



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Meet The "Goodwill" Ambassador For U.S. Imperialism

Jesse Jackson is off, again, and running, again, for U.S. imperialism. On June 23, he left for a tour of Central America which included stops in Panama, El Salvador, Cuba and Nicaragua. And, again, Jackson boosters are singing praises.

As the story goes, or as the incantation is written, the Central American junket vividly demonstrates the dramatic difference between Jackson on the one hand and mainstream politics and politicians on the other. More, the trip allegedly bolsters Jackson's credentials as a "man of peace." With this in mind, let us review a few of the highlights of Jackson's effort to extend the rainbow into hitherto unknown horizons and, while we're at it, discover whose gold and whose pot lies at the end thereof. (The Nicaragua leg of Jackson's tour occurs at press time and will be discussed next week.)

First of all, the notion that Jackson's tour was an "independent fact-finding mission" and a self-motivated "fervent appeal for peace" in opposition to the war mongering Reagan administration needs to be blown out of the water completely. From the very beginning, Jackson made sure that the entire affair was very closely coordinated with the State Department — that is, George Shultz — and the rest of the Reagan administration. Before leaving the U.S., Jackson was briefed twice by the State Department on U.S. policy in Central America. And, Jackson has declared that following his return to the U.S. he wants to meet with Reagan and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in order to share his newly gained insights into the region.

In Panama, the first stop, Jackson displayed his "innate identification" with the oppressed people of the world by making a high-profile visit to the grave of General Omar Torrijos. Torrijos was a U.S. puppet with an "anti-imperialist" image who ran Panama until his death in 1981. Under Torrijos in Panama, the U.S. government provided military training to the Salvadoran army; the Shah of Iran found sanctuary when no one else would have him after his overthrow; 14 U.S. military bases and 10,000 U.S. troops were maintained; and control by the U.S. of the Panama Canal into the 21st century was sealed. Now there's Jesse Jackson's brand of anti-imperialism!

But Jackson did more in Panama than heap hosannas on an erstwhile U.S. butcher. He also carried America's message to the Salvadoran left, meeting with representatives of the FDR and FMLN. Stressing the need to take a "risk for peace" and the importance of "negotiation over confrontation," Jackson said these organizations should "break the cycle of pain" and negotiate an end to the civil war in El Salvador.

On the face of it, calling for negotiations hardly separates Jackson from mainstream American politics, since



Jackson and Duarte at a press conference after their meeting.

plenty of politicians were calling for the very same thing long before Jackson became "presidential." But more, it is established U.S. policy — restated by Duarte — that there will be no negotiations unless... the guerrillas lay down their arms! Jackson certainly tried to appear even-handed — healing the wounds, etc., etc. — but Jackson certainly did not oppose this one "minor" condition. Even the newshounds found the logic

dubious. At a press conference, Jackson was asked: If the antigovernment groups journeyed to San Salvador to negotiate, wouldn't they face arrest and death? If the left laid down its arms, wouldn't that leave all the guns in the hands of Duarte, thus assuring a major government offensive? "Risks," responded Jackson,

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Democracy

And The Prince Of Darkness



El Salvador's Prince of Darkness, Robert D'Aubuisson, has been tripping through the bright lights of Washington, D.C. lately, while his mentors are offering up two different public reactions to his visit. On the one hand, D'Aubuisson had a 45-minute meeting with the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Langhorne A. Motley and another 90-minute get-together with a dozen U.S. senators. It was also reported by the *New York Times* during D'Aubuisson's visit that the Salvadoran death-squader had gotten a "warm personal letter" from President Reagan after D'Aubuisson lost the election to José Napoleón Duarte. All this nicey-nicey stuff was described as part of a major effort by U.S. officials to convince D'Aubuisson of the proper role of a loyal opposition and to get him to participate in El Salvador's U.S.-style democracy — undoubtedly a really difficult task considering who created "Major Bob" in the first place.

On the other hand, D'Aubuisson's visit provided the opportunity for a broad array of U.S. politicians to huff and puff and take offense that such a violent type would be hob-nobbing with the gentle souls that rule the U.S. This reaction was best represented by the large majority of senators who refused to meet with D'Aubuisson — the same U.S. Senate that has poured hundreds of millions of dollars, training and weaponry into El Salvador's armed forces (including, by the way, the death squads), Nicaragua's *Contras*, the fortification of Honduras and on and on. But both those that patted D'Aubuisson on the head and those that register mock outrage have the right to express their opinions; after all, this is a democracy.

It has been quite well documented that D'Aubuisson, representing one section of the Salvadoran comprador bourgeoisie, is directly involved in the operations of some of El Salvador's death squads; U.S. intelligence "sources" (who are themselves active leaders and participants in the death squads and therefore ought to know) have accused D'Aubuisson of direct involvement in the assassination of Archbishop Romero, among a great many others. More recently, it has been reported in the U.S. press that D'Aubuisson and his top aides were involved in a clandestine plot to assassinate U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, and had begun monitoring the ambassador's movements in preparation for the action.

Considering that D'Aubuisson is a former President of the National Assembly and is recognized to have close ongoing ties to the Salvadoran armed forces, one could possibly expect to hear the U.S. official rumblings against "state-supported terrorism" and "hit teams" — after all, such comments have become quite popular lately. And why no

echo of Secretary of State Shultz's high-profile call for "preemptive strikes"? Ah, but this is most definitely not Libya, or any other country ruled by "mad men"; this is El Salvador, ruled by that bastion of sanity, U.S. imperialism.

In this case, the U.S. reportedly dispatched Reagan's special envoy, former CIA official General Vernon Walters, to have a little chat with D'Aubuisson and impress upon him that, despite his years of U.S. training and 20 years in the Salvadoran military, assassinations of this sort are inappropriate — that is, when U.S. ambassadors are the target. An ambassador, D'Aubuisson must realize, is not a *peasant*. Apparently, Walter's gentle sermon was sufficient to put a stop to the plan.

Now, it might seem strange that neither the U.S. nor the Salvadoran government have been able to stop the death-squad killings and torture of thousands of Salvadorans, despite all the massive efforts, as they have told us many times, that have been made in this direction. And yet, a simple visit from a U.S. envoy manages to put a stop to a planned death-squad attack. Why, one might get the impression that U.S. pledges to "improve human rights" in El Salvador contain a certain lack of sincerity. But it's probably just a coincidence that this one "excess" was able to be halted.

It is also striking that the reports of D'Aubuisson's involvement in the plot to assassinate Pickering follow closely on the reports of the CIA giving financial assistance to Duarte's election campaign in an effort to have a "U.S.-supported moderate" win the election, as opposed to a nasty "right-winger." It is well known that the democratic U.S. would never support a right-wing dictatorship — although it may be a little difficult for the average Salvadoran, who could compare Duarte's 1980-82 term on the junta with D'Aubuisson's 1982-84 term as president of the National Assembly, to tell the difference between right-wing dictatorship and U.S. moderation. Nevertheless, there has clearly been an effort here to create the appearance of "distance" between the U.S. government and D'Aubuisson — as if the two were at odds with each other. After all, the U.S. is committed to democracy, isn't it?

In fact, D'Aubuisson's visit has provided the perfect opportunity to prove it. The administration meets with him in order to "win him over" to democracy, while the senators (including the liberals, who only support good CIA interventions like in the Duarte campaign) register their mock horror because he isn't democratic enough for them. And both "sides" oh-so-democratically agree to "disagree." A fine example of the essence of U.S. imperialist democracy — one that is based on the D'Aubuissons and Duartes around the world. []

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Stop U.S. "Peacemaking" (WAR MONGERING) in the Persian Gulf! Oppose These Heightened Escalations Toward World War III! A World Without Imperialism, Not an Imperialist World War!

If you're looking for a place where World War III could break out, the Persian Gulf looms large as a candidate. The current crisis in this area is being played out amid intense international tensions, and in many ways, concentrates the whole explosive world situation. It is not for nothing that TV's *Nightline*, in the aftermath of "The Day After," featured "The Crisis Game" — a war game where the U.S. and the Soviet Union clashed directly in Iran.

This is a pre-world war period. The "equilibrium" of today's world is one in which decisive advance and strategic gain by either the U.S.- or Soviet-led bloc can hardly be tolerated by the other. Truce talk aside, it is hard to imagine ANY resolution to the Gulf crisis which would not significantly "disturb the equilibrium" for the imperialists. This is not a region that can return to "normal" because this is not a world that can return to "normal."

The U.S.'s long history of "peaceful non-intervention" is well known to the people of the world, including in Iran and Iraq. From the bloody bringing to power of the Shah of Iran, to the CIA-trained SAVAK (the Shah's secret police), to the instigation of Iraq's invasion of Iran, to the constant fueling of the current war between two butcher regimes at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives — all this and more has been done in the pursuit of imperialist domination and control of the Persian Gulf. Today, the U.S.'s "neutrality" and "peacekeeping" include directing Saudi Arabia as they fly U.S. planes armed with U.S. missiles and assisted by U.S.-manned AWACs to shoot down Iranian planes; the building of a Rapid Deployment Force capable of mobilizing 300,000 troops for action in the Gulf, and the turning of Saudi Arabia into a virtual NATO military base — complete with airfields for B-52's, the U.S. strategic nuclear bomber. As the U.S. has often pointed out, the Gulf is a NATO chokepoint and is "key to the alliance." The Soviets as well have been maneuvering for their own advantage in the Gulf (e.g.: supplying arms to Iraq, strengthening ties with sections of Iran's rulers, and of course the minor detail of troops amassed in Afghanistan).

Given all this, all the U.S. babble about "neutrality" and "senseless violence" only shows that they expect people in the U.S. to buy any excuse for a "just" World War III.

Times such as these starkly reveal that we cannot afford to leave the fate of the world's people in the hands of these mass murderers who every time they talk peace mean war and every time they talk ceasefire intensify preparations for a global conflict. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is actively working for what we see as the only realistic solution to prevent World War — revolution, here and in other parts of the world. At the same time, we believe it is incumbent on all those who oppose U.S. aggression and the escalation towards World War III to join together in figuring out the ways to oppose this madness as well as to support revolutionary initiatives taken by the masses worldwide.

The stakes are high indeed. With the situation in the Gulf rapidly reaching a juncture, this critical flashpoint cannot be ignored but demands to be understood: U.S. "peacemaking" (WARMONGERING) must be aggressively exposed, and imperialist war preparations, boldly opposed.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

For ongoing analysis of developments in this critical region — read the *Revolutionary Worker*, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

Above is the text of a leaflet now being distributed by the RCP, USA.

In RW No. 257 we published a report on the May First celebrations in Delhi, India, sent to us by Mass Line. The following report covers the phase of the May First activity before the demonstrators reached the venue — the Feroze Shah Kotla Ground; this report was sent to us by a correspondent for Jaikara newspaper.

MAY FIRST RED POLITICAL TRAINS TO DELHI

The evening of April 30, 1984 saw waves of gloriously fluttering red flags surging towards half a dozen railway stations in the state of Punjab. Hundreds of youth, both men and women, came in batches with revolutionary slogans renting the streets of this terror stricken state where ordinary people are feeling uneasy over the continued reactionary violence by fundamentalist Sikh fanatics and the state alike. This sudden and unusual scenario of red demonstrations on the eve of May First raised many eyebrows while some peoples made enquiries about the purpose of demonstrating a day before the May Day. As these young people thronged the railway stations they painted red the walls and the trains standing there with revolutionary slogans of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Bathinda, Ludhiana and Barnala junctions all hummed with revolutionary activities and the whole surroundings wore a festive look. Some more fiery youths climbed atop the engine at the Bathinda junction and hoisted the red flag of revolution over it and declared that that train to the capital was a red political train of the revolutionary proletariat. This incident stirred up the whole place and within a few moments many red flags started fluttering from many compartments of the train. All this was greeted by rest of the youth with thundering slogans:

Long Live Red 1st of May
Symbol of World Proletarian Revolution!
Build the Unity of the International Proletariat!
Hail the Formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

May First Red Political Trains To Delhi



Prevent World War! Step Up the
Struggle for Revolution Throughout
The World!

Red salutes to the blazing red flags were offered while a commotion started among the hundreds of onlookers.

At Ludhiana, the biggest industrial city of Punjab, when a contingent of about three hundred strong proletarian revolutionaries reached the railway station they were enthusiastically greeted by about

two hundred militant youths who blasted the surroundings with roaring felicitations and slogans.

As both of these trains moved on through the plains of Punjab political discussions around the formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces on the world scale as well as in India went on among various groups of comrades. While they heartily rejoiced

over the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement most of them advocated and supported the idea of a strong world organisation of communist forces as a leading center of world proletarian revolution.

At some places the commuters too got involved in the discussions. When a woman comrade explained to a young woman, who was travelling along with

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Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Released In 22 Languages Worldwide On May 1st, 1984

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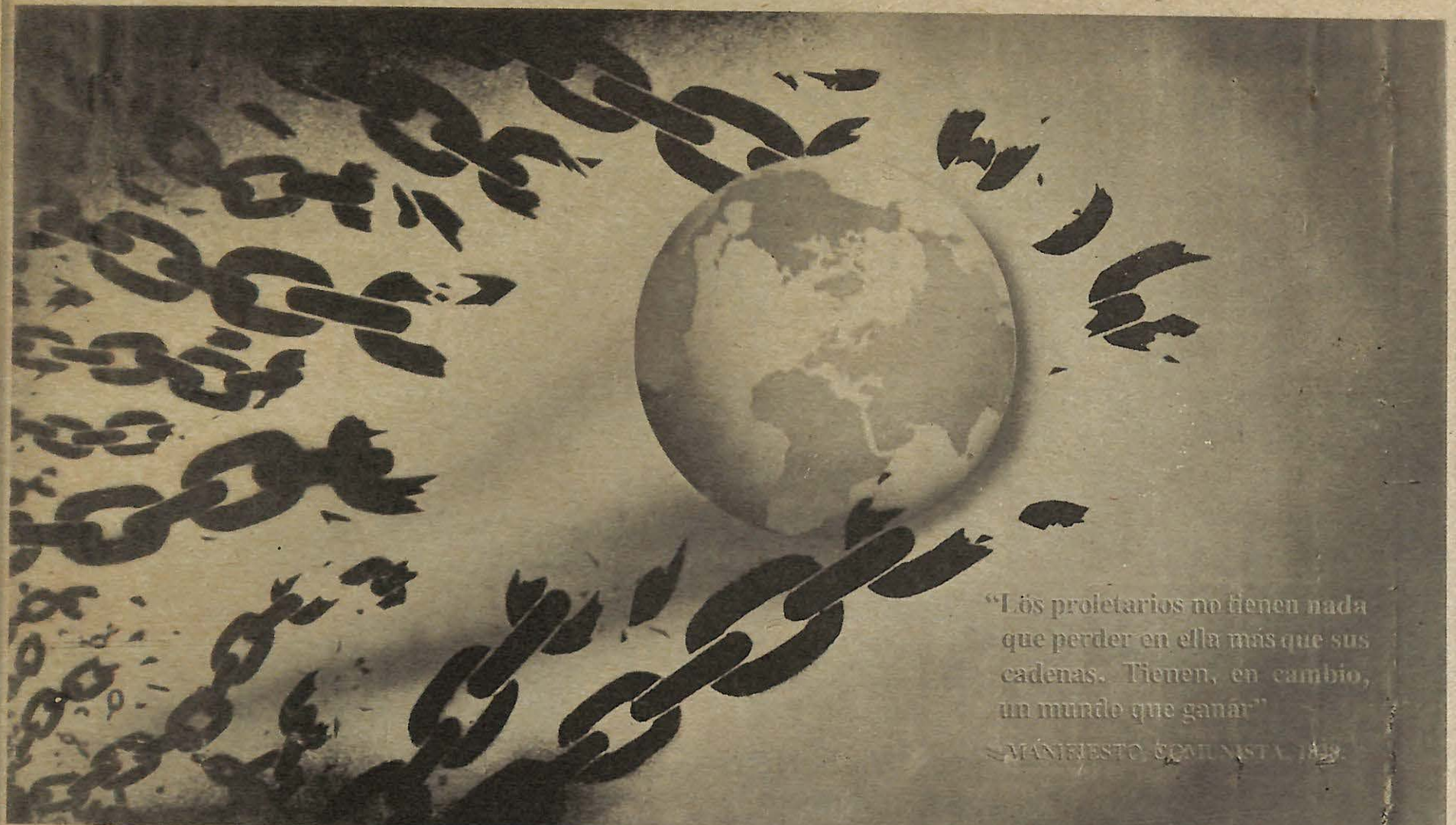
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"Los proletarios no tienen nada que perder en ella más que sus cadenas. Tienen, en cambio, un mundo que ganar"

MANIFIESTO COMUNISTA 1848

MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO INTERNACIONALISTA

PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU Mayo 84

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement Poster from Peru!

This poster — beautifully printed in full color — was recently received from Peru. This is yet another political blow to the reactionary regime in Peru, which has targeted the Communist Party of Peru as its number one enemy and to imperialism generally.

The poster (from top to bottom) reads: Proletarians of all countries unite!; "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." Communist Manifesto 1848; Revolutionary Internationalist Movement; Communist Party of Peru.

Letters of Support for Worldwide Fund Drive

The following are letters and statements in support of the worldwide fund drive called for by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

This call was issued by proletarians in Houston, Texas.

A Red Wages Day

This campaign, of a Red Wages Day, was inspired by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The importance of this campaign is to create one more way for the proletariat to collaborate, to

strengthen this movement and also to prepare the masses for revolution. Because what the world needs now is world revolution, principally guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This need for us to make the movement stronger is precisely because exactly in the situation which we face today where the two blocs, the two superimperialist powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are taking giant leaps toward the creation and preparation of a third world war, we are sure that with a revolutionary party, with the proletariat as its base, we will subdue the

imperialist system and achieve the building of a socialist system. This is why we call on all men, women, and all intermediate and advanced proletarians with socialist ideals to contribute with a Red Wages Day. And in that way help the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. What's more, it will be a great surprise for the reactionaries of the imperialist system to know that in the very heart of capitalism there are youth with Marxist principles that support in every way all struggles in favor of the international proletariat. We hope that with this salute of unification we can come into contact collaborating with the little bit of help that we can offer.

A group of communist Salvadorans

To the RW,

For almost 10 years I worked in factories in the Portland area trying to organize workers, to lead them in the day-to-day struggle so that someday that would lead to revolution in this country. I started doing that from an excitement and hope for the future, for revolution, for real fundamental change. I started working in factories back then off of being involved in the anti-war and liberation struggles of the '60s and '70s. I was drawn to Marxism-Leninism because I was looking for some answers, I wanted to see change, but fundamental change, not cosmetic dressing up of what is here, nor just a new set of oppressors with a different label. At the time the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was in full swing in China. There was an excitement there

of this incredible situation. A leader of a country, Mao, was supporting a revolution against his own party, his own government. The more I read about China and Mao, the more excited I got. I could see people all over that country were involved in the revolution, not just a handful; students, workers, scientists, actors, writers, and peasants in the most remote parts of the country.

That kind of change I wanted to be part of. So I started working at the factories, joining the working class. But there are no guarantees, just because you rejoin the working class, that you're going to obtain a Proletarian outlook on the world. After a period of 6 or 7 years of trying to lead the day-to-day struggles of the workers at the different plants, I became demoralized, and eventually tried to stop doing any political work.

Within the last year, thru discussions with the Revolutionary Communist Party, and reading the *Revolutionary Worker*, I have discovered that I was not alone in my demoralization. I initiated the discussions because even though I was not active politically, I couldn't escape what is going on in the world, I did not stop feeling the disgust for how my family had to live and millions of people have to live in this country and around the world under imperialism. Nor could I escape the growing fear at seeing the imperialists driving closer and closer to another World War.

For 2 or 3 years I have simply felt that I was just too weak, didn't have the "right stuff" to be involved in revolution. But the Party was saying that the same demoralization happened to people all over the country, and in fact around the world, and it had to do both with a political line and the situation in the world, i.e., the reactionary coup in China after Mao's death, the level of struggle around the world, and in this country,

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The participating organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement are:

Central Reorganisation Committee
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
Ceylon Communist Party
Communist Collective of Agit/Prop (Italy)
Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Mao Tsetung Regional Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)
Haitian International Revolutionary Group
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)
New Zealand Red Flag Group
Nottingham and Stockport Communist Groups (Britain)
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh)
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
Revolutionary Communist Party, India
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Revolutionary Communist Union (Dominican Republic)
Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

Elections and the Winds of War

RW:

Presidential election years have traditionally been the "silly season" for the U.S. left, and 1984 is certainly no exception. Perhaps the most striking feature of this quadrennial affliction is the deep-seated belief in bourgeois democracy which it reveals.

One example of this, which might be taken as brilliant satire if it were not sadly the case that the author intended it seriously, was the editorial in the February issue of *Monthly Review*. After quoting James Reston of the *New York Times* to the effect that Reagan only works three hours a day and doesn't read his briefing papers, MR comments:

"Stop a minute and think what this means. The president of the United States of America, the most powerful man in the world who by the very nature of the office he holds has his finger on the button that could blow up the world, is ignorant, incompetent, and cruel. For people everywhere this is an intolerable situation, and for Americans who love their country and yearn for it to play an honorable role in the world it is a source of frustration and shame.

"This, we submit, is enough to define the overriding issue in the 1984 elections. Ronald Reagan must go....

"The 1984 elections present the United States with an opportunity to start this return journey from the Reaganite functional equivalent of fascism to normal bourgeois democracy. (A situation similar in some respects existed in the second Nixon administration, with the major difference that Nixon blundered into his own downfall.)

"If from a left perspective all this is obvious, so also is the logical conclusion to which it points: the most effective anti-Reagan vote is a vote for the Democratic candidate whoever it may be....

"We will vote for whomever they put up in order to get rid of Reagan, but we only compromise our principles and injure our credibility if we espouse the cause of a particular Democratic candidate."

Given the fact that every crime of U.S. imperialism throughout the world has been carried out under "normal bourgeois democracy" (in the U.S. itself), it staggers the imagination to hear people, who at other times and places have styled themselves as Marxists, sing its patriotic praises. And not only its praises, but the belief that elections do in fact determine the course of development of imperialism, and can be used to alter its basic character.

In 1964, people went to the polls in massive numbers to vote for Lyndon Johnson lest the "madman" Goldwater get elected and send 600,000 troops to Vietnam or try to bomb that country back into the Stone Age. Considering the aftermath of that election, I think it is in-

cumbent on all those espousing electoral strategies to address the following question: Was the aftermath of that 1964 election contingent primarily on the devious character of Lyndon Johnson, or upon the necessities of imperialism faced with the global challenge of wars of national liberation? Posing the question that way is useful in considering our more recent experience with the Carter and Reagan administrations.

Since the days of Lyndon Johnson, the international situation has undergone a profound shift. The U.S. was soundly defeated in Vietnam, while globally the Soviet Union emerged at the head of a rival bloc in contention for world hegemony. In the early '70s the U.S. was forced to abandon much of the Bretton Woods financial arrangements imposed by the U.S. as the fruits of victory in the last interimperialist war. In 1974-75 came the steepest and most generalized recession of the postwar period, which the U.S. surmounted only through a massive expansion of credit and at the expense of

its allies. And neither the U.S.-led nor the Soviet-led blocs has since been able to regain the growth rates characteristic of the '60s. Crisis of the imperialist system, reflected in contention between the rival blocs, has become the dominant process on a global scale.

While the U.S. was able to cut its losses and get out of Vietnam and was able to retain its leadership of the Western bloc, domestically the ruling class was forced onto the political defensive for a period. The administration of Jimmy Carter (the humble peanut farmer from Georgia) provided the ruling class with a much-

needed reform image and a chance to regroup. But images aside, the situation internationally had in fact deteriorated for the U.S. The Soviet Union had attained parity with the U.S. in strategic weapons and under that umbrella had initiated a global strategy of military initiatives. Coming into office, Carter was presented with the two, now famous, analyses of Soviet intentions by "Team A" at the CIA and "Team B" of the more rightist national security analysts. In many ways these two reports concentrated a more general debate that was tak-

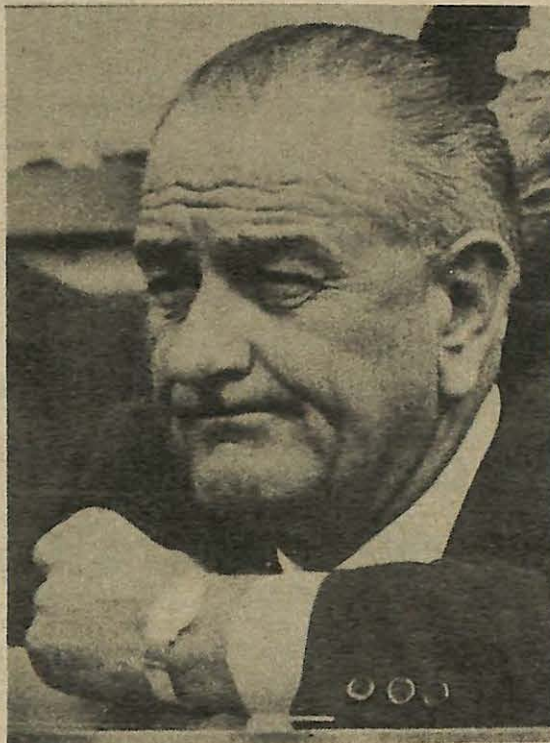
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Famous White House scenes that never happened...

and never will.



JFK: "Invade Cuba? No way! How could I, as a founder of the Peace Corps, ever be able to explain such an act?"



LBJ: "Rats! Why did I go and get elected as the peace candidate?... Now the Viet Cong are winning, and I can't send troops!"



CARTER: "Well, Fritz, we've got our mandate. Now we can finally slash that immoral Pentagon budget, just like we promised."

MONDALE: "Sure thing, Jimmy... I'll get on it first thing in the morning."

The Liberals Excuse The Cruise

On Wednesday, June 27, the U.S. Defense Department announced that it had deployed the first long-range nuclear cruise missiles on ships.

The deployment was one of the first stages of U.S. plans to field thousands of such deadly weapons in this decade. According to information assembled by antinuclear activists, a thousand of the strategic Navy cruise weapons, called *Tomahawk*, will be deployed on surface ships and submarines. Some shorter-range conventional *Tomahawks* are already aboard the battleship *New Jersey*. The Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCM), recently deployed in Europe, are essentially identical to the *Tomahawk* except that they are fired from a so-called transporter-erector-launcher land vehicle (TEL).

Cruise missiles, including the Navy's *Tomahawk* weapon and other versions, are an extremely accurate weapon and difficult to defend against. When they

approach enemy airspace, the missiles drop to treetop level, about 100 feet, and skim at this height to avoid enemy radars, further dropping to about fifty feet for a final dash to the target. They are said to be accurate to within 300 feet at a distance of 1500 miles. The U.S. plans to deploy them on land, sea, and air in such variety and numbers that, they hope, Soviet defenses would be swamped. Three thousand would be deployed on B-52G aircraft, for example.

The Pentagon announcement represented a perfect addition to the current military budget "debate" circus now occurring in Congress. Just at that moment, a Senate-House conference was busily ironing out some gripes about the cruise missile and its relation to arms control. It is said that, since nuclear-capable and conventional-warhead *Tomahawks* look exactly alike, and since they would be deployed on so many different craft and vehicles, it would be impossible to

verify which craft are carrying nuclear cruises and how many. Accounting of *Tomahawks* on submarines would, of course, be especially difficult.

None of this, however, has prevented Congress from approving money for the *Tomahawks* in the past, having approved the 1983 and 1984 fiscal year appropriations for the missile without so much as a cosmetic string attached. This year the House wanted to attach a rider banning deployment unless the President discovered a similar deployment by the Soviets. And my goodness, just by coincidence, Caspar Weinberger had announced in April that the Soviets probably would deploy a similar cruise weapon this year, designated SS-NX-21 by NATO. So the House and Senate wrangled in this way about whether to attach a meaningless rider to the bill, or pass the appropriation clean, as usual.

It was this bitter confrontation that was brought to a halt so cruelly by the ad-

ministration with the announcement that it had already deployed the *Tomahawk*, and cut the fuss.

"Bad judgment," complained Senator Durenberger of Minnesota.

But liberal Representative Les Aspin, who had last year led the fight for the freeze (as well as, almost in the same breath, an important phase of MX funding) was a bit more obliging.

"We knew they were going to deploy, but the assumption was that a few would not change things much. The number is important." Why, declared the Congressman, the Navy could always take 'em back.

Evidently, another awkward moment for the loyal opposition. But one has to have confidence in the Congressional liberals' ability to excuse, prettify, and contribute to almost any new addition to the war machine. We're sure they'll come up with something.

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill

Clampdown With
An Eye To
The Future

To paraphrase Mao Tse-tung: If our masters fart, are we supposed to call it a lovely perfume?

This is very apropos the "marathon debate" in the House of Representatives which culminated in the passage there of the omnibus Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill. Excuse us, the Immigration "Reform" Bill.

An editorial in the *New York Times*, June 17, greeted the bill by beckoning immigrants to "Freedom Day." Pictured are thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands of immigrants coming "out of the shadows" thanks to the Bill, to become... **LEGALS!**

Here, liberal imperialist logic at its hypocritical best: the ridiculous assumption that getting legal status from the U.S. government has anything to do with freedom and that such recognition by the state is in the interests of these proletarians who are otherwise "illegal." The proletariat, on the other hand, does not recognize the bourgeois category of "illegals" — we are all illegals — and wholeheartedly welcomes the immigrant proletarians here now and those many who are sure to come to this ugly metropole, by whatever means, in the future. And it is precisely the immediate future toward which this immigration legislation is aimed; it is designed to put the imperialists in a stronger position to advance their aims and contain revolutionary developments in the coming period of war and revolution across the globe.

One look at the actual provisions of this Bill proves what a big fat lie all this talk of "Freedom Day" really is.

According to the House version of the Bill, all immigrants *continuously residing* in the U.S. illegally since January 1, 1982, and who can prove it, will be eligible for temporary resident status. This is the so-called "amnesty" provision of the Bill.

"Eligible" means just that and nothing more. It remains to be seen how broadly this will be interpreted by the U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS). Needless to say, those millions of immigrants arriving later than the cutoff date, those who cannot prove continuous

residency and "those who would endanger the welfare, safety, or security of the United States" are explicitly *not* eligible. In addition, as the INS will have not only the names and addresses of those applying, but their work addresses, bank account numbers, and more, it is not unlikely that half or more of the technically eligible immigrants will themselves never apply for fear of getting turned down and then finding themselves sitting ducks in future INS pogroms. But the "amnesty" provisions of the Bill are not for show in the main; the government earnestly seeks millions of immigrants to come forward, identify themselves, and become permanently entered into its national computers.

Anyone idly engaging in self-deception by imagining that, "even with all its problems," the Bill is some kind of gift from Washington should seriously study Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

As if to emphasize this very point, the House last week amended their version of the Bill to require those immigrants granted temporary residency who later seek permanent residency (green cards) to achieve a "minimal understanding of ordinary English and a knowledge and understanding of the history and government of the United States." As one pompous politician put it: this will help to "dignify the precious gift" of permanent residency. Besides the naked American-Way chauvinism of the amendment, it's important to ask: a precious gift for whom? In fact, it is for those who sweat rivers over the "millions of aliens in this country who are unaccounted for and accountable to no one," as one official said. The granting of temporary residency is designed precisely to get many millions of immigrants *counted and accountable*. There should be no doubts about temporary residency; it is an extremely tenuous immigration status. When the House passed the requirement that those immigrants seeking to become permanent residents must learn to talk like Yankees when reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, it did so to make clear that only those who become *really* good Americans will even be considered for

eligibility in this more secure status. The foreign-born are to be inculcated to the max with American values and culture, made to bow and scrape every inch of the way, with the hope that a loyal, patriotic group might be created in their midst with deadly illusions of having a stake in the system. This is envisioned as creating a buffer group among the immigrants themselves, as well as helping to create a patriotic group among the immigrant proletarians who are considered a large pool of potential cannonfodder for the U.S.'s military machine.

It gets worse. The heart of the Bill, albeit somewhat concealed, is to establish one or another kind of identifying system nationally, very likely a national ID card. This is being done under cover of instituting "employer sanctions" against businesses "*knowingly*" hiring illegal aliens (in the form of fines). The plan is ostensibly to make it possible for prospective employers to verify the legality of workers they hire, both immigrants and the native-born. The current House version envisions 21 regional computers around the country accessible to employers through toll-free numbers. Despite Congressional subterfuge about particular ID proposals getting voted down in the House in the recent debate, no one should count on the final Bill going through without some kind of ID system. The ID card system is still central to the Senate's version of the Bill. Either the House-Senate subcommittee (which is now to draw up a "compromise" between the minor differences existing between the House and Senate versions of the Bill) will put the ID card proposal back in, or perhaps some other form of ID system aimed especially at the foreign-born (like the computer network mentioned earlier) will get the go-ahead. In addition, regardless of the Bill's final wording, the INS and other branches of government are in the process of developing and testing a multiplicity of registering and tracking systems, and will undoubtedly continue through the new Immigration Bill to refine those judged not effective in exercising control over immigrants.

The Dilemma

Clearly the government is faced with a monumental and growing dilemma, one which takes on all that much greater significance given developments in the world today. On the one hand, it sorely needs the immigrants who are here and further immigration. It requires millions of immigrants who are critical in many aspects of the U.S. economy, from agriculture to various industries, including at the bottom levels in a number of key industrial sectors like electronics. Furthermore, it cannot politically afford the consequences of closing off the "safety valve" of emigration from nations it dominates, like Mexico and most others in Central America, even if this could be accomplished physically. To shut off the immigration to the U.S. from these countries, and to further pressurize the conditions in them, would greatly, and perhaps catastrophically exacerbate the political and economic fabric in these countries, leading to potentially dangerous results for all ruling classes concerned.

On the other hand, these very immigrants driven from oppressed nations around the world, many having rich experience with and hatred for U.S. imperialism, act as a "time bomb," as one Congressman said recently, within the borders of the U.S. itself. As a large and rather disloyal (to America) section of the proletariat in the U.S., this is quite a dangerous "time bomb," and one the government is bound and determined to impress with its "powers of persuasion": clampdown, control and terror.

The Reagan Task Force on Immigration wrote two years ago that an "image of control" itself is all that is really sought with the employer sanctions. Not so with the ID system, cards, or whatever reactionary ID apparatus they institute. This system will be used to identify, classify, locate, segregate and intimidate millions of immigrants. It will also be used among the native-born to track down draft resisters and others. Revealed one in the know, "I assure you that there are police agencies throughout the United

Continued on page 13





RW/BR

Delivery of the keynote address at the Democratic Party National Convention is, the New York Times informs us, an "important symbolic role that traditionally sets the tone for the convention and the fall campaign." This year, New York Governor Cuomo will do the honors. Democratic Party archivists revealed that Cuomo is the "first New Yorker" charged with the solemn duty since 1916, when state-mate Martin Glynn gave the speech at the St. Louis Convention which renominated Woodrow Wilson.

The connection is more timely than trivial: like today, the U.S. was then in a prewar period. Wilson went on to win the presidency on the promise to keep the U.S. out of the First World War. Since the story remains a case study in bourgeois demagogery — and in fact exposes the practical imperialist underpinnings of this demagogery — we are reprinting an article from RW No. 158.

We don't know exactly how Cuomo plans to handle the important task assigned him. We do know, however, that Walter Mondale is no Woodrow Wilson — that is, that the scope and level of the rhetoric in the 1984 elections will be different than in 1916. It already is: promises of a Democrat-pacifist White House are not forthcoming. This also reveals imperialist underpinnings. In the world conflict that's shaping up, the U.S. cannot "sit on the mountain top and watch the tigers fight" as it did in World War I. This time, the U.S. is on the frontlines.

It was 1912: the European great powers were feverishly aligning themselves into military blocs headed up by Britain and Germany in preparation for the great conflagration which everyone sensed was soon to come. Across the Atlantic, the U.S. rulers were already plotting and debating the best way to navigate their own imperialist interests through the treacherous shoals of war that lay ahead. Relative newcomers to the imperialist banquet, their appetites had already been whetted by conquests in the Spanish-American war a decade earlier. But the unprecedented collision that was shaping up would obviously be something a bit more demanding than your run-of-the-mill colonial adventure, and, unlike today, the events in Europe were somewhat remote in terms of what had been traditionally considered areas of U.S. "concern."

In the U.S., it was the height of what has been dubbed by historians as the "Progressive Era." This was a period of "reforms" ostensibly aimed at some of the more blatant manifestations of the rule of monopoly capitalism but actually designed for precisely opposite purposes — i.e., the strengthening of the trusts and cartels. There were any number of demagogic politicians crowding the political arena who piously vowed to rid the country of the evils plaguing American life, to limit the awesome power of monopoly, to fight political corruption, etc. — capitalizing on these demands from the masses as well as widespread public disenchantment with the presidency of Taft, an old-guard, conservative Republican and former colonial governor of the Philippines. Something of the nature of this bourgeois political movement was indicated by the fact that the rabid jingoist, former president Teddy "the trust-buster" Roosevelt, who led the American annexation of Cuba, was considered to be a "progressive" and ran in the 1912 presidential elections on the Progressive Party ticket.

However, on the 42nd ballot, the Democrats had nominated a man with somewhat more believable progressive credentials — Woodrow Wilson — a man with a reputation as a social reformer and a pacifist image to boot. Promising to implement a nebulous "New Freedom," Wilson was swept into office in 1912.

In some ways, Wilson and his New Freedom resembled the machinations of certain well-heeled demagogues who inhabit the political landscape today (though direct analogies are not very useful here). From a respectable muckymuck family of the southern gentry, and weaned for the presidency as president of Princeton University and then Governor of New Jersey, Wilson often laced his rhetoric with appeals to the "common man" and visions of "capital and labor

THE SANCTIMONIOUS PIFFLE OF WOODROW WILSON

united." "I have always been a warm friend of the workingman," he often exclaimed in the process of championing certain reforms such as the extension of the eight-hour day and workmen's compensation. Wilson's first term, however, was notable for such "social reforms" as the creation of the first central banking system (the Federal Reserve), the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission, and a variety of other measures introduced to meet certain requirements of the giant monopolies in consolidating their grip on the national economy and extending their tentacles internationally.

Of course, the requirements of being a Democratic liberal or "progressive" were a bit less stringent in Wilson's time than they are today. The New Freedom, for example, did not encompass women — whom Wilson considered unfit to "mix in politics." Wilson at first refused to back the constitutional amendment giving women the vote (although it was later passed despite his efforts). And Wilson's New Freedom explicitly did not extend to Blacks. Even the most glowing bourgeois histories have to admit that "on the question of Negro rights — Wilson was distinctly reactionary," "Wilson was actively antipathetic to Negroes," etc. After instituting strict segregation in the federal government, Wilson wrote a friend: "I do approve of the segregation that is being attempted in several of the departments... it is distinctly to the advantage of the colored people themselves..." Indeed, Wilson — a rabid anglophile — almost blew his presidential nomination by reference in his book, *The History of the American People*, to "men of the meaner sort from the south of Europe" who were diluting the purity of American stock.

So, Wilson was a "reformist," but his career is marked not mainly by this. More significant was the fact that in his presidency was reflected the shifting necessities of U.S. imperialism as regards the "war to end all wars." When World War I broke out in Europe in August 1914, Wilson would confirm that the main reason he had been selected by the U.S. rulers at this particular juncture was his reputation as a "lover of peace" — an important requirement for a president whose job it would be to slicker up the nation for the leap, at the most opportune time, into unprecedented carnage. As one Wilson scholar aptly put it: "In the long list of American Chief Executives there is no one who was a more sincere pacifist than the one who led us into the war in April, 1917." Wilson's initial statement on American neutrality declared, "The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls," and he spoke of America as "the one great nation at peace." In his second address to Congress in December 1914, Wilson cooed: "We are at peace with the world... We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and concord."

Such championing of peace and concord from this "sincere pacifist" might have seemed a bit strange to those who remembered him when he had openly thrilled to the bloody march of the American flag across the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. Then he had called for Americans to "fling our own flag upon the seas again" and to follow the "Star of Empire." More recently, in 1907, he had declared that "our industries will burst their jackets" if not allow-

ed to expand and voiced the following pacifist belief: "Concessions obtained by financiers must be safeguarded by ministers of state, even if the sovereignty of unwilling nations be outraged in the process... the doors of the nations that are closed must be battered down."

Indeed for all his sugary talk of "coveting no possessions," etc., upon election Wilson wasted little time in demonstrating U.S. covetousness and its intentions of expanding its imperial network in its own hemisphere. In 1914 he sent U.S. Marines to invade Vera Cruz to protect considerable U.S. interests in Mexico. After some eight rebellions against U.S. domination had rocked Haiti in less than four years, Wilson sent the Marines to occupy the country, installed a puppet regime and then annexed the islands outright, making them a U.S. protectorate in 1915. U.S. Marines similarly invaded and occupied the Dominican Republic after revolution broke out in 1916, installing another tyrannical U.S.-backed dictatorship. The same year, Wilson sent the U.S. army under Pershing (later to be transferred to the European theatre) on a "punitive expedition" into Mexico to go after revolutionary forces under Pancho Villa. U.S. gunboats were simultaneously sent to Nicaragua to "keep the peace" and ensure that the proper pro-U.S. candidates were chosen in "free and democratic" elections. And the list went on.

Meanwhile in the first two years of Wilson's administration, steps had been taken to prepare the U.S. military for something more than interventions in the "American hemisphere," including the creation of what Wilson humbly called "incomparably the most adequate Navy in the world." Though Wilson made a hypocritical public showing of being opposed to increased military appropriations, declaring that he did not want to "turn America into a military camp," he in fact embarked on what was dubbed by the Secretary of Navy as "the largest (military) construction program in times of peace ever authorized by any country in the history of the world." For example, the new naval arms-building alone consisted of 10 new battleships, 6 battlecruisers, 10 scout-cruisers, 50 destroyers, 15 fleet submarines, 85 coast submarines and assorted other gunboats, hospital ships, ammo supply vessels, etc.

Yet by 1915 Wilson was still playing the purveyor of peace *par excellence*. Merchant ships, including some American ones, were being sunk by German U-boats; American lives were being lost — and any one of a long list of such incidents could have provided a ready im-with both feet. But around this time Wilson declared: "The example of Wilson declared: 'The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.' Though certain sections of the U.S. rulers pressing for immediate war with Germany showered him with abuse and he was vilified in certain quarters for "lack of backbone," Wilson's tack actually represented a more far-sighted consensus that had been arrived at. The real dynamic here was more like "too smart to fight" — at least for the time being. The U.S. had consciously decided to pursue a "mountain top" strategy — i.e., waiting for the warring European powers to wear themselves down.

For the time being, it suited the U.S. rulers quite well to sit back and gorge themselves on the benefits of U.S.

"neutrality" which at first included trade with Germany as well as the allies. As the war dragged on and France and Britain grew weaker, the U.S. imperialists began to float out huge loans (a total of some \$9 billion by the end of the war) which were then spent on purchase of munitions, steel and other supplies from the U.S. — greatly juicing up the U.S.'s economy and its own ability to prepare for war. There was little question that the U.S. imperialists' sympathies and political and economic interests lay with eventual intervention to tip the balance on the side of the bloc headed by Britain. But the terms for this, aside from being at minimal cost to the U.S., were intended to be as onerous as possible for America's "friends" as well as her enemies. Wilson later intimated to Congress, "When the war is over we can force them (France and Britain) to our way of thinking, because by that time they will among other things, be financially in our hands."

Along with this there was also the question of the support of the citizenry at home for the projected war effort. Anti-war sentiment was quite widespread and this would be borne out even after the U.S.'s entry into the war as there would be no less than 330,000 draft evaders, 65,000 conscientious objectors and thousands would march and rebel against U.S. participation in the war, organized largely by Eugene Debs' followers in the fragmented Socialist Party and the Wobblies (the IWW). Right after his "too proud to fight" speech, Wilson indicated his understanding of this problem, privately telling one advisor: "When we move against Germany we must be certain that the whole country not only moves with us but is willing to go forward to the end with enthusiasm." Besides meeting the larger requirements of U.S. strategy, pressing ahead under the banner of "neutrality and peace" would, if not generating enthusiasm for the war, at least lay the best basis for claiming that "all avenues for peace have been exhausted," etc. Meanwhile, it was not the least bit inconsistent that Wilson's ruling class "critics" were sponsoring Preparedness Parades, openly pushing the U.S. arms build-up and whipping up pro-war sentiment.

All things considered, then, it was not surprising that Wilson's campaign for reelection in 1916 was calculatedly built on a foundation of even more heightened talk of peace. Given the necessities of the situation, in the smoke-filled rooms at the Democratic convention Wilson's campaign slogan — "Preparedness" — was changed at the last minute to one far more suited to the tasks at hand: "He Kept Us Out Of War." Wilson's first Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, promptly addressed the convention with religious fervor: "Blessed are the peacemakers... I join with the American people in thanking God that we have a President who does not want the nation plunged into this war." Of Wilson's peace policy, the Democratic chairman Martin Glynn declared a bit more prophetically: "This policy may not satisfy those who revel in destruction... This policy *does* satisfy the mothers of the land, at whose hearth and fireside no jingoist war has placed an empty chair... It *does* satisfy the fathers of this land and the sons of this land who will fight for our flag, and die for our flag." On the strength of the promise to keep the U.S. out of the war, Wilson was re-elected over Hughes in a squeaker in November 1916.

A few months later, however, the spectre that the U.S. rulers had been preparing for, and which had been so conscious-



Wilson campaign bandwagon features different aspects of "progressive" demagoguery.

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SOME ONE MUST VACATE

THERE ISN'T ROOM HERE FOR US BOTH!



Pacifists Start Nation-Wide Drive to Hamper U. S. in War

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London Seized With Hope of Sudden Peace

America Has Launched an Offensive Without Striking a Blow

Wilson Speech Changes Entire War Outlook

Germany Now Expected to Quit "Cold"—Austrian Ruler Eager for End

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Senate 82 to 6 for War; House To Act To-day

There Were Speeches

By C. W. Gilbert

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ly cloaked in Wilson's sonorous phrasings about America's "peaceful intentions," reared its gruesome head. After the February Revolution in Russia it was becoming clear that the Russian ruling classes could not be depended on to reliably prosecute the war against Germany and the collapse of the Eastern front was feared to be imminent. The war on the European front had exacted a ghastly toll on both sides who still lunged inconclusively at each other from the death-filled trenches. Mutinies were breaking out in the French army. In short, these and a host of other factors taken into consideration, it was time for peaceful America to do the dog with the bespectacled Wilson foaming at the mouth and performing a transformation worthy of Dr. Jekyll/Mr. Hyde.

The sheep's clothing quickly fell by the wayside as Wilson asked for a declaration of war on Germany and received it on April 6, 1917. Now he bellowed that "American ships have been sunk! American lives taken!" The president who not long before had whined of the "healing and elevating" influence of peace now screamed that the U.S. would use "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit!" After all, he cited, "the world must be made safe for democracy," "the right is more precious than the peace," "the freedom of the seas must be protected", etc., etc., However, as bourgeois historians would have it, Wilson was greatly concerned with what waging war would do to "the ideals of Government that all thinking men share." The night before war was declared, he allegedly confided his "fears" to a journalist friend: "Lead this people into war and they'll forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance. To

fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fibre of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street ..."

That these "fears" were more in the nature of sober predictions was quickly apparent as Wilson set up a Committee on Public Information which sponsored 750,000 four-minute speeches in 5,000 American cities and towns to mobilize the reluctant citizens — a rabid propaganda blitz that pictured the Germans as "a bestial people bent on world domination" who must be crushed. Among other things, he also approved the Espionage and Sedition Acts to stifle any obstruction of the war. The most notable of the several thousand prosecutions under the Espionage Act was that of Eugene Debs, who was sentenced to ten years in prison for making a speech in which he declared: "I hate, I loathe, I despise Junkers and Junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the Junkers in the United States."

Wilson, that "warm friend" of the working man, now set out to ruthlessly suppress any and all opposition to the war, including sending troops and "unofficial" goons against strikers who were obstructing the war effort. The American Protective League was unleashed to ferret out disloyal citizens — breaking into peoples homes and easily finding 3 million such cases to be reported to the government. The American Vigilante Patrol roamed the streets to stamp out "dangerous street oratory." The state's repressive apparatus was directed especially at revolutionary elements as meeting halls across the coun-

try were systematically raided, thousands arrested and hundreds sentenced to long prison stretches. Such "friendship" was also demonstrated in other, more international, ways after the Bolsheviks finally seized power in Russia and moved to get out of the war. In the summer of 1918, Wilson (who had glowingly praised the bourgeois Kerensky government for "adding might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace") now sent

American troops along with a host of other imperialist powers to invade Russia in an unsuccessful attempt to crush the proletarian state and the threatening implications it posed for imperialism internationally. This move was also undertaken in hopes that a restored Russian bourgeoisie could be easily persuaded to see the benefits of re-entering the war against Germany and re-establishing a second front.

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Ambassador

Continued from page 1

"must be taken for peace. . . ." Breaking the cycle of pain, we suppose, must itself be painful.

Next stop, El Salvador proper, where Jackson had a meeting with Duarte. Jackson had previously denounced the recent Salvadoran elections as a "sham" and Duarte as a "U.S. puppet." But lo, the word hath been received, and Jackson chummed it up with El Salvador's "legitimate representative," guarded all the while by the National Police and the U.S. Secret Service who stood at attention, Uzi machine guns in hand, ready to fire. Jackson declared: "President Duarte is the legitimate representative of the people of El Salvador. The guerrillas must work with him. Somehow all the legitimate voices must come together to work for El Salvador. The churches want to be a healing force, the unions want to be a healing force, the guerrillas want to bring the nation together — all need to turn to each other. You cannot keep turning on each other and be reliving the sins of the past."

This leaves little doubt as to the terms on which Jackson is counseling negotiations, nor the framework in which the "sins of the past" are to be atoned. The guerrillas, simply put, ought to surrender.

But the real high point of Jackson's mission was his visit to Cuba and his talks with Fidel Castro. This, more than any other facet of his trip, is supposed to serve to indelibly brand Jackson the leading representative of the "moral and reasonable" faction among U.S. political leaders. In fact, this did have quite a bit to do with what Jackson is doing in Cuba. In part, Jackson was playing his role opposite "Reagan the bloodthirsty madman" as a way of offering the Cubans a chance to chew over certain U.S. proposals and demands presented by Jackson. Interestingly enough, one of the points Jackson raised with Cuba (and which Cuba rejected) was that Cuba must stop supplying arms to the guerrillas in El Salvador and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. This is hardly a demand inconsistent with the American political mainstream!

Despite all the hullabaloo concerning Jackson's "historic visit" to Cuba, little of any substance was actually achieved. The "ten points of agreement" announced by Castro and Jackson contain nothing controversial or new — most of these points simply came down to a restatement of Cuba's recent positions

vis-à-vis normalizing relations with U.S. imperialism. By far, the biggest deal coming off the visit was Cuba's decision to release 22 American prisoners held in Cuban jails and 26 Cuban political prisoners. And who are these people? Among them are former CIA agents, Cubans jailed for their complicity in the U.S.-engineered Bay of Pigs invasion and Americans jailed for alleged drug smuggling. Apparently the list of Cuban prisoners that Jackson asked Castro to release was compiled for him by a Cuban-American who is a former member of the Carter administration, a former vice-president of the Export-Import Bank and the current head of a group called Cuban-American Democrats. When this motley crew is added to Jackson's other released hostage — Lt. Goodman, a U.S. bombardier captured in Syria while bombing the Palestinian people — one can't help but note that if Jackson's political career suddenly begins to recede he could always open up a pig farm as a national shrine. One other lofty success achieved by Jackson in Cuba is getting Castro to agree to consider negotiating with the U.S. over the return of 1,500 Cuban refugees from the 1980 Mariel incident that the U.S. has branded undesirable and wants to deport back to Cuba. Really bucking the mainstream on this one, too, isn't he?

One point that has to be made here is that Jackson's trip to Cuba was not solely a product of his own initiative or that of the U.S. imperialists. In fact, it was Cuba that invited Jackson to visit. And, although Jackson used the visit to advance the interests of the U.S., the Cubans also had a very definite purpose in mind. For quite some time now the Cubans have been attempting to work out a relationship with the U.S. that would allow them a little more breathing and maneuvering room in the region. The release of the prisoners to Jesse Jackson — a deal which was, according to the *Washington Post*, worked out at the Cuban interest section in Washington well before Jackson left on his excursion — should be seen in this light. And interestingly, releasing the prisoners to Jackson allowed the Cubans to make a conciliatory gesture to the U.S. without having to appear to be making a deal with the "madman Reagan."

In assessing Jackson's trip overall, you have to wonder just what it is that the political mainstream in the U.S. would object to! After all, he told the Salvadoran left to hang it up, he told the world what a great guy Duarte is, and he told Castro to quit exporting subversion. Face it — Jackson has given a whole new meaning to the concept "renegade."

were the antisatellite weapons and "third generation" nuclear weapons like the x-ray laser. In point of fact, one is hard-pressed to find any aspect of the current Reagan-Bush program that was not initiated under the Carter-Mondale administration.

We can further say that Carter and Mondale were ready, willing, and eager to continue in a second term what they had begun in the first. But what was needed now was not a benign image to clean up after Nixon-Ford, but an image to mobilize the jingoist social base. Thus the same Ronald Reagan whose presidential bid was summarily dismissed from consideration by the ruling class in 1976 was now the candidate best suited to the new necessities. Reagan's open espousal of what had already become established policy was now labeled the "rise of the right" — not only would a war program be pursued but it would be portrayed as the mandate of the people "who were tired of being pushed around in the world." But it was the underlying necessity of imperialism that gave rise to Reagan (not some ephemeral shift in the mood of the body politic, nor a grab for power by "the most reactionary sections of capital"), and the Reagan politics in turn reflected back on public opinion, beating the drums for war with incidents like the deliberate Korean airliner provocation.

Yes, elections do have a function. They are used to mobilize public opinion and to set the terms and limits of "responsible debate." And yes, different imperialist politicians do have different programs. But elections are not how these differences get sorted out and decided. Take a look at recent history:

In 1952, Eisenhower was elected largely on his promise to end the war in Korea, yet after his election he immediately

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



by Carl Dix

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Elections

Continued from page 6

ing place in the U.S. ruling class.

To be blunt, I would argue that during the years of the Carter-Mondale administration a consensus of sorts was reached in the U.S. ruling circles that the conditions for maintaining and advancing U.S. interests could only be achieved through the successful prosecution of a world war against the rival Soviet-led bloc. An obvious stimulant to this decision was the loss of Iran, which was not so much a dollar loss as a geopolitical loss in a strategic region of the world. A collapse of U.S. hegemony in the Persian Gulf would threaten the oil supply in Europe and Japan, and with it the Western-bloc alliance. Let us be clear: imperialists will launch world war before they will accept certain strategic setbacks.

The reaction of the Carter-Mondale administration was swift and dramatic (see "Political Rip Van Winkles and the Lost Years," *RW* No. 258, June 1, 1984). In a space of just a couple years, their administration introduced the highest peacetime increase in the military budget to date, announced the development of the MX and Trident II missiles, organized the Rapid Deployment Force, reintroduced draft registration, reached agreement to station the Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe, massively expanded the production of plutonium and the construction of new nuclear warheads, and mandated the achievement of extended nuclear war-fighting capability through Presidential Directive 59. Unannounced, but begun in secret,

threatened the use of nuclear weapons against North Korea and China. His Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, developed the politics of "brinkmanship," and the military doctrine of his administration was massive nuclear retaliation.

In 1960 Kennedy was elected as the alternative to Eisenhower and massive nuclear retaliation, and we got the largest single increase in nuclear weapons in U.S. history, the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the creation of the Green Berets, and the introduction of U.S. "advisors" into Vietnam.

In the 1964 election Lyndon Johnson staged the Gulf of Tonkin hoax right in the middle of the campaign, while running his famous "daisy ad" where a little girl pulls the petals off a daisy while the countdown to a nuclear explosion goes on in the background. There was supposedly no question who the "peace candidate" was, yet two months after Johnson's inauguration the marines landed in Da Nang. And this was followed by the invasion of the Dominican Republic.

And look at the decision to get out of Vietnam. The U.S. signed the Paris Peace Accords and withdrew from Vietnam after Nixon had overwhelmingly crushed the "peace candidate" McGovern in the 1972 election. This U.S. decision to cut its losses and get out was determined overwhelmingly by the political and military situation in Vietnam and globally, and was not determined by the outcome of the election. The same was true of the Carter administration, which made a major turn toward preparation for world war after being elected on a program of cutting defense expenditures to meet domestic needs.

None of these decisions was in the least

influenced by elections. Nor did elections mark the major turning point in policy. Nor was it possible to "buy time" by electing the supposed lesser of two evils.

The point is that all bourgeois politicians exercise their judgment and pursue policy within a larger framework of compulsion. And pious wishes to revitalize the "flawed" political process and make it more "democratic and responsive" can not overcome the reality of imperialism. In the era of imperialism, the state and its military function as the key instrument through which capital secures its environment internationally and assures (insofar as possible) continued accumulation.

I raise these points because the situation we face is both too dangerous and too pregnant with opportunity to spend 1984 engaging in business as usual. Last fall I spent three months in West Germany where I observed a tremendously dedicated movement of young activists run up against enormous obstacles because so much of their program was based on the assumption that there must be a more reasonable wing of the ruling class, who could in fact be swayed by rational appeals to national interest or self-interest — people with wives and families (not to mention capital assets) just as threatened by nuclear war as anybody else's. But the emplacement of the new missiles still breezed through.

No, imperialists will not listen to reason. Nor do they submit decisions of war and peace to the electorate for their approval. Nor do they feel bound by the results of elections that do occur. Nothing short of independent historical action outside the framework of the accepted social compact can alter that reality. That's the real truth of practical politics in an election year.

C. Clark Kissinger

In Melbourne, Australia at the Queen Victoria Medical Center a stainless steel vat of liquid nitrogen chills some of modern science's latest achievements. Within it are 200 glass tubes, each containing frozen microscopic bits of human protoplasm. They are clusters of 1- to 8-cells that each constitute a human embryo, fertilized outside the human body, and now stored for implantation in female wombs. At present, they offer a chance for infertile couples to have children. Seen in an historical sweep, they represent yet another step in the direction of some future ability to conceive and gestate human children outside of women. The very existence of such remarkable developments as test-tube fertilization, frozen storage of embryos, and embryo implantation make it possible to imagine the debates in some future era, far different from our own, when social controversy worldwide will undoubtedly rage over how to wield such developments to emancipate women from the age-old sexual division of labor, and how to extend the socialization of production even to the reproduction of new humans themselves.

Unfortunately, we live in the present, an epoch of classes and property — and the controversy now being generated over these frozen embryos has a far less exhilarating quality. Consider the embryos of Mario and Elsa Rios, which have sat suspended and cold in the Queen Victoria vats for three years now.

The Rios, a previously infertile Los Angeles couple, had three embryos fertilized in test tubes using eggs produced by Elsa Rios. When implanted in the womb the first embryo failed. Then suddenly, Mario and Elsa Rios were killed in a plane crash in Chile — and major legal and moral controversy erupted over the two remaining microscopic lumps lingering in Australia.

As you might have guessed the Rios (living in L.A., flying to Chile, storing quick-chilled embryos in Australia) are hardly your average citizen. Mr. Rios is described as "a millionaire property developer" — and there are bucks and real estate to dispose of. So...enter modern capitalist property relations, and modern capitalist social controversy:

The first question is whether these embryos have a "right to life." Australian Catholic clergy, wafting ancient mysticism about them like incense, claim that although these clusters have no organs, no hearts, no lungs, and cannot be seen by the human eye, they nonetheless have immortal souls needing to be saved from limbo by compulsory implantation. In response, others of course, have risen to argue that these are in fact inanimate objects, and therefore belong in the category of "private property"

Tales From The Deep Freeze

whose disposal should be at the discretion of their possessors. With characteristic breadth of mind, some courts and state legislatures in the United States have rendered their verdicts on this controversy by granting unborn "souls" legal rights, including appointing guardians to protect fetuses where mothers' conduct place them in danger. Avoiding dangers of mortal sin altogether, 23 states simply bar fetal research, some of them with statutes broad enough to possibly bar even state-of-the-art in vitro fertilization as well. After all, "if God had meant you to conceive in a test tube, he wouldn't have..."

Next comes the even more intriguing question of whether these cells have the "right to inheritance." Here the pinstriped lawyers of the twentieth century have worked themselves into an insoluble tangle: Common law holds that the

woman ultimately giving birth to a child is, legally, its mother, meaning that the "recipient" of the Rios embryos would be the legal "mother" rather than Elsa Rios the original egg producer. A genuine catch-22 emerges where, frozen at -320° F., these pieces of protoplasm may have the legal right to inherit millions in real estate; *but*, if in order to claim their inheritance they were to be "born to woman," they would legally lose it.

A third complication arose with the emergence of a certain mister Michael Rios, a man in his mid-thirties, son of Mario Rios by a previous marriage, who pointed out that the Rios embryos had in fact been fertilized using sperm of some anonymous donor, and have no bloodline of inheritance to his father, Mario Rios, and perhaps therefore no legal claim on his estate. Needless to say, Michael is not eager to share potential

millions with his chilled step-siblings.

What emerges from this entire theater of the absurd is a picture of how modern social relations, rooted in the all-pervasive web of commodity exchange, demands that every new object or phenomenon be defined in terms of property or value. If these are "things" then they must belong to some institution with the right to dispose of them or preserve them. And if they are human, then it must be determined who they are related to, since the legal establishment of family lines will have everything to do with which property relations are conferred to them and where their position is in the class structure outside their test-tube. Perfectly complementing *this* bizarre hairsplitting of ownership rights is when arcane religious arguments erupt about when and where almighty god injects mush-rooming zygotes with the eternal supernatural spirit that will carry them into the afterlife.

Truly none of *this* social controversy has anything to do with "liberating" anyone. And one can only wonder if future generations, reading accounts like the ones which sprouted last week in the various press, will be capable of even guessing what these reactionary fools are raving about.

Red Political Trains

Continued from page 4

her two children, what this whole thing was about the young woman got so impressed that she joined company with the women activists, and throughout her journey she raised slogans against the Indian government and for the victory of the proletarian revolution. Whenever the trains would reach some station the new boarders would be overjoyed at the cries challenging the fascist communal forces and at the exposure of the machinations of the bourgeois government to spread communal hatred among the people. Especially the Hindu people of the neighbouring state of Haryana greeted these revolutionaries with zeal when they saw the turbaned youth from Punjab with a different mission from that of communalism. (The Sikhs traditionally wear turbans, and due to the present turmoil in the Punjab all the turbaned people are now being considered by the ordinary Hindu people as communal terrorists.)

When both of these trains reached Delhi after covering a distance of more

than two hundred miles and piercing through the hot summer night, the walls of the ancient capital city of kings and shehnshahs staggered under the deafening slogans of the revolutionaries. These deafening roars sent shock waves to the authorities in the new capital city who were busy making arrangements to "deal" with the May Day violence by the Naxalites. They knew that three Naxalite organisations of India and revolutionary communists from Nepal under the leadership of Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) were out to carry a militant demonstration in the capital. This was a very unusual scene for them — the revolutionary communists demonstrating in the belly of the reactionary Indian state. The revisionists have been "celebrating" May Day for years there without ever posing any problem for the authorities. But, this time the situation was quite different. Well, meanwhile pretty more than one thousand youth (who had arrived from Punjab as a result of a month long campaign for May First) had gathered at the Delhi railway station

discussing how to reach the venue — the Feroze Shah Kotla Ground which was six kilometers away. A hot discussion ensued and it was decided that the demonstration should start from the railway station itself defying all regulations and orders of the authorities who have made it a habit to decide and force their arbitrary decisions on the people as to strictly adopt this or that route for demonstrating in the capital. Throwing all the rules and regulations of the bourgeoisie to the winds and defying all the laws and etiquettes the capitalist authorities force on the people to maintain "law and order" and to preserve the bloody sanctity of the abode of present reactionary rulers of India, this battalion of mostly young revolutionaries stormed the heart of the city and started a furious demonstration. A bright red blaze pierced through the morning sky and hovered over, ready to engulf and to reduce into ashes the huge monuments of class oppression and terror.

An Eye To The Future

Continued from page 7

States that would love to use this system or something like it."

All these measures and more were involved when the Congress pledged for the zillionth time last week "to regain control of our lost borders" through the Immigration Bill. This declaration is one part rhetoric and one part vicious truth. The methods sought to accomplish this reactionary goal include greatly beefing up the size and legal powers of the U.S. Border Patrol, with some additional ideas being tossed around like erecting an electronic barrier along the 2000-mile U.S.-Mexico border (an idea the U.S. tried and eventually had to give up on in Vietnam).

As Representative Mazzoli wept tears of joy at the podium after the final vote June 20, perhaps he was also overcome with visions of other border clampdown measures; for example, the Bill that Senator Simpson has stated is next on his agenda following the enactment of this package: The Immigration Emergency Act designed to enable the government to seal off borders, ports and airports, and to set up "detention camps" for immigrants and others in times of "national emergency." These and other attacks are all meant to get the government generally more on top of the immigration situa-

tion, thereby — it is hoped — rationalizing to the extent possible the chaotic situation which the very workings of their imperialist system have provoked in the first place.

For agricultural proletarians, the "Freedom Day" Bill has a particularly barbaric provision: The creation of a new Bracero Program. This has been euphemistically referred to as the temporary foreign workers program. Under the new Bill, as many as 500,000 "guest workers" will be brought into the U.S. for up to 11 months a year, primarily to pick fruits and vegetables. The immigrant proletarians (who comprise a huge percentage of agricultural workers in this country) will now be registered with the government, allowed only in certain areas according to the seasonal planting and harvesting of various crops, and subject to expulsion and new levels of tyranny by the government, the growers, and the labor contractors. The new Bracero Program naturally brings to mind its predecessor, begun in 1942, and is not unconnected to overall attempts being made to systematize controls over the masses in preparation for world war. Thus the new Bracero Program can be seen to provide a mechanism for a time in the future when the U.S. imperialists will be attempting to maintain the "safety valve" of emigration from countries like Mexico, maintain the supply of immigrant labor to U.S. agriculture, and simultaneously carry out massive round-ups of immigrants in the U.S. for detention. The vicious round-up of immigrants in "Operation Jobs" two years ago was ex-

actly a rehearsal for such times.

And what of the hulabaloo concerning "great compromises" and honest give-and-take going down on Capitol Hill around the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill? What of the Democrats? Typically they have pitched their summations over the final vote count to the democratically inclined; citing the rough-and-tumble gamesmanship in the House, they "admitted" that after firing their best shots, fighting the good fight, etc., etc., they'd just lost fair and square. That's democracy. Of course some like Tip O'Neill still complained that the Bill had become Reagan's, while the three Democratic presidential candidates mildly went "on record" opposing the Bill. But this won't wash. It was none other than O'Neill himself who cleared the House calendar for an entire week for discussion and passage of the Bill. It was none other than Walter Mondale who presided as Vice-President, while the Carter-appointed Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy made recommendations which are largely the basis for the present Immigration Bill. It was none other than Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH in Chicago which quickly posted notices of "Jobs Available" after immigrants without papers were thrown off their jobs and incarcerated in prison camps in the INS's "Operation Jobs" two years ago. As for Jackson's belated call for a summit meeting among the three candidates just before the Bill's passage, this can at best be described as rank opportunism.

The wave of immigration into the U.S. from oppressed nations in the last ten

years is unprecedented. The future outlook shows no let-up. In the countries dominated by the U.S. on its southern flank the situation is acute economically and politically. The U.S. is thus moving to set in place the repressive apparatus and means to control especially its southern border as much as it can.

But this massive and systematic rewrite of the U.S.'s immigration laws does not demonstrate great strategic confidence on the U.S. imperialists' side. The concern for controlling their border which marks the passage of this reactionary bill indicates some serious strategic problems for them. Central America is today largely a war zone. The very measures, both economic and political, which the U.S. has taken to prop up Mexico as a "model" for the region and a buffer on the U.S. southern flank, have only laid the basis for more serious shocks in the future. With a sudden leap in the overall international situation the stability of the U.S. "backyard" will be of great concern to the imperialists. And this is certainly of strategic import to the international proletariat. Political upheaval, especially revolutionary crisis, could go "both ways" across the border, factoring into overall international developments as part of prevention of world war through revolution; or in the event that the imperialists are not prevented from launching world war, such revolutionary possibilities might be seized in the midst of such a war when, either before or after great horror and destruction, the "permanency" of such imperialist borders will be sprung into the air.

The following letter was submitted to the RW by a reader:

We arrived in Chicago with all our worldly possessions on a miserable summer day last August only a month before school opened. Where to register the first-grader? Well, there's always the neighborhood school, but some friends had told us about the magnet school system, said to be a hell of a lot better in quality and integrated at that, which was a pleasant shock to us given Chicago's horrendous racial reputation.

I called the Board of Ed. and asked for the person in charge of the magnet schools.

"Oh yes, sir, you'll have no problem," the nice lady at the end of the line said, "it's way past deadline for applying to the magnets but I'm sure we can find something... for you."

I took down the time of our appointment with relief. Chicago, we decided, had been given a bum rap. I mean, we were new in town and new to big-city school-system politics. How were we supposed to know about the skin-trade at the top, and the decimation at the bottom?

We were wised up fast enough, however.

"These are some schools that still have some openings," the woman at the Board of Ed. told us. "Just put down on your application 'Caucasian.'"

"You mean these schools only accept whites?"

"Not at all, just the opposite. The magnets are all mostly minority, but there's so few whites that a Caucasian student can often be assured of a placement."

I thought about it a minute.

"She's not white," I admitted stoutly. "She's half Puerto Rican and half white." The conversation was definitely beginning to get to me.

"Even better," said the woman without a blink. "Call up the principal and ask them what they want. Some are looking for one sort to fill a quota, some for others. When you find out whether they want white or nonwhite, write it in."

I went home and we talked about it. Did we really want to be privy to this crassest of racial bargaining, with our kid's skin color as capital? But it was only a couple of weeks until school by this time, and if it meant getting the kid some better learning...

I tried one of the schools we were not so interested in, a "scholastic academy" with an emphasis on "discipline and excellence," as we were informed by a little folder advertising for the school. With the principal on the line, I hedged around, maneuvered the conversation closer to the racial point. When the principal finally divined what was on my mind, she had no such discomfort with the conversation. Like the official at the Board of Ed., she rattled off nationalities like dishes on a restaurant menu, bragging about quotas filled, openings held, waiting lists for this or that race. After another call, I was already losing my own timidity. When in Rome... I told myself.

As it happened, Dana ended up going to the neighborhood school temporarily in September while the magnet late-applications were processed. It must have been about a week into the school year when we got a call from the principal herself of one of the schools we were aiming at, a performing arts specialty.

"See you later," I told my wife, after hanging up the phone. "Gotta go down to the principal's office and check the 'Hispanic' box."

A couple of weeks ago a final installment: as the school year ended, Dana came home with a note from the principal, addressed to my wife (the Puerto

Correspondence

Inner-City Schools: The Hype And The Reality

Rican "half"). It contained an application to the school and a sheet of stationery with a one-line query:

"Do you know of any good Puerto Ricans who might want to apply?"

And so, thoroughly turned off by the trade in skins required to enter the magnet schools, but secretly happy that at least the kid had a shot at learning something in school, we've got Dana involved in performing arts, and I've been reading everything I can get my hands on about the Chicago school system.

From what I have seen, the article in RW No. 248 accurately pictures the effect of the magnet schools; a two-tier system has been imposed in which the great body of the inner-city school system has been skimmed and gutted in favor of a small, but multiracial, elite inner system of magnet schools. I believe the article is correct in locating this outside the framework of "integration." In other words, though the magnets were at first presented and advertised as a sort of concession toward integration, in reality at least in Chicago, even talk of integration has given way to talk about "excellence," and what we really see is a strategy based on the polarization of Black, and other oppressed nationalities. For the overwhelming majority of Black people there is *more* segregation — and more fundamentally: *oppression* — and a more complex and efficient system of strait-jacketing Black students into the school system's most inferior and neglected channels and corners, including at the college level.

When you look at this bigger picture, you also get a better sense about what prompts the grotesqueries of Chicago school racial bargaining, though it remains true that only a very sick society would give rise to this phenomenon. For the great golden lure of the magnets parents are made to market their children's skins, because it is said to be the only escape from the "cycle of poverty." The irony is that, owing not a little to the impact of the magnets, the bulk of the city schools are more of a deadend than ever.

Recently, parts of a report by University of Chicago desegregation expert Gary Orfield have been made public. When fully published (parts were recently summarized in the *Chicago Reader*) Orfield's "Chicago Study of Access and Choice in Higher Education" will certainly be a giant exposure of the hype put on the Chicago public schools (as a model for other big-city schools, like New York, which is planning a magnet system), touting supposedly higher test scores, the benefits of old-fashioned discipline and excellence (especially discipline) and a you-can-make-it-if-you-try ideology. I felt some results of the study would be of interest to RW readers.

Orfield demolishes any idea that Chicago area schools are somehow more integrated than they were. "Ninety-two percent of the minority students in the metropolitan area are in the city," he says, "You just have to move eight percent of the kids and you have a total apartheid by race."

Of Chicago's seventy public high schools, thirty-one have large majorities of low-income students; in ten schools the entire student body is officially low-income and all-Black, and indeed almost one-fourth of all Black public school students end up attending these ten schools. In these overwhelmingly low-income and largely Black schools, together comprising very close to half the high schools, Orfield noted the least adequate curricula, the highest dropout rate and lowest test scores. At the other end of the scale, most college-bound students are concentrated in the seventeen magnet high schools.

Orfield points out a striking paradox in the attitudes of many students in the non-magnet public high schools, something which also squares with my own conversations with high-school age kids. While naturally aware of the continuing segregation of their schools, many students believe they are getting a fine education. And, Orfield says, these kids are in for a shock.

"Look, you have these kids who are having terrific success within these extremely inadequate sets of institutions. Who think they're going to be doctors and lawyers. Who go to a junior college and have people tell them 'Listen you'll be lucky if you become a nurse technician.'"

Orfield studied the Chicago Board of Education "Survey of Senior Plans," and found that 38.7% of the students in overwhelmingly low-income Chicago schools aspired to become professionals, and 60% wanted to go to college full-time.

It is the case, in other words, as the RW article put it, that many students in the nonmagnet schools are taken with the same philosophy of upward mobility on which the magnet schools thrive, and about which they are goaded on constantly by Jesse Jackson, Guy Bluford, Harold Washington and so on. (I have a well-meaning friend, for example, who puts *Fortune* magazines on his coffee table so that his kid, eleven, will read them and "absorb their drive," as he says.) And when they don't "make it" — as most won't — it's *their* fault, not the system's.

Orfield's statistics are unflinching. Of the seventy Chicago high schools, *seven* functioned at the national average reading level. Only eighteen of the high schools even offer calculus. Only three schools have four-year foreign language programs (most offer two years of French or Spanish), twenty have no upper-level science courses at all.

The same 1983 "Survey" cited above found that 22% of the seniors had "seldom or never" heard a classroom lecture, 46% had "seldom or never" been part of a student-centered discussion in class, 56% had "seldom or never" worked in a science laboratory, 34% had "seldom or never" been assigned to write an essay, story, theme or poem. Orfield says:

"Valedictorians from Chicago high schools apply to the University of Chicago who are reading below grade

level. No student should be in a school where if you are the best, you are still unprepared for college."

Orfield's study also makes much of a point touched on by the RW article: to fully grasp the sweeping and criminal nature of segregation and oppression in this area one has to look at the inner-city and suburban school systems together. No suburban high school equals the dropout rate of the Chicago schools, which is currently 47.4% — the suburban average is 6.6%! The reading level for suburban schools is consistently at or above the normal national average, while in Chicago the median level for reading is twenty points below the national norm. While city neighborhood schools rarely have enough equipment for their overcrowded student bodies, some suburban schools are operating half-empty, and others are closing.

Although the suburban schools are altogether 85% white, segregation is just as strict within these schools as in the city. The pockets of Black and other oppressed nationality students are concentrated in a few suburban schools: eleven of the eighty-five suburban school districts contain 60% of all the suburban nonwhite students.

Orfield's study especially concentrates on the question of opportunity for a college education which is, of course, held out to the oppressed as the basic springboard out of the ghetto, the magic key to making it. He relates the drastic inequalities in Chicago's secondary schools to a parallel segregation and inequalities in higher education.

In the first place, only 12% to 15% of Chicago public school students eventually graduate from college. Those that do are channeled into a system rigidly separated by nationality and by class. Of a total of 58 colleges in the Chicago area, five have mainly Black enrollments: Chicago State University, Kennedy-King College, Malcolm X College, the Loop Community College system, and Olive-Harvey College. These five receive the majority of all Black public school graduates who go on to college.

Orfield found that this occurs as a product of deliberate "feeder" arrangements between certain neighborhood high schools and certain other local community colleges, and also the lack of adequate college preparation courses by the "feeding" high schools — the students cannot get in anywhere else. Overall, Orfield finds that only twenty-four Chicago public high schools offer a course structure "appropriate" to prepare students for college.

When the students do arrive in the community colleges, they find it is extremely difficult to get out of them and into the four-year institutions. Some courses are on such a low level that four-year colleges won't accept them: one community college, for example, offers "Pocket Calculator Use I and II." Few of the community colleges and none of the city community colleges have transfer agreements with four-year colleges. The students are boxed in, and even more indicting, as Orfield writes after studying these and other factors, such as teacher distribution: "Everything you can find suggests that the system is not changing but will pass on to another generation."

All this stands, I must add, as a description not of a forgotten backwater of urban America, but of a recent model for public education, a supposed "way in" for the oppressed in a city politically refurbished with a Black mayor and his "progressive" politics. This, in short, is a damning picture of the best the inner-cities have to offer. □

Piffle

Continued from page 11

By the time the war had ended in November, 1918, Wilson's famous plea to the belligerents of Europe to accept a "peace without victory" less than two years before now rang hollow indeed. Then he had stated that:

"Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an

intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last."

These magnanimous words now provided a perfect description of Wilson's 14-point programme which provided the basis for the "peace among equals" that would be engineered at Versailles. It was now clear that "peace without victory" meant peace without a German victory. And, in light of this outcome, it was also clear that the oft-uttered cry of the imperialists on both sides of "peace without

annexations" — i.e., when it was *their* turf that was being annexed — now meant peace without German annexations. Germany was forced to relinquish all territories seized and most of its former colonies. Along with this, the empires of its allies, Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans, were completely dismantled and re-distributed among the victors.

It was all a fitting tribute to Wilsonian principles which, as V.I. Lenin put it, had been little more than "sanctimonious piffle." The war and its outcome, he remarked, had exposed the true nature of imperialism and "had revealed the utter falsity and fraud of the pacifist and

Wilson ideology." Nonetheless, Wilsonism had served the U.S. rulers well as they had lost only 120,000 killed and 200,000 wounded (as against some 10 million troops and 13 million civilians killed and another 20 million wounded for the other participants) in the process of establishing themselves on an imperialist par with Britain following the war. And all this would pale in comparison to the carnage of the next imperialist world war in which the U.S. would also largely "sit it out" before finally clawing its way to the top of the imperialist dunghill under the stewardship of another progressive peacemaker, Franklin D. Roosevelt. □

Support The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

The Revolutionary Worker calls for a special effort to build support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement so that this new movement may launch its historic work in the most powerful way possible. We call for:

- Broad circulation of the **Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**. Readers are especially encouraged to put the **Declaration** in the hands of proletarians and others from countries around the world and to send it to their friends, relatives and contacts internationally.
- Correspondence, statements and messages of support for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. (These can be sent via the RW, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654)
- **Full support for the launching of a worldwide fund drive called for by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement by pledging and gathering funds.**

Fund Drive

Continued from page 5

and the worldwide economic and political crisis. So I started reading some more about this recent period I'm talking about.

But the real clincher came for me on May Day when the *Declaration* was released from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, of which the RCP is a signer. There's this section in there that starts on page 39 that at first I thought was talking just about me. Then it struck me that it is talking about people and movements in all the imperialist countries.

The thing that I hadn't realized was that a political line about the world had affected me so personally. I'd always heard that but never believed that before. If it affects an individual that thoroughly, what does it do to a movement, a party, to the shape of the world struggle. The amazing thing about the formation of an International movement is not so much that there hasn't been one for more than 30 years and now there is. The amazing thing is that in spite of all the things that have happened in the world, the advances and especially the setbacks for the revolutionary movement worldwide, in the face of that, these forces have fought through to unite around a line to form a general staff to lead the revolutionary forces at such a critical time.

To tell you the truth, the very real possibility of World War, nuclear war, scares the s--- out of me, even though I try not to think about it. My way of dismissing it has been to say if it comes I'll drive to the center of the blast and get it over with. But there is no flinching from the truth in this *Declaration*, this line. Mistakes are identified head on, proposals are put forward straight out, and the summation of what we're up against and the possibilities is laid out there for all to see. But it is in no way presented as the final word, that's not how Marxism-Leninism works. But it is a real look at the world, our history, our position in the battle, and above all hope for the future based on all that.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is raising the call for us to be Internationalists. The *Declaration* says, "Lenin stressed that proletarian revolutionaries must approach the question of their revolutionary work not from the point of view of 'my' country but 'from the point of view of my share in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in

the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.'" The *Declaration* makes it clear that nothing short of that is necessary to "shatter the imperialists' present preparations for world war, establish the rule of the working class in a number of countries and create an overall world situation more favourable to the advance of revolutionary struggle."

On the other hand if we are not able to stop World War from starting, we have to be ready to mobilize the outrage and anger of the vast majority of people against the source of that war, the imperialists, and turn it against them. That is not what I call flinching from the truth.

What other hope do we have? It certainly doesn't lay in the rulers of this world seeing "reason." When have they seen fit to be reasonable in the past? When have they looked out for any interest but their own class's?

We know that the world has become one tight, integrated economic and political system, with all the anarchy and chaos that comes with that imperialist system. We cannot afford to think any longer in terms of "the struggle in our country" and yes we'll do the humane thing and support the struggles in the oppressed countries. We are looking at a worldwide imperialist system in contention with each other and in battle against a worldwide proletariat. We have to start thinking of the open struggles against the imperialists around the world as, not "struggles in this or that country," but another one of our fronts in the worldwide battlefield has opened up against our common enemy. To fight that kind of war, we *must* have a general staff, capable of summing up the current situation, correcting the mistakes of the past, and charting the course of the next battle, with an overall vision of the future. I am supporting the fund drive for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement because I believe in their summation of the world, in their vision for the future, and their leadership in the worldwide battle against the imperialists. I know that a general staff cannot conduct a war without money. There are many fronts in this war, there are many needs.

Proletarian Internationalist
Portland, OR

A Request for Contributions to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

For the sake of analogy, pretend for a moment that the world of humans is a pyramid, with a (usurped) power elite at the pinnacle, a considerable middle sector, and a vast base. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement fits neatly in-

to this analogy, as a tool for connecting people all over the world *at the base*. This connection can even be called precious, considering how seldom in history such connections are created. Imperialism connects us, but only indirectly (via the pinnacle). The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement connects proletarian with proletarian directly, without the alienating intervention of capitalism as a world system. This connection, at the base, can even grow strong enough that it would be possible for us to turn the pyramid on its head, so that we all balance on the pinnacle (to which we freely give our energy), instead of being weighed down by it. A contribution to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement helps connect us at the base.

Living in a world where economic collapse and/or cataclysmic world war are, year to year, as likely as not, what energy do we invest in a trend that offers a plausible, even a principled, path through this labyrinth? Increasingly, we will look to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement for an interpretation of the changing world from a proletarian perspective and for leadership in making that perspective a real force for changing the world. Since we look for so much from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, it's fitting that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement should look to us for financial support.

This request is an example of money as abstraction: the currency which makes the capitalist system run can also be employed against the capitalist system. This is a request for funds, in the interest of transforming history to the extent that, in time, it would no longer be possible or necessary (or even

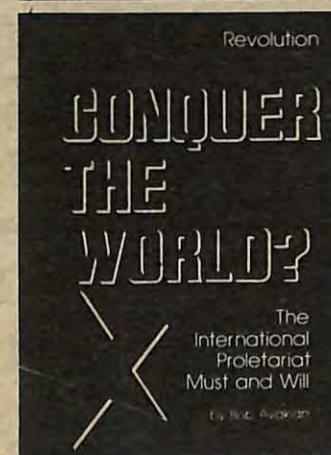
comprehensible) to phrase a question about raising funds.

I am not a member of this party, because that would require a degree of unity greater than now exists for me. But I am easily united to the desirability of aiding this party (and the international movement to which it is related). This is not inconsistent. Financial support doesn't require total unity, but it does require recognition of the inestimable value of this trend to the understanding of events and to the working out of history through the revolutionary process.

Some people give energy to our movement, in quantities passing all understanding (at least, to me). Others give ideas or sparks or perspective. Some give money. Hopefully, at one point or another, all of us can give some of each. The basic question is not how much money we give, but whether we understand and get behind the process of making a revolution in our lifetimes. If we grasp this — money or no — we will be able to make all sorts of contributions to the development of a proletarian history.

What did Steve Biko give; what did Damián García give; what did Walter Rodney give; what did Mary O'Leary give; what did John Kaiser give? "What can I give?" That might sound like a "corny" way to put the question, but, just for a moment, really ask the question. If it isn't money, then what will it be? Will it be a shrug and excuses, or will it be a life of constant struggle, or will it be something in between, not everything, but *something*?

Bookstore owner
Portland, OR



This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- * Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road.
- * More on the proletarian revolution as a world process.
- * Leninism as the bridge.
- * Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up.
- * Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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