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MX

— *Through the
Looking Glass*

The U.S. Congress is sick. The legislators appear to be suffering from a peculiar disease, in which everything the Congress people say, means precisely the opposite. Congressional debate must thus be viewed through a looking-glass in which "defeating the administration," say, means supporting it, and in which "striking a blow for peace" means approving the most horrendous weaponry. Take the recent debate on the MX.

On May 16, the House of Representatives held a key vote on the MX missile system, the first of what is to be a series of debates over the present administration's \$208.1 billion military package.

In itself, this decision concentrates key elements that have characterized bourgeois arms "debates" throughout this period: "Doves" and "hawks" lined up at the mikes to rake each other, filling the air with flaccid rhetoric.

On the eve of the debates, Reagan operatives rolled up big guns to corral crucial votes. Generals and defense contractors traipsed through offices of the high-minded representatives to mix earnest and confidential discussions about national security with reminders of the various military industries concentrated in their home districts. The President personally called on Democratic "waverers" in order to rally them to the MX side. Fighting for ground, the opposition retaliated with all the bluster of an election year. Hart and Mondale signed a joint letter stating their "insistence" on a total rejection of MX expenditures. Tip O'Neill worked the House floor echoing this official Democratic line, while legions of Common Cause lobbyists "collared" deliberating Solons in the hallways.

And then, following fireworks and mutual mudslinging as the hour of decision arrived, a strange thing happened... a miraculous spirit of compromise arose to snatch the missile program from the jaws of supposed defeat. Representative Les Aspin (Democrat of Wisconsin) emerged from the pack, still decked out in "dove" feathers earned as last year's floor manager for the Nuclear Freeze. And he performed a replay of another performance last year, in which the first \$625 million MX monies were approved.

The bottom line: the House of Representatives most definitely voted to push

ahead with the production of the MX missile, funding a new \$1.8 billion, sufficient for the production of fifteen MX missiles in 1985. Yet hardly was the ink dry than the Democrats emerged to trumpet the "defeat" they had leveled against "Reaganism"! Aspin described how he had forced the White House to heel: "This was the best they could get." To which his aide added, the Administration "was not at all happy" with the com-

promise, and "had to be convinced they couldn't win." O'Neill pontificated: "We can destroy the world over and over and over again. It's time to stop."

All of which raises the relevant question! come again?

Strange Defeat

For this is a strange "defeat" indeed. In the first place, the MX missile program will proceed, affirming that Congress-

sional representatives are not about to break their record of never in history scrapping any major arms program. Second, the vote had nothing to say about the 21 MX's which this same Congress approved last year. Unless we count wrong, 21 MX with 10 warheads apiece add up to 210 super-accurate shots already being readied against the Soviet Union. Throw in 150 more MX warheads

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Revolutionary May Day in Paris



Paris. Chanting "Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, Down With the Bourgeoisie and Its War Preparations," more than 200 people moved into the street and took over a lane of traffic on the afternoon of May 1st on the north side of Paris, a predominantly immigrant area. Bright red banners with the May 1st 1984 slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in four languages were held high in militant formation behind the lead banner with large portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung and the slogan "Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win." Also appearing prominently in the march was a large banner which read, "Long Live the People's War in Peru, Down with the Genocidal Government of Belaúnde!"

The marchers were primarily sup-

porters of four of the participating organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement: the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist; the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA; and the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran). Revolutionary music and drums kept the beat for a group of dancers from Turkey who formed a section of the march. Along the way the marchers chanted and carried on agitation in French, Spanish and Turkish, hailing the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and calling on people to buy the new *Declaration* which was simultaneously released around the world on May 1st.

As the march spilled onto the plaza where a couple thousand people had turned out for the CFDT (Socialist Party trade union) rally, hundreds of people

came to meet the march which stood in stark contrast to everything May 1st and the color red has become in this country. A number of people bought the *Declaration* on the spot. Throughout the day, small contingents armed with the banners of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and copies of the *Declaration* roved throughout Paris, leafletting and selling the *Declaration*.

Meanwhile, in eastern France in the city of Metz, about 200 people came out to meet marchers en route to the European Parliament meeting in Strasbourg, where the Committee of Solidarity With the Political Prisoners in Turkey had called for a protest and tribunal against the crimes of the Turkish regime. A march was held through the city of Metz on May 1st, where copies of the *Declaration* were sold and publicity carried on about the upcoming events in Strasbourg. □

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Olympic Amnesia

Remember when the sports pages were filled with hopeful speculation about Team USA's chances to stick it to the Soviets in Los Angeles this summer? Remember when the home court advantage was going to offer an opportunity to throw a monkey-wrench into the Big Red Machine? Remember when the athletes from the Soviet bloc were all "robots" and "automatons" — and somehow "deathly afraid of us" at the same time? Remember when every comment from a U.S. athlete declaring his or her determination to defeat an Eastern-bloc rival was set off in bold-faced type, and a series of such comments from an athlete guaranteed star status and a feature-length story? Remember when U.S. basketball general Bobby Knight said that he wanted someone like 6'6", 270-lb. Charles Barkley setting screens for him because, "when those Russians come over here, I want them to know they've been hit"?

Well, sports fans, the Russians aren't coming, Charles Barkley has been dropped from Bobby Knight's team and we are expected to come down with a brief case of amnesia. Suddenly, "friendship" has become the operative word for the Games and, until the Soviets ruined it, of course, the 1984 Olympics were all set up to be one big love-in.

Truly wonderful are the stories that can be dug up, when necessary, to describe the camaraderie, harmony (but not "fraternization" — let's not get carried away here) between athletes from opposing sides at the Olympics. There was the story of Jesse Owens, having problems with his long-jump takeoff in the 1936 Games, when he was helped by some advice from his main competitor, Germany's Luz Long. There was the 1968 decathlon victor, Bill Toomey, getting a Russian pin and words of encouragement from his Soviet rival. There was the friendship between John Naber and the top male swimmer from East Germany, Roland Matthes, at the 1976 Games. And several more. A careful observer might note that not only do these stories always seem to include an American *winner* and a rival *loser*, but they also usually involve the rival going against the political "dictates" of his government in order to befriend an American. But then, those other countries don't appreciate sportsmanship like the USA does.

Of course, there *are* limits, for chrissake. That's why the current wave of nostalgia for Olympic friendships has failed to bring up the 1976 experience of discus gold medalist Mac Wilkins, who hugged his East German counterpart when the latter came up with a superb throw on his final turn to edge out an American for the silver medal. Nor has it brought up Bill Koch, the cross-country skier who has publicly stated that an athlete should be happy with doing his best and making friends, who has criticized national chauvinism in the Olympics, and who feels that too much emphasis is placed on winning; Koch didn't win at the

Winter Games in Sarajevo and was subsequently blasted in the U.S. press for having the wrong attitude. For that matter, in the nearly 70 hours of U.S. TV time and reams of paper devoted to coverage of Sarajevo, can anyone think of a single example of camaraderie between U.S. and Soviet-bloc (or, for that matter even allied European) athletes that was promoted — or even mentioned? On the other hand, downhill skier Bill Johnson, who was universally disliked by athletes from other countries (and most from the U.S. as well) for his ego-tripping arrogance, became the one true-grit American hero of the 1984 Winter Olympics.

Oh, but U.S. officials and commentators are *so-o-o* concerned about the athletes. Ronald Reagan himself, when he heard the sad news, brushed away an imaginary tear and declared, "... I think it's unfair to the young people who have been waiting for so long to participate in those games." Evidently, they really expect people to swallow this, despite the rather obvious absence of such heartfelt sympathy four years ago. On the other hand, it is presumably "fair" for the U.S. to blatantly wield the "young people" in the Olympic anti-Soviet propaganda war, in preparation for another kind of anti-Soviet war. If there were an Olympic event in perversion, this tender concern for the "young people" would easily set the world's record.

Nevertheless, no one can deny that the matter of sportsmanship and friendship among the athletes has become a major concern of U.S. sportswriters in the past week. And it is quite remarkable the way such sentiments have spread. It has been duly noted in the U.S. that criticism of Los Angeles Olympic preparations has long appeared in all the Soviet and Eastern-bloc newspapers — but that was a "press campaign" that could easily be accomplished where there was a government-controlled press. In the U.S., of course, there is a free press and no possibility of press campaigns; the idea for these articles must have arrived in the various sports sections through osmosis.

Language Problems

One problem with these Games is that the two sides don't speak the same language. For example, the Chairman of the Soviet National Olympic Committee, Marat V. Gramov, charged that the U.S. government was encouraging "terrorist and extremist organizations." The State Department argued, on the other hand, that the U.S. had devoted "an extraordinary amount of time, attention and money to prevent any attempts by terrorist or extremist organizations from disrupting the 1984 Games." And they both have a point. If the Ban the Soviets Coalition is one thing to the Soviets, it is something else entirely to the State Department. As is well known, only those groups that *oppose* U.S. imperialism are "terrorist and extremist organizations" in the land of the free.

In fact, it turns out that the Ban the Soviets Coalition actually consists of various human rights organizations. And the State Department can prove it. Why, just last March, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Elliot Abrams, gave a speech before the Baltic-American Freedom League, one of the leading groups in the Coalition... with which the U.S. government has absolutely no relationship, of course.

And somehow, the myriad of public assurances from the U.S. that there will be thousands of FBI agents, INS agents, CIA agents, SWAT teams and local police — not to mention the U.S. Army — has failed to convince the Soviets that they will have the kind of "security" they seek. Undoubtedly, U.S. team officials would suffer a similar discomfort if they were told that they would be constantly surrounded by thousands of KGB agents. Apparently, there are certain terms in the

U.S. that just don't lend themselves to a literal translation in the Soviet Union — and vice versa.

Olympic War Strategy

But why is the U.S. suddenly offering "assurances" to the Soviets, and shifting its Olympic emphasis from bludgeon to brotherhood? It just happens to fit right in with the current "analysis" being offered up by top-level U.S. pundits to explain the Soviet pullout. You see, if the Soviets had come to the Games, all the love and flowers on the playing field, together with the warm friendly welcome from American security forces, would have undercut the Soviet effort to make it *look* like relations between the super-powers are at rock bottom. Really, this whole dispute could be mitigated by a friendly encounter between an American gold medalist and a Soviet runner-up. Ah, but that nasty bear just won't let it happen.

But this is just the sports component of a broader overall scene being trumpeted by the U.S. in the wake of the Olympic collapse. According to Secretary of State Shultz, the Soviets are plotting to put relations with the U.S. "in a sort of deep

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The High-pocrisy Jump

Then:

"It strikes us as unreal and intellectually specious to argue that, in the present case, sports and politics are clearly separate matters, each to be considered on its own terms. For whatever may happen on the field of athletic competition, it is abundantly evident that the Soviet leadership regards the Moscow Olympics as a supremely political event" (*Los Angeles Times* editorial, January 18, 1980).

Now:

"These absences, of the Soviet and East German teams particularly, will inevitably diminish the quality of and disappoint all who have looked forward to a contest among national bests. Of far greater consequence is that the Soviet action represents yet another swing of the political wrecking ball against an already weakened Olympic structure" (*Los Angeles Times* editorial, May 9, 1984).

Then:

"(People) make an illogical leap from the virtue of the athlete to the virtue of the Games, and then, without a pause, to the virtue of the setting, the framework of the Games: hop, skip, jump. What those in the Moscow boycott are doing by taking themselves out of that process is to prevent symbolic, irrational connections from being made on their behalf. Conversely, they are insisting by their absence that the participating countries acknowledge frankly their implicit approval of the Soviets.

"To put it harshly: the countries participating in the Moscow Olympics are symbolically abetting the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan. . . . The onus sits squarely with the nations that voted to go, and they will have plenty of opportunity in the months ahead to decide if travel is broadening" (Roger Rosenblatt, *Time* essay, August 4, 1980).

Now:

"One would think that the governments of the world might show more pride in their capability not to let so simple a problem get out of hand. Here, after all, is the entire challenge: as heads of state and their armies go about their customary business of covert operations, assassinations or gas attacks, a group of young people in shorts would like to show how long they can jump, how far they can toss a hammer, how accurately they can shoot a ball into a basket. Can the mighty nations conspire to let them have their way? . . .

"... It often seems the task, the desire, even the natural calling of bureaucrats to damage or curtail individual value. . . ." (Roger Rosenblatt, *Time* essay, May 21, 1984).

Then:

"We would be naive to place track and field ahead of world events. Sports can not live outside reality" (Bill Toomey, 1968 Olympic decathlon champion, quoted in *Time*, January 28, 1980).

Now:

"The cancer is not on the inside, but the outside. What's happened now is like a death-knell, but I believe the Olympic movement will work if two guys show up. The interaction of the athletes, not the politicians, is what the Games are all about. Bruce Furniss (1976 swimming gold medalist) said the problem is that guys who can't jump five feet are making all the decisions" (Bill Toomey, quoted in the *New York Times*, May 13, 1984).

Then:

"We should boycott the Moscow Olympics. I think our allies should too. It is hypocritical to permit the Games to be held in a nation which is actively engaged in aggression" (Ronald Reagan, April 2, 1980).

Now:

"The Olympic Games should not be used for political purposes" (Ronald Reagan, May 11, 1984). □

Seeds of a Different Resistance

On May 4th, street fighting erupted between police and demonstrating squatters in Copenhagen, Denmark. Whether by circumstance or design, the demonstration on May 4th put the fighting in direct counterpoint to the next day's government-sponsored memorials, celebrating the 39th anniversary of the "liberation" of Denmark from German occupation in World War 2.

May 5, 1945 has come to symbolize far more than just the historical date when Allied troops entered Copenhagen: Just as certainly as Gorm Blue Tooth represents the hoary birth of the Danish dynasty a thousand years ago, the quite over-blown Danish resistance to "foreign aggression" is portrayed as a national rite of passage to the modern social-democratic showcase Denmark claims to be today. Literally all the established political forces, from the Communist Party to the royal family, brandish their participation in the anti-German resistance to anoint themselves with paternity in the creation of today's little welfare state. The whole passion play around the resistance has been used to prop up the central nationalist myth of this smug imperialist minipower, that Denmark exists as an island of benevolent justice in a world of bullies and unrestrained human insensitivity. A representative of the Danish crown told the *RW* that 20,000 people gathered in northern Copenhagen this May 5, "to honor the birth of Denmark as we know it today. This crowd included many young people, in fact more young than usual. It is proof that many really do value our society." Many, but not all.

The front pages of the Danish press that weekend were dominated by what they called the "three unruly hours" that ended in at least 200 arrests in the heart of Copenhagen's old town. At four o'clock in the afternoon of May 4, thousands of youth answered the call of the BZer movement (i.e., the squatters) to take to the streets. It was initiated by a section of the movement known as the *Kulørte Klat* (which can roughly be translated as "the colorful blot"). According to the reports in the bourgeois press, the march left Copenhagen's central City Hall Plaza and marched through several communities, gathering strength for a sweep through the old town, the well-preserved holy-of-holies in this city of tourist traps.

Since we have had to rely on the bourgeois Danish press for the details of the action, much still remains unclear. Typically, there has been a blanket attempt to hide the political demands and slogans raised by demonstrators, who are described as "being united by only one thing — to make trouble." However,



despite such coverage, several things are clear.

First, contradictions within Denmark represented by this demonstration have continued to intensify over the last few years. In 1980, it was a major scandal when police pulled out their billy clubs, threatening demonstrators for the first time in recent memory. Newspapers then contained outraged exposés showing that police were actually practicing club attacks — something then unheard of. Today, after years of persistent youth revolt and a number of violent strikes against the crumbling welfare state, such attacks are very much part of the national scene. The entire demonstration on May 4th was a running battle between police and the BZers, complete with reports of high-flying bottles, paint bombs and rocks, in

addition to the various police weaponry.

Second — although the newspapers suppressed any linkage between the demonstration and the next day's memorial to the Danish Resistance — it is hardly accidental that the demonstration itself ended in a massive free-for-all in front of the "Freedom Museum," the shrine of the Resistance, standing in the heart of Copenhagen next to Churchill Park and within sight of the coy "Little Mermaid." At that spot the police launched a determined assault on what they described as the "hard-core" of that march, arresting and beating those who passed into their hands, including numerous citizens enjoying the street cafes of the old quarter.

Over the last few years Denmark has seen a rising and largely youthful

rebellion, both against the war preparations of which Denmark (despite its various pacific official utterances) remains an integral part, as well as the accelerating collapse of that welfare system which so effectively smothered social contradictions for decades. Such cracks in the social fabric have shocked and horrified respectable Danish social democracy, which likes to pretend that these youth are in "mindless revolt." But a further brief report from an alternative center in Copenhagen clearly indicates that the youth have something rather more profound in mind than Danish-modern participation in imperialist peace and world war, as the May 4th demonstration kicked off a series of demonstrations protesting a different aspect of Danish society each day for two weeks. □

May 1st Report from Communist Collective of Agit/Prop, Italy

Dear Comrades,

Here's a brief report on May First. For May First our organization produced a leaflet with the slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which was posted in Taranto and some copies were sent to supporting groups in other cities.

At the ITALSIDER factory in Taranto, the biggest steel factory in Europe with about 30,000 workers, a small demonstration took place. We prepared some mural banners with all the posters in the different languages to give a clear picture of the important initiative that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has taken. Another banner portrayed images of the workers' struggles in Europe in this month and of the popular revolt in Santo Domingo with commentaries which showed the necessity of an international organization of the proletariat and the role that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement can and must develop. Finally, the last banner announced the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Move-

ment and the organizations that make it up.

On this day we distributed many copies of special AGIT/PROP which published the extracts of the *Declaration* and the resolutions approved at the Second Conference, and finally the May First call, along with announcing the coming publication of the *Declaration* in Italian.

This edition of AGIT/PROP was sent to all the sites of struggle and to 30 prisons. At the national level this May First was developed in smaller form with few demonstrations and these demonstrations with few participants.

The largest took place in Milano, Torino, Napoli, organized by the CGIL — the pro-PCI union. In a few instances there were small demonstrations against the union bosses. We will prepare a videotape — which was not possible to prepare by May First — to take new actions in the month.

Communist greetings
AGIT/PROP



Tribunal At Strasbourg

The following article was received from a reader in Europe.

STRASBOURG — The "Capital of Europe," permanent site of the European Parliament, sits practically on the border between France and West Germany. With the shifting of imperialist tides, it was part of Germany after its victory in the Franco-Prussian War, returned to France after the First World War, occupied by Germany for five years during WW2, and today is one of the major urban centers of France's decaying industrial northeast. In the last few years, Strasbourg has seen an influx of workers from Turkey, driven there by the rising unemployment and increasing harassment across the border in West Germany. It now has the second largest concentration of immigrants from Turkey in France, second only to Paris. With its famous cathedral and well-preserved system of canals running through the picturesque old town, it is a popular tourist site, earning it the name of "Strasbourg-geois" in some quarters.

On Monday, May 7, the central square of Strasbourg saw a most unusual and refreshing event. Having started from Paris and Duisberg, West Germany several weeks before, two groups of marchers in this "long march" joined forces to bring their protest against the increasing torture and executions of political prisoners in the dungeons of Turkey directly to the European Parliament. (See *RW* No. 250, April 6, 1984) Marching through numerous cities and towns in France and West Germany, they had already awakened a broader public to the reality behind the newly "democratic" facade of military rule in Turkey, as well as publicizing the continuing hunger strikes being waged by hundreds of political prisoners in the face of these brutal assaults, which have been blacked out in the bourgeois press. Organized by the newly formed Committee of Solidarity With the Political Prisoners in Turkey, the marchers represented an array of democratic and revolutionary forces. In numerous rallies along the march routes they have been greeted by messages of support from local church groups and progressive political groups, as well as harassment from neo-Nazis, who unsuccessfully attempted to disrupt the rallies in Bonn and Frankfurt.

Marching through the streets of Strasbourg, the continuing assaults on political prisoners in Turkey were described in French, German and Turkish; and slogans calling for an end to torture and amnesty for all political prisoners in Turkey were raised. As the march approached the headquarters of the European Parliament along a mini-Embassy Row, a reception committee of

about a hundred cops, many in full riot gear and backed up by paddy wagons, was being prepared for their arrival.

Starting that day, a debate on the status of Turkey as associate member of the European Parliament was scheduled to begin. A resolution calling for Turkey's expulsion (put forward by Social Democrats from Sweden, Denmark and Greece) was to be put to a vote on Wednesday. Although the European Parliament is largely symbolic, in this case it is also the focus of some inter-imperialist wrangling over how best to secure Turkey as the strategic southeastern flank of the NATO bloc, while also keeping as much distance as possible between the Western imperialists and the blood-covered fascist regime. Britain, West Germany and Belgium led the "Realpolitik" pack, who favor using the recent junta-sponsored and controlled elections as the occasion to draw Turkey closer into the "European community" on a political level. (After all, despite its supposed "isolation" over the past few years, new foreign investment in Turkey in the first two years after the military coup in 1980 was more than the total since 1950!) There is also the matter of a division of labor, with the Social Democrats playing the required role of "defenders of the European democratic traditions." This squirming in the muck of imperialist-sponsored torture and executions, in the context of preparations for worldwide bloodletting, at the same time provided an occasion for others to speak to world public opinion.

A delegation from the Solidarity Committee was received by representatives of the European Parliament, where the delegation presented their demands: exclusion of Turkey from the European Parliament, the formation of an investigation commission of doctors and legal experts to be sent to Turkey, and amnesty for all political prisoners in Turkey. This meeting was covered by French television and press.

The highlight of the Solidarity Committee's activities came on Tuesday. A Tribunal was called to hear a bill of indictment against the Turkish state for its crimes against the Turkish and Kurdish peoples, examine evidence, hear testimony and reach judgment. The panel consisted of Dr. Abraham Behar, a Parisian doctor; Yilmaz Güney, the Turkish film director; Nihat Behram, a Turkish writer; Erhard Meuler, a German professor; Dirk Schneider, a representative of the Green Party of West Germany; and others. Lady Fleming, a member of the European Parliament from Greece, gave a message of support for the demands of the Committee. A message of support was also received from Oscar LaFontaine, head of the German SPD in the

Saarland.

After the bill of indictment from the Solidarity Committee was read, testimony from witnesses who themselves had been in the prisons of Turkey was heard. The first was a Turkish lawyer, who described the overcrowded, unheated cells where he and other prisoners were kept, the hours-long torture sessions where men and women together were subjected to beatings, electroshocks and cold showers followed by more electroshocks. As he said, "The torture I have undergone is undergone by all prisoners. Because I was a lawyer, they treated me with less severity than some of the others. Some married couples were taken out together, to witness each other's torture." The next witness was a young worker from Ankara, who had been arrested and accused of distributing revolutionary literature among the workers in the factory where he worked. He was held in Mamak Prison in Ankara where he was subjected to tortures that resulted in his left arm being five centimeters shorter than his right. After thirty days of torture without food he was brought back to the regular prison population after he lost consciousness, the authorities trying to avoid permanent disfigurement which would provide proof of the torture. He was in prison for twenty months, during which time his wife and three brothers and sisters were arrested and tortured, often in front of him. In addition to attempting to break any and all resistance to their rule, the aim of this brutality is also to force the prisoners to sign confessions, which are written by the police and presented to the prisoners when they are blindfolded. Another witness was a teacher from the city of Erzurum in eastern Turkey, who had been the head of a revolutionary youth group. He was charged by the police with "leading the youth to communism." After undergoing months of torture, he was sentenced to death by a military court, before he escaped from prison.

Evidence in the form of letters, from prisoners, their relatives and lawyers, which have been smuggled out of Turkey, was presented to the jury, exposing the nature of the "trials," including the recent mass trials carried out under the new "democratic" facade the military junta has assumed. Throughout their incarceration, prisoners are denied all books and writing materials. Before trial, they are subjected to an "examination," including more beatings and anal searches, forcibly stripped and put in the military prison garb. If a prisoner has succeeded in securing materials to prepare a defense, they are taken away. During the trials, where many prisoners face the death penalty, they are forced to listen to the reading of 400- to 500-page

indictments against them, often going on for days, and then they are given half an hour to respond. If they attempt to speak any longer, they are interrupted and thrown out of court. Eight to ten prisoners must prepare their defense together with one lawyer, usually in about 15 minutes before the trial begins, in the presence of prison guards. Any notes made during these meetings are taken away and often used as evidence against the defendants. During the trial, defendants are not allowed to speak to their lawyers. The lawyers themselves are often interrupted and thrown out of court. The torture continues during these farces, and several cases were brought forward where defendants were tortured to death while their trials were going on. In the face of these draconian conditions, many prisoners have courageously used these trials to expose the conditions both in and out of prison in Turkey, and to publicize the hunger strikes and other struggles of prisoners within the dungeons. Turgut Ozal, the new Prime Minister, has repeatedly stated that a major aim of his Motherland Party is to speed up these trials, which have already resulted in the sentencing of hundreds to death in the last few months alone, many of them Kurdish fighters.

At the conclusion of the Tribunal, which was attended by 400 to 500 people and covered by German and French television crews, the members of the jury gave their verdicts, unanimously finding the Turkish regime guilty on all counts of violating human rights. Erhard Meuler, a German professor and author of a widely read book called *Underdevelopment: Who Benefits from the Poverty of the Third World?*, stated that he particularly wanted to protest the relation of the Bundesrepublik to Turkey, which he described as in "unimaginable dependence." "Because it is a military stronghold for the U.S. and NATO and a bridge to important pro-West Islamic states, the BRD wants to develop its business there. But the big banks give credits only on the condition of absolute quiet, which is the responsibility of the military junta, which it fulfills through the outlawing of all opposition parties, the torture and execution of resisters, such as we have heard here today.... As a citizen of the BRD, I denounce my regime for its role in pursuing this for its own political and economic interests and to prop up the interests of the U.S." He also read a unanimous resolution of the national convention of the Union of German Writers, which met at the end of April. The resolution protested the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, especially mentioning "our imprisoned Turkish writer-comrades," demanded an

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Dominican Republic

TWO DAYS OF POPULA



R INSURRECTION

The following article was received from the Revolutionary Communist Union of the Dominican Republic. This article was written shortly after the powerful mass rebellions in the Dominican Republic on April 23 and 24 and the vicious repression by the social-democratic regime. Since this article was written the death toll has been established at between 150 and 200 people gunned down by the reactionaries — RW.

April 23 and 24: Two Days of Popular Insurrection

President Salvador Jorge Blanco carried out to the letter the plans charted by his imperialist and domestic advisors. After his return from Washington, where he met with Ronald Reagan and was received with "honors" by this imperialist bloodhound, Jorge Blanco waited for the most opportune moment to announce to the people the agreements his government had reached with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Jorge Blanco considered it best to take advantage of Easter week to carry out his vicious imperialist plans.

The night of Tuesday, March 17, Salvador Jorge Blanco announced the package of reactionary measures arranged with the IMF, which represent a criminal act that will worsen the hunger and misery of the people: to transfer to the Parallel Foreign Exchange Market the total amount of imports. Thus, the importation of medicines, newsprint and agricultural products was transferred to the Parallel Foreign Exchange Market and within six months the oil imports will also be transferred to that market. Immediately Jorge Blanco announced price increases for 19 basic food items including rice, cooking oil, milk, bread and coffee.

Jorge Blanco did all this, seizing the time when the broad masses were beginning to head for the interior of the country, for vacations or to visit their families during the so-called Easter week. The government of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) saw this as an opportunity to catch the people "off guard" and announce coldly and calculatedly all the measures against the people. And to top off his blatant and demagogic speech, like all his previous ones, Jorge Blanco wished the people a happy Easter vacation.

In that way Jorge Blanco thought he had anesthetized the people. With the announcement of the criminal agreements between his government and the imperialist gendarme of finances, the IMF, he stabbed the people in the back; that is, the president of the Republic calculated that the people were sufficiently mellowed out by the orgy and tradition of Easter week such that they wouldn't pay attention to the wicked imperialist plans.

Thursday, April 19, when the Dominican beaches were crowded, the prices of basic necessities were scandalously raised: milk, rice, sugar, bread, coffee, flour, corn and wheat — even cigarettes and alcoholic beverages went up considerably, which was felt directly by the broad masses on vacation. The representatives of the ruling class, with Jorge Blanco at their head, falsely believed that their repugnant and hateful measures were going to be unnoticed by the people. Those who remained in the cities, the great majority, began to talk about the situation since they could no longer buy food with the

money they had in hand: all the prices had gone up!

On Sunday, April 22, the vacationers began to arrive in the capital from all corners of the country. There was still no warning of exactly what would happen in response to the measures announced by the government. On Thursday, the 19th, the most naked and shameless of the governing clique — José Francisco Peña Gómez, top leader of the government party and representative of the Federal District — declared: "The measures announced by the government, arising from the agreement with the IMF, will not give rise to disturbances." What nerve this hangman of the people has!

Naturally! Peña Gómez and the other high officials of the ruling class and government — who will benefit from the measures imposed by the IMF and carried out by the government — aren't going to cause disturbances for their own regime — a bourgeois-democratic regime that is protecting the imperialists' interests, those of the big bourgeoisie and those of the landholders, bayonets in hand!, and shooting all those who protest against the hunger and misery that the majority of the Dominicans experience. On the contrary, the broad masses of people, who will only face an increase in the misery and famine that eats away at them, MUST PROTEST AND CREATE TURMOIL to assert their rights and get out of this intolerable situation which the imperialist oppressors and exploiters and whichever government they come up with — at present that of Jorge Blanco — have imposed on the people.

The Popular Insurrection Begins

Monday, April 23, the mass struggle breaks out. Fury takes hold of the masses in the capital and turmoil erupts: it is the people who are beginning to rise up with rocks and sticks in hand. It is the beginning of the violent and righteous response from a people who carry in their veins the spirit of rebellion against the oppressors and exploiters and who now are ready to shed their blood to break the chains of wage-slavery and the oppressive ties of Yankee imperialism.

Like a lit fuse, the masses in the capital went into action: barricades everywhere; burning car tires; burning vehicles of the government and the big magnates; torching supermarkets and offices of the PRD; putting fire to the offices of the Institute for Price Stabilization (INESPRE) and sacking its sales outlets; pitched confrontations which "pulled the pants off" of Peña Gómez who had said that the arbitrary and criminal measures of the government to raise the prices of basic necessities wouldn't give rise to disturbances. And in midst of the boiling anger of the masses of people, a voice rang out: **Salvador, you murderer! Better to die from a bullet than from hunger!**

Within hours, the protests and confrontations of the people with the troops broke out across the country; it was a flashback to the people's struggle against the tyranny of Trujillo, against the fascist government of Donald Reid Cabral and against the recent fascist dictatorship of Balaguer. Since the police forces couldn't stop the mass rebellion, the government sent all the armed forces into the streets: the National Army, the Air Force and the Navy.

Never had the Dominican masses carried out such a task as that of April 23-24 which shook the Dominican Republic. The forces of suppression of the government were useless against the irrepressible avalanche of the masses. With courage and determination, the people confronted the murdering forces of repression which drowned in blood the popular protests against the measures imposed by the PRD government and Yankee imperialism through the IMF.

No one, not even the representatives of the ruling class, questions the fact that the country experienced TWO DAYS OF POPULAR INSURRECTION, although

spontaneous, without revolutionary political leadership which, giving greater intensity and depth to that insurrection, could lead to a victorious revolution. Nonetheless, let it be clear that the masses, even lacking revolutionary political leadership, confronted with rocks and sticks the Armed Forces and Police who WERE NOT ABLE TO CONTAIN the people's anger. This teaches us that the people could defeat those forces if they are led correctly by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard and are prepared in the proper way for it.

Jorge Blanco's PRD government, in order to quell the popular insurrection of April 23-24, instructed the uniformed and plainclothes assassins to indiscriminately kill, wound, capture and beat everyone they could get their hands on, even if they were old people or children. Their job was to massacre the people in order to quell the just protest of the people and be able to implement the imperialist measures agreed to by Jorge Blanco's government and the IMF during the Dominican president's visit to Washington. Contrary to the government's plans, the people took to the streets in an unprecedented — never before seen — way and took by surprise not only the government but also the whole "left," which never imagined the extent of the disaffection, much less that the outbreak could become an insurrection.

More than 60 demonstrators and rebels were murdered; about ten were maimed — in the legs and arms — as a result of the murderous bursts of fire from the Armed Forces and the Police; more than four thousand were arrested and there is growing persecution of all those who even smell like they supported the resolute struggle of the people. . . all this is the toll of the popular insurrection of April 23-24. Almost everyone who was murdered by the government forces of suppression suffered shots to the head and chest, which shows that these criminals had orders to kill on sight the unarmed masses of people who had been forced to use stones against the Armed Forces and Police to begin the popular insurrection.

The Brotherhood of Bourgeois Democracy and Fascism

The mouthpieces of the imperialists and the PRD government, headed by Salvador Jorge Blanco, pride themselves in being participants in the building of the democratic system of this country. But the imperialist bandits and government bureaucrats, who speak such drivel about their renowned democracy, try to hide the fact that their democracy is for the rich, for the elements of the ruling class, for the imperialists, the upper bourgeoisie and the landholders. They are the ones who benefit from this bourgeois-democratic system. But the people will never ever be happy under bourgeois democracy, since it imposes starvation and misery and murders without compassion on the humble sons and daughters of the people.

The brutal actions of the PRD government against the people on April 23-24 are a concrete example that the Yankee imperialists don't need, for the time being, to establish an openly fascist government since this bourgeois-democratic government fulfills the duties of a fascist government. These are the savage and criminal deeds of the government against the people, deeds that have not been carried out by any fascist government in the Dominican Republic. The PRD government holds the all-time record when it comes to the implementation of bloody measures against the people: more than 60 murders in two days, which means more than 30 murders per day. With a regime that imposes a criminal democracy so efficient and serving of the interests of the powerful, Yankee imperialism doesn't need to worry about establishing fascist governments. But the point is that the people can no longer be fooled

with a false democracy, because bourgeois democracy unleashes the same criminal hardships against the people as fascism in order to maintain capitalist exploitation and the privileges of the reactionary minority. The bestial massacre by the government against the people doesn't make it any different from the dictatorships of Rafael Trujillo, Donald Reid Cabral and Joaquín Balaguer.

The April 25 Speech of Jorge Blanco

Jorge Blanco addressed the country the evening of April 25 with praises for the government and the effectiveness of the repressive forces for having drowned in blood the popular insurrection of April 23-24. Like an imperialist sycophant and defender of the most cruel and vicious interests, Jorge Blanco felt more grief and pain for the pine forests and cane fields that were burned than for those murdered by the troops. This shows that this man is a wolf dressed in sheep's clothing and that all his mouthings about his own "humanism" are nothing more than bourgeois claptrap intended to fool the masses of people.

Jorge Blanco brought out the worn out argument of the "conspiracy of the right" to justify the murders carried out by his troops. But all that is lies. Neither the right nor the "left" led the struggle of the masses. The masses of people, weighed down with hunger and misery and faced with the galloping rise in the cost of living, took to the streets to protest the measures of the PRD government, which will intensify their misery. And if these actions of the people had had a determined political direction, for sure the government wouldn't be singing songs of victory because its overthrow would have been a reality. What force would have stopped these people if they were armed and led by a REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY in the overthrow of this government? Certainly none, since the people, rocks and sticks in hand, made the reactionary forces shit their pants in fear and prevented them many times from entering the rebellious barrios.

If the far right is conspiring, why doesn't the PRD government arrest or kill its leaders? The pretext with which the government suppresses the popular protest is the phantom of the far right conspiracy, trying to put in the same boat the people and the fascist Balaguerists, and then suppressing and murdering the people and leaving untouched the fascistic Balaguerists. No one believes this story of a conspiracy, not even the most gullible. One thing that we do know for sure is the continuing efforts of the PRD government to riddle the children of the people with bullets and continue praising their criminal democracy darkened with the blood of the innocent. This was made clear in one of the last paragraphs of Jorge Blanco's speech on April 25: **"He who is speaking to you will not shudder nor hesitate at any time to assume all the continuing responsibilities that the exercise of power imposes."**

The people, who were hoping that Jorge Blanco would say something of importance on the recent events and would lower the price of basic necessities, heard, instead, a new promise from the Dominican president: more whiplashes, bullets and arrests; everything will be the same; the prices will stay high. . . . Such is the wantonness of Jorge Blanco!

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Olympic Amnesia

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freeze" and to engage in "a kind of scare campaign." According to this "theory," there could have been nuclear disarmament but the Soviets walked out of the Geneva talks; there could have been a chemical weapons treaty but the Soviets rejected Reagan's offer; why, there could have even been a new, improved "hotline" between Washington and Moscow but the Soviets refused to agree to certain technological changes. Never mind the Euromissile deployment, never mind Reagan's call to step up the production of new nerve gas and his demand to send hundreds of U.S. agents to monitor the production of the Soviet version, and countless other "peacekeeping" moves by the U.S. And forget about the past several years of "evil empire" rhetoric, the public consideration of the efficacy of firing demonstration nukes over Europe to warn the Soviets, the call for the replacement of the Soviet system as the only way to ensure peace and all the rest. Once again, a little amnesia is all that's required.

But just because the Olympic propaganda war strategy requires some maneuvering, no one should get the idea that the crass mobilization of the U.S.'s

loyal social base is being abandoned. After all, this is certainly no less a crucial part of that strategy — and no less vital for the military war that the Olympic war is designed to serve. So one can still soak up the sports commentary that, for example, reminds us that getting drunk at a football game is so much more *American* than cheering for some guy throwing a javelin. Slightly less subtle are the sports figures who note that now that the Soviets are out of it, the U.S. will be able to win a lot more gold medals. Some might question whether, given the reduced level of competition, those medals are really worth that much. But they better not ask that of former world-record high jumper Dwight Stone. "The first writer who comes up to an American athlete and asks, 'Don't you think that your gold medal is tarnished because the Soviets aren't here?' will have some nerve," Stone said. "And if that athlete doesn't punch him in the mouth, I want a shot at him."

But the gold medal-winning comment so far belongs to America's projected number one summer hero, Carl Lewis. This Jesse Owens reincarnation said, "I think most people are to the point where they are fed up with the Russians and

won't care if they aren't there." Rest assured that no friendship fantasies can force our American dinosaurs to go into hibernation.

And for those who were concerned about the fate of the Great Olympic Spy Scare — not to fear. It is true that the FBI, et al., has had to admit that if the Soviets and their allies don't come to the Olympics, they will not be able to issue their hourly warnings about the hundreds of KGB agents that are supposedly being infiltrated into the U.S. under Olympic cover. However, we are already starting to see the substitute. Now it turns out that with the Soviets staying away, there will be fewer constraints on the many "state-supported terrorist" groups whom the Soviets would otherwise have counseled to stay away. Actually, according to unnamed FBI spokesmen, the "Soviet threat" to U.S. domestic peace will be even greater if they *don't* come to Los Angeles — so this is no time for loyal Americans to relax their vigilance. But then, U.S. officials would never allow that to happen.

As for the Soviets, they have continued to mobilize their loyal social base as well, increasing their own press coverage of the evils that the U.S. had planned for the athletes. At the same time, despite reported grumblings, the allies and dependencies of the Soviet Union have been falling in line, joining the

"non"-boycott at the rate of one per day. Contrary to initial reports, it turns out that the Soviet bloc will not stage an alternative Olympics in Bulgaria at the same time as the Games in Los Angeles. To do so would "violate the Olympic charter" — a charge the Soviets need to pin on the U.S. in line with their efforts to maneuver within the U.S.-led bloc. Nevertheless, there will be other major sports competitions held in the Soviet bloc (just not at the exact same time as the L.A. Games) and efforts to get broad participation in these events will go full-speed ahead. Meanwhile, International Olympic Committee President, Juan Samaranch, has predicted that 40 countries will join the Soviets and stay away from the Olympics this summer.

In the weeks ahead, Soviet activity around the Games will, of course, call for a further U.S. "response." While the competition in the field — and the opportunities for propaganda victory it provides — will be sharply diminished, the staging of the imperial circus will take on even greater importance. The yahoo juggernaut will be revved up even higher. The calls to stick it to the Soviets (some in the guise of support our poor athletes, no doubt) will ring out across the land. It will be one's patriotic duty to "make this the biggest Olympics ever" — required U.S. preparations for the biggest world war ever.

Through the Looking Glass

Continued from page 1

from this new batch — and you seem to have the makings of quite a healthy addition to the war-fighting program. (Perhaps that's what O'Neill was talking about when he mentioned "over and over and over again.") Indeed, the MX program's recent history is a curious mix in which heated debate never seems to substantially impede the weapon from meeting any of its planned testing and deployment deadlines. Certainly 15 is fewer than the administration's original demand for 40, but you know how horse-trading goes... you always double your price and haggle from there.

True, there remains another part to the "compromise" worth discussing. The House inserted a "fence" around the new MX funding — the money is not to be released until April '85 and even then is only to be used if the Soviet Union has still not rejoined negotiations in Geneva. A bold insistence by the House that new arms need to be linked to new arms negotiations! But MX buffs need not worry. The House proposal now winds its way into the clutches of the Senate-House Conference Committee. Since the Senate has already approved the full original administration proposal, we can expect that the cosmetic "fence" — perhaps along with other highly-touted "restrictions" — imposed by the House will be further "modified." As the *New York Times* did put it: "By finding a middle ground between the two extreme positions, the plan enabled the legislators to register their displeasure with the missile while avoiding a definitive statement against it." Quite so.

Signals

Beyond their basic approval of the MX, the House of Representatives has fulfilled another vital institutional function: helping the imperialist state surround its policy with the proper political "signals." Endless hours were spent on the floor debating which "signals" should be sent, and how. And "signals" are now being duly sent in all directions:

- Signal No. 1 is to the NATO allies, indicating that America "has the will" to pursue its war preparations straight in the face of any mass disquiet. Ambassador Ed Rowney, chief U.S. negotiator to the Strategic Arms Talks, insisted that without deploying the MX, the Alliance's beloved Pershing and cruise missiles, recently begun to be deployed in Europe, would soon be packed into crates and NATO would all but crumble. The careful observer will note some exaggeration by Rowney, but his basic point is clear enough. A deployment of "vulnerable" MX weapons by the U.S. on its own soil constitutes one part of the U.S./Europe bloodpact of "risk-sharing."

- Signal No. 2 is to the masses of people that each step of the preparations for

war will be salted by the warm tears of pious concern. Henry Kissinger formulated the necessity for this "signal" almost a decade ago when he said, "Only a demonstrated commitment to peace can sustain domestic support for an adequate defense and vigilant foreign policy. Our public and Congress will not back policies which appear to invite crisis; nor will they support firmness in a crisis unless they are convinced that peaceful and honorable alternatives have been exhausted." Congress' special institutional role here is to temper the open preparations for war by insisting that they be connected, however tenuously or cosmetically, to some overarching "search for peace."

- Signal No. 3 is to the increasingly vocal antiwar sections among the population. For the second (or is it the third, or the fourth?) time, a pivotal part of war preparations almost went down to defeat. Clearly a message is intended that there is a home for war opponents within the Democratic Party. Let hope spring eternal that the limited "compromises" of today portend more total victories tomorrow, provided (of course) that antiwar activists funnel their political energies into the established political system and pursue politics as an "art of the possible."

Pretense of Deterrence

This brings us to the fourth "signal," and the one most discussed: the "signal" to be sent to the Soviet bloc. But this curious fact of the Congressional looking-glass world is that although the Congressmen spent hours of airtime getting this signal *ju-u-ust right*, when it comes to the Soviets, the MX is far more than a "signal." In public debate, no imperialist will ever admit that any of their nuclear weapons are built to be *used*. Inherent in the whole language of "deterrence" is the pretense that such weapons exist solely to send certain signals back and forth, serving political purposes *in the absence of war*.

These supposed peaceful political purposes have been played differently over the years. First the missile was proposed as a highly mobile weapons system to "close the window of vulnerability" and send the "signal" to the Soviets that they could not launch an unprovoked strike and get away with it. Being mobile it was supposedly invulnerable and therefore a secure, second-strike retaliatory force. However, by spring of 1983, when the MX was approved for stationing in *quite nonmobile* existing silos — it became clear that something new was needed to justify its existence. So the now-stationary MXs were presented as a "bargaining chip," a way to muscle the Soviets to the bargaining table.

Now, this "signal," too, has been disavowed. Ambassador Rowney, again in his TV interview, insists that calling

these missiles a "bargaining chip" creates the impression that they were to be built only in order to be dismantled. In fact, he said, the key word to use was "modernization of the land leg of the triad." That is, the U.S. wants this stuff in the arsenal. Period.

TV interviewer Lehrer, feigning momentary shock, reminded Rowney that the official position of the U.S. government was that *all* arms buildup is to serve an ultimate disarmament. Oh yes, Rowney bounced back, this might be true enough in some distant (*very distant*) future, but, he said, "I'm talking about the here and now" in which the missiles were *not* to be bargained away, but rather to be deployed.

The sight of the chief U.S. negotiator bobbing up to proclaim that the U.S. has nothing to negotiate away is stark enough. But his overall point is even more important to grasp: the U.S. here is not in the business of preparing "signals" to send to Russia; it is preparing *missiles* to send to Russia. Let us not, Rowney holds, allow all this talk of arms control obscure *this* most important fact.

Here, a second axiom of Kissinger is germane: "We must always keep in mind that any agreement on limiting or reducing strategic weapons will further undermine the credibility of a strategy based on their use."

The MX missile is a "modernization" whose time has come. The U.S. imperialists, as a class, have overall unity that preparation for war with the Soviet Union is the crucial task they face; and the dominant sections of that class are equally clear that the MX-on-line will be an indispensable part of their war-fighting arsenal. The Scowcroft Commission which, in 1983, gave final form to the present MX program, manifested the breadth of imperialist unity behind the missile by including political representatives of both parties, and of most major ruling-class schools of opinion. Congress will moan and twist in tortured deliberation; that is its role.

Objections

In this light it is also interesting how bourgeois "opponents" of the MX program frame their objections, since this is such an important part of defining *which* objections are "responsible" and which objections are not. The *New York Times*, in the concluding paragraph of a strident May 16th editorial, frames such "responsible opposition" perfectly:

"The Soviet buildup of offensive strategic weapons in the 1970s was so excessive that an American response became essential. It is firmly underway, but includes programs like the MX and binary (nerve gas — *RW*) weapons that have been carried forward by inertia, not merit. By pruning the military authorization bill of its excesses the House can both

reduce the deficit and increase security."

The weaknesses of the MX in liberal eyes are its costs, and the fact that (in its presently conceived "mode") it is vulnerable as a "highly tempting first-strike target." At \$20 billion for the overall MX program, this will certainly be one of the most expensive single weapon systems in the history of mankind. At its core, this argument is how to most "responsibly" stretch the "defense dollar," i.e., *more bang for the buck*.

The second argument, about vulnerability, underscores how the opposition, represented by the *Times*, stands firm on the criminal interests of U.S. imperialism and its empire. Their "vulnerability" argument is essentially that for all the money being spent, the MX is not flexible enough and should incorporate a "credible second-strike capacity." In other words, in addition to being part of a honed first-strike arsenal, it should *also* be able to rise from the ashes of any all-out holocaust and *continue to wage nuclear war* with all the super-accurate technology it commands!

And so it goes, through labyrinthine institutions and oily bombast, the "opposition" to the MX eases open the pathway for its production and deployment. Last week, showing an inventive new application of the MX debate, strident criticism of the missile in Congress was launched on exactly the same day as Congress fell in line with the administration's stepped-up belligerency on Central America. Here, we suppose, one position is intended to counterbalance the other.

As the rest of the enormous war budget is "debated," one can only look forward eagerly to creative new "balancing positions" for nerve gas, space wars, and so on.

CORRECTION

In last week's *RW* (No. 255), the article "Rerun in Outrage in Greensboro Trial," contains two errors. On page 10, column 3, the seventh line from the bottom should read: And this testimony was accepted despite the fact that CWP attorneys insist that one of the demonstrators wasn't even in China Grove on the day of the demonstration.

On page 11, the first full sentence at the top of column 1, should read: The witnesses mostly said that they saw some demonstrators with guns, something which CWP members and supporters had already testified to in court.

Incident at Tijuana

On May 1st two people were snatched by the political police in Tijuana, Mexico, while distributing the May 1st call of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement — “Call to the Workers, Oppressed Peoples and the Genuine Communists of All Countries” — and the May 1 issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

The two, who live in the southern California area, were held over 24 hours without ever being allowed to communicate with their families, friends or anyone on the outside. They were questioned by agents of at least three different Mexican police agencies, including the infamous secret police of Mexico, roughed up, threatened with a ten-year prison sentence — with the implied, but quite obvious, threats of much worse — before finally being released on the evening of May 2.

Southern California, of course, is at the moment the Olympics showcase of U.S. “freedom and democracy.”

In Tijuana, May 1st has long been an occasion where the government marshals its repressive apparatus for a show of force. While the tightly controlled state-run May 1st parade is supposed to dominate the political events of the day, there is always the threat that the diverse political forces and social contradictions that are simmering in this crowded border area of over 1,000,000 people could upstage the government-controlled show.

The concern of the government was heightened this year by the fact that the revisionist forces were not staging their own May 1st event, a fact which increased the likelihood of opposition forces surfacing in the government's own event. Nobody expected this year in Tijuana — where there had been a noticeable increase in police repression for months prior to the 1st — for there to be any less of a heavy-handed presence of the state. And indeed there wasn't, as the route of the official parade was filled with uniformed and plainclothes police, and the local SWAT team, outfitted in black jumpsuits and equipped with clubs, helmets, shields and automatic weapons, was held in reserve. There was even a band on hand to drown out the chants of opposition forces.

The two, who were observing the May 1st parade, were passing out some literature when plainclothes police agents appeared, grabbed the two, and took them to the nearby Tijuana Municipal Police Station.

There, while a large number of uniformed and plainclothes police glared at them muttering venomously about “communist propaganda,” they were forced to pose while holding up the *Revolutionary Worker* and May First

Call from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and were repeatedly photographed with two different cameras by two different police agents. This was obviously not a booking procedure, as the number of pictures taken were far more than what would be needed for such purposes. They were then interrogated, but whenever the two asked what they were charged with or why they were being held, the police claimed they didn't know. The two were told at one point that the President of Mexico was being contacted to see what to do with them, and at another point a plainclothes cop, who was almost certainly a federal police agent, threatened that they might get ten years in prison.

After being held for several hours, the two were taken to an unmarked van where members of the local SWAT team were unloading their riot gear into the police station. The two were forced to sit on the floor of the van and, still without being told what was going on or where they were going, they were driven off by the SWAT team, with the cop sitting nearest them armed with an automatic rifle.

The destination of this trip turned out to be the local office of the Policía Judicial Federal, the agency which in Mexico is responsible for the prosecution of political “crimes.” Almost immediately after their arrival the two were grabbed by the Mexican federal police agents — who never identified themselves or their agency — thrown against the wall and each frisked by one cop while a second pressed each of their faces into the wall.

Here the interrogation was both more vicious and more extensive, with the agents repeatedly yelling, threatening and hitting the two. Here the agents asked: Who published the *Revolutionary Worker*? Where was it published? How and by whom was the newspaper distributed? How did the two get their copies? How were the newspapers and other literature brought across the border? Was there more literature and where was it? When they noticed that one of the two was wearing a Bob Avakian button they asked specifically where Bob Avakian was. Following these interrogations the two were taken to cells and held overnight.

The next afternoon they were taken out of their cells and — again with no explanation — taken to a waiting unmarked car, driven across town to the outskirts of Tijuana and into a compound without any signs or markings which was surrounded by a two-story wall with no windows. This building is the local headquarters of the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS), the Mexican secret police agency which has been linked to

countless cases of torture, murder, and the “disappearances” of members of different political groups, and to the White Brigade, a Mexican government death squad.

Much of what is publicly known about the DFS is the result of some high-level infighting within the U.S. government, in the course of which, then director of the DFS, Miguel Nassar Haro, was exposed as a key CIA agent, and the U.S. ties and importance of the DFS were made very evident (see accompanying box).

Here they were interrogated yet a third time. During this interrogation the DFS agents made a point of mentioning the Olympics and their concern with the possibility of “terrorism” at the Olympics. Following this interrogation the DFS agents said they were going to make some phone calls. When an agent returned about ten minutes later he told the two they could go, then more agents came in and one said, “Go home!”

They were driven by DFS agents, one of whom was armed with an automatic rifle while the driver made a point of taking out his automatic pistol and laying it on the seat between his legs with his hand on it during the whole ride. They were dropped off at the border.

This operation, however, did not end with the two's release. The following night the apartment of one of those arrested was repeatedly circled by three marked San Diego police cars. Meanwhile one of those arrested had learned his parents had contacted the U.S. Consulate in Tijuana earlier the same day the two were released. Initially the Consulate

said they knew nothing about the case and they would call back. When the Consulate called back they said the two had been charged for distributing propaganda leaflets, that the two were being held in the Tijuana municipal jail, and that they had seen a judge on the charges.

All of these were blatant lies. The two were never charged with anything or even told why they were being held by the police, they certainly never saw a judge, and they were not in the Tijuana municipal jail, having been transferred the previous day. Officials at the municipal jail, when contacted the night before by friends of the two, pretended they had never heard of the two! So why was the Consulate covering all this up, and trying to make it seem as if this was all in accord with the “proper” bourgeois-democratic legal procedures? Obviously there were aspects of this incident that the U.S. Consulate was quite interested in seeing hidden from public view. It is interesting in this regard to note that on the first day the two were held, they were transferred out of the Tijuana municipal jail only shortly before the U.S. Consulate made their normal daily visit to the jail to talk to any Americans being held.

It is also a telling comment about all those vast political differences which are supposed to separate the U.S. and its bloc from the rival imperialist bloc, especially, as noted, amidst all the Olympic hoopla. The political repression at the border was a vicious display of the real heart of democracy, lying just below the glitter. □

The D.F.S. and the C.I.A.

The Mexican Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS), the secret police agency involved in the incident described on this page, has been widely exposed since an affair two years ago. At that time a number of DFS agents and other Mexican government officials were indicted for running a ring which smuggled stolen cars from southern California into Mexico. In early 1982 in the midst of this scandal, the director of DFS, Miguel Nassar Haro, was forced to resign. The U.S. Attorney in San Diego, William Kennedy, pushed for indictment of Nassar, but this met opposition in high places. Finally, after Nassar had already resigned as DFS director, the U.S. Attorney in San Diego publicly confirmed that the CIA was blocking the indictment of Nassar in the car smuggling case, that Nassar was a

CIA agent, and that he was considered the CIA's most important intelligence source in all of Mexico and Central America. Shortly thereafter Nassar was indicted and arrested. U.S. Attorney Kennedy, who had been appointed by President Reagan only some five months earlier, was fired by Reagan. An official statement from the U.S. Attorney General's office called Kennedy's confirmation of Nassar's CIA ties “highly prejudicial to the interests of the United States.” In the eyes of the U.S. Justice Dept., admitting the truth about their spy operations is the ultimate offense for a U.S. official. Nassar, meanwhile, jumped bail and was spirited back across the border, and has never been extradited from Mexico. □

FOR A HARVEST OF DRAGONS

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

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

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

By Bob Avakian

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

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

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

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



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AIRPORT '84

Reagan's Star Wars speech of March, last year, was full of charts, graphs and photos. Thick, ominously growing lines, depicting the growth of the Soviet arsenal. Then, some more visuals. Photographs showing an airport under construction on the island of Grenada, built with the help of Cuban workers. The Grenadians, Reagan said, have no air force, so who and what is the need for such a large airstrip? What certain friend and sponsor of the Cubans might be behind the project?

The Maurice Bishop government was to respond that the Point Salines airport was for nobody's air force, but that its 9,700-foot runway was part of a program to increase tourism. The island's existing

airport was too small to accommodate jumbo jets. The firm which designed the strip was to confirm that there were indeed no features common to military airfields, such as underground fuel and weapons storage facilities.

Bah, scoffed U.S. officials, the Cubans could just add those later. It would be a simple matter for the Soviets and Cubans to convert the strip into a military air base.

Right through the invasion the matter of the airstrip remained an important prop in the glorious self-portrait painted by the U.S. imperialists of their aggression: a tough move to aid a helpless island-nation rid itself of the "yoke of Soviet/Cuban domination," which had

turned the whole island into a combination weapons depot, and potential military air base.

Last month, six months after the invasion, the U.S. announced a new \$40 million aid program for Grenada, the largest item in this being... to complete the Point Salines airstrip. Not that any military purposes were intended for the airstrip, mind you. The project, administration officials hastily added, was only part of a program to increase tourism. See, the island's existing airport is just too small to accommodate jumbo jets.

And so, in a fitting hypocritical touch, the U.S. takes over the very "dastardly

work" begun by the Soviets and Cubans on Grenada, proclaiming its intentions to finish it nicely, thank you, and even using the same justification about tourism.

But then again, the image of "helping Grenadians" has always taken a decided second place to the message conveyed by bootprints on the island and Cubans captured and killed. America wants it well known that it intends to step up the pace — and on a world scale — in doing exactly what it accused the Soviets of doing in Grenada. It is a message which, together with the sick and ugly patriotism meant to be stirred in the folks back home by such actions, is in preparation for a great imperialist cause other than that of increasing tourism. . . . □

Tribunal At Strasbourg

Continued from page 5

end to the torture and the sending of a delegation to investigate conditions in the prisons. It ended by pledging the Union's solidarity with all political prisoners. Dirk Schneider, representing the Green Party, stated that they have put forward a resolution in the West German Bundestag seeking to bar the BRD from giving any military or economic aid to Turkey. Another German member of the jury stated that the exploitation of workers from Turkey in the BRD and the conditions within Turkish prisons are two sides of one story and that the testimony given to the Tribunal demanded that Turkey be kicked out of the European Parliament.

The last statement was given by Yilmaz Güney: "We the workers, peasants, and people of Turkey will overthrow the Turkish junta. But that doesn't mean we don't need the support of democrats and anti-fascists in other countries. Tomorrow the decision of the European Parliament will be posted and we will not be surprised. To help the junta in the European Parliament is only to encourage fascism — there is no other meaning to it. After their decision, we must heighten our struggle and continue to present this information to the public and the European Parliament itself. We will continue our struggle for democracy even under these conditions and we will continue our struggle with arms. The struggle of Turkish, Kurdish and other minority peoples is not only to overthrow the junta, but our real aim is to reach a socialist society. We have to know we have a very long way to go to reach our aims. Our enemy is not only U.S. imperialism and European imperialism and all forms of fascism. Besides that, there are those who want to show they are socialists, but they are not. The T.K.P. [revisionist pro-Soviet] wants to claim credit for the actions against the fascists, which isn't true. The case of Poland and Afghanistan is not forgotten. We the people, our hands and our arms will be the force that will gain the victory, not others. One day, that is certain."

The Tribunal was followed that evening by a cultural program of Turkish and Kurdish songs and dances and including numerous solidarity statements.

The European Parliament did provide one surprise — the vote took place that evening. By a vote of 91 to 50, the Turkish regime was given the stamp of approval by this august body of experts in the long traditions of imperialist robbery and murder under the signboard of "democracy and human rights." This pat on the back was of course in the interest of "recognizing the measures taken on the road to democracy" by the new regime (as the *Frankfurter Rundschau* newspaper put it, 5-10-84). □

TWO DAYS

Continued from page 7

The Road Forward: Continue the Organized Struggle

The REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST UNION (UCR) has been saying that we, the Dominicans, live in a pre-revolutionary situation and thus we are nearing a revolutionary situation which can produce immense opportunities for revolution. A brief summation of the events of the 23rd and 24th confirms our analysis and shows us more deeply that we have to continue and accelerate work — in the heat of struggle and in this important historic conjuncture — to build the political vanguard of the proletariat, because without one it would be impossible to wage a struggle capable of knocking down the capitalist system. The spon-

taneous struggle is not the road forward; whereas the conscious struggle, led and organized, is the road forward; and that is what we, the Dominican revolutionary forces, must do. If the people's struggle is not led by the proletariat and its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist vanguard, we will never win this long and historic battle. We will overthrow Yankee imperialism and all reactionaries if we organize the struggle through a united leadership which correctly leads the struggle of all the people against all Yankee imperialist domination, the Dominican bourgeoisie and the big landholders.

The REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST UNION understands that to advance towards revolution is a duty. But revolution is never a spontaneous act; revolution is a conscious act, led and planned, through which the whole bourgeois structure of the exploitative

society we live in must be dismantled. And since the people's struggle will continue, the UCR — in common cause with the working people — will step up its efforts towards the formation of the political vanguard of the proletariat. The popular insurrection of April 23-24 was a spontaneous uprising of the masses. And we shouldn't sit by quietly while the repressive forces of the capitalist state continue massacring the people. Nor should we avoid the task of building the tool of leadership which will guide the people to victory: the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY.

They are killing the people: Long live revolution! □

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