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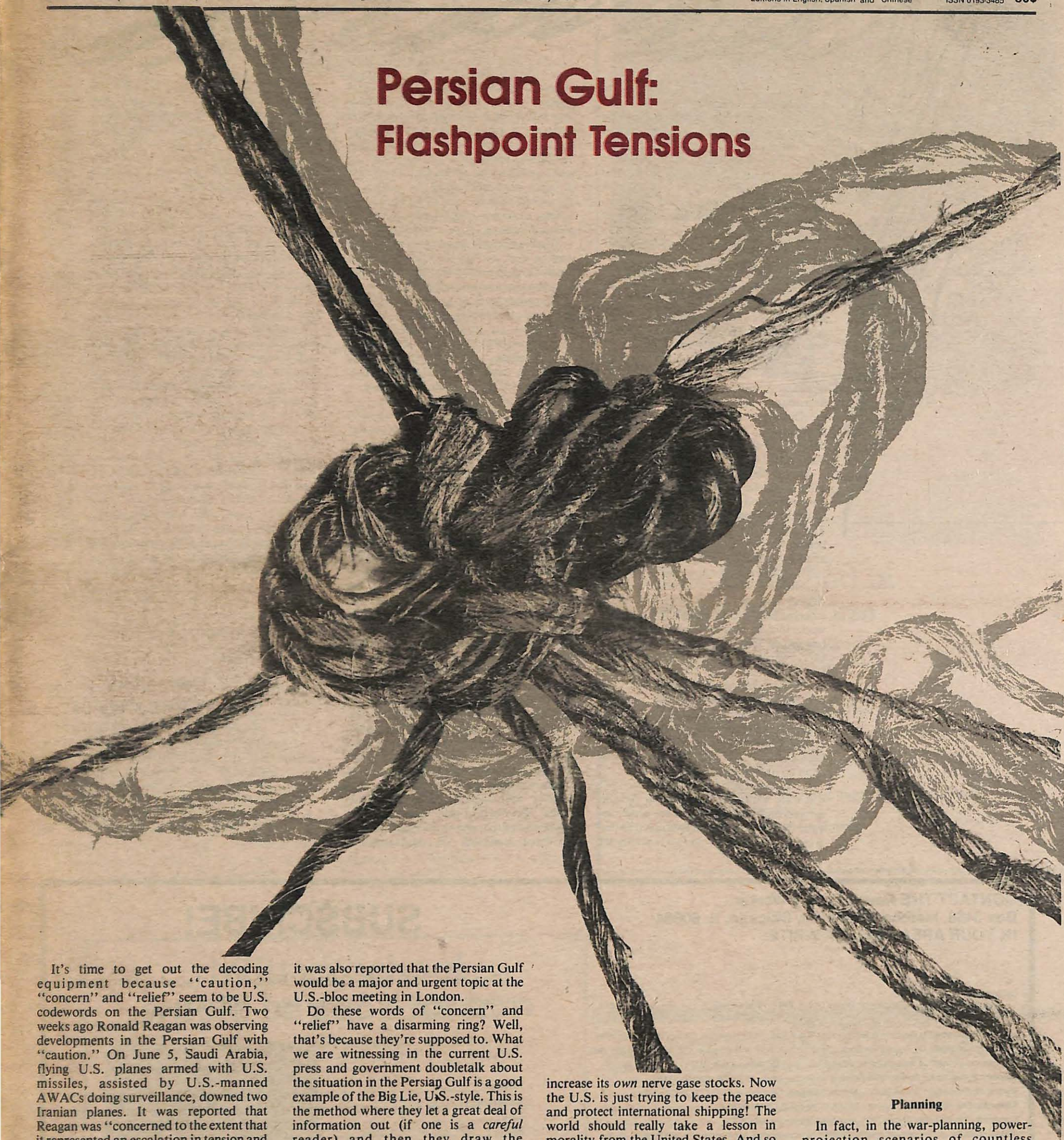
No. 259 (Vol. 6, No. 7) Published weekly in two sections — English Section 1.

June 8, 1984

Editions in English, Spanish and Chinese

ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Persian Gulf: Flashpoint Tensions



It's time to get out the decoding equipment because "caution," "concern" and "relief" seem to be U.S. codewords on the Persian Gulf. Two weeks ago Ronald Reagan was observing developments in the Persian Gulf with "caution." On June 5, Saudi Arabia, flying U.S. planes armed with U.S. missiles, assisted by U.S.-manned AWACs doing surveillance, downed two Iranian planes. It was reported that Reagan was "concerned to the extent that it represented an escalation in tension and violence" and was "conscious that there was no apparent requirement for U.S. assistance of any kind or involvement, other than to caution restraint on both sides." Meanwhile, a Defense Department spokesman said that there were four U.S. warships in the Gulf which would fire on any ship or plane that interfered with tankers supplying the U.S. Navy and press headlines said the Iran-Iraq war was dramatically widening. Two days later it was reported that Reagan expressed "relief" that the Saudi action "lessened the chances that United States combat forces would be needed or directly involved." And on the same day,

it was also reported that the Persian Gulf would be a major and urgent topic at the U.S.-bloc meeting in London.

Do these words of "concern" and "relief" have a disarming ring? Well, that's because they're supposed to. What we are witnessing in the current U.S. press and government doubletalk about the situation in the Persian Gulf is a good example of the Big Lie, U.S.-style. This is the method where they let a great deal of information out (if one is a *careful* reader) and then they draw the completely opposite conclusions and expect you to believe it. For example, did you know that what the U.S. is concerned about is "protecting Gulf shipping"? And who is the culprit? Iran! Never mind that more than twenty tankers have been attacked by Iraq. (How do we know this? Why, the press said so.) But now there is a U.S. "tilt" toward Iraq, so the Iranians are naturally the offenders, guilty of unspeakable moral transgressions. True, only a short time ago, the U.S. was condemning the Iraqis for using chemical weapons against Iran. But that was when the U.S. was pushing its bogus nerve gas "treaty proposal" in order to vastly

increase its *own* nerve gas stocks. Now the U.S. is just trying to keep the peace and protect international shipping! The world should really take a lesson in morality from the United States. And so peaceful are the U.S. interests that hardly a word has been mentioned about the Soviet Union. Why, the *New York Times* just last week was talking about "momentary interests" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over Gulf developments. No warmongers here, and certainly no threat of general war. This is very good training for the U.S. public — for future crises, not to mention the current one. With training like this, they will expect Americans to buy *any* excuse for a "just" world war 3. And if you're looking for a place where world war 3 could break out, then look at the Persian Gulf.

Planning

In fact, in the war-planning, power-projection scenarios of countless strategists in both the U.S. and Soviet blocs the Gulf has loomed large as an area where global war could erupt. While one would not have guessed it in the past couple weeks, it is not for nothing that the Gulf region has continually been described as a "flashpoint." And this is in the commonly read press. It was even broadcast on nationwide TV when ABC *Nightline* featured "The Crisis Game" — a war game where the U.S. and Soviet Union clashed directly in Iran. In the journals reserved for the imperialist "thinkers" (and "doers") there has been attempted exploration of every con-

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Rebellions Spread In Haiti

Further news of the events and developments in Haiti, though still scattered, gives further insight into the scope of the mass upheavals in a number of cities and towns which erupted into rebellion two weeks ago. It has since been reported that in addition to unprecedented outbreaks of rebellion in Gonaïves, Cap-Haïtien and Bombardopolis and reports of mass actions in Grand Rivière, Petit Goâve and Les Cayes, there were actions and confrontations in other cities.

In Hinche, a town near the Dominican border, students took over a food warehouse and were fired upon by the Haitian armed forces. The numbers of possible deaths or injuries were not known but it was reported that several arrests were made. News of the events in Hinche appeared in *El Sol*, a Dominican newspaper, and no doubt the outbreak of disturbances in a town near the border of the Dominican Republic was especially troublesome, given that only a month before rebellion had swept through Haiti's next-door neighbor.

Also, in the small town of Chansolme, a few kilometers from Cap-Haïtien, a colonel attempted to make an arrest but was instead confronted by outraged people. The colonel beat a fast retreat, leaving behind his car, which was promptly torn apart by masses of people.

There are also some further details on the events in Cap-Haïtien itself, Haiti's second largest city, with a history of struggle and rebellion. As reported last week, in Cap-Haïtien people set upon a convoy of five trucks delivering special U.S.-imported swine feed for special U.S.-imported pigs; food warehouses were broken into and an estimated 25,000 people took to the streets, chanting "Down with misery, down with dictatorship!" it was reported. The police were especially brutal, firing into crowds and killing at least three people (by official reports) and most probably more.

It has since been learned that when two top state ministers, Cineas and Achille, arrived on the scene to restore order and calm the crowds, they were forced to beat it out of there fast — so fast that they left

behind their own precious Mercedes. In another part of the city it was reported that hundreds had gathered at a bridge and were en route to take over a military barracks. People broke into a song, "Soldiers, forward!" The target of attack, a military barracks, and the singing of this particular song — which is associated with the war of independence against France — illustrated some of the political content of these rebellions.

There is also one report that people were stoning cars in Port-au-Prince, a significant development in that the capital city is a virtual armed encampment.

The government's response has been swift and most brutal. A number of cities and towns are under martial law, but nary a word of this has found its way into the U.S. press — after all, this is martial law of the "authoritarian" type, not the "totalitarian" kind of the Soviet bloc.

Curfews extending from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. are also being enforced. With guns trained and house-to-house searches being conducted, the Duvalier regime announced "reform" measures — 200 jobs to the people of Gonaïves and schooling for 75 of the town's poorest children, and the removal of local ruling officials. An indication of how severely the country has been rocked could be seen in the fact that Duvalier felt the need to go further still, as he announced that five cabinet ministers, including one of his "super ministers" (an elite inner circle of the Duvalier cabinet), were being replaced. And there are reports that the United States recalled its ambassador for personal consultations on the current situation.

While all hell was breaking loose, the U.S. embassy in Haiti responded by reassuring the Haitian masses that more "aid" was on the way. Over the past couple of years the emphasis of the "aid" provided by the U.S. and other Western imperialist powers has been largely for development of Haiti's infrastructure, like roads and electricity, to facilitate "industrial development"... as in sweatshops. The effect of this "development" has been to drive up the price of land and to force hundreds of thousands of

peasants off the land. Part of this aid has been the infamous "food for work" program, whereby people are worked long, grueling hours and paid literally with a bowl of food. The development of Haiti's infrastructure would also be important for the military base the U.S. is planning to build in Haiti.

More U.S. "aid" is not only promised but promoted as a sign of the "humanitarianism" of the U.S., and while this aid is instrumental in shoring up the Duvalier regime, it is often used at the same time in an attempt to put some distance between the "humanitarianism" of the U.S. and the extremes of Baby Doc. On Sunday, June 3, a *Sixty Minutes* TV program did a segment concerning Haiti, featuring an interview with the U.S. director of aid to Haiti. The whole thrust of the program was to exempt the U.S. from the "excesses" of the Duvalier dictatorship. "...This process of exploitation and extraction from the natural environment has gone on for 180 years of independence of this country," said the U.S. aid director. "You think we can turn it around in even two, three, or even five?" And in a stroke, years — decades — of U.S. domination suddenly cease to exist; and the horrendous crimes against the Haitian masses — where a newborn infant has an 80% chance of living one year, 70% of surviving three years, and where by the tender age of 6, only 65 out of 100 children born in rural Haiti will be alive — the U.S. has nothing to do with this!

Correction: Sorry, New Zealand

Apologies to New Zealanders for an omission in last week's *RW*, in the article "Eurocentrism and Zero Latitude." In pointing out the imperialist countries south of the equator our article only mentioned Australia and neglected to condemn the New Zealand imperialists as well.

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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 3449 N. Sheffield, Chicago, IL 60657. Second Class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions. Foreign subscriptions are \$50.00/year airmail to Latin America, \$80.00/year airmail to Africa, Asia, Europe, and \$20.00/year by surface mail.)

Notes From The Field

Blockade At Rock Island



On Monday, June 4, several hundred people blockaded the U.S. Army Arsenal at Rock Island, Illinois. The blockade was called by Project Disarm, a coalition including the Quad Cities War Resistance Community and some members of Disarm Now Action Group in Chicago.

"That's the stadium where they're thinking of parking all the buses to get the workers over to the Arsenal," said the person driving.

We looked over from the vantage point of our van, crossing the Centennial Bridge, which, should you ever want to do it, connects Davenport, Iowa with Rock Island, Illinois.

No sign of the military or their buses at John O'Donnell Stadium, however, only a night game in progress for the Quad City Cubs of the Class A Midwestern League, with a sizeable crowd on hand. A cottonwood seed drifted in through the window and this reporter caught it.

But it wasn't long before the town began to exhibit strange symptoms. The base of the bridge leading from downtown Davenport across the Mississippi River to Arsenal Island was fortified with a spanking new cyclone fence, topped with barbed wire. A contingent of some kind of police blocked the entrance itself with a vehicle, with another cop holding binoculars visible on a turret farther back. 3rd Street, leading to the bridge, had been lined for some blocks with five-foot wooden snow fence, entirely sealing the streets from the sidewalk. All the near side streets were lined with snow fence as well.

I met up with my partner at a motel where the TV was eager to tell us more. All three bridges to the island had been so fortified. Three hundred military police had been flown in from Fort Riley, Kansas and Fort Benning, Georgia; the FAA had ordered an air security zone over the arsenal, while the Coast Guard patrolled its waterways, also off-limits to all traffic. Starting June 2, all civilians were banned from the island, but just in case, concertina wire protected points on the arsenal. A kind of electric super-cattle prod sent blue sparks crackling for the TV cameras, as a "police spokesman" grinned. News of the action was on every channel and nonstop.

"Well, Marianne," the local anchorperson happy-talked, "what's the weather going to be like for the demonstrators tomorrow morning?"

At a meeting of demonstrators the evening before the action, we found that the military had succeeded in enraging a noticeable section of the otherwise noninvolved population of the "Quad Cities" (Davenport and Bettendorf, Iowa, and Rock Island and Moline, Ill.). A local person had been at an eighth grade graduation the day before, where parents and students were bewildered by the fortifications. Why all the troops? Why the barbed wire? Why, as the town saw it, had the military "overreacted"?

An organizer from Chicago got up.

"We don't believe the army is overreacting," she declared, "It's only showing its true colors. It's about time the arsenal got a little defensive about what they're doing there."

That was true. The Arsenal is not only the home of the army's largest armaments and munitions manufacturing plants, but more importantly, it is the headquarters of the Armament, Munitions and Chemical Command (AMC-COM). This highly strategic installation is the nerve center which manages all the inventory, assembly and transport of the army's entire conventional, chemical and nuclear stockpile, and oversees its delivery for battlefield use (see *RW* No. 258, June 1). The Arsenal makes the howitzers for every repressive dictator in America's neocolonial stable. And it makes sure that nuclear weapons, including probably the Pershing II and Tomohawk cruise weapons, are ready for bloody use. A lot for the army to be supersensitive about.

But there was something else that was, perhaps, less understood by those who came for the protest: The military's menacing response to the action had to be also seen as an answer to the political level of the demonstration.

"We must take immediate direct action to prevent the further production and deployment of the U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons and U.S. conventional intervention throughout the world. The

elections are increasingly taking the movement's time and energy. . . . We will not defeat war by defeating Reagan. We must take action no matter who is elected. We should not look to the politicians but to ourselves and to those who work for the military and military industry to stop war through mass, direct action. It is up to us to disarm the military before they launch world war III" (Introduction to "Shut Down the Arsenal" Organizing Manual, by some members of Disarm Now Action Group).

The blockade drew different forces for different reasons. The community of local Catholic Workers, for example, opposes reliance on the elections with a philosophy of action by what one called "the righteous minority." More broadly, what captured the imagination, and brought to the Quad Cities individuals, affinity groups, parts of parishes and sections of peace councils from nooks and crannies of the Midwest, was the simple call to "Shut the Arsenal Down!"

"I really want to do it," one Yippie told us, "I'm not gonna come back over and over again for years and years. I want to close the sucker down."

All this, clearly, is a step outside the bounds of "legitimate protest," outside the social compact of loyal opposition. This "should not be" what's grabbing headlines on the day of the last Democratic primaries. It shouldn't be here, in "the heartland." In view of this spirit of urgency and going straight up against the war machine, this would be a fairly significant round in the battle for public opinion; something which, the authorities wanted to make plain, might be a risky proposition.

St. Joseph's is a Catholic church on a neat street near the close-by-downtown section of Davenport.

"The parish might fall apart over this issue," one member of the parish told us. "Some people are making that big a deal about it. They're saying, 'We'll leave the parish and take our money with us.' But other people are saying they're going to give more money. This parish is a mixture of the Catholic Worker people, Hispanics from the depressed part of

Davenport and old German farmers from the country. Then there's the Arsenal workers and their families. They don't like the idea of people getting arrested for their beliefs. They think that certain people like that have no place in the Catholic Church. The German farmers are stubborn. They're afraid the demonstration means that The Communist Threat is going to come into the Quad Cities." She laughed, adding, "Don't think I'm one of those people. Me and my husband will be at the blockade."

There are lots of local stories like that. The youth, forbidden to go to the blockade by his father, who works for Arsenal security. A couple of local punks who can't go to a club anymore without being called communists. But it isn't simply within the local scene, but throughout this part of the Midwest, that the action has been seen as a kind of break with what's been happening in the movement against war in the area. By and large, the thousands who marched on Mother's Day in Chicago this year would not be there. But even in these circles there was some impact. One Methodist minister said that he had preached about the action from the pulpit that Sunday, without specifically asking anyone to go. Some did. Some others, he said, would undoubtedly be ready with angry words at the next congregational meeting.

"And who are they to violate the rights of the Arsenal workers to get to their jobs? A demonstration such as this has lost the support of the area's leading peace supporters. A Davenport priest active in the movement said in a letter that the group intends no violence but added that their breaking the law is already political violence."

— *Quad City Times*, May 27, 1984

Hints that radical and communist organizations planned to "provoke a violent confrontation" during the blockade and infuendoes that some planned to use the demonstration as a cover for terrorism are just a couple of the rumors that had been floated out right from the beginning, ever since Quad

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The visit of Secretary of State Shultz to Nicaragua on Friday, June 1st has produced an outpouring of bipartisan unity on Central America equalled only by the reception given to Mr. Death-Squad Democracy himself, José Napoleón Duarte. One Democrat after another demonstrated the true spirit of American electoral politics by saying that even if the visit was just for domestic consumption to allay anxiety about Reagan's warmongering image, "That does not minimize the fact that it occurred." Kennedy hailed it as an "important first step." The *New York Times* welcomed "Something New in Managua." All in all, the trip was treated everywhere as a bold stride towards peace in the region. It was instead another cinching up of the U.S. noose around Nicaragua.

What all the kudos for the Shultz visit really came down to was the banal platitude, echoed repeatedly in the press, that "at least they're talking" — as if this were a spat between two friends or neighbors. The logic obscures the very "un-neighborly" relations that actually exist, the extensive web of domination in which the U.S. has ensnared the entire region, and which the U.S. is intent on maintaining and expanding.

All of this came pouring out when Shultz actually opened his mouth to speak. He repeated four long-standing demands the U.S. has made as conditions for easing the pressure on the Sandinistas, including from the *Contras*. These include: halting any aid to the Salvadoran guerrilla forces, reducing the size of the Nicaraguan military, progress on "human rights" (interpreted generally to include holding elections in which *Contras* are allowed into power), and removing all foreign advisors.

These demands are not an opening for negotiations, but an edict from the master to those he considers his rightful slaves: Cease aid to Salvadoran guerrillas, while the U.S. itself is openly funneling \$200 million to a military whose core includes one of the most ruthless death squad apparatuses on earth. Reduce Nicaragua's military while the U.S. prepares a massive modern infrastructure in Honduras for an invading army. Let in the *Contras*, while the U.S. stridently insists that the Salvadoran guerrillas will never be allowed to "shoot their way to power." And as for the demand that Nicaragua expel foreign advisors, what does this amount to? Coming from a country with its own advisors throughout the region, including in Panama, Honduras, El Salvador, and (who can forget) Grenada, it can only mean that according to the U.S. government, advisors who speak English aren't *foreign* because this is Yankee territory. This is the actual content of the talk that has so moved the

Mr. Shultz Goes To Nicaragua

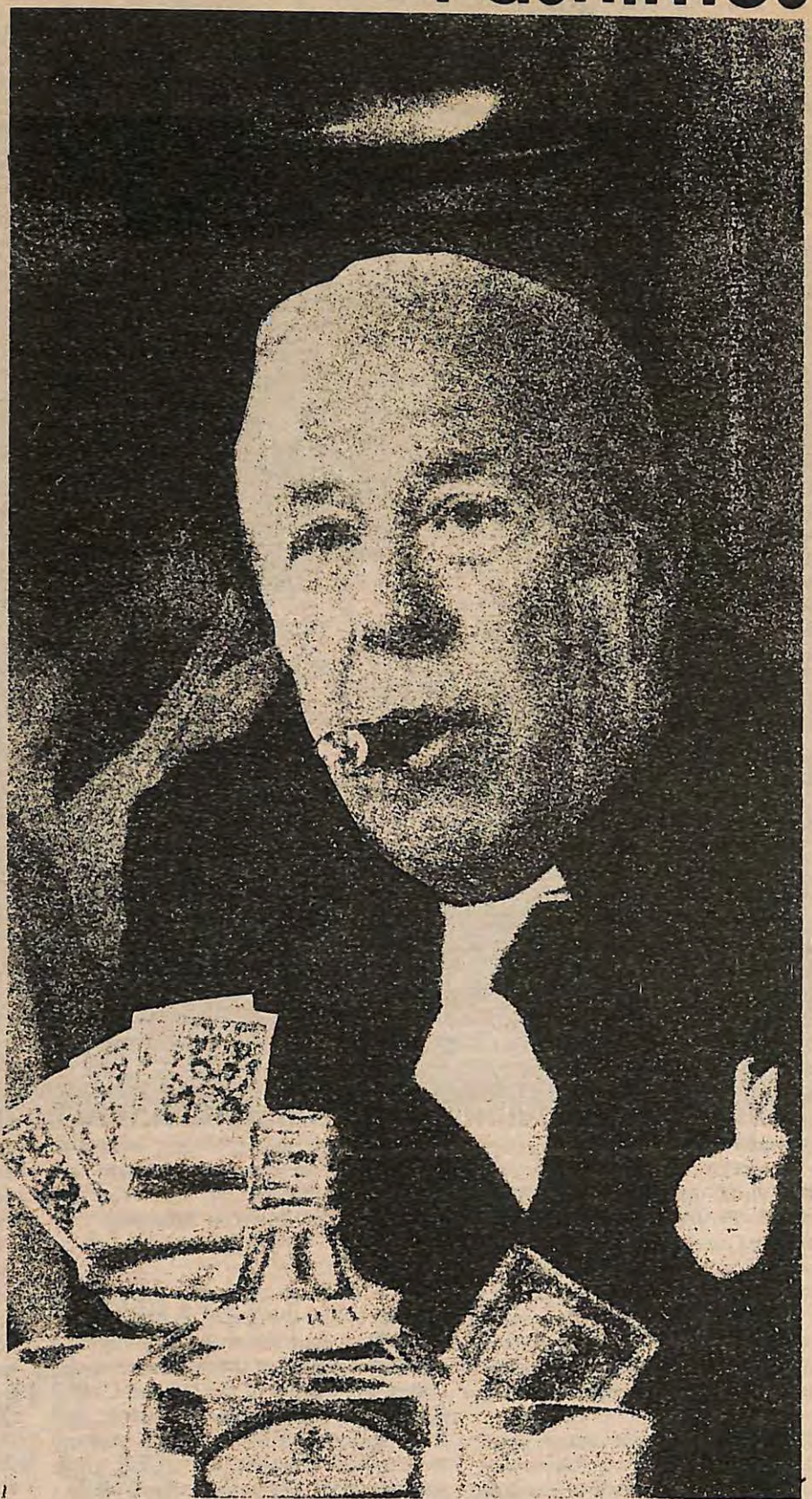
Talking And Other Imperialist Pasttimes

politicians on Capitol Hill that one liberal Democrat even remarked, "It appears now that the Administration has embarked on a new Central American policy aimed at seeking a negotiated solution of our differences with the Government of Nicaragua."

Hailing Shultz's reading of the riot act to the Sandinistas as a "new policy" was essential preparation for the next step: more bullets for the *Contras*. Even before Shultz's plane set down in Washington, Senator Christopher Dodd, leader of the Senate opposition on Central America, had proclaimed that the visit would "add to the Administration's credibility and enhance its margin of victory" on the upcoming vote on military aid to the *Contras*. Continuing the military aid is now widely claimed as necessary to give Reagan some "bargaining chips" at the negotiating table. Thus the real content of initiating dialogue is actually initiating military buildup to even more tightly squeeze Nicaragua. And who is naive enough not to understand that for the U.S. this was the point all along?

Mexico's president, Miguel de la Madrid, has been widely hailed as a "peacemaker" for the role he is said to have played in finally persuading Reagan to sit down and talk with the other side. Mexico has indeed played a role — not as peacemaker but as a subordinate in the larger division of labor of U.S. bloc forces in the region. The U.S. policy of ramrodding more military aid to Central America, and overall stepping up pressure behind the facade of democracy it has erected around Duarte, made possible certain adjustments in Mexico's policies. Besides facilitating the Shultz visit and the subsequent legitimization of more aid to the *Contras*, it has opened the door for Mexico to step up its own ties with El Salvador. Mexico sent the highest-ranking delegation in four years to El Salvador to attend Duarte's inauguration in what was termed by one Mexican official "an important signal" that Mexico would improve relations with El Salvador and exchange ambassadors again. Such a move is calculated to enhance the credibility of Duarte's democratic credentials and thus of the U.S. military escalation which Duarte is being used to legitimize.

So yes, the U.S. is finally "talking" in Central America, and the message is an old and familiar one: doubletalk from their mouths and political power from the barrels of their guns. □



Commander Zero Gets An Ultimatum From The CIA

The media's speculation began before the blood had dried. Edén Pastora's press conference in the jungle on the Nicaragua-Costa Rican border had been broken up by an explosion which killed eight people and wounded 27, including Commander Zero himself, and one of those killed had been an American journalist. Therefore, the terror that disrupted this peaceful discourse must have come from the Sandinistas. Impartial observers, such as other *Contra* leaders and the president of Costa Rica, were quickly quoted saying so. *World News Tonight* on ABC went them one better, citing U.S. intelligence reports that the Sandinistas had enlisted "Basque hit-men" to sneak into Pastora's camp and do him in. A political geography lesson followed, complete with maps and visual aids; here is where the Basque "hit-team"

was kicked out of France, and here is Cuba where they went next, and then from Cuba to Nicaragua, via a large, brightly-colored arrow, ending up on the Costa Rican border marked on the TV screen by a fire-burst that looked like a reject from the old *Batman* series — the only thing missing was the word "POW!" And the subtlety of this story is nearly matched by its plausibility.

After all, previous U.S. intelligence reports have hammered away that Nicaragua has engaged in the most massive military buildup in Central American history; Nicaragua is training, supplying and directing Salvadoran guerrillas; Nicaragua is responsible for "exporting revolution," etc., etc. So now, they have to go out and hire somebody else's "hit-men" to pull off a minor explosion in a jungle on their border? It would seem that at least one set of these reports is not terribly intelligent.

And isn't it interesting that in Central America we have *Basque* "hit-teams" as opposed to the infamous Libyan and Iranian "hit-teams" that are periodically discovered (by U.S. intelligence agencies, of course) to be operating in the U.S. and elsewhere where creating public opinion in favor of U.S. activities in the Middle East is required. But, as the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica pointed out to the *New York Times*, in Central America it is important to convince some of the U.S.'s Western European allies to stop giving

any help to the Sandinistas... and to get behind the U.S.'s approach to the region. Voilà — we now have a "hit-team" made up of Basques, who retain separatist demands in *Europe*, in cahoots with the Sandinistas. As noted above, no one would ever accuse U.S. imperialism of being overly subtle.

Somehow, this CIA disinformation tale has failed to overshadow certain facts that point in the opposite direction. For a long time, the CIA has been trying to get the *Contra* grouping that Pastora and his followers are part of, the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE), to unite

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Jesse Jackson's Good Neighbor Policy

"We see there our government on the wrong side of history, taking the side of dictators against the people. We must re-examine our foreign policy around the world, we must seek to wage peace, to take the side of the oppressed people, to seek reconciliation and negotiation to overcome confrontation in Africa, Europe and the Middle East." This and other statements and positions adopted by Jesse Jackson have been given quite a bit of play throughout the Democratic Party primary campaigns this year in order to lend weight to the characterization of Jackson as the "progressive candidate," the "man of peace." Among those currently enamored of the Jackson campaign (and this is particularly true of all the various revisionist forces who have slobbered over Jackson's ability to "raise the issues in a way the left has not been able to"), the shining centerpiece in Jackson's political program is his foreign policy, and within this, particularly his positions on Central America. Why, Jackson has even been so bold as to call out his Democratic opponents for hedging on issues related to Central America, including the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the region.

Of course, in order to get over with this "progressive" image, quite a bit of what Jackson actually says has to be overlooked and brushed aside. In relation to Central America, the beatification of Jesse Jackson requires the casting aside of what he himself has pushed as the cornerstone of his program — the theme which sets the context for all the other specific issues he raises. In a position paper on Central America distributed by the Jackson campaign, Reverend Jackson declares:

"Our interests are in good, long-term, peaceful relations with our neighbors. We seek a region in which equitable development, respect for human rights, and space for democratic change are possible. These interests cannot be served by unilateral military intervention. They can only be served by following — as President Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested — a Good Neighbor Policy treating our neighbors with dignity and respect, respecting the right to nonintervention, and acting collectively to help settle disputes peacefully. The current policy offends each of these guidelines." Lo and behold, the crux of the "new direction" in foreign policy espoused by Jesse Jackson is not so new at all. And more importantly, the content of this "Good Neighbor Policy" is indicative of just how "progressive" is Jackson's position on Central America.

Just as Jackson dresses up his pronouncements on U.S. foreign policy in lofty talk of justice and human rights, so, too, was the Good Neighbor Policy dressed up when it was implemented by U.S. President Roosevelt in Latin America as he came into office in 1933. In his first inaugural address, Roosevelt declared: "In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor — the neighbor who resolutely respects himself, and, because he does so, respects the rights of others."

In spite of this "Since we're neighbors let's be friends" attitude, the reality of the Good Neighbor Policy was exactly what one would expect given the fact that the neighborhood was run lock, stock and barrel by U.S. imperialism. As was pointed out in *America in Decline*, the Good Neighbor Policy was a product of the necessities facing U.S. imperialism in Latin America at the time and not a radical shift in to "human rights" and justice in American foreign policy. Nor was it meant to avoid confrontation, or, as Jackson would put it, "a road of negotiation and peace." Instead, the Good Neighbor Policy was an important part of U.S. imperialism's buildup for World War 2 — a policy which the U.S. hoped would pave the road to victory in the interimperialist confrontation coming up to recarve the world. In this light it is interesting that "peace candidate"

Jackson chose the Good Neighbor Policy as his foreign policy model in Central America instead of something like the equally pro-imperialist (and equally unrealistic for U.S. imperialism today) Alliance for Progress developed under the Kennedy administration in the 1960s.

The international crisis of imperialism hit Latin America hard. Many countries faced economic collapse. Resistance among the oppressed masses in these countries sharply increased. The U.S. imperialists were unable to maintain the same level of capital exports to Latin America that they had in the 1920s and as a result were forced to intensify the exploitation of the masses in these countries. As the resistance of the oppressed peoples increased, the U.S. imperialists were driven to modify and refine their approach to dominating Latin America, especially since they had moved from "adventure to permanent investment" throughout the continent and thus required more stable and lasting forms of control than outright military occupation. Thus was born the Good Neighbor Policy. As Secretary of State Cordell Hull put it in 1941: "In the past we, too, stationed some soldiers in Central America and left them there as long as ten years, but the results were bad, and we brought them out. Since then we have found it more profitable to practice the 'Good Neighbor Policy.'"

One of the main aspects of the Good Neighbor Policy, and interestingly enough one of the points heralded by Jackson today, was its declaration of "nonintervention." Prior to the Good Neighbor Policy, the U.S. used the Monroe Doctrine to "fraternally aid" the people in a number of Latin American countries and facilitate the export of U.S. capital through armed intervention and occupation. The Dominican Republic was frequently occupied a number of times over these years and Haiti had been occupied by U.S. troops for 20 years. In 1920 the U.S. Navy attacked Guatemala, in 1924 Honduras was attacked and in 1926 Nicaragua was invaded for a second time. Prior to 1933 the U.S. intervened in Cuba four times, Panama six times and Honduras seven times. At one point U.S. officials directed the financial policies in 11 out of 20 Latin American countries and in six of these countries U.S. troops directly backed up these officials.

The "noninterventionism" ushered in by the Good Neighbor Policy and aimed at portraying the U.S. as a "progressive" imperialist power simply modified some of the more blatant aspects of U.S. domination in Latin America. For instance, the U.S. formally gave up its "right" to militarily intervene in a number of Latin American countries — a right which had been previously guaranteed by treaties the U.S. had signed with these countries. And U.S. troops were withdrawn from Haiti. In reality, however, the U.S. renouncement of "intervention" — military or otherwise — was a mere formality and one which was to be disregarded whenever necessary — using both U.S. forces directly (military, economic and political) and indirectly through the propping up and using of U.S.-backed dictators and armies. Informally, the U.S. imperialists even admitted as much. As Cordell Hull once put it in a private conversation, the notion of "noninterference in the internal affairs" of another state was "more or less wild and unreasonable."

There are numerous examples of U.S. actions in Latin America under the Good Neighbor Policy which illustrate its reactionary content and underscore the fact that armed force remained the bedrock of enforcing U.S. domination. Perhaps the most revealing incident in terms of Jesse Jackson's advocacy of the Good Neighbor Policy in Central America today is the case of Nicaragua. While the U.S. withdrew its marines from Nicaragua, it quickly replaced them with the new Nicaraguan National Guard. Not only was the National Guard organized,

equipped and advised by the U.S., but its commander-in-chief, Anastasio Somoza, was handpicked by the U.S. government. Somoza and the National Guard then set about attempting to crush nationalist guerrillas led by Sandino — the forerunners of the Sandinistas who seized power in 1979. In 1934 Somoza and the National Guard murdered Sandino — an act which Somoza later stated was ordered by the U.S. ambassador. (Ironically, "good neighbor" Jackson had planned on visiting Nicaragua back in February to mark the 50th anniversary of Sandino's murder.)

In addition to Somoza in Nicaragua, the Good Neighbor Policy was also used to facilitate the crushing of rebellion and the installation and maintenance of ruthless pro-U.S. dictators in El Salvador and Guatemala. Under the Good Neighbor Policy, U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico was also tightened up through armed suppression of the Puerto Rican people. In 1937 the U.S.-appointed governor in Puerto Rico oversaw the Ponce massacre — an attack on a demonstration of Nationalist Party supporters and members by the police of the colonial regime armed with machine guns, hand grenades, tear-gas bombs, and carbines which resulted in 20 dead and more than 150 wounded.

The Good Neighbor Policy also gave the U.S. easy access to economic and political methods of pressure and intervention in addition to the use of armed force. Under this policy, the U.S. sup-

ported the reactionary Machado regime in Cuba against popular uprisings in 1933. (In part, this support was manifested by the stationing of U.S. warships off the coast of Cuba, ostensibly to facilitate the rescue and evacuation of U.S. citizens from Cuba if it should become necessary. When the Machado regime fell, the U.S. refused to recognize the Grau government which replaced it and the U.S. ambassador actively set about forging an anti-Grau coalition which would overthrow the Grau government and replace it with a pro-U.S. government composed of "all the better classes of the country." The government produced by these U.S. machinations was none other than the Batista regime which held power until it was overthrown by Castro in 1959.

Economically, a number of Latin American countries were heavily pressured by the U.S. under the Good Neighbor Policy. One of the most outstanding examples of this was the U.S. economic pressure against the Cardenas government in Mexico. Under pressure from nationalist forces, the Cardenas regime had begun to nationalize U.S. oil interests in Mexico. In response the U.S. aided an army of groups trying to overthrow the Cardenas government and cancelled all U.S. silver purchases from Mexico in 1938 in an effort to shake up the Mexican economy and further undermine the nationalization process.

As the imperialist crisis deepened and

Continued on page 15



The Good Neighbor Policy in action in Puerto Rico in 1937 — the Ponce massacre.



Such good friends... the U.S. ambassador (right) dines with Lázaro Cárdenas (center), president of Mexico, whose regime they were economically strong-arming.

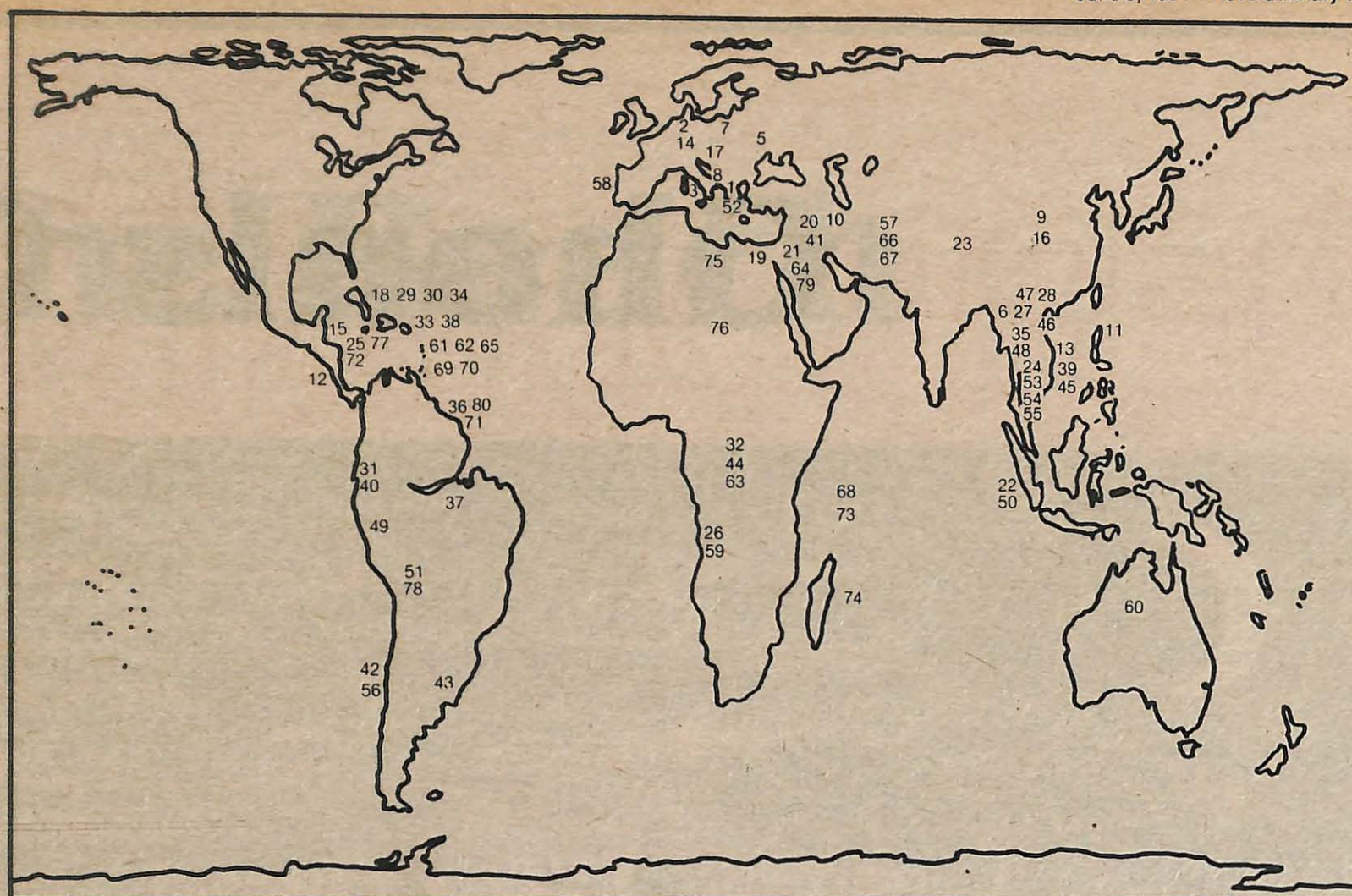
TERRORISTS

Forty Years of American Dirty Work

The U.S. imperialists, of course, never tire of their rhetoric about "international terrorism," lately extending this to calls for "preemptive strikes" against "terrorism." This certainly turns history inside out. The American trail of sabotage, assassinations, mass executions and more extends to every corner of the world; a trail of blood rivaled only by the list of U.S. overt intervention, invasion, and warfare against the peoples of the world.

The following list was compiled by the Center for Military Research and Analysis in New York City, and drawn from an extensive bibliography of books, papers, memoir material, and government documents. Its formal title: "United States Covert Action Abroad to Restore Favorable Political Conditions (Partial List)." The compilation represents a vivid exposure of America's vaunted "forty years of peace."

Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome	Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome
1. 1946	Greece	Restore monarchy after overthrow of Metaxas government. Successful.	26. 1960	Angola	Financial and military assistance to rebel forces of Holden Roberto. Inconclusive.
2. 1946-1955	West Germany	Average of \$6 million annually to support former Nazi intelligence network of General Reinhard Gehlen. Successful.	27. 1960	Laos	Military assistance, including 400 United States Special Forces troops, to deny the Plain of Jars and Mekong Basin to Pathet Lao. Inconclusive.
3. 1948-1968	Italy	Average of \$30 million annually in payments to political and labor leaders to support anti-communist candidates in Italian elections. Successful.	28. 1961-1965	Laos	Average of \$300 million annually to recruit and maintain L'Armée Clandestine of 35,000 Hmong and Meo tribesmen and 17,000 Thai mercenaries in support of government of Phoumi Nosavan to resist Pathet Lao. Successful.
4. 1949	Greece	Military assistance to anticommunist forces in Greek civil war. Successful.	29. 1961-1963	Cuba	Assassinate Fidel Castro. Six attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.
5. 1949-1953	Ukraine	Organize and support a Ukrainian resistance movement. Unsuccessful.	30. 1961	Cuba	Train and support invasion force of Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro government, and assist their invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Cost: \$62 million. Unsuccessful.
6. 1949-1961	Burma	Support 12,000 Nationalist Chinese troops in Burma under General Li Mi as an incursion force into People's Republic of China. Unsuccessful.	31. 1961	Ecuador	Overthrow government of José Velasco Ibarra. Successful.
7. 1950-1952	Poland	Financial and military assistance for Polish Freedom and Independence Movement. Unsuccessful.	32. 1961	Congo	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Successful.
8. 1950	Albania	Overthrow government of Enver Hoxha. Unsuccessful.	33. 1961	Dominican Republic	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Rafael Trujillo. Successful.
9. 1951-1954	China	Airdrop guerrilla teams into People's Republic of China. Unsuccessful.	34. 1961-1966	Cuba	Broad sabotage program, including terrorist attacks on coastal targets and the introduction of bacteriological agents to spread disease and contaminate crops and stores, in effort to weaken Castro government. Unsuccessful.
10. 1953	Iran	Overthrow Mossadegh government and install Zahedi. Cost: \$10 million. Successful.	35. 1962	Thailand	Brigade of 5,000 United States Marines to resist threat to Thai government by Pathet Lao. Successful.
11. 1953	Philippines	Assassination and propaganda campaign to overcome Huk resistance and install government of Ramón Magsaysay. Successful.	36. 1962-1964	British Guyana	Organize labor strikes and riots to overthrow government of Cheddi Jagan. Successful.
12. 1953	Costa Rica	Overthrow government of José Figueres. Unsuccessful.	37. 1962-1964	Brazil	Organize campaign of labor strikes and propaganda to overthrow government of Joao Goulart. Successful.
13. 1954	South Vietnam	Install government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Successful.	38. 1963	Dominican Republic	Overthrow government of Juan Bosch in military coup. Successful.
14. 1954	West Germany	Arrange abduction and discrediting of West German intelligence chief Otto John, and replace with Reinhard Gehlen. Successful.	39. 1963	South Vietnam	Precipitate conditions leading to assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem. Successful.
15. 1954	Guatemala	Overthrow government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and replace with Carlos Castillo Armas. Successful.	40. 1963	Ecuador	Overthrow government of Carlos Julio Arosemena. Successful.
16. 1955	China	Assassinate Chou En-lai en route to Bandung Conference. Unsuccessful.	41. 1963-1973	Iraq	Financial and military assistance for Freedom Party of Mullah Mustafa al Barzani in effort to establish independent Kurdistan. Unsuccessful.
17. 1956	Hungary	Financial and military assistance to organize and support a Hungarian resistance movement, and broad propaganda campaign to encourage it. Unsuccessful.	42. 1964	Chile	\$20 million in assistance for Eduardo Frei to defeat Salvador Allende in Chilean elections. Successful.
18. 1956	Cuba	Establish anticommunist police force, Buró de Represión de Actividades Comunistas (BRAC) under Batista regime. Successful.	43. 1964	Uruguay	Provide training in assassination and interrogation techniques for Uruguayan police and intelligence personnel in effort to defeat Tupamaros. Unsuccessful.
19. 1956	Egypt	Overthrow Nasser government. Unsuccessful.	44. 1964	Congo	Financial and military assistance, including B-26 and T-28 aircraft, and American and exiled Cuban pilots, for Joseph Mobutu and Cyril Adoula, and later for Moise Tshombe in Katanga, to defeat rebel forces loyal to Lumumba. Successful.
20. 1956	Syria	Overthrow Ghazzi government. Aborted by Israeli invasion of Egypt.	45. 1964-1967	South Vietnam	Phoenix Program to eliminate Viet Cong political infrastructure through more than 20,00 assassinations. Infiltrated by Viet Cong and only partially successful.
21. 1956-1976	Jordan	Average of \$750,000 annually in personal payments to King Hussein. According to United States government, payments ceased when disclosed in 1976.	46. 1964-1971	North Vietnam	Sabotage and ambush missions under Operations Plan 34A by United States Special Forces personnel and Nung tribesmen. Inconclusive.
22. 1958	Indonesia	Financial and military assistance, including B-26 bombers, for rebel forces attempting to overthrow Sukarno government. Unsuccessful.			
23. 1958-1961	Tibet	Infiltrate Tibetan guerrillas trained in United States to fight Chinese communists. Unsuccessful.			
24. 1959	Cambodia	Assassinate Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Unsuccessful.			
25. 1960	Guatemala	Military assistance to defeat rebel forces. Successful.			



Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome	Year	Location	Purpose and Outcome		
47.	1965-1971	Laos	Under Operations Shining Brass and Prairie Fire, sabotage and ambush missions by United States Special Forces personnel and Nung and Meo tribesmen under General Vang Pao. Inconclusive.	64.	1979	Iran	Install military government to replace Shah and resist growth of Moslem fundamentalism. Unsuccessful.
48.	1965	Thailand	Recruit 17,000 mercenaries to support Laotian government of Phoumi Nosavan resisting Pathet Lao. Successful.	65.	1979-1980	Jamaica	Financial pressure to destabilize government of Michael Manley, and campaign of propaganda and demonstrations to defeat it in elections. Successful.
49.	1965	Peru	Provide training in assassination and interrogation techniques for Peruvian police and intelligence personnel, similar to training given in Uruguay, Brazil and Dominican Republic, in effort to defeat resistance movement. Unsuccessful.	66.	1979	Afghanistan	Military aid to rebel forces of Zia Nezi, Zia Khan Nassry, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Sayed Ahmed Gailani and conservative mullahs to overthrow government of Hafizullah Amin. Aborted by Soviet intervention and installation of new government.
50.	1965	Indonesia	Organize campaign of propaganda to overthrow Sukarno government, and precipitate conditions leading to massacre of more than 500,000 members of Indonesian Communist Party, in order to eliminate opposition to new Suharto government. Successful.	67.	1980-1984	Afghanistan	Continuing military aid to same rebel groups to harass Soviet occupation forces and challenge legitimacy of government of Babrak Karmal.
51.	1967	Bolivia	Assist government in capture of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Successful.	68.	1979	Seychelles	Destabilize government of France Albert René. Unsuccessful.
52.	1967	Greece	Overthrow government of George Papandreu and install military government of Colonel George Papadopoulos after abdication of King Constantine. Successful.	69.	1980	Grenada	Mercenary coup to overthrow government of Maurice Bishop. Unsuccessful.
53.	1967-1971	Cambodia	Under Projects Daniel Boone and Salem House, sabotage and ambush missions by United States Special Forces personnel and Meo tribesmen. Inconclusive.	70.	1980	Dominica	Financial support to Freedom Party of Eugenia Charles to defeat Oliver Seraphim in Dominican elections. Successful.
54.	1969-1970	Cambodia	Bombing campaign to crush Viet Cong sanctuaries in Cambodia. Unsuccessful.	71.	1980	Guyana	Assassinate opposition leader Walter Rodney to consolidate power of government of Forbes Burnham. Successful.
55.	1970	Cambodia	Overthrow government of Prince Norodor. Sihanouk. Successful.	72.	1980-1984	Nicaragua	Military assistance to Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, Fernando Chamorro Rappacioli, Edén Pastora Gómez, Adrianna Guillen, Steadman Fagoth and former Somozan National Guard officers, to recruit, train and equip anti-Sandinista forces for sabotage and terrorist incursions into Nicaragua from sanctuaries in Honduras and Costa Rica, in effort to destabilize government of Daniel Ortega Saavedra. Inconclusive.
56.	1970-1973	Chile	Campaign of assassinations, propaganda, labor strikes and demonstrations to overthrow government of Salvador Allende. Successful. Cost: \$8,400,000.	73.	1981	Seychelles	Military coup to overthrow government of France Albert René. Unsuccessful.
57.	1973-1978	Afghanistan	Military and financial assistance to government of Mohammed Daud to resist rise to power of Noor Mohammed Taraki. Unsuccessful.	74.	1981-1982	Mauritius	Financial support to Seewoosagar Ramgoolam to bring him to power in 1982 elections. Unsuccessful.
58.	1975	Portugal	Overthrow government of General Vasco dos Santos Goncalves. Successful.	75.	1981-1984	Libya	Broad campaign of economic pressure, propaganda, military maneuvers in Egypt, Sudan and Gulf of Sidra, and organization of Libyan Liberation Front exiles to destabilize government of Muammar Kaddafi. Inconclusive.
59.	1975	Angola	Military assistance to forces of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi to defeat forces of Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during Angolan civil war, and prevent MPLA from forming new government. Unsuccessful.	76.	1982	Chad	Military assistance to Hissen Habré to overthrow government of Goukouni Oueddei. Successful.
60.	1975	Australia	Propaganda and political pressure to force dissolution of labor government of Gough Whitlam. Successful.	77.	1982	Guatemala	Military coup to overthrow government of Angel Anibal Guevara. Successful.
61.	1976	Jamaica	Military coup to overthrow government of Michael Manley. Unsuccessful.	78.	1982	Bolivia	Military coup to overthrow government of Celso Torrelio. Successful.
62.	1976-1979	Jamaica	Assassinate Michael Manley. Three attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.	79.	1982	Jordan	Military assistance to equip and train two Jordanian brigades as an Arab strike force to implement United States policy objectives without Israeli assistance. Inconclusive.
63.	1976-1984	Angola	Financial and military assistance to forces of Jonas Savimbi to harass and destabilize Neto and succeeding governments. Inconclusive.	80.	1982-1983	Surinam	Overthrow government of Colonel Desi Bouterse. Three attempts in this period. Unsuccessful.

Ghouls On



The Beach

If you watched TV in America last week, you may have already had enough of D-Day commentary. There are only so many times a normal person can stand to watch burr-headed old reactionaries, in Arthur Godfrey suits, tearfully groping their way through patriotic songs while media prostitutes relate how "moving," "emotional," and "meaningful" it is to stroll the barren beaches of northern France where two hundred thousand men of a dozen states stained sand and dirt with each other's blood.

Starting right after Memorial Day, on the heels of yet another "let's heal the wounds of the Vietnam Era" ceremony in Washington, the media switched to the 40th anniversary of the Normandy invasion of June 6, 1944. Cover stories appeared in all the major news magazines. Daily spots on both morning and evening news shows grew to hour-long extravaganzas of the airwaves, the kind usually reserved for the athletic battlefields like Sarajevo or the ever-epic "Return of the Hostages." Clearly a top-level decision had been made to burn the "lesson of Normandy" into public consciousness, and especially bring it to that "new generation" which doesn't remember the movie, *The Longest Day*, let alone the event Eisenhower dubbed "The Great Crusade."

This week, that new generation got its chance to learn the official version of World War 2 in endless detail. Before fawning newsmen thousands of veterans were ferried from England, to land, once again, on the beaches where they fanned out into 43 separate parades and countless wreath-laying ceremonies held in the rural villages throughout northern France. Microphones hovered to catch every nostalgic anecdote, cameras focused in on every emotional tremor that creased their wrinkled cheeks. Young Rangers reenacted the scaling of the cliffs of Point-du-Hoc under the watchful eyes of the survivors of the original assault, who dutifully expounded on whether this "new generation" had the "right stuff."

By June 6 itself, a major exercise in political symbolism was reaching its manufactured climax. While D-Day itself certainly was not "the greatest military feat in history," as it is billed in U.S. mythology, this week of hype certainly constitutes a feat equal to the title given to it by *USA Today*: "History's most massive battle commemoration." This was far from just an election-year bone thrown by Reaganism to the VFW minions in the President's most loyal social base. Far more. And this became clear

when the culminating ceremonies themselves became an international event of the Western world, drawing two kings, two queens, two presidents and a Grand Duke to breathe life into the "memories of past valor." "King Olaf Meets GI Joe."

When ghosts and mummies of distant times are conjured up with such insistence, the political point is inevitably contemporary. The decision to give this "valor" an immediate urgency was even driven home by the truly bizarre decision of *Nightline* to report on D-Day as if it were happening today, as if the reports of this invasion were coming live via satellite!

Reagan himself drove home the point of the whole maneuver. Speaking to the Point-du-Hoc Rangers, as he commemorated a giant granite dagger perched on the edge of the European continent, Reagan emoted his way through the following lines:

"... you risked everything here. Why? Why did you do it? What impelled you to put aside the instinct for self-preservation and risk your lives to take these cliffs? ... We look at you, and somehow we know the answer ... The men of Normandy had faith that what they were doing was right ... faith that a just God would grant them mercy on this beachhead — or on the next. It was the deep knowledge, and pray God we have not lost it, that there is a profound, moral difference between the use of force for liberation and the use of force for conquest. They were here to liberate, not to conquer, and they did not doubt their cause. And they were right not to doubt."

Hovering above all the hype, like the rubber Wonder Dog of New York's Thanksgiving Day parade, is the inflated myth of "The Liberating American Warrior," newly taken out of mothballs and refurbished. From countless sides, those who watched this modern extravaganza were offered this image of the scruffy American GI, leading armies of allies, swapping nylons for nookie as he fights his way across continents, overthrowing tyranny, and bringing the world the gift of freedom, American-style.

It has been a resurrection of the crudest American jingoism, the kind that lay severely wounded after Vietnam, a war which, as *Time* said, "had many Americans believing that the evil resided in themselves." Vietnam is to be forgotten, its dead remembered as "those who did their duty in a trying, confusing time." And World War 2 is to be refurbished in all its glory as a war when men could truly fight, kill, die, and even "nuke" and never "doubt their cause."

The world today is to be cast again in the colors of Holy War. As proof, God himself has appeared in an American uniform, not once but twice in Reagan's Point-du-Hoc speech: "God was an ally in this great cause. ... General Matthew Ridgeway lay in his cot, listening in the darkness for the promise God made to Joshua: 'I will not fail thee nor forsake thee.'"

D-Day

On June 6, 1944 two massive imperialist armies opened hostilities in a contest over who was going to hold the continent of Europe; it was in itself only a concentration of the overarching contest which was to determine which powers were going to dominate those sections of the globe that remained capitalist after the dust of world war had settled. There was no glory there; just imperialist slaughter. While Eisenhower fretted at a distance, attended by his servants (whom he called "darkies"), an invasion of

150,000 fresh Allied troops landed on the beaches of France in one day, superior in arms and reserves to the German armies that met them. Within weeks, a million Allied forces were poised or operating in the invasion.

This was a battle in a style in which American commanders really feel comfortable. The vast resources of a winning imperialist power, the U.S., could be mobilized against an enemy mauled for years by the Red Army to the east. The Germans had about 70,000 troops waiting on the cliffs above the Normandy beaches, with perhaps 500,000 in all of France. But Germany was at that time so absorbed in trying to stem the Soviet advance that neither sufficient arms nor top-flight troops could be spared for the anticipated Western invasion. The Axis troops that met Overlord were largely middle-aged conscripts, young boys, and press-ganged Eastern Europeans. Only 160 German planes contested the air, so that the Axis lacked even reconnaissance flights to monitor the developing invasion. By contrast, 2,000 German planes flew on the eastern front.

For the Allies, then, the only real question was how many corpses would litter the beaches before Allied troops overwhelmed the German pillbox fortifications. Two divisions of Allied paratroopers were coldly sent to their deaths behind German lines to attack from the rear. On the beaches themselves, for the GIs it was simply a question of get out and run, leaping over corpses in the panicked rush for cover.

It is this cynical episode which *Army* magazine calls "a celebration of the human spirit," one in which the imperialists find such a useful symbol. As *Time* gushes, "The experience of Normandy, bloody as it was, has a kind of moral freshness for the American imagination, a quality of collective heroic virtue for which the nation may be wistful. *Liberation* meant something very wonderful and literal then. And there were things that seemed worth dying for without question." It's the last great battle which everyone "feels good about."

If the imperialists want to seek the symbol of their glory in the pink foam of Omaha — we should let them. It is a good picture of the meat-grinder their system regularly offers the masses of people. But please, let's hear no more talk about "liberators." It should not be necessary to say, but "liberation" had nothing to do with either side of that beach. If the Second World War, and D-Day within that, still bears a lingering (and obviously useful) aura of "America's just war," it is in large part due to the fact that *the Allies won*. Victories (especially easy victories like the one the U.S. in particular maneuvered itself into) present the victors with limitless opportunity to paint their crusades in saintly white, and to portray those foes dispersed and banished by history as evil incarnate. (It must also be said that all of "the political tradition of

the left" has contributed tremendously to the whitewash.)*

Carving Up the Map

In fact, the "American ideals" of Normandy can be found in the cold and reactionary goals of empire. In June 1944, having turned the tide in the Pacific, the U.S. focused its attention on picking up the pieces in Europe. The question after Stalingrad was not whether Germany was to be defeated but how — and more importantly, determining the configuration of the postwar balance of power in the world. Legend has it that throughout the Allied summit conferences fixing the plans for Operation Overlord (the D-Day invasion), Roosevelt constantly sketched maps of Germany, toying with ways it might be divided up among the victors.

Specifically, three goals motivated U.S. imperialism in the D-Day invasion. The first, to decisively defeat the Axis coalition, to make sure the U.S. was in on the kill of this major obstacle to America's global ambitions. Second, to carry out that victory in a way that would cinch for America control of the postwar world order, which meant principally being in a position to swallow most of Great Britain's empire. And third, as a crucial part of all the above, to make sure that as much of the world as possible remained capitalist — i.e., by meeting the Russians as far to the east as possible, and by neutralizing all the potentially revolutionary forces that had gained political strength and arms in many "disturbed areas."

"What We Are Today"

It was precisely these goals, and no others, that motivated the D-Day invasion, set its timing and gave it form. The

Continued on page 10

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



Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Released In 22 Languages Worldwide On May 1st, 1984

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

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Ghouls On The Beach

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United States pointedly postponed the opening of the second front, busying itself with beating back the Japanese in the Pacific — and in the process securing itself access to the former British and French dominions there — while England lay pinned down by bombers or scrapping in the backwaters of North Africa. It totally suited American interests to allow their “other ally,” the socialist Soviet Union, to take the Wehrmacht’s heaviest blows on the chest and shed Soviet blood battering the German forces into retreat. Mao Tsetung summed up this strategy as “sitting on the mountain top and watching the tigers fight” — and, despite all the American mythology about D-Day being the death-blow to Nazism, it was really a calculated decision to “come down off that mountain” in the European theater and take first place in that valley where survivors were going to pick among the spoils of war.

The class content of the so-called “liberation of France” revealed itself this past week at the Normandy ceremonies themselves. As French President Mitterand intoned his blessings on the fighters of ’44, saying “We owe them what we are today,” he looked out over the French troops standing at attention before him — still tanned from their recent action in Chad and Lebanon. The “Liberation of France” was nothing other than the ripping of that country out of the wartime sphere of German imperialism, and integrating it, with its imperialist relations utterly intact, within the framework of the “American Century.” No sooner had this “liberated France” gained its feet than it sent its troops back to Algeria and Indochina to wage a decade of vicious counterrevolutionary colonial war. One French man related a relevant story on American TV this week. He remembered, as a boy in France, coming upon the first American GI he had ever met; the GI handed him an American dollar bill, saying, “Take this, son, it’ll buy you a loaf of bread anywhere in the world.”

Today, for anyone in Western imper-

alist countries to insist that there was some qualitative difference between the Axis troops and the imperialist Allied troops which soon replaced them (not only in Western Europe, but in the Philippines, Malaya, Korea, Indochina, etc., etc.) is to promote exactly that worship of modern imperialist bourgeois democracy intoned this week on the beaches of Normandy, for the next “Great Crusade” against the designated evil empire of the 1980s.

For the organizers of last week’s waterfront pep rally, of course, there was a minor problem in making the details of ’44 jibe with the geopolitical realities of today. After all, in 1944 the Soviet Union was an ally and the Germans were the fiends — whereas today it is the Russians who are evil conquerors and the West Germans who are firmly on the side of Freedom and genuine Liberation.

But such problems are easy enough to remedy, especially for a propaganda machine prepared to show death-squad chieftains, Israel, and South Africa as part of its “free world.” The simplest rule of all applies: anyone on their side is for “democracy and freedom” by definition, and anyone who is not is a villain.

So a few arrangements needed to be made.

First of all the Russians were simply not invited. It would have been totally contrary to the spirit of the Great Crusade against Totalitarianism to have Soviets there as allies. Then again, the Soviets surely didn’t mind, for reasons of their own.

More of a problem was presented by the question of inviting the West Germans. To have them there would have been to cast a pacifist pale over the whole proceedings; it would have become a mourning of the dead of both sides, an orgy of reconciliation, and a symbolic plea to avoid such gruesome slaughter in the future. And that, after all, was not the point! The point was to celebrate the honed fighting edge of ruthless military men, to savor the taste of blood. And for that purpose, German representatives

simply could not be present; West German Chancellor Kohl was pointedly dis-invited.

But the contradiction was handled with delicacy to allow the West Germans nonetheless to feel themselves part of the new Holy Crusade. *The Longest Day* played on German TV so Robert Mitchum could get the “new generation” into the appropriate mood. Mitterand announced that there would be a French-German lovefest later, at the site of the Verdun battle, to bury the hatchet from World War I. There were announcements of a joint French-German project to build an antitank helicopter, and even more significantly, to study the idea of launching joint military observation satellites where West German technology would forge the space-eyes of the French nuclear force.

Meanwhile, on the ground of Normandy, the Germans were incorporated into the ceremonies in ways that were played down in the U.S. media, but not in the West German. Reports are that the area literally “teemed” with German veterans, and that in many Normandy hotels more German was being spoken than English. Countless ceremonies were held in which American and German veterans laid wreaths at the graves of their former enemies — and there was even a major flap over a French mayor who gave an official welcome to a delegation headed by some former SS death-battalion general. Clearly the old song was right: “...for the Germans now too have God on their side.”

Why Now?

The obviously calculated decision to create an entire week-long circus around “D-Day Plus 40” stands as a sign of what time it is. Such a celebration was inconceivable on the 25th anniversary. Not only was the U.S. then neck-deep in Vietnam, but the question of world war was simply not on the agenda in the same way.

On the thirtieth anniversary, such a ceremony was similarly not timely, and

Americans of 1974 were too busy jumping from Vietnamese rooftops into waiting helicopters to wax eloquent about heroism and military valor.

But *D-Day Plus 40* is exactly what the times call for in 1984. Here we honor a classic Allied effort, appropriately spearheaded by an indispensable American superpower. What a fitting way to remind the youth of Europe that “everything we are today” is owed to Americans, and that “everything we are” tomorrow depends on the victory of our present coalition with the Americans! As Pierre Salinger chanted from his post in France: “I truly hope the whole youth of Europe are watching.”

In the final analysis, this reinvasion of Normandy by the living dead of 1984 highlights the profound difficulty the imperialists now have in gathering the kind of national unity and collective bloodlust they claimed in 1944. As *Time* magazine sighed: “Never again, it may be, would war seem so unimpeachably right... Never again, perhaps, would American power and morality so perfectly coincide.... Today the questions always seem to overshadow the commitment.”

Nothing brings this home more sharply than the difficulty facing imperialists when they seek to glorify their actions since June 6, 1944. We would like to invite them to prepare 40th anniversary celebrations in Hiroshima, Japan in 1985, and gather the heads of NATO to honor the valor and human will of their nuclear bombers!

Everything old and rotten, everything corrupt and philistine, every illusion and lie from the past must be dredged up by them to steel the masses of 1984 for the plans the imperialists have for this decade, when it will not be “sitting on the mountain to watch the tigers fight,” but U.S. imperialism throwing it all on the line and being on the frontlines from the outset. Yet, the fact that the imperialists have nothing more to offer on the eve of a new world war than nostalgic re-creations of the last one is a fitting concentration of exactly what their system has to offer. □



Famous Imperialist Liberators How The Allies "Freed" Italy

American tanks
roll into Rome,
1944.

Since discussion of the World War 2 "liberation of Europe" is so popular these days, it's appropriate to reprint the following article. The original appeared in RW No. 160 (June 18, 1982).

There is a story about Benito Mussolini which bears repeating. After the Axis invasion of North Africa in WW 2, German and Italian troops under Rommel had driven on the British forces, capturing Tobruk in Libya and then threatening El Alamein in Egypt. Rommel's initial stunning successes gave rise to the expectation that the Axis armies would soon break through British defenses and race swiftly through the rest of Egypt to the capital. Flushed with success, Mussolini flew on a private plane to Libya and took with him a magnificent white stallion on which he planned to lead the Italian divisions as they marched into the city of Cairo (once the fighting was safely over). It was truly an inspired scheme — the fas-

cist Italian overlord, decked out in full military uniform riding atop a milk white steed at the head of the victorious troops as they made their triumphal entry to liberate the city from the British. Truly the epitome of an imperialist liberator.

But, much to the consternation of *Il Duce*, he never got the chance. The British held at Alam El Halfa and then pushed Rommel back, eventually driving him out of Africa completely with the help of the Americans. Mussolini packed up his stallion and flew back to Italy. Little did he suspect that within a little over a year he would be deposed, that his successor would sign an armistice with the Allies, and that the U.S. and Britain would march into Italy, bringing with them their own particular variety of imperialist liberation which included very little pretense of being knights in shining armor.

* * * * *

The Allies had never had any particular aversion to Mussolini-style fascism. As Churchill put it: "The alternative to his role might well have been a Communist Italy, which would have brought perils and misfortunes. Mussolini would have been welcomed by the Allies." But as Churchill pointed out, Mussolini's fatal mistake was that he had declared war on the wrong side. By 1943, Italy had been badly whipped on a number of fronts, not having the resources of the larger powers to maintain a protracted war effort. The discredited Mussolini regime was crumbling rapidly. (Italians had literally been lining up in the streets to join the Communist Party, the CP. One writer described, "hungry, often-armed

men who flocked to the banner of the party and the Communist-led Resistance.") In the spring, massive strikes by CP-led workers in Milan and Turin in the North shook the government and, shortly thereafter, the Italian ruling class, or at least its dominant section, decided it was time for Mussolini to go.

On July 25, the Fascist Grand Council, monarchists and the military leadership deposed Mussolini and arrested him (though he would later escape with German assistance and set up an ineffectual "Italian Social Republic" in an enclave in the north, protected by a special SS detachment). They installed another fascist, Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who soon sent secret emissaries to negotiate with the Allies. Badoglio's hope was that the Allies, who had already taken Sicily, would land on the mainland and save his government in Rome from both the Germans and the threat of the rapidly rising Left. When he learned this would not be immediately forthcoming he tried to call off the deal, but Gen. Dwight Eisenhower made it public, forcing him to flee the wrath of the now alerted German High Command to the southeastern tip of Italy. He would abandon most of Italy to the German army in the process.

The stage was set for the "liberation" of

the Italian mainland on Allied terms by the U.S. and Britain, both of which of course had a common purpose in defeating Germany (as well as in making sure that the fluid and volatile situation in war-ravaged Italy did not give rise to revolutionary upheavals). But they also had something else to contend with — each other. The U.S. and British imperialists each wanted to be the ones to incorporate Italy, itself an imperialist country, into their own respective political and economic world networks, not only for immediate advantage but, more importantly, from a more far-sighted perspective on how the post-war division of the world would take shape. As Eisenhower put it, the Italian operation would "inevitably establish precedents far-reaching in scope and importance and will set the pattern for later operations in Europe" — and he was not just referring to military tactics.

From the first Allied landings in Sicily, the U.S. and Britain had squabbled and maneuvered over who would gain the upper hand. When Churchill insisted that the U.S. recognize Britain as the "senior partner in the military administration of enemy-occupied territory in that area," Eisenhower cynically remarked that "For either government to assume primary responsibility could invite undesirable speculation with regard to imperialist intentions..." (!)

This ongoing conflict was also reflected in constant bickering over the composition of the largely ineffectual Italian government. The British, for various reasons, felt their interests were best served by dealing with Badoglio and the Italian figurehead, fascist sympathizer King Victor Emmanuel; the U.S. preferred someone less openly identified with fascism—having its own bourgeois

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How The Allies "Freed" Italy

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representatives it wanted to install—and was cultivating its influence among certain figures in the main Resistance group, the Committee for National Liberation (CLN — a coalition consisting of six different parties ranging from constitutional monarchists, liberals, radicals and Socialists to the Italian CP), which initially refused to have anything to do with Badoglio.

For the time being the U.S. agreed to the "British formula" and resolved the Badoglio question by suddenly discovering that he, along with the King, were not fascists after all. In the fall of 1943, Badoglio signed an armistice with the Allies and they invaded southern Italy with relatively little trouble. Naples was quickly occupied in October after a four-day popular uprising led by the Resistance had already devastated the Germans. The Allied Military Government of the Occupied Territories (AMGOT) was set up to exercise absolute control over all areas of "liberated Italy."

The Yanks, et. al., Arrive

Since World War 2, there has been virtually no limit to the manufacture of U.S. fairytales about how the teary-eyed Italian masses welcomed their liberators with open arms, how the arriving GIs passed out food and candy bars, how smiling Italian kids crowded around in anticipation asking, "You got gum, Joe?", etc. And who does not recall the multitude of Hollywood extravaganzas replete with touching scenes of earnest, good-hearted American soldiers thoroughly charmed by their adoring Italian sweethearts?

In fact, the "liberation" of Italy was one of the most sordid affairs in the annals of imperialism. As one observer in Naples noted: "People stood in their doorways, faces the color of pumice, to wave mechanically to the victors, the apathetic Fascist salute of last week having been converted to the apathetic V-sign of today, but on the whole the civilian mood seemed one of stunned indifference." If people had suffered under the previous rule, it would now be worse.

For one thing, the already hungry civilian population of Naples would now face the prospect of starvation under the Allied military government. People lined up daily for anything that could be tackled by the human digestive system — chickens' heads, intestines, the hooves of animals. In the fields, thousands of women and children scavenged for miles along the roadsides for edible plants.

The whole population would be driven to the lowest forms of degradation in order to survive. One British officer arriving in the city noticed a municipal building with a line of Allied soldiers crowding in the door, each holding a tin of C-rations: "I followed them and found myself in a vast room crowded with jostling soldiery... Here a row of ladies sat at intervals of about a yard with their backs to the wall. These women were dressed in their street clothes, and had the ordinary well-washed respectable shopping and gossiping faces of working-class housewives. By the side of each woman stood a small pile of tins, and it soon became clear that it was possible to make love to any one of them in this very public place by adding another tin to the pile. The women kept absolutely still, they said nothing, and their faces were as empty of expression as graven images... The boldest of the soldiers pushed themselves, tins in hand, to the front..."

Within a few months of the Allies arrival, over 40,000 Neapolitan women, nearly one-third of the female population, had been forced into prostitution. And, in addition to this "unofficial" rape, there was of course no dearth of outright rape and pillage by Allied troops.

As far as just plain looting was concerned, one observer pointed out: "The officers in this war have shown themselves to be much abler at this sort of thing than the other ranks." British officers and American OSS agents upon arriving in Naples went through the city cleaning out the more sumptuous apartments, crating up the valuables to be sent back to England on navy ships. One Canadian officer was known for his habit of carrying a whip with which he flogged people out of his way as he strolled through village streets in search of booty.

With the Allies arrival in Naples there also arrived a VD epidemic which was introduced mainly by the American troops and soon assumed massive proportions, visiting untold suffering upon the civilian population (and at the same time causing whole Allied divisions to be withdrawn from action for "medical reasons"). The official Allied propaganda naturally had the nerve to claim that this was all a German plot — truly the height of imperialist hypocrisy since an Allied intelligence unit known as A-Force had conceived a plan to arrange for the spread of venereal infection across the lines into Rome and the rest of the German-occupied north. As one British intelligence officer related, in Jan., 1944 a number of Neapolitan prostitutes were rounded up and twenty who were suffering from an exceptionally virulent and virtually ineradicable form of syphilis were selected for infiltration behind enemy lines. However, this particular plan collapsed when the women refused to go and their pimps bribed some officials in the Allied command.

Indeed, the wholesale corruption and profiteering by the Allied Military government, aided by the top — and the bottom — of Italian society, proceeded on an enormous scale. Some 95% of the nation's meager food production was sold on the black market. Sixty-five percent of Naples' per capita income derived from transactions involving Allied military supplies and equipment which had been diverted by enterprising officers who raked in tremendous profits (something like one-third of all Allied army supplies that arrived in Naples ended up being openly sold on the streets).

Penicillin to treat venereal disease, for example, was in short supply in both civilian and army hospitals, but it could be had on the black market if one paid dearly. No one was surprised when the Papal Legate's car was found, embarrassingly, to be outfitted with stolen tires. Any attempts by the desperate population to interfere with such "normal" business channels was ruthlessly dealt with. One ingenious method for discouraging gangs of starving children from leaping on the back of supply lorries and pilfering goods consisted of the following: a guard with a bayonet was hidden under the tarpaulin in every truck and when a boy grabbed the tailgate to haul himself in, the waiting soldier would chop off his fingers.

Overseeing this cynical trade in human misery was a certain Colonel Charles Poletti, one of a horde of Italian-American officers stationed by the U.S. rulers in Italy — the better they hoped to win hearts and minds. His chief advisor was none other than Vito Genovese, reputed to be the prime mover behind the U.S. Mafia while its titular head, Lucky Luciano, was in jail. Genovese had come to Naples (where he was born) after the outbreak of the war to escape a murder indictment in the U.S., and had renewed his extensive criminal contacts. At first an intimate of Mussolini, with the Duce's fall, he abruptly transferred his allegiance and, in the words of one writer, "maneuvered himself into a position of unassailable power in the military government." Aside from controlling drugs (including the penicillin trade) and prostitution in the city, it was well known that Genovese also controlled the appointment of the new *sindacos* (mayors of surrounding towns placed in power by AMGOT to replace the old Fascist mayors) within a fifty mile radius. In the main, these appointees were members of the Camorra, a ruthless Mafia-type criminal syndicate that preyed unmercifully upon the population.

Letting a well-known gangster and fascists run their operations for them was not in the least inconsistent with Allied aims. (In Sicily, the OSS — later to become the CIA — had funded and armed the Mafia to fight the Germans.) The

basic premise of American occupational planning was to create an "anti-fascist" administration "while using the old framework of machinery and local government... so as to relieve the Commander-in-Chief of all trouble and anxiety as regards the civil population." "The machine cannot be broken up or Fascist influence eliminated in a day," AMGOT directed. In defense of this policy, the Allied Control Commission stated that "the bulk of officials were and had to be Fascists to earn their daily bread. The appointment of an efficient man nearly always means the appointment of a Fascist in some degree, with resulting criticism..." In a word the outraged citizens who presented denunciations of their former tormentors to AMGOT saw them thrown in the wastebasket. "Reliable" administrators were to be used to maintain "law and order" and head off any gains by the Left until the occupiers could consolidate things. As often as not, it was resistance fighters who were arrested and imprisoned while fascists were routinely interned, then let go and their property and land-holdings returned. CLN resistance fighters who had aided the Allied invasion were suppressed by AMGOT and prohibited from conducting political activities.

It was little wonder that the Allies were widely hated by the Italian masses as indicated by the following exchange in a Naples courtroom where a man was hypocritically being tried by AMGOT for being in possession of some articles of military clothing:

Judge: Didn't he just say something about the Americans?

Interpreter: He said: "When the Germans were here we ate once a day. Now that the Americans have come we eat once a week."

Judge: Ask him if it means nothing to him that we have freed him and his kind from Fascism. How can he talk about us and the Germans in the same breath?

Interpreter: (after the man made an obscene gesture to the judge) With respect, your honour, he says, Americans or Germans, it's all the same to him. We've been screwed by both of them.

Anzio and After

In January 1944 the U.S. and the British landed massively at Anzio south of Rome in hopes of quickly extending their liberating activities northward. What followed was one of the most bloody and prolonged battles of the war as the Allies took six months to move the 35 miles to Rome. In just the last three weeks of the campaign over 82,000 soldiers were killed. Learning from the example of German air raids on Coventry and Rotterdam, the Allied advance was proceeded by what has been described as "an appalling and indiscriminate bombing" of everything in its path in which untold thousands of Italian civilians were massacred from the air in undefended and unoccupied areas. The survivors rushed through the streets searching vainly for lost relatives and children. Italian forced-labor crews sent out by the Germans to repair the damaged roads were dive-bombed and slaughtered by American planes. In the battle for the nearly impregnable monastery at Montecassino, which was being used as a German observation post, whole Italian villages were wiped out — one witness related that in one town, the rats that fed on the corpses of its former inhabitants became too fat to swim.

This horror was accompanied by the continued backstabbing among the British and American generals over whose army would get to enter Rome first and thus be in the best position to dictate future developments. Allied strategy had envisioned trapping the whole German army at Cassino in a pincer movement between the British Eighth Army, commanded by Sir Harold Alexander, and the American Fifth Army, commanded by Gen. Mark Clark. However, at the last moment, Clark, who was determined to enter Rome ahead of the British, reneged on this agreement and turned his forces away from the trap and moved toward the capital allowing the Germans to escape. As one German historian noted: "A miracle had to happen to prevent the Allies closing the sack into which most of our divisions in Italy would be thrown. General Clark provided that miracle..." Outraged, Gen. Alexander con-

tacted Clark and demanded that he wait and allow British forces to participate in the capture of Rome. Clark replied that if Alexander (his superior) gave him such an order he would refuse to obey it and furthermore that he would have his troops fire on the Eighth Army if they tried to interfere. Reportedly, Alexander did not press the point.

As U.S. troops finally approached the outskirts of Rome, there was still, however, considerable worry that the masses might seize the opportunity to stage a general insurrection. This danger existed despite the leading political line of the Italian CP, which opposed revolutionary struggle. Upon his return from exile in the Soviet Union, CP leader Togliatti entered a united front with Badoglio and used the CP's influence within the resistance to swing most of the CLN over to the same position.

Allied leaflets were dropped over the city calling on all citizens to safeguard public services, telephone offices, railways, etc. and to remove any obstructions from the streets to allow free passage for the troops entering the city. Togliatti himself sent an urgent message instructing all party members not to attempt independent action and to aid the Allied entry. Thus, it was not too surprising that the outcome was *la mancata Insurrezione* — the insurrection that never was.

Yet, as the U.S. soldiers entered the city they were nonetheless greeted by armed Italians, many of them wearing red shirts and waving revolutionary banners, and quite a few having set up their own local administrations. The Allied armies pushed them aside, threatening them with firing squads, and arrested and imprisoned many. All partisans were ordered to place themselves under the occupation authority and to turn in their arms. (Later, in territory still held by the Germans, the Allies began manipulating the quantity of arms dropped to various units of the resistance still fighting the Germans. In a treacherous move, Gen. Alexander broadcast a public message to the resistance urging them to restrict operations, and tipped the Germans that they were free to hunt down certain units and leaders without fear of Allied reprisal. Eventually, through a series of such pressures and manipulations, the CLN agreed to hand over all power to the Allied military government upon its arrival in the north.)

By this time it was already becoming apparent that the U.S. rulers had gained the upper hand politically over the British. Badoglio was quickly deposed and a new government run by CLN head Ivanoe Bonomi — a pro-U.S. Labour Democrat — was installed. (Togliatti and friends gained several ministry posts in this government, although a few years later the CP would be unceremoniously dumped.) Similarly, Britain would prove unable to compete with the U.S.'s greater economic power. Eventually the U.S. would begin shipping civilian relief supplies to the devastated country to initiate the process of integrating it into the Western imperialist bloc over which it had assumed the position of imperialist kingpin.

Yes, Rome had finally been plucked from the hands of the Germans who, on Hitler's orders, had withdrawn. Now the population would reap the democratic blessings of Allied imperialist liberation as behind the victorious armies moved another army of starving prostitutes, black marketeers, and military entrepreneurs, picking its way through the demolished villages and corpse-laden highways that all led to Rome. And now also, as in Naples, the burgeoning spectre of hunger, degradation and disease would share in the occupation of the Eternal City under the tutelage of AMGOT and its advisor/godfather Vito Genovese, who also arrived shortly thereafter. As one reporter remarked, after viewing the U.S. troops' triumphant entry into the city: "On this historic day, I feel like vomiting." □

Vietnam Vet Writes

On Unknown Soldiers and Other Memories

To the RW,

Lately, particularly on Memorial Day, we have been bombarded with numerous calls to welcome the Vietnam vet home once and for all. Reagan tells us to put off the debate of lessons learned to a later date and give our boys the parade they so justly deserve.

Well, first of all, I've been home since 1971 and secondly the fucking debate is over.

The Vietnam War was a war of genocide and which, at the cost of 2-1/2 million lives, the people of Southeast Asia fought against the best-equipped army this planet had ever seen and drove us into the sea: *End of debate*. And the fact that the Vietnamese people don't have today what they so heroically fought for will never take away the significance of that tremendous victory.

The rulers of this country would desperately like to have their tinselled parades and tear-filled ceremonies cover up the fact that many of us upon returning from Vietnam joined with millions in this country and around the world in parades (demonstrations) in opposition to the war.

They would have those people who came to the correct conclusions that the Vietnam War was an act of imperialist aggression, that U.S. troops were fighting on the wrong side of a revolution, people who took actions to sabotage the war effort and supported the Vietnamese people, apologize to us vets because you didn't greet us at the airport with hugs and kisses. In fact, many of these people allegedly spit on us. To this I say bullshit. Maybe those fools who came back pounding their

chests and bragging about how many ears they cut off did catch some shit. And well deserved! But I can say that the only times I've ever been spit at have been by flag-sucking patriots that could not handle the truth they were hearing about the policies of their beloved country.

By the early '70s the U.S. military was in total shambles. Whole companies were refusing to fight, more officers were being hit by friendly fire than by the enemy, and the rumors of sighting white and Black (Salt and Pepper) teams fighting with the NVA were more than a few. This was the Vietnam I will not forget.

At a demonstration in 1971, over a thousand of us proclaimed our hatred for the system that had sent us to war by hurling our medals of plunder at the steps of the Capitol Building. A brother at that action said, "We don't want to fight anymore but if we do it will be to take those steps." And though for the majority of vets the struggle ended with the end of the war, a number of us have dedicated our lives to overthrowing imperialism.

But one thing is clear. In the '60s and early '70s, to be a Vietnam vet was for tens of thousands to be opposed to the war. That is a history I am proud to be part of and there's no way in hell the rulers in this country and the patriotic fools that they've given the political stage at this time are going to rewrite it.

The U.S. has never gone to war without the stamp of approval of the veterans of the previous war. And as they prepare for World War 3 the rulers in this country are desperate for ours.

And though I know that many of the vets that have been caught up in this hoopla are not stone reactionaries consciously pounding the war drums, they must come to understand that that's the role they're playing.

I do not claim to speak for every Vietnam veteran but I do know I speak for thousands when I say I *will not* let those fools that are proud of their role in 'Nam speak for me.

As I watched the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, it only brought back sharper to me the thousands of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians that were bulldozed into unmarked graves in Southeast Asia.

Yes, I have friends that died in 'Nam, one in my arms. But I will not let a black wall with 55,000 names on it let me forget or justify the genocide I participated in for 10 months of my life as a terrorist in the name of American freedom and democracy.

Today as the imperialists of this country square off with their rival imperialists in the Soviet Union, those veterans who haven't forgotten lessons learned in blood must step forward and expose this homecoming bullshit for what it is. We must join today with the millions around the world that are taking action against preparations for World War 3.

The experience we gained is valuable and can only help to hasten the struggle of the oppressed worldwide.

TO HELL WITH THEIR NATIONAL HONOR. WE WON'T BE USED AGAIN.

A member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) (Anti-Imperialist) Seattle Chapter

Persian Gulf

Continued from page 1

ceivable angle over the past few years. That world war is coming is taken for granted; how to win is their question. When and how far does "our" side go? How far do we let the "other" side go before we slap back? What is the relationship between the use of conventional and nuclear forces? Under what conditions should the nuclear forces be used? Not *if* they should be used, but *when* and *how*. These are the questions that concern the strategic thinkers. Naturally, the role of aggressor is filled, at least for the public, by the other bloc. U.S. specialists continually talk about a Soviet thrust from the north, filling a "power vacuum" in Iran, and then moving to hit the Gulf in general. And the Soviets have the thing reversed, with the U.S. moving in to fill the vacuum, and confronting the Soviets real close to home. And they all talk about "horizontal escalation": taking out an ally of the opposing side not immediately involved in the direct conflict. There are, of course, differences in opposing strategies and scenarios, based on the particular strengths and weaknesses. The Gulf, as the U.S. likes to point out, is a NATO chokepoint and "key to the alliance." But it's also a long way from the U.S., thus creating difficulties in waging conventional war, and perhaps adding pressure to "go nuclear" should the need arise. The Soviets, on the other hand, are right there and can easily field troops, but they're also *right there*, one thin border away from Iran and vulnerable to U.S. provocations.

But this is hardly mere "theory." For one thing, it is already "Doctrine." Everybody has a "Doctrine." The Carter Doctrine (named after the former president and established after the fall of the Shah of Iran), held that "any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States" and "will be repelled by the use of any means necessary, including military force." In response to this, the Soviets

declared that any U.S. military movement into Iran would trigger a Soviet response in kind. In other words, the region is red-lined: "Cross the line... and the whole thing goes."

But if it isn't simply "theory," neither is it simply "Doctrine." There have been concrete preparations. The Soviets have several divisions in Afghanistan — suppressing Moslem insurgents, practicing for future "military work," and generally reminding the U.S. that they're around — and several divisions hovering in their border regions, and who knows what else. Similarly, the U.S. has kept busy. It has initiated the Rapid Deployment Force (now called the Central Command), which draws on a potential force of some 300,000 troops for action in the Gulf. It has dramatically beefed up its naval presence in the area. And, it continues to turn Saudi Arabia into a future military base: already there are nearly 1,000 uniformed U.S. military personnel there and well over 10,000 American technicians, engineers, supervisory people, etc., are involved in military construction and maintenance projects. Some of the airfields under construction will be capable of handling B-52s — the U.S. strategic nuclear bomber.

Now is all this here for a reason, or what? There may well be some more open U.S. military moves into the Gulf to "protect Gulf shipping" — you know, America the "Peace Keeper." But the bigger question here is: Since when does it take a B-52 to defend oil tankers?

Tensions

Set in this context, and closely entwined with it, is the bloody Iran-Iraq war, for which the imperialist powers have unanimously declared themselves "innocent." In fact, they have actively fueled this war from the beginning (the U.S. originally encouraging Iraq to attack Iran), and since then, despite various "tilts" toward Iraq, both blocs have been actively aiding both sides to different degrees. (See RW No. 254, the "Myth of Neutrality.")

But the war's lengthy stalemate drew to a close: it began to escalate and appears to be heading toward a juncture. It is hard to imagine *any* possible outcome which would not signal significant shifts in the regional power balance as well as a general sharpening of the contradictions. Due to severe all-around stresses, the Iraqis desire a conclusion to the war. To this end, they have tried to "internationalize" the war through provocative attacks on Gulf ships. The hope is to draw in more active imperialist support, to pressure and/or slap Iran to "its senses." And indeed, the West has already made clear that it will not tolerate an Iraqi defeat. The Soviets seem to think the same way, but with East and West angling over and inside Iraq, it's not hard to see the highly momentary nature of the "momentary interests," as the press called it, between the U.S. and Soviet Union here. Plenty of room for a "power vacuum" in any event.

But Iraq is also provoking Iran directly — 300 were killed in a vicious air raid over an Iranian town last week and now the Iraqis are threatening to blow up Kharg Island, Iran's main oil export facility. None of this is sitting well with the Iranian regime which may yet launch its long-awaited offensive. But here, and with the war in general, Khomeini has got a "tiger by the tail." There are certain pressures compelling further prosecution of the war. For one thing, if the stated goal of the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime and the demand of billions of dollars of war reparations is not made good, then how can the war be justified? Also, the war continues to rally some sections of the people around the regime.

On the other hand, within Iran there are heavy pressures militating against the war. There are thousands of desertions from the front. There are fissures within the country and within the ruling party, and there is opposition to the regime (in Kurdistan and elsewhere). Any outcome of the war could thus antagonize things, and meanwhile both the U.S. and the

Soviets are maneuvering inside Iran to push things in a direction favorable to the one or the other. There is obvious scope for a "power vacuum" here, too.

In other words, the regional contradictions are such that the U.S. and Soviets could easily, and rapidly, come head to head. The Gulf knot is drawing tighter. For several years, the blocs have been positioning themselves throughout the region, angling and jockeying for advantage, each utilizing the different Gulf crises to push a little farther, harder — to back up and regroup if necessary, and then push again. In the present crisis, the U.S. has pushed for direct and open military basing in Saudi Arabia and stepped up its overall military presence in the area. The Soviets are both waiting and watching, but also very recently invited a high-level Iranian delegation for "talks," while simultaneously sending another shipment of missiles to Iraq.

The motion *now* may not be gradual. It does not appear at the moment that either the U.S. or Soviet bloc is consciously and deliberately moving for an immediate showdown, but tensions are such that specific Gulf crises could spark much more than further positioning along the former continuum. A direct clash could result, even against the immediate desires of the imperialists. They may be compelled by their class interests to act.

With its Gulf scenarios in particular, the U.S. toys with the notion of "crisis management." War games are played: a team in one room, representing the National Security Council, responds to a Soviet invasion of Iran directed by a team in the other room, representing the Soviet leadership. Through a series of tough and shrewd military and political moves, the "National Security Council" cools out the immediate problem, thus averting general war. On the gameboard, both teams have agreed in advance that the "crisis" will be "managed."

In the Gulf, however, the "teams" are not likely to prove so cooperative. □

Blockade At Rock Island

Continued from page 3

Cities peace activists linked up with some members of the Chicago-based Disarm Now Action Group to plan the blockade of the Arsenal. And these rumors were not confined to the Quad Cities but were spread throughout the Midwest, both among activists and religious pacifist forces debating whether or not to support the blockade.

Here it is often difficult to distinguish where the rumormongering efforts of revisionist and other opportunist "organizers" and "peace activists" end and the direct role of the authorities and their police agents begins, since the two mesh so nicely. In at least one instance the Rock Island Police Department telephoned a community organizer with the "suggestion" that he denounce the blockade as an invitation to violence. He refused.

The *Quad City Times* had done its bit as well. After condemning the possible "violence" of the blockade, the editor beckoned pacifists to rejoin the comfortable fold of the loyal opposition with the proposal that plans for the blockade be substituted with a march to the National Cemetery on Arsenal Island to honor the war dead!

While the *Times* worked to channel the activity into a respectable and, above all, American protest, the revisionist Quad Cities Peace Council tried to squelch the blockade from a different angle. "Our position is we think the problem lies in Washington, D.C. and its elected officials. We should be pressuring to change their policies.... We think Washington is the more accurate focus (than the blockade)," intoned spokesman Kent Wilson. "One of our primary focuses of work is the elections. We want to see Reagan removed from office and in order for there to be any movement toward peace, Reagan has to go; that's absolutely the first step." The Peace Council denounced the blockade.

There is more to these efforts to "distance" the radicals and revolutionaries from the pacifists than the immediate tactical objective of splitting the coalition of forces that united around the blockade, although that is not unimportant. "Distancing" has a longer-term, strategic importance of channeling the middle forces in society into the bounds of a loyal opposition that, in the final analysis, will do nothing to mount a real challenge to the existing social compact.

From our investigation, all the rumormongering did have an impact in intimidating some from supporting the blockade. In the face of all this, that some of the more advanced pacifist forces in particular did not fall for the "distancing" tactics is to their credit. (The authorities themselves also played a role in alienating these middle forces when, in the weeks leading up to June 4, they not only arrested but publicly manhandled a group of Catholic Worker House supporters who had been permitted to pray for peace on land adjoining the Arsenal for the last five years.)

So it was significant that on a grassy highway roadside with a wishing well, located near the Government Bridge in Davenport, 35 people gathered Monday morning for a 6 a.m. prayer service in solidarity with the blockade. The service was initiated only days earlier by two ministers from the well-to-do suburb of Bettendorf who, in the midst of the controversy over the blockade, stepped forward to support it.

The action began very early Monday morning, June 4. The word was that the Arsenal had told its employees to come early to avoid "obstruction." It didn't really turn out to be true, nor were any special buses in sight. But there were some cars, and groups of nonviolent protestors began lying down in the street blocking them and getting busted.

At the other bridges it looked quite a bit different. While riot-equipped cops massed at the Rock Island bridgehead, two blocks away a group of youthful, spikey-haired punks from Wisconsin employed hit-and-run tactics to blockade with a banner inscribed: "War is

Peace/Freedom is Slavery/Ignorance is Strength/Reagan-Bush 1984." Standing on the sidelines were a group of Catholic priests, more punks, and an urbane looking gentleman in a silver suit holding a banner reading "Mennonite Brethren."

Also blockading at the same intersection with the punks was a group who sat down in the street with a banner reading "Salvadoran Children Can't Outrun the Guns of the Rock Island Arsenal." Among them was a well-groomed suburban woman outfitted in skirt and shoulder bag. "Are you with some group?" we called to her. "I'm with the world!" she smiled.

Mingling with this group and the punks were members of the Chicago Life Community, blockading with their banner "Bread Not Bombs." As soon as this last group was busted, a bus carrying Arsenal workers rounded the corner. Out jumped a one-man blockade who waved his arms, forcing the bus to a screeching halt. He then wedged himself under the wheel of the bus as he attempted to let the air out of the tire.

"Who did the corpses?" another reporter asked us.

We looked. At an intersection in Davenport, startled drivers were screeching to a halt to avoid mutilated effigies representing Salvadoran victims of death squads. (As far as we know, they were done by an all-women's affinity group from Chicago.)

At another point a circus-like scene blossomed forth on a streetcorner. Looking at their oversized buttons, we found that they represented Clowns for Social Responsibility. Their ridicule, we should add, was directed at the authorities.

One man dressed himself in a shredded American flag, and poured a red, blood-looking liquid all over himself before lying down in the street to get arrested (forcing the cops to come up "bloody" in order to carry him away). This was the only American flag we saw during the day's activities.

Numbers of people were attracted to the stunning forty-foot banner held by party supporters, inscribed with a globe and the slogan, "A World Without Imperialism, Not an Imperialist World War." Some joined in chanting this slogan also. A priest surveyed the enormous banner as it moved into the street. "Magnificent," he said.

The outrage against U.S. intervention in Central America was extremely widespread. This was true of a great many of the groups from colleges and cities, and also had its expression locally. Dozens of Catholics from Mexico and Central America came to both the Davenport and the Rock Island bridges as supporters. The day before the blockade 300 Mexican-Americans had met at St. Mary's Church in Moline to discuss the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter from last year. Although the blockade was not a topic on the agenda, the question came

up in the discussion. It was decided that those who were American citizens should attend. Many who didn't have their papers also wanted to attend but they decided not to because the risk of deportation was too great. Many of these people had been affected a great deal by contact they had with people from El Salvador and Guatemala.

My partner hooked up with an affinity group of youth from a small, Midwestern college town, who chose a local campus as a "base area." They were into guerrilla-like tactics. They would come down from the campus to block various roads in the area with road construction barricades and garbage bags and then disperse in several directions to regroup somewhere back in the wooded hills of the campus. After a while, army and police helicopters were flying over the area trying to locate the source of the disruptions. Campus security and a police patrol car roamed around, but the affinity group eluded them, ducking through the trees, running through the brush, and then striking from the campus

with another barricade on another artery leading to the bridge. Later they joined supporters at one of the legal bridge demonstrations. No one had been arrested.

These students had been involved for some time in leafleting and calling rallies against U.S. intervention in Central America. Yet they expressed a certain amount of frustration at the level of the movement. "Sometimes I feel overwhelmed," one member of the affinity group said. "You try to take on the U.S. on one front, and they intervene in several other places in the world. Now they're threatening destruction of the entire earth...."

By the time it ended, one hundred and ten people were arrested, all on misdemeanors. The thirty-five held in Moline were treated a bit more strictly, probably because many of the groups doing "mobile tactics" had been at that bridge. As of Thursday, June 7, two were still being held in Rock Island, as they were refusing any sort of cooperation with authorities.

Ultimatum From The CIA

from page 4

with the Honduras-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). While the U.S. spy agency has been funneling some money, weapons, etc., through certain forces in ARDE to Pastora's operation, the U.S. agency is much more directly in control of the FDN. Its political and military leadership are all long-time compradors, including several former officers in Somoza's infamous National Guard, and its fighters are mercenaries recruited by the CIA from all over Latin America; the FDN carries out those actions — and *only* those actions — that the CIA directs. Pastora, a former hero of the revolution who split with the ruling Sandinistas two years after Somoza's fall, represents a section of this Nicaraguan bourgeoisie that has sharp contradictions with the *Somocistas*; he and his followers are also fearful of direct U.S. military intervention, which might make their position untenable, and have been looking for support not only from the U.S. but from Western Europe as well. As opposed to the FDN, which is widely recognized in Nicaragua as an incarnation of U.S. imperialism, Pastora still has a following, particularly among sections of the rural and urban middle classes, and has refused to merge with the FDN unless the *Somocista* elements are purged from its leadership. But the U.S. is not about to dump its most loyal and controllable puppets, especially as military activity assumes greater and greater importance in U.S. plans.

According to ARDE officials, the CIA gave the group an "ultimatum" on May 1. It had 30 days to arrive at an agreement with the FDN or the CIA would cut off all funds for ARDE's *Contra* operations.

Some ARDE leaders, headed up by pro-U.S. comprador and former junta member Alfonso Robelo, agreed to the merger, but Pastora, Brooklyn Rivera (the leader of a faction of Miskito Indians), and several other political figures refused to go along. Pastora's press conference, taking place the day the CIA ultimatum ran out, was called to announce his continued refusal to join with the FDN. He was interrupted by the explosion.

U.S. intelligence agency reports notwithstanding, the sentiment in Latin America quickly pointed to the CIA as the culprit — and Pastora, after initially blaming the Sandinistas, seemed to agree. This led to a hilarious round of mocked shock on the part of U.S. officials — joined this time by certain underlings. For example, the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica said, "The CIA doesn't do this kind of thing." The same day, an FDN spokesman said, "We've never resorted to that type of action." Of course not. People who carry out sneak attacks on farms and villages, mine harbors, blow up oil storage tanks, roads and bridges, torture and murder anyone suspected of opposing them (just like in the good ol' days when they existed to protect and to serve Somoza and his U.S. superiors) would never resort to an assassination attempt on a rival. And the CIA would never harm a flea.

As we go to press, a suspect has been uncovered in this case. It seems that there was a man at the press conference who traveled with a stolen Danish passport, spoke very poor Danish, identified himself as a photographer from a nonexistent news agency in Paris and was seen immediately after the explosion hiding in an area where the detonator of the bomb was later found. According to a Swedish TV correspondent who was on the scene, the suspect was in a hurry to get to the airport so he could catch a plane to Miami. Ah yes, Miami — known far and wide as the headquarters for Basque hit-men. □

Good Neighbor Policy

Continued from page 5

the imperialist blocs lined up for World War 2, the Good Neighbor Policy played an important part in facilitating U.S. efforts to tighten up its hemisphere. In countries where imperialists from the opposing bloc had gained some political influence, such as Argentina, the U.S. "assisted" resistance against the political influence of its rivals. In Brazil the U.S. helped thwart efforts by pro-German forces to infiltrate the pro-U.S. Vargas regime—a crucial part of this process included first attempting to make Brazil safe from the threat of revolution by backing Vargas in the arrest and torture of thousands and the killing of hundreds of national liberation fighters, including many members of the Brazilian Communist Party. And later, under the Good Neighbor Policy the U.S. also pulled together the military defense of its hemisphere through joint defense pacts and the establishment of new military bases throughout the region.

The U.S. also engineered a number of reciprocal trade agreements in Latin America—most of which were aimed at helping the U.S. increase its export of capital to Latin America and resulted in the intensification of the distortion of the economies and the intensification of the exploitation of the people in these countries. Interestingly enough, one such imperialist institution of economic "aid" born under the Good Neighbor Policy still functions today—the Export-Import Bank. The economic aspects of the Good Neighbor Policy were also quite helpful to the U.S. after World War 2 when it instituted the Clayton Act, which called for "free trade, free investment and free enterprise" in Latin America and was used to establish the U.S. as the undisputed imperialist power in the region and further intensify U.S. domination and oppression.

Certainly Jesse Jackson knows what the Good Neighbor Policy was and what it meant when it was implemented in Latin America. In part, his advocacy of the Good Neighbor Policy is a reflection of his own overall pro-U.S. imperialist outlook. This outlook is evident in a number of Jackson's stated positions on Central America. For instance, since Jackson recently announced that he will travel to Cuba and Nicaragua, it is worth noting that Jackson favors negotiating with these governments since he sees it as the best way to undercut Soviet influence and bring them under the sway of U.S. imperialism. In relation to Nicaragua, it is also quite revealing that Jackson has claimed credit for "pressuring" the Reagan administration into "reversing itself" and sending Secretary of State Shultz on a brief visit to Nicaragua. Jackson has even called this visit "a step in the right direction" even though the purpose of Shultz's visit was clearly nothing more than laying down the law to

the Sandinista regime.

But Jackson's advocacy of the Good Neighbor Policy is also a function of his political role and position. Jackson is the only presidential candidate who is admittedly not running for president in order to actually win the presidential nomination. Given this, it's also a fact that his program in foreign policy, or anything else, is not a serious contender for influence and implementation within the ranks of the ruling class. In this position Jackson has quite a bit of freedom that the other candidates do not have to raise various issues and demands that appear to be in opposition to those held by the big imperialist political spokesmen and representatives. Of course, there are certain limitations. If Jackson were really advocating a radical dismantling of imperialist relations, he would certainly not have been nominated "president of Black America" by the U.S. media; nor does his class position and aspirations for a bourgeois brokerage incline him to do this. But exactly because of his position, Jackson can raise a number of demagogic demands for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Central America and the dismantling of U.S. bases in Honduras, while neither Hart nor Mondale can. In this way Jackson can be put forward as the oppositional pole in the debate over U.S. foreign policy. In this light, however, it is interesting in terms of just what kind of oppositional pole Jackson represents, that while he criticizes his Democratic Party colleagues for their position on Central America, nonetheless this same Democratic Party is the party to which he has pledged his loyalties. It is also quite interesting that even though Jackson puts forward such proposals as the thoroughly reactionary, pro-imperialist Good Neighbor Policy as his model policy, neither Hart nor Mondale will follow suit. This reflects the fact that the Good Neighbor Policy was a product of the situation the U.S. imperialists faced in 1933. Today, the Good Neighbor Policy is both reactionary and unsuited for the situation the U.S. is confronted with in Latin America and throughout the rest of the world. The key to explaining Jackson's advocacy of the Good Neighbor Policy lies in the fact that he is not just attempting to represent and rally the opposition, but to forge a *loyal* opposition. Thus, the terms of the debate have to be clearly kept within the confines of how best to serve and defend the needs and "national interests" of U.S. imperialism and the reactionary, pro-U.S. imperialist character both of what Jackson himself says and his advocacy of the "Good Neighbor Policy" do this very well indeed.

But anyone who claims that these politics and terms of this debate have anything to do with the interests of the oppressed people of the world is either a fool or a scoundrel. □

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



by Carl Dix

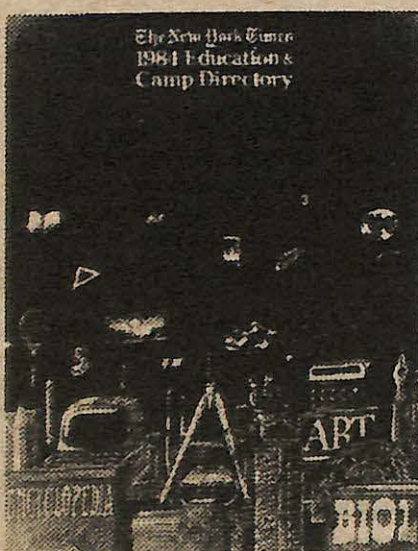
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Perhaps the Times is just doing its liberal duty to overcome the disproportionate number of rabid dogs in the U.S. military's officer corps. You know the ones—they're always striving to emulate the unofficial Green Beret motto: "If you kill for money you're a mercenary. If you kill for pleasure you're a sadist. If you kill for both you're a Green Beret." After all, that doesn't sound too cultured, to say nothing of freedom loving, does it? Perhaps urging the affluent and oh-so-enlightened liberal readers of the Times to prepare their children for lives of well-disciplined imperial conquest will both keep their kids out of trouble and especially will be "good for the Nation Uber Alles!" □

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