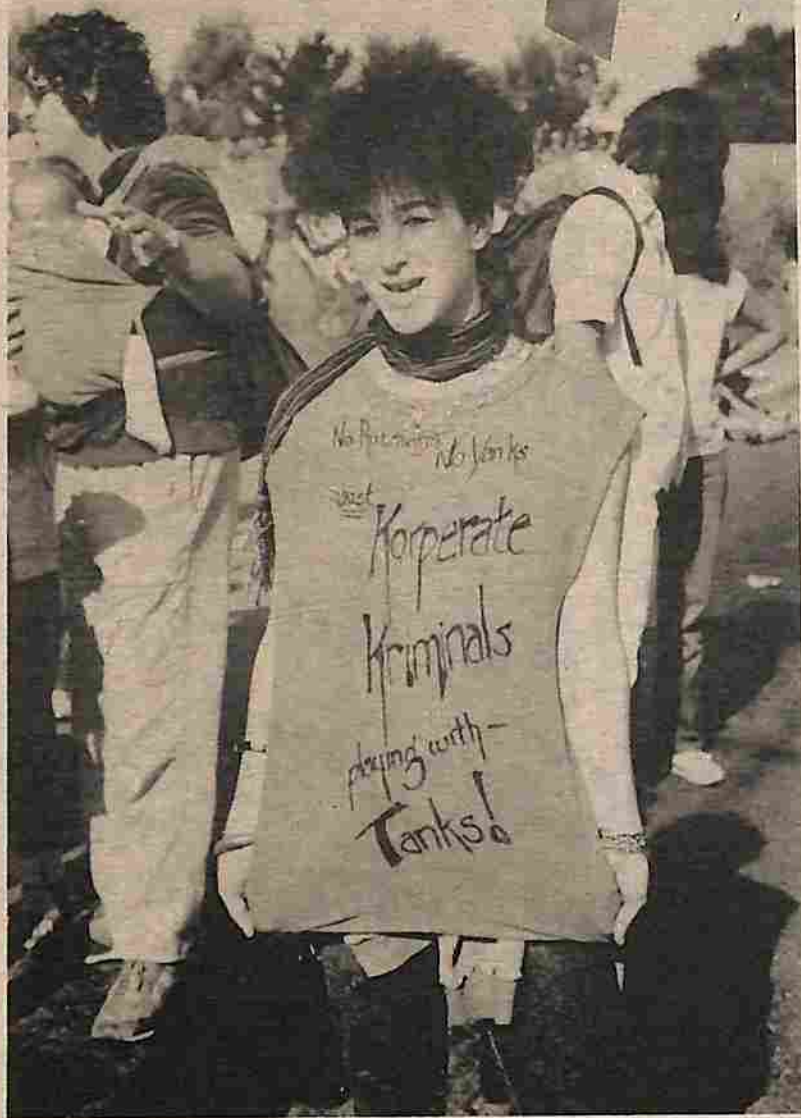
In this first test, which the government says it will repeat every ninety days until 1986, six dummy warheads were dumped on Kwajalein Island, 4,000 miles out in the Pacific.

As at Livermore, the post-arrest actions of the authorities were quite different than shown on national TV. Some demonstrators requested legal proceedings be moved to Los Angeles; the government complied and then hit back with two-month prison sentences. Altogether, 18 people have been arrested.

In general the media has attempted to shrug off the events as harmless and "carnival-like"; ABC's *Nightline* show, on the other hand, went straight at the anti-nuke movement, teeth-bared, and in

fact criticized the local media for its "naiveté." Star Ted Koppel asked whether "the media was used by demonstrators," painted the actions as a "media event" and essentially called for a more "responsible" — that is, more openly pro-imperialist — treatment of the opposition to nuclear war. The show then went on to demonstrate what such responsibility might be like, featuring a debate between an arms technician from Livermore laboratory, and Dr. Benjamin Spock, who called for a "freeze on new nuclear weapons systems" — in other words, a debate that in no way threatens the war plans of the imperialists. Interestingly, *Nightline* did contact the Livermore Action Group, with a tentative offer to appear on the show, but ABC apparently thought better of this and withdrew the invitation.

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# Pigs, Patriots, Target Groton Protestors

At Groton, Connecticut, where General Dynamics Electric Boatyard is turning out the Trident subs and thus carrying on its finest tradition as the pre-eminent maker of U.S. imperialism's submarines, anti-nuke protests and the state's "handling" of the demonstrations took some revealing twists through the June 18th to 20th events. On Saturday, June 18, about 750 people massed outside the Electric Boat gates to protest the commissioning ceremonies of the USS Florida which highlighted naval and Florida state officials. Senator Paula Hawkins keyed the ceremony by extolling the Trident "as vital to not only preserving the peace but also our freedom and way of life."

But on the riverside of the yard the pacifist group Greenpeace had organized a flotilla of some thirteen small boats and canoes and repeatedly disrupted the ceremonies with a powerful speaker system that broadcast agitation against the Trident and played warfare sound effects. Several people in this waterborne protest paddled and in some cases swam into the restricted security water area around the USS Florida before they were stopped and arrested by the Coast Guard and police. In the ceremonies two people were arrested for disruption, including a man in suit and tie who tried to climb onto the USS Florida shouting "Peace now!" Earlier, at 2:00 a.m., three people attempted to canoe to and board

the USS Florida under cover of darkness, and they were also arrested.

On Monday morning, over 100 people were arrested for blocking entrances to the administration and engineering building at the Electric Boat plant, while smaller protests took place at the Navy's Underwater Lab and the British Trident offices in New London. In making the arrests at the Electric Boat plant, the Connecticut State Police were deliberately rough in removing people. Protestors, and particularly women, were pushed, carried and dragged into the wagons with an overt display of force and police holds. The supervising officer of the State Police made a point of loudly ordering his men to "twist their arms more." This was accompanied by a blatant whipping-up of the most reactionary and backward Electric Boat workers. Although the sit-in took place after the hourly production workers' shift change, a core of foul-mouthed, rabidly patriotic Trident-builders were encouraged by the police operation to stage an obscenely chauvinistic display, heaping abuse on the protestors; and they were allowed to move freely from one arrest scene to another. In fact, the police appeared to purposely drag out the arrests, using a minimal number of men and wagons, and making the most elaborate provisions for media photographing of the whole scene.

Later in the booking and arraignment procedures, the overt use of force by the state police intensified, isolating and working over particularly two men and a woman who continued to refuse to cooperate in any way. The public relations person for the state police explained that this was a tactic of escalating the "controlled pain" until the prisoner cooperated. About 25 other demonstrators who had been arrested, some from the Saturday protest on the river, then also refused to cooperate in any way until the three were handled and transported with the larger group. At this point, outside the New London courthouse, the police handcuffed women prisoners together, and dragged them face down on concrete steps into the van. A crowd of supporters gathered and two women sat

down in front of the van. They were arrested, but the police finally complied with the demand that none of the prisoners be isolated.

At press time, about 25 people remain in jail, some serving 10-day sentences and others due for a hearing on July 7. Thirteen of the prisoners immediately started a hunger strike. In an unprecedented move, the State of Connecticut called a state of emergency in the prison system, citing crowding, and transferred all 14 men to a facility in Hartford that has never been used as more than a holding cell.

In fact the actions of the Connecticut authorities through the course of these events has been most revealing. On Friday night, before the main demonstration, the Connecticut National Guard was put on alert and was told they should be ready to move to defend the plant and subs from terrorism and sabotage. The same night, police began checking and harassing people in cars and arrested Boston draft resister Ed Hasbruck and held him in jail throughout the whole three days. Surveillance and auto checks stepped up on Sunday both in the New London area and around the place where many of the protestors were meeting. These tactics had the obvious dual purpose of attempting to intimidate people, and also to gain information about the number of protestors.

The vicious treatment of the Groton protestors cannot be said to be typical of police reaction everywhere in the country to the International Disarmament Day actions. But it is clear that in certain selected places the bourgeoisie chose to make its message clear: even religious pacifists — who were a major force in the Groton actions — can expect the most brutal treatment from the imperialists when they attempt to stand in the way of preparations for war, particularly a weapon of such crucial importance to their nuclear arsenal as the Trident missile. Nonetheless, the very viciousness of the police actions here signifies that the deepgoing opposition to war has touched a very sensitive bourgeois nerve. □

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## Anti-Nuke

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There has also been a widespread attempt to whip up some good ol' patriotic backlash to the demonstrations, mainly by focusing on stories of workers in the arms plants targeted by the demonstrations, such as the Livermore idiots who printed up T-shirts emblazoned with American flags, reading, "I go to work. I do my bit to keep my country free." In Seattle after the women's peace encampment began, a flag-waving greeting was arranged at a Boeing plant for a visiting councilman.

The recent series of stepped-up war moves, including especially the first test firing of the MX, deeply affected the mood of the demonstrators. One group of youth at Livermore told us that after approval of the MX they decided to come to the action because "we realized that these fuckers are really serious about nuclear war." Groups of punks were quite a bit more noticeable in the crowd compared to earlier demonstrations, and the number of people busted who were classified as "juveniles" doubled since the demonstration at Livermore this time last year.

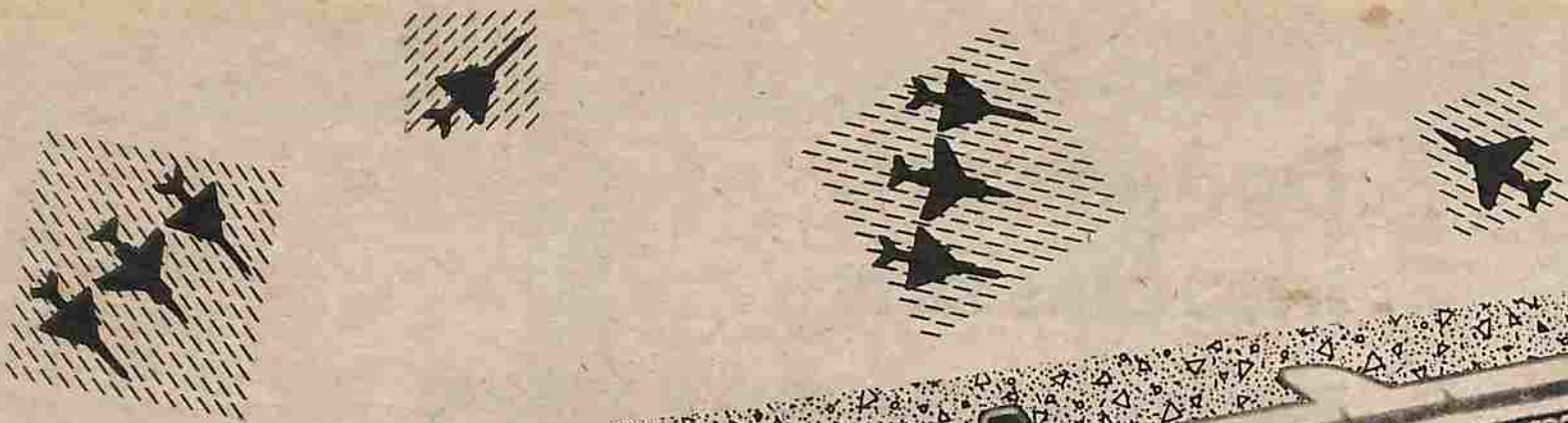
Many activists noted the clear determination of both the U.S and USSR to proceed with their headlong arms buildup and overall war preparations, despite as they say, years of organizing against the massive opposition to these very arms programs; the question of "what will it take" to prevent war, and about the source of war, is today very much on the agenda. Many discussed and debated these issues with party supporters at the actions; one focus of this

debate was a banner, held by proletarians — Salvadorans from San Francisco and some Chicanos from San Jose — which displayed Mao's statement, "The bomb will not destroy mankind, but mankind by making revolution will destroy the bomb."

The revisionists have made a concerted effort to influence the demonstrations this weekend, using the issue and the attention given to U.S. deployment of Euromissiles in order to justify the equally belligerent arms buildup of the Soviets as "necessary countermeasures" to the U.S. A rally in Oakland one week before the International Disarmament Day actions featured a number of speakers from organizations sympathetic to the line of the revisionists; one speaker made a major point of this line that the Soviet Union is not the problem for the world's people, but that only one superpower, the U.S., can be targeted. Further, an article on the actions in the weekly newspaper of the CPUSA implicitly linked the demonstrations to the Soviet-led "World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War" which opened on June 22 in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and which, needless to say, targeted NATO war preparations and not those of the Warsaw Pact. (It should be noted, however, that LAG, initiator of the worldwide activities, announced that it had declined an invitation to the Assembly "due to our own local activity.")

Amidst the many contending political lines on the nature of the current war buildup, and despite the swaggering and confident pose of the imperialists which has been even more pronounced lately, the fact remains of the profound revision of millions to the imperialists' war plans, and of the tremendous threat this poses to both imperialist powers. □





# Fleet-EX 83-1



The official code name given to the U.S. air/naval exercise that took place in mid-April in the North Pacific near the Aleutian Islands seems rather plain and undistinguished: Fleet-EX83-1. But in fact this exercise was quite unprecedented in its scale.

The centerpieces of the exercise were three aircraft carriers — the *Midway*, the *Coral Sea* and the "Big E" (the nuclear-

*Review*, to deliver the message that, "The U.S. mainly leads the world in combined operations, which no nation with a coastline can wisely forget." Accompanying the carriers was a consort of cruisers and destroyers as well as four warships from the Canadian Pacific fleet, making up a 40-ship battleforce, plus an unidentified number of U.S. attack submarines lurking underwater. Providing air support for this giant armada were B-52 bombers (capable of carrying cruise missiles from Guam), AWACs from Okinawa and anti-submarine aircraft from Japan. All in all, the joint maneuvers of the three carrier groups represented the biggest concentrations of naval force seen in the Pacific since 1945 and, in terms of firepower, ever assembled there.

powered, 90-thousand ton USS *Enterprise*) — which were loaded with 300 attack aircraft between them. The *Enterprise* had just come from taking a prominent part in Team Spirit '83, the annual joint exercise of the U.S. and South Korean armed forces, which is meant, according to the *Far Eastern Economic*

There was, of course, not much ambiguity about at whom this tremendous show of force was being directed. The entire armada, in a brazenly arrogant and provocative maneuver, cruised down the coast of Siberia, coming within a few hundred miles of Petropavalosk, the home port of the Soviet Pacific fleet of ballistic missile submarines. This was well within the range of the attack aircraft based on the U.S. carriers. And since the

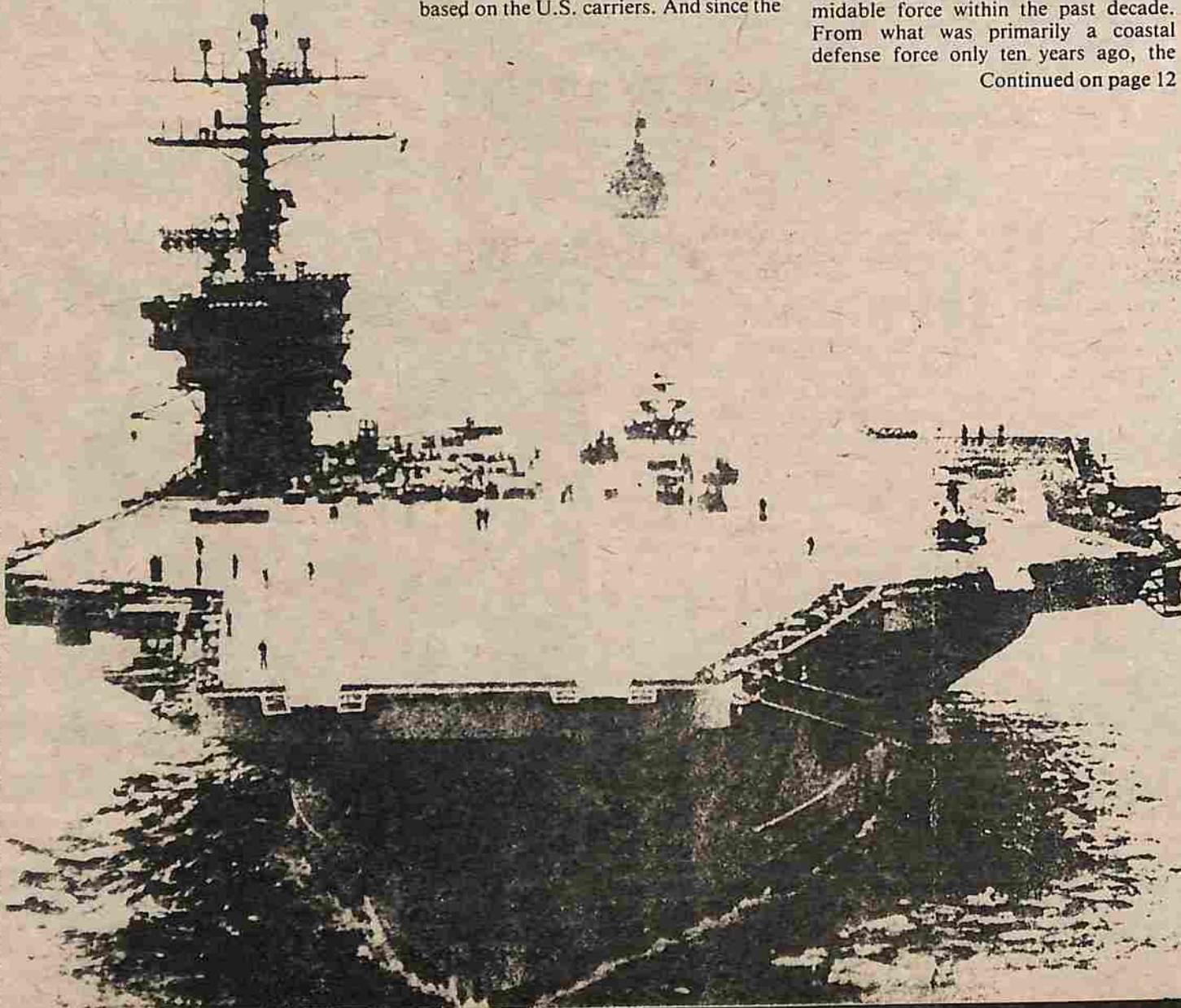
forces involved in the exercise constituted more than a quarter of the total sea strength of the U.S., one can assume that they did not park their nuclear weapons for safekeeping somewhere else before rendezvousing in the North Pacific. According to *Far Eastern Economic Review*: "In classical naval theory, a demonstration of this kind shows your prospective opponent that he is out-classed off his own coastline and had better stick close to home if he knows what is good for him."

Although the exercise went mostly unreported by the U.S. media, it did get a rave review in an April 18 *L.A. Times* editorial titled "Stretching the Fleet." The editorial, which reveals quite a lot about U.S. strategy in the Pacific and Asia, starts off by pointing out: "The North Pacific ocean is of obvious strategic importance to the United States...yet, with resources of the U.S. Navy committed elsewhere, the North Pacific has been in danger lately of becoming a Russian lake. The Pentagon has decided, appropriately enough, that it is time to reassert a powerful American

presence in the area." The Pacific has been an unchallenged "U.S. lake" ever since World War 2; how dare the Russians try to make it into "their lake"!

The Soviet imperialists, in fact, have built up their Far East fleet into a formidable force within the past decade. From what was primarily a coastal defense force only ten years ago, the

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The following "travel notes and observations" on the situation in the Dominican Republic were contributed to the RW by a reader:

The Dominican Republic is very poor. It is poor even compared to its sister islands, Puerto Rico, built up a bit by the U.S. for overall strategic reasons, and Cuba, built up somewhat for similar reasons by the Soviets. Even the middle classes are poor by comparison. Santo Domingo is about the size of Cincinnati. Its most elegant shopping area isn't very different from a Cincinnati shopping center where the better off white workers go, but in Santo Domingo those kids driving up and ordering cokes on the only really neon strip in town aren't some autoworker's family, they're upper-class kids. Much of the capital, including some middle class neighborhoods, has water only about 45 minutes a day. Most people don't even pay attention when the electricity goes off. Few people have phones, but they don't work well or often anyway. Since the city is so spread out, most of the population comes and goes in blue Datsun B-210 jitneys jammed with six, seven, or even eight or nine people. There isn't any color TV — the bourgeois depend on their Betamax tapes made while they were on vacation in Miami. In fact, for the ruling classes, Miami is the real capital of the Dominican Republic. A middle class family looking for something special on a night when the fans have all stopped running might cool off eating ice cream on the seafloor amid the fancy hotels and restaurants where American tourists who can't afford some place more fashionable come to warm up during the winter.

Some of the capital's working people live in the cramped Spanish colonial tenements that abut the downtown commercial district or in brick or cement houses that surround the more industrial areas. But almost half the capital's million people live in shacks made of cardboard and corrugated iron in the mud. Most have no running water. Children and goats play alongside each other in the garbage dumps. Though some in the shantytowns are industrial workers, many more make their living selling *chicharrón* or fried plantains or shoeshines or whatever else they can in the streets which are awash in a sea of vendors. The people coming home from work who might buy a bag full of *tostones* don't seem as hungry as the old lady selling it to them. Few can hope to sell much, because everybody's doing it.

This is a way of life called *chiripero*, literally winning something by luck, that is, hustling. It is highly developed because there isn't any other way for an awful lot of people. For instance, women in the shantytowns will form a group in which ten women each contribute ten pesos a week, so that each of them will, once every ten weeks, have 100 pesos, enough to buy some pork and charcoal and set up a food-stand. Among slightly better off circles it might take what is politely called pedagogical *chiripero*, hustling for tutoring or teaching jobs in one about-to-be-bankrupt night school after another.

This is a dramatic sign of a semi-feudal agrarian economy that has been ruined by foreign capital while the development of capitalism itself has been stunted and twisted. Officially unemployment is "only" 20%. Common opinion is that half the adult males are dying to find work. Of course a woman without a job is a "housewife." It is amazing to see how clean and neat even the poorest people dress, how men without running water always seem to have a clean shirt and pressed slacks, until you realize that this too is a mark of oppression, because it means that there are a great many women who spend their days washing clothes in the river or a washbasin just like in the villages where they came from.

There are a handful of very large mines and factories, almost all foreign-owned, and thousands upon thousands of small shops, especially garment. Some of these garment shops aren't far removed from household production — in fact, they are sometimes set up in somebody's house and the owners who bustle about amid the rows of sewing machines in what was once a living room are often godparents to many of the workers' children — it is a combination of modern wage-slavery with a touch of the feudal guild system. The minimum wage is \$4/day, \$24/week, and most wages seem to gravitate around that, although an experienced cloth cutter

## Dominican Impressions



A boy in Santiago ekes out a living delivering vegetables.

or other skilled worker might make \$40 or \$50.

Here big industry means a brewery (Miller), cigarette factory (Phillip Morris), shoes, food or the phone company (ITT). Increasingly, much of the country's manufacturing is in the seven free trade zones, each of which employs tens of thousands of women at sub-minimum wage in light assembly of parts which will in turn be re-exported. One of these free trade zones in a small town near Santo Domingo looks like a combination between a concentration camp and the United Nations, because the administrative building at the entrance to this industrial park behind barbed wire is topped by the flag of every single imperialist country and a few others besides. Here 20,000 women and a few men who may have spent the day assembling some of the most modern electronics equipment stream out at dusk onto the dusty, unpaved roads leading through the sugar cane fields and the town where the thick, chokingly sweet smell of sugar is laced with the sharper, cutting odor of shit, and mosquitos in the open sewage breed diseases wiped out long ago in the imperialist countries.

Judging by the financial pages, the country lives or dies according to the price of sugar, as well as coffee and to some extent nickel. The countryside is a

patchwork quilt of economic relationships. In the 14 enormous sugar complexes, there are hundreds of thousands of industrial proletarians in mills where sugar is processed like steel, and in the fields which surround each mill like the sea around a tiny island, agricultural proletarians in some skilled occupations labor alongside hundreds of thousands of semi-proletarians who work for wages a few months of the year in the cane fields and try to eke out a living on tiny parcels of land the rest of the time. Twelve of these mills are run by the government, which has replaced the old landowners and in turn is dominated by some of them, among others. Almost the entire eastern half of the country is owned by Gulf and Western, which runs every detail of life, right down to its own police force and intelligence apparatus, as well as the houses and lives of the workers. (In the Gulf and Western mill town of San Pedro de Macoris, the mill workers have paved streets and plumbing.) This pattern of vast sugar cane plantations crowned by the smoke of their mills is complimented, in other regions, by a pattern of peasants on tiny subsistence plots where a metal hoe is the most modern means of production.

But as bad as things are in the Dominican Republic, Dominicans say they are much worse in Haiti. In the Dominican Republic, the majority of people, even most (but not all) of the poorest, usually manage to get some rice once or maybe twice a day, from time to time some beans and plantains and maybe once in a while a little chicken. In Haiti, it is said, such a diet is considered doing pretty well.

It's ironic that with all the media and modern transportation in today's world, there seems to be less commerce and contact between the Dominican Republic and Haiti today than there was a century ago. The commonness of French names in the Dominican Republic attests to the extensive links of the past. This situation is both a manifestation of imperialist disarticulation and a conscious policy of the various ruling classes involved — Haitian, Dominican and U.S. — who've gone to great lengths to separate the two peoples and constrain the revolutionary movements which have swept especially heavily through Dominican society in recent decades, but historically have swept through from both directions.

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A Haitian cane cutter, a contract laborer in the Dominican Republic.



# No Big Headlines for Dead Reporters

Dial Torgerson, Mexico City bureau chief for the *Los Angeles Times*, was certainly "not a risk-taker," according to a Central America based reporter who writes for *Newsweek*, the *Economist* and the *London Daily Telegraph*; words like "cautious" and "prudent" are common descriptions from Torgerson's colleagues



on the *Times*. Perhaps that is the manner in which the responsible "free press" journalists, from their own perspective, describe a rather typical U.S. foreign correspondent — one who generally gets his stories by listening to U.S. officials and their neo-colonial underlings, and then repeats their vicious absurdities (sometimes attributing them to anonymous "Western diplomats" or "government spokesmen") as if they were objective truth. Torgerson certainly had plenty of this type of "prudence." For just one among many possible examples, he recently described Guatemala's born-again butcher, General Rios Montt, as "a reformer," and wrote that "Under Rios Montt, there have been human rights improvements"; in the same article, he easily discounted the many reports of massacres of Indian peasants that have been flowing out of Guatemala by saying that the stories had merely come from refugees and had yet to be "confirmed" by diplomats or journalists. There was a time in Central America when such journalistic carefulness in the service of American public opinion creation was a virtual guarantee of "the good life" in the neo-colonies. But times and the situation have changed, and nothing is easy for the U.S. and its servants in Central America these days. On June 21, Dial Torgerson and Richard Cross, a freelance photographer who was working for the *Times* and *U.S. News and World Report*, were both blown away on a dirt road in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border.

But who is responsible for what Ronald Reagan called a "loss to the whole profession"? The governments of both Honduras and the United States were quick to declare that the fire came from Nicaragua, and that Sandinista troops were responsible; the Honduran foreign minister immediately issued a communiqué condemning "criminal aggression" by Nicaragua. However, there is a certain odor to this operation, and so far, the smell seems to be emanating from another direction. The contradictions in the Honduran-U.S. version of the story are fairly overwhelming.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, it seems that Torgerson got pointed in the direction of the dirt road by a leader of one of the main Somocista commando groups. Torgerson had reportedly interviewed this CIA accomplice the day before in Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, and had been told of a "charismatic" Commander Suicide, who

was leading his desperados on a "ram-page" inside Nicaragua. Suicide was based in the little town of Las Trojes on the Nicaraguan border, about 3-1/2 hours from Tegucigalpa, in the main Honduran staging area for the cabal of Somocistas, CIA employees and the like that the U.S. is currently throwing at Nicaragua and directing out of the U.S. Embassy. Torgerson had originally been scheduled to take a U.S. Embassy-sponsored tour of a U.S. military training base the next day, but the trip had suddenly been postponed for a day, so he and Cross went for the idea of a trip to Las Trojes instead. The U.S. Embassy says that Torgerson and Cross had been warned by a Honduran armed forces spokesman, Col. Cesar Elvir Cierra, that the last seven miles of the road to Las Trojes were extremely dangerous and that they should check with local military commanders in the area before proceeding all the way. But Torgerson's assistant (who did not go along) says this is not true — that Torgerson had asked about the road before he left and was told it was *not* dangerous, and that furthermore, Torgerson had asked Col. Cierra for a letter to give to the local military commanders in the area, but that Cierra had declined to issue him one. Torgerson and Cross rented a white ("for peace," according to the assistant) Toyota and took off after Commander Suicide.

Whether or not they found him is not known at this time, but the two journalists did apparently make it to Las Trojes. They were reportedly headed back down the road to Tegucigalpa when, according to alleged eyewitnesses subsequently produced by the Honduran government, their car was hit by a grenade "from Nicaragua." The original report had identified the weapon as a *hand* grenade, but this would have apparently required a toss from Superman himself given the distance of the car from the Nicaraguan border. The story was changed to *rifle*-propelled grenade, but Nicaraguan officials — who have denied that their troops were involved — say that their rifles are incapable of firing grenades that far. The current U.S.-Honduras version of the incident blames a *rocket-propelled anti-tank* grenade as the culprit, but it is unclear at this time if this will be the story that the U.S. and its puppets can finally agree upon.

But the plot gets even thicker at this point. The Honduran government reported that the journalists were hit at

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## Olympic True Grit

It seems that Dial Torgerson (the *L.A. Times* hack who made his last headline by getting offed on the Nicaragua/Honduras border), may have left a legacy not totally without value to the proletariat — through no fault of his own. Ironically, a book he wrote in 1974 lets a little bit slip out about one of the wheels in "Another American Great Experiment," as the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee (LAOOC) calls the upcoming '84 games.

These are to be "the private enterprise games," "a model of private initiative," say Olympic Committee leaders. And William Simon, head of the U.S. Olympic Committee, agreed with the assessment of a radio talk show host that these are to be "the most 'free enterprise' games of them all." Thus, no government money is to be spent on the '84 games (that is, if we don't count the mere \$50 million plus *already* allocated for military involvement in security). They will be funded entirely by private corporations, through sale of TV rights and sponsorships, etc. — the games are even intended to make a profit. And how different and superior these "free enterprise" games are to be to those state-run Olympics in Moscow in 1980, which *Newsweek* summed up as "awesomely efficient yet somehow joyless."

Thus, choosing a fitting representative for the post of president/general manager required careful selection for a type who could properly exude the joy which U.S. imperialism is known to spread wherever it goes.

The first person the LAOOC offered the post of running the games was none other than Alexander Haig, but at the time he was busy as Secretary of State. What they decided to go for was someone

a bit less high-powered but with specific qualifications: "an entrepreneur who had built something from scratch, had worked for a large corporation with revenues of at least \$100 million a year, was interested in sports and familiar with the nuances of international relations."

Enter one Peter V. Ueberroth, described by an *L.A. Times* reporter as "a handsome, blond, blue-eyed Teutonic type who always seems to say and do the right thing" (to call him Aryan would be indelicate and harken back too openly to the '36 Olympics). He is described everywhere as a "self-made man," and an LAOOC leader suggested that Ueberroth is the "mirror image" of what the games are to be. A closer look is in order.

*Sports Illustrated* called Ueberroth "the prince of the private sector, the golden boy with the miser's touch." Ueberroth is a real true grit American "inheriting his interest in economics, world affairs and current events from his father," "an average-sized jock with an uncommon love for body contact," a kid from Anytown, U.S.A., who worked his way through college; he even tried out for the Olympic water polo team. And most important, they say, he built up a travel agency "from nothing" into the second largest in the U.S., with over \$200 million a year in revenues.

But there are certain things left out of the Ueberroth biographies which show how "private" this prince of the private sector is. (However, one biography did contribute some interesting parts to the Ueberroth story — this is the 1974 book *Kerkorian, An American Success Story* written by the late Mr. Dial Torgerson.) In 1959, Ueberroth was hired by Kirk Kerkorian as vice president and part

owner of his Los Angeles Air Service, a small charter plane outfit with two planes and four employees at the time. Left out of the bios is the fact that the main business in these early days of L.A. Air was shuttling high-stakes gamblers to and from Las Vegas from Chicago, New York, etc. At the same time the chief business of this airline was more and more becoming *military contracts*, "high priority" military contracts. These contracts mainly involved flying personnel around the world and secondarily cargo. With U.S. covert operations escalating in Indochina in the late '50s and early '60s, coincidentally, the airline's business, especially shipping personnel to Guam, increased dramatically. But Guam was not the only destination. In 1958, when the U.S. sent troops into Tripoli, Kerkorian's airline was there too. One "GI" sent back a photo of himself in front of a plane with "Los Angeles Air Service" prominent across its side, parked on a desert runway in the middle of the desert in Libya! Ueberroth is attributed in one account with convincing Kerkorian to change the airline's name to Trans International Airlines (TIA) to more reflect its true stature — already he was showing the budding sensibilities of a valuable imperialist servant. L.A. Air/TIA went from \$40,000 in military contracts in 1959 to \$10 million in 1962. A fitting example of a vibrant private enterprise making its money off military contracts. And what are the contracts for — to send "military personnel" to the farflung reaches of the U.S. empire to keep it secure for free enterprise and democracy. Finally, we might ask just what type of agency could have the ability to combine an air charter service for mobsters, etc., with a high-

priority military contract operation? (Hint: it rhymes with TIA.)

Kirk Kerkorian went on to become a "Las Vegas financier," owner of hotel/casinos, principal owner of MGM/United Artists (including the Grand Hotels in Vegas and Reno) and has narrowly gotten around a few "investigations" of Mafia types. Ueberroth went on to form Transportation Consultants International (TCI), said to have been a one-room office in Hollywood in 1963.

But if Ueberroth had little money he certainly didn't lack connections after his work with Kerkorian. By 1967 TCI "went public," selling half the company's stock for over \$350,000. By 1972 he had accumulated enough to buy a large, well-established chain of travel agencies, and by 1978 his revenues exceeded \$200 million and he had 200 offices worldwide. From early on he had contracts with such clients as Iran Air, Aero Mexico and various government tourist offices mainly in U.S. neo-colonies. At this time one can only speculate on the nature of the connections required to get contracts with agencies like Iran Air under the tutelage of the Shah. Certainly such a farflung network of travel agency offices throughout the U.S. empire could well cover various types of imperialist operations. One begins to see the meaning of the LAOOC criteria that its president be "familiar with the nuances of international relations." Thus Ueberroth could say of himself in 1978, "I had international experience, had travelled widely and met with heads of state," and *Sports Illustrated* could say of him that while he is not a household word, he is "well known in the circles that count, clearly understood by the people who matter." □





1965 — a period of some of the most widespread revolutionary upsurge in the Congo. Above, two Congolese rebels and a policeman (rear center).

On January 17, 1961 Patrice Lumumba, prime minister of the newly formed Democratic Republic of the Congo, arrived in the Katanga Province of the Congo (now known as Zaire) — near dead and in chains as a prisoner. According to a 1975 U.S. Senate hearing on the activities of the CIA, the U.S. imperialists, who had been working for the assassination of Lumumba ever since he came to power, greeted his arrival in Katanga with the following cable from their local CIA station: "Thanks for Patrice. If we had known he was coming we would have baked a snake." On the night of Lumumba's arrival in Katanga he was promptly murdered in the presence of the reactionary Katangese leader Moïse Tshombe and the leaders of Tshombe's personal army, the Katangese Gendarmes.

Sixteen years later, in mid-1977, the Shaba Province of southern Zaire (formerly Katanga Province) was invaded by an army which had crossed over the border from Angola. With this action a newly formed "liberation group," the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC) announced its arrival on the international political scene. Supported by the Soviet social-imperialists, the FLNC declared that it intended to "liberate" Zaire from U.S. imperialism and the thoroughly reactionary pro-U.S. Mobutu regime. Interestingly, the core membership and leaders of this "new liberation group" was none other than the Katangese Gendarmes — once known and despised throughout the world as a motley crew of mercenaries and the hitmen for the U.S. in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba.

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The 23-year history of the Katangese Gendarmes is exceptional only by virtue of the fact that it has been one long continuous and thoroughly reactionary series of low points characterized by dedicated service in pursuit of the aims of various imperialist powers in Africa and a consistent and brutal opposition to any and all upsurge and revolutionary struggle on the continent. The Katangese Gendarmes were born and christened in 1960 during the battle to uphold and defend the rule of Belgian colonialism in the Congo. They were former policemen in the Katanga Province (which has one of the richest deposits of strategic minerals in the world) who were welded into the private army of Moïse Tshombe, at that

time a top politician in Katanga. Tshombe and the forces aligned with him were old-line compradors for Belgian colonialism and were tied in to the military and feudal set-up in Katanga. Tshombe himself was the son-in-law of the paramount chief of the Lundu tribe, the dominant tribe in Katanga. In June of 1960 the Congolese people defeated Belgian colonialism and declared their independence. Two weeks after the founding of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the establishment of a coalition government led by Patrice Lumumba, Tshombe launched a secessionist movement in Katanga. This movement was aimed at weakening, if not overthrowing, the Lumumba government. In part, Tshombe was aiming to establish his undisputed rule over Katanga, if not for the purpose of actually setting up a separate state, then at least to use his control over Katanga — the heart of the Congo's economy — as leverage for a greater influence throughout the Congo. But Tshombe's movement was tied in with much more than just his own bourgeois aspirations. In fact, it was principally welded to the interests of Belgium. Without the total support of Belgium, Tshombe's movement would have been quickly ended. The Belgian imperialists threw all of their weight behind Tshombe politically and economically. The largest Belgian mining operation in Katanga, the Union Minière, even went so far as to pay all of their taxes and royalties directly to Tshombe instead of to the Lumumba government. Tshombe's armed forces, the Katangese Gendarmes, were financed, armed and trained by the Belgians. The officer corps of the Gendarmes was composed of former soldiers from Belgium's colonial army. In turn, Tshombe declared that "close ties with Belgium" were a necessary condition for any sort of settlement of the situation inside the Congo. And, Tshombe also had no objections at all to Belgium stationing thousands of troops inside Katanga.

In 1960 the situation inside the Congo was extremely complex. The Belgians, through Tshombe's forces, were attempting to salvage as much of their colonial influence in the Congo as they could. This involved both attempting to get rid of the Lumumba government and putting pressure on the U.S. imperialists. For its part, the U.S. was in the midst of elbowing out the old-line colonial powers in order to replace them with U.S.-style

neocolonialism, and had to contain and eventually smash the anti-imperialist upsurge of the Congolese people at the same time. In part, the U.S. worked through Congolese forces sympathetic to the U.S. and with their own comprador aspirations — including factions in Lumumba's government as well as the commander-in-chief of the Congolese military, Mobutu. In addition to these forces, there was still quite a bit of revolutionary sentiment and activity among the Congolese people, principally lined up behind the revolutionary nationalism of Patrice Lumumba.

The Lumumba government was a bone in the throat of all the various imperialists and their allies. It was in this context that the Katangese Gendarmes wracked up one of their early feats of treachery in the service of imperialism — aiding in carrying out the murder of Patrice Lumumba. It should be stated up front that the main responsibility for the murder of Lumumba lies squarely with U.S. imperialism. From the time the Lumumba government first came into power, the U.S., at the highest levels of government, was trying to figure out a way for the CIA to remove him "by any means necessary." Over the summer and fall of 1960 they had actively investigated and experimented with various means of killing Lumumba. An essential aspect of the U.S. takeover in the Congo and in the assassination of Lumumba was the need to maintain somewhat of a distance between themselves and what happened in the Congo. Part of this involved the establishment of U.S. domination through the stationing of thousands of United Nations troops in the Congo as a sort of "peacekeeping force" ostensibly there to "protect" the Lumumba government. (In connection with these UN troops, it should be pointed out that Lumumba himself had a few illusions about the nature of this UN force. And, it is also worth noting that the Soviets, although supposedly "supporting" Lumumba, agreed in the UN to the dispatch of these troops to the Congo.) From the moment of their arrival, the UN troops worked to isolate Lumumba and support the more pro-U.S. section of the government and military. By September of 1960 the attack against Lumumba was in full swing. President Kasavubu, Lumumba's coalition partner and a pro-U.S. force in the government, dismissed Lumumba from his position as prime minister. As part of their duties,



# The Curious Transformation of the Katangese Gendarmes

the UN troops seized control of the radio station in Leopoldville (the capital of the Congo) and the main airports of the city. While Lumumba's opponents were free to broadcast to their supporters and travel around the country to rally these same supporters, Lumumba was denied such opportunities. As the struggle between Lumumba and the more pro-U.S. forces heated up, Mobutu made his first emergence on the political scene — temporarily seizing power until the crisis could be resolved. Working hand in hand with the CIA, in December, Mobutu arrested, beat and tortured Lumumba to within an inch of his life. On January 17, 1961 Mobutu, again with the assistance of the CIA, transferred Lumumba to Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga — a move which in all quarters was seen as a guaranteed death sentence. It was in Elisabethville that the Katangese Gendarmes, sworn enemies of Lumumba, played out their part in the murder of Lumumba. In carrying this out, the Gendarmes were, at the very least, given the nod of assent by the CIA, as was indicated by the infamous cable referred to earlier: "Thanks for Patrice. . . ." Although the Katangese Gendarmes were still principally serving the Belgians, it was in the interest of both the Belgians and the U.S., not to mention Tshombe, to get rid of Lumumba. On February 10, 1961 the Katangese Minister of the Interior announced that Lumumba and two associates had been shot and killed in a failed escape attempt. The Katangese Gendarmes' complicity in the U.S. murder of Lumumba makes it even more nauseating today when they attempt to pimp off of the revolutionary reputation of Lumumba in order to cover up their own reactionary nature.

With Lumumba out of the way, Tshombe and his Gendarmes continued to press their secessionist war for the next couple of years in the employment of Belgium. As the U.S. began to gain the upper hand over Belgium around 1963,

the Katangese Gendarmes were pushed out of Katanga and into Angola. But the crisis situation for U.S. imperialism was far from over. The U.S.-backed regime of Adoula and Kasavubu had been considerably weakened by the Katangese secession struggle. And, more importantly, the masses of Congolese people had risen up in open rebellion against the U.S., Belgium and the U.S.-backed regime. Because of various contradictions, including contradictions with other African troops, the UN troops had begun leaving the Congo. In an effort to finally put an end to the Katangese secession movement and, more importantly, in order to militarily crush the struggle of the Congolese people, the U.S. brought Tshombe into the Congo government as Prime Minister in July of 1964. The situation in the Congo was so hot that both the U.S. and Belgium were forced to intervene militarily. For its part, the U.S. dispatched a military mission to the Congo and provided transport for tens of thousands of Belgian paratroopers.

Here another glittering episode in the history of the FLNC rears its head. This was a period of some of the most widespread revolutionary upsurge in the history of the Congo. Eight of twenty-one provinces were in full-scale rebellion. Alternative governments had been set up by Lumumba's supporters and other forces in various parts of the country. Tens of thousands of peasants and youths had taken up arms against the regime — all kinds of forces, from revolutionary nationalists to religious movements — were involved in struggle. And where were the Katangese Gendarmes? In spite of their current bombast about "leading the liberation struggle" today, at that time they were quite typically in the forefront of crushing it. When Tshombe came to power he brought with him a number of different mercenary forces, including the infamous South African mercenary, Major Hoare.

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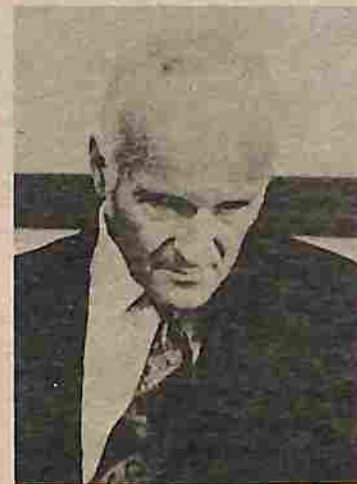
1961, Tshombe inspects Belgians serving in his army.



Lumumba in the hands of his killers, the Katangese Gendarmes.



Belgian instructs Katanga machine gunners.



Sidney Gottlieb, the C.I.A.'s top scientist in the 1960s, arrived in Leopoldville in late Sept., 1960 with a poison intended for use in Lumumba's toothpaste. One of a number of such plots.



# Gendarmes

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But, the backbone of Tshombe's military strength remained his Gendarmes force. As soon as he assumed power, Tshombe summoned the Gendarmes back from their exile in Angola and integrated them into the Congolese army. In the year of brutal suppression that followed their re-entry into the Congo, the Katangese Gendarmes played a major role — gaining a reputation for ruthless brutality and displaying a special fervor in carrying out their duties. Ironically, for all of their "anti-Mobutuism" today, during this period of suppression the Katangese Gendarmes were under the command of *Mobutu*, the commander-in-chief of the army!

Tshombe's military campaigns failed to bring the stability that the U.S. needed in the Congo. So, in November of 1965 Tshombe was replaced by Mobutu in a military coup. Somewhat wary of Tshombe and his army of Katangese Gendarmes, Mobutu began a campaign to eliminate them. He killed thousands of them, drove many others into the bush and forced thousands more to once again seek asylum in Angola. Once in Angola, the Katangese Gendarmes hooked up with yet another sponsor — the Portuguese colonialists. Portugal found the Katangese Gendarmes useful as both a lever against Mobutu's support for the FNLA (one of the nationalist organizations in Angola, backed by the U.S.) and as a skilled combat unit against all of the nationalist groups in Angola — particularly the MPLA, but also including the MPLA. For the Gendarmes, it was both a question of survival and the means to keep up pressure on Mobutu. It was during this period that the FLNC claims to have been founded. This alone is a damning self-exposure, since, during the very time they claimed to have been born as a "liberation group," their principal activity actually had nothing to do with

anything even vaguely resembling a liberation struggle in Zaire — instead, they were primarily occupied with putting down the Angolan anti-colonial struggle for the Portuguese. In a pitiful explanation as to why they worked for Portugal in Angola, the FLNC sheds still more light on their true nature and the content of their "revolutionary goal." In their pamphlet, *The History, Statutes and Minimum Program of the Congolese National Liberation Front*, the FLNC states: "Some time later, the national liberation struggle began in Angola. The Portuguese authorities employed Angolan and Zambian militias to fight against the Angolan nationalists, under the pretext that the latter were communist 'invaders.' Congolese refugees were incorporated into these militias. They had no choice but to accept this miserable task, for which they received 90 escudos per month and a promise of material aid for the liberation of our own national territory." The Katangese Gendarmes continued to carry out this "miserable task" until 1974.

Current supporters of the FLNC argue that all of this is past history with no relevance to the nature and role of the FLNC today. According to this argument, the FLNC has changed — they made some mistakes in the past, summed them up, and moved on to become a genuine "liberation group." This argument demands that quite a number of other facts be raised and dug into. First, the FLNC has never even so much as attempted to raise any kind of in-depth self-criticism of any aspect of their past — admittedly a herculean task in light of the content of this past. But, even the tiny amount of self-criticism that they have raised serves only to reinforce the image painted by this past. For instance, in raising the issue of their participation in Mobutu's army and their subsequent decision to flee the Congo, the FLNC, in the pamphlet referred to earlier, merely states that "Mobutu did not keep his promises and caused the Katangese Gendarmes who had joined his army to be badly treated." The FLNC and their supporters also raise the bogus

argument that the FLNC is not the same organization as the Katangese Gendarmes, that the people making up the organization are different people, and that the organization has begun to attract significant numbers of Congolese youth to their banner. Speaking to this point, it must be clearly stated that while the FLNC has picked up a few other opposition forces, including other pro-Soviet forces, the core of their membership and especially their leadership remains the very same people that made up the Katangese Gendarmes. In fact, the current President and Commander-in-Chief of the FLNC is none other than Lieutenant-General Mbumba, the same person who was in charge of the Katangese Gendarmes at the time of the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

More important than all of this, however, is what is revealed by a brief examination of the catalyst for this supposed change in the FLNC. To a large degree this change was brought on and conditioned by changes in the international situation, particularly in relation to the shift in the stance of the Soviet Union toward national liberation movements and its intensifying contention with the U.S. imperialists. Secondly, this change was also brought on by the particular circumstances that the FLNC found themselves in. The 1974 coup in Portugal and the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire temporarily left the Katangese Gendarmes high, dry and unemployed in Angola. At this time the Katangese Gendarmes were given a choice of returning to Zaire and Mobutu, or going to South Africa — either one of which would have spelled the end of their chances at fulfilling their aspirations in Zaire. Given this choice, the Gendarmes elected to remain in Angola. Their reputation as "guns for sale" and their hostility toward Mobutu and the Angolan organizations he supported, operated to their advantage in 1974. As pro-Soviet forces temporarily gained strength in Portugal and as the Soviets began to see an opportunity to seize the whole show in Angola by putting the MPLA in power and through them capturing an important strategic base area in central and southern Africa, the future once again began to look bright for the Katangese Gendarmes. Instead of being disbanded and run out of the country, the Katangese Gendarmes were held together as a fighting unit by the pro-Soviet Admiral Coutinho — the Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola at the time. At this point the Katangese Gendarmes began to fight on the side of the MPLA and in fact, by all accounts, they proved to be one of the important factors (together with the Cuban troops) enabling the MPLA to come to power.

Just about a year after the Soviets consolidated their hold on Angola, the Katangese Gendarmes swung into action in Zaire again — this time as the FLNC and under the banner of "liberation." In mid-1977 and again in 1978 the FLNC launched an invasion of Shaba (formerly their old stomping ground of Katanga) Province. These invasions and the subsequent activity of the FLNC brought to light the one major change that has come about as a result of their transformation from the Katangese Gendarmes to the FLNC. As always, the fortunes and aspirations of the FLNC continued to be bound up with the fortunes and aspirations of their imperialist sponsors. Today, however, the FLNC is in service to a social-imperialist power that is locked into sharpening contention with its U.S. rival and driven to increasingly hinge its every move on the need to prepare for world war to redivide the planet. Given this, it is the Soviets' strategic interests that set the context of and the terms for the activity of the FLNC today. And, while the Soviets are using the FLNC to implement and advance their strategy in central and southern Africa, the FLNC and their aspirations are likewise hinged on the victory of their Soviet sponsors in the upcoming world war. The activity of the FLNC today clearly reflects all of this. While neither the FLNC nor the Soviets would balk at the opportunity to seize power in Zaire should it present itself today, their activity is not currently geared toward that — at least not in the short-term sense. In the main their activity is carried out in the international political arena and plays an important part in the Soviet effort to isolate the U.S. and Mobutu in this arena. It also contri-

butes to the Soviets' ability to play up to anti-U.S. and anti-Mobutu sentiment internationally and within Zaire itself in preparation for the future. What FLNC military activity exists is also principally determined by and subordinate to the Soviets' strategic context. Overall this military activity is subordinate to the Soviets' political maneuvering internationally — even the 1977 and 1978 invasions had an aspect of putting the FLNC "on the map" as a legitimate opposition force in Zaire. On the other hand, to the extent that this military activity does go on, it also reflects and serves Soviet strategic interests in another way. In a sense, the FLNC's military activity is somewhat similar to the activity they carried out for Belgium in the early 1960s — that is, primarily aimed at the Shaba/Katanga region, which, because of its immense mineral wealth, would provide an important lever into the rest of Zaire as well as the region and, to the extent that this region is in turmoil, would also weaken the U.S. war bloc. (Under Mobutu, Zaire has become one of the most strategically important U.S.-bloc countries in Africa. Mobutu has not only supervised and enforced the U.S. and Western imperialists' exploitation of Zaire's mineral wealth, but has also built Zaire into one of the U.S. bloc's most important political and military allies in all of Africa. In addition to being one of the largest CIA base areas in Africa, Zaire has also supported just about every political and military maneuver of the U.S. imperialists as they line up for world war — from supplying troops for the U.S. in Angola in 1975-76 to being one of the major forces in the U.S.-bloc maneuverings in the Organization of African Unity over the last few years.) As far as FLNC military activity in the rest of Zaire goes, it is mainly aimed at stirring up the coals in this strategically important U.S.-bloc country, and rallying other opposition forces to the banner of the Soviets and the FLNC. (Actually, as an indication of the nature of FLNC military activity, it is quite revealing to note that this activity has been fairly low-key since the pro-Soviet regime in Angola, which still serves as the main base for the FLNC, began a temporary rapprochement with Mobutu.)

Since signing on with the Soviets, the Katangese Gendarmes have been given a new lease on life as a *bona fide* Soviet-sponsored "liberation group." And, the Soviets have made ample use of the FLNC in advancing their imperialist aims and interests. In promoting this group the Soviet imperialists have attempted to cynically play upon a righteous hatred for U.S. imperialism and the fact that the Mobutu regime is so exposed as a puppet of U.S. imperialism. In addition, various pro-Soviet forces in the U.S. and internationally have also attempted to play upon and promote utter pragmatism among some progressive and revolutionary-minded people by declaring that the FLNC must be supported because "in the real world" they are the "only guns in the field," the only visible opposition to the U.S. and Mobutu in Zaire. According to this argument, the liberation of Zaire is solely a matter of choosing between the FLNC and Mobutu. The history and current activity of the FLNC/Katangese Gendarmes not only provides a graphic and disgusting picture of the nature of these "liberation forces" and the content of Soviet-sponsored "liberation," but it is also a demonstration that in the real world there is no limit to the depth to which such shameless revisionist logic will sink. The true context and nature of the FLNC's "liberation struggle" brings to the fore another related and very important issue. With the approach of war and the intensification of the imperialist crisis, there will undoubtedly be many opportunities for genuine revolutionary struggle throughout the world, including in Zaire. But such opportunities can never be seized without a clear understanding that those currently posing as "the only gun in the field" are in reality nothing more than the Soviet-style mirror image of the "gun holding state power." □

## CORRECTION

In the article "Press Conference Exposes LAPD" (RW No. 209, June 10, 1983) there were two errors in the second column. The first paragraph should begin "In fact these two arrests..." and the second paragraph should begin "After these two arrests..." □

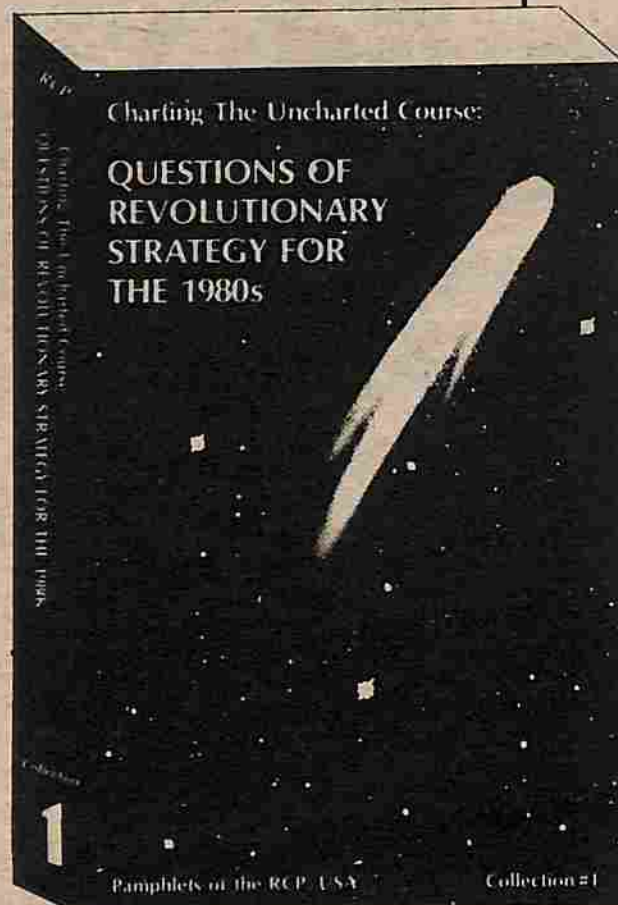
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From the New Programme of the RCP, USA:

## The Future, In This Country And The World, Is Coming Up For Grabs

There are moments rare in history. They may come only once in decades, but when they do, they place tasks and forms of struggle before the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world which influence the course of things for decades to come. Today the world, including the U.S., is entering such a period. It is a time of crisis for a system which has subjected millions here and hundreds of millions internationally to daily agony, a system which in its normal times has almost uninterruptedly waged wars of plunder from one end of the globe to another. Such is the imperialist system, which is once again caught in a desperate and deepening economic and political crisis, fast approaching the point of worldwide explosion.

We who live in the U.S., one of the great citadels of this system of robbery and murder, face immense responsibilities and opportunities in this conjuncture. Today, as they have demanded of the people of the world, the rulers of this country also demand of the people here that we willingly and urgently ready ourselves to march—or be literally dissolved—into our graves in unprecedented numbers in order to perpetuate this imperialist system with the U.S. on top and provide future generations with this same “peace and prosperity”—and worse.

“There is no other way out, no way to return to the ‘happy days’ of the past, except for America to ‘rise to the challenge,’ rally its allies, meet and defeat the danger, especially from

Russia, and revive America’s position as ‘number one in the world’—*at whatever cost*”—this is the message that is spewing forth in a sickening and rising chorus from every mouthpiece and propaganda organ of the U.S. ruling class. And the same is true of all the imperialist ruling classes of the world. This is also particularly true of the Soviet Union, itself an imperialist power and, like the U.S., heading up an imperialist bloc for war. The masses there, those within its “socialist camp” and under its international domination as well as those oppressed by and fighting against Western imperialism, are told by the Russian rulers to swallow the same basic swill—but with a Russian flavor. The only way to secure peace in the world and bring progress for humanity, according to this version of imperialist gangster logic, is to depend on, and sacrifice millions of lives in the service of, the expansion of Russian “influence” and the replacement of the United States by the Soviet Union as the dominant world power.

No choice but to be enslaved by one or another of the several major imperialist powers; no choice but the victory of one imperialist war bloc or the other; no prospect but untold suffering and sacrifice and unparalleled destruction to maintain and strengthen this enslavement—this is the future the imperialists and their hangers-on declare for the people. *And they are right* — this is the only future—so long, *and only so long*, as the slaves of every country remain unquestioningly loyal and blindly obedient to their masters and set their sights and their aspirations no higher than the miserable horizons imposed by the ruling classes and the imperialist system.

But the whole history of humanity, as well as the present reality, shows that there is another path—the path which the oppressed in every society sooner or later take, the path not backward but forward—the path of resistance against and ultimately the revolutionary overthrow of their oppressors. Today, even as the imperialists on both sides are feverishly accelerating their preparations

for world war in the face of their deepening crisis, revolutionary movements are gathering momentum and gaining strength in many parts of the world, confronting and pounding at the imperialist system and both superpowers.

Revolution is the only means to prevent world war. This is not some kind of general truth divorced from present reality, nor is it an abstract slogan with no concrete and immediate application. Only a major realignment of the world by the proletariat and its allies—only the overthrow of imperialism and reaction and the establishment of revolutionary regimes where the proletariat rules or is playing the leading role and is carrying the struggle forward to socialism in large and/or strategic parts of the world—only this can prevent the world war looming on the horizon. And should world war be brought about by the imperialists before it can be prevented by revolution, then revolution remains the only way the masses of people can break free of the chains of exploitation and degradation of the imperialist system and its vicious cycle leading repeatedly to deeper crisis and more devastating war. While the imperialists and their reactionary retainers insist that there is no choice, no “freedom” but to be enslaved by one or another of them, and particularly that a war started by and fought between them can only end in the victory of one imperialist bloc or the other, the truth is that the only real choice, the only road to real freedom and the only war worth fighting for the masses of people, is a revolutionary war *against* these reactionary classes—and in fact that a war started by the imperialists must be transformed into a revolutionary war of the proletariat and oppressed masses in all countries to overthrow and shatter the grip of imperialism and reaction.

This Programme, while containing basic principles and general guidelines, is written especially with the immediate situation in mind. It is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day.

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RCP



## Fleet-EX 83-1

Continued from page 5

Soviet Pacific fleet, composed of 80 surface warships (including the carrier *Minsk*) and 120 submarines, is now the largest of the Soviet Union's four naval fleets. Forty percent of the Soviet SSBN (nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines) are based in the Pacific. In addition, there is the Soviet Asian-based airpower (including 70 long-range Backfire bombers and 500 interceptors) and 108 intermediate range SS-20 nuclear missiles directed at China and Japan. U.S. defense officials are of course quick to point out that these forces pose a threat not only to U.S. allies in the Far East, but also to the west coast of the U.S. itself.

Overall, the Soviet forces and weaponry in the Far East and the Pacific still cannot match those of the U.S. and its allies. But the problem for the U.S. is that "the alarming expansion of the Soviet Pacific fleet," in the words of the *L.A. Times*, "has occurred at a time when the U.S. Pacific fleet has been stretched thin by the necessity of maintaining a powerful presence in the Indian Ocean to discourage the Russians from any moves against the vital Persian Gulf oil fields." The Soviets have taken advantage of this situation to do its own arrogant flexing of military muscle, especially directed at the U.S.'s main ally in the region, Japan. Soviet warships and submarines make regular cruises in the waters and straits around Japan and Soviet aircraft routinely penetrate its airspace. Moreover, as the *Times* comments, the Soviet "movements to and from the Indian Ocean, with stopovers at American-built bases in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, have an intimidating effect on the non-communist (read pro-U.S.) countries in Southeast Asia." The *Times* goes on to say that Fleet-EX83-1 "dramatizes an evolving strategy to deal with the potential Soviet threat," a strategy which "is designed to make the most of military forces that must necessarily be spread thin in the huge area stretching from Los Angeles to the Persian Gulf, and from Australia to Alaska."

The *Times* notes that the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet expected "several kinds of dividends" from the ex-

ercises. Some of these are military: "One, obviously, is to draw reaction from Soviet submarines and reconnaissance planes so that Russian tactics and capabilities in such situations can be assessed. Another is to give the Pacific fleet some badly-needed experience in the frigid northern climate, and to develop effective command and control procedures to deal with the extremely complex task of coordinating the air, surface and submarine forces that are involved in such an operation." He also expected more strategic "dividends" besides those related to military preparedness: "Still another purpose is to put the Soviet Union on notice that the U.S. intends to protect its interests in the area, and that towards that end powerful elements of the fleet will make surprise appearances from time to time. It is anticipated that a beneficial side-effect of more frequent U.S. activity in the North Pacific will be to make the Soviets more hesitant to commit their Pacific fleet in operations in far away sea lanes around Southern Asia."

Aside from stepping up visible activity in the Pacific with exercises as this, the U.S. also plans to reinforce the Seventh Fleet, which prowls the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean, with its latest nuclear-powered carrier, the *Carl Vinson*, and the battleship *New Jersey*. The *New Jersey*, which saw action in World War 2, the Korean War and Vietnam, has been renovated and outfitted with Tomahawk cruise missiles. Standing off the California coast in mid-May, the *New Jersey* held a successful test launch of its cruise missile, hitting the target 500 miles away in Nevada.

A key element in the U.S. strategy in the Pacific Far East is another type of warship — the "unsinkable aircraft carrier," Japan. During his trip to the U.S. in February, Japanese premier Nakasone had declared that Japan should be "an unsinkable aircraft carrier equipped with a tremendous bulwark of defense against the infiltration of the Backfire bomber," and that in an "emergency," Japan would move to obtain "complete and full control of the four straits that go through the Japanese islands so that there should be no passage of Soviet submarines and other naval activities." While these remarks greatly pleased the U.S. imperialists, they prompted the Soviets to point out, correctly enough, that an aircraft carrier is not primarily a defensive weapon, but an offensive one. Indeed, Japan's gearing up of political and

military preparations for war, dramatized by Nakasone's belligerent statements in Washington, is by no means a mere "defensive" reaction to Soviet threats or a reluctant "appeasement" to U.S. pressures, as the Japanese imperialists like to claim. The Japanese rulers are powerful imperialists in their own right, driven by the law of imperialism to pursue their own interests in maintaining and expanding their international "spheres of influence." Like all other imperialist powers, Japan is increasingly confronted with a pressing need to seek a favorable redivision of the world, and, within the present world framework, Japan must do this in the overall context of being a part of the U.S. war bloc and under the U.S. nuclear umbrella.

One strategic weakness of the Soviet Union that stands out like a sore thumb is that, because of the particulars of its geography, its four naval fleets are extremely vulnerable to being hemmed in within their home waters. The strategy of NATO in Europe is to block the exit of Soviet ships and submarines from the Black, Baltic and White Seas. In the Far East, the Soviet Pacific fleet is home-based at Vladivostok, which faces the Sea of Japan and whose only all-weather approaches by sea are through the straits that run through and by the Japanese Islands. Japan already possesses one of the world's most advanced anti-submarine and mine-laying capabilities. It's easy to see why the Soviets reacted so strongly to Nakasone's statements about wielding "complete and full control" of the straits, since it raises the ominous threat for the Soviets of having the ring closed in on all sides. The Soviet Union countered by delivering its own threat, couched in words clearly meant to stir up the specter of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, that Japan could suffer "an even worse national tragedy than the one it suffered 37 years ago."

In recent months, a Far Eastern peace-war has been unfolding between the Soviet Union and Japan. In April, the Soviet foreign minister Gromyko claimed that SS-20 missiles stationed in Asia were necessary because "Japan and the waters surrounding Japan are crammed with nuclear weapons and carriers. The island of Okinawa is an enormous nuclear-weapons base." A few days later, the deputy foreign minister for Asian affairs, Kapitsa, trotted out with the "soft-sell" approach, declaring that the Soviet

Union was ready and willing to conclude an agreement guaranteeing non-use of nuclear weapons against Japan if it maintained its so-called "three non-nuclear principles" — the officially stated position of the Japanese government banning the manufacture and possession of nuclear weapons by Japan as well as "introduction" of such weapons into Japanese territory. The Soviets, of course, have as much intention of dismantling their missiles in Asia as they have of dismantling those in Europe. Recent U.S. intelligence reports indicate that in fact the Soviets have begun construction of new missile sites in Asia.

Nakasone countered by declaring that, "neither arms or nuclear bases exist in any part of Japan," and that, "we are strictly abiding by the three non-nuclear principles." Presumably, he said this with a straight face, despite the fact that only a few weeks earlier the *Enterprise*, widely assumed to be loaded with nuclear weapons, had made a port call at the U.S. base in Sasebo in southern Japan en route to the northern Pacific exercise. Further upping the stakes, Japan announced in early May that a destroyer was being sent to the Soya Straits between the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido and the Soviet island of Sakhalin "to monitor Soviet warship movements around the clock." According to the Japanese defense agency, "the purpose of this patrol is to collect basic data needed for a possible blockade of the straits around Japan, to confine Soviet ships in the Sea of Japan in case of emergencies." In the space of a few months, Nakasone's threat of a blockade had developed into actual "collecting of data" for carrying out such an action which, if in fact carried out, constitutes an "act of war" against Russia as some have pointed out.

Meanwhile, as all this activity was going on in the North Pacific and around the Sea of Japan, the U.S. was solidifying its position further down south in its all-important foothold in the Philippines. The U.S. and the Marcos regime wrapped up a review of the U.S./Philippines Military Bases Agreement with an announcement of a \$900 million "compensation package" for the use of the bases over a five-year period. The "negotiations" were conducted with amazing speed and with utmost secrecy to insure that as little opposition as possible would be aroused. In late April, Marcos said that "informal talks" were being held with the U.S. around the bases. Suddenly, a month later, the new agreement was unveiled. (Also taking place in April was the U.S./Philippine joint military exercise, reportedly involving 14,000 troops and considered the biggest ever such exercise in the Philippines.)

The Philippine bases are vital to U.S. air and naval operations in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Clark Airbase is the headquarters of the U.S. 13th Air Force and a hub of military air traffic in the western Pacific. Subic Naval Base serves as the main ship-repair facility for the Seventh Fleet. Other installations perform important communications and surveillance functions. The bases also provide critical backup support for the U.S. forces in northeast Asia and logistical facilities for projection of U.S. military power into the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. One notable clause in the new Bases Agreement required the U.S. to hold prior consultations with the Philippine government in case of establishment of "long-range missiles" in the bases. This of course says nothing about tactical nuclear weapons, already thought to be regularly carried into and stored at the bases, and theater nuclear weapons.

The recent flurry of activities by the U.S. in the Pacific brings out the necessities facing U.S. imperialism to, as the *L.A. Times* puts it, "make the most of military forces that must necessarily be stretched thin in the huge area stretching from L.A. to the Persian Gulf, and from Australia to Alaska." And as vast as this area is, it is only one part of the globe! As the document *Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement* points out: "Having such a far-flung empire and occupying such a superior position relative to its allies, U.S. imperialism, unlike in the periods preceding the two previous world wars and during them, cannot help but be on the front lines of conflict in all parts of the world." □

Dear Comrades,

I ordered and received the book, *The Science of Revolution*, by Lenny Wolff. In the book Wolff makes reference to several other books and one in particular reference I would like to read, said book being — *Conquer the World* by Bob Avakian. This book was also mentioned in an advertisement of the May 27, 1983 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

My position is, I'm a prisoner of over 15 years of incarceration and just don't have the funds to purchase the book *Conquer the World*. I'd like to request this book via gratuity, and any other books you might have available by Bob Avakian.

I support the struggle actively and by purchasing most of the books I desire, but I have fallen on rather hard times — so I hope you can be of assistance to me on this request.

Yours In the Struggle,  
Huntingdon, Pa.

Dear Friends:

I obtained your address from the May 27, 1983 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* which a fellow inmate let me read. It was (is) my first encounter with RCP. I am a state prisoner serving a six-to-fifteen-year sentence and have been incarcerated since June of 1977. I don't have any money and I am writing this letter in an effort to obtain a free subscription and/or any back issues of the *Revolutionary Worker* that you might be able to send me and also to ask for the journal *A World To Win* of May 1st, 1981 and May 1st, 1982 mentioned in the *RW*, if you can send me one. And any and all other literature that you may be able to send me that will inform me on the RCP.

Thanking you in advance for anything you can send me.

Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

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Dear Comrades,

Over the weekend of March 25-27, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) held a Black Nation Day conference here in Detroit. I attended that conference as an observer, and I would like to offer here some of my impressions of it for the readers of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Several hundred Black people—Black nationalists, intellectuals, professionals, ministers, Muslims, youth, students and representatives of African liberation movements—from a few cities across the country attended the conference. Among the participants and speakers at Black Nation Day were several well-known veterans of the Black movement and liberation struggle of the 1960s in the U.S.: Robert F. Williams, Jamil Amin (H. Rap Brown), Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), Dara Abubakari (Virginia Collins, co-President of the RNA), Chokwe Lumumba (Minister of Justice of the RNA), Imari Obadele (co-President of the RNA), Minister Louis Farrakhan, Rev. Ben Chavis (one of the Wilmington 10), Amiri Baraka and Rev. Charles Koen (of the Cairo, Illinois United Front).

The primary factor which compelled the RNA to organize Black Nation Day is its analysis of the objective situation, an analysis which sees Black genocide as the main thing on the horizon instead of world war and world revolution. On this point, the pre-conference literature had this to say: "Within the last few years, the prolonged perpetration of genocidal activity against our people has decidedly increased . . . . From coast to coast and border to border of the empire, white racist violence over the last four years has become commonplace. In Boston a young Black high school football player was shot by a white sniper; in New York, New Afrikan men in Buffalo had their hearts cut from their chests; in Detroit, a series of bombings of Black homes resulted in one sister losing her hand; in Atlanta, over 38 of our children were killed. In California, a deaf-mute brother was killed by white hunters who shot him because they couldn't find a deer; in Greensboro, Chattanooga and Mobile, Blacks were shot by the Klan. In Mobile, a young Black man was lynched—hung from a tree. Across the continent, over 50 Ku Klux Klan camps are preparing for race war. The list of white racist actions and preparation goes on and on. The American State not only fails to halt these civilian terrorist actions and preparation, but it encourages them. In fact, the U.S. has compiled an infamous toll of Black killings on its own."

There is certainly much that can be united with here in terms of the exposure of the stepped-up attacks on oppressed nationalities in this country by the imperialists and by the bourgeoisie's reactionary social base—from sections of the people, including some within the working class, who are pumped up with reactionary ideology and some of whom more or less benefit from the spoils that imperialism has ripped off from the masses of people throughout the world. This brings to mind a statement that Lenin made with which our party is in firm agreement: "The future revolution will not be so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people. The enemies of our revolution from among the people are few in number. But as the struggle grows more acute, they become more and more organized and receive support from the reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie." (It is essential to point out here that, unlike in Russia where it was correct during a certain stage of the revolution to talk about a "reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie," it is not correct to view the imperialists in this country as being composed of reactionary strata—the bourgeoisie as a whole is the target of revolution.) What Lenin points out in that statement sheds light on the situation in this country where the bourgeoisie is unleashing and giving aid to that reactionary social base that it will increasingly rely on as the crisis of the imperialist system intensifies and as the U.S. and Soviet blocs step up their preparations for World War 3.

Indeed, one of the things that stood out sharply at the Black Nation Day conference was that little, if in fact any, mention was made of the danger of a third world war—even as the beat of the im-

## Letter to the RW

# On Black Nation Day Conference

perialists' war drums becomes almost deafening—or of the fact that the Soviet Union is itself an imperialist power and the head of an imperialist bloc which is contending with the U.S. and its bloc for world hegemony. In fact, the basic view that held sway at the conference was that the '80s will basically be a re-run of the '60s but that this time the Black movement must be better organized and more unified. While the question of world war was little discussed at this conference, its shaping force was nonetheless objectively felt—both in the sense that the bourgeoisie's war preparations are in fact giving rise to a sharpening of the national contradiction within the U.S. (along with others), and also in the sense that it is precisely the objective developments toward this world conjuncture which have given rise to some political stirrings among the Black masses, including the Black petty bourgeoisie, which was reflected in the convening of this conference.

The BND conference specifically sought to unify forces in the Black movement around the goal of establishing a land base for Black people in five states in the south—South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama—in the coming period. The *New Programme of the RCP* points out that the land question is not at the heart of the struggle of Black people in this country but on the other hand, that it has continued to give rise to struggle and will certainly do so in the future, particularly in the context of civil war. And more recently, the Chairman has elaborated on what is said in the *New Programme* in his piece "On the Border Question" (*RW* No. 174):

"It is our responsibility to train the masses of all nationalities in a self-determinationist spirit, to take up the struggle in support of the long-denied and suppressed demands of these peoples for liberation and equality, as an integral and decisive aspect of the proletarian revolution. In relation to the Black nation, with its historic homeland in the Black Belt area of the south, this includes the right to self-determination, up to and including the right to secession.

"In particular if things worked out in such a way that the most that we, the international proletariat, could get out of a situation of upheaval in the U.S. would be the establishment of a Black republic or African-American republic in the historic homeland of Black people in the south of the U.S., then certainly every anti-imperialist, to say nothing of every proletarian internationalist, should firmly support this and fight for it, if, it must be added, we could get it on a real revolutionary basis and not as a neo-colony."

Chairman Avakian emphasizes, however, that it may well be possible to win much more than that; and he warns that those achievements can only be truly won on the basis of proletarian internationalism, not nationalism, even progressive or revolutionary nationalism. Because "if the establishment of such a separate state is the highest goal and an end in itself in your outlook, then already from the beginning you've undercut the basis to really make victories won and territories liberated a further advance for the world revolution."

The dominant view at the Black Nation Day conference was that the principal concern of Black people right now should be to unite to establish a separate Black

state in the U.S. and that the character of that state was not the question presently. But there was some opposition to that view, at least in terms of the fact that the oppression of women should not be continued in a Black state. In particular, in a workshop on the woman question and at the self-determination forum, the question of ending the oppression of Black women was raised. The basic view put forward by the woman from the RNA who led the workshop was that Black men don't give enough attention to the oppression of Black women or take up their liberation; that opposition to oppression of Black women should be a criterion for being in the Black liberation struggle; and that any ideology which aids the oppressor hurts Black people and that male chauvinism is no exception. What this line was objectively opposing was the fact that in the '60s many nationalist forces embraced male chauvinism with a vengeance. The political basis for this view was the nationalist line that Black nation-building required Black family-building. And that meant enshrining patriarchy. Sometimes, particularly among cultural nationalists, this went so far as taking up such reactionary and feudal practices as polygamy. The remnants of such thinking still prevail, even if some of the most extreme practices are not as widespread. Unfortunately, though, the woman question did not become a focal point of struggle and discussion throughout the conference as a whole.

Finally, a keynote speaker at Black Nation Day had this to say about internationalism: "Some of us want to excuse ourselves from struggling here by saying the struggle is somewhere else, right? The struggle's in El Salvador. We're inter-

nationalists, they say. How are you going to be an internationalist if you don't have a national policy? Everybody around here that anybody pays any attention to on an international level has got a national policy. They've got nations. They don't listen to you unless you've got a nation. They don't listen to some crazy people running around talking about they're internationalists. You're a proven internationalist if you're also a revolutionary nationalist, that's right. You become an internationalist if you've got an army to make you an internationalist. You become an internationalist if you can point to a government that will make you an internationalist. If you're not that then you're just a figment of the garbage and trash of the rest of the world, that's all you are."

Proletarian internationalism, however, is not about becoming respectable in the eyes of bourgeois forces throughout the world—nor is it an "excuse" for not struggling in whatever country that the proletariat may find itself. It is not just a good idea or something extended from the proletariat in one country to the proletariat in another country; it represents the outlook and the interest of the proletariat of all nationalities throughout the world. It is the starting point for the proletariat's struggle internationally and within particular countries. Proletarian internationalism is founded on a concrete material reality; its foundation is the reality that under capitalism, and particularly imperialism, the world is highly integrated, and under imperialism while there are many different countries in the world and many different processes, they are all integrated into a single process on a world scale. It is not just rhetoric but a fact that the imperialist system is the common enemy of people throughout the world.

While revolutionary nationalism can and does play a revolutionary role and can be a firm ally of the proletariat, it is not the same as proletarian internationalism, and revolutionary nationalists cannot take a consistent internationalist stand and line because even the most radical or revolutionary sentiments of nationalists are a reflection, in the final analysis, of bourgeois ideology—"my nation or my nationality first—above all."

The '80s will not be a re-run of the '60s—though many lessons from the '60s must be learned and applied today; it will be a period pregnant with great dangers and tremendous opportunities to advance the cause of revolution not just in this country but throughout the world. It is toward such an eventuality that the international proletariat and its allies must actively prepare.

A comrade

## Dead Reporters

Continued from page 7  
about 3:00 p.m., supposedly because of heavy firing from alleged Nicaraguan troops. However, this did not stop the news of the demise of the journalists from reaching Tegucigalpa at 6:15 p.m.—over four hours before the Honduran military says it reached the bodies. One can only wonder how they were able to identify the deceased before retrieving the bodies. Stranger still is the initial report from the Honduran government that a *Time* magazine correspondent, William McWhirter, was among those killed. Imagine McWhirter's surprise when he arrived at his place in Miami to find all his friends—local cops included—in mourning outside his door. Better yet, imagine the Honduran government's surprise. They quickly apologized for the *faux pas*, but it certainly does appear that somebody up there might have been expecting three U.S. journalists to be killed on that road.

Of course, the Honduran military is positively determined to get to the bottom of this heinous crime. However, it has unfortunately been forced to seal off the entire area to outsiders because it is so dangerous there. And they undoubtedly also have a fine explanation for why they apparently held on to the bodies for over six hours before flying them by helicopter to Tegucigalpa. There was a Honduran peasant who was supposedly injured in the incident; perhaps the military commanders had to make sure that he saw the same incident that they did before they sent him, with the bodies, back to

Tegucigalpa.

Meanwhile, Nicaraguan foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto has also seen all the gaping holes in the story and has decided to make use of them. He described Torgerson as "an objective reporter" and claimed that Cross was "a friend of Nicaragua," noting that he had earlier worked on a book with the Sandinista Minister of Culture. D'Escoto also claims that the killing of the journalists is part of a Honduran Army plan to attack a town in Honduras and blame it on the Nicaraguan Army, thereby increasing tensions on the border and helping to tighten the squeeze on Nicaragua. While it is still unclear what *did* happen here, this is certainly a more plausible explanation than the contradiction-riddled tales emanating from the U.S. and Honduras.

But the response of U.S. officials so far, while never missing an opportunity to declare that the fire came from Nicaragua, has nevertheless been decidedly low-key. Both Secretary of State Shultz and White House spokesman Larry Speakes have publicly emphasized the claim that the journalists were warned before they ventured into the area. Thus, it is another low-key response to a U.S. casualty, much like the response to the recent demise of a U.S. "adviser" in El Salvador. U.S. fears of a Central American quagmire sucking them in amid all the vast global requirements facing them are showing up once again; it seems that there will be no U.S. cries of "Remember Dial Torgerson! Defend the free press!" just now. □





Government built apartments in Santo Domingo — not exactly a low-income project, these condos cost in the neighborhood of \$60,000.

## Impressions

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Still, several thousand Haitian cane cutters come as contract laborers to the Dominican Republic every year. They live on the sweet juice of the sugar cane and not much else, in barracks and camps surrounded by barbed wire. The guards blow a few away every year, for anything or nothing. They are paid, quite literally, a few dollars at the end of the season. Yet apparently these are considered privileged jobs in Haiti. Haitian workers pay bribes to get them, for such jobs represent the chance to accumulate a little cash for a tiny piece of land, or maybe the chance to escape Haiti. Even in a country as poor as the Dominican Republic, there is something of a two-tier labor system.

The Dominican Republic today is beginning to feel the end of a decade which might be considered comparative boom. This is really absurd, considering how bad things have been, but it is relatively true. This economic growth had something to do with the particular possibilities for imperialist capital in the Dominican Republic during this period, but probably even more to do with the U.S.'s necessities to "stabilize" its domination there, not only against the masses but also vis à vis the Soviets and their forces, especially Cuba, which lies just across from the island of Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic). In other words, considerations of the same sort that have recently led the U.S. to begin to explore putting military bases at both ends of the island.

A lot of new plants did open up, in terms of the kind of industrial development described previously. If you or somebody in your family could get to New York and work there, you might even make some money. If you were politically well connected, Chicago-style — which doesn't require wealth or social standing, just subservience to the system — you might very well get rewarded with an apartment or even a house in a government housing project. Joaquin Balaguer, bloody dictator that he was, gave out a lot of houses. Today they aren't giving out any houses. There's even talk of cutting off the electricity which people in the shantytowns have "stolen" from passing power lines while the government looked the other way. In the newspapers, articles quoting this or that minister about the financial crisis in this or that department alternate with articles quoting various authorities on the need to step up police activity in the lower class neighborhoods against the threat of growing "juvenile delinquency" which is expected to accompany spreading layoffs.

It is politically that the situation is most striking. After all, the Dominican Republic has long been synonymous with old-fashioned open dictatorship, starting with the notorious Trujillo regime of the 1940s to the early 1960s (Trujillo liked to use the dungeons graciously left behind by the Spaniards as a reminder of the Dominican Republic's Christian

heritage), and continuing, after the U.S. invasion in 1965, with Trujillo's successor, Balaguer, who used modern U.S. counterinsurgency methods to hunt down and assassinate opponents, as well as his own dungeons of only slightly more recent construction. Now today the Dominican Republic is governed by the PRD (Dominican Revolutionary Party), a member of the Second International, which bills itself a little Mitterrand-style government in the Caribbean. After a lifetime of illegality and repression, there is a legal political movement. But most of this movement is the living dead.

In the revolutionary upheavals of the decade that followed the U.S. invasion and the unsuccessful but extremely significant popular war against it, at a time when Castroism dominated the scene in other countries, the Maoist MPD (Movimiento Popular Dominicano) drew in many, many thousands of youth and others from the bottom and middle of Dominican society and even low-ranking military officers and well-to-do elements. This movement was systematically decapitated by the government and the U.S. Even leaders in exile were hunted down and murdered in the early 1970s — three central committees arose and were wiped out one after another. Because of weaknesses in its political line, which were accentuated by the murder of its best leaders, the MPD could not continue in the face of this display of imperialism's repressive and economic reserves, and its collapse was culminated with the crisis in the international communist movement following Mao's death and the coup in China, when only a small — but potentially very significant — handful of MPD members stood firm on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and became determined to sum up historical lessons on that basis.

It must be said that a key ingredient in the success of this sudden "democratic" conversion of the U.S. and Dominican ruling classes which have shed so much blood here has been the pervading cynicism among some sections of the masses and the most cynical opportunism among many ex-revolutionaries.

The gamut of opportunist forces are firmly encrusted in the trade union bureaucracy and basking in the false sunlight of legality. These include the Hoxhaites, the open pro-Soviets and the Teng Hsiao-ping types, in size order. The pro-China and pro-Soviet revisionists, who seem to have few differences right now in the Dominican Republic, are united in an electoral coalition, and they, along with the Hoxhaites, act as though all the violence of the past was a bad dream and social peace an enduring reality in the Dominican Republic. (Not likely. Of course, other circumstances could bring forward other forms of opportunism, even among these forces.) By law and feudal custom, union heads have to be lawyers; the major unions are run by ex-radical lawyers with political machines (their political parties), as effectively as any labor hack anywhere. Although, for instance, the CP and the Hoxhaites

squabble about how militant to make the economic struggle, this misses the point at least as badly as in the U.S. or any other imperialist country. The CP, which is somewhat discredited because of its support for Balaguer and even Trujillo, has more than running a few labor unions in mind and seems content to let others strut their revisionist stuff in public while they concentrate on behind the scenes maneuvering, with full confidence that there are many roads to social-imperialist Rome.

All this electoral cretinism and economism based among the (relatively) better-off unionized workers would be bad enough in a country like, say, France, but in the Dominican Republic it is ludicrous. An awful lot of people once active in the revolutionary movement will tell you that they don't really believe in all this crap, it's just that it's the best or only way to go right now... which leads you

## The Smell of Incense

Continued from page 1

sphere will be disappointed. What we expect is a small miracle in the spiritual field." Along these lines, it is no accident that the whole disgusting spectacle was cast by the church and others, before and during the trip, as a sort of continuation of the centuries-long struggle of Catholic Poles against all and sundry outsiders, from Protestant Swedes to atheistic Bolsheviks; a grinding, gradual, humble and timid uphill battle which might just as well be blessed by the Black Madonna for the next 600 years as it has the past 600 years.

Its madness, is all the more maddening when one considers the depraved posturing of that lover of Polish freedom, Ronald Reagan, who declared that the Pope's visit gave a "ray of hope to the Polish people." A ray of hope there may be — but it lies in the possibility that through this miserable event, some illusions about the nature of the Western democratic interest in Poland will be dumped.

From Popes, generals, U.S. and Soviet imperialists — all of whom are practical politicians — there has emerged a general agreement that a relative stasis has settled in over Poland, and that it is not in the interest of either international bloc to have a major showdown over Poland right now — if they can help it. But this by no means alters the fact that there are still, fundamentally, two sides — each seeking to advance its position at the expense of the other.

America, for starters, thinks it's got a genuine ace-in-the-hole in Poland — a card to savor, but save to play when the stakes go up for real. Where does the Vatican leader intend to lead the people in Poland with remarks such as the following: "I ardently desire the re-creation of conditions of good cooperation with all the Western nations on our continent, as

to wonder what they'll fight for when fighting becomes the only way. Meanwhile the literary magazines are filled with the regrets of tired old men of 35 who gave up their chance to study in Europe or Canada for a revolution that failed and now feel doomed to swelter forever in the underdeveloped tropics. It is a bitterness over sacrifices to a failed revolution mixed with sharp frustration. For instance, one poem on this theme complains that "we" thought we'd have state power by the time we were this age and ends up saying that when we were revolutionaries we couldn't get drunk and listen to records because it was considered decadent, now we can't do it because there's no electricity. In all this you can sense, even if you can't yet see all the outlines, the longings that could make pro-Soviet revisionism a real contender for state power and dramatically change the political scenery here, especially in the context of dramatic changes in the balance of forces in the world overall.

But this cynicism, though pervasive, exists alongside an irrepressible revolutionary ferment. There are hundreds of thousands of proletarians and others who went through this same revolutionary period and who have other feelings. Whether it was all useless or something else is far from a settled question among these people. For instance, a comrade from the Unión Comunista Revolucionaria told how one revolutionary went to visit a woman in San Pedro de Macoris. Soon he and this proletarian fell to reminiscing about the night he and the rest of an MPD brigade putting up posters against the latest U.S.-sponsored election to ratify the U.S. invasion were ambushed by the cops. After a fierce shoot-out, he took refuge in her house. With a mixture of laughter and recalled terror, she remembered how he bled all over the both of them, how the police had searched every house in the neighborhood but missed hers for some reason that neither could remember, and how she'd helped him get away, holding him up with one hand, a revolver in the other. Then she smiled and said, "You know, those were the best days of our lives. I can't wait till they come again. When the hell are you guys going to form a party?" □

well as the Americas, above all, the United States of America"... especially since they helped me write my speech. Related to this — and equally as subtle — were the pontiff's continual references to Polish sovereignty, national freedom and independence. At one stop for instance, he said, "Here at Jasna Gora there also rested the hope of the nation and the persevering effort toward the recovery of independence." Then he went on to recite a line from a famous Polish hymn (which the press notes is "sung in times when freedom is lacking"): "Before your altars we bring entreaties, O Lord, deign to restore to us our free homeland." But, O Lord, let's be clear we're talking about sovereignty, national freedom and independence for *certain* Catholics, those in *Poland*, but not others — like in Puerto Rico!

Of course, the Pope has more in mind here than just the demand for continued rule of just any old class of international bloodsuckers — and in an advanced, capitalist country like Poland, this is all raising the national banner can mean. His "vision" — and needless to say, that of certain other people — is an ultimate alliance of Polish bloodsuckers with those in the West instead of the East, which, he knows well, can only come about through imperialist war. Some man of peace, this fellow.

This same point, interestingly, surfaced in the Pope's seemingly innocuous call for "reciprocal understanding and reconciliation" between the German and Polish people. The Holy Father has in mind here the *West Germans* who, as part of NATO, would be face-to-face with Poland in just about any European war scenario and who, the revisionists hope, will invoke the national hatred of the Poles. There are national antagonisms, not all that removed in history, which the

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# Kidnapper Howls For His Masters

From the beginning the kidnapping of Tina Fishman's daughter, Riva, has been nothing but a political attack disguised as a custody case to determine the so-called "best interests of the child." This contradiction has led to various twists and turns during the nearly two years that the custody case has continued, with the courts first openly baring the political nature of the attack in Judge Browning's ruling and later covering this over in Judge Ragan's more recent decision, in order to cool out the growing outrage over this legalized and very political kidnapping.

Now the case has taken another turn with the politics dragged more directly into the open than ever before by ex-husband Ted himself in a new round of documents filed before the court. The documents blatantly state what has been at the heart of this case all along — a political attack on the RCP that also has broad ramifications for women who dare to step out of their traditional role. Whether the courts intend to follow Ted's lead or plan to maintain their liberal cover while unleashing Ted to play the role of attack dog remains to be seen; but in any case, these documents reveal the real issues of this case and uncover the monumental hypocrisy of those who pose as defenders of "the best interests of the child."

In a June 14 document written (supposedly) by Ted, acting as his own attorney, he contends that Tina is fighting for custody because "... her intention is, in fact to whitewash her serious neglect of Riva and its attendant harm to the child. Her real purpose in pursuing this matter, whether it be in California or Illinois is to exploit the notoriety generated by the case for the aggrandizement of her political master Bob Avakian and herself."

What hypocrisy for Ted to raise the issue of the "exploitation" of the child for a "political master." It is he who originally kidnapped Riva nearly two years ago (the same month that the U.S. government was sharpening their strategy in the Mao Defendants' battle) and filed for emergency custody in California when Riva's home state is irrefutably Illinois. The California courts in a legally unprecedented move obligingly bent and broke their own laws, the Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act and the Child Kidnapping Prevention Act, to uphold

this kidnapping. To do this Judge Browning invented a whole new definition of "emergency," based on Tina's status as a Mao Defendant. The whole ruling was so blatantly illegal and had been so broadly exposed that Judge Ragan was later forced to admit that a state of emergency never in fact existed and that Illinois was indeed the home state; nevertheless, Ragan continued the kidnapping by granting Ted six more months temporary custody (also legally unprecedented) while instructing Ted how to further maneuver to regain full possession of his property, Riva.

So an illegal kidnapping has been executed, then upheld for two years by the courts in a whole series of precedent-breaking decisions, and they have the audacity to claim that they are not exploiting the child for very definite political ends?! It is they who are using this child as nothing but a political pawn in their overall efforts to attack the RCP — and this is definitely for the "aggrandizement" of a certain "political master."

Ted goes on to charge in his latest document that Tina is "attempting to exploit this custody case for the purpose of her political cabal by manufacturing media events." He had made copies and transcripts of news conferences, radio talk shows and TV news reports available to the court and entered an *RW* article reporting on International Women's Day in Berkeley which Tina spoke at. Need it be said that the outrage over these media events is due to the fact that they expose the bourgeois politics motivating the cabal that has upheld the kidnapping of Riva. Now Tina is not only to be punished for her political convictions, but for calling out this attack for what it is.

One last noteworthy hypocrisy that should be pointed out is Ted's statement that Tina is an unfit parent because she "clearly and consistently stated that political commitments took precedence over all other aspects of her life, including her parental responsibilities." Positively shocking. Judge Ragan concurred, writing in his most recent decision that "Tina has been totally absorbed by a fanatical obsession with a political cause." Ted, by contrast, was described on record as providing "a stable, safe, religious and orderly environment in an attractive, comfortable community." No political content to Ted's life work; he

just happens to be working as a physicist making bombs for Lockheed, to serve his political masters of war.

Continuing with the above line of attack Ted states, "As she (Tina) clearly stated on numerous occasions both publicly to the media and privately to Riva, the significance of this case is not specifically what happens to Riva, but that the court be taught a lesson by radical women (sic)." Once again, need we point out that just the opposite is true. It is the bourgeoisie that is trying to turn this into a precedent-setting case, legally and politically, to use child custody as a club over the heads of women who to one degree or another do not fit the stereotyped image of housewife and mother — whether they work outside the home, are atheists, political activists, or revolutionaries. As pointed out in *RW* No. 209 (June 10, 1983), this case links up with an increasingly sharp and well-documented trend of the state to attempt to put these women in their place through depriving them of custody of their children.

## FBI Involvement

The advantage of this form of attack is that a child custody battle — a seemingly non-political case — helps to preserve the veil of freedom and democracy at a time when the state is actually bringing down increasing political repression. That the political police keep close tabs on the personal life of revolutionaries was pointed out in a 1968 FBI directive regarding disruption on the left which stated: "No opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts..." (our emphasis)

It is hardly surprising that this attack would be launched at a time when Tina was in Washington, D.C. for the Mao Defendants case and Riva was visiting her father. There is documented evidence that even before that time the FBI was surveilling Tina, including seeking information from her landlady and neighbors, going to her job, and making phone calls to her co-workers who had signed support statements for Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. Further evidence of FBI involvement in this case came to light when Tina recently applied for all FBI and surveillance files available to her under the Freedom of Information Act. She was denied all of it; the official reason given as "national defense" and "pending investigations." It would seem

rather unusual for the FBI to be involved in investigating a child custody case; but then again perhaps there are other, more covert, investigations pending against the RCP and its supporters.

## Court Hearing Delayed

From Ted's politically charged documents to the involvement of the FBI, this case which supposedly involves merely "the best interests of the child" actually reeks of a political vendetta against the RCP directed from the top levels of government. However, the larger political questions that have been raised by Ted were temporarily sidestepped by Judge Jorzak during a June 21 hearing in Chicago to determine whether jurisdiction over the case would be returned to Illinois. The judge refused to rule on this question which, by every existing legal precedent, should immediately be granted to Illinois; instead he delayed the hearing until July 7 pending the outcome of a court action filed by Ted in California to be heard June 23 as we go to press. The June 23 hearing will determine if Judge Ragan's order that Riva be returned to her mother on July 1st will be stayed and Ted's temporary custody be extended.

Throughout the hearing Judge Jorzak maintained his ignorance of this case, also justifying the delay on the grounds that he had not had time to read the legal documents. But his air of innocence was punctured when he was seen leaving the court building and hopping into a taxi cab with Ted's lawyer. While the overall direction of the case can be much more fully summed up upon the outcome of this hearing, Judge Jorzak's stalling tactic clearly favors Ted's contention that California is now Riva's home state and that the custody case should proceed there.

**FLASH:** As we go to press, Judge Ragan could find no legal basis to extend his earlier period of emergency and stay Riva in California beyond July 1 and he directed Ted to take his case to California's Appellate Court for a stay. But Ragan also took the opportunity to *twice* admonish Tina that she should voluntarily extend Ted's custody because she was "using the case for political ends"! Further developments will be analyzed in a future issue of the *RW*. □

# The Smell of Incense in the Morning

Continued from page 14

revisionists plan to turn against the West. Thus the Pope's countermeasure: a call to bury the hatchet — and later the Russians.

Millions, of course, turned out for the Pope, and it only stands to reason that support for Solidarity and opposition to the government would be registered, mild as it was. In fact, the trip was a sort of capper to a process under way for several months, whereby Solidarity was brought firmly and directly under the loving wings of the church. The bargain struck last fall between the government, the church and Solidarity — a bargain which included the freeing of Walesa, a reconciliation between the union and the government, and the papal visit — has reached fruition. The Pope's many references to the union during the trip were not, as alleged in the press, a display of militance against the government, but were designed to all the more firmly rope in Solidarity's base and all the more clearly establish the church's central authority as the only legitimate opposition in Poland — and this under the auspices of you know who. The Pope's "militance" served the added function of taking some heat off his executive officer in Poland, Cardinal Glomp, who because of his antics has become broadly known as "Comrade Glomp," but who will still continue to

run things now that the Pope has packed up.

Where the press rose above assertions that the Pope's trip was a "propaganda disaster for Warsaw," it has managed to note some of the potential benefits to the revisionists. Whether remaining sanctions will be lifted or the debt to the West rescheduled on more favorable terms is yet to be seen. But it is clear that the revisionists had something to gain from the trip, since they agreed to it in the first place. They were not, last fall, in a position of being forced into accepting the Pope; rather, the maneuver was part of a skillful combination of the carrot and the stick aimed at restoring some revisionist law and order. Their flexibility was excelled only by the Church which, in accepting "current political realities," played a key role (with Walesa and other Solidarity leaders) in killing the movement "with kindness."

If "domestic tranquility" can be reasonably insured, the possibility exists of the further lifting of martial law restrictions — some have been lifted already, while some have been codified into law — and then perhaps a return to some form of rule through the party, instead of the military. Given the strains of the last 18 months, the revisionists undoubtedly see this as preferable. Whether it will be possible — whether, for exam-

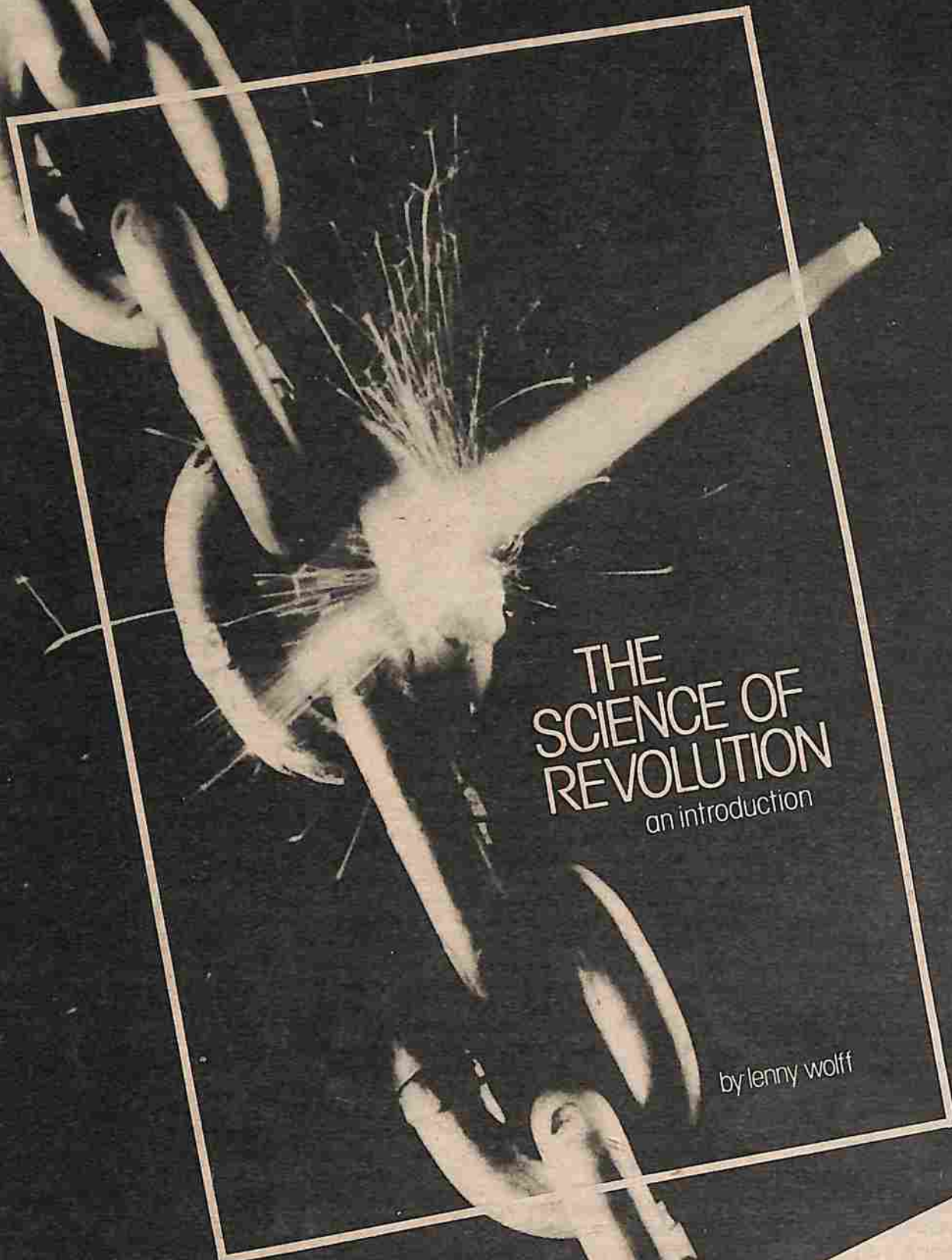
ple, the party has been cleaned up enough to be judged "fit to rule" — is hard to tell. And, of course, unforeseen events could easily puncture Poland's "return to normalcy."

When you think about it, internationally the revisionists have come through this whole period smelling pretty good. The "rigors of martial law," many were quick to point out, paled in comparison to what the West and the U.S. in particular have done all over the world, in Chile for example. Nevertheless, it has created a few problems here and there, especially in W. Europe, where Solidarity has had support among the very social base revisionism seeks to influence. Therefore, the Pope's trip was understandably the occasion for revisionist testimonials to the pluralism and democracy in Poland, a place where millions can exercise "free speech," as our friend Konopacki put it, as "long as they don't break the law." (This is just like things are in the West, he added.) On a more subterranean level, one can imagine the suggestion flowing out from revisionist central that no friend of the Soviet Union should miss the opportunity to point out that while millions of Catholics may worship unmolested in Poland, a different fate entirely awaits even the likes of an Archbishop in El Salvador.

The Polish government is not naive about the West's maneuvering via the Pope and the church. They undoubtedly think that much of what he spreads can be used to bolster their rule. After all, a populace ideologically imbued with submissiveness and timidity is hardly a detriment to *any* ruling bourgeoisie. Or take the Pope's nationalist agitation. This is a game two can play — and do. Above and beyond what the Pope is obviously trying to do with it, a general spirit of "for Poland" is not only desired, but required by the revisionists. It would be good to remember that in instituting martial law, Jaruzelski appealed, above all, to the interests of *the nation*. And he was not without support. True, this was at gunpoint, and there was little choice in the matter. But will there be any more "choice" in the future, on the eve of, for example, the outbreak of war, when the heat of the moment and the force of the revisionist state power could easily pull people into "defending Poland" against "imperialist aggression" in league with the other "fraternal socialist countries"?

Thus, the mutual benefits of the Pope's trip to "stalemate Poland," as the *Times* called it. In his "most political act ever," the sweet smell of his morning incense still managed to obfuscate the horrendous plans of those his trip has mutually benefited. □





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